

MEMOIRES



RIZA NUR

BERSERKER

BOOKS



Dr. RIZA NUR LOZAN

MEMOIRS

"The official minutes of a conference and the treaty articles do not tell the whole story. There are so many inner workings to these matters, and they reveal what actually happened. To truly understand Lausanne, to know what they demanded of us, how we rejected and deflected these demands, what state the treaty reached, and what transpired there; To know this, one must read the treaty and the minutes, along with the specific negotiations and the inner workings of the matter in the section on Lausanne in my memoirs, as well as the projects they gave us for each issue, our counter-projects, and the draft treaty they wanted us to sign before the break. and compare them. The projects I mentioned and similar ones are in my library in Sinop. There are also many pictures related to the conference there."

Dr. RIZA NUR

WHY IS IT BEING PUBLISHED?

In order to explain why these memoirs were published, it is necessary to first briefly introduce the author of the memoirs and then provide some information about the memoirs themselves. Since memoirs are, in a sense, a form of testimony, it is impossible to evaluate them and understand why they were published without defining the witness and the scope of their testimony.

Who is Dr Rıza Nur?

Dr. Rıza Nur, who played a leading role in Turkish intellectual and political life from the Second Constitutional Era onwards, was the son of a shoemaker from Sinop.

He came to Istanbul, graduated from the Imperial Medical School, attracted the attention of the palace with a medical work he wrote on "Circumcision Surgery," and became known in medical circles.

He then joined the movement against Sultan Abdülhamid and entered Parliament. Dr. Rıza Nur, who was an interesting figure with his independent and uncompromising character, led a turbulent life for the same reason and was forced to move to Egypt and settle there.

Forced to earn his living as a military doctor, Rıza Nur also practised medicine in Paris during the last years of his life, which enabled him to conduct scientific research and write his "memoirs".

The era was one of the disintegration of the empire, and Dr. Rıza Nur was a "Turkish nationalist."

He devoted himself entirely to the cause. Dr Rıza Nur, who went to Ankara during the National Struggle, served as acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, became Minister of Health, and travelled to Moscow with Yusuf Kemal TeAgirsek to negotiate peace.

After the victory, we see him in Lausanne as the Second Plenipotentiary after İsmet Pasha. After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, he fell out with those in power, especially Mustafa Kemal, did not take on any official role, and responded coldly to the attention shown to him by those in power.

Meanwhile, he went to Paris, almost as if in voluntary exile, where he practised medicine, worked in libraries, completed his memoirs, and deposited them at the British Museum in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

He later returned to Turkey and established a library in Sinop.

Meanwhile, İsmet Pasha became President. We know that in the early years of his presidency, İsmet Pasha pursued a policy of winning over the leaders of the National Struggle who had opposed Mustafa Kemal (e.g. Kazım Karabekir). From this context, Dr. Rıza Nur was also offered a position as a deputy, but

he declined. He remained solely engaged in intellectual activities and passed away in 1942.

This brief explanation shows that Dr. Rıza Nur, the monarchy, the Constitutional Monarchy, the National
He is one of the important witnesses and even perpetrators of the Struggle and Republican eras.

His testimony, that is, his memoirs, must be very important. Indeed, the most important documents of history are undoubtedly memoirs...

Dr. Rıza Nur's Memoirs

In his memoirs, which recount almost every stage of his life from childhood to 1935, Dr. Rıza Nur provides very important information about his era. A large part of this information consists of serious accusations, criticism and even insults directed at his political rivals, primarily Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Written in the old script and entrusted to the world's four major libraries, these memoirs were not to be made available to readers before 1960. Dr. Cavit Orhan Tüten-gil was the first to discover the memoirs and publish them in the Turkish press.

In 1967, these memoirs were published by Altındağ Publishing House under the title "My Life and My Memoirs" was published in a very poor manner. However, because the memoirs largely opposed Atatürk's laws, the work was confiscated and could only be sold under the counter.

At the time, although these memoirs caused quite a stir, they were not particularly well received by Dr. Rıza Nur. For in his memoirs, Dr. Rıza Nur wrote almost everything against himself to prove his loyalty

This created a "bitterness" among those who loved him and in Turkish nationalist circles. Furthermore, his candid writing on sexual matters in his memoirs and his frequent use of harsh language in attacking his political rivals also contributed to this.

An interesting aspect of the matter is that until his death, he never mentioned these memoirs or their existence to anyone. However, in a way, he did not withdraw these memoirs, which could be compared to those of Jean Jacques Rousseau's, he did not withdraw these memoirs from the libraries to which he entrusted them and stated that his heirs were not allowed to withdraw them either, insisting on their publication and dissemination in his will.

Of course, all memoirs are subjective and often amount to nothing more than the author's defence... However, if we disregard the harsh words he used about his political rivals and some of the gossip he recounted, these memoirs constitute a very important source of information about our recent history. This interesting man, who lived through three eras, was a prominent figure on the stage of our recent history for a long time.

He is one of the actors who demonstrated this. And he is a man who wields a pen. He has interesting observations. He has made observations. Because he knew French well, he was used especially in the diplomatic field during the years of the National Struggle. He went to Moscow and Lausanne as a delegate. However, his most important role was undoubtedly his second delegation to Lausanne. In this regard, the most significant part of his memoirs, in our opinion, pertains to Lausanne.

Lozan Memoirs

Dr. Rıza Nur's character has two major traits:

- 3 - His Turkish nationalism and patriotism...
- 2 - Possessing an "egocentric" mental disposition...

When these two traits combine, he attacks those he encounters with violence and, in particular, doubts the Turkishness of his rivals. For this reason, according to him, Rauf Orbay is Abaza, İsmet Pasha is Kurdish, Abdülhalik Renda is Albanian, and so on.

The only person among his peers and superiors whom he does not insult is Marshal Fevzi Çakmak. He refers to him as "Kuzu Paşa" (Lamb Pasha).

It is precisely this excess that harms Dr. Rıza Nur, both in his political life and in his memoirs, in terms of objectivity. It is his nationalism, based on a very narrow form of racism that is unacceptable today. Although, considering the abnormal events and conditions during the collapse of the Empire, it is not difficult to understand both Rıza Nur and those he accused of "betraying the Turks." However, we believe that if Dr. Rıza Nur were alive today, he would acknowledge that most of them acted not out of separatism, but because they saw no other option under those circumstances. Indeed, there are those in later lives proved this.

The area where Dr. Rıza Nur's unacceptable narrow racism and egocentric psychology had the least influence is in his Memoirs of Lausanne. For these two negative traits found their true targets in Lausanne, namely foreigners. It can be said that in Lausanne, he found the perfect opponents for his combative temperament.

As a publishing house, we can summarise why we published these memoirs as follows:

- 1 - Lausanne is a subject that has brought us to where we are today and still retains its relevance.

2 - It is perhaps the most important phase of Dr. Rıza Nur's life.

3 - As mentioned above, it is an area he was able to address while remaining somewhat detached from personal issues.

4 - He had seen the diplomats in Lausanne up close and described them all. So much so that he mentioned the diplomat who meddled in his affairs, the hotel's two hundred and fifty grams for caviar—at the time, one Ura was worth one gold coin—to those who came to Lausanne seeking privileges, to the intrigues, and even to the Turkish journalists. "lived through" many things, as well as the inner workings of the negotiations and how they unfolded.

5 - As with other memoirs, these accounts can be examined by researchers, as there is a great deal of documentation on Lausanne. For example, he states that some of the speeches made during the session were not included in the minutes but were found in the newspapers of the day, which can be readily researched and verified.

He states that he prepared the bill to abolish the sultanate and that Rauf Orbay added a stronger sentence to it, which can be researched in the archives.

Somewhere, he stated that the minutes were falsified, incorrectly recorded, and that this caused damage to the country, which can also be verified. In addition to these and many similar things, he described some sessions as a boxing match broadcast live. It has been presented in a very vivid manner, as if it were being broadcast, describing the situation of many people there...

Reading these memoirs reveals an important fact: Turkey is once again facing the same dangers today. For example, in Lausanne the Westerners claimed that there were three types of minorities in Turkey. The first was ethnic minorities, the second was religious minorities, and the third was linguistic minorities. In other words, they chose to divide Turkish unity on three fronts. Is it not the same today? We believe that Dr. Rıza Nur's most accurate diagnoses were those he presented while evaluating foreign and hostile diplomats.

Here, far from misleading Turkish nationalism and patriotism, he has shed light on them.

Essentially, he himself emphasises the importance of his memoirs with these lines:

"The official minutes of a conference and the articles of an agreement do not express everything. There are so many inner workings that reveal what has happened. To understand Lausanne well, to know what they wanted from us, how we rejected and deflected these demands, what state the agreement reached, what happened there, one must read the minutes."

Along with reading the minutes and the official record, it is necessary to read and compare the special negotiations and the inner workings of the matter in the section on Lausanne in my memoirs, as well as the projects they gave us for each issue, our counter-projects, and the draft agreement they wanted us to sign before the interruption. The projects I mentioned and similar ones are in my library in Sinop. There are also many pictures related to the conference there."

He also states that after Lausanne, he proposed establishing a commission to oversee the implementation of Lausanne, and that this was not done. In our view, this is the matter that must be emphasised and questioned as a national duty.

It is not that you lost this or that at Lausanne, but rather why you did not show this attention to implementing Lausanne. Indeed, Dr. Rıza Nur also mentions in his memoirs that the Greeks

established such a commission in his memoirs. This point also explains the "institutionalisation" of Turkish Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Rıza Nur explains this as follows:

I told İsmet five or ten times: "We have made this agreement. There are various objectives behind it. The articles have been drafted accordingly. No one but you and I can know these. Under every article of the agreement lies a secret, a reason, an idea, an aspiration. In order for the implementation of the agreement to actually move towards these objectives, set up a commission called the 'agreement implementation commission'. Let's also write down these objectives secretly and give them to this commission. Let them supervise accordingly. Let them implement it accordingly, both externally and internally. Various actions contrary to the agreement will be taken. This commission will rectify them. This is now for the Straits. What I say is very secret and necessary. Compile a treatise even more secretly and submit it to the head of the commission. The relevant ministries should also strive to achieve these things. ." I could not convey its importance and value to İsmet in any way. He was the Prime Minister, he could have done it, but he did not. However, a year later, Greece formed a similar committee."

For this and similar reasons, our publishing house deemed it appropriate to publish this very valuable, rich, and instructive historical document, especially since the deceased had bequeathed it in this manner.

DR RIZA NUR'S FOREWORD

I am writing my life and memories. The reason is not for material gain, nor is it for spiritual benefit or self-interest, such as immortalising my name. What good would that do? For a philosopher-like person like me, who is indifferent to material and spiritual, worldly and otherworldly interests and self-interest, these are nothing. All I have is the ambition to serve the Turks and science until my death.

I have lived in this world; I am one of those who know the necessity of fulfilling the duties and obligations of life...

When I began writing this work, I was so exhausted from the long period of research and publication that I could not even read or write two lines; my eyes had grown weak, and I had fallen into a state of helplessness. Moreover, I was in exile, burdened with a thousand sorrows, weary and disillusioned with everything, even to the point of not wanting to live.

The reason I endured this hardship in such a state is this: I have seen many things in my life. I have gone through various experiences. I have witnessed many events. I have been involved in many events and been an agent of change. I have done many things myself. The life I have lived is one filled with personal, scientific, administrative, political, moral knowledge and experience.

For some reason, I have an eternal and everlasting love for the Turkish nation and a great ambition to serve it. It is this love and ambition that have driven me to impart these lessons and warnings to Turkish generations. Sometimes, things are learned through years of hardship, hardship, danger, and deprivation, and sometimes through great disasters. I have made it my duty to teach the Turks these lessons of experience, which will teach them the consequences of these things without having to spend their lives enduring various calamities.

Especially since I have lived through Turkey's historical events, it is a sacred duty to convey these truths to the Turkish people and their history as they are. This is the debt of those who live this way. There are even some fraudsters who are busy distorting history in their favour. I know of many historical events whose true nature has remained hidden. It is necessary to record them exactly as they are.

In this work, we have shown neither pride nor modesty. We have written the truths exactly as they are, even if they are against us, without distorting them. Even if they are in our favour, we have not refrained from writing them out of modesty

we did not refrain from writing it. Events, whether bitter or sweet, must be recorded in history exactly as they happened. We did not elaborate on things we did not see or learn well. We passed over them with a mention.

On this occasion, some ethnographic, cultural and similar information will also be mentioned. It has always been my habit to take notes in my life; however, on several occasions when I was thrown into prison, the government confiscated and destroyed my papers. While I was in exile, some of my books and papers were also . Some were gnawed and torn to shreds by rats, scattered like cotton fluff. Despite this, quite a lot remains. Naturally, our memory has retained many things, as have various published official and private Documents and works have also served to remind us of certain incidents.

Some opportunists will seize upon the confessions in this work to criticise my shortcomings and attempt to disparage me. I say now, how many brave souls are there who can write about their good and bad deeds like this?! If I hadn't written, no one would have known. Despite this, I did not hide it. Again, those mentioned in this work will be defended after my death; or those who remain alive will take it upon themselves to defend them. We bear no ill will towards these individuals. We have no gain from this. In fact, while writing about my faults, I also wrote about their good deeds. If we were alive, we would have responded; but voices cannot rise from beneath the earth. Such is fate... The earth fills the mouths of the dead.

Here, I have written everything, even things pertaining to lust. This is ugly; that is how it is perceived. Not just here, but throughout the world; not just now, but throughout time, it has always been this way for centuries. But this is life. Moreover, it is the most important part of people's practical lives. Until now, few have written about this. Yet everyone has done it. In these things, there are medical, health, social, and moral lessons and warnings. I have gone beyond this custom and written about them too. It will be said that this corrupts manners and morals. It opens the eyes of young people. Yet until now, this matter has always been hidden. Despite this, every young person has inevitably learned it.

It is something that cannot be prevented. So this idea is empty. It is better to write openly. People write about everything else, so why not write about this, which is done every day and in abundance? However, this is often the basis, the reason, the essence of human existence, of work, of politics, of many social things. An Arab poet said:

The essence of religion and the world lies in this union.

Neither to the gathering nor to the spreading, nor to the resurrection, for it is not true. I am writing everything clearly up to this point.

Dr. Rıza NUR Paris,

1929

FIRST CHAPTER

THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO LOZAN

The matter of appointing delegates to the peace conference unfolded as follows:

We are invited to the conference. Delegates will be appointed. The Provisional Government will convene for this purpose. We are waiting for Mustafa Kemal in the Provisional Government's office. Yusuf Kemal (1) pulled me aside: "Doctor, Mustafa Kemal will appoint Fethi as leader. You are probably a delegate. Everyone agrees on this. But you cannot tolerate Fethi (2) as leader, can you? I am the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the leadership is my natural right. Vote for my election, win others over to my side!" he said. If I say this man is forgetful, his memory is good. You've made me a leader. You cooked porridge on my neck during the Russian campaign (3). Then you know that I know you're not a man who can run a conference. Where are your strong nerves, courage, initiative? You know yourself, what is this ambition?! Why do you want a job you know very well you can't do? I said to him: "Yusuf Kemal, the state has important business now. What are you thinking?.. You must be the leader!.. That's your ambition, your ambition. It's still that. I tolerated your leadership back then, why couldn't Fethi?! I think it's equal. Whoever is the leader." He walked away from me. He never mentioned it again. Mustafa Kemal arrived. The meeting began. <Today we will appoint our delegates to the peace conference.

"Let's do it," he said. Without even pausing for breath, Yusuf Kemal said, "Let Rauf Bey (4) be the leader." Mustafa Kemal asked each of the deputies one by one, and they agreed. Ah, so Yusuf Kemal was acting arbitrarily to prevent Fethi from becoming the leader. Perhaps he and Rauf had agreed on this. Mustafa Kemal said, "The other delegates." They mentioned me. He asked each one individually, and they agreed. Yusuf Kemal was not elected. They moved on to the advisers. They appointed İsmet Pasha as military adviser. They also appointed several other advisers. "Secretary!" was called out. Immediately, Yusuf Kemal said, "Reşid Saffet" (5). He was also accepted.

The matter was settled. The session was adjourned.

I was not satisfied with this election. I was not satisfied with Yusuf Kemal's presidency, but I was not even satisfied with his delegation. He was groundless, limitless, lacking initiative, and lacking common sense.

I am convinced that this man is incapable of doing anything. It is not like the Treaty of Lausanne or the Treaty of Moscow. It is as if the whole of Europe will stand against us as our enemy. Who knows how many important diplomats, scholars and experts will come. Dealing with them will not be an easy task. It will be a tremendous diplomatic battle, like the military battle we fought with the Greeks at Lausanne. Yusuf Kemal, by proposing Rauf, was not elected himself. Well, but I had seen and learned about Rauf myself. He is ignorant, simple-minded, and incompetent. Moreover, he does not do anything honestly. Whatever job he has had so far, he has messed it up. He was involved in one diplomatic affair, namely the Armistice of Mudros (6), and they put him in a closet. I asked him about this: "Rauf Bey, how did you sign that armistice, especially the seventh article?" He replied, "Those dishonourable English deceived me. They made promises they didn't keep."

He had cursed Admiral Galthorpe (7), calling him a liar and a dishonourable man. Diplomacy is deception anyway. Why should they be dishonourable? It's not like that, you yourself are weak-willed. And there's something else. I saw with my own eyes that Rauf was pursuing the Abaza cause. Was there no Turk who could handle this Turkish business? I could never stomach that. Some of the deputies left. Three or four of us remained. Everyone had left, and I was watching; Mustafa Kemal also got up to leave. But I

I wanted to speak to him alone. I pulled him aside by the door and took him to the side. Excited and vehemently, I said, "Paşa! Is there no valuable Turk left that a man with Abaza aspirations has been appointed to such an important position? Moreover, that man cannot do this job. We will be disgraced." He paused, then said, "You are right. I will fix this. But who should we appoint?" I said, "İsmet is the most suitable. He is a Turk." Mustafa Kemal said, "Very well, I will fix this." We parted ways. Mustafa Kemal left. The next day, he sent a telegram to Yusuf Kemal: "Resign, İsmet will be the Foreign Minister." Yusuf Kemal resigned. The Foreign Minister was to be elected in Parliament. The Second Group did not want to elect İsmet. Kara Vasıf (8) on behalf of the group

He offered me the position of Foreign Secretary. I advised them:

"Don't do it! That's not right. I don't want the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Presidency, or anything like that. That's not the time for it. Let's go and make a good agreement. That's what's needed. You object to everything. It's not right," I said. They insisted. I refused. Anyway, İsmet became Foreign Minister with great difficulty. This time, Mustafa Kemal convened the Council of Ministers. As if the Delegation had never been elected before, he said, "Well... Let's elect the delegates who will go to the conference."

Everyone paused, but he continued: "İsmet is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He should be the leader." "Yes, sir!" they said. I looked at Rauf; he turned bright red. Then he said, "The other delegate?" They said, "Rıza Nur." "We need another finance expert," he said, and put forward "Haşan Bey" (9). They accepted. They kept the experts and the secretary as before.

Surprise! He did what he said he would do. I was very pleased. He is a Turkish leader. A Turk will do a Turk's job. So, I thought, there are Turks who can do the job. It turns out I was mistaken! One day in Lausanne, İsmet himself asked me if he was from Bitlis, if he was Turkish there. I froze. How should I know? This man presents himself as a pure Turk. He speaks Turkish. He is a member of the Turkish Association. He is a man whose words and deeds are different. I was burned, but it happened.

The election was over. İsmet leaned towards me and said, "My dear, this Haşan is worthless. Let's remove him from the delegation. Let him come as an advisor. Let's both remain as delegates." "My dear Pasha! What will happen? Let him come in whatever capacity he comes!" I said. This revealed this man's ambition and jealousy for position and honour from the very first step. I also made a mistake. I always remain indifferent to such things. It's a bad habit. I should have removed Hasan from the delegation. Then he wouldn't be able to rise in rank, and he wouldn't be able to flatter anyone with his outrageous sycophancy. He wouldn't be able to give anyone jewellery and similar gifts. He wouldn't be able to rise to high

He couldn't rise to high positions. Moreover, the Allied Powers (10) had requested two representatives from us. This became an issue in Lausanne. They said they didn't want more than two

delegates from you. We had to fight for this. It wasn't worth it for this man.

WE ARE SEEKING PERMISSION FROM PARLIAMENT

Now the Assembly will grant us permission to go to Lausanne. The Second Group does not want to grant permission. These men engage in such absurd opposition. This is an important matter for the state. Can it be prevented? Foreign affairs. Childish...

I specifically told them: "Don't do it! Vote unanimously for us so we can go strong. They say the French have power in Parliament. They pay attention to this. We're going anyway. It won't be good if we go with a weak majority. The damage will be to the state, not to the individual." No, they didn't listen. They will object no matter what. Strangely, now they have turned all their attacks against me. They even said that I don't know a single word of French. What a lie. What a lack of compassion;

They don't even bother to say this in open court. Find something else to do! I have plenty of works out there that prove I know French.

Hayu's eyes are spinning. They've lost all sense of shame in this state. The reason I did not accept the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I was angry too. From the podium: "What is the matter with you? Yesterday you offered me the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It must have been good that you offered it, but now you are against it. So I'm bad. But I ask, how did I become both good and bad in one day?!" Of course, their words stuck in their mouths. That was the day Kara Vasıf took offence at me. We are still at odds. He told

to a few people: "We said we would make this man Foreign Minister. It was a secret; he revealed it in Parliament. Can you deal with such a man?" Ah, sir, you commit all sorts of abuses against me; one of you even mentions my ignorance and my lack of knowledge of French. You do everything to me. I

keep quiet! Where has this ever been seen? Moreover, they didn't tell me these offers were a secret. Can this be a secret? Let's say it's a secret. But, indecently

They don't drive a man to distraction with insults. These childish words are nothing but pure malice intended to incriminate me. Anyway, in the end, Parliament gave us permission.

On 28 October 1338 (27 October 1922), the Allied Powers announced that the peace conference would be held in Lausanne and invited us. We have our delegates and such. We are ready. But we have no files or other information. We need statistics to form the basis of our defence, as well as many other scientific and historical materials and documents, but we have none. We thought we might find something in Istanbul. But what we found there

what we found was of a completely different nature. It seems we have embarked on a difficult task. We are under great

task and burden, and we have no strength or help to carry it out. At a meeting, the Council of Ministers gave us instructions in the form of about ten short points. İsmet wrote these down in pencil on a piece of paper. That's all.

THE ISTANBUL GOVERNMENT IS ALSO INVITED

The Istanbul government has also been invited by the French. They will also send a delegation. This is unnatural. It means there are not one but two Turkeys. The French are doing this deliberately. They will pit us against each other there. A communication and dispute has opened between Istanbul and Ankara. Tevfik Pasha (11) is Grand Vizier. I see that the matter is serious. Istanbul is not giving up. Two opposing delegations will go to face the enemy. We will fight the enemy, we will fight each other. The Assembly understands the horror of this

Everyone is in a panic. Mustafa Kemal too. There are heated debates in the Assembly. The Assembly has become so excited that they are hurling accusations against the Istanbul government. But there is no mention of a solution. I thought about it. The matter must be resolved in a serious manner. I have found a solution. The National Assembly is here. We will abolish the sultanate. In this way, both the Sultan and the Istanbul government will be removed. We will remain. It is a short and easy solution. I have had a sacred ambition since my early years. That was to separate the state from religion. In my opinion, the most important reason for Turkey's misfortunes was its lack of secularism. Every state in Europe, in order to embark on the path of progress and salvation, first separated the church, that is, religion, from the state. They have followed this path for progress. This path was also necessary for us. In fact, when the first government was formed in Ankara, I worked hard to ensure that the Meşihat (12) was not included in the cabinet, that is, that the Ministry of Religious Affairs was not established. The reason was to separate religion from the state. Religion should remain in its sacred place. It should not interfere with the government. It should work for the worldly and spiritual happiness of the nation. The government should not interfere with religion. In this way, it too will become free and progress. "This is irrelevant here, but I will resolve this matter in this manner," I said. I had never considered abolishing the Caliphate (13). On the contrary, I considered its abolition harmful. I was convinced that it was necessary to make it a separate power from the government. In fact, it is necessary to strengthen it. For this reason, I thought of preserving the Caliphate as an independent and religious institution. In this way, we will kill two birds with one stone. I am eliminating the sultan, who can no longer hold his ground with his actions, this dynasty, and the sultanate. I am taking national revenge on them. I am also eliminating religion and the state.

the sultan, whose actions no longer hold any sway, this dynasty, and the sultanate. I am taking national revenge on them. And both religion and the state I am separating. I am making the state secular. When we invited Crown Prince Abdülmecid to Ankara and he did not come, I began to harbour great hostility and a desire for revenge towards this family. I am punishing him. I am also removing the possibility of the Istanbul government sending a plenipotentiary. During the session, negotiations were taking place with Tevfik Pasha. I immediately withdrew to the room next to the Assembly's door. I wrote the resolution I had in mind. I wrote it in one go. While I was writing, several deputies came in. They read it over my shoulder. I finished it. They said, "Let us also sign this resolution." "Very well!" I said. They did. Then deputies came in droves. "Please, let us sign this motion too. Let our signatures be on such an important motion,"

They said. There were about eighty signatures. Then Rauf came. He was running, saying, "Let me see your motion. I want to sign it too." I gave it to him. He read it. He found the sentence about the abolition of the sultanate weak. "Let's write it like this," he said. I saw that it was a strong

word, so I agreed. He crossed out my word and put his in. He looked very pleased with himself. He left the room.

I went out. I ran into Mustafa Kemal in the corridor. I said, "I am submitting this resolution. The Istanbul government will no longer exist. The matter will be resolved easily and decisively. Why have you been fussing about it since morning?" He read it, read it again. Finally, he said, "I will sign it too." In fact, his signature is at the bottom.

THE SULTANATE IS BEING ABOLISHED

I rushed inside immediately. The negotiations were continuing heatedly. I submitted my resolution. It was read immediately. It was put to the vote. Tempers were running high. It was the most opportune moment to do something so tremendous. It was accepted unanimously and applauded vigorously. The task at hand was a significant and tremendous revolution. The Istanbul Delegation

The issue was resolved at its root. The session ended, and so did the issue. Now everyone was shaking my hand. They were congratulating me. The French representative, Major Mo-jen (14), was also in Samiin's box. We had accepted the French

representative in Ankara for quite some time. The representative was Mojen. When the session ended, he came down from the gallery. He came to me. He took my hand. And he said. He said exactly this: "The atmosphere in the Assembly today was tremendous. There was a lot of electricity in the air. I was eagerly waiting to see how the issue would be resolved. I congratulate you. Mustafa Kemal entered Izmir. He won a great victory. Yes, but what you have done is even greater. This nation may forget Mustafa Kemal. But it cannot forget you."

The following day, noticing that my motion lacked any mention of the caliphate issue, I prepared a few points on the subject and published them in the newspaper. I then submitted a new motion to Parliament, requesting that these points be added. The Second Group (15) objected to this as well. Finally, a committee was convened. They summarised my six points into three and added them to my original motion. And they had these points entered into the minutes by the Second Group as their own. I was angry. Müfid, the chairman of the committee

Hoca (16) and Mustafa Kemal, who were chairing the committee, said, "Leave the man alone, it doesn't matter." So I didn't say anything more. In fact, when the motion was first submitted, it had been accepted unanimously in the excitement of the moment. The eighty signatures on it were close to a majority.

There was no need for a committee. However, a few from the second group were spreading propaganda against it. Mustafa Kemal threatened them with death, and they fell silent.

This decision was communicated to Istanbul. The Istanbul government collapsed. The sultan was now preparing to flee. He had requested the protection of the British command.

I also named our resolution: I called it the "November Decision". It happened on this date in 1338 (October 1922). It was accepted. This is one of the greatest services I have rendered to this state and nation. The Assembly, Mecid Efendi...

(17) The Caliph was elected. In my opinion, the Caliph should have been the most learned and honourable person in the country.

When I wrote the resolution to abolish the sultanate, Rauf heard the news and came running. He said, "Let my signature also be on this beneficial and honourable resolution for the country." He signed it. He read the resolution again. He said, "The sentence abolishing the sultanate is weak. Let's strengthen it." He drew it out himself and put a stronger word there. I liked it too. The resolutions should be kept in the National Assembly files. If this resolution was kept, the part that Rauf drew and wrote would remain exactly as it is. Now, for God's sake, tell me, would a man who did such a thing be a supporter of the sultan?

The issue of the delegation to Lausanne led to the abolition of the sultanate. This was in line with Mustafa Kemal's future aspirations. Those who objected from the second group were already protesting with the opinion that "In the future, this man will declare his sultanate, and this will

." This fear had existed in many since the early days of the National Movement. But what can you do? The sultans lack the ability and morality to prevent this. For example, we invited Mecid to Ankara. If he had come, the issue would have been resolved. I also took revenge on Mecid for not coming to Ankara with this abolition.

for not coming to Ankara. His refusal to come to Ankara had driven me mad. It had convinced me that no good would come from this family anymore. And had incited them to revenge. It was during this period that one day a member of the delegation proposed the arrest of Ferit Pasha (18) in Istanbul and the British agents. There was discussion. "The Istanbul Police Chief Esat (Miralay) (19) will arrest them," they said. The Minister of the Interior was Fethi Okyar. They counted about fifteen or twenty names. Ali Kemal (20) was at the top. Fethi took a pen and paper and wrote an order for their arrest in Istanbul and

sending them to Ankara. I went to the back. I said, "Now you are going to have so many people arrested, this will cause an uproar, the British will hear about it, and they will forcibly take them from our police.

None of them will be captured. Write this down only for Ali Kemal and see

they can arrest him and send him." They agreed. He wrote it that way. A telegram arrived from Esat (21). They had captured Ali Kemal, put him on a motorboat and sent him to İzmit.

Meanwhile, the so-called traitors, the alliance supporters, were worried for their lives and in a panic. They held a meeting to decide what to do. They sent word to Ali Kemal. Ali Kemal was getting a shave somewhere in Beyoğlu when they came. "We're in danger, come!" they said. He replied, "You are mad, you are children. The British are here, these dreadnoughts are here, can they touch a hair on our heads?" He paid no attention, and several policemen forcibly took Ali Kemal from the barber's shop and put him in a car. They took him straight to Tophane. The police motorboat was ready there, and they threw him in. They sent him to İzmit. Even as he was travelling in the motorboat, Ali Kemal kept saying that an English torpedo would come and get him. Poor man, he was weak-willed and not very bright.

We are now setting off. İsmet had gone to the army. Eskişehir will also be joining us. We are boarding the night train. We are at the station. They brought a telegram. İsmet wants me to take a clerk from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose name I have forgotten. I sent word. He came immediately. "Come on, İsmet Pasha wants you," I said. The boy didn't even have time to pack his things. He jumped on the train. İsmet joined us on the way. İsmet had taken two aides-de-camp, several officers, and ten soldiers. These soldiers are always like this. They will go with such pomp and circumstance. Now you are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, you are a civilian representative. Why are so many people going to Lausanne and what will they eat there? Is there not enough money? Isn't it a pity for this poor nation? Of course, this thought crossed my mind. I didn't say anything to him. There will be trouble from the very first step, but they don't think about such things.

WE ARE COMING TO İZMİT

We arrived in İzmit in the evening. It was getting dark. Nurettin Pasha's (22) headquarters were in İzmit. He welcomed us at the station. İsmet went one way and I went the other. We had learned in Ankara via telegram from Istanbul that Ali Kemal had arrived. I wanted to see Ali Kemal. I wanted to tell him and ask him, "How many years have you been making your claims, saying what you say, and yet you have been defeated?" I asked Nureddin about Ali Kemal. "You'll see him now," he said. "Where?" I asked. Again, he said, "You'll see him now." A strange answer... We went, we went. Major Mojen was with us. A square with torches all around. Again I asked Nureddin, "What is this?" Again he said, "You'll see now." We got closer. In the middle, a table. A man hanged. He was dressed in a long white shirt.

In the middle was a table. A man was hanged. He was dressed in a long white shirt. On his chest, in large letters, was written "Artin Kemal". It was clear. Nureddin seemed to have done something great, bringing us to this celebration. But I was furious too. I got closer. I looked closely. Ali Kemal. On one foot...

He has boots on one foot. The other foot has neither boot nor sock. His face is covered in blood. His head is practically crushed from the side. So they killed him with a stick and a stone, smashed his head in. Then they hanged him. The French Major asks me:

"Did they hang him

after they killed him?" I was ashamed of the man. Of course, hanging someone who has already been killed is barbaric. And so is killing someone unlawfully. I said, "Colonel, how could that be? The Court Martial passed sentence, and they hanged him." What could I do?

Now I was curious. How was he killed? After I went to Anatolia, Ali Kemal wrote many articles against me. That's not the point; he wrote against the national cause. And he did everything in his power to act upon it. Indeed, by portraying the national movement as a unionist movement, he caused part of the people not to participate, leading to rebellions. In fact, as a memento of his services, Ferid Pasha presented Ali Kemal with a gold pen. These are serious matters, but the situation is dire. I couldn't bear to watch much longer. I withdrew. They had prepared a meal. We were going there. But the French Major was also coming along.

I asked Nureddin how it was. He recounted it with pride, in a loud voice, puffing out his chest: "They brought me to İzmit. I took it. I interrogated him.

I insulted him, then a crowd of soldiers and civilians gathered,

I ordered my officers. They gathered. I told them to wait, that I would bring out Ali Kemal, and they should immediately pounce on him, beat him to death with sticks, stones, and fists... and that's what they did. Then I hung him there." Oh... This was murder. And it was being committed by an army commander. I couldn't bear the idea of a commander

like this. This matter pained me. I thought about it... We sat down at the table. I saw that he hadn't told his French

Colonel as he had told me? He told him everything, including how he had hanged them after killing them. I saw that this man was proud of it. He even enjoyed telling the story. He wasn't aware it was murder. His French was poor. He told it in a half-broken way, but with an air of great success. At least hide this disgrace from the foreigners. I saw that he was a lowly man. And supposedly religious, a bigot. How could he do this?!

I AM ADDRESSING NURETTIN PASHA

I opened my mouth and closed my eyes. I said: "Be Nureddin Pasha! They sent Ali Kemal here to Ankara. This is a matter of law.

He was to be tried in Ankara. That is the government. Don't you care whether there is a government or not! Grab the bloke, round up the men and kill him! You are a commander, is this your duty? Are you an executioner? This is murder. He was to be tried in Ankara. Perhaps he would have been acquitted. Perhaps he would have been executed. The court would have ruled, he would have received the death penalty and been executed. But you cannot kill people here.

You have committed murder. You are also rebelling against the government. You are killing a man arrested by the government without even informing the government. At least hide such a heinous murder from a foreign officer."

I said this very sternly, and I said it at the table in front of everyone. There were about twenty people at the table. Nureddin, who had been so arrogant, became ashen and said nothing. If it were a good government, it would have arrested and executed this man as a murderer. Unfortunately, such governments have never come to power in our country. There were also journalists from Istanbul at the table. I heard that they told everyone about this incident.

to everyone. "Rıza Nur gave Nureddin Pasha a good dressing-down," they said. Well, the traitor got his punishment. Unfortunately, the other traitors went unpunished. From there we set off again. From Kartal onwards, crowds of people gathered in the streets and stations to welcome us, applauding us. That's how we arrived at Haydarpaşa. The city council (23) came to welcome us on behalf of the city. They announced that an apartment had been prepared for us at the Pera Palace. "I have my own home! Why should the city spend money on us? If it has money, let it repair the pavements!" I refused. Reşid Safvet's (Atabinen) mother-in-law and my harem came and took me to their home. İsmet got off at Pera Palaska. I had no clean clothes left. I bought some. I hadn't worn a starched shirt for four or five years, so I put one on.

A telegram arrived for me from Rauf. It was poisonous. It said: "How did you take the gentleman to Istanbul without my knowledge and permission? Return him immediately." The fire was extinguished. This was the gentleman that İsmet had asked me for by telegram and whom I had brought with me. İsmet read my telegram and flew into a rage. "I asked for this, I

the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I take what I want. I will not send him back," he said. I saw that a nasty fight was about to break out at the first step. There was an important and national issue ahead of us. The homeland and the work would suffer from personal quarrels. With various

words to calm İsmet down. I convinced him to agree to the gentleman's return. I told the gentleman. This time he said, "I won't go. You brought me here, now you're sending me away,

is that fair?" He had a point. I patted him on the back. I spoke kindly to him. I and sent him back. Rauf's telegram is indeed unacceptable. The sarcasm and tone are directed at me, but I remained silent in the name of national duty. Rauf is completely in the wrong in this matter. We are at the station. The train is about to leave. İsmet has sent a telegram asking for the boy to be brought. I found the boy. It's difficult to find Rauf in the middle of the night. Besides, there's no need. Because the Minister of Foreign Affairs has not yet left Turkey.

Even if we assume that İsmet was in the right, would such a trivial matter be made into an issue? It had never occurred to me that this could be such a big ego issue. The telegram he wrote to me could only have been written to a servant. It was not at all official. I swallowed it for the sake of state security. I made İsmet swallow it too. Otherwise, it would have been a piece of cake. We wouldn't even reply; we'd just take the clerk and leave. I would even write him a very harsh and insulting reply. Then this became a major source of discord and strife between the two men. As far as I know, this was their first clash. Rauf had launched the attack.

SIRKECİ STATION

We boarded the train at Sirkeci with a large escort. Everyone had men accompanying them. Even our Pazarola Haşan (Saka) had taken a clerk. I had nothing. It didn't even cross my mind. It was unnecessary. It would be a waste of money for the people. Reşit Safvet had seen this boy. He said to me, "This boy lived with his family in the house next to ours for a while. He stole our gardener's coat and sold it. He's a very bad boy. Tell him not to take him." I told Hasan. He got angry. "No, this is a good boy," he said. My dear, I explained the situation, saying, "Listen, don't take him." He insisted, saying that the boy had a pure heart and that he knew him very well. In short, I couldn't change his mind.

I'll tell you later what this boy will do in Lausanne. Unfortunately, this boy is the brother-in-law of Lawyer Ömer Faruki Bey (24). Faruki Bey was an intelligent, hard-working man of integrity and many other virtues. His brother-in-law is like this. But she is a good woman. This child is now a French officer. He is studying in Paris at the famous military academy called CYR. His other brother is a communist in Batum. He ran away from us, became a communist, and was publishing a newspaper there

I saw him in Batum. We took the road to Lausanne. My wife is telling me: Apparently, while we were in Istanbul, Zeki, Vahidettin's aide-de-camp, (25) had come to see us twice. The house of my sister-in-law, where we were staying, was in Yeni Mahalle. It was two steps away from Yıldız. My sister-in-law was Reşit Safvet's wife. Zeki was our friend Sinoplu Çerkeş, whom I had rescued from prison in Egypt. Retired Major Ali Bey had learned of Zeki's intentions, rushed to us, and informed my wife. They let Zeki go, saying I wasn't there. It turns out Zeki was going to shoot me. That's why he came. I abolished the sultanate, and Zeki was the sultan's aide, so he was going to take revenge. Truly, our passage through Istanbul at that time was a great danger to our lives. They never mentioned this to me. Now he's saying it on the train. What one goes through, what one endures in the service of one's country...

I've told you about this Zeki. Such a foolish and

immoral man is rare. While I was in Ankara, he wrote me a letter at one point.

He wanted to come to Ankara. The lazy man, when it was well known that he was trying to incite the people of Sinop to revolt

. If he came, he would be hanged immediately. Maybe he was coming to spy. I didn't think that either. I didn't even reply. If I were as immoral as him, I would have said, "Come." He would have gone to the noise. He didn't even have the sense to think about these things. He was very angry with me about this. But Ankara...

When I was about to leave. They even tried to stop me from going. Indeed, after this resolution, while Vahidettin and the ostensible British were in Istanbul, it was courageous, even foolish, of me to come to Istanbul and stay as a guest in a house right under the nose of Yıldız.

There was an urgent need for an official in Istanbul who could liaise with foreign political officials. Adnan (26) was sent to Istanbul with the title of Foreign Affairs Representative. He liaised with them. He communicated their ideas and work to Ankara. He negotiated certain matters that needed to be addressed.

We arrived in Lausanne. The first meeting took place on 21 November 1922 (1338). We are about to do something tremendous: the liquidation of the centuries-old Turkish Empire

The state is being destroyed by the clutches of capitulations. Our police cannot arrest a foreign criminal. Our courts cannot try them, and we cannot collect taxes from foreigners. We cannot increase our customs duties as we wish. We cannot lay a hand on our Christian subjects, because the European states immediately intervene and protect them

. There are foreign posts. Etc... In short, the state is not functioning as a state. Saving the state from these is a matter of life and death; we must make peace by repelling these and establishing the state as a true state.

The first meeting was held in the presence of British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, (27) French Prime Minister Poincaré, and Italian Prime Minister Mussolini. The negotiations continued in Uşi, on the shores of Lake Geneva, in a historic building that was once a castle and is now a hotel. The building is called Château d'Ouchy.

NO PREPARATIONS, NO FILES...

We have no preparations, no files, nothing. There are official diplomats here, like Lord Curzon. And they have excellent files. What shall we do? When the Council of Ministers left, they gave us instructions that could fit on the palm of your hand. Mustafa Kemal pulled İsmet and me aside. It seems he wants peace, whatever the cost. "If necessary leave Istanbul." The truth is, we didn't struggle for Thrace; we took it easily. We only lost Dimetoka for nothing. But in Lausanne, İsmet always said to me about Mosul, "Come on, let's leave it and make peace," and he pressured me. I would say, "No, let's resist to the end." "Come on, we'll give it up later. We'll miss the peace. Let's give it up," he would say. "Give it up" is his expression. Possibly

If the British had done the same for Thrace and Istanbul as they did for Mosul, he would have wanted to give those up too. Thankfully, the British didn't object to any of this. Only the border issue around Edirne was difficult. İsmet dealt with this border issue alone. That border is not in our favour. I wonder if it could have been better? İsmet himself was involved in the commission and expert committees. Keldani Tefvik (28) (later Chief Secretary to the President) was with him. I was never there. Mustafa Kemal gave us these instructions when we were going to Lausanne.

The session began. I was afraid. "These men are very high-ranking," I said. I dread encountering them and negotiating with them. I spent five or ten days under observation. I examined each person individually. I gained courage. To be honest, I used to be afraid of these Frenchmen. I considered myself inferior to them. In fact, I was used to such negotiations in Russia. But here were Europe's select diplomats. The work needed to be organised. We also wanted to get involved.

They did not let us. The Allied Powers had done everything. They had appointed their own leaders. They informed us. We had eight states opposite us: Britain, France, America, Italy, Japan, Romania, Serbia (Serb-Croat-Slovene) and Greece. The world's greatest nations were among them. We were one person. They wanted to impose everything on us; but it was obvious that Britain was imposing on them too. Lord Curzon does almost everything and gets the others to accept it. In other words, at the conference, only England was dominant. The others were merely decoration and extras. They all acted according to England's directives.

FIRST SESSION AND WORK SCHEDULE AT THE CONFERENCE

The first session took place. Lord Curzon presided over the session. French, English, and Italian were accepted as official languages. Speeches could be made in these languages, but no other languages were permitted. They presented the work schedule they had prepared to us the day before.

They had sent it. We prepared a response accordingly. İsmet received this response. He read it in his capacity as leader. We want the names of the governments that will meet with us to be specified and limited here, and we want Russia, Ukraine and Georgia to be invited to the Straits negotiations.

DELEGATES

According to them, the chairmanship belongs to Britain, France and Italy.

We, however, sometimes wanted to be the chair at the conference. They wouldn't even listen to this suggestion

. "We are the three states that invited the conference; the right is ours," they said. They appointed a general secretary for the conference. This was a Frenchman named Massigli. He is now one of France's best ambassadors. İsmet wanted this position to be filled by a Turk. Frankly, it was excessive and unnecessary. Besides, we had no one qualified to do it. Reşit Safvet was nominated for the position of secretary.

However, he was not worthy of this position. Curzon insisted that the conference negotiations and decisions be kept secret, that they not be disclosed to anyone, including journalists, and that only a communiqué be drafted after each session

and then submitted to both sides for review before then given to the newspapers. The Head of the French Delegation, Barrere, and then the Head of the Italian Delegation, Marquis Garroni, approved Curzon's proposal. We said, "If we find the communiqué acceptable, very well; if not, we will publish our own."

At the end of each session, Massigli would prepare a report. As soon as the session ended, he would read it out; it would be approved. I always admired this man's resourcefulness. When the session ended, he would have his report ready, read it out immediately, and it would be seen that he had summarised and condensed the main points of the discussion in a remarkable manner.

Garroni was the Italian Ambassador in Istanbul until recently. The second delegate was Lui Montanya. The French first delegates were the Ambassadors to Rome, and the second delegates were Bompard. Bompard was the French Ambassador in Istanbul until recently. He was a member of the French nobility. The first British delegate was Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, and the second delegate was Horas Rumbolt, who was the British Ambassador in Istanbul for a long time.

in Istanbul. He is a member of the French nobility. The British first delegate was Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, and the second delegate was Horas Rumbolt, who was the British extraordinary commissioner in Istanbul. The American first delegate was Child, and the second was Grew. This second delegate is now the American Ambassador to Ankara. The Greek delegates were Venizelos and the Greek Ambassador to London, Kaklamanos; the Romanian delegates were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Duca, and the Ambassador to Paris, Diamandy; and the Serbian delegates were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ninčić (Nintchitch), and Rakić (Rakitich).

The Americans stated that they did not wish to vote or sign anything, but only to participate in every commission on an equal footing, and that they would explain anything if requested.

. They stated that they would merely be "observers".

Let me say that, essentially, there had been no declaration of war between the Americans and Turkey. Among the men brought by the British and French with the titles of advisor and expert were some important figures. Sir William Tyrrell was the British advisor. This man was the most important figure in the British Foreign Office. The Foreign Office meant the British Foreign Ministry. His eyes sparkled with intelligence. He was cautious,

He possesses the full dignity of an English gentleman. He is now the British Ambassador in Paris, which is one of the most important posts in the British service.

Mr Block

(British Consul in Istanbul) is also an advisor. Likewise, Nikolson and Forbes •

There is a man who was one of Curzon's most trusted advisors. Both are young.

Nikolson's father was once appointed Deputy Secretary of the British Embassy in Istanbul

in Istanbul. He committed suicide there. He and his wife were very involved in spiritualism.

He must have had something on his mind. But he was an intelligent, knowledgeable, cheerful man. I had become friends with him. Among the British military advisers were a general and a colonel. Rayyan, the interpreter at the British Embassy in Istanbul, who played a very important role during the armistice and encouraged certain Turks to support the national movement, was also among the advisers. Rumbold was the British Commissioner in Istanbul.

The French second plenipotentiary and former Ambassador to Istanbul, Bompard, had General Weygand as his military adviser. This gentleman was an important soldier. During the Great War, he was Chief of Staff to General Foch. He was then appointed to Syria and finally appointed Chief of the French General Staff. The other was Vice Admiral Lacaze. There was a Larcche, who was one of the important officials of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is now an ambassador. There is Fromageot, who is a very important legal scholar.

There was also a Serruys, who was one of France's most important financial experts. There was also the French Consul in Istanbul, "Declosiere".

The second Italian delegates were Montanya in Istanbul at the Public Debt Office General Debt Administration. Similarly, Dr. Şenini, Director of the Italian Hospital in Istanbul and Italian Delegate at the Quarantine Station,

and Jewish Metr Salem was also an Italian advisor. The Italian Embassy in Istanbul also had its own secretaries. I was surprised by this Jewish Saïem.

Our advisers:

Münir (now Ambassador to Bern) (29), Zekâi (once Ambassador to London (30), Mustafa Şeref (31), Veli (32), Tahir (now Professor Tahir Taner at Darülfünun), Muhtar (former Minister of Public Works), Tevfik (Bıyıklıoğlu) (officer and now Mustafa Kemal's chief secretary), Şükrü Kaya (33) (now Minister of the Interior), Senüyyiddin (34), Hamid (35) (former President of the Red Crescent), Doctor Nihad Reşad (36), Yahya Kemal (37), Ruşen Eşref (38), Nusret (39) (now President of the Council of State), Şevket (40) (Navy officer, brother of Deputy Ali Şükrü), Hüseyin (41) (one of the teachers at Robert College in Istanbul), Selânikli Cavit (42), Fuat (43) (later President of the Court of Auditors), the latter being the same
He is responsible for managing the delegation's expenses and finances. There are Hikmet (44) (now Ambassador to Kabul), Şefik (45) (Member of Parliament for Trabzon), and Zühtü (46) (now a professor at Darülfünun). A young man named Ahmet Cevdet (47) came to me from Vienna on recommendation. I also took him on as a clerk. He is an ambitious young man. I took him with me as a clerk to the meetings I attended.

Ahmet Cevdet (48) (İkdam), Velid (49) (Tasviri Efkâr), Hüseyin Cahit (50) (Tanın), Ali Naci (51) and Necmettin Sadak (52) (Akşam), Ahmet İhsan (53) came as journalists from Istanbul. They were following the conference and providing information to their newspapers.

Journalists and politicians from all over the world had flocked to Lausanne, and it was bustling like an anthill.

The Istanbul City Council hosted a banquet for us. Cavit (see 42) was also there. İsmet spoke with Cavit and me secretly in a room a couple of times without telling us. Fair enough, nothing to say. Finally, he said to me, "I will take Cavit with me as an advisor." I said, "If you listen to me, don't take him! This man is...
It's useless. This man is indebted to the French. We might suffer losses!" I said. "No, why should that be the case? Your idea is wrong," he said. He paused for a moment and then added: "There is no financial expert. Hüseyin (Pektaş) knows nothing. Cavit is the one who knows about this business. I think it is appropriate for us to take this man on," he said. And so it remained.

We're on the train. We're going to Lausanne. One day, İsmet said, "I thought about it and sent a telegram asking Cavit to come." I said, "You made a mistake. Send another telegram! Tell him not to come!" He said, "What can I do? It's done now; there's no turning back." But this is İsmet's way of doing things in Ankara. He appointed him in Istanbul.

When I objected, he fell silent. Now he is trying to force me into a corner on the road.

Hamit (Hasancan) was in Istanbul recently, that is, before the victory in Izmir was serving as Ankara's consul in Istanbul. He handled Ankara's dealings with foreign He was very cowardly. He trembled before the French in particular. The French are very high-ranking creatures. Blind respect and obedience are necessary towards them. He always managed these contacts within this sphere, always found Ankara's directives too harsh, softened them for the French, and thus frequently acted contrary to Ankara's views. Let me tell you about one of Hamid's actions. The Armistice

At the beginning, he was also a member of parliament in the Istanbul Assembly of Deputies. One day, he was sitting in the row in front of me. Someone was speaking against the British from the podium. Hamit immediately exclaimed, "Good heavens, what is this!" He looked anxiously at both sides. Everyone was sitting there, no one seemed anxious. Moreover, the speaker's words were not terrible words, but trivial, insignificant things. Seeing that no one was reacting, he said, "This can't be, they're not silencing him," and he covered his ears with his fingers, stood up, and left the chamber with his fingers still in his ears, saying, "Oh dear, I won't listen to this." This incident is a good example of this man's character. He got along particularly well with the French; he was their man. He was also very close friends with Cavit. He himself made his living from finance. He was also very good friends with Cahit (Yalçın); the three of them were a trio in Lausanne... The three pillars...

THE METR SALEM ISSUE

Another noteworthy point is this: Salem was also an Italian advisor. He was a Jew, as is well known. He was famous under the name Metr Salem (54). He was a member of the board of directors of the Selanik Bank in Istanbul

. He is from Thessaloniki. At that time, the Jews there were Italian nationals. They were both our subjects and secretly Italian subjects. Karasu (55) is the same. Secondly, all Jews have a passport in their pocket; Salem is very clever. He knows Turkish very well, his French is strong, and knowledgeable in law.

In short, he was a powerful man. He was Talât's (56) closest friend and the man he trusted most. He would tell him about the state's most important affairs, ask his opinion, and seek his counsel. Now, this very man has appeared before us at Lausanne as part of the enemy camp. Talât, what foolish and ignorant men the Unionists were! They were telling the state's secrets to such people. Of course, he immediately took them to the Italians, even to the French. Because Salem was in contact with all the Parisian financial circles and was their tool. In this way, he became very rich. Well, so be it until now... But after that, this man went to Ankara again and settled the matter of extending the Ottoman Bank's concession, as well as a number of other financial matters. Was he the man who would be sent to Ankara after Lausanne ? Especially since he made a very clear and serious move against us in Lausanne, proving that this man, who pretended to be a Turkish citizen, was now a complete traitor. After that, he should not even have been allowed to enter Turkey.

I will mention this in due course.

We went to the Lausanne Palace Hotel. It is a large hotel, high up in the city centre. The French and Japanese delegations are also staying at the same hotel. The British and Italians are staying at the "Beau Rivage" hotel, down by the lake and close to the building where the conference negotiations are taking place. This hotel is also very large and more luxurious than the Lausanne Palace.

THE EXCELLENT INTERPRETER

During the negotiations, only Lord Curzon speaks English; everyone else speaks French. There is a man opposite Curzon. He takes shorthand while Curzon speaks. When the speech is finished, he reads it out in French. He reads it at the same speed as it is read in English, and he reads it just as accurately.

Sometimes he translates a French speech for the Americans. Because these They don't know French. He is reading his French speech, which he has taken down in shorthand, rapidly in English. I ask our Mr Hüseyin (Pektaş) and Mr Münir (Erteğün). They know English. He reads it honestly and smoothly. This man carries the title of interpreter at the conference. Since the armistice, Curzon has used this man at almost all conferences. It is an astonishing power.

Perhaps there is no equal to it in the world. Our Mr Münir is also taking notes in Turkish while Curzon is speaking. But surely many sentences are being missed. And if we asked him to say this in French or English from Turkish, he couldn't do it. İsmet is deaf, he can't hear the speeches

he cannot hear them, and even if he could, he does not know English and does not understand French well. Münir sits to his left and takes notes. İsmet's eyes are on Münir's notes.

way he understands the speeches. I am sitting on his right. I write on the paper with a pencil: "Do this! Don't do that! He said this, but it is like that, in our opinion it will be like that... This is important. A response is needed, etc..." He looks at them too.

The Lausanne Conference took place in two phases. There was an interval between them. The first phase was intense and violent. The world was in turmoil. During that phase, I felt as if I were in the midst of a terrible war, under fire.

Our nerves were stretched to the limit. There was no respite. I barely slept. I remember one night when I managed to sleep for a quarter of an hour and stayed awake for the rest. I finished my work at dawn and went to bed. I usually slept like that. I had fallen asleep when there was a knock at the door. More work. I got up. I saw that I had slept for a quarter of an hour; I could usually sleep for two or three hours. The rest of the time was spent working. I barely had time to eat. The second period was quiet. This was because the most important and most difficult issues concerning the world had been resolved and concluded in the first period.

There is also a work in French entitled *Conference de Lausanne sur les Affaires du Proche-Orient* (1922-1923) Tome I, which contains the discussions, decisions and proceedings of the first part.

It is an official work. There is one copy in our library in Sinop. It consists of 645 large pages.

ORGANISATION OF WORK AT THE CONFERENCE

The Russians will be invited to the Bosphorus negotiations. Other states concerned with Eastern affairs may also be heard at the conference, either orally or in writing. We objected to this

objected to the latter. We said: "You invited us to the conference

The names of the states participating in the negotiations are specified and limited in your note. Our authority from our state is to negotiate with these states. We cannot accept other states because we do not have the authority. We cannot negotiate.

They did not listen to this. Later, they also accepted the Bulgarian and Belgian delegates to negotiate on certain matters. They even brought individuals outside the state, such as Armenians and Geldanis. The Europeans were imposing their will and were doing some things unjustly. I was taking measures accordingly. For example, I created the Armenian homeland issue.

I will mention this later. I did not object to the Belgians because it was not important.

Commissions.

1 - Land (borders) and military issues (including the regime to which the Straits would be subject).

2 - The issue of foreigners and minorities in Turkey (political affairs).

3 - Financial and economic affairs (ports, railways,

companies, etc., and health issues).

The chairmen of each of these commissions are the British, French and Italian chief delegates. If the chief delegate is absent for a day, the second-in-command of that state will take his place as chairman.

Each commission may form subcommissions (sub-commissions) composed of experts and technicians. These subcommissions will reach a decision and submit it to the relevant commission in a report. In this way, all matters will be resolved. They were being dealt with in subcommittees. A report would come to the committee, which would accept it without amendment. In this way, the work of the committees was greatly simplified. The committees were mostly academic in nature, and their work consisted mainly of formal acceptance.

A drafting committee composed of lawyers was also formed. From^jo from France was there. We appointed Münir (Ertegün). This committee was responsible for drafting the decisions in elegant French and legal language. All final decisions went there. They were not rewritten there. There were also British, Italian and Japanese representatives here. I believe that when some articles of the treaty were rewritten here, they were shifted slightly against us. Mr Münir is truly an honourable, very patriotic and hard-working man; I have no reason to doubt his integrity. He is also a powerful man; there can be no doubt about that either. However, due to the French in the treaty being very sophisticated, some things were overlooked and caused problems. That is how it seems to me. In order to judge this properly, the printed and official articles of the treaty and the definitive copies of the decisions accepted during the negotiations that I have,

These notes are in the library in Sinop. Münir is a man of great merit, but he has a major flaw.

His nerves are very weak, he is terribly cowardly. He is afraid of his own shadow. He is completely devoid of initiative. He is incapable of making threats. For this reason, he either remained silent or misunderstood. One of the two.

Curzon generally presided over the commission negotiations.

The French delegates sat on his right, the Italian delegates on his left. The Japanese sat to the right of the French. They sat in a green cloth, shaped like a square horseshoe. They occupied the centre line of the negotiating table. Behind each delegation sat advisers, experts and clerks. When necessary, they handed files to their plenipotentiaries, or the plenipotentiaries requested something from them. This centre edge of the table was half as long as the side edge. In other words, the table for the general assembly was rectangular in shape. To the right of Curzon's position side of the table, we were seated with our advisers, experts, and clerks behind us. To our right was the Serbian delegation. Opposite us, that is, on the left side of Curzon, sat the Americans, Greeks, and Romanians in order from top to bottom. During the negotiations on the Straits, the Greeks were seated to the left of the Romanians, that is, below them. In the space in the middle sat the general secretary Massigli, and opposite across from him, as I mentioned earlier.

No one other than delegates, advisers, and clerks were allowed into the negotiations. It was impossible for anyone from outside to enter this negotiation venue.

At the second meeting, Barrere read a speech. In it, he said, "The issues before us are great and grave issues. These are the Eastern Question. It is not only the nations there that are concerned. The concern is universal. And it is a matter connected with the preservation of world peace." The issues are undoubtedly important; however, this man is talking about the Eastern Question. In our view, there are belligerent allies with the Turkish State, and peace will be made between them. We do not recognise anything called the Eastern Question. This is our business. These men have a different mindset. It is the same old mindset, the same old ways. From today onwards, they will see our new mindset up close; we will show them.

One thing is clear in the negotiations. Curzon speaks, then hands over to the French, who endorse Curzon, then he gives the floor to the Italians. They repeat the same refrain, then he has the Japanese say the same thing.

Sometimes he expands the matter and addresses the Romanians and Serbs too, telling them the same thing. So he arranges it beforehand: "You too confirm me; you say this, you say that," he says. He comes to the conference like that, and that's how it happens. In this way, he shows that he is in the majority. And he takes control of the conference. It is clear that conference means negotiation, and all of that means England. He uses the others like servants.

At the conference, we also learned the nature and methods of our opponents. I also gradually realised that Curzon personally was superior to the delegates of other states. He is an intelligent, learned, eloquent man. A distinguished personality, seasoned by experience. I saw no competence in Barre-re or Bompard. Bompard, in particular, is imbued with the mentality of the ambassadors in Istanbul during the time of Abdulhamid. He cannot change his ideas at all. Yet the circumstances and mentalities have completely changed; he cannot understand this. Garoni is the same. He was also ambassador here at that time. He has no value either. He is just a very sweet, pleasant conversationalist who likes to make people laugh. He treats us like old friends. But we have only just met him here. As if that way he will put us under the influence of his words, lock us in a cupboard!

This short, fat man from the Ayan, with his belly protruding far beyond his body, comes up to me. He's going to talk. To get his head in the right position to talk, he first leans his belly against yours. Are we going to dance?

He immediately leans in and speaks, addressing me casually as "My friend Rıza Nur". He doesn't say "Monsieur" or anything like that. He did the same to İsmet and me. Meanwhile, he gives us friendly advice. Advice, but advice that moulds us to his own ideas, his own desires... No harm done. Let him do so... Let him think so. The imam recites what he knows. We don't interrupt him.

That's how it is, but the majority of them have no influence on us. This is not a majority issue. If it were, we'd collect the spoils and run away immediately. We are alone. The whole world is against us, our enemy. We say what we mean. We told them, "This is not a majority issue. We came to negotiate with you on equal terms." And they accept that. But they mostly want to influence us.

In other words, they want to discuss the matter and leave. We are not giving in to the noise.

The more I met with these men, the more I saw them at work, the smaller they became in my eyes. But Curzon, on the contrary, always rose. Even the British delegation grew in my eyes. I saw clearly that, whatever anyone says, the British delegation is superior to all other delegations. This is true in terms of science, administration, education, everything. It is said that the British have declined and are now about to collapse. This

is the general opinion in the world. Especially before the Great War (World War I), it was the most natural opinion among the Germans. It could be said that the British have declined.

They have reached the peak of their graph. Now, of course, they will fall. But when? Perhaps in 50, perhaps in 200 years. Perhaps they will find a way to regenerate themselves. After every night passes,

We send coded telegrams to Ankara. Preparations for tomorrow's conference usually finish late at night. Sometimes they go on until morning. The same goes for sending information to Ankara; the cipher clerks wait until that time. After that, we encrypt the telegram and send it to the telegraph office. Then they go to sleep. That is, in the morning. It is my duty to mention their hard work and express my appreciation for them.

Part of the correspondence was carried out by a diplomatic courier sent once a week. The courier would bring Ankara's correspondence and take ours with him.

The commissions were numbered: the first commission was called the first commission or military commission, the second commission was called the second commission or political commission, and the third commission was called the third commission or economic commission.

Each of these commissions was divided into a number of sub-commissions (sub-commissions) and specialist commissions.

In the first commission, there were the Veygand sub-commission and the Bonmarlar sub-commission; in the second commission, there were the Minorities sub-commission, the Population Exchange sub-commission, and the War Affairs sub-commission; and in the third commission, there were the Public Debts, Customs, etc. and a number of expert committees were formed for financial and economic issues.

There were many such committees. They were formed as needed. For example, General Pelle (57) and I formed a committee for quarantine.

İsmet took the subcommittees belonging to the first commission. He gave me the subcommittees and their counterparts belonging to the second commission. He gave the economic expert committees to Haşan (Saka) and Şefik (Bekman), Muhtar (58), Zekâi (Apaydın), Zühtü (İnhan), Tahir and their counterparts. When I went to the sessions, I took one of the advisors Münir (Erteğün), Şükrü Kaya, Mustafa Şerif (Özkan) and Veli (Satık) Beyier with me.

The sessions of the three commissions were called "General Sessions". Delegates who were knowledgeable about the subject matter attended these sessions. Matters dealt with in the sub-commissions and expert committees were examined here and final decisions were made.

The work of the first commission was already a matter of the past. Thrace had already been

. Only the definitive determination of its borders remained. This matter was essentially the work of a border commission. We had already accepted the freedom of the Straits. The National Pact had already accepted this. In fact, agreement could not be concluded. The negotiations that would take place would be on the determination of the details. Turkey's other borders were already defined. The Ankara Agreement (59) had also determined the Syrian border. Unfortunately, those who made this agreement dealt a blow to the Misak-ı Milli. That is, they left Iskenderun and its environs to the French. This agreement, the Milli And, wanted the land inhabited by Turks for Turkey. It happened, and there was no chance to go back at Lausanne. This matter was a great wound, like leaving the Turks of Iskenderun and its environs to the French

. As we negotiated the Moscow Treaty, we were in a tight spot, but we put forward the Misak-ı Milli and won our case.

We did the same here. It worked again. However, the Misak-ı Milli in Lausanne was not as solid as the one in Moscow; it was wounded. It was practically dying.

There was an important issue in this commission. That was the Elcezire border, i.e. the Mosul issue.

The business of the second commission was the most contentious, the most turbulent, the political issues that concerned everyone. The issue of minorities was the most important problem that had plagued Turkey for centuries and led to its decline. The population exchange was a tremendous undertaking, the likes of which no treaty had ever attempted before. Hundreds of thousands of people would be taken from their homeland and sent to other lands. It was a heavy burden. In all these matters, there were issues of Christianity, Islam, sectarian privileges, judicial matters, capitulations and European intervention in Turkey, as well as the political tools of the Europeans in Turkey, the elements of revolution that were stirred up at will

elements, that is, matters of life and death for Turkey and the Turkish nation, that is, the motives behind our Turkish nationalism and our concern for saving our lives. Terrible...

The most heated discussions took place in this section. This area was like a great battlefield. Both sides attacked and defended with all their might. Priests, Christians, committee members, and politicians from all over the world had flocked to Lausanne for these matters. They were making all kinds of noise.

I was solely responsible for these matters. İsmet was not even aware of them.

Despite the difficult nature of the work within the Third Commission, it was straightforward. This part was entirely the work of specialists. Neither İsmet nor I were specialists in this field. We are not familiar with the details. We only understand the general principles. Hasan was in charge of this matter. But he knew nothing. Supposedly, he had studied finance and economics in Europe. But his intelligence was not sufficient. And he had a very bad temper. His mind was not normal. He is very impulsive, easily carried away. His stance and judgement are unbalanced. His opponents immediately bring him under their control and influence. Anyway, they are also busy in committees. The most important issue here is the Public Debt issue. This issue is emptying the Turks' pockets, perfectly fleecing them for the benefit of European monopolists. It is also the most important and imposing monument erected in the name of capitulations. It must be demolished.

In my opinion, the British simply focused on the Straits issue. That being the case, they paid little attention to economic matters. They simply focused on Mosul. It was the French who clung to economic matters and were stubborn. This nation and state are very attentive to money. They jump at every penny. Both the nation and the state are pure merchants. Of course, they have a right to do so. It's money. They are kicking up a fuss.

The English seemed to be laughing at their situation. Intelligence and publications are the most important matters. I have personally attached great importance to this work. We must gather information. It is most important to understand what the other delegations and states think. Then we must publish and disseminate our own ideas, which is also of great importance. For this purpose, I have formed a committee. We appointed Dr Nihat Reşat (Belger), Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) and Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın) to this office, as they had many acquaintances among the British and French. It must be said that we never made use of this office. However, Nihat

Reşat has lived in Europe for a long time. Since the armistice, he has been a supporter of Ankara, and for a while he has almost taken on the role of Ankara's representative in Europe. He did this partly on his own initiative and partly with Ankara's approval. During this time, he has come to know British and French dignitaries, many members of parliament and politicians. He himself speaks good French and English.

They are unable to carry out the task I have given them. They show no sign of life. I have pressed them several times. I have given them instructions. Nothing. I told them: "At the very least, you will immediately read the English and French newspapers. You will immediately summarise the information relevant to the conference in Turkish and write it down in a notebook. And you will write the date of the newspaper at the top. You will give it to us before going to the early morning meeting. They couldn't even manage that. In the end, I got really angry. Anyway, Yahya Kemal did it for French newspapers for five or ten days. Their other job was to publish our ideas, our defences, our rights in foreign newspapers. They couldn't do that at all. It was a task that required power and money... They were supposed to talk to foreign journalists and politicians, drink with them, and gather news from them. They couldn't do that either. In short, they didn't do any of what I said. Our intelligence was zero. Our situation was difficult.

It was as if we had no compass in the darkness. Our work was in the hands of God.

Nihat didn't even show up at the room I rented for them at the hotel and gave them the key to. When you need something, it's nowhere to be found. Where is it? It's often unknown.

THEY COULDN'T DRAW MY CARTOON

Many artists had come to Lausanne. They were painting portraits of the delegates. One of them was very famous, a caricaturist. His name was Derso. This man would look at the person he was going to paint for a minute or two, then go and draw their caricature. But he did it perfectly. He drew many pictures. He created an album. This artist was not successful with my caricatures. When asked why, he said, "There is nothing on his face that can be caricatured."

He depicted my fight with Venizelos as if we were boxing and I had knocked Venizelos down. This album is in my library in Sinop.

Nihat (Reşat Belger) has brought many men. The men want privileges. In short, the oil fields of Mosul. It turns out these men are all British.

They were intelligence officers. We realised this later. One of them was a detective. I understood this after two meetings. And the bloke offered me a bribe. I dismissed him. I'll tell you the rest of that story later. Another of the men Nihad introduced to us was a Chaldean named Seliye (60). He was from the most important oil trading company. He sent a box of cigarettes to my room, had them delivered, and also a tie. I sent them back. I thought he looked suspicious, so I sent him away too. Now this man is in Paris. They've made him president of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce. This time he even wanted to sell my tobacco in Paris. I wanted to, but I didn't dare.

That's the kind of thing Nihad always brought. He was after privileges and wealth.

Nihat was Sabahattin's (61) most trusted man for a long time. He took a lot of money from him. It was as if a significant part of his body belonged to him. During the Great War, he served with Sabahattin in Genoa, working for the French and taking money from them. Then he fell into disgrace and left Sabahattin. For the Mahmut Şevket Incident (62), Sabahattin was plotting to have Mahmut Şevket shot, to overthrow... He was preparing Kazım's job (63) and the coup. He was using Nihad in this business too. One day, three naval officers involved in the matter went to Nihad to discuss some important business. Nihad was playing the violin. He told them, "Wait a moment. I'm practising a piece." The officers waited for about an hour. Seeing that he was still playing the violin, they left the house. These officers were the ones who, at the time of the Halâskârlar affair (64), had prepared several torpedoes for the coup by rigging them. Years later, one of them recounted this incident when it was his turn. He said, "We were going to stage a coup. What a serious, bloody business! This gentleman, who was going to do such a thing, was preoccupied with his violin. Can a coup wait an hour? We felt sorry for Sabahattin. Was he going to make a revolution with such frivolous children?" They were right. Indeed, Sabahattin would undertake such important matters with these people. He never succeeded. He was always betrayed. The reason was Nihad Safvet Lütfi (65) and his ilk.

Nihad came to Ankara after Lausanne, but not getting what he wanted, and returned to Europe. The French also allowed him to practise medicine in France. This is a serious matter; it is against the law. They made it fit the book by awarding diplomas from Beirut schools. They to anyone else. It seems he once served them like a spy.

Then he went to Egypt as Sherif Pasha's (66) representative and engaged in various unsavoury financial dealings there, to Sherif's detriment. People involved in these matters told me about them in Egypt.

When the war ended, İsmet brought Nihad to Ankara. There, he simply left him there, neither looking for him, nor asking about him, nor even saying, "Do you have anything to eat?" Finally, he asked for a government position, but he didn't give him one. Finally, İsmet offered him the position of Director of the Press. Nihad refused and returned to Istanbul. In Istanbul, he complained to me constantly.

Reşit Saffet (Atabinen) was Nihad's mortal enemy. I don't know why. Perhaps it was rivalry. Because they were both much the same. He would tell İsmet and me about Nihad's misdeeds. He wanted him fired. This wasn't Reşid Saffet's job, so we ignored it. This time, he insulted him directly, and they had a nasty fight. He complained about Nihad to me, and Nihad complained about him. I silenced them both with half-sweet, half-threatening words. Yahya Kemal is a clumsy man. He has no ability to move. He is essentially a recluse. He is never a man of business or administration. He just drinks plenty of whisky and raki. He is an enlightened man. He is pleasant to talk to. He has strange sayings. He is a poet. He is shy, but he has a few beautiful poems, albeit very few. He is undoubtedly an honourable man. He is not a wicked or malicious man at all. He is a gentle man.

Extremely timid. He seems to be a bit of a sycophant.

Ruşen Eşref. We have never received any service from this man. Ruşen just gets by. I have never read any of his works. As far as I know, he is simple-minded and ignorant. He is not a wicked man; he is neither here nor there.

I complained to İsmet several times that intelligence was not being carried out, but he said and did nothing. It seemed to me that he did not attach importance to this matter, or that he did not care because I had organised it.

In short, we couldn't get a single piece of information from our intelligence and press organisation. The British intelligence offices, on the other hand, were working perfectly. British spies, detectives, and intelligence service agents had flooded into Lausanne. They were working perfectly.

We were now completely immersed in our work. So much so that we didn't even have time to scratch our heads.

We eat our lunches in a hurry. My wife is stuck there. She brought a maid with her. But she got bored. I don't have a minute to sit with her

She got angry. What could I do? During the day, fine, but at night I'm busy in the rooms we've turned into a writing room and a meeting room until the early hours of the morning.

I told Nis to go to her grandmother and father's place until the conference was over. She agreed. I sent her off. I got rid of her too. Now I devoted myself entirely to the conference work. At night, I prepare for my own committees. Then I organise the speeches needed for my committee and for the general sessions of the first and second committees.

Every evening, the times and topics of discussion for the next day's meetings are communicated to the delegation by the general secretary. Accordingly, we discuss with the advisers what İsmet Pasha will say in the commission. Within a few hours, the matter becomes clear. I say to a clerk, "Write!"

I dictate, and he writes. Then I read it over once. If there are any additions or corrections if necessary. I give it to Hikmet (Bayur) Bey. He writes it in French and types it on the typewriter. This is given to İsmet. İsmet reads it at the general meeting. So, instead of İsmet preparing his own speeches, I prepare them too. In this way, I have written all of İsmet's speeches that appear in the minutes. İsmet was not even present at the discussion of a single one. İsmet was busy writing coded and private letters to the government and Mustafa Kemal at night.

He was careful not to show these to me. I have seen almost none of them.

We adopted a method: if we were suddenly asked to respond to something important during the session, we would not respond. We would say, "We will respond to this in the next session." I would discuss and debate that issue with the same advisers and have it written down. He would say it the next day.

Thus, all of İsmet's speeches were written down by me. He simply read them out in the session. Those who read the minutes will see that İsmet always says, "I will respond in the next session." This sentence appears on almost every page. I prepare it, and he reads it out in the next session. All the advisers know this.

The Europeans are organising the daily schedules. They never consult us. This puts us in a difficult position.

Hikmet was very moral, honest, determined, dedicated to his work, extremely hardworking, and he translated the speeches perfectly and beautifully into French. I came to like Hikmet after seeing him work like this in Lausanne. After the speeches were translated and several copies were typed up, a copy would come to me. One day I looked at it. A couple of sentences had been changed, not as I had said.

I summoned Hikmet. I showed him the sentences and scolded him, saying, "You are a subordinate official here. Your duty is to carry out our orders. This alteration is very bad. When you become a superior, then you can write your own thoughts." He said nothing. He looked as if he was about to cry. I saw that his manners were also impeccable. He was one of the first to be appointed to Anatolia. At that time, I was acting as Foreign Minister—I had appointed him to the Foreign Ministry on Adnan's recommendation. I regretted hurting him. Because it is not right to hurt such honourable and capable men.

I called him and made amends. Perhaps İsmet had changed him. Hikmet was so well-mannered that he didn't even mention it. He took the blame upon himself.

Managing these negotiations was also a difficult task. Some of the advisers were good. But there were one or two advisers who had very different ideas. Then they insisted that their ideas be accepted. Some of them talked a lot. And what they said was nonsense or irrelevant. We had no time. Every minute was as precious as an hour to us. We were overwhelmed with work. There were no files prepared by the state... We were doing everything here, preparing everything ourselves. For example, we didn't even know how much the state's public debt was. And there were no documents. Everything depended on this. I was managing these matters in one way or another. One day, during a discussion, several advisers insisted that their ideas be accepted. They stated that they could not accept responsibility otherwise. They did not understand the situation. And they wanted to dominate the plenipotentiaries. I finally explained the situation to them. "You have no responsibility. Don't worry in vain! The responsibility lies with us, the delegates. Your duty is to consult. I ask you questions. You enlighten me, that's all. Then we decide what to say. You see that this is what I am doing. What I have written is also very different. There are things that have been used in negotiations and discussions, but there are also completely different things." One of these is Şevket (Doğruer). He strongly objected to our acceptance of the freedom of the straits and tried to prevent it. Good patriotism. But it is clear that he is unaware of the issues. He does not understand the general assembly. Another

Seniyüddin (Başar). He was an expert on endowments. He had raised many objections on this matter. His mindset did not align with the new mindset.

ISMET'S DRAFTS

İsmet is only concerned with correspondence. He writes to Ankara about what is happening and responds to what is written from there. He doesn't show me anything. He keeps it secret. I don't know what he writes... I don't have time for this anyway. I can barely keep up with the treaty business. Besides, this treaty business is not important to me.

But I had a right to see them. He only shows me correspondence that is important and problematic. He also has a bad habit. When he is writing to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he also writes to Mustafa Kemal. This is the system from the time of Abdülhamit, the palace journal, the methods of despotism and sycophancy, the worst of that time.

the custom we see. İsmet devotes practically all his time to this task. Because this man's drafts are extraordinary. He makes a draft that is laughable. He takes the paper, the pen, writes, both writes and draws. He writes new lines

. This way, there is no empty space between the lines, but the correction is not finished. This time, he goes over the edges of the paper. He draws over these edges and writes new lines underneath them. In short, when the draft is finished, the paper is pitch black, covered in scratches, a tangled mess. It is impossible to read. Very few of the first lines he wrote remain unmarked. Many sentences have been crossed out and rewritten not once, but several times; hours have passed. I know this from the drafts in the committee.

There are two reasons for this. One is his inability to write and compose. Even after so many passionate revisions, İsmet's writings are meaningless. The second is his anxiety. He weighs every sentence over and over. "This could mean that," he says, crosses it out, and writes a new one. "That could mean this," he says, and crosses it out again.

But none of them make sense. This man's anxiety is incredible. I have rarely encountered such an anxious person in my life. I am not saying this based on a guess or a couple of observations. I have had many contacts and dealings with İsmet in Anatolia. Then we lived together day and night for about a year in Lausanne. I saw him in every state. Moreover, I saw him in all his truth during those crises, with the observant eye of a doctor accustomed to observation. I observed him carefully because I was going to write about these things. Deaf people tend to be anxious and touchy. When someone says something, they don't understand. They immediately assume it is against them and fall into suspicion and delusion. That is the case here too. But is this anxiety solely due to deafness?

Because it is much more than that found in the deaf. I believe it is essentially something inherent in their nature.

To avoid mixing up the issues, I will not write the discussions in chronological order. Those who wish to do so can read the French minutes. I will finish the work of one commission and move on to another. Also, these minutes

There are things that have not been passed on. This is the fault of our scribe Reşit Saffet (Atabinen). Because he did not fully grasp our point of view, he accepted Massigli's words at face value. However, when Massigli wrote the negotiations, he naturally wrote them to a certain extent according to his own point of view. In other words, Massigli has perfectly outwitted our clerk, Reşit Saffet. Reşit Saffet failed to demonstrate the competence to perform his duties well. This flaw is evident in the minutes of the commissions and subcommissions. In this, the fault, negligence, and incompetence of our delegation's clerk is undoubtedly the greatest flaw, and additionally, the absence of a stenographer. This conclusion had occurred to me had occurred to me earlier. However, we do not have a stenographer. At the time, I had repeatedly urged Ahmet Rıza (67) in the Meclis-i Mebusan, but I could not get him to do it.

get him to do it. We paid the price for this shortcoming in Lausanne. I will recount the negotiations we held alone with the French, the corridor discussions, the inner workings, the aims, and the reasons, which are not recorded in these minutes and are not in my notes either.

Likewise, I will also recount the anecdotes and events that occurred outside of the negotiations.

MEDDLING DIPLOMATS

"He caught my attention in the sessions. The French delegate Barrere sticks his little finger deep into his nose, almost up to the first joint, stirs it around, rolls the dirt he extracts between two fingers, and flings it away with a flick. He does this constantly in the midst of such distinguished and well-mannered men. He sits to Curzon's right, his body leaning back, his forehead and nose in the air, sitting with great pride. Smoking is not allowed in the courtroom. Barrere has a small, cherry-coloured pipe, and he smokes his cigarette by puffing on it with this pipe, often taking a drag and flicking it into the courtroom.

For some reason, this man's behaviour irritated me. He kept catching my eye. One day, he was rolling a cigarette, and I was watching him. I looked up and saw him looking at me, with a gaze that suggested he knew I had seen everything. I looked at him strangely look back at him. He looked even stranger and more intense... But he didn't stop rolling the pill. He flicked his pill and stuck his finger back in his nostril. This time it was clear that he was doing it deliberately. I said to myself, "This diplomat is both rude and unapologetic about his rudeness."

A few days later, it caught my eye. I looked and saw that Pazarola Haşan, sitting to my right, was also doing it. He was coming to my right, and since Curzon and the other speakers were generally on my left, his face was always turned to the left. That's why I hadn't noticed. So Haşan was always doing it. Who knows he's probably made enough pills to fill a hundred hospitals by now. And how does he do it? With great fervour, perhaps even more than Barrere, he rubs his finger... He thrusts it in. All the way to the second joint. His finger digs into his nose like an iron drill boring an artesian well, as if trying to make a path to his brain. He rolls the pill, rolls it, and fires it like a cannonball towards Massig-li in the centre. Hasan seems to be taking the nervous tension of the negotiation out on his nose. Seeing this, my face turned bright red.

I was ashamed before the world. If I had seen Hasan before, would I have looked at Barrere? Those who see Barrere call him rude and dirty, but they don't say, "That's how the French are." Our name is out there. We are known by Europeans as an inferior people. Seeing Hasan like this, they don't say Hasan, they say, "That's the Turkish people

." So, Barrere and Hasan were smoking hookah together, puffing on the smoke and taking turns swallowing the pills as if they were enjoying themselves.

I wanted to console myself by saying to Barrere, "One from you, one from us." But when he realised I had seen his pill-taking and saw my face turn beetroot red, his stern look seemed to say, "Instead of looking at my skill, look at your own artist next to you..." Now my eyes keep going to Hasan. The blessed man never stops, he keeps taking pills. You wouldn't find this much filth in any nose, or even in a dustbin, it never ends. So he does it habitually. This man has many such crude things about him. He is essentially a person whose mind is not normal.

I saw that it was bad. When I returned to the hotel, I told İsmet. "That's ugly, tell him not to do it again," I said. İsmet said, "I can't tell him, you tell him!" That's İsmet. Would he say it?! That would be like making an enemy. Well, let it be on Rıza Nur's head... Rıza Nur doesn't think about such personal things; he deserves it. But that was the captain's job. He's very jealous in his role as captain. But he makes trouble
he would make Rıza Nur deal with them. Finally, I said to Hasan, "You're making trouble, it's very ugly, what will they say about the Turks? Don't do it!" He didn't do it.

SECOND SECTION

FIRST COMMISSION

- a) Thrace and the border

İsmet is handling these matters:

We wanted the entire railway line and the Station, which is a neighbourhood of Edirne, and Karaağaç as the Thrace border. Venizelos (68) claimed that there was a Greek majority in Thrace. He was very deceitful, shamelessly telling baseless lies. For example, he claimed that there was a Greek majority even in Izmir. He also claimed that, shortly before the Great War, millions of Greeks had been expelled from Eastern Thrace and the Anatolian coast. Of course he would say that. He is reckless but a diplomat. He is working to secure national interests.

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All the Allied Powers, including Serbia and Romania, said they would never agree to us crossing west of the Meriç. Unfortunately, the note inviting us to the conference also specified the Meriç as the border. At the Mudanya negotiations, İsmet accepted this without paying attention to the details. According to İsmet, at Mudanya, the British delegate had said that we would also take Karaağaç along with Edirne, but there was no record of it in the armistice agreement. He had been negligent and failed to have this record made. Words are not to be trusted. Would European diplomats, who sometimes do not even trust their own signatures, listen to words? İsmet said this. Lord Curzon asked Harrington (69) about this in a telegram from Istanbul. The answer was not what İsmet said. In other words, just as Admiral Calthorpe (70) put Rauf (Or-bay) in a closet at Mondros, Harrington put İsmet in a closet at Mudanya. The Unionists also made alterations to this border in 1915 to bring the Bulgarians into the war on the German side, to our detriment and to the Bulgarians' advantage, and they ceded these areas to the Bulgarians. What mad and foolish people they were... Not only did they gain nothing for us from those who entered the war, but they also gave the Bulgarians land from us for their sake.

Part of the railway was west of Meric. İsmet could not save these parts in the sub-commission. I was not present in the first commission's sub-commissions. I do not know the details.

We want a plebiscite in Western Thrace. The French will never agree to this. A delegation from Western Thrace had come. Galip Bahtiyar (71) was also in the delegation.

If they could not join Turkey, they wanted an autonomous administration. The Turks here had previously staged an armed uprising, formed bands and fought. They were a people who had shown great effort. At one point, they had declared their independence. İsmet suddenly abandoned our opinion on this matter in the expert committee. He did so without informing me. Galip Bahtiyar and his friends were very disappointed, angry with İsmet, and left Lausanne. I wanted to see this matter through to the end. Perhaps something could be achieved. We had not yet tried hard enough. Moreover, we were in the right.

The French did not want a plebiscite because they knew the majority were Turkish. It was a place densely populated by Turks. However, our right bank of the Meriç... The Serbs cannot tolerate our passage either. They fear the possibility of history repeating itself, that is, the Turks invading Serbia again. This is a remote possibility, but they have these fears. Indeed, the Serbian delegate and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ninčić stated this clearly at the conference. The fact is the Meric border had already been accepted once in Mudanya. There was nothing left to do. But perhaps autonomy was possible. Anyway, at least in the second commission negotiations, I managed to exclude Western Thrace from the population exchange in exchange for the French demand for Istanbul. That was also a gain.

Bulgaria wants an outlet at Dedeağaç. They sent a delegation to Lausanne. They were officially heard in the courtroom. The Bulgarian Prime Minister, Istanbulovski, had come as a plenipotentiary. This man was short, very fat, and looked like a bully of the water-carrier type. He had brought a Bulgarian girl as an interpreter,

and she was the only female official at the conference. Istanbulovski seemed like a very ignorant, unpolished man. He knew nothing of etiquette. He sweated profusely and in large quantities. Among educated people,

They were bored. They prepared a memorandum and read it out. İstanbulovski returned to Sofia, they shot him, he died. Those who wish to learn about the Bulgarians' case regarding Dedeağaç should read this memorandum. Published with a confidential mark

is on pages 22 and 55. However, the Bulgarians had other claims as well.

They wanted to resettle Bulgarians who had been exchanged from Eastern Thrace back into Eastern

Thrace. The Bulgarian delegation hosted us for a banquet. Naturally, we reciprocated. They wished to discuss this matter separately with us.

They appear exceptionally friendly towards us. These men are foolish. In their minds, they will deceive us by appearing friendly to us here. I said to them: "You say you are our friends. I accept that, but you want to settle Bulgarians in Thrace. This means that Bulgaria has its eye on Thrace, that we want Thrace, that we have not given up on this claim. This also means that we want Istanbul. The Bulgarians have historically been hostile towards us since Byzantium.

They had demanded Thrace and Istanbul. Although they had entered Thrace several times on a temporary basis, they had never managed to enter Istanbul. Therefore, you possess no historical rights or rights of conquest in these regions. Your ethnic rights neither existed in the past nor exist now. So how can you claim these places? You are very unjust. Demanding our land means you are enemies of Turkey. Your historical rights lie over Serbia." They fell silent.

They never mentioned this again, nor did they meet with us. This freed us from their demands. Under the pretext of preventing war, the French established a neutral zone on the Thracian border. This was just talk, but we also wanted it. We proposed that the neutrality of this zone be guaranteed by the great powers of Europe. They did not accept this. To accept it, they wanted to establish their own control. This did not suit us either.

Foreign control over our land is burdensome. Making Edirne a military stronghold is pointless. It is also a heavy expense for Turkey. The defence of Thrace should be based in Lüleburgaz and Çatalca. In light of this reality, a neutral zone was not a detriment but a benefit to us.

Poor Edirne and Thrace are practically doomed to be taken from us. For this reason, I was not in favour of even settling the refugees who came there through exchange.

Now it is one of those places our elders called "the frontier". And it has become subject to frontier rule. Spending money there, settling people there, is futile, it is a mistake. After Lausanne, because I pursued this idea, the deputies of Edirne rose up against me. I specifically told them, "The people who will be settled here will be doomed to migration again. Even if it does not slip from our hands, it will always be a battlefield

. The people will be destroyed, and the buildings constructed will be demolished." I couldn't make them listen. Of course, they were passionate about their homeland. They have a right to feel that way, but politics cannot be governed by emotion

. Now they are building factories in Thrace. It's a waste of money. This land is Istanbul's buffer zone and a battlefield. Even if it does not leave us, it is doomed to be crushed by the blows of war. In the event of a war for Turkey , it is dangerous to send as many soldiers as necessary to Thrace. If the Straits fall, it will be impossible to withdraw this army and move it to Anatolia. The state will lose its army. This will lead to the invasion of Anatolia. We will only be able to keep twenty thousand soldiers in Thrace and Istanbul; we have made the Straits free. In this case...

I always say it and I will continue to say it. After the signing of the treaty, a commission is needed for its implementation and a book for the objectives. This book will be kept secret. Here, a section of railway must be built from our territory to Edirne, to Istanbul without passing through Greek territory. Twenty thousand troops must be prepared against a Greek attack, twenty thousand troops must be prepared. Within the first two days, one hundred thousand troops must be stationed at the border. The rest will be dispatched within a few days. If the defence arrangements for the straits are prepared during peacetime, additional forces can be deployed, and a Greek attack can be repelled. However, this is also a risky and dangerous undertaking.

They want to place foreign control over the neutral zone. These Europeans are cunning. They want to control it themselves. But there is also the fact that if they take it among their guarantees, it is natural for them to control it. But we are never willing to accept this control. Because it is a kind of capitulation. We, however, are determined to uproot the capitulations, this black scourge of the state. We did not accept control. They did not provide guarantees either.

b) The Islands and the Forgotten Limni

Another task of the first commission is the issue of the islands in the Aegean Sea. Some of these islands are in Greek hands, some in Italian hands. The population is predominantly Greek. Indeed, the islands are important for smuggling and banditry along the Anatolian coast, as well as for economic reasons. They could even serve as an excellent base for an invasion of Anatolia. However, Turkey lacks the strength to take them or to maintain them afterwards. They are overseas. Their maintenance would require great expense. We should only take the one or two islands that block the entrance to the Dardanelles, and if we can take them, it will be profitable. The other side is not worth the trouble. Whether they are in Greek or Italian hands , it is not in our hands, and it does not matter who has it. Both are capable of invading us, and it is not in our hands to take from one and give to the other

is not in our hands. It would be desirable if we could simply make these areas non-military. They had already stated in a previous note that they would return the three islands opposite the Straits to us. This was our policy on the matter. Rauf wrote insistently on behalf of the government that "Me-is Island is very close to our coastline" on behalf of the Rauf government. But what use is a small, rocky place? The Italian

The operational bases are Rhodes and Kuşadası. This place is useless for that purpose. All these islands are among the Twelve Islands. Turkey had already given them to Italy in 1912 under the Treaty of Uşi (72)

. We have no choice but to confirm this now. Therefore, we have taken the islands in our territorial waters.

The islands held by the Greeks are Limni, Midilli, Sakız and Sisam, while the islands occupied by the Italians during the Tripoli War are known as the "Twelve Islands". Limni was forgotten by our advisers in the Sukomasyon, and Lord Curzon mocked us for this reason in the commission's proceedings. He was right. A great oversight had been made regarding our own interests. This adviser was Tefik (Bıyıkhoğlu) (Secretary to the President).

The islands to be demilitarised are those under Greek rule. However, the same should be done for those under Italian control. No one is willing to do this. I do not know why İsmet did not deal with this.

c) The Straits Issue

Curzon said that the issue of the regime to which the Straits would be subject was one of the most important issues of the conference. This confirmed what we already knew. There is no longer any room for doubt. In other words, the important issue for the British is that the Straits should be free from fortifications, that is, free. In these negotiations, the Russian delegate was Foreign Affairs Commissar Chicherin (73), Russia's representative to Italy was Varovski (74), the Ukrainian delegate was the head of the Ukrainian government, Rakovski (75), and the Georgian delegate was Medyevani. Rakovski was also the President of Ukraine when I was in Kharkov. I knew all of them except Varovski.

İsmet attached great importance to Russia's participation in these negotiations. He insisted on it. However, this was of no benefit to us. On the contrary, it caused harm. I knew it would be of no benefit. But I did not anticipate that it would cause harm. While the Russians were supposed to act against the British for our benefit, they turned on us to get what they wanted. What could the Russians do against the British? What power did they have? The British did not take them seriously. Now we see that Curzon is insulting them. İsmet sat down. I will say more about this later.

In the matter of the Straits, as in every other matter, we put forward the National Pact. Indeed, the National Pact had accepted the freedom of the Straits in a general manner. However, there was no explicit mention of the passage of warships. The Russians wanted merchant ships to pass through the Straits in times of peace and war, but not warships. The British wanted warships to be allowed to pass as well. Russia had wanted this since ancient times. The British did not want the Russian navy to enter the Mediterranean, considering it detrimental to their own interests. Now the situation had been turned upside down, contrary to politics. The Russians no longer had anything resembling a navy in the Black Sea. It was now impossible for them to rebuild it possible. The British wanted to bring their fleets into the Black Sea. The Romanians also wanted this. Perhaps they were hoping for British assistance in a war that might break out between Russia and Romania. Perhaps they would make as a base for the British fleet...

In his statement, Chicherin went further and said that we could fortify the Straits. Chicherin is a learned, intelligent man. In fact, there were two important men at the conference. They were these two. They clashed with each other. We are watching. I had previously encountered Lord Curzon only on paper

on paper. I had been very eager to meet him in person. Çiçerin is the Turkish defender, as well as the Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and It is surprising to see that he is also the Turkish delegate. He looks like he is wearing İsmet Pasha's fez," he said with subtle sarcasm.

The Romanian delegate Doka's statement was appreciated. This clearly shows that Curzon had instructed Doka beforehand on what to say. Curzon wants to make us speak, to learn our opinion. We, however, want to learn their opinions first. İsmet only said that the Russian proposal was acceptable. That was all he said. Chicherin gave Curzon a good answer on this matter.

Curzon, who had confronted Çiçerin like a wrestler challenging him at the beginning of the session

was satisfied, but he had been defeated by Çiçerin and was ruined. (French confidential minutes, p. 114).

The most important figures at this conference were undoubtedly Curzon and Çiçerin. In terms of intelligence and knowledge. In the next session, however, Curzon had dealt Çiçerin a good blow.

In one session, Curzon was giving a speech. To his right were Barröre and Bompard, with an advisor behind them, talking. Not loudly.

There were only about three metres between us. Even we couldn't hear them. Suddenly, Curzon struck Barröre's chair with his hand and shouted angrily, "Be quiet!"

Everyone heard and watched intently. Curzon's face was a face of fierce anger. It was like he was scolding children and servants. He did this in the assembly and in front of the world delegates, to the French delegates. The French delegates should have responded to this treatment. They cut him off. They folded their arms and stood there like cats that had spilled milk. This was a fine example.

It showed that the French were under the command and rule of the British.

Curzon doesn't give them a penny. He even treats them like servants. Our people are always afraid. Their nerves are shot. İsmet and the advisers need a dose of courage and energy. I encourage them with various words. Especially Münir... He's shaking and trembling as we go to the session. İsmet, he and I go together in a car to the sessions.

In the car, I say to Münir, "Don't be afraid, what is there to be afraid of? We will defeat them. Don't be afraid! Be brave!" He is sitting in front of me. He turns his head and looks at me with a pleading gaze. Münir's nerves are very weak. He is incapable of war and combat. These are expressions used by our elders. But he is very beautiful. He cannot even handle a harsh word. He is afraid of his own shadow. He is also physically slight. He needs a lot of support. Left to his own devices

, he immediately retreats. He is terribly afraid of the French. He is terrified. For this reason, to use a military term, he cannot be a commander. He is a unique military officer. I was very afraid of this valuable man's physical weakness.

I was terrified he would fall ill. Because if he couldn't work, our legal affairs would be severely disrupted. For a couple of centuries, there has been a general mindset among us.

Fearing the French. We came to Lausanne with this mindset. Now I am trying to break it. And finally, I succeeded. In the evenings, after dinner, we work for an hour or two with İsmet. He asks about my research on Turkishness.

He talks passionately about his Turkish nationalism. He says he is a member of the Turkish Association. One evening, in a moment of carelessness, he said to me: "Father, we are from Bitlis. Are there Turks in Bitlis?" I consoled him by saying, "There are Turks in the city."

6 In the session of 17 January 1922, Curzon made proposals on behalf of the Allies regarding the Straits. The proposals are in two parts:

- 1 - The passage of merchant and warships through the Straits, with a system to be established to determine this matter according to whether Turkey is neutral or at war, in times of war and peace.
- 2 - The establishment of non-military zones on both sides of the Straits.

Meanwhile, they also wanted to maintain one warship of each state in Istanbul, as had been the case before, under the same conditions. This amounted to capitulation. We strongly opposed this. Bompard worked feverishly to maintain it. But we rejected it.

They wanted the demilitarised zone to be very extensive. It was as if the entire Marmara coastline was to become demilitarised. (Bompard) pushed this to the very limit, insisting on it. But we rejected it.

They are establishing an international commission to oversee the administration of the Straits, inspect non-military areas, and examine quarantine stations. quarantines. We wanted to place the non-military zones on the Thracian border under the guarantee of the European states. Now they want to do the same with the non-military zones in the Straits. In his statement at this session, Çiçerin made a remark as if Russia were Turkey's protector. And we did not like this at all.

Let me mention one point: the Entente Powers' management of the sessions, their setting of the session dates, and their chairing of the sessions placed them in a dominant position. It was beneficial to them and detrimental to us. They arranged matters as they wished. We had no say in the matter. It was a form of domination. For example, something happened at this session. Çiçerin said he would give his answer at the next session but requested that the session be held two days later so that he could investigate and prepare his answer. Curzon said the next day. Well, İsmet Pasha also gave him time . However, they did not always give us time. It often happened that we would say we would give our answer at the next session. Curzon didn't want to give us any time for investigation. We would hold the session either that day, the day after, or the day after that. There was no time. Likewise, they would often give us the notice informing us of the matter to be discussed at the session just a couple of hours before the session. They were doing these things without our knowledge. The British files must be perfect. We, on the other hand, have nothing. Yet we needed attention more than anyone else. For example, what is Thrace in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior? What is its ethnic and economic situation? What has happened there in the past and again from the beginning? What treaties mention it? There was not a single word about these matters in the files. I remember that we could not find a single copy of the Treaty of Nöyyi (76). They had made numerous alterations to the organisation of the minutes according to their own preferences. In short, this resulted in various advantages for them and disadvantages for us.

I held a discussion with all our advisers under my chairmanship regarding the freedom of the Straits.

Şevket strongly objected to the freedom of the Straits and the establishment of non-military zones. "Absolutely not, you cannot and must not do this," he said. This "you cannot do it" was a threat. Strange! In fact, he himself was the expert on this matter. He tried to prevent us from accepting the freedom of the Straits. And he was forced. He was overstepping his bounds. Finally, I said, "You have no authority to forcibly prevent us. You can only express your opinions." "I cannot accept responsibility ." Likewise, "If you do, it will be solely on your own authority."

"Should you provide us with a document bearing your signature?" he said. I replied, "Why are you making things difficult? Don't worry unnecessarily. You are not responsible. However, if you wish to confirm this with a document, write up a police report between yourselves." In this way, we got out of the predicament. He fell silent. He was acting tough, but he knew nothing of the world. This freedom was accepted before coming to Lausanne. In fact, keeping the Straits closed as before was quite alright. Şevket (Doğruer) was steadfast and patriotic in this. But the situation had changed so much that it was impossible. Even America had demanded this freedom at the conference and said that an American warship must also pass through to ensure it. All sea passages in the world were becoming free and entering an international situation. What are we compared to the great European states? The basis of success in diplomacy is generally a matter of military strength. Moreover, we had already accepted this with the National Pact. We also thought that there was no need to close the Strait.

Because fixed and costly fortifications are no longer effective. Warfare methods had changed. It is done with mobile batteries, torpedoes, submarines and aircraft hidden behind mountains. In this case, the same is done behind non-military zones, everything is placed and prepared there. Roads are built in non-military areas. Along the coast, torpedo and similar depots are built next to non-military areas. When necessary, placing these in position to defend the Strait is a matter of a few hours. This was my entire idea and solution.

The key to concluding the treaty lies in the freedom of the Straits. Everything is in the hands of the British. There is only one important issue for the British. That is it. We realised that we had to agree to this in order to conclude the treaty. And the capital is now Ankara. It is already essential in many respects that it be in Anatolia. In this case, the issue of freedom is not so serious. It is for these reasons that, after the agreement was concluded, I told İsmet five or ten times: "We have made this agreement. There are various objectives in it. Accordingly, the articles

. No one but you and I know what these are. Every article of the treaty conceals a secret, a reason, an idea, an aspiration. In order for the implementation of the treaty to actually move towards these objectives, establish a 'treaty implementation commission'. Also, let us write down these objectives secretly and give them to this commission. Let them supervise accordingly. Let them be applied both externally and internally and ensure implementation accordingly. Various actions contrary to the agreement will be taken. This commission will rectify them. This is now for the Straits. What I say is very secret and necessary.

Also, compile a more confidential memorandum and submit it to the commission chairman. The relevant ministries should also work on implementing these matters." I could not convey the importance and value of this to İsmet in any way. He was the Prime Minister; he could have done it, but he did not.

However, a year later, Greece formed a similar delegation. For example, in the matter of Thrace, we must now take the railway to the left bank. Edirne cannot be a fortified position. Thrace is a theatre of war for the defence of Istanbul. Large-scale reconstruction costs cannot be incurred in Thrace. It is dangerous to move troops through Thrace because the line of retreat would be cut off by the straits.

It is dangerous because it would cut off the line of retreat. The freedom of the Straits and non-military zones are insignificant from the point of view of defending the Straits. During times of peace, depots are built behind and to the sides of these zones. Cannons and torpedoes are kept ready. Roads are built.

If necessary, everything can be put in place in a very short time. Another crucial countermeasure is the removal of the capital from Istanbul. Relocating it to a secure location in the heart of Anatolia is a matter of vital importance. This is, in fact, essential for many other reasons as well. Istanbul is no longer at the centre of Turkish territory. As long as Istanbul remains the capital, Anatolia is neglected and left to decay. Yet the people of Anatolia are the foundation of the nation. That region must be developed and its people educated.

The Russians are very excited about the opening of the Straits. Because Russia fears British encroachment on its Black Sea coast. What does that matter to us? Are we to act as Russia's guard? We would shed blood and spend money... That would be foolish for us. What do we need? Dog teeth, pig skin. Only the passage of warships through Istanbul, if possible, should be arranged so as not to harm us.

The speech by Çiçerin on page 135 of the minutes reveals Russia's concern on this matter. These, along with the British statements and proposals, demonstrate how the Straits have become a subject of competition between Britain and Russia.

Finally, we stated our opinion in the session. We announced that we accepted the allies' proposals with some amendments. That is, we also accepted the freedom of the Straits for warships. However, we are negotiating the terms.

The Russians were not pleased with this and became anxious. They were angry with us. Chicherin stated in the session that opening the Straits would mean the end of Turkey's independence. The Entente delegates also understood the Russians' anger towards us. Curzon also stated this openly.

d) The Cemetery Issue

The British also raised the issue of the cemeteries. They want to own the land where their soldiers who died in the war are buried on the Gallipoli peninsula as if it were their personal property, and they insist on this. This also touched İsmet's nerves.

. So far, there have been many important proposals and acceptances. None of them had ever annoyed him this much. This man is strange. Something very important may pass him by without significance, but sometimes something relatively insignificant to them inflames his fears. He insisted. He said to me: "They have a very dangerous purpose in this. They will take possession of these cemeteries and use them as bases of operations against us. They will bring in soldiers disguised as visitors." "My dear, there can't be anything so dire about it.

Don't worry yourself for nothing. We're not going to abandon this place to them like we abandoned Syria and Egypt. Of course we can't do that. Let it be a cemetery, let them visit. It's a human right. Can they bring in soldiers under the guise of visiting? We Are we blind? Even if we are, even if we don't give them a graveyard, one day they'll suddenly send in the soldiers. Even if they're shocked, will that amount be enough for the purpose? Let's just not be asleep. Let's not let them in with their weapons. This job isn't worth that much," I said. Ah! It is impossible to remove from his mind what he has implanted there, especially his delusion

from his mind; but no matter how absurd it may be. It was precisely because of this state of mind that the Greeks, fixated on the idea that İnönü was coming, caused the Eskişehir-Afyon disaster. Seeing İsmet's anxiety, I think again. I want to understand the gravity of this. I just can't understand it. And finally, I conclude that it is an empty delusion.

Finally, Curzon also said that this had nothing to do with the issue of sovereignty. This did not dispel İsmet's delusion. İsmet was preoccupied with the issue of the cemeteries, rather than with very important matters such as the freedom of the Straits, the passage of warships, and the conditions for this.

and instead focused on this cemetery issue.

As a result of discussions in the sub-commissions, the non-military zones were reduced to a much smaller area than they had wanted.

Many things were added in our favour. These can be seen in the agreement that was reached and signed. As the Russians also wanted to participate in these, the sub-commission was not reconvened by the Europeans, and

specialists and our specialists. Naturally, the Russians were angry about this. In his statement, Chicherin called this the Entente

He used a derogatory term, saying it happened because of the insults exchanged between the delegates and the Turkish delegates. What could we do? Those opposite us

were in control of the conference and had the final say in matters. We had no power to prevent this... They insulted the Russians at every opportunity, in every way. They did not treat them as human beings. Even in the minutes, they placed their names at the very bottom,

at the very bottom. The Russians told us, "You cannot freely control the Straits. You will have to withdraw your acceptance." As far as I remember, they also gave us a note on this matter. They said that, according to the Moscow Treaty , you cannot sign a treaty without Russia's consent, they said. However, that treaty stipulated that a treaty imposed by force on one of the two parties would not be recognised by the other party. That was not the case. We accepted the treaty through negotiation and consent. Chicherin was talking nonsense. He was being deceitful. The Russians had met with İsmet and threatened him. İsmet was terribly frightened. One night, he was restless. I was preparing tomorrow's work with the advisers. İsmet sent for me. I went to him. I saw him in a terrible state. His eyes were sunken. He was pale; his face had taken on the appearance of a man overcome by great fear and despair, left helpless. His head seemed to fall forward as if his neck could not hold it up. I said, "You seem to be in a state of panic again!" Because when faced with a real danger or a truly threatening situation he would become like this.

He said: "Brother, these Russians have caused a great calamity. They say you absolutely must not accept the freedom of the Straits!"

* Form: 6

. We're ruined. Rıza Nur! You can handle this. We must at least silence these men for now. You've always handled the big, difficult tasks." I don't know what threats they made; he didn't say. I sat down next to him on the sofa.

I fell deep in thought. What could I do? How could I manage?! İsmet wrapped his arms around my neck again and said, "Only you can do this job." I said, "I'm thinking of a solution, but I can't find one." He kissed my face repeatedly and said, "You'll find it." I thought for a while longer. I knew all these men personally, except for Varovski. We had worked together. Finally, it occurred to me. I found a way. "All right!" I said. I called the clerk and had him telephone the Russian delegates to say I would visit them immediately. "Let him come," they said. I got in the car and went. Chicherin, Rakovski, Varovski, and Medivani took me into their rooms.

I brought up the issue. The argument began. They all used very strong language. In short, they said, "Do not and cannot make the straits free."

I asked why. Çiçerin said, "This means abandoning Russian friendship and becoming friends with the British." However, in his official statements claimed that the freedom of the Straits meant the loss of Turkey's independence. Neither this nor the other was true. The issue was that it would make it easier for the British navy to attack Russia one day. I assured them of this. They could not refuse, but they did not want to agree either. The argument became quite heated. At that moment, I delivered the blow I had decided on in my mind beforehand. I said, "Very well, you say do not open the Straits to us. We are grateful, but the British insist on it. They will not make peace without it."

Our need for peace is so intense that it is worth our lives. We will make peace no matter what." "We will not make peace," they said. In a fierce voice, "Whatever you say, whatever you do, we will make peace. To do this, we will open the knot of peace and all the blame and responsibility for this lies with you." They opened their eyes at my last words and all said together: "Why on earth?!"

I said, "Let me explain. On my second visit to Russia, I made this proposal to you on behalf of my government. Let us make a defensive and offensive agreement against the Europeans. We need money and other such material assistance. We can no longer stand on our own,

then we will be forced to make peace. This was a fact. It was entirely logical. You rejected this proposal. You did not give us any money. So you agreed to our making peace at that time. Here, Rakovski! Let him speak."

Rakovski said, "Yes, you made that offer. We did not accept it." I said, "In fact, at that time, it was officially stated that even Russia was compelled to make peace with the British

. Say it! Rakovski!" Rakovski said, "Yes!" I continued: "So by what right are you now preventing us from making peace?! It was certain that this would happen." They fell silent and

They looked ahead. Then they tried to smooth things over. They brought drinks, we drank; we talked about this and that. Finally, they said, "You're right. You should make peace. What can you do, that's how it is. We assure you we won't do anything against you. Let's not tell anyone about this disagreement, this quarrel between us. Let it remain a secret." "Very well," I said. Finally, I got up. They took me to the lift . At the lift, he leaned over and whispered again: "Make sure the British don't hear about this." Medivani was the most insistent on this point.

I gave my assurance. The matter was settled. Since the Russians were using Turkey as a bargaining chip, they attached great importance to this disagreement not reaching the British.

As I mentioned earlier, my proposal for a defensive and offensive alliance in Kharkov was not Turkey's instruction or desire. It was my own invention. In this way, I had dispelled their suspicions against us and the scandal involving Bekir Sami (77).

It served us well at the time. Now it has served me well here too. What a powerful thing a big lie can be. That's diplomacy for you. But you must tell the lie in such a way that you don't end up disgraced afterwards.

I arrived at our hotel. It was three o'clock. I entered İsmet's room. İsmet was pacing up and down. Tired from grief, from thinking... As if he were about to collapse. That's how he is in a crisis, he doesn't even eat. He doesn't even sleep. He just paces. When he saw me, he rushed over, curious. He put his ear to my mouth. "The matter is settled. They won't do anything. They've become as docile as lambs. In fact, you made the blokes beg me," I said. He was very pleased. He asked how I did it; I explained. He threw his arms around my neck. He kissed me and said, "Long live! You are the master of all Russian affairs. From now on, only you can manage the state's relations with Russia." These words were nice, but they were smaller than what he said before going to settle the matter. Once the job was done, he immediately belittled me. It's his habit: After we returned to Ankara, he forgot that I was the master of Russian affairs. He was always trying to undermine me.

At the last session, the Russians declared that they would not accept the freedom of the Straits and would not sign anything because they had not been allowed to participate in the negotiations.

Now, the Thrace and Straits issues were settled in detail. We tried hard for Karaağaç, but it didn't work out. We couldn't get it. That's how these matters ended.

It was during this time that, while dining one evening at the Varovski Hotel, he was shot and killed by a Swiss man. He was a gentle, well-mannered man. The killer did not flee but surrendered to the police. No delegates attended his funeral. Only our delegation was there with Russia. The Allied Powers had treated Russia so badly! But what a shame! This funeral...

The killer was tried by a jury. "My father and brother were merchants in Russia. The Bolsheviks killed them and took their property. This is my revenge."

"I took it," he said. He was acquitted. That was true. Yes, the Bolsheviks

committed hundreds of thousands of murders and robberies; but who knows who killed his father, his brother. Now he paid for it with his life in Varovski. Is that fair? What fault did the poor man have? He was a gentle man, like an angel. Perhaps he was a man who would hesitate to kill even an ant. This verdict of the Swiss court was not much different from the verdict of Karakuş, the vizier of Saladin. Oh dear... A country known for its freedom, justice, and humanity! I think the fault lies more with the jury system. I used to be very much in favour of this judicial system. Then I became very against it. Do you know how juries work in Switzerland? They elect grocers, butchers, etc. from the neighbourhoods. These people form the court and pass judgement. It's the same in France. These judges are ignorant and emotional people. Naturally, their judgements are of the same kind.

Looking at this case, one sees what a terrible state the world is in... Especially how dirty politics is? Many years ago, someone committed a murder, and then they killed someone else who had nothing to do with it. The murderer goes unpunished. The Armenians also killed many of our people and many Azerbaijanis. Some were caught, but they were acquitted.

e) The Southern Borders-Mosul-Kirkuk Issue

Now, this commission has left our southern border. Our eastern border...

Neither they nor we brought it up. İsmet wanted to discuss our eastern border. He told me. I asked him why. "This way, our borders with Iran and Russia will also be confirmed in this treaty; that is, Europe will recognise them too," he said. I told him I thought it was very dangerous to bring this up. "Let us not provoke a dispute with the Russians or even the Persians. It is a settled and dormant matter. Moreover, there is no benefit in bringing it up. It is not a matter that concerns them. If something happened to our borders, would the governments that signed the treaty come and defend us?" I said. He gave up on this.

At the session on 23 January (3 January 1922), Curzon raised the issue of the southern borders. This is divided into two parts: Syria and Iraq. Syria will be with the French, Iraq with the British.

Before anyone else could mention the Syrian border issue, Bompard hastily said, "There is no such issue. It is something that has been accepted by both sides in the Ankara agreement. The conference merely confirms this." (p. 296) There was nothing to say. Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşek) had previously accepted this by entering the Franktin Bouillon (78). However, there was a significant number of pure Turks in the Iskenderun and Belen areas. They had also played an important role in the war for the liberation of Adana. Freedom was their right.

They were struggling not to remain under French rule. We could do nothing. The French did not grant them the administrative autonomy they had promised. Supposedly, the officials and teachers would be from among their own people. They would use Turkish in government, in court, and in schools. On the contrary, the French were still busy settling Armenians there. The Armenians were these Turks-

They've made Ier their target. Supposedly, this is to prevent a possible Turkish attack on Syria. Nonsense. It does not benefit the French, but the Armenians are persecuting the Turks. The current Turkish government is also meddling in this matter and does not want the terms of the agreement to be implemented. The Arabs are also placing Arab officials there. This is how things went. The Armenians want to establish the Armenia they couldn't create in Cilicia there. It will be a nucleus. When the opportunity arises, they will take Adana from there. That is their ambition. Especially the Dashnaks

are still preoccupied with this in Paris. The French seem to have accepted the formation of this Armenian homeland in northern Syria. The Armenian goal is to have one Armenia in Ararat and another in Adana. One day, they will take the land between them and create Greater Armenia.

The Iraq border was a matter concerning Mosul. We worked specifically on this from the very beginning. Since Curzon and İsmet were meeting, I also met with him several times alone in Curzon's room. They were Tyrell (now Britain's Ambassador to Paris). Forps Adam, Nikolson, several other British officials and British officers; we were İsmet, myself and District Governor Tevfik (now Chief Secretary to the Presidency). We met and discussed the matter many times at our hotel and their hotel. The British had also brought an Arab from Baghdad. We did not want to accept him into the negotiations, and we did not.

These negotiations continued orally for a while. Later, we also put them in writing in the form of a note. İsmet kept saying to me, "Come on, let's give up Mosul and be done with it." I replied, "No, Mosul is our most important place. That is our flank. An attack on our flank will come from there. And it also brings to mind the idea of a Kurdistan. Let us work. There is a chance of escape," I say. He replies, "Do not do it, it will backfire. The agreement, the peace will remain." I also prevent a settlement.

The British say, "Giving you Mosul means you will advance on Baghdad." It is clear that they fear this. İsmet, unable to handle it, and wrote to Ankara. The government asked the War Council. Fevzi Pasha said, "We must take Mosul." This gave me strength.

There was considerable progress in the private talks with the British. One day, the British came to us. They made a new offer. They had maps with them. They had drawn the border. "Here," they said. It passed just north of Mosul and left the entire province of Sulaymaniyah to us. This was a big deal. It meant there was growing hope of taking Mosul. Our military adviser Tevfik (Bıyıklıoğlu) said:

"What's the point of Sulaymaniyah? It's mountainous. Without Mosul, we can't even go there

. It will be a headache." I don't know those areas, and I'm not a soldier. I see İsmet is asking him about these things too.

It seems to me that, under İsmet Tevfik's influence, this man truly had a very sinister effect on İsmet, in the army, at Lausanne, and afterwards. During the Arab period, Tevfik was at İsmet's side. He knew his sensitive spots. He would immediately get under his skin.

He was originally from Mosul. His face is truly that of an Assyrian-Chaldean. Look at the human figures in the reliefs belonging to these peoples, and then look at his face—they are identical. I had nicknamed him Chaldean Tevfik. While in Lausanne, he had a weapons factory in Germany. He tried to sell it. İsmet appointed him to negotiate. I didn't like the bloke at all.

I immediately stopped it. Then, both İsmet and he kept these money matters very secret from me. I gave Tevfik a good telling-off. I said, "Mind your own business! Don't get involved in money shenanigans!" Is İsmet going to make a deal? Is he in charge of supplies?

Is he an official? He's like a supply manager. Tevfik finally asked the Khedive for fifty thousand lira in bribes a year ago. The letter was intercepted. Mustafa Kemal fired him. İsmet tried to save him, but he wouldn't agree. Tevfik tricked me with the promise of what he could get out of Süleymaniye. If that were the case, we might as well have taken Süleymaniye. Two years later, unable to take that either, İsmet abandoned all of Mosul. They appointed Fethi to this task. The British appointed Wilkons.

The matter fell to the League of Nations. The majority of votes were in our favour, but our ambassador to Bern, Cemal Hüsnü, offered a bribe to one of the members. The man got angry. He voted against us. The British won by a very narrow majority. Mosul was lost. Cemal Hüsnü (79) and so on...

CURZON SOFTENS

I made special contact with Lord Curzon regarding Mosul. I had learned this man's disposition: he is very sensitive to praise. He is truly a great man. He is worthy of all praise. I praise him to his face. And I do so with conviction and sincerity. This man gradually began to like me and invite me to his home. Curzon, who was harsh with everyone, including us, gradually softened; he became very sweet.

At every meeting, after various introductions and conversations, I would come to Mosul and say, "Leave this to us!" He reached a point where he seemed ready to say yes. One day, as I was insisting, he shifted to general politics.

"But you are with the Russians. How can that be?" he said. That was a good point. I said: "We have always been inclined to be friends with the English. The Turkish nation loves you. It does not love the Russians. The Russian is the natural enemy of the Turk. This situation is old and has not changed today. The Great War could not change it. We are now very friendly with the Russians; but this is your fault. You kicked us, and threw us into the lap. Now open your lap of friendship, and we will run to you." The poor man had pain in his feet*; he walked with difficulty and a stick. In fact, he entered the official

session with this cane, placing it on the table. It was strange, I would say, the cane-wielding teacher of the official

I would call him the cane-wielding professor of the conference. He got up from his seat, came over to me, and sat down.

So I had touched the most sensitive nerve.

"If we become friends, will you abandon the Russians?" he asked. "Immediately," I said. He was pleased. I said again: "Our enemy is Russia. We are tired of seizing land and of war, and we have given up. Our land is vast.

We only want security. Our sole aim is to rebuild our devastated country in peace and educate our nation. For this, we need you. You also need us. We will be your bulwark against the Russians. Instead of spending money in Iraq, we will provide you with gendarmerie services free of charge. If Iraq rebels against you, we will even give you an army.

Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism are far removed from us. You need a friendly force in the East. You tried to make Greece that force, but it did not work. Events have shown you that

the Greek nation lacks this capability. This capability exists only in the Turkish nation in the East. Only we can be this force." The conversation had gone very deep. He said, "Very well! These are very nice, true, but I want a guarantee of our friendship. How can this be? Because one day the government will change, and this policy will also change. You do not have a stable government, stable government ideas and politics."

I could not find an answer to this. I simply said, "It is not possible to find and say this immediately. If you wish, we can discuss this later."

I understand that the British attach importance to our separation from Russia and want this very much. Just as the Russians speculate about us in their general policies speculate on us in their general policy. We can do the same to them.

Moreover, if we become sincere friends with the British, they will need our strength and will rely on us. Naturally, this will also bring us great benefits

: economic, construction, education and training benefits, and the security of our borders. However, we must be able to convey this sincerity and sense of stability to them.

One day he summoned me again. We were talking again. My struggle has always been to win the friendship of the British. I am quite convinced that this is the only way for Turkey to have life and happiness. Russian friendship is a temporary thing. We needed it, we got it, it's over. We were friends for a while, but I saw that the Russians still harboured thoughts of invading Turkey. Our friendship has not been able to overcome this. Besides, what are the Russians? If the bald man had ointment, he would rub it on his own head... Their policy is also to reconcile with the British. They had confessed to me several times that they needed the British, that they would not survive without making peace with them. Especially our need for science and technology, money, and someone capable of protecting us from aggression, all of which the British possess. I spoke to Mustafa Kemal and especially İsmet about this policy many times after Lausanne.

I COULD HAVE TAKEN MOSUL FROM CURZON

If they had sent me specifically to London after Lausanne, I strongly believe that I would have established this friendship and saved Mosul. On the other hand, Lord Curzon always asked about me and wanted me after Lausanne.

I heard this from various people. One of them was Yusuf Kemal, who was the Ambassador to London at the time. When I returned to Ankara, he said to me: "Lord Curzon likes you so much. He never once asked me about İsmet. What is my friend Rıza Nur doing?

doing? Why isn't he coming here? They say he's going to Russia." They did indeed appoint me ambassador to London later, but I couldn't trust our people, so how could I accept this ambassadorship? Their sole purpose was to from the country. They would go back on their word in dealings with the British and humiliate me before them. Unfortunately, Lord Curzon had also passed away. We had gotten along very well with him. The Turkish nation has no luck...

I always say "Mosul" to Lord Curzon, and he says to me, "Why don't you take Syria?"

We were talking about Curzon, I said; "I moved on to something else. Let's come back to that." I was still saying "Mosul" to him. He was pacing around his room with his cane, talking. Finally, he came over to me, laughing heartily, and said in a low voice: "Mosul, Mosul... what are you going to do? Syria is right under your nose. Take it! One blow is enough." This pleased me greatly. It meant he had great confidence in me. He was saying something so important. He was suggesting we take Syria from the French, with whom they had maintained a close and sincere friendship for five years, even through bloodshed. I was not surprised. After all, at the beginning of the armistice I knew this when I was in Egypt at the beginning of the armistice. The British had formed committees among the Syrians, created armed organisations, and wanted to expel the French from Syria. All the recent Druze uprisings were orchestrated by the British. Because this issue is related to the Indian question. History is clear on this point. For a century and a half, there has been British-French competition in the Mediterranean, colonial competition. Indeed, Napoleon's entry into Egypt and Syria led the British to fight alongside us against the French, and ultimately the French were expelled from these lands. After Syria, Napoleon wanted to go to India. The presence of the French in Syria meant that India was in danger for the British.

. That is what I am saying. There is no possibility that the British would leave the French in Syria. One day, they will inevitably be expelled.

I know this. Curzon's proposal is serious. And if we wish, we can have very secret negotiations with them regarding Syria and they would also help us. This would make it possible to achieve our goals. However, it occurred to me that "This man is a very clever and experienced diplomat. Perhaps he wants to understand whether we are pursuing territorial occupation." With this thought in mind, I gave a diplomatic answer, which was both a negative response to such probing and a double blow to Britain: "We have no desire to take part in this, to shed blood and spend money for it. However, to be friends with you and prove our sincerity in material terms, we will take Syria from the French and give it to you."

He laughed so heartily that it was a sight to behold. I have kept this secret until today. Now I am compelled to commit it to paper in these memoirs.

After a while, I asked for permission to leave. He expressed a desire to meet again.

We parted. We believe that the British want Mosul for its oil. We thought we would give them the oil concession and take Mosul. We made this offer. Curzon never agreed. We are still insisting. Curzon said that the Mosul issue had nothing to do with the oil issue. And the British always repeated this. Curzon, in particular, insisted on this. It is a very surprising thing. This was the general opinion not only among us, but among everyone.

The British, however, claimed the opposite, and I couldn't understand why. I suppose another important reason is that Mosul is a strategic point. Whoever takes Mosul takes Baghdad. There is no mountain between them, no place of defence.

Meanwhile, a number of people also arrived in Lausanne. They came as agents of various British oil groups. These trading houses were apparently very wealthy and important. Each of them boasted of their millions, their influence, the British ministers in the cabinet, and that three or five of them were their own. Even General Townshend (80), who had fallen into our hands as a prisoner at Kut al-Amara, came for this oil business. Nihad Reşat always brings them to us. They say, give us the concession for the Mosul oil fields, and we will make you give us Mosul. Excellent! That is exactly what we want. A man named Rüstem (81)

Chaldean named Rüstem is also one of these agents. He sent a box of cigarettes and a tie with a crescent moon design to my room. I sent them back. During the armistice period, , the British Captain Benet, who became notorious for his hostile actions against the Turks in Istanbul, is also among them. He is also acting on behalf of the Ottoman dynasty. There are more.

İsmet attaches great importance to these matters. I do not attach importance to them. However, I do not consider them entirely unimportant either; but I am astonished. The claim made by the British delegation is particularly mind-boggling.

These agents are asking us for papers. If we give them the papers granting them privileges, the trading houses in London will immediately start operating. İsmet wanted to give one of them a document. He called Münir Bey. He called me: "Let it be with your signature," he said. I said, "Whatever is written should not imply any commitment." As far as I remember, this man was Rüstem, as I mentioned earlier. The fellow is heading to London with this paper.

İsmet also sent Nihad Reşat with him, giving him some pocket money. They went and came back. They brought back a paper. In it, they are already demanding a paper that commits their business. They say the paper you gave them does not commit to anything. Their intention is to get the privilege... We did not give them the paper they wanted.

Again, as I mentioned earlier, Nihad Reşat brought an Englishman who supposedly represented a trading house in London; he had introduced him to me and İsmet. In the second conversation, with Nihad present, the man told me that if I did the job, he would make me the head of the company he was going to form and would also give me money. In other words, he offered a bribe. I dismissed the man in the presence of Nihad (Reşat Belger).

There are many more like this. I realised that these are empty promises... Mosul cannot be taken this way. These men are simply a bunch of vagabonds hunting for privileges.

FEVZİ ÇAKMAK WANTS MOSUL

When the fellow I dismissed couldn't get anywhere with me, he found Hamid (Hasancan) and Cavit (the former Minister of Finance) among the advisers. I had no idea. I'm very busy. And they kept it from me. One day I went into Tsmet's office. I looked and saw that Englishman, Hamit, Nihad Reşat, and İsmet were there alone. Münir Bey was at the head of the table, writing something on a piece of paper. When I entered they all looked startled. "What's going on?" I asked. İsmet said, "The Mosul issue. This man promises that if we officially grant him the oil concession with a piece of paper now, he will get Mosul for us. I agree. I'm granting the concession. I'm having Münir Bey write it up," he said. I immediately took the paper from Münir's hand. I said, "This man is a swindler. He won't do anything. A few days ago, he offered me a bribe for this job; I sent him away. When I sent him away, he went to these people. They brought him to you. And you are granting him a concession... How can you grant it?! If he cannot get Mosul, what is the guarantee? Besides, you aren't the Minister of Public Works. How can you grant privileges? This is unacceptable." I tore up the paper. I said to Hamid and Nihad, "Did you come here to scheme for privileges? Hamid Bey! Nihad Bey! I won't tolerate you in such matters again."

"I don't want to see it," I shouted. And I left. Anyway, this ugly business fell through; but İsmet didn't let go of this kind of thing. That's just his nature. Once his mind is set on something, that's it... He decided to send Muhtar (Çilli) and Mustafa Şerif (Özkan) to London he decided to send Muhtar (Çilli) and Mustafa Şerif (Özkan) to London. He tasked them with contacting the ministers directly and settling the matter. He is preparing their expenses. He told me. I absolutely did not agree. "Don't send them! There is no benefit in this... We shall see... And let there be no adverse outcome. Perhaps we will deceive Curzon. Let us not lose sight of the bigger picture while trying to achieve something. It is a reckless endeavour," I said and insisted strongly. He did not listen and sent them. At this time, he had given up on abandoning Mosul; İsmet was striving with all his might to take it. I suppose the reason is this: he had asked Ankara about this matter again, and the government had informed us that it did not agree to abandon Mosul and had also sent us the opinion of the War Council. In it, Fevzi Çakmak spoke of the importance of Mosul and said it could not be abandoned.

These men achieved nothing in London. On the contrary, Curzon immediately sent us a note. The note said: "You want to bypass me and deal with other

authorities. This is a disgraceful act. I am responsible for resolving these matters. The task has been assigned to me. No one else can do it. Only I can do it." His language is grandiose. He is confident. To İsmet, "Well, did you get it?" I said. How could I not say it? I had insisted very strongly that the delegation should not be sent. Curzon later said this in the general session (p. 295) and said: "The Turks sent men to London to grant oil concessions without informing me. These gentlemen returned quickly. Because they quickly learned that nothing could be done without my knowledge." And he mocked, "I will hopefully show them the museums in London." In his reply to the note, İsmet, their He wrote that they had gone to London not for oil, but to visit museums. It was childish. All this business amounted to nothing more than giving Curzon a reason to mock them.

In short, the Mosul issue could not be resolved through private negotiations. Curzon referred the matter to the first commission. We and the British tried to prove our case by mentioning the ethnic and other aspects of the province of Mosul. They showed too many Kurds; they even wrote the Turkmen separately from the Turkish figures, saying they were not Turks (p. 280 ff...). I also prepared a memorandum with historical information on this subject. İsmet read it.

At this meeting, Curzon proposed that the Mosul issue be resolved by arbitration, with the League of Nations acting as the arbitrator. He threatened us to get us to accept this. He resorted to coercion. The coffee pourer is the one who says "hik," and Curzon's "hik" sayers are the French, Italians, Japanese, etc. Bompard immediately took the floor. He threatened us even more than Curzon did.

I hadn't known until now; the Japanese are completely British tools. I see it at the conference. But I didn't know it to this extent. I heard better from the Japanese delegation's secretary. They are in our hotel. Moreover, we hosted them. They have an Asian cause. I spoke openly about this and explained its necessity. That is why they like us. I tried to get some information from them . I wanted to learn more about Anglo-Japanese relations. This gentleman provided quite a bit of information, and in summary, he said: "We English are what That's what we call it. It's not just here, it's like that with everything. And we can't do anything else. We fear the British." That's how it is...

The threats immediately had an effect on İsmet. He accepted the offer. We had already complicated the Mosul issue with the London mission. Curzon was furious. He forced the issue

and forced it into this shape.

Thus, the first commission's work was done. The British did everything they wanted. The postponement of the Mosul issue is the solution Curzon found at our insistence. Let there be peace. Let the Mosul issue not be an obstacle. It will be resolved later. Forbes Adam came specifically to tell me this. This was what we wanted too. Because peace must definitely be made. The Mosul issue will also be resolved: What dawns before daybreak...

When these matters are settled, peace will be achieved. Because the British dominate the conference and the world. The British got what they wanted regarding the Straits. When that happened, they separated Mosul from the peace process. Now, peace is a matter of time and determination. There is no obstacle. Because the British will bring the others into line anyway. They will get them to sign the peace.

SECOND COMMISSION

Population and Prisoner Exchange - Minority Issues

1 In December 1922 (12 December 1922), the general assembly was convened, and Curzon proposed the urgent and important matter of resolving the issues of prisoner exchange and population exchange between the Turks and Greeks, and Greek populations. He added, "Dr Nansen (82) has prepared a report on this matter. He will read it. Then the delegates should state their opinions."

However, the agenda only mentioned the exchange of prisoners. I was astonished. This exchange was my most cherished aspiration from the standpoint of Turkish nationalism; but I had been wondering how I could propose such an unprecedented thing.

I had been pondering for some time. Now it had come up on its own. It was as if it had fallen from the sky, a "divine intervention".

Nansen, who went to Turkey as a League of Nations delegate and conducted investigations, says in his rather lengthy report: "Lord Curzon invited me to convey my opinion to the commission regarding the exchange of Turks and Greeks. This matter has been under consideration and investigation for two months. My own investigations have shown that the exchange of populations is essential for peace and economic stability in the Near East. The League of Nations has appointed me as a political had sent to assist the refugees. In Istanbul, representatives of four major states instructed me to immediately initiate proceedings with these two governments for the exchange of Turkish and Greek minorities. I also contacted these two I also made contact with these two governments. I obtained the official consent of the Greek government.

My negotiations with the Ankara government had also progressed considerably. This issue is a grave economic matter. The exchange must be carried out fully and urgently."

İsmet Pasha was astonished by this proposal and considered it purely a personal matter. This perception was entirely incorrect. Population exchange was the most vital issue for Turkey. In fact, it was not included in the instructions given to us by the delegation, but we

. Once the proposal was made, we should have accepted it as if it were manna from heaven. I informed İsmet in writing that he should and that he had accepted it.

He read the paper. He said it was necessary to negotiate with the minorities, but he did not say he accepted it. This upset me greatly. The most important thing was to rid Turkey of the elements that had been a source of weakness for centuries, that rebelled and were used by foreign powers, and to make it uniformly Turkish. It was also the most important thing occupying my mind; but I was thinking about how to propose it. It was a heavy and unprecedented task. Getting it accepted, or even proposing it, was very difficult. Thank God they proposed it.

It was strange that Nansen made this proposal when it should have been us. The British had undoubtedly sent him. It was extremely noteworthy and surprising that the British would make such a proposal. England wants to remove from Turkey an element that has been instrumental in dividing Turkey, which means it wants the entity called Turkey to remain intact. I still cannot grasp the reality of this in concrete terms. Perhaps they were thinking of saving the Christians from being slaughtered later. That's all.

Venizelos declared that he accepted Nansen's proposal, namely the exchange of populations. This is surprising. Greece is abandoning its ambitions of invasion over Turkey! Perhaps they think that the Turks, having suffered greatly this time, will slaughter and exterminate the Greeks. Because the Greeks have exterminated the Turks in Greece through massacres since their independence. They fear that this time the Turks will resort to the same. Perhaps this acceptance stemmed from this concern. All the other delegations also said that the exchange would be a humane act.

İsmet also accepted the exchange on the condition that it be negotiated with the minorities; however, according to his words, this acceptance is not complete. I began to worry badly that it would be a false move and backfire. Indeed, Venizelos later stated that the exchange would be voluntary, not compulsory, and that Istanbul would be exempt from the exchange. In the end, Venizelos stated that he would accept it in any form, whether voluntary or compulsory. He only insisted on the exemption of Istanbul. Churzon wanted it to be compulsory. He was very pleased with this; but he also wanted the Greeks of Istanbul to be exempt. In return, he offered to exempt the Turks of Western Thrace. This is, in fact, our demand.

The Turkish and Greek figures mentioned by Curzon are incorrect. The Greek figures have been inflated, while the Turkish figures have been reduced. This is because these figures were provided by the Greeks. However, it is strange that Hamit Bey, the President of the Red Crescent, once told Doctor Nansen that the number of Greeks in Eastern Thrace was three hundred and twenty

Curzon said this in this session. We were astonished. Yet the Greeks themselves had said three hundred thousand, which is less. There were never that many Greeks in Thrace. One is tempted to say that Hamid is more Greek than the Greeks

. And now he is our adviser! Hamid (Hasançan) is not Greek, he is Turkish, but he is a different breed; there was a small class among us like that. Their mentality was this: "The French are a superior race. Everything they say is right.

He must always be kept happy and satisfied. Even if it is wrong, one must act according to his whims. If necessary, one must be against the Turks and insult and disparage the Turk." Their sense of nationality was very weak. They were cosmopolitans. Perhaps Hamid had this idea: The French are people who get privileges, do business, and make money. They open their purses. By pleasing them, you can also make money.

Anyway... A subcommittee was formed.

İsmet told me, "You will handle these matters." However, these are the most noisy, chaotic affairs. It is, in fact, general politics; it is my field, my style.

I began attending the commission. They made the Italian delegate Montagna the chairman. Opposite him were Venizelos from Greece and the Greek ambassador to London, Caclamanos, along with several advisers, including General Mazaraki (Italian military adviser); Rumbold, Rayan, and Forbes Adam from the British; and De la Fruva, La Porte, and Bargeton from the French. Although it had previously been said that the sub-commission should be small, consisting of Turkey, Greece and the other three major powers, the sub-commission grew; Romania, Sweden, Japan and America also joined, and all the states participating in the conference came, and it took on the form of a full commission. In view of its importance, minutes were kept. Later

it was published in French. However, the minutes of the other subcommissions, apart from those of the second commission, were not kept or published.

The discussions of this second sub-commission were very lively. There were heated debates and arguments. Both Greece's chief delegate and second delegate continued together.

At one point in the subcommittee, I clashed with Venizelos. At one point, he did not come.

I clashed with Caclamanos (Greece's second delegate). Caclamanos was helpless. Venizelos returned. He too eventually received a blow from me. He fainted in the chamber.

I took Münir (Erteğün), Şükrü Kaya, Mustafa Şeref (Özkan), Veli (Saltık), Nusret (Metya), and Tevfik (Bıyıklıoğlu) as my advisers, choosing one of them according to their specialisation. I took Tevfik with me once, I think for a military matter. I looked at Nusret, but he was of no use, so I dismissed him. I also dismissed Veli shortly afterwards due to an incident I will mention later, and never involved him in any work again.

I mostly took Mustafa Şeref, Şükrü Kaya, or Münir. I also took Ahmed Cevat as my clerk. The subcommittee negotiations began.

The minutes marked 'Secret' from page 442 to the end (645) exclusively cover the negotiations of this commission. Initially called the minority sub-commission, it was later renamed the population exchange sub-commission.

Montagna initially spoke of the importance of the work to be done by this sub-commission and how the whole world was concerned with it. He outlined the tasks to be undertaken by the minority sub-commission. * * *

A) GENERAL AMNESTY AND MINORITIES

There are many inaccuracies in the minutes. The delegates and clerks of the Allied Powers compiled these minutes as they saw fit. They included what suited them and omitted what did not. They also distorted some parts. However, some of these were reported in the newspapers at the time. Even Derso drew cartoons about them. There is not a word about these in the minutes. Our Reşit Saffet did not perform this task at all. Here, on pages 443 and

See 449) It is written that the Armenians, the Armenian case was also on the agenda and was mentioned and enumerated by Montagna. This is completely false. They never mentioned the Armenian issue. They kept it secret. Then suddenly, using the term *tulumbacı*, they brought it up in the session by means of trickery. Indeed, there was a great commotion in this

caused a great uproar in this chapter. Notes were exchanged between us and the British. These were not included in the minutes. I will mention one. The statements from the 12th line to the end of page 448 in the minutes are false and fabricated by them. Our clerk did not prevent them from recording this here. Our clerk turned out to be very bad. He failed to perform his duties.

1 - The Western understanding of minorities

The French recognise three types of minorities among us: racial minorities, linguistic minorities, and religious minorities. This is a very serious matter for us, a great danger. When it is against us, these people think so deeply and so well... In terms of race, they will place the Circassians, Abazas, Bosnians, Kurds, etc. alongside the Greeks and Armenians. In terms of language, they will also make those who are Muslim but speak another language a minority. In terms of religion, they will also make the two million pure Turks a minority. In other words, they will scatter us like cotton fluff and throw us away. When I heard this division, my hair stood on end. My hairs felt like stakes. I bristled. I devoted all my strength to removing these terms. I struggled a lot. With great difficulty, but I did remove them.

The lesson here is: Not leaving people of other races, languages, or religions in our homeland is the most fundamental, fairest, and most vital task. This is why I had already embraced Turkish nationalism and fierce Turkish nationalism many years ago. I worked towards this with my works and articles, and I also endeavoured to implement it in the positions I held. This is why dispersing the Circassian, Albanian, etc. villages and resettling them mixed with Turks is the foremost task. There are still Bosnian, Albanian, etc. villages in Anatolia where they speak Bosnian, Albanian, and do not know Turkish. Foreign states have noted this. However, during the minority negotiations, Niničić, who was sitting next to me, said something very noteworthy. Another Serbian delegate also stated this officially in the session: "You have nothing to take from us. We have no Turks. The Muslims among us are Serbs. But we have something to take from you. There are 50,000 Bosniaks in Anatolia. They are Bosniaks, but ethnically Serbs." From where to where?! Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, fine, but until now, Bosniaks had never even crossed my mind. We are in grave danger... This is how foreign powers are clawing at our hearts. If they try a little harder, they will turn the ants in Turkey into a minority too. This foreign element is a scourge and a microbe. They, and likewise the Kurds, must be continuously isolated from the same language and ethnicity through a representation plan.

They presented a proposal. I presented a counterproposal. In my proposal, I first used the term secular in our country and at the conference. I then repeated this many times

and stated that we would create a civil code, that we would adopt it from Europe, and that we would separate religion from the state. The reason I said these things is because the French say, "Your laws are religious. We cannot rule Christians with Muslim law." It was because of these words that I defended our thesis against the privileges of the Greek Patriarchate.

They want to exempt Christians from military service and attach great importance to this. They also want to preserve the privileges granted to the Greeks by Fatih, in addition to the religious and similar freedoms applied in treaties with European states. The details of these are in the minutes. Unfortunately, however, most of what was said is not there.

We are continuing the negotiations. Rumbold Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, etc.

such as special provisions concerning Jews in the Romanian treaty, and the exchange of Bulgarians and Greeks in the Bulgarian and Greek treaties. Therefore, he stated that it is necessary to include parallel provisions in the Turkish treaty according to the specific situation. He is right about this. True, but in the meantime, they will be cunning and slip in completely harmful things. This man has been in Istanbul as high commissioner since the armistice and is a very bad enemy of the Turks. He is not very intelligent, even foolish, and only moderately educated. These have always been the most important arguments of Europe and the Christians: "Your laws are religion. Your religion is Islam. You cannot govern Christians with Islam." Of course, they have a right to this. In fact

Christianity has some influence and rulings in European laws, but it is minimal compared to ours. I see that, once again, this principle is based on...

They are moving. I had previously stated that in order to silence them, Turkey would separate religion and government, become a secular state, enact a civil code, and do so entirely on this basis, copying it directly from Europe. In fact, when abolishing the sultanate, I had already incorporated this principle into my proposal. I had separated religion and the caliphate from the state. I was making use of the National Pact in Moscow at this conference as well. This and the National Pact came to my rescue like Hızır. I also said that Turkish sovereignty was sacred and could not be violated.

I kept bringing these points up whenever I felt the need. They remained silent.

We are continuing the negotiations with great intensity. They are growing more intense by the day. Sometimes they flare up.

Since the President had a lot at his disposal, I entered into a special relationship with Montagna. I became his personal friend, so to speak. We are now on friendly terms. The Italians are mostly against the Greeks. I probed Montagna on this point. He is Italy's ambassador to Athens. He opened up. He explained. I saw that he does not like the Greeks at all, that he is hostile towards them. Well...

The French are also giving me a hard time. When I mention the civil law of separation of religion and state, they fall silent and sometimes even agree with our thesis. But the English are a problem. Rumbold is a sworn enemy of the Turks. Naturally, the Greeks are resisting as fiercely as they can. The English are mostly Greeks from the Greek side. I thought that such vehemence was not the policy of the British government but Rumbold's personal policy. Or perhaps it was the influence of the Church of England.

I thought about contacting Ryan privately, influencing him through private negotiations, and thus reducing the intensity of their aggression and resistance. I believe that Ryan is Rumbold's mentor. The demands of the British delegation are all things taught by Ryan. I also made special contact with him and gained a lot of benefit, which I will mention in due course.

One evening, I went to see İsmet, and we were sitting there. He had a secret look on his face, frowning... He suddenly blurted out, "What's this? They're calling you the second delegate? Where did you get that from?" I had no idea about such a thing. I was surprised by İsmet's words and his anger. I said, "I have no knowledge of such a title. Who says that? If you think I taught it, investigate! You'll find out. I wouldn't even stoop to such things. It never even crossed my mind. I don't have time to think about it anyway. Apparently, other countries call the delegates after the president the second delegate. Should they call us that too? What fault is mine in this? What can I do? ... Does it go against your power? ... Do you think this is too much for me? ... Does it diminish your honour?! The French call their delegates first, second. Whoever told me that wasn't lying. You're first, I'm second, Hasan is third delegate. Isn't that right? If they had called me first delegate, it would be unfair, then you should have been angry. I regret you're dealing with such things..." I got up from beside him and left. Those words

and it gnawed at me the longer I thought about it. I thought, what kind of man are we friends with?! We are in a bloody struggle for the survival and life of the state and the nation. While fighting on the front lines, a man who holds the title of commander-in-chief cannot bear the position and title of a man who is a commander under his command, and he says it to my face. I inquired, and it turned out that our newspapers had given me a second

They write that we are authorised representatives. I never told our journalists to write such things, nor did such a thing occur to me, nor do I have time to read our newspapers... I don't have time, our newspapers and European newspapers write a lot about me. I hear about these things later. I don't have time to cut my nails from work. . Turkish newspapers are praising me, as are German and Austrian newspapers. They are also publishing my pictures. French

and English newspapers, however, are against me, of course... An enemy doesn't sing praises to an enemy, does he? Egyptian newspapers have also written a lot about me. In the General War,

I only learned about all this after the peace. So, İsmet couldn't stand the praise in our newspapers... He couldn't say it, so he turned it into an excuse for the second plenipotentiary...

This was not a lie, it was true. They did not say chief delegate! This man's tremendous ambition deeply affected me. I grew very cold towards İsmet.

I mentioned that many painters had also come to Lausanne for the conference. They were painting our portraits. We were tired of posing, we didn't have time, they begged us. We couldn't stay more than three or four times. Now they would come while we were eating and paint our pictures. The most skilled among them was Der-so. He painted caricatures of all the delegates and advisers.

Although he had done so, he had not been able to capture my likeness. Venizelos depicted me boxing in his painting. I have a complete collection of these paintings. It is in the library in Sinop. However, only about two hundred copies were printed, so it is rare.

The negotiations were very difficult. Especially with the British and the Greeks. Everyone else was confirming their ideas with various words, and I was alone. They were using every means possible to make me accept what they wanted, leaving me helpless. In other words, they wanted to turn me into a dumb chicken. But my resistance was growing. Now I think about it, what was I like back then, how did I manage to resist so much? I had a fiery ideal of Turkish nationalism. I suppose all my strength came from there.

2 - Minorities and military service

At one point, they proposed that Christians should at least have independent battalions in the military, and shortly afterwards, that they should be used in rear services. My insistence is this: they must be soldiers without fail and be used wherever required. I am resolute on this. The reason for my insistence is this: Turks go to war, close their shops, and trade declines. Christians, however, stay behind and become wealthy. Turks cannot stay with their wives. They cannot have children, but Christians do. Turks are killed in war, Greeks are not; they multiply. In many parts of Turkey where there were no Greeks or very few before, they have multiplied in this way. Finally, they cornered me badly in court.

I said it officially. Not only could they not answer, they also laughed at the issue of having children. Likewise, Greeks and Armenians are very afraid of military service. Especially the labour battalions formed during the Great War have really scared them. So, if there is military service, the young people will flee to Greece when they reach military age. Those over twenty will die off naturally.

So the age of conscription is a handicap for Christians. In this way, we will get rid of the Christians we cannot exchange through exchange, like purging bile every year for thirty years. Within forty or fifty years, military service will wipe them out. I have calculated this. That is why I held fast to this point. I never wavered. They could not dislodge me, and in the end, I succeeded.

Indeed, the five years following the peace agreement showed that the majority of Greeks, Armenians and Jews who had reached military age fled. A deserter naturally does not return for fear of punishment. Thank God... I am very pleased with this success.

At the end of the session on 22 December (2 January), Montagna said, "The Bulgarian delegation requested to be heard on the subject of minorities. I will invite them." This was sudden and unexpected! The Bulgarians were not at war with us, and they were not invited to make peace. They cannot come to the conference and speak on this matter. Moreover, our people had previously made an exchange with the Bulgarians for Eastern Thrace. There are no Bulgarians here. I thought and thought, it was meaningless. Then, in a flash of inspiration, the Armenians came to mind. Could it be that they would bring them in on this occasion?! I immediately decided to take decisive action and categorically refuse to hear the Bulgarians. I formally told Montagna in the session that we could not accept. Montagna said, "I don't want this

, that it wasn't even on his mind, but that the Bulgarians wanted it and that it was impossible to refuse them when they asked." In my private conversations with Montagna, I understood

that this man is a schemer, a liar, a trickster. He is lying again. Of course, he is a diplomat; who knows what traps he is setting. I said, "If you wish to hear a delegation that is not invited to the conference, the Turkish Delegation cannot participate in that session." The French delegate said, "If the Turkish Delegation does not wish to participate in these, the other plenipotentiary delegations cannot object to hearing them." I also said, "Sessions in which we do not participate cannot be official. Therefore, they are null and void and cannot be included in the minutes." They have recorded all of this incorrectly in the minutes, according to their own interpretation (p. 486).

Şükrü Kaya trembled violently with every word as the arguments grew more heated and the attacks against us intensified during the first sessions. His face turned ashen. Holding his knee with my hand, I said, "Don't tremble! Everyone can see you, be brave!" He gradually got used to it. I also gave him a word or two of encouragement. He spoke quite well. When there was a legal matter requiring an expert, I would take Mr Münir with me.

The discussion continued heatedly.

These days, there were serious matters at hand in the first and second committees. We were breathing fire. To intimidate us, the Entente delegations were threatening to declare war against us again

they were trying to get us to accept their proposals by threatening to declare war against us. Sometimes they made such threats openly.

At that moment, someone had made such a threat to İsmet. İsmet insisted, "We won't be able to make peace. Everything will be ruined." He said to me, "Darling, don't go too far, no matter what. Let's make peace and get it over with." I replied, "No,

We will strive to the utmost to make a good peace. Don't listen to such things!" These days, his nerves are completely shot, he is not himself. What a weak-nerved man he is. How he commanded, one wonders. When he was strong, he was not weak. SECOND COMMISSION: POPULATION,

PRISONER EXCHANGE AND MINORITIES 111, but rather attacks like a tiger, enjoys aggression. But when faced with pressure, he freezes. He's not busy with any work, nor does he talk to anyone. He doesn't eat, but paces around his room, thinking. He cannot sleep at night either. "Don't do it! Don't go!"

"You're wasting your energy!" I say. Advice doesn't help either. It's always like this during these crises.

Yahya Kemal, seeing him like this one evening, said to me, "Some raki has arrived for me from Istanbul. Let's go and drink it in your room. On one condition: you order us some caviar!" "All right!" I said. I ordered caviar and other appetisers. A couple of people came. I went to fetch İsmet too. He didn't want to come.

I brought him by force, we drank, ate, talked, laughed. Such an opportunity had never arisen before in Lausanne. We tried so hard with İsmet, but we couldn't get him to drink a single glass of raki or eat a single bite of appetiser. He wandered around. Finally, he lay down on a deckchair, closed his eyes, and thought. Not once did he join in the conversation, nor did he smile even once. Yet this man likes to drink raki. Many funny things were said. Yahya Kemal, in particular, strangely enough, made witty remarks. These went right over İsmet's head. İsmet remained like this for three whole days and nights. Finally, exhausted, he fell asleep. This sleep lasted one night and one day. Then it passed. The possibility of war breaking out again had touched his imagination. Once something touched his imagination, that was it, that's how it was.

Let me tell you how they rip people off in European hotels, so you know. Once, the caviar ran out. We had more brought in. There was about two hundred and fifty grams in total. At the end of the week, they wanted about one hundred and forty Turkish lira for it on the bill. Thank God, Ahmet İhsan (Tokgöz) was with me. He said, "This is robbery! Don't pay it!" He took the bill. He went to the manager. Thanks to this, the price was reduced to forty

It dropped to a lira, and the manager came over and apologised to me, saying it was a mistake. If it hadn't been done that way, it would have cost a hundred and forty lira.

Ahmet İhsan is a resourceful man. Recently, we appointed him to our publications and intelligence department. He has indeed rendered services. He is essentially a very selfish man. He knows nothing but money. All other human and patriotic feelings are absent in him. But he is a capable man. He is someone who has served the Turkish press.

Rauf wrote me a letter from Ankara by courier. He also cut out an article from a European newspaper about Lausanne and sent it to me. He is writing a review of this article. In response, I wrote that it was not authentic and gave the letter to Reşit Saffet to put in the courier. We broke off and went to Ankara. One day, Rauf said to me, "I sent you a letter, but you didn't write back." It is my habit, for better or worse, to reply to letters I receive. I remembered and said I had written a reply. "No, it didn't arrive," he said. It immediately came to mind. One day...

In Lausanne, İsmet asked me, "You wrote a letter to Rauf. What did you write?" And he looked at me meaningfully. I understood. Reşit Saffet gave our letter to İsmet. He read it and didn't send it... Yet I hadn't written anything bad. They were questions about work. İsmet couldn't tolerate this. Yet he himself wrote letters to Mustafa Kemal every night. What was that about? And it never occurred to me to wonder what he was writing and why he was keeping it secret from me.

Reşit Saffet left Cavid in Lausanne and doesn't even say hello. side, he was saying things against Cavid to İsmet. Yet, before I went to Ankara, he had hung Talât and Cavid's photographs above his bed in the bedroom. Cavid is his benefactor. I see that every now and then some members of the delegation say things against him to İsmet. He's practically a spy. On the other hand, he has pride, he wants to be the leader. He's playing politics on his own. He visits the delegations of the British, Russians, French, Italians, etc. It's a complicated business... He pressures me every day. He insists that I immediately appoint him as ambassador to Paris. He begs me. I'm tired of his insistence, his repetition. He's not tired. I never once mentioned this to İsmet. Then he gave up on Paris and wanted the ambassadorship to Bucharest. Finally, one day, I said to Reşit Saffet, "Look, Reşit Bey wants the ambassadorship." He didn't care either.

The delegations are hosting each other to grand official banquets. These banquets are for about a hundred people.

3 - The situation of the Greeks

In our commission, the Greeks and others are raising hell about Christians' marriages, inheritance matters, and so on. I respond by telling them that we are about to apply European civil law exactly as it stands. This response is met with silence. It has a particularly strong effect on the French. French delegate Laroş: "They claim they will apply European civil law.

In that case, it is not right to demand certain privileges in these matters.

Christians must also be subject to it." He silences the others.

way, the French delegate was of great assistance to us. However, the Greeks retain the religious privileges they obtained from Fatih. I am determined to abolish these entirely. Ever since I was old enough to understand the political and administrative affairs of the country, I have been very hostile to the Greek Patriarchate and its privileges. Especially since becoming a Turkophile, this hostility has increased and intensified. I saw that these privileges kept the country under capitulation and destroyed it. Time had given me the unmissable opportunity of Lausanne.

I was striving with all my might. I was completely absorbed in my efforts. I was almost beyond myself in these matters. An exuberant spirit within me was driving and urging me on. Would I lose this opportunity? I am striving to destroy these
I am striving for their destruction.

İsmet is angry with my civil law work. Yet there were great benefits in it. If we give our girls and boys Turkish values, with the Christians

When they marry, they make their wives or husbands, or at least their children, Turkish. The devout Greeks, fearing that their daughters will marry Turks when they come of age, take their daughters and emigrate to Greece. In this way, their roots in Istanbul are severed. In the time of Sheikh al-Islam* Vani Efendi (83), Turks were marrying Christian girls without converting them to Islam. The Greek patriarch saw that the Greeks were dying out. He bribed Vani Efendi and obtained the following fatwa from him: "These women eat pork and drink wine during pregnancy, so these children cannot be Muslim." In this way, the government prohibited these marriages. government banned these marriages. Had this accursed Sheikh al-Islam not done this, there would be no Christians in Turkey today. The state would not have suffered thousands of calamities and would not have been destroyed in this way. The terrible thing is that I, who suffered from this, still cannot understand its benefits.

4 - Demand for a Homeland for the Armenians

At the meeting on 20 December (31 December 1922), the American delegate requested a homeland for the Armenians and said it was necessary in the name of humanity. Ha!! When I said Bulgarian, I had imagined the Armenian dream. Now it seems to be coming true. I also thought, "Since the Americans want the Armenians to be comfortable in the name of humanity and are themselves striving to serve humanity, this

"Let them give them a home in America," I said. "Why?" they asked. "Because there is no comfort in Turkey yet. America is a well-organised, comfortable and prosperous country. Armenians would be very comfortable there," I said. They all laughed. The American delegate laughed too. They didn't put this in the minutes either. Montagna said, "Tomorrow is New Year's Day. Give this as a New Year's gift!" I said, "We don't have a custom of giving gifts at New Year. Besides, this is a Christian New Year, and it's your custom, so you give it." They laughed at this too. We laughed too. The session ended. They didn't put this in the minutes either.

With this, I thought the Armenian issue had been resolved with such a minor thing, and I was pleased. I felt a heavy burden lifted from my shoulders. It turned out there was more to come...

Days passed. We were busy with the minority issue. One day, the agenda arrived an hour before the session, as they usually did. The purpose of this was to prevent us from preparing our response and conducting research, in other words, to catch us off guard. The agenda stated, "The Armenian, Assyrian, and Chaldean delegations will be heard at today's session." I was astonished. At the end of the session on 22 December (3 January 1923), when the chairman said, "We will hear the Bulgarian delegation," I had seen the Armenian delegation behind the Bulgarians and reacted strongly, saying, "We cannot participate in such sessions, and these are not official sessions and cannot be recorded in the minutes." It turns out I was right. The Armenians had flooded into Lausanne, rolled up their sleeves under the banner of the Armenian Homeland, and were working. Not only that, but I had only ever seen Armenians before, and now there were also

unknown Assyrians and Chaldeans we had never heard of. Astonishing! I was stunned. Then I became very angry. So they were playing games with us. I decided they absolutely

listen to them. I decided to play a trick on them in return, just to see what would happen.

I will not attend the session, but I will do so suddenly. I haven't told İsmet either. Because it might touch on his sense of possibility, force me to abandon my plan, and make me attend the session. It would be a pity. This man always says, "Boca ." I will do it without giving any notice, so that the French will approach İsmet and intimidate him. I waited, and half an hour before the meeting, I wrote a note. I signed it with my own signature. In it, I said: "I told you, you cannot listen to these things. If you want to listen, we won't come. Besides, it's not an Armenian or Assyrian state. We came to negotiate with states, etc... For this reason, we are not coming to the session." Exactly ten minutes before, I called the clerk Ahmet Cevad. "Take this! Don't show it to anyone and don't tell anyone! Take the car and go to Uşi! When the session time comes, let the delegates take their seats. At that moment, go inside, give this note to Montagna, and leave immediately! Don't stay there!" Because if he stayed in the room, these men would consider us present at the session. They are capable of such things. So he did. They couldn't hold the session, but they listened to the Bulgarians, Armenians, etc., on a confidential basis. However, they couldn't record this in the minutes. In short, I acted on my own authority. İsmet was informed afterwards. The matter passed without any difficulty from İsmet, nor any objection or reaction from the French. I, however, was convinced that a serious incident would occur. I was grateful.

I see this matter in the French minutes. But since it did not suit their purposes, they did not record it accurately. What they wrote is completely wrong. They have committed fraud. Unfortunately, our general clerk also failed to pay attention to this and preserve Turkish law; he did not do his duty. Again, at the session on 22 December, I recorded such a discussion in the minutes.

I said you couldn't do that. They didn't include that sentence in the minutes either. At that time, I never had time to look at the minutes that were to be published. In short, the French were doing whatever they wanted with everything. They were doing very unfair things. Our clerk, however, had no feelings, no enthusiasm, no presence whatsoever.

Now Montagna set about doing this job sweetly, trying to deceive and trick me with private interviews. This time they had changed their plans; they would no longer listen to delegations from the Armenians and so on. They promised me this, saying only they would praise them, "They have suffered greatly, they deserve it, it is humane. Give them the Armenian homeland

!" Montagna came to me, invited me to his office, and tried to persuade me to agree to such a session. "My dear allies used the Armenians a lot in the war, shouldn't they say this much? It has become a duty," he said. From my private contacts, I understood that he did not possess even a shred of dignity or gentlemanliness befitting his position. It was clear that he wanted to put me in the closet. They had already started this business with trickery.

THE BLOW I STRUCK AGAINST THE WESTERNERS IN THE ARMENIAN HOMELAND ISSUE

This Armenian National Homeland issue has become quite complicated, with all of Europe and America involved.

He wants it from us. So this is a major, dramatic coup de theatre he's after. But such a coup will only end in failure. There's no other way they'll let us off the hook. I predicted that Montagna would use this attempt as an excuse for such a coup. Because he is a schemer, he gives me an excuse. Montagna again: "My dear, the British and the French have used these men for their own purposes, their own interests, and in this way they have broken them.

Now they feel morally obliged to demand a homeland for these men. The Armenians believed the promises at the time. Don't do it, accept it! Let them do it!" he says. "How can that be? Never! Are we going to give them a homeland? We won't even utter a word on this subject!" I say. He says: "My dear, it's not like that, they'll just say it for the sake of saying it. They won't insist on building a homeland." "No way!" I said, and said nothing else. He was forced,

begged. What they did to us, the issue of hearing them in court, had stirred up all my anger and hatred, and it was still keeping me on my feet. At that moment, I wanted to cause an incident. It happened. I want to take revenge for the tricks they played for this job. Moreover, this matter will not go away unless it is a serious incident. If I insist too much now, the opportunity may slip away, and it would be wrong to miss it. If I don't accept, I won't be able to play with them. I won't be able to deliver the blow I want. Otherwise, my refusal and insistence are all just pretence, necessary for the scheme to be complete. I said, "If, on behalf of all of them, you say only two lines in your capacity as leader, 'It is a pity for the Armenians. Give them a homeland!', I will agree." I said, "I accept this out of personal respect for you, for your sake." "Very well!" he said. "Do you guarantee this will happen on your honour?" I asked. "Yes!" he said. I know he's lying. After all, this will butter my bread. Because I will raise hell and finish the Armenian issue. And I will also pin the responsibility for the hell I raise on Montag. Double-layered bread pudding. He thinks he's put me in the cupboard, feeling pleased... And I'm pretending to be in the cupboard.

I appear. I'm setting him up. That's how it was decided and that's how it ended. People are ugly creatures. Who knows, maybe inside he's saying to himself, "What an idiot! I've set him up." But inside, I'm quite pleased. I've set him up. It's done... I'm as sure as two plus two equals four that Montagna will give me the opportunity to put my plan into action. Because he's a schemer. He'll probably even tell his allies about my secret in a different way. I haven't said anything about this to Ismet yet. If I did, he would surely stop me, saying, "Oh no, you'll spill the beans."

At the end of the sessions of January 1923 (17 January 1923), Montagna moved on to the issue of the Armenian Homeland. He began to read what he had written for this. I saw that it was a long piece. I had never been deceived by Montagna. He was defending it as I knew he would. Again, I saw that he was adding things that had not even occurred to me

. For example, they had previously listened to the Bulgarians. We did not attend that session, so their words were not recorded in the minutes. He also said, "Unfortunately, the Turks didn't come to the session. I will convey their requests to the Turkish delegation on their behalf." So he was adding fuel to the fire. Montag was the most distinguished creature of the type I had imagined. I objected, but he didn't listen. "We won't listen, is that how it will be?" I said. He didn't care... He just carried on. It was as if the man had been born deaf... So that was our plan. He finished. Rumbold began. I objected again. I asked to speak. They didn't care... They carried on... They read at length, their faces bright red, clearly anxious. So they were afraid of something untoward happening. I want to speak plainly. He finished. The French delegate began. This time I intensified my request. I stood up. Like Montagna, I said, "I'll say a few words." I began before the French.

I said: "The Allied Powers have made the Armenians their political tool, They attacked the fire. They incited rebellion against their own state. The result was their punishment. They were broken by punishment, contagious disease, famine and exile. The entire responsibility for this lies not with us, but with the Allied Powers. If the Armenians deserve a reward, you give it to them! You cannot befriend someone with someone else's property.

The Armenians are oppressed, they should be given a homeland and independence. We are convinced of this. However, there is not just one oppressed nation in the world. Egypt has been shaken by bloodshed several times, most recently yesterday, for its freedom. India, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco want their freedom and their homeland. Even the Irish have shed so much blood for centuries for their homeland and independence! Give them their independence and their homeland

, let us give it to the Emenis immediately. Everything you have read is nonsense. Under these conditions, we cannot remain here. We are leaving the session." I said.

I stood up. My words were very harsh. They were all beetroot red. Especially Rumbold! He was alternately pale and purple.

I believe that since England became England, it had never heard such fierce accusations and harsh words in diplomacy. To hear this from a Turkish delegate today, when power and strength are at their peak, how heavy it must have been for these arrogant Englishmen...

THE IRISH ARE THANKFUL

They did not include this last part of my words in the minutes. They were playing with the minutes as they pleased, falsifying them. What a fraud! Yet these words of mine had been reported verbatim in the newspapers at the time. A few days later, the Irish Independence Movement wrote me a letter saying, "We thank you for mentioning the Irish among the oppressed nations seeking freedom." This shows how well our general secretary did his job. Even after we left, the French delegate read something out, and they even included it in the minutes... This shows the example of friendship from the French and how the trust we placed in the general secretary of the conference, that is, in the European states,

.

Montagna, in a panic, began to shout barbarically, "You cannot leave the session!" He wouldn't tear it up... I said, "Can't we leave the session?" Montagna said, "Yes, you can't!" I said, "Is there a force capable of keeping the Turkish delegation here? We will leave the session, and you will see how we leave!" I said to our advisers and clerks, "Come on, get up!"

They got up. Clerk Ahmed Cevad was standing in front of me, bewildered. He shouted, "Sir, should I leave too?" I said, "What are you waiting for, get up!" He gathered his bag and my papers. In his haste and panic, he dropped my papers, scattering them on the floor. He gathered them up and got up too. I led the way, the others followed behind me. To Montagna, I said, "Look, this is how we're leaving. Boıyur Mösyö."

We walked. Montagna was still shouting: "You cannot leave the session," he said, refusing to budge. The other delegates were all mixed up, everyone was astonished. We left and went away.

I'm in the car. I conclude that I have done exactly what I intended, and I am pleased. Let's see what the outcome will be. We arrived at the hotel, and I said to İsmet, "They mentioned the Armenians again. I left the session. They tried very hard and were very anxious for me not to leave the session. I didn't listen." I recounted the other details. He hugged me and said, "I congratulate you a thousand times. You have buried the Armenian issue once and for all." He kissed me on the cheek. I thought he would be afraid, but on the contrary, he responded courageously and was very pleased. I felt relieved too.

İsmet's joy did not last long. Montagna and Rumbold went straight to Curzon and told him the story. He wrote a note in his own name on behalf of the allies and sent it to us. When İsmet received this note, he panicked. He summoned me. I went. In a panic, he said, "What are we going to do now? You've done too much and it's too serious." Ah, the man who just praised me, saying, "You've done an extraordinary job. You've killed the Armenian issue." What is he saying now? He has completely changed his tune: "What Rıza Nur has done is very serious and grave. It is an insult to the Allied Powers. He had already agreed to Montagna that nothing would be said about the Armenian homeland. That's how it was said. We can no longer negotiate with him." He also acted Machiavellian, saying to İsmet: "You are good, sweet, gentle. Rıza Nur is not like you. If you were him, you wouldn't have done this... etc..." With this, he is trying to sow discord between us, to turn us against each other.

I said to İsmet, "Why are you getting so worked up? There's nothing to it. I'll write the reply to this. You sign it. That's the end of it." I immediately wrote a note. In this note, I said: "The fault here lies not with Rıza Nur, but with Montagna. Because Rıza Nur, at Montagna's request, agreed to simply say a few words about the Armenian Homeland issue, and only two lines at that, and he guaranteed it on his honour. However, contrary to this, everyone read long papers at the session. We had repeatedly made it clear to you that we could never accept discussion of this matter. If I were in Rıza Nur's place, I would have done the same. In any case, there is no issue; it is closed." I had İsmet sign the note. I sent it. There was no response.

Indeed, the matter was closed. Both this matter and the Armenian issue were closed. The Armenian issue could no longer be mentioned.

5 - The Armenians are pursuing terrorism.

This is also a lesson for the Armenians. Because the Europeans are exploiting them for their own interests, then giving them nothing in return. This has happened not once, but many times. The Armenians' misfortune during the First World War was truly immense. The reason for this is England, Russia and France. After so much destruction and catastrophe, these three states should have given them a homeland. They should have even abandoned their own affairs and interests and taken this upon themselves. On the contrary, they looked after their own affairs. They simply said to the Armenians, "You need a homeland," and moved on. What they said is an elegy for the Armenians, uttered by European diplomats. It is an epitaph on a tombstone. At least they did that much! We buried the Armenian homeland together with European diplomats. Putting it on the agenda of the conference and then not concluding it in this manner is tantamount to placing a stone on it so that it does not rise again. They simply read the elegy.

Europeans have always treated Armenians like guinea pigs or guinea pigs in doctors' laboratories. This is simply how Europeans treat Armenians, not just once, but many times and always. But that nation shows such foolishness that it still cannot understand this. Moreover, Armenians have no historical rights in Turkey. If they think they have rights to the old Little Armenia in Adana , there were more Turks than Armenians living there. In fact, Hetom Ropen, Loziyon Naharar and the last of their families were French. Indeed, French Foreign Minister Pichon stated this openly in the French Chamber of Deputies and asserted French rights in Cilicia. The people there, however, are Turkish. The Armenians have never been in the majority. When the Seljuks took Ani, some of the Armenians fled to Byzantium. There were 20,000 . This is the origin of the Armenians' appearance in Adana. What does it mean for a nation to have two homelands? There's also Ararat!

THEY WERE GOING TO SHOOT US!

It was shortly after the first meeting of the conference. Rumours had spread that the Armenians were going to shoot İsmet and me. The Swiss police were receiving information from the French and Belgian police. They were telling us about it too. According to them, the Armenians were sending someone to IvOzan to kill someone. The Swiss police were paying close attention and making great efforts in this regard. The Armenians had an important committee in Brussels, one in Paris, and one in Geneva. The son of the late Minister of War Nazım Pasha (84) had come from Brussels. He also brought information on this matter. Among this information was the following: The Armenians were saying, "Where did Rıza Nur come from, he's even surpassed Talât." The Swiss police were busy with us. The Lozan Police Chief mostly came to our hotel, where he had placed plainclothes police officers to investigate those coming and going. He also assigned two plainclothes police officers to us. These officers followed İsmet Pasha when he goes out into the street.

AN AMERICAN IS THREATENING US WITH DEATH ON BEHALF OF THE ARMENIANS

It was a few days after I left the session. There was still a society in Geneva called the "Comité philharmonien". Four members of its board came from Geneva to Lausanne to see me and wanted to meet.

I took them into a room. Among them were important American and Swiss figures. One of those who came was an American. He was a teacher at the French Second Geneva University.

We were talking, and they were talking about the oppression of the Armenians, their desire for freedom and a homeland, and how this was humane and necessary. In short, the same old story... In short, the Armenians should be given a place in Cilicia. I said, "This is impossible. The Turkish nation cannot do this." I gave polite answers on this matter within the bounds of politeness. The American man got angry, abandoned politeness, and said sternly, "If you don't give the Armenians a homeland, they will attack you!" I

Again, with politeness and calmness, I said: "What is our fault? There is a government called Turkey, and it is the one that does not give. We are civil servants. If we were not here, would someone else be a civil servant?" "No, you are also at fault. If we strike you, no other person will dare to refuse to give shelter." It seems that speaking to this man in a humane manner was impossible. It was strange... His words were terrible. He was threatening us with death on behalf of the Armenians. I got angry and began to respond in a manner befitting him. I said, "Sir... No one in the world

gives land to anyone, to any nation, for free, in the name of humanity, with words alone. There is no precedent for this in history. A nation worthy of land and freedom takes it by shedding blood. Indeed, the Turks did so. The Armenians have been on this path until now. They rebelled many times. They crushed the Turks, joined the Turks' enemies in wars. They shot Turkish dignitaries in the streets. They shed blood, they tried this method, but they lacked the power. They were punished for every rebellion, they were subdued. This means that this nation does not yet have the strength, or rather the right, to take their homeland and freedom. None of their actions have been beneficial. Again

I can tell you now that it will not benefit them. Can something that could not be obtained with so much blood be obtained from us with mere words in the name of humanity? You are not considering this. When you learn from my answer that it cannot be done with words,

You are threatening me with death. I see you as a common murderer, a bandit at heart. Sir! Tell your beloved Armenians! So far, they have killed a few Turkish state officials. From now on, if they take the life of a single Turk, the people of Turkey have sworn to massacre ten thousand Armenians instead of that one Turk. Neither the world nor humanity can say anything about this. It is completely legitimate. If you love your Armenians so much, tell them this. Make the Armenians stop the assassinations! In this way, you will save thousands of Armenians from death!"

The man was stunned. But he was probably a committee member, perhaps even an Armenian himself. Taking a tougher stance, he said, "You cannot commit genocide. How can you kill ten thousand people instead of one?" I said, "Just as the Armenians had no right to kill a poor, oppressed diplomat in their homeland, ten thousand Armenians can be killed with six rights."

An elderly delegate, a professor from the University of Geneva, saw my anger and my response, scolded this man, and silenced him. He said a few mild words, ended the discussion, and they left. People
, one encounters such troubles. Being honourable doesn't earn you money either. Bad luck... These words of mine left a great impression on the Armenians. I learned this this time in Paris. I was talking to Terminasyan from the Baskomitaks. Someone else was with me. He advised the Armenian
to shoot Mustafa Kemal. The Armenian said, "Then they will massacre the Armenians in Istanbul. We cannot do it." I was very pleased.

Of course, Ermenüer had sent these. Ermenüer was resorting to every means. They were attempting to kill us. At the very least, they were making threats. But these threats should be taken seriously. Because there are plenty of examples. Assassination is a speciality of the Armenian nation. If they continue down this path, the Turks should also form a secret committee and kill Armenian politicians, committee members, and other leaders in retaliation. Naturally, in this situation, I should not be afraid of an Armenian assassination attempt; at the very least, I should take precautions and be cautious.

In addition to the two guards requested by İsmet from the Swiss government, he had brought ten guards and officers with him. We usually went out into the street with İsmet > together. Thanks to his own security, I was also protected. But if I were to go out alone, I would have no guard. I would be wandering alone. Finally, fear entered my heart. This is such a matter that cannot be experimented with. It is better to be cautious. One day I said to İsmet: "When I go out

, it would be good if someone guarded me from behind. You should be afraid of the Armenians." What do you think İsmet, who knew all these things I was telling him, said to me? "The Armenians won't shoot you." This friend? I grew even colder towards this man. Maybe he wants me to be killed...

Some time passed. Noradonkyan (85) wanted to visit us. We accepted, and he came. This gentleman was one of our notables. I had known him since that time; he was a man I had met. In fact, when the Unionists imprisoned me on the pretext of being a spy, he had published an article in my favour. He also had a rich library in his home. I have benefited from his books.

The old man arrived. İsmet and I welcomed him inside. He sat down. He was extremely agitated. He was unable to speak. He seemed about to faint. It was clear that his heart was beating wildly. We treated him kindly. Finally, he calmed down and began to speak:

"My entire body was created by Turkish blessings. Not just me, but my father and my father's father too. All Turkish civil servants. For this reason, I am grateful to the Turks. I am loyal..."

I thought to myself: "The first part of what you say is true, but the second part is a complete lie. While you were a Turkish official, a member of the Ayan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, you committed every possible act of treason against him. If only the Turks had not made you or your father officials. Since the armistice, you have been going door to door in Europe, appealing to all countries. 'Destroy the Turks! Give part of their land to the Armenians!..' You are indeed very loyal. You have shown your gratitude for the bread you ate..."

He paused, mumbled something, mumbled again, but said nothing. Finally, he spoke. In short: "The Armenians are in a terrible state. They should be given the Cebelibereket region as their homeland."

This man, who five minutes earlier had said his entire body was made of Turkish bread, was now committing the greatest betrayal against the Turks right before our eyes. This man deserved to be grabbed by the arm with utter contempt and thrown out immediately, but old age, old acquaintance, having seen him in important positions in Turkey... prevented such a thing from happening. But it made one angry, it made one think the man was a fool. But so he wouldn't think I was too stupid, I said, "Where exactly is this Cebelibereket

?" He explains. It's a mountainous, ridiculous place... "Why don't you say Cilicia?" I said. He takes a defensive stance: "No... not Cilicia...

We don't want Cilicia." I almost laughed out loud... This man is a fool. He's playing childish games. He thinks those opposite him are fools. I said, "Mr Noradonkyan! ... Cebelibereket isn't in the province of Kastamonu!

Cilicia is the Adana province. For now, let's leave him to his corner."

"You settle down..." No way! This man has been wandering around for years, struggling, unable to get Armenian land. We also rejected this vehemently at Lausanne. Now he comes and tries to deceive us, saying this is not Cilicia, it's Cebelibereket! Armenians seem clever at first glance, but in reality, they are foolish... Seeing that it wasn't working, he asked for a pension. He should have had the nerve to ask for that too. Both homeland and pension, double the bread pudding, homeland, barley fields... What a thing...

İsmet didn't respond to Noradonkyan at all. Why should he? You'll just anger the Armenians again. Let Rıza Nur take all the hostility upon himself. He's the one who thinks it's his misfortune.

British spies were swarming in Lausanne. I saw that Caningham (86) was also staying at our hotel. This gentleman was on the British court martial that tried me during the Great War. We met there. He speaks excellent Turkish. He learned it in Cyprus. At the beginning of the Armistice, he went to Istanbul, worked there, and became well-known among the Turks. We, however, have no intelligence on him. That is why we are in a difficult situation.

6 - Miscellaneous matters

We are continuing with the minority issue. I have shaped many parts of this discussion as I wished

and had them accepted. There are five or six things that cannot be agreed upon, it is not possible. The exemption of Christians from military service, the division of minorities by religion, race, and language, the payment by the Greek Government in gold, according to the situation at the time, of the property in Greece belonging to Turks who came to us before the exchange, etc. We stood our ground on these points. They keep trying. I keep holding out. For this, they are resorting to various tactics.

The formation of separate battalions for Christians, their use in hospitals, their exemption from military service and, in return, their exclusion from political rights such as becoming members of parliament, various things such as monetary compensation. I also say, "Since they are Turkish citizens, they should enjoy the blessings of my homeland just like others, and they should also bear its burdens. Equality before the law is the most fundamental principle."

The debate went on and on. At one point, they wanted to refer this article, i.e. the military service issue, to the League of Nations for consideration. I did not agree to that either. In short, the military service issue, the general amnesty issue, and a couple of other things remained unresolved. I negotiated with the British to exclude from the general amnesty one hundred and fifty Muslims who had betrayed the homeland and served the occupying

I resolved the issue of excluding 150 Muslims who had served the occupying forces from the general amnesty through private negotiations with the British. The British had used these men, put them in this situation, and now they did not protect them. I decided on the number of scrap metal. There are no individuals.

I finally settled the military service and other difficulties in private negotiations with Kalpison. I will mention this in the exchange section. Otherwise, as seen in the minutes, it was not easy.

There is an incident during these discussions. This is that some things were not included in the agreement but were simply recorded in the minutes. These are important.

Minutes prevail when necessary. And that is how it is done. After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, I insisted that a committee be formed to implement the treaty. I wrote down the reasons. This is one reason. Unfortunately, these gains, which I secured with great difficulty, are now going to waste.

In short, the issue of minorities has been completely settled. A general amnesty declaration concerning this matter was also agreed upon. Montagna submitted a report on these matters to the second commission.

We were still in the early stages of these negotiations. I had taken Veli Bey, one of the advisors, with me for legal matters. I had him sit on my right.

Eight states were pouncing on us at once. It was as if all the dogs of seventy-two and a half nations or neighbourhoods were attacking us. While the minutes were being read, something that was not particularly moving had a very powerful effect in the courtroom

. One would stop, another would speak, shaking and surprising us. One day, during a heated debate, in the midst of such a general attack, I was listening intently, trying not to miss a thing so I could respond, listening to each one.

I was in a daze. Naturally, my nerves were on edge. Suddenly, something happened to my right. They were pulling me, so I turned my head. I saw Veli. He had grabbed my shoulders with both hands and was pulling me. I looked at his face, my hand on a disaster,

Faced with a terrible danger of death, his face pale with fear, he begged, "Sir, give it to us so we can be saved." He had gone mad, clinging to my shoulder. The French undoubtedly saw this scene. Realising the impact of their attack, they fell into a frenzy of victory.

For a moment, I felt my resistance falter. You are in a terrible battle, you are fighting. You are so engrossed that there is not a single speck of time, emotion, or mental strength left in your mind for fear to enter.

At that very moment, your trusted friend beside you, whom you considered a source of strength and support when needed, said, "Surrender!!.." and your knees buckled. It was terrible. It happened suddenly. Thankfully, I immediately gathered my wits. I said to him, "Shut up! Let me continue the fight." It occurred to me that his nerves had been shaken once. He would do it again; a decisive action was needed. In a stern voice, I said, "What a weak man you are! Now get out of here!"

He left, and I was saved. I continued with my work. The Frenchmen, who had witnessed his behaviour, saw this too.

On this occasion, let me briefly mention how I saw Veli. Because this man still holds an important position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This gentleman He is not exceptionally intelligent, but he is considered intelligent, he is well-read and has legal knowledge. He is well-mannered, polite and gentle. I believe he is a kind-hearted, honourable man. That is the impression he gives. However

he is an exceptionally weak, groundless, disruptive man with a negative mindset. He couldn't stand the intensity of the argument. His nerves gave way. I saw that there was no point in taking him along. I didn't take him with me again. This is a matter of nature. It is not a fault. But another matter arose, and in that he was at fault.

One day, I assigned him to a water commission. It was a legal matter. "Defend it this way, get this result accepted!" I said. He replied, "I cannot defend this matter like that." "Why?" I asked. "Because it is unjust," he said. I was furious. He was both groundless and wrong-minded.

I said, "My dear, justice is not the issue here. The interests of states are the issue here. Don't you see the French? They demand many unjust things from us. And what is justice anyway? It changes according to the times, the era, the degree of advancement of science and technology, the environment and mentalities. We have come here as lawyers hired by someone to defend their interests. Since we have accepted this position, we will defend their interests, even if they are unjust. Don't lawyers defend murderers in court? You are also a lawyer..."

Again, he said, "I cannot defend an unjust case." "Don't say it like that! It would be more accurate to say that you are unable to find evidence and documents to defend an unjust case. You can discuss this with other colleagues and find them. Besides, our case is not unjust; it is all justified in our view." I said. "No, I will not defend an unjust case," he said. He was stubborn. I was very angry. So his mentality is also flawed. It means he has not understood his position and his duty.

I said, "Since that's the case, why did you accept the consultancy? I'm telling you. I'm saying it's not about rights, it's about defending interests, and you don't even understand that. I see you're useless. Don't touch any work again! Don't even participate in our private discussions! Because you're a liability." I didn't involve him in any work again. He sat around, wandered about.

I think this man went to a subcommittee once. And contrary to our orders, he immediately gave it and got out of the situation. I couldn't find this record in my notes. But I clearly remember something like this.

Veli is a good example. The men who will attend international conferences, negotiations, and similar events must be energetic, intelligent, knowledgeable, and above all, have nerves of steel, be courageous, and possess the qualities of

This is a war. The commander with the strongest nerves will win. And it is absolutely essential that these people have the ideal of Turkish nationalism.

I learned this during the negotiations at Lausanne. The French have a fundamental mindset. They cannot function outside of it. If they don't get something, they can never give anything. If they are going to give something, say fifty kuruş, they will never give a penny's worth of something pressed into their hands. Strange people. For this reason, they always bargain. They are better bargainers than Jews. Also, move, giving them something, no matter how small, is dangerous; if you give it to them after a struggle, it becomes valuable to them. You also have to be very careful when giving. They immediately cross the line. For example, if you extend your fingertip to give them something, they immediately grab your hand and wrist. If you give them your hand, they immediately grab your arm and shoulder. If you are going to give them ten, you must extend it to them. You must not forget to leave room for bargaining. This is very important.

There are important and vital points, both in the matter of minorities and in the exchange of populations, that remain unresolved. They have been pending for months. I cannot get them to accept our wishes. I thought, a bargaining chip is needed. We must flatter the French mentality, that is, show them a carrot. It must be something so valuable that their mouths water, something that will bring them to heel. That is, expelling the Patriarch and the Patriarchate from Istanbul.

If we give up on expulsion, it won't be a positive concession, but a negative one. It's quite appropriate. It will shake the entire Christian world. Then they will immediately give us the things I want in return. I've thought the matter through carefully. However, the Patriarchate leaving Istanbul is to our detriment. Because this snake pit must remain under our control. We will not remove it until then. If we expel it, it will settle in Aynaroz and spread its venom as it pleases. It is a good bargaining chip, but a dangerous game. It must be managed well. Manage it and get what we want, then give up on expulsion. This will replace the millions given to them by us

and they will be pleased. They will gladly give me what I want and resolve my difficulties. But what if they agree to the expulsion...

1 - The Patriarchate is not on the negotiation table

The Patriarchate's tard is not mentioned in the directive given to us by the government. It's not something that comes to mind. But there's no other option either.

I am not telling anyone about this point, not even my own people, so that it does not become public. One day, I said, "God willing!" and formally proposed the Patriarchate's expulsion from Istanbul in the assembly. And I continued and insisted on this vehemently. The matter became so heated that, in the truest sense, all hell broke loose. It spread throughout the world. It became the most important issue.

Then, when I backed down from the expulsion, even the French and our own people were surprised. They said to me, "What was all that intensity about? It had shown the potential for success.

Then you suddenly gave it up like that?.." What could I do? Military, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities and the like are more important. Mustafa Şeref, who was present at these negotiations as an advisor, said to me one day at the end of the session: "Your nerves must be made of steel. How do you endure so much excitement ? But today I understand that the Patriarch is about to be dismissed." However, a little later, I suddenly agreed to the Patriarch's retention. I was fiercely attacking the Patriarch to get rid of him

, but at the same time my heart was pounding, thinking they might accept him. There is a reason why I suddenly gave up on expelling the Patriarch, and I will tell you what it is. The official minutes of a conference and the articles of an agreement do not express everything. There are so many inner workings that reveal what really happened.

To properly understand Lausanne, what they demanded of us, how we rejected and deflected these demands, and what state the treaty reached, what transpired there, one must read the treaty text and the minutes, along with the specific negotiations and the inner workings of the matter as detailed in the section on Lausanne in my memoirs, as well as the proposals they presented to us for each issue, our counter-proposals, and the draft treaty they sought to have us sign before the breakdown. and compare them.

The projects I mentioned and similar ones are in my library in Sinop. There are also many pictures related to the conference there.

The Greeks have taken many people from the elite in the places they have invaded, and imprisoned them in Greece, where they are being held. They have also killed some of them here and there, causing tremendous destruction in our homeland, burning and destroying cities and villages

and villages in our homeland. They are identifying these in the provinces and sending them to us gradually. I was also officially submitting these lists in court sessions. We call these civilian prisoners hostages. With these lists, I am pursuing the national goal of rescuing them and showing the whole world how many of them the Greeks have killed. We can see that the Greeks are very afraid of this. They are trying to shut this matter down.

After a few sessions and discussions, the prisoner exchange went as I wanted. An agreement was also reached. I am not mentioning these in my book because it would be too long

Let those who wish consult the agreement and, if necessary, the minutes. Our main objective here is for the Greeks to bring all our prisoners to Izmir and release them. We will check them. If they are correct and complete, we will do the same with theirs. We were going to load it onto the steamer. That's how it turned out. But I don't know if they were able to do this in practice. If they couldn't, then it's a pity...

We have now begun negotiations on population exchange. The Greeks of Istanbul and the Turks of Western Thrace will not be subject to exchange. They offered Istanbul, and I countered with Thrace. In my opinion, the calculation was as follows: Military service (i.e. compulsory military service for non-Muslims), as I explained earlier, will not leave any Christians or even Jews in Istanbul. In Western Thrace, however, Turks are a dense population. Let them stay for now, it's to our advantage. Ryan continued his mischief. When he said Istanbul reached from Kadıköy all the way to İzmit, he counted. Another disaster! Try as you might, it won't work. I held private negotiations with him.

He wore me out until he lowered this border to Erenköy. Another important issue was the various expropriation laws enacted by the Greeks at various times to take land, farms, and buildings from the Turks. They acquired these properties for next to nothing and didn't even pay for them. That's another thousand battles. He held out. During this time, someone I didn't know sent me these laws, their numbers and dates of publication by post. Our government and the delegation were completely unaware of this. May God bless this man. He came like chemistry, he arrived like Hızır. The Greeks wanted to exterminate the Turks.

They kept passing laws and taking their property for free. I immediately set to work. I tried to force the Greek Government to declare these laws invalid and to pay the Turks whose property had been taken from them in gold, according to the market value at the time. The Greeks

never wanted to agree to this. Venizelos is not around at this time. I am arguing with Caclamanos. This man is not very intelligent. He also resembles

academic. He cannot defend himself well. He simply creates difficulties and insists on not accepting. He is very persistent. I read these laws out loud in court, number and date included. I said that what they were doing amounted to nothing more than coercive confiscation and the economic destruction of the Turks. This had a significant impact on the commission. They confirmed our rights. Montagna, the French and British delegates pressed Caclamanos. "The true value of these men's property must be paid. The Turkish delegate also accepts reciprocal compensation if this is the case in Turkey." Yes, I said that. Because we do not have such expropriation laws. I also said in the session, "We did not do such a thing. Turkey is a government of justice and humanity."

THE GREEK GENERAL'S FOOLISHNESS

At that moment, something strange happened. The Greek delegate General Mazarakis, who was always present at the session but never spoke, said: "We have these expropriation laws, but apparently Turkey does not. How can there be reciprocity in this case?"

"We cannot accept it for that reason." I suppose the General thought I was laying an egg. He said this hastily. However, nothing could be more foolish and incriminating for them than this. I replied immediately: "The General confirms that we did not do this bad thing. He thinks this is evidence in their favour. Since there is no reciprocity, he does not accept our proposals. Since reciprocity is necessary, I propose the following. Let the Commission postpone the matter for ten days, let them wait ten days. We will now write to Ankara, and Turkey will enact an expropriation law, taking all the Greeks' property from them for free. Then there will be reciprocity. We will resolve the issue in this manner."

Mazarakis turned bright red. He could not continue the session. He slipped away after five or ten minutes. He was terribly embarrassed. Although this matter is recorded on page 588 of the minutes, it is not written in a way that explains it clearly.

I am on very friendly terms with Montagna these days. I incite him against the Greeks. The lesson I taught him in the Armenian issue, the blow I dealt him, had a very good effect; he is practically fawning over me. His old airs of grandeur and commanding attitude are gone. He even flatters me in the sessions. He accepts and defends my words. He uses polite expressions about me. In my private life, I find it very difficult to get angry with someone. I am very patient. But once I get angry, I never make peace. It is rare for me to reconcile. However, in state affairs at Lausanne, I was completely different. I had trampled on my personal dignity.

In such negotiations and matters, it is very important to influence and exert power over individuals, especially in private meetings, to know and use the method of suggestion (87), to dominate them mentally. This requires intelligence, knowledge and prudence. That is why the personalities of the delegates are very important. For example, Curzon, who immediately exerted his influence.

Montagna dealt with the Greeks in this expropriation matter and held out. Cacalmanos would not budge. Because Greece had to give us a lot of gold. The Turkish wealth left there was significant.

2 - The Jews Are Up to Something

A man named Muslihiddin Adil (88) came to Lausanne. He wanted to meet with me. We met. He was a man I had seen at our hotel for some time. He said he had come as a representative on behalf of all the Turks of Macedonia and that he was authorised to make proposals and requests to us on behalf of these Turks.

and to make requests and proposals on their behalf. "Go ahead," I said. After various preambles, he requested that the Muslims of the province of Thessaloniki be exempted from the population exchange. "This is not a reasonable proposal, but I will tell Ismet Pasha and we will meet again," I said. I inquired about who he was. He said he was a professor at Istanbul University and was one of the Selanik Dönmeleri. He did not say where. I met with him again.

I asked him about his reasons and interests. He said, "We Turks are the majority in Macedonia. If we stay there, we will gain independence. A Turkish government will be formed. This is a great advantage." I said,

"Your population is not sufficient for this. So far, those who have migrated from us to Istanbul and

Anatolia, it still isn't sufficient. Moreover, it is impossible to relocate the Turks back to Thessaloniki and the surrounding area. It's a fantasy. Would the Greeks allow it? Would the Greeks grant you independence or autonomy? Such things are achieved through blood and force. To that,

Your power is insufficient. Your idea is quite wrong. On the contrary, you should strongly desire this exchange. Because the Greeks will gradually exterminate those who remain there. First, they will destroy them economically. Then they will

. There is a century-long history. It has been like this since the time of the Greek Revolution. At the time of the Greek Revolution, Turks were in the majority in Greece. Within five or ten years, not a single Turk remained there. Then came Athens, then Thessaly. Now it is the turn of Thrace and Macedonia." I saw him falter. His argument was not logical; it was completely absurd. He couldn't find an answer. But he was trying to force me to accept the idea of an exception to the exchange. He was becoming increasingly nonsensical. I found no other solution but to cut him off by saying, "Impossible."

This man's initiative was not what he claimed it to be. He was deceiving me with a powerful and effective lie. Independence in Macedonia was all just window dressing for us. He was trying to deceive us... His sole aim was to
from the exchange. So the Dönmes had sent him to Lausanne for this purpose, paying his travel expenses. The claim that he was the representative of the Turks of Macedonia

was a lie. So, the Dönmes wanted to stay in Thessaloniki. Even those in Istanbul would emigrate back to Thessaloniki. So, in Turkey, these are also a group who think differently from the Turks and have conflicting interests. The disaster is that they look Turkish. The Greeks and Armenians are much better than them. Because at least we know they are Greek or Armenian. This foreign element, these parasites, are hiding in our blood. They are painting their faces and eyes with your blood. To promote someone from such a group, to make them a professor at Darülfünun, is a terrible thing! These men were also mistaken in their own calculations. Because would the Greeks leave them alone there? Especially since they are a commercial element, they are the group that the Greeks would attack and destroy before anyone else. Or they would have to convert immediately and speak Greek. Even then, they would still be treated as inferiors. This is what even the Karaman Greeks experienced. Meanwhile, when the Turks were concerned about their lives and heads, the sons of Sabbatai Sevi were also involved in this matter...

Here you are, dealing with the French, with official negotiations, with our own people. And then, every now and then, men with all sorts of ambitions would come along and cause us trouble.

CHIEF RABBI HAYIM NAUM BECAME OUR ADVISOR (i)

For some time now, the former Chief Rabbi of Istanbul (Hayim) Naum had been seen at our hotel

I saw him talking to İsmet one day. I don't know what he did or who he used as an intermediary, but he got close to İsmet. What a cunning Jew! Now he never leaves İsmet's side. He knows when it's meal time, so he waits at the lift door. He immediately takes İsmet's arm and grabs him by the waist. He's his too.

He makes İsmet wander around the lobby for no reason. Then, in the dining room, he jokes and laughs with İsmet. It's clear that he wants to show everyone that İsmet is his sincere, unpretentious friend, and he does show it. Finally, he approached with all his Jewish cunning. He won't let go of İsmet. Now he doesn't even leave his room. İsmet appointed him as an advisor. He has also started paying him a daily wage.

He doesn't tell me either. Then he brought the chief rabbi to our table. I hadn't said anything until then. I said to İsmet, "Where did this Jew come from? Your casual conversation with such a Jew undermines your dignity and the dignity of the Turkish nation and its delegation. Don't give him so much attention! At least don't give him attention in front of everyone!" He got angry with me.

The man became more and more arrogant. He was giving orders to everyone in the delegation in front of everyone. He walked in front of me. Perhaps İsmet told him what I said. But would I stand for that? I don't like Jews anyway.

When Haham stepped in front of me, I insulted him and grabbed him by the arm, pulling him behind me. I said, "Don't you dare walk here again!" I did this in the hotel lobby. Everyone saw it. That was the end of him. Not only did he never step in front of me again, he didn't even come near İsmet

He wouldn't even go near him. İsmet was supposed to do this. He can't stand me, so he makes me insult a Jew, but he doesn't think that it's not just me personally, I also have my position. I am a Turkish Naz and a delegate. If only he didn't trample on this position with his filthy Jewish feet... Does the man even care about such things? Who knows what he has with the Jew?

THE CHIEF RABBI WANTS TO BE THE AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON

I said to İsmet again: "This is a Jew. Jews are very despicable people. Who knows what terrible things he has done?! Don't expect any good from him! The circles he knows are those of Jewish money changers. His goal is some kind of money-making scheme involving privileges. Don't humiliate yourself! I certainly don't want this fellow at my table. Or I'll be dragged to the same table." He didn't listen again. I moved to another table, and then he sent the Jew away from the table. While eating, he will, in the name of sincerity

in our circle, we'll carelessly let something slip, and the Jew will immediately pass it on to our enemies. He'll carry out his money scheme by showing everyone that he's among us.

The Chief Rabbi was telling İsmet that I knew all the English and French dignitaries, that they were all his friends, and that I would get things done as he wished. Of course, the English,

He also told the French and Italian delegates that İsmet was in his pocket. Then what I said came to pass. Our chief rabbi asked İsmet for a privilege in Izmir, a loan, and various other financial favours. Finally, he also asked for the Washington embassy. He's been moving around the Lausanne area.

He was telling everyone, "İsmet is my close friend, he never goes back on his word." I heard the news. I said to İsmet, "Did you see that?" No answer. "Get rid of this bloke!" I said. İsmet hadn't told me about these privileges and similar matters. Now that I said it, he believed the truth of my words. He became ill. This rabbi later came to Egypt and became a member of the Senate. He said, "If Rıza Nur hadn't prevented me, I would have done a lot of work at Lausanne." That's true. His pockets would have been full there.

We also had Fuat (Ağralı) at our head. Rauf had appointed him as financial advisor and put him in charge of the committee's money matters. He used to be an accountant at the Naval Ministry in Istanbul. He knew him from there. There was no need for it. He did it so his friend

to earn money and travel. Indeed, there had been such applications at that time. One of them was Mevlevi Çelebi and MP Abdülhalim (89), who tried to become an advisor. He went around to everyone. He came to me too. I told him there was no need. He said, "My dear, I know there is no need for me too.

"But thanks to the people, I can enjoy myself in Europe too," he said.

This man, Fuat, never pays anyone's wages on time, everyone complains, he doesn't do his job, he doesn't go to the financial committee to work and he doesn't stay in one place, he doesn't know anything anyway. They complained to me. I scolded him, but it didn't work. He disappeared once

time he disappeared, and we were always left without money. He would exchange money at the bank, converting Turkish lira to pounds sterling, pounds sterling to Swiss francs, without any need, and profit from it. After the Lausanne Conference ended, İsmet had this man's accounts settled in full in Ankara. That is how he came to be noticed.

He became the head of the Court of Auditors and a member of parliament. Who knows what else might happen? He might even become the Minister of Finance. (Indeed, he did. Thus, Rıza Nur's prediction proved correct.) Oh, poor nation! The accounts of this Lausanne delegation must be reviewed one day.

3 - Campaign for the Patriarchate

Certain important issues related to the second commission remained unresolved. The discussions on these matters were always chaotic and noisy.

The Christian world had risen up. Priests had flocked to Lausanne from all sides. A telegram arrived from America on behalf of four million Christians.

and the American delegate was reading it out in the commission. In short, they all insisted that the Patriarch must remain in Istanbul. The situation grew increasingly tense. The air in Lausanne was thick with political tension and foreboding. The Entente delegates were putting me under tremendous pressure

. They threatened us in every way and by every means. At one point, rumours spread that the Entente Powers would leave the conference and that the three great powers would send armies to Anatolia and wage war. İsmet was frightened again, his fears grew. He stopped eating and drinking again. He couldn't sleep. He paced back and forth in his room. It was late one evening. They reported that posters had been put up on the streets of Lausanne with large letters announcing that the conference would be cut short and that the Europeans would start a new war against Turkey. Our advisers were also frightened, saying, "Oh dear, what shall we do?" I encouraged them all, saying, "These are bluffs. They want to frighten us and break our resistance. Don't be afraid. Don't let your resistance diminish one iota!"

THE GAME OF JEWISH METR SALEM

Night had fallen, and I left İsmet's room. I was walking down the corridor to my bedroom when Metr Salem appeared before me. "I wanted to see you," he said. "What's up?" I said. Trembling and with great excitement, he said, "Oh dear, the situation is very dire. The French are leaving the conference. England, France and Italy are going to start a war against Turkey. I am Turkish. I am an Italian advisor, but don't mind that! I cannot separate myself from being Turkish. My whole body is a Turkish blessing. You know how much I love the Turks. I heard this in the negotiations. I came quietly. I am informing you. This is a sacred duty for me. Have you heard the news? Posters have been put up in the streets." Salem is in such a state that he is genuinely terrified and will be destroyed by his fear. He can hardly contain himself. He speaks haltingly, fearfully, his words cut short by his excitement. He's almost about to cry... He's completely sincere. One must believe his words.

I said, "Thank you very much. You have proven your love for Turkey. So what should be done to get out of this predicament?" He immediately replied, "Give them what they want, and it will be over."

What a scoundrel that man is! He presented his case so naturally that anyone observing him would never doubt his sincerity; he is a master... I don't care for Jews one bit. They have no affection even for their fathers or their children. They know nothing in this world but money. How could they be our friends?!

They have no honour, no morals, no compassion, no conscience, no self-respect, no dignity, nothing like that. They are the lowest creatures in the world. No doubt the Entente representatives sent them. They were trying to intimidate us. Rumours and labels were all their doing. They wanted to take what they couldn't get from us and what was left behind. This one played the game very well. Strange... This unlucky one, like Noradongiyan, says that his body was originally made from all the blessings of the Turks in order to betray the Turks. When he says this, how can one doubt his betrayal! Ah, Dönmes...

MADAM ŞENİNİ BRINGS ME RELIEF

However, the night before, the Italians had held their customary official banquet. Dr. Şenini, the director of the Italian Hospital in Istanbul, is truly a friend of the Turks. He has demonstrated this on various occasions. We couldn't do this man a favour. That's how Turks are towards their friends. It's a flaw. But no one becomes a friend afterwards. At the end of the banquet, I was talking to him. I was trying to get him to talk. I complained about the threats. His wife leaned over to me and said, "Don't be afraid! They can't wage war. They're just trying to intimidate you. Be brave in your cause!" This woman gave me great comfort. She has done the Turks a great service. She is a kind and very beautiful woman. She is from Istanbul.

I got angry at the Jew and said, "You pig Jew! May the Turkish blessings you have eaten be upon your eyes and knees, go tell those who sent you! The Turks say that a sunken ship has no mast. Turkey was a sunken ship. Either it will be completely saved, or it will sink. If it sinks, there is nothing to lose. Because it was already sunk. Why should we be afraid? War? Bring it on. Let them come to Anatolia and we'll fierce battle. Get lost!" At first, he was surprised to hear these harsh words after my softness. The Jew's enthusiasm waned. I went to my room.

It occurred to me. What if this fellow goes to İsmet now? He will surely stir up his anxiety. It will cause trouble for me. İsmet will accept everything, and I will have to either try to calm him down or fight him. I immediately rushed out of the room. I came running. And wouldn't you know it, I saw Salem waiting next to İsmet. "What are you doing here?" I said. He didn't say a word. I said to the soldier standing guard at İsmet's door, "Did you see that man?" "Yes," he said. "Well, don't let him in to see the Pasha! The Pasha warned me, and I'm warning you. If he tells you to tell the Pasha, say the Pasha is asleep and warned us not to wake him, so it's not possible. And when you change shifts, tell the next guard the same thing!" I said. He nodded and said, "Okay!" I left. The Jew couldn't get to İsmet. I later obtained all these things that Salem had said were pending from the French. There was no interruption, nor was there war! The interruption later resulted from the general peace project.

Behold the handiwork of foreign elements nourished by the bread of the Turks! The accursed ones... The Yazidis... A lesson for the Turks, a lesson! Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, this man

has visited Ankara repeatedly after the peace treaty, settled matters of privilege and money, made money, paid bribes, and gained respect from our people. He is still one of the most privileged visitors to our Embassy in Paris. Ambassador Fethi's closest friends are the Jew Menaşa, this Salem, and the Armenian Devlet Efendi. I believe they receive news from there and pass it on to the French and Italians. When one witnesses such events and then sees this, one becomes disheartened... Such things happen in nations whose spirit is dead, that is, nations that are sinking. It is painful, disheartening... This Salem was once Talât (Pasha)'s closest friend and confidant. He consulted him on the most important affairs of state. He, of course, would inform the French. And now this fellow appeared before us as the Italian advisor. Many wolves have devoured the heart of this poor nation under the guise of friendship.

News has arrived today. Mustafa Kemal has married Latife. İsmet told me. I said, "That's very good."

I am continuing the negotiations on the population exchange with great enthusiasm. Again, the issues of the expropriation law... A real headache... I have managed to soften Ryan considerably in private meetings. He is helping me a lot in the sessions.

4 - Disappointment

I do not want the Albanian population to come to us as part of the exchange, as in the case of Yanya. These people are bandits and tyrants in our country, they are killing our villagers and robbing them blind. It was the same in centuries past. I specifically requested this of Montagna. It suited him too. It is in line with Italy's ambitions in Albania.

Montagna proposed this in the session. We accepted it. For this reason, we put the phrase in the article as "Those to be exchanged shall be Turkish and Muslim and of Greek nationality

." I was satisfied and at ease with this. However, during the exchange, the Albanians of Yanina said, "We are Turks, we are the children of the conquerors," and were included in the exchange. Those who did this are now the Deputy Ministers of National Defence , Mustafa Abdülhalik (90) and Besim Ömer Pasha (91), and their ilk. Yet these men used to take pride in their Albanian identity. In fact, Besim Ömer's father had been exiled to Kastamonu for participating in the Albanian independence assembly and was exiled to Kastamonu. These people, who were from the Albanians of Yanya, fabricated their schemes and settled this people in the area from Erenköy, the most beautiful place in Turkey, to Kartal. They also fabricated false documents for themselves and acquired beautiful, spacious land and houses. I had no knowledge of this intrigue and plunder. We signed the peace treaty. Then we withdrew from the government. One day I went to Ankara. At these stations, they were all speaking Greek. I was surprised and asked, "Why are these Greeks exchanging places?"

"They weren't exchanged," I said. They replied, "These aren't Greeks, they're Yanyalı people; the Greeks left. These people were settled in their place." Their native language is Greek. After all my efforts and all the trouble I went through, hearing Greek here really got to me. What I had endured to include these areas in the exchange! Then, when the settlement was being discussed in the National Assembly, I mentioned this situation and said, "Were there no genuine Turks that Turkey's most beautiful place was given to them? Yet the exchange

agreement prohibited their exchange." At that moment, Mustafa Abdülhalik said, "You incited the Albanians to revolt against the Turks."

Mustafa Kemal included this in his speech. As for Mustafa Kemal, I am pleased; he searched for and found fault with me, and he found it... Indeed, Fethi also said to me, "Be pleased! It means he wanted to act against you. He found it."

I have a history with Mustafa Abdülhalik. My history is not personal. It is always about the nation. I get into trouble because of the nation's affairs. This man is an important sycophant in every era. In this way, he rises to important positions, then makes money. He is a true Albanian. The Unionists were like that too. It is still like that now.

When we left Lausanne and returned, Abdulhalik was governor of Izmir. Whatever he had done, he had become governor of Izmir. He was a director at the Ministry of Health, in charge of resettlement. Telegrams began pouring in from governors in Konya, Bursa, Eskişehir and several other places. They said: "The Albanians who were previously resettled here are taking their families and going to Izmir. What shall we do?" Then a coded message arrived from the Izmir police chief: "Uncle Albanian here is gathering all the Albanians in Turkey to Izmir. He will turn this place into Albania." This man must be a true Turk. He is panicking and requesting measures. This situation affected me very strongly. I have long observed the dangers arising from the dense settlement of foreign elements

and I have observed the dangers arising from this. I witnessed this firsthand in Lausanne this time. For years, my mind and thoughts have been focused on dispersing these masses and settling them individually, making Turkey homogeneous and freeing it from the scourge of ethnicity, from their being used as tools by Europeans, and from these elements and causes of rebellion and decline.

The Europeans are even clutching at the Bosnians and the Kızılbaş Turks. I fought for this at Lausanne! Now an Albanian governor is gathering the Albanians and forming a dense mass... A governor of a state... What audacity is this?! This man is both a traitor and insolent! I developed a great enmity towards him. I sent urgent and forceful telegrams and orders everywhere:

"Bring the Albanians back to their old places with armed gendarmerie forces and resettle them!... Turn them back from the roads!... If they don't turn back, turn them back by force!" I said. In Konya, great difficulty was encountered in turning back a convoy with gendarmerie forces.

It turns out this has been happening secretly for quite some time. Apparently, quite a few Albanians have gathered in Izmir.

I sent a telegram to the governor of İzmir. I said: "Albanians are gathering in İzmir from all directions. What is this? Immediately return those who have come there to immediately send them back to where they came from!" Abdülhalik replied: "There is no truth to this."

He's lying and he's not even ashamed. We have material and official evidence... I wrote: "We have turned back the caravans from all sides. You are the one who gathered them. Do you know what harm Turkey has suffered from the mass presence of non-Turkish elements? ... Disperse those who are there immediately! Are you establishing Albania in Izmir?"

This is why this man has it in for me. Then he became a member of parliament. He took advantage of the famous inquiry that was conducted to take revenge on me. I objected to the Yanyahs being settled in the Pendik district without mentioning him. Naturally, he took offence because he was at the head of those who did this. Abdulhalik gave me a break.

He arrived on time: "Take back what you said! Or I will attack you," he said. "What will you do?" I asked. "I will say that you incited the Albanians to revolt" he said. "That is not a fault for me, it is an honour; I have stirred the people against the oppressors. I am not one to go back on my word. Say it!" I said.

He said it. "Rıza Nur incited the Albanians to revolt against the Turkish nation. While he was doing this, I was fighting in the Balkan War, rifle in hand," he said. He framed it as a revolt against the Turks. This matter is not against the Turks, but against a tyrannical government. Moreover, the Albanian uprising took place well before the Balkan War began. How strange! An Albanian is accusing a pure Turk of inciting the Albanians

against the Turks... Look at this situation! You were under arms in the war. But you were a guest in the commanders' tent. Did you see the fire

? I was also on duty in that war. Thousands of wounded passed through my hands. You did one service, I did a higher service and worked day and night.

Does an Albanian Turk have the right to accuse the Turkish homeland? Most of you went to Albania and became civil servants. If you weren't a Toska but a Gega, you wouldn't have stayed in the Turkish homeland for a minute. In Albania, the Gega are noble, and they consider the Toskas an inferior race and insult them. So what did we gain from working for the Turks? That's how it goes. At the time, they didn't give us the time or the floor to explain these things in Parliament.

The vagaries of fate... At Lausanne, I said we should not let the Albanians into the country, so I had a clause inserted. When I inserted the clause about Turkish Muslims, I was referring to these Yanyalis. It never occurred to me that they could call themselves Turks and children of the conquerors. They found a way and came to settle in the best part of Turkey... Many pure Turks were pushed into swamps, marshes, and mountain tops, where they perished and were ruined. This was done under the leadership of Necati

(92), a pure Turk, took advantage of their negligence and ignorance.

5 - "Ye Refuse Rıza"

At one point, Caclamano proposed that the population exchange should be voluntary rather than compulsory. They wanted to turn back from compulsion. I was adamant on this point. "This has been accepted once by Greece and the entire commission. It cannot be reversed." I said. I was convinced they would turn back. For some reason, the Greeks later wanted to withdraw from the population exchange! Venizelos also proposed this later in the commission. Of course, the goal is the Hellenism issue.

One day in the sub-commission, the French pressed me so hard that from morning I fought until noon. The session ended. We're going to the hotel for lunch. I felt extremely tired. I didn't have the energy to even listen, let alone talk. As they say, I was like a dazed chicken. That's exactly how I was.

My head feels like an empty box. It seems my whole brain has shut down. When we got to the hotel, I said to İsmet, "I'm done for. I can't go to the session today. I'm too exhausted." Honestly, for the past few months, I've only been sleeping three or four hours a night, and my waking hours are spent working and arguing with the French. arguing with the French. I barely eat.

Essentially, I needed a few days off and a rest somewhere other than Lausanne. Today, however, the French had worn me out with their relentless attacks. "Why?" he said. "Everyone is attacking fiercely. I'm one against eight. I'm searching myself. Even if I could find an answer, I'm in no state to give it." I said. "Did you give them what they wanted?" he said. "No, I didn't give them anything". "Then you are the victor!" he said. "Yes, I am the victor, but today I have no strength left to fight again. I cannot go. Send someone else in my place!" I said. "No, no one else can do this job, you will go!" he said. "I can't go. Then you go!" I said. "No, I can't do it either. Only you can do this.

After all, you've fought your way through most of these tough jobs until now." he said. He insisted and finally persuaded me. But I say: "We'll be humiliated today." We're eating. I'm still in a daze. My head is spinning.

My neck is stiff. I'm not feeling well. I gave my word. I'll go, but what will I do? They'll say something, and I won't have the energy to think of a reply.

I'm in no state to do that. My mind has gone blank. Finally, I found it. I said to myself: "Whatever they say, let them say it.

. I won't even listen. I'll just say I don't agree sometimes so they don't think I'm just keeping quiet." We went, the session started. They're talking. It's amazing thing! I'm not even listening to their words. I don't even hear if they're actually saying anything. I just say things like "Ça me rerer ve Y refu-se!" in between. I don't know if that's appropriate or if it sounds like nonsense. I'm staring straight ahead. Suddenly

I came to life. I felt strength and the ability to think. So, enough time had passed and I had rested... The French must have been surprised by my state. Perhaps they thought I had gone mad. Indeed, our advisers knew what was going on, and they told me, Şükrü Kaya named this case 'y refuse'. He even told Mustafa Kemal about it and, while recounting Venizelos' fainting spell, said, "But when he gets angry, he speaks very fluent French." Well, everyone says what they can.

This was a good outcome. They still couldn't get anything they wanted from me. That session passed like that. I went to bed early that night and rested. Then we continued the heated debate again.

6 - Venizelos Faints

These men must have exhausted me so much with their attacks that they turned me into a dazed chicken. Poor thing, I could only find time to rest by covering my ears during the session. I was now extremely exhausted. There was no stopping... I work continuously at night too. I sleep little. I usually go to bed at dawn. Once I went to bed at dawn. They came and woke me up. I looked at the clock; I had only slept for fifteen minutes.

The strange thing is that I saw the reward for this in the hostility of İsmet and Mustafa Kemal. They gave me eight English pounds a day. I had expenses like hotel and food. After us, they gave were given twelve English pounds a day. Today, I live in Paris as a foreigner, in strange circumstances, struggling to make ends meet.

Many matters had been settled, but certain important issues remained unresolved, such as military service, expropriation, and the complete abolition of the Patriarchate's privileges. As a bargaining chip, I had offered to expel the Patriarchate from Istanbul, and all hell broke loose. I am determined not to relinquish any of the Patriarchate's privileges. For this reason, I am fighting fiercely with the Greeks. On top of that, they want to give up the exchange with the Greeks, and they say to me: "The tailors, shoemakers, bricklayers, all the skilled craftsmen are Greeks. If they leave, you will be left without clothes or shoes. You will be devastated by the economic crisis." I replied, "Let them go, and let us remain naked and hungry. It doesn't matter. Besides, that's not how it works; within a year or two, these people will be replaced by Turks." I say this is even to our advantage. I had reduced Caclamanos to a helpless state. He was almost unable to respond.

This time Venizelos started coming back. But what came? P ' anger... He was furious from head to toe. Now I'm fighting him head-on. He starts talking, talking at length. He insists that the privileges granted by the Patriarch and all of Fatih must remain. This man is undoubtedly clever, but he is Greek, after all. He has that Greek charlatanism. He is being a charlatan. And when he does, he loses the impact of his words. He is knowledgeable, but not highly or seriously knowledgeable. He speaks French well. But when he speaks, he declaims too much. It becomes ridiculous. He rains fire down on us. He accuses the Turks of barbarism and the Greeks of massacre. I am very

angry. I want to say something, but it's not the right moment. I simply say to the chairman, "Please, he is insulting the Turkish nation. We did not come here to be insulted. This is not in keeping with the etiquette of negotiation. We cannot tolerate this." The chairman and he pay no attention. On the contrary, he becomes more aggressive. It's clear they feel defeated and are furious. I thought about it. This also calls for a scene, and I should strike a blow and finish the job. But first, all the delegates must be his.

I must turn the tables against him and make him appear unjust so that everyone will agree with me. Otherwise, we will break the rope. And we will be the ones at fault. I have a criminal record. It is a great rule: "One must pull, but not break." In other words, one must prepare the ground before striking.

Now, how should this be done? I cannot figure it out. It has been three sessions. I am enduring a very violent and insulting attack. I have a reputation for being fierce and violent, but I also know how to be patient. When the time comes and it is deserved I attack fiercely. That is correct.

Then an unexpected opportunity arose. In Athens, the Greeks wanted to shoot Gonaris and the army commander. England, France and Italy intervened and interceded, but they did not listen and shot them. Curzon summoned Venizelos and said some very nasty things. When I heard this, I said, this is my chance. Tomorrow I will do what I want.

The next day, the session took place. Venizelos was again accusing the Turks of massacre, saying terrible things. I adopted a helpless tone and said: "Mr President! Be quiet! You cannot insult a nation here. "That is unacceptable," I say. The more I speak, the more Venizelos gets worked up. The more he gets worked up, the more he loses control and speaks more. He got really heated. Montagna initially paid no attention to my words. I spoke more urgently. "We cannot tolerate this. Be quiet!" I say. At first, I adopt a submissive attitude. I speak with a pleading tone and apologetic manner. Gradually, I begin to speak more harshly. Montagna, who had been ignoring me, seems to have become frightened. While he was ignoring my words, now I began to say politely to Venizelos, "Calm down, let go of your excitement! Don't say such things!" Venizelos was already acting recklessly, as if he had lost control. This time he started talking back to the leader. This man is a harmless diplomat. But he has major flaws. He doesn't know how to control himself. He gets carried away. In this way, he was setting the trap I wanted with his own hands. Venizelos said to the leader, "You won't let me speak!" He became angry. The leader got angry, and he

angry. They started arguing. "Ah, just what I wanted," I said. I decided that things had come to a head. I said to the captain, "I want to speak, you still haven't given me the floor! The floor mine." The leader said, "The word belongs to His Excellency Rıza Nur Bey." Venizelos still wouldn't shut up, he kept talking. I didn't wait for him to stop talking, I started talking. I spoke with great intensity. Venizelos fell silent. So I with rudeness. I said, "For days, he has been accusing the Turkish nation with words like barbarian and murderer. The barbarians and murderers are the Greeks. Turks are straightforward. I admit it. Gentlemen, listen, we killed the Greeks. Of course, it was self-defence. They came like thieves, broke into our homes, and burned them down." The delegate of the Swiss Red Cross, who visited those areas, found our homeland to resemble Pompeii. He says that this was not caused by nature, but unfortunately by Christian hands in the twentieth century. Here is the Red Cross report. The Greek nation is to blame for these terrible crimes. No, it is the Greek government that is responsible. It drove that nation into this calamity. In fact, gentlemen, there is someone who drove the Greek nation and government and is solely responsible for this disaster. Do you know who this murderer is? (I extended my hand, pointing) It is this gentleman, Venizelos. He drove the Greek nation to disaster, he slaughtered them. He spilled so much blood on both sides. He is the one who did this. All this blood is on his hands. They are shooting Gona-ris. The Greek nation should be shot. One day, that nation will curse this man."

My eyes were spinning. There was a commotion. I looked and saw Venizelos' head bowed. He had collapsed onto the table. I looked at his face; his complexion was ashen. Everyone panicked and stood up. We thought he was dead. I was scared too. We stood there dazed and confused for a few minutes. I looked, he raised his head. I was relieved. I said, "We cannot negotiate with someone who speaks in such an uncultured manner." Montagna extended his hand to Venizelos and said, "Did you get it? How many times did I tell you to be quiet?" He said he closed the session.

It was a tremendous scene and a blow. Venizelos never opened his mouth again. He didn't come to the next session either. The incident reverberated around the world. This time, the Allied Powers didn't even send us a note. Because I did what had to be done, when it had to be done. After provoking him into a fight with them, I opened the scene. It was a coup de couteau. The world's newspapers wrote about it. And it was on this that the painter Derso immediately made a painting. In it, Venizelos and I are boxing. We have gloves on our hands. Venizelos is on his back on the rope.

It was destroyed. I was sitting on a chair in the corner, İsmet was fanning me with a towel. Curzon was looking at his watch.

This was also reported in our newspapers. It spread throughout the nation. This led to the rumour among the people that I had struck Venizelos on the head with a chair during the negotiations

The whole nation enjoyed this. Because our nation knew that Venizelos was the cause of all the disasters since the armistice. They were happy that good revenge had been taken. Now, whenever they talk about me, they say, "He beat Venizelos at Lausanne." I am fortunate that it fell to me to take revenge for this great pain.

They never recorded these things either. The French are cunning; they keep what they want and discard or distort what they don't want. Our people are blind. They don't see their rights and defend them.

7 - The Turkish Thesis is Accepted

Pull, but don't break. Keep it taut and wait. This is a good method. I pulled it tight. Let's see... Finally, shortly afterwards, one night, Lord Curzon's most important adviser and confidant, Nicolson (93), telephoned me. "I will come and see you," he said. This is important, but what is it?

"Come in!" I said. He came in. "Let's talk alone in a room," he said. So we did.

Nicolson was a handsome, charming young man, very intelligent, with logical words. He was also quite passionate, as I can see now. The following conversation took place between us:

He - Lord Curzon sent me. He is asking you to give up the Patriarchate.

I - This is a very important matter. Our government will not give it up. Sit down for a moment. I will convey your proposal to Ismet Pasha.

He - Curzon sent me to you. Not to Ismet Pasha. I - I can't do anything. He is the head of that delegation.

He - I am a frank (straightforward and open) man. I speak plainly. We know everything perfectly well. You will do this. You are the one who manages all affairs. If it weren't for you, we would have already made the agreement we wanted by now. Let me also say this: I am a Grecophile, so please discuss this with me. (I saw that he was indeed a frank man).

I - You're very wrong. Ismet Pasha does everything. But only after getting permission from the government. Our government will never give up on this demand.

He - Don't say that, you can do it. Curzon is asking you personally. He is a great and proud man. He doesn't ask for things easily.

I - We can't do that. Let Curzon ask for something else, and we'll do it...

He - But the matter is important.

I - What importance could it possibly have! Leave it...

He - I'm being very frank with you. I said I'd tell you the reason. A statement has been made to the government in London on behalf of all English churches by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It's not a matter of the Patriarchate, it has become a party and government issue in England. The Church says: "We must succeed in keeping the Patriarch in Istanbul. If the government , we will not vote for the government in the upcoming elections." The government wrote this to Curzon. He wants it done immediately. Elections in England are practically in the hands of the churches. If Curzon fails in this matter, both he and his party and the government will fall... That is why he is asking you.

I didn't realise I had taken on such an important task. I said it was important, but I hadn't appreciated just how important it was. Now I understand. I'm very pleased. It seems that Nicolson's words are clear and sincere, and now I feel even more courageous. I am very strong, you see. Of course, I will use my strength wisely. I've started to feel more hesitant. And I've also realised that the English Church is supporting our Patriarch. That's a very bad thing. Oh dear!

I understand the situation. It's truly important. I like Lord Curzon very much. He is a man I truly respect. But unfortunately, his request coincided with something that cannot be done. Leave that, I will try to do whatever else he wants. (Nicolson got angry. His face turned crimson. What a hot-blooded man. But I can see he is controlling himself. A well-mannered man. The English are well-mannered people anyway.)

He - Do this job! I - It's

impossible. He - Do it!

I - It's beyond my control.

(Then he got even angrier. He flew into a rage and started shouting. I can see he's not in control of himself.)

He - You Turks are few in number. What you're doing here is serious. What do you want? You're not cooperating at all. What insulting things did you say to the English? Do you think England will tolerate this? ... Yes... Yes... You've got the chance, do it!

...

ENGLAND IS AN ANIMAL

(I wasn't saying anything. I was just listening intently. Let's see what he'll say in all this excitement. Will he say anything useful? That's the most important thing for me. Because these are important points that will be useful for my work in Üeri.)

O - Let me explain it to you. England is an animal. It has been fighting, struggling, struggling for years. It is terribly tired, has fallen to the ground, and has fallen into a deep and long sleep. When you found it helpless like this, you climbed on top of it, dancing, jumping, go ahead, jump... But... Do you know what this animal is? It is a lion. When it wakes from its sleep, it will tear you to pieces...

(He spoke from the bottom of his heart. Hearing these words made me happier than if I had found a million pounds. Because I guessed and knew that England's situation was one of exhaustion and unwillingness to fight. But I still hesitated and doubted. I was afraid. What if it gets angry at us, at our resistance, and starts fighting us again? We're done for. This fear never leaves me. In all the sessions, this fear is always before my eyes. I resist, I want all sorts of things, I stand my ground, but inside I am always trembling. We no longer have the strength for war. To hear this now from the mouth of an Englishman, a man in an important position in the British Foreign Office, is a great relief, a deep breath. So England cannot fight. This beast is badly tired and in a deep sleep. That is what we need. I will now trample on it. I will take what I want, and leave the rest to God. Then I will work for friendship. This fight has given me complete strength.

After that, I marched with even more strength and determination than before. Negotiations were now at their limit. Being more demanding or showing reluctance would have ruined everything. I changed my approach.

I – Look, you are tired now. I can do as I please. But the Turks are not weaklings. This is not an issue. It is a very important matter for our government. But my affection and respect for Curzon are such that I will try to do as he wishes. I will attempt this solely for his sake. Allow me. Let us write to Ankara immediately and try to persuade them. I hope we can persuade them. However, we must show them some advantages to persuade them. We have some unresolved and minor issues. They cannot be resolved in any way. Promise them that these issues will be resolved. In this way, we will have the courage to make this offer to Ankara.

O - All right! What are they?

Military service, expropriation, racial terminology, etc... I have listed them. And then there is the Patriarch. We cannot tolerate a state within a state. Curzon is about to record in the minutes, "The Patriarch will remain solely religious. He will never interfere in politics, perform any administrative duties, or become a political institution or tool. The Turkish Government reserves the right to dismiss him if it senses such a thing." He noted it all down and agreed.

In this way, without the Patriarch and the institution leaving, and while keeping him under our control, I stripped him of all his privileges and power, reducing him to nothing. Since the Anatolian Greeks will be leaving, there will not be enough metropolitans left to form a council at the Patriarchate. In this way, there will be no religious organisation. It will be destroyed.

Let me also note this point here: I wonder if the government is now paying attention to this and not allowing them to form their councils? Or is the Patriarch, as before, appointing metropolitans out of thin air, such as the Metropolitan of Amasya, the Metropolitan of Trabzon, etc., in a well-known manner, and forming their councils? This is my endeavour and my goal; this is the spirit of the agreement that has been made (unfortunately, there are still representatives from Konya and Kastamonu in the Fener Patriarchate). It is for these reasons that...

For this reason, after the peace treaty, I had persistently insisted to İsmet that a commission be established to implement the Treaty of Lausanne.

I would have also demanded Mosul here. However, the Mosul issue had already been resolved.

Nicolson left happily. I was so happy that night that I am now I was completely confident about the future. I would walk with confidence. Because the British were not at war. I had also resolved all the outstanding issues.

The next morning, early, while I was still in bed, Nicolson called and said, "Have you received a reply?" "No!" I said. But we hadn't even written to Ankara.

Ankara doesn't even know about the Patriarch business. That night, I told İsmet about my conversation with Nicolson. Finally, he called again around noon. He asked again:

"No!" I said. İsmet, who was with me, said, "Don't upset the poor man so much. Just say yes and get it over with." I said, "It's valuable because it's difficult." A few hours later, he called again. I decided not to upset him any more: "The reply has come. They agreed. Tell Curzon! I am very pleased with his service." He was pleased.

Now that the knot had been untied, our affairs were proceeding perfectly in the commission. They accepted the military service and everything else. Only Caclamanos was still grumbling about the expropriation. He especially refused to accept the principle of "take it or leave it". When the session ended, I told Ryan. Ryan said, "I'll sort him out now." He called Caclamanos over

and pulled him aside. I told our clerk, "Listen from a distance and see what happens." Ryan said to the Greek delegate, "You will accept this immediately." He said, "I can't." Ryan got angry, scolded him and said, "I'll tell Lord Curzon and you'll see!" He started going down the stairs. Upon that, Caclamanos ran to the top of the stairs and pleaded, "Don't tell him! I accept." And so it was settled.

Everything went smoothly and was finished. Curzon made a statement in the general assembly about the Patriarch, saying, "He has been isolated from political and administrative powers, jlh..." It was recorded in the minutes. So, a bargaining chip that we had been struggling with for months, such difficult issues, were resolved in an instant, as easily as pulling hair from butter with remarkable ease.

Moritagna submitted reports on the work done to Lord Curzon. commission was to be chaired by the French chief delegate, and the third by the Italian chief delegate, but this time Curzon chaired it. They probably realise that they lack his leadership and authority, so they leave the chairmanship to Curzon, or take it away from them by saying, "You can't do it!" All these events show that the British are playing with the French and other delegates like toys. And they are doing things as they please.

THE RED CROSS REVEALS GREEK OPPRESSION

We are seeking evidence against the Greeks. I am particularly keen to fully expose the massacres and fires perpetrated by the Greeks in Anatolia. As I mentioned earlier, the International Red Cross sent two men from its headquarters in Geneva to conduct an investigation in Anatolia. They

submitted a report to the society, which was published in the society's journal

SECOND COMMISSION: POPULATION, PRISONER EXCHANGE AND MINORITIES¹

163. I requested this copy from the Red Cross headquarters in Geneva, and they provided it. It states that the Greeks devastated Anatolia like Pompeii. I mentioned this both in the subcommittee and included it in İsmet's speech to the committee. The official investigation by a humanitarian and impartial organisation like the Red Cross confirms this.

Curzon attacked us in strong language at the session on 12 December (23 December 1922). He demanded that the exchange not be compulsory. End

Venizelos completely opposed the exchange. After that, in the speech I wrote to İsmet for two sessions, I said, "The British have a lot of land. Give the Armenians land yourselves, for the Turkish hand is a clean hand, ready for comparison and examination with all hands in the world. (Minutes: 180). In other words, the Turkish hand is superior to the British hand. For this reason, this speech was written with excitement and a somewhat forceful

language. This session was the session of our full confrontation and contest with Curzon.

According to Rumbold's statement to the commission (p. 187), during the occupation of Istanbul

, foreign extraordinary commissioners held a meeting when Greeks began arriving in Istanbul from Anatolia

, they held a meeting. At that time, Dr. Nancy (Nancen?) had also been sent by the Red Cross Society to help the refugees and was in Istanbul. They invited him to their meeting. They asked him for a solution to this problem. He suggested the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. So

the idea of exchange first came from Nancy. May God be pleased with her. At that time, we were driving the Greeks of Anatolia who were of military age to the Harput and Sivas regions. We also took those on the coast inland. We put their women, elderly and children on ships and sent them to Istanbul. So this had a profound effect on them, giving rise to the idea of exchange.

Curzon and other delegates also stated on numerous occasions that minority and exchange issues were the most important and difficult matters before the Commission. Indeed, these were the most important and contentious issues at the conference. These matters were resolved by the Sub-Commission. The Commission's deliberations were largely academic.

The sub-commission's discussions, as everyone said, were as heated as these matters themselves. Indeed, the discussions were very intense, difficult, long, and on several occasions there was great noise and fainting during the discussions. What I went through. I did all this work alone. İsmet did not get involved. He simply read the speech I prepared for him in the general commission.

Lord Curzon (p. 243) said in the final session: "This is a very important matter. I congratulate the subcommittee. It held six sessions. It understood the gravity of the tasks assigned to it. It worked through a tough battle."

Curzon recounts the Patriarch issue (p. 263): "Montagna, unable to resolve it, asked him to resolve it, etc... I recommend reading it. In his speech, Curzon declared on behalf of the allies that the Patriarchate had been stripped of all its administrative and political rights and duties. İsmet Pasha also said (269) that the Patriarch should remain in Istanbul. These are the results of the Nicolson interview. Curzon said, "The decision to leave the Patriarch in Istanbul was met with great joy at the conference and will also have a great impact throughout the world."

"Venizelos was also grateful. Since they are leaving the Patriarchate alone, there are no more difficulties," he says. He has gladly relinquished the Patriarch's political and administrative rights, which he had previously defended fiercely. And if he doesn't, let's see what Curzon does to him! This matter is like a potent potion, a cure-all... The Patriarchate, which Venizelos defended with great care and attention for so long, has crumbled like a paper house. The Patriarchate and the Patriarch are now reduced to a simple household and individual. The Patriarch is now just an ordinary priest.

This success has brought such relief and spaciousness to my heart that I can say it has added ten years to my life. If our government fails to properly resolve this Patriarchate issue and bring it to a final settlement, it will once again become a curse upon us. Now all the preparations and means for this liquidation have been put in place.

I don't know what it was... At one point, the Greeks wanted to back out of the exchange. Even though everything was settled and the agreements were ready to be signed, Venizelos spoke against it at the very last session and added that he had been forced into it. Apparently, the Greek government at that time was against the exchange.

They were putting pressure on the delegation. But what could they do when the British wanted it?! The British held the key to everything... This situation showed that the Greeks still had not given up on their dreams of invading Anatolia, their Byzantine dreams, Panhellenism dreams.

At this time, something else happened to us. Whenever we had the opportunity in Istanbul,

They are killing British soldiers and officers. Curzon tells us this. It is difficult to respond. It affects other matters. The people have suffered greatly. Some rogues are taking revenge, but of course, this ugly thing was damaging the Lausanne negotiations. Our people are more patriotic and diligent than the intellectuals. The water carriers and neighbourhood toughs are brave men. They couldn't tolerate the British and killed them whenever they had the chance. At least they did that much.

Finally, we signed the prisoner and population exchange agreements with the Greeks: the other Allied Powers did not sign them. The prisoner exchange convention will be implemented immediately after signing, and the other, the population exchange agreement, will be implemented and enforced from 1 May 1923. That is what was done. However, we will only return those Greeks who are capable of fighting after the peace treaty is signed.

Thus, the work of the two commissions was completely finished. Everything was settled. These

are entirely in our favour. The fact is, it did not turn out exactly as I wanted. For example, we could not take the Turks in northern Syria. What can we do? It had been given in the Ankara Agreement, it was final, it was a fait accompli. With this, the National Pact had been wounded in the heart.

There are a couple of minor issues regarding minorities. However, these exist in a more severe form in the treaties made for European states! We had already accepted these European treaties with the National Pact. Despite this, I was able to remove some of them and greatly reduce others. I had them accept two articles, one on military service and the other on the political and administrative rights and isolation of the Patriarchate, which killed Hellenism. These two articles uproot all those minor things.

The Greeks and Europeans were well aware of their importance and fought hard against them. Indeed,

Curzon even spoke passionately about the issue of military service in the final session and expressed regret that military service could not be abolished. I said: Their Postface is much broader and more comprehensive than they imagine. Military service is a barrier for Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Because they will flee to avoid military service, and once they flee, they will never be able to return. They will perish in Turkey.

THIRD COMMISSION ECONOMIC

ISSUES

A) Public Debts (Ottoman Borrowing)

Now there are only economic issues (Public Debts, customs, existing foreign companies, etc.), judicial matters, quarantine issues, and the like. There is one important issue here, namely the capitulations. This is a scourge that has plagued the state for centuries and mostly originated from the sultans' generosity. This disgrace must be eliminated once and for all. İsmet is very enthusiastic and eager to abolish the capitulations, for God's sake. We formed various committees from among our advisers for this purpose. We assigned one issue to each committee. Hasan (Saka) was also at the forefront, and while the work of the two commissions was being carried out, negotiations were taking place between the French advisers and experts and our own people. However, nothing came to fruition immediately. It is surprising. I am busy both with my own work, namely the Second

Commission, and preparing speeches and responses for İsmet. Whenever I get the chance, I also meet with the Turkish advisers among these foreigners, giving them instructions and, above all, encouragement. The French are really bullying the poor fellows.

Their morale and courage are being undermined. They fear that peace will not be possible and war will break out. This also breaks their resistance. It drives them to sacrifice and give. I see that courage is the most essential thing. I give it. They are becoming more determined. For this reason, I do not forget this duty.

I have little contact in this regard. I have no time. İsmet is more involved than I am. This is entirely a matter of expertise and technicality. I do not understand it. Indeed, Curzon and the other delegates do not understand it either. Each state delegation has brought many experts for these matters. We went too. Hasan was in charge. As far as I know, the things I told them were general things. Of course, İsmet, who is just a soldier, does not understand anything about this either. I must admit that we have no one to call an expert in this field, while the French experts are excellent.

I think that the fact that nothing has been done yet in the Third Commission is solely due to Hasan's ignorance and incompetence. I have never seen such a terribly negligent and disorganised man. If Hasan were a competent person, these matters would have been completed like the work of the other two commissions, or a great deal would have been resolved.

The French say it plainly: "The Turks are good at everything, but they are zero in economics and finance."

Lozan has become a benchmark for the Turkish nation in the eyes of the French. It has demonstrated both our capabilities and our shortcomings.

İsmet was fiercely against Hasan. He hurled all sorts of insults at him. He had every right to do so. For example, one day İsmet said, "Mr Hasan! How much is the Public Debt in lira?" Hasan replied, "Let me calculate it, and tell you." He left. After a while, he came back and said, "One hundred and fifty million." A week later, İsmet asked again. Again, he said, "Let me calculate it." He left, came back, and said, "Ninety-nine million lira." İsmet got angry: "Come on, Mr. Haşan! Last time you said one hundred and fifty million. Now you're saying ninety-nine! How is that possible?.. Which one is correct?.. What does the difference matter, whether it's hundreds, thousands, or even hundreds of thousands? It's huge... We're talking millions!" What could Hasan possibly say?! "What can I do! That's how the calculation turned out then. Now it came out like this..." This man is supposedly an economics and finance expert. Well, it's clear he's a zero in his field, but what a vulgar and stupid answer he gave... Faced with this answer, one feels like going mad. I was going mad. I burst out laughing with nerves.

İsmet cursed this man as a fool every day: "Why did I bring him here?" he said. But he brought him to the second part of the conference again. However, he cursed him again. he cursed him. In fact, after the war, Hasan became a minister, Speaker of Parliament, and head of the European delegations.

Likewise, there is no man so disorganised and negligent. I don't know how he manages to hold down a job. When he was in the Ministry of Finance, he ruined the place. Nothing got done in the ministry; everything lay dormant for years. An example: One day, when he was Minister of Health, Mustafa (94), the Member of Parliament for Tokat, came to see him. He was following up on someone's retirement case. As per procedure, the Finance Ministry sends the paperwork and report to the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Health reviews and approves it. Mustafa said to me, "You've been holding this man's report for six months!" I said, "You must be mistaken . ." "No!" he said. I checked and said, "No." "Look for it at the Ministry of Finance! Bring any others you find! It's a shame for these poor people. These elderly

disabled men wait for months, even years, hungry, to receive their retirement pensions. I'll take care of all of them." He left. He came back with a pile of documents. And he said, "It was there." For a year, there had also been documents waiting at the Ministry of Health Ministry of Health for a year. The pensions of about eighty poor souls. These elderly and sick people cannot receive their pensions. It's heartbreaking. My heart broke. It's astonishing and terrible

thing. These poor souls have served the state so much. Because of one oversight, they haven't been able to receive their pensions for a year. How can you not gouge out the eyes of that official there? What an unscrupulous official. And what about the director and the Minister of Finance who don't look into this? What do you think? I said, "Come tomorrow; take it all!" They did all the paperwork. He came, took it, and left.

Another example: One day there was something very technical. İsmet said to Hasan, "You defend this in the general meeting!" On the day of the meeting, Hasan was going to speak. We sat down for the meeting. Hasan had a yellow wallet, swollen like a nine-month pregnant woman. He put it on the table in front of him. The discussion began. He looked for the file inside, but it wasn't there. He searched frantically, but it wasn't there. Everyone was looking at Hasan, waiting for him to speak. Who knows what useless things he had filled it with?! He didn't even know what was inside. We were worried too. It was embarrassing. He was rummaging through the papers in his wallet. He didn't know how to search for it . Everyone could see. I was embarrassed, I wanted the ground to swallow me up. Thank goodness Şefik (Bekman) said from behind, "I brought it." And he handed over the file.

Hasan is worthless in every way. Thank goodness for Şefik, the Trabzon MP. He's a decent man. He manages the very knowledgeable Hasan to a certain extent. Hasan has said many times to İsmet and to me, about Şefik and in Şefik's presence, "Şefik is my mind, my knowledge, my file and my wallet." We saw that this is indeed true. Hasan does have one good quality: he is straightforward. He says what he thinks, he doesn't know how to keep things to himself. Especially If you provoke him, he will inevitably reveal even the most secret things with the fury and innocence of a child. Indeed, the French have learned this trait of his. They pick up every word he says. Especially the Italian Public Debt Commissioner, Nogara, the Italian representative of the Public Debt Commission, who was an evil man. Thankfully, we didn't tell Hasan about our secrets and important matters to Hasan. Only İsmet and I knew. In fact, Hasan had nothing to do with the work of the first and second commissions. He is a very impulsive man. He is intelligent and speaks beautifully and logically, but after a while, his words on the same issue become nonsense. I think that

if someone more capable had been in Hasan's place, most of these matters would have been resolved in the first phase. In this situation, it was necessary for us to manage and direct the economic affairs as well.

The French are most concerned with and attach importance to financial and economic matters. The most important and foremost of these is the Public Debt.

The Public Debt will be settled. The territories we lost as a result of the Great War will be compensated for, and Turkey's debt will be reduced.

Despite my strong and repeated objections to these matters, İsmet had eventually brought Cavid (see note 42) along without my knowledge. Cavid also makes a living as a financial expert. Haşan, Cavid, and Cahid are busy with the Düyün-î Umumiye business

They are a trinity. They have formed a triangle, together day and night. They are never apart from each other. Moreover, they are always and specifically friends with the members of the French delegation, sitting with them in the hall.

They dine and travel together. They have virtually no contact with us. It is as if they are members of the French delegation. Their behaviour is suspicious. Because the French are our enemies in this matter. The detachment we have placed opposite their front , the detachment we have placed opposite them has already made a truce with them. We know that Cavid is under French protection, that they rescued him from Malta, and that when Cavid was Minister of Finance, he was in very close and served as a representative of the creditors at the Public Debt Administration. In any case, he is indebted to the French. He cannot stand up to them. This also increases my suspicion.

THEY WANT TO SHIFT THE ENTIRE DEBT ONTO TURKEY

A man often comes to see me. He says that the Public Debt Administration has sent two million to Lausanne and that he will give this money as a bribe for this matter. I suppose he wants to offer me a bribe, but he doesn't dare. Soon afterwards, word got around that this money and bribe were to be given. At the same time, it is said that Cahid was bribed.
Cahid.

During the negotiations, Cavid, Haşan, and Cahid decided on the basis of dividing the interest, not the capital, of the Public Debt. This was beyond my comprehension. Dividing the principal, the capital of the debt, and telling the Turks, "This is your debt. The annual interest and amortisation on this are as follows. You will pay this amount every year

every year." Instead, the entire debt will remain on Turkey's shoulders. They will simply divide the annual interest between the states that took land from us and Turkey. What if these states say, "The debt is not ours, we cannot pay it, the debt belongs to Turkey. Let them pay..." Disaster! Indeed, Berlin

In the agreement (95), it is not the capital but the interest that has been divided. The Serbs and other states did not pay. They unjustly made Turkey pay those shares too. There is such a serious example. İsmet, Haşan, and I are discussing it. I said, "Again, the capital is not being divided. The annual interest is being divided?" Hasan said, "Because dividing the capital is technically impossible. That's why." It's astonishing... I can't wrap my head around it. What if Hasan is right... But I just can't accept that either. I had a long argument with Hasan. These arguments happened not just once, but many times. Hasan couldn't explain why, couldn't give a reason. He just cut it short by saying, "It's not technically possible." This refrain wasn't enough to convince me. İsmet never expressed an opinion. He just thought, looking distracted. He seemed confused, uncertain. On this matter

I had long arguments, even fights, with Hasan. My case is this: I say, "There is a load. There are ten of us to share it. For example, one hundred and fifty okkas, etc... I also say that this eighty okkas load is my share, small but what can I do? Load it onto my back! Let them load it, and I'll carry it away. I can't think of anything else. The load that belongs to others cannot stay on my back."

CAVID ALSO SAID, "IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY IMPOSSIBLE."

Finally, we asked Cavid; he said, "The division of capital is scientifically impossible," and left it at that. We argued. The more we argued, the angrier Cavid became. He turned beetroot red. "Impossible!" he said. This man would turn bright red over everything, and very quickly. He even said haughtily, "You don't understand!" This was insulting to me. But he was right. I really didn't understand. But then practice showed that even Cavid, Turkey's sole important and haughty financial scholar, didn't know. Or he was being disingenuous. What if the second option is correct? I asked Cahid separately. He repeated the same refrain. Ah, the French want this, Cavid says so. So Cahid and Haşan are in cahoots with Cavid... Disaster! What shall we do? Sometimes I think: they know this business, I'm being ignorant by objecting and making things even more difficult. I should give up. Let them do as they see fit, I say. But then I think again; what if they're saying this deliberately... What if they're playing a money game... It's a very important matter. One day, I asked Cavid again in the hall. Same stubbornness. Finally, I thought it would be best to find an impartial European financial expert and consult him; after all, instead of bringing Cavid, İsmet should have found someone like that. Without telling İsmet, I asked Ahmet İhsan (Tok-göz) to find someone like that. He brought Günter, who had come to Lausanne for the Anatolian railway issue. I asked him. He said that this man's capital

capital distribution was quite possible. "However, I don't know for sure, we can investigate," he said. With this encouragement, I sought out Cavid and Cahid. They were in the hall. "We found an important European expert. He said capital distribution is technically feasible," I said. Cavid flushed. He turned beetroot red. This man was very arrogant. At the slightest objection, his blood would rush to his head and he would turn bright red. "It's impossible, and even if it were possible, reprinting the bonds would cost millions. That would be too expensive," he said. This statement was a loophole. So I had found a loophole. My courage increased. So Cavid knew it was technically possible. He said it couldn't be done deliberately. He's a traitor.

I'M SENDING GÜNTER TO ZURICH

I sent Günter to Zurich to investigate this matter in full detail. He investigated with the bankers there and came back. He said: "Capital division is technically entirely possible. Since the bond papers cannot be divided

and reprinting them is expensive, so new papers are printed and added. This is a job worth half a million lira." I jumped up. Truly, this was a great service.

I told İsmet. İsmet still isn't saying anything. I told Hasan. And added some harsh words to my speech. I went down to the hall. I found Cavid and Cahid. I told them about the paper issue too. Cavid said, "That would cost millions." "No, it would cost at most half a million," I said, and he was speechless. Hüseyin Cahid is defending Cavid's words in his newspaper for this matter, writing against us. He accuses us of ignorance and mocks us. He was the Deputy Minister of Finance, too! These gentlemen have been feeding off the Public Debt Administration for years. They're still feeding off it. One is Jewish, the other is Albanian. Do they care if Turks work and give money to the Frenkels?

1 - Is There a Spy?

I've completely lost faith in this institution. At the head of these affairs are the Frenchmen Bompard, Dekloneyer, and Serre-bos. I told Bompard that there would definitely be a capital distribution. "Your delegates (Cavid, Cahid, Haşan) have already agreed to the interest distribution. That's settled. There's no going back." I said, "No, they can't accept it, we are the representatives." Look at the situation, I said, look at the situation!... It turns out that without consulting us, our representative Haşan, our advisers Cavid and Cahid, had accepted this. Disaster, dereliction of duty, betrayal...

Upon this, the French caused an uproar. Panic and heated arguments, threats. Everything. İsmet's nerves were frayed. He couldn't sleep. He stopped eating and drinking, pacing around his room. He seemed at a loss as to what to do. Finally, a large meeting was held with the participation of our general advisors. The matter was discussed. I listened and listened, then finally stood up. I said, "This matter must be done on the basis of capital distribution! It absolutely cannot be any other way. I will never accept any other form." Haşan raised his head and looked at me sideways (I will never forget that look) and said, "Capital distribution is technically impossible." I said, "It is possible; it cannot be any other way." He said, "No!" I said, "You don't know. Listen, everyone! I will not sign an agreement that does not include capital distribution. Even if Pasha İsmet and Mr. Hasan sign it, the agreement cannot be valid without my signature." Hasan leaned over the table

as if his nose were touching the paper in front of him. That was his habit. He sat up anxiously from this position. "Well, what will happen now?" he said. "What will happen?" I said. "We will write to Ankara now to prevent such a terrible event from happening. If the government agrees with your ideas, it will give me such an order, and either I will accept it or I will resign, or the government will remove me. Then you will sign. Or they will remove you." Hasan did not reply. I left. How strange! İsmet had not invited me to this meeting. He had not told me the time of the meeting. I had heard the news and rushed over. İsmet did not say "no" or "yes" to these words either. İsmet was constantly keeping his thoughts to himself in this matter.

İsmet was in great distress. He was in a terrible state. He couldn't say anything to me either. Finally, he blurted out: "Cavid, Cahid, Hamid, Haşan have become a curse on us. Where did I get them from?!" he said.

I wanted to say, "Didn't I tell you?" But it wasn't the right time. He was in such a terrible state, I felt sorry for him. But he really wanted to say those words. It was necessary to put the matter to rest.

He continued: "They have joined forces with the enemy. You have to deal with the enemy, and now you have to deal with them too. They are being disloyal. I did it with my own hands. You kept telling me not to bring Cavid to me. We can't get rid of them we won't be able to resolve this matter. They are obstructing us. They are also deceiving that fool Haşan."

That was exactly it. I also felt they were traitors. I don't know how they got hold of our fool Hasan. They were undermining us from within. We had to get rid of them. Definitely.

İsmet said to me, "I'm thinking of a solution. Let's bring Ferîd (96) from Paris. Let's have him draw up a project on capital distribution. Let's appoint him to negotiate with the Oransızlar." I said, "That's appropriate. But this man is difficult... He's dangerous in that way. The ink on Poincaré's proclamation hasn't dried yet. If he listens and doesn't cause any trouble, it's fine." "I'll manage."

"I will do it," he said. Ferid is indeed powerful. He had demonstrated this in putting the Ministry of Finance in order. It was appropriate. I said again: "There is one more measure. This is the most essential one. These Cavid's are a source that spreads poison. Decisive action is needed. We must dry up this source. To do this, Cavid, Cahid, and Hamid must be sent away from Lausanne. The Chief Rabbi must also be added to this. Likewise, finally, Reşad (Nihad Reşad Belger) is not engaged in anything other than privileges and women's affairs

and is in close contact with the French. He has not yet done us any service. He is a very frivolous man. He does not work. He does not keep his word. Let us send these five away from Lausanne. The field will open up." İsmet said, "Fine, but I cannot do this!" "Why? Of course you can. You're the captain." I said. He said, "You do it!" That's İsmet! Would he make enemies for himself? The nation and state affairs are secondary. First comes the individual. Is he a schemer? Would he ever do anything openly? I said, "All right, I'll do it." Rıza Nur immediately puts his interests, even his head, on the line for the Turks.

I AM REMOVING THE FIVE FROM THE COUNCIL

I immediately announced this. You are dismissed from the advisory board. You will leave Lausanne this very evening! If you do not, the consequences will be severe. They all left; only Cavid asked for a few days' leave. A few days later, he left too. Nihad Reşad was sent to İsmet, I don't know why, and I was given a ceremonial position. Cahid was not an advisor. Since he was not an advisor, we could not say anything to Cahid.

The disappearance of these elements weighed heavily on the French. They complained. Bompard complained to us about this. Of course, it worked in our favour.

effect. Indeed, we felt a sense of relief afterwards.

Ferid arrived. He carried out the project according to the principles we had laid down. He began negotiations with the French. The French said, "This is new. Other principles have been accepted, we cannot go back." Ferid is genuinely stubborn and determined. But he is unmanageable. He immediately undermines himself. I don't have a record of it in my notes, and I can't remember it well either. He broke a pot and got into a fight with the French. The French issued a note. They said, "We will never deign to negotiate with such a man." I've fought with the French so much, but things never got this bad. Ferid broke it off in one fell swoop. İsmet was finally forced to send Ferid back. But we had established a new principle. We continued the negotiations with our advisers. And finally, the capital distribution was accepted. This is a great victory. Whenever I remember this, I feel my chest swell with pride.

Hamid told me, whom I met by chance near Porse in Paris a year ago: "After the peace, on my way back from Lausanne, I went to visit İsmet in Istanbul. He welcomed me with great affection and a smile. He hugged me and kissed me all over my face. 'My dear Hamid,' he said. 'You've forgotten the Lausanne incident,' I said. The next day, he went to Ankara. He gave a speech in Parliament. He accused us of treason. 'This man is a hypocrite,' he said. I laughed. "That's how he is; he hates those he loves the most, and in between, he does them harm."

If he is going to do it, he shows him the most affection and sincerity. If he shows someone a lot of affection one day, that man should know that at that moment he is doing him a terrible disservice, preparing a disaster," I said. İsmet, this is it! Topçu had given İhsan (97) a document signed by him regarding his great (!) services, and three days later had him imprisoned on charges of embezzlement. Despite Mustafa Kemal's desire, saying, "I absolutely cannot work with him."

Muştam Cemal said, "How did that happen? He's your friend." İsmet replied, "I can manage him." That same day, he sent me a telegram to Sinop saying, "You are Turkey's most valuable son. I cannot be spared your service. I am waiting for your rest period to end." İsmet had countless examples like this.

I often used to walk around during the discussions of our various committees. I saw the child that Hasan brought to Lausanne, the one I told Hasan about in Sirkeci, saying, "This child is immoral, he is a thief, don't take him!" and Hasan replied, "He is a very honourable young man," and took him anyway.

It caught my attention. Why was he always there, everywhere? It seemed unnecessary. I became suspicious. I said to this boy, "What are you doing at these committees? I don't want to see you here again. You will not enter any committee. If I see you again, I'll break your legs." But there's no time to deal with everything every day... I even forgot about it. As I was leaving the famous big meeting for the Public Debt, having said my last word, I saw this boy again squeezed into a corner there. He had nothing to do, he was just hanging around... I was angry and I had other things to do. I left and forgot about the boy...

A few days passed. The hotelkeeper told me that this boy (I still don't know his name) hadn't been seen in the square for three days, that they had opened his door, found an empty suitcase, and that he owed the hotel about 600 francs. This The money amounts to two thousand Turkish lira. It turns out he had borrowed money from our advisors and clerks as well. They started looking for the boy. The boy is nowhere to be found. We informed the police. They searched. Upon completing their investigation, the police provided the following information: One night, he was seen in a notorious tavern in Lausanne with one of Switzerland's most notorious thieves. He was in contact with the French delegation. He often visited the Russian delegation's representative at night. Especially in recent days, he was always there. He used to gamble at our hotel at night. Three days ago, he crossed the Swiss border and stole someone's suitcase on a train near Vienna. From there, he crossed into Russia.

I said to Hasan, "See? I told you this in Sirkeci. I told you not to take this boy. You said he was an honourable young man. Well, did you like his honour?" Hasan said nothing. I added: "At least listen to reason!" In Allah's name. We really suffered a lot because of Hasan.

He has caused us a lot of trouble. We worked our guts out cleaning up after him. Some of the mess still hasn't been cleaned up.

These debts were settled by the state's honour, the budget of the delegation. On top of that, we were disgraced. If I were the leader, I would have made Hasan pay for this. The worst part is that whatever he saw, whatever he heard, he reported to the enemy. The French and the British were my opponents. And a level

"You yourself are preventing peace. The resistance always comes from you," they say.

So it turns out that these and other spies within us report everything that happens in minute detail. İsmet is deaf... No matter how much you whisper in his ear, he doesn't understand unless you speak loudly. In fact, because of this problem, we rented the rooms on either side of his room so that they wouldn't hear our conversations.

It turns out there are spies on foot... Sometimes one becomes suspicious, even going so far as to jump to conclusions. The precaution is easy. One wants to take it. But when one cannot make them listen, when one cannot make them do it, it is useless. It cannot ward off disaster.

2 - Rıza Nur in the Language of the Press

It was during this time that one day I got into the lift. Senyos got in too and said to me, "How are things going?" "Fine..." I said. "No, they're not fine, there won't be peace," he said. "Why?" I asked. "The reason is you. What a heavy responsibility you bear, and what courage you have to take on this responsibility!" he said. He was trying to scare me. I didn't care.

Around that time, the French and British press were publishing articles strongly against me. Our people informed me. I didn't even care. Of course, enemies don't sing the praises of their enemies! If I served their interests, they wouldn't do it. On the contrary, they would praise me. One day, Bompard came up to me in the hall. He is a very polite and courteous man. After exchanging pleasantries, he said, "How much is the press against you?" I paused. I didn't answer. "Haven't you heard?" he said.

He seems to think I don't know. Because he hasn't seen any effect of my actions and has now come to inform me. "I know," I said. Surprised, he showed his disapproval and said, "My dear, why are you doing this? Look, all the French and British press are against you. Why are you making them speak ill of you?" "My dear, what have I done wrong? Why are they writing against me?"

I asked. "Because you are the reason there is no peace..." he said. Surprised, I asked, "Why?" "Because, to use your own words, you are the axis, the basis of the resistance. If you hadn't resisted, we would have made a deal and settled this long ago. Give up your resistance and you will be rid of these publications against you!" he said. So, these people had learned from their spies, just as they had seen in the court hearings, that the resistance came from me, and they were publishing articles against me to frighten me and break my resistance. It is well known that such external matters are provided to newspapers by the Foreign Ministries in Europe. He ordered. But such things meant nothing to me. They didn't know that. I am not one to be intimidated by noise. I gave him this reply: "Monsieur Bompard! I take pride in this publication against me." He was astonished. "How is that possible? Can one take pride in this?" he said. I said: "You are our enemy. We are facing each other here, we are at war. Does an enemy praise his enemy? The more your press denigrates me, the more they say in Turkey:

"Well done, Rıza Nur, you defend the people's rights so well that they are against you." Bompard looked at me meaningfully. He shook my hand and said nothing, then left. A few days later, the publications against me ceased. It seems that Bompard himself saw that this was of no use and ended the futile effort.

This publication had portrayed me in France and England as fierce, uncompromising, brutal, even savage. One day, the editor-in-chief of the Tan (Le Temps) newspaper said to our ambassador (Ferid Tek) in Paris, who later told me: Upon his return from Lausanne (at the time of the break), this editor-in-chief asked Bompard about me: "What kind of man is this brutal man?" Bompard replied, "On the contrary, he is a polite, gentlemanly man. He is simply very resistant..."

However, German and Austrian newspapers wrote extensively about me and showered me with praise. This is a matter of praise and criticism, and of interests.

Bompard and the others saw my resilience and said and did these things, which also shows that İsmet Pasha always accepted what they said.

MADAME BOMPARD'S ANGER

Meanwhile, the English had held an official banquet at their hotel. The hotel's hall is a beautiful place with large pillars along the edges. After dinner, everyone was dancing. I leaned against a pillar and watched.

The women wore magnificent dresses and gowns. Each one was like an angel, and all the jewellery they wore was worth at least six months, if not a year, of Turkey's budget. I thought about our situation. Turkey was like this two or three centuries ago, but what about now? I was lost in thought. Someone took my arm. I came to my senses. I looked and saw Madame Bompard.

This old lady has a necklace with ten stones around her neck, each as big as a hazelnut. She looks furious. She seems ready to beat me up. "Yes, madam?" I said. She began:

She - You Turks are ungrateful. You're a bad man.

(Inside, I thought, "There is no power or strength except in God... Why does every misfortune find me? What is wrong with this woman? Such harsh words! And her first words are like this. Her husband is well-mannered, but what about his wife?!"). She continued:

She - You don't do any good.

I - (With utmost politeness) Pardon me, madam. What's wrong? What happened?

O - (Vehemently) What will happen? You are not bringing about peace. (Oh dear, here we go again...)

I - No, madam. You're mistaken. We're all desperate for peace. We're all working towards it.

O - No, you yourself are preventing it. I -

Why?..

O - You're the one resisting. If you stop resisting, peace will come immediately.

(I think to myself, right, I get it. It's the resistance issue again).

Me - You're wrong, madam. Excuse me, madam. (So they've done everything to break my resistance: propaganda against me, threats, attempts at bribery. When that didn't work, they've now given up hope. Now Madam Bom-pard is attacking me like a frightened bitch. And so the French are sure that without me, they would immediately make peace with İsmet. So İsmet accepts whatever they say. I am the obstacle).

He - No, no, you are responsible.

(She says, shouting. I started looking around. I was shocked by everyone. The woman is terribly insulting me and the Turkish nation. My blood is boiling. But what can I do? She's a woman. I'm not losing my composure. But I'm barely hard to control myself.)

I - Madam, please. You are insulting me. I accept it for your sake. Enjoy yourselves, but what fault does the poor Turkish nation have

? You are insulting an entire nation! I beg you, at least do not do this!

O - Yes, yes. The Turkish nation is ungrateful. It is treacherous. I will prove it. Listen: When I was ambassador in Istanbul during the Balkan War, I formed an association. I collected money. I visited hospitals. I looked after your wounded. You do not appreciate this. Now you do not appreciate peace. I was ambassador in Istanbul during the Balkan War and formed a society. I collected money. I visited hospitals. I looked after your wounded. You don't appreciate this, and now you won't make peace? Isn't that ingratitude?

(No matter what, she's a woman... her weakness, her lack of reason and logic is showing. She looked after our patients. And so, to show our gratitude, we should abandon all the rights and vital interests of the state and make peace on their terms... This is not good manners either; does one put charity and good deeds above everything else?).

I - Very well, madam! Since you desire it, and you have shown such generosity, let us make peace. Very well...

(I saw she was pleased and said, "Go ahead!")

Me - Let's do it, but I don't know how peace will happen. What should we do to achieve peace? 0-0 is not easy... If you don't resist, it's over.

Me - Is that so? I see. Thank you, Madam... France has no vital interest in this matter. In the end, it's just a few francs. Whereas Turkey's very existence is at stake. For us, not resisting would mean condemning Turkey to death. Since the secret to peace is not resisting, I beg you, madam, tell your husband not to demand what he wants. Let him not resist our offer. Peace will be achieved immediately.

(Undoubtedly, these words were binding. But like a woman whose pride had been badly wounded in a love affair, Madame Bompard took on the demeanour of a wounded tiger.

She paused... She couldn't find the words. She retreated... She was about to leave. She approached me again. As I spoke these words to her, I had raised my left hand, extending my little finger and bending the others. She extended her right hand. She placed the tip of her thumb on my extended finger and said:

O - You are savage. And this, this is in your veins, it comes from your race's blood.

COME AND HIT THIS WOMAN

She stormed off without even saying bonjour. I've never seen such a rude French woman before... The woman... She's not even an official delegate, what's the point... I was so angry with myself: "They say you shouldn't hit women. Go ahead and beat her... Shouldn't someone like that be beaten? How can you grab her by the hair, throw her underfoot and trample her? The place and situation aren't right, so go ahead and do it! All hell will break loose. They'll scream at the top of their lungs that Turkish savages beat women. As if women haven't been beaten since the creation of this land called Europe. Yet every day, husbands and others beat women. They're not savages. But when it comes to us, we become savages." I said.

This woman seemed to be having nervous breakdowns lately. Was she going through menopause or what? In the lobby of our hotel, she would grab one of our advisers and lecture them on peace. She would grab another and scold them. She did this to her own delegation's clerks too. This activity attracted everyone's attention. I heard that the French themselves had nicknamed the lady Madame le fouette, "Madam Whip".

That's gone now, but we still have our troubles. Some of our former ambassadors and diplomats have written to me. They lecture, advise, and even reprimand me. The gist of these letters is: "What kind of wickedness is this? You reject everything. This is no way to be a diplomat. Be gentle! You'll break them. There will be no peace." It's cowardly... But I don't care. Inside, I say: "You were pumpkins, you were planted, you grew leaves. You gave your harvest. You dried up. And what a harvest it was!"

İsmet was also receiving the same letters. He never showed me his correspondence. But he showed me these. He was probably doing it to break my resistance. He was also making it clear that if peace did not come about in the future, I would be responsible. He would accuse me. He had already decided to use these as evidence. Then I heard that Rifat Pasha (98) said to his old diplomat friends: "Don't interfere! These are not poor diplomats like us. We always gave and thanked them, appearing grateful. They hit them over the head and take what they want. They have taken many fine things so far..." There is a new diplomat like these old ones. Celâl Arif (99), the representative in Rome. He also writes letters to İsmet and me. He recommends a Muslim alliance through cooperation with Hüsniüdare, Albania, Montenegro and Egypt, and thus standing up to the Franks. This is utter nonsense from start to finish. As for the Muslims, what about Montenegro? Moreover, all Muslims are prisoners in the hands of the Franks; how can they form an alliance? What strength do they have? Montenegro is a state that has been wiped off the face of the earth...

3 - Khedive Abbas Hilmi and Syrian Diplomats

Then Hıdiv Abbas Hilmi (100) came along. Abbas Hilmi was in Lausanne. He sent Nihad Reşad (Belger) to me. He supposedly wanted to meet with me, saying, "I will come wherever you command. But our meeting must remain secret." I said to this old man of high rank, "I will go to him."

I went. We talked about this and that. I didn't stay long. I was leaving. He wanted to hold my coat. I said absolutely not. He insisted and took it. I was astonished by his flattery. In my opinion, he is essentially a vulgar and dirty creature. He also met with İsmet. İsmet didn't tell me. Everything this man does, every move he makes, is motivated by self-interest.

He had money in Brussels banks. They seized it during the war. They still haven't returned it. "Take this," he said. He was going to donate part of it to the Red Crescent. He said this. "All right," we said. He had a clerk named Arif Pasha. He started coming and going. That wasn't enough; he then asked us for a passport to go to London to settle his financial affairs there. He won't leave us alone. One of his men told me this. I said, "We are

, we cannot issue a passport." He went and said, "I am a Turkish subject." He brought back the answer. "That's true, but it's not our job, he should apply to Ankara."

Meanwhile, Celâl Arif must have thought that his wise (!) words had no effect in Rome, so he came to Lausanne. The Khedive said terrible things about Celâl Arif to us through his men. We didn't ask the Khedive for such a thing, but he said it. Namely: The Khedive was in Rome. He had heard that the Italians were going to expel him from the border

outside the borders. He appealed to the representative Celâl Arif. He said he would prevent it. But a little later he said, "It is necessary to give a bribe to Bazüar." He took 500 British pounds from the Khedive. Then he said, "To Hüâliahmer'e He said, "I need money." He took another thousand lira. He did not send this money to Hilâliah-mer either. The Khedive remained in Italy. However, he received news that the rumour about removing him from Italy was unfounded. This was also a scheme devised by Celâl Arif to extort money. He did not distribute bribes for the Khedive to stay; he pocketed the money.

I said, "I don't believe words, you must show me documents." He showed me his correspondence with Celâl Arif and copies of the receipts for the money received. It was copied by machine.

It is in French and is in my library in Sinop.

The Khedive cannot remain. He carried out this espionage when we had no need for it. That's how he is. He orders espionage, he carries out espionage himself. He cannot rest without intrigue. There are a number of Syrian political vagabonds around in Lausanne. Their leaders are the former deputies Dürzi Şekip Arslan (101) and Caberizâde İhsan (102).

They say, "We will liberate Syria from the French. We will make you the Khedive of Syria. From there, we will also take Egypt." They extort money from the Khedive. The Khedive is pleased. After a while, he expelled them. He expelled them, but he couldn't just sit idle... He gathered other vagabonds around him. This time, he will become Caliph in the Hejaz. This has always been his goal and cause since his time as Khedive. They also was also influenced by these people.

ISMET WILL SHAKE RAUF'S FAITH

What do we care? Whatever he does. We don't have time for such matters anyway. But the Khedive went too far. He offered me a bribe to get a passport to London. The intermediary was Suphi Nuri (103). He's a man I like. Somehow, without realising how ugly his role was, he did it. I reprimanded Suphi. "Go tell that filthy man! There are no bribe-takers here. He is his own bribe-taker, extortionist, and everything else. He shouldn't assume everyone is like him!" That's how he got involved with the Khedive. Now the Khedive says, "Rıza Nur ruined me. I'll ruin him too." set off the Khedive. Now the Khedive was shouting in front of everyone, "Rıza Nur has ruined me. I'll do the same to him".

"Finally, he complained about us to Rauf in Ankara. As Prime Minister, he gave İsmet a coded message: "What do you mean, the Khedive is a Turkish subject? You are not protecting him. On the contrary, you are acting against him. Do your job!" He would use it immediately, even if it was against İsmet. İsmet flared up: "Look what Rauf is writing! I'll shake this man's faith..." Rauf's weak spot was this.

Rauf was criticising him! He would do everything in his power to him! I said, "The Khedive offered us a bribe. Write him a reply about this!" "Hah!" he said. And he wrote it. Rauf's intensity, his fire, passed like a flash in the pan and died down. The matter was closed.

The vagrant Syrian Arabs around him, having received money, sided with their masters against me. They even published an article against me in the Lozan newspaper.

They even managed to get an article written. Who knows how much money they must have paid the newspaper for that. They showed me the article. It was nonsense, nothing but empty words, incapable of making any accusation... I don't pay any attention to such things anyway.

Meanwhile, a delegation had arrived in Lausanne on behalf of the Syrian Arabs, as the Syrian Delegation. On their behalf, someone named Caberizade İhsan requested an interview with me.

I said, "Let him come!" We spoke in my bedroom. He was the son of Nafi Pasha (104), one of the first deputies from Aleppo. He had served as a chamberlain to Reşat (Sultan Mehmet Reşad) or Vahideddin (Mehmet Vahdettin). Then he became a chamberlain to Faysal in Damascus. A pig of an Arabist, it seems

Even in Istanbul, he was involved in Arabism alongside Faysal. Our people brought such a person all the way to the Turkish palace, and even appointed him to an important position.

Ah, what a mistake! Always, always... So we let him undermine us there!

He explained his point. The gist of it is this:

"The Arabs are going to revolt against the French in Syria. But they lack the power. Turkey should send troops to expel the French. Then Syria should be handed over to these Arabs. The Arabs want to establish an independent state."

I was so angry that I suddenly lost my temper. We're trying our hardest to make peace. We're scared to death that war will break out again. And this guy is stealing from what office?! This man was probably a French spy. At the same time, he was an Arab cause

. I don't know... A heated discussion began between us. I am writing this so that Turkish generations may understand the mentality, audacity, and shamelessness of the Arabs:

I - We will send an army. We will shed blood and spend money. We will take Syria. Then we will give it to you. Why should we make such sacrifices?

He - We are both Muslims. Therefore, this is your duty.

Me: You're just learning this now? You say that. Didn't you know we were Muslims during the Great War? You joined forces with Turkey's enemies and Christians and drove us out of Syria. Not only that, you slaughtered the Turks among the population, looted their property. You violated their women. Weren't you Muslims then?

He - It's the past. It should be forgotten.

I - You are very insolent. How can this be forgotten? Look, when will it be forgotten? Let us go there once. Let us slaughter you, plunder you, and rape your women. Perhaps then it can be forgotten. We will be even.

He - Goodness, what nonsense is this? Islam has given us this duty.

Me - You are forgetting. Turks cannot forget this. You say, "The French are oppressing us." We Turks take pleasure in hearing this. Let them oppress you... You deserve it... This is God's wrath upon you, the punishment for your lowliness.

O - Don't worry, be reasonable. If we become independent, we can be of great help to you. We will form an alliance.

I - You can have your alliance, you can't even defend yourselves. You are a broken generation. You are a corrupt people. We know your military. If you become independent and we form an alliance, we will have to use the Turkish army to defend you. You will be a burden on our backs. Don't become independent!

O - You are mistaken.

I - After doing this to us, how dare you come and ask us for help? Have you no shame? Have your faces been wiped clean with a butcher's sponge? If we go there, will we give you independence? We will make you a colony. You deserve it. We didn't realise this before. For centuries, the Turks have fought against all of Europe and the infidel world to preserve Arab and Muslim identity. They shed rivers of blood. You showed your gratitude for this during the Great War. That lesson wasn't enough; we will still protect you. If it weren't for the Turks, there would be no Arabs or Islam today.

(This man has a simple argument. Whatever happened, happened... You are Muslims, we are Muslims, you are obliged to help us. He said this again. Not as a favour, but as an obligation. It was getting tiresome. I was getting even more angry). I said:

I - If Islam imposes such a duty on us towards you, who have done us so much harm, then we are ready to leave the faith.

He - (Covering his ears with his hands) Oh, what a heavy thing! I don't want to hear it.

I hear you, I hear you! Now get up and go, let the French make you cry your eyes out. Your tears are healing for the Turkish heart, they are music.

He got up and left. As they say, this man will drive you from your faith, he will... Think about it, Turk, he will pour out money and goods, he will hand Syria over to the Arabs.

"Here you go." You'd have to be very shameless to ask for that. What treachery had they committed against us just yesterday?!

THE EGYPTIANS ALSO HELPED THE BRITISH

There is also a delegation from Egypt. They are sending statements to us and other delegations at the Lausanne Conference. They are demanding that Egypt be freed from the British and become independent. These are Said Zaghloul's (105) "Wafd" Party. Armenians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, etc... The French, who accepted and listened to the Christians at the conference, are not accepting the poor Egyptians. If they had been present during the Armenian issue and had made their appeal to us, I would have officially proposed their admission to the session

. But alas, they only came forward after these matters had passed. They simply told us, "Leave Egypt not to the British, but to the Egyptian people."

They insisted. We abandoned them, generally speaking. What does Egypt matter to us? The Wafd Party is anti-Turkish. During the Great War, they gave the British a million people. These were not given by force, but were bought with money. Even now, whenever the opportunity arises, the Egyptian press says, "We gave millions of people and money to the British during the Great War. We helped them. They are not giving us our independence." Most of these Egyptians were also used at Gallipoli.

They came to Lausanne from all over the world. A bunch of vagabonds, political opportunists, had flocked there. One day I received a letter signed Basri. Judging by the style, he seemed to be a very good friend. He appreciated me. He wanted to meet. He had added the name Halistürk to his signature. He didn't used to do that. On the contrary, his signature used to be Basri Dukakin (106). In other words, he was from the Albanian Kira clan (!). What a terrible fraud, vagrant and scoundrel this man is. He was once a member of parliament for Debre in the first Assembly. He was a fierce Unionist. He asked them for a ministerial post. When he didn't get it, he became an opponent. He immediately joined forces with Sadık (107). He became a member of that filthy clique of freedom and alliance. Naturally, he is also a great enemy of mine. We used to exchange greetings. We stopped that too. Then this man used the signature Basri Dukakin. Ku-kakin is a descendant of the former Albanian kingdom and rebelled against Turkey. We have poets and sheikhs from this family. Supposedly, Basri was from this family. There is no truth to it. His true nature is unknown.

He wandered around Albania for a while. He claimed the throne. Of course, no one paid him any attention. His name was ruined. Now he has suddenly reappeared. I have no idea what he has been doing all this time. He has also published a work in French. He sent it to me. Since Albania was of no use to him, he has now become a Turkophile. I am astonished at the fellow

. We are enemies. We have a history. Why this friendship now? He's out to get me. I'm in a position of power! He insists on meeting me. He found Nihad Reşat. He said so too. He calls me on the phone. They inform me. I don't answer. Nihad Reşat is like the sergeant of our delegation, the gatekeeper. Everyone comes to him, but mostly vagabonds, spies, privilege seekers, women. They seek his guidance, or he finds them.

Finally, one day he asks for me on the phone again. It's getting annoying. I go to the phone. And: "We've never been friends. In fact, we're enemies. Have you forgotten what you did? How dare you show your face to me?" I said and hung up the phone. He sent a letter. Now he is cursing me and saying, "He is writing against Cahid (Hüseyin Cahid). He is right." Yet in his first letter, he was accusing Cahid of writing against me, condemning him. He also sent a letter against me to İsmet. He was like a Maghrebian who had found treasure, and he showed it to me. I looked, and it was the same nonsense he had written to me. He had asked İsmet for an interview but couldn't get one. Then he sent a telegram to Mustafa Kemal to allow him to go to Ankara. He did not reply. However, he is an enterprising and courageous schemer. He actually went to Ankara before us. They grabbed him by the arm and threw him back across the border. I learned about this later. That insolent man ended up like that.

4 - Legal Matters

We are busy with the treaty. There is no time. But such disturbances and messes are not lacking either.

From the very first days in Lausanne, a Swiss consul named Fonteralla approached us, mentioning that he had many Turkish admirers. He also held a meeting and gathering at the hotel on this matter. We welcomed him. These contacts were few at first, but they increased **considerably** during the second phase of the conference. At that time
I will mention it.

Financial and economic matters are always discussed in small committees.

The British gave us a project for the judicial issue. It's a tremendous thing. They are also looking into the old capitulation. Forbes Adam and Ryan (British delegates) are working on this. We appointed Tahir, now a professor at Darülfünun, as our advisor on this matter. Tahir (108), Adam and Ryan are negotiating.

There is no sign of negotiations. Finally, Montagna took over the matter. He and Tahir are working on it. The judicial matter is becoming increasingly important. All hell is breaking loose. The French are using this as evidence that we are against peace.

They are writing about it in the newspapers. They have exploited the matter greatly. It has begun to weigh heavily. I spoke with Tahir. They have not made a single step forward. He is harmless, knowledgeable, well-mannered, patriotic, and hardworking. I have affection for him in my heart. But he is not far-sighted or perceptive. I asked Tahir. I saw that he was clinging to minor points, attaching great importance to them. He is splitting hairs. He has reduced the matter to a madrasa issue. He has not taken the initiative to come up with a counter-project.

This is a major flaw. So I told him to let go of the minor details and focus on the essentials. He threw a fit... So he lacks dynamism and flexibility too.

I thought this matter needed to be resolved. The French side is holding the upper hand.

And this weight is also doing judicial work. This weight must be taken off the scales and thrown away. Let it go too. If it goes, there will be a balance on the scales and it will be easier to settle the remaining matters.

. The French always push this in every matter. Let the cards they hold be broken, spent, and finished without causing us any harm.

be broken, spent, finished... It is possible to break this out of sheer whim.

I said I would take this task upon myself. I told İsmet. He did not agree. "You are not a legal expert, you cannot do it," he said. "This matter is pressing. It must be finished. You do it!" I said. "I cannot do it either," he said. I said, "We can see that it's not working with Tahir. I've studied law a little. However, doing this without the consent of our legal experts would certainly be foolish. I'll do it." I said. I tried to convince him further. He refused. MONTAGNA

FORMULA

I took the draft of the agreement. I removed all the harmful parts from it. A new draft emerged. I called Mr Münir (Er-tegün). We met privately. He looked at it and said, "There is nothing harmful in the new draft; it is entirely in our interest."

Tahir had heard the news and came over, looking anxious. I showed him the project. "This won't do!" he said. He was flustered. Tahir's flustered state, for the sake of the country's interests, actually increased my affection for him. But he couldn't see the bigger picture. He didn't realise. He was being forced into a pointless ... I said, "You won't interfere in this matter anymore. I've taken this task from you." Of course, he fell silent. I went to Montagna. I said, "We've handled many important and difficult matters together. You're a very capable diplomat. Let's tackle this one together too." He was pleased and said, "All right." I presented our project. He said, "It's changed too much, it won't work." A long debate and persuasion... Finally, he agreed. However, he wanted to add one line. That was to have European judges in our courts. He insisted on this. I said, "Let them be our officials, advisors. They can enter the courtroom. But they cannot interfere with the judgement. And this should only be for five years." He finally agreed to this too. This was a great gain. The door had been opened for European judges. I said, "I accept this. But the government will not. Let me talk to the advisors first. Let's write to the government. For this reason, I am reserving the right not to be held responsible

I reserve the right to do so." He agreed. I said again, "This means this project is your creation. You will also render a great service to the peace with this." Then I saw that a project called the Montagna formula was written about in the newspapers and publications about it began. Now everyone is talking about the Montagna formula. The newspapers say, "If the Turks do not accept this, there will be no peace." But this is my formula. Indeed, our advisers said, "This should be called the Rıza Nur formula

. It's yours." I said, "Be quiet! No one should know about this. If the formula is ours, the French will immediately give up. Montagna has taken credit for it. That's fine..."

Montagna got the British and French to accept this. So we've taken a big step forward. We're very close to the final point. We negotiated again. I objected to Montagna's addition to the line I had drafted. There's an argument going on. The French are making a fuss, saying you will accept this exactly as it is. Montagna is also pressuring me. The entire press is preoccupied with this, attaching great importance to it.

The formula has become famous. My previous acquiescence to this was based on the French accepting the project, which had been done by gradually removing all the harmful elements. They did; I had already accepted this sentence with a reservation. Now I am determined to reject it too. I want it removed entirely.

This issue remained unresolved. I said to İsmet, "Darling, we need many French experts anyway. Let's just take fifteen or twenty of them. The French will lose their case." I couldn't get him to agree. And finally, he said, "We have specialists. There's no need." His idea was wrong. In short, with this measure, we would have eliminated that sentence. It didn't happen.

The French, who have banks, companies and the like here, have descended upon Lausanne. They have certain demands. Another problem. I said to İsmet, "We are negotiating. Their affairs belong to the Ministries of Finance and Public Works. Let them go there and talk to the government." They were sent there. This matter was also excluded from the negotiations in this way.

The French also have rights in legal matters. I agree with them. They fear our courts. Indeed, our courts are under the influence of the government. They often pass arbitrary judgements. But what can I do? We must make the state an independent state.

Things have now come to a standstill. A period of inactivity followed.

5 - Curzon is in a Hurry

Then, on 21 January 1923 (1 February 1923), a general session was held. This was the third commission session. Curzon was again presiding. He gave a long speech. They had drawn up a treaty project. They gave it to us. "Sign it!" they said. For fifteen days, we had been hearing that a project was being prepared. The work of the first and second commissions had been settled through negotiation.

However, very few of the matters pertaining to the third commission had been resolved, and the rest were completely unresolved. Moreover, this draft also contained certain new matters pertaining to the commission.

They had added it. This was to impose it on us. We, however, had been invited to the conference on condition of equal treatment, and we had come. We always said this in private conversations. The conference had been going on for three months. There had been many crises and efforts. Despite this, not all of the commission's issues had been resolved. Curzon could no longer stay. He wanted to leave. And he was in a hurry.

Curzon's speech is important. It explains many things. I recommend reading it (minutes 332). When discussing the issue of minorities, he said, "This does not satisfy me. The Turkish delegation should have behaved more magnanimously in this matter. These are the absolute minimum terms that the allies could accept without losing their dignity. Moreover, there are two serious points missing from the agreement. One is that minorities are not to be conscripted into the military, and the other is that the minority agreement has not been extended to all minorities without distinction of religion or race. The absence of these two points has led to very harsh criticism and reproach." So, on the first day of negotiations, I had already addressed and secured the most crucial points.

How right I was to defend these points fiercely and at all costs. Moreover, it seems that Curzon also received a dispatch from his government expressing dissatisfaction.

Curzon again says, "In the exchange of populations, we used our influence to silence the Greeks and bring them to heel." That is correct. Both the former and the latter were the result of the Nicolson interview concerning the expulsion of our famous Patriarch and Patriarchate.

At the end of his speech, Curzon said, "Sign the agreement here and now, without delay!" and "We will not negotiate again. I am now a

He added the threat, "I won't participate in the negotiations," and said, "If I leave here and the Turks say they will sign later, I will come back to sign." He was a very skilful man. He did not forget to praise İsmet and show us British friendship.

He finished, and Garoni (the Italian delegate) took over. He also spoke about other issues. He said they had renounced judicial and administrative capitulations. So the issue of the judicial formula was also resolved. Finally, he said, "Sign!"

He left, and Montagna took over. For some time now, Barrere (the French delegate) had completely withdrawn, leaving his place to Bompard.

BOMPARD ALSO DEMANDS 30 MILLION GOLD PIECES

He kept talking about financial matters. And at the top of these was the Public Debt. "In 1914, the debt was 140 million gold Turkish lira; now, with this agreement, it will be 87 million," he said. He also demanded 30 million gold lira from us for the cost of the occupation of Turkey. They had also demanded 60.5 million from us for what Turkey's allies were owed by Turkey. He said they had waived this. He did not forget to mention that during the war, the Entente Powers had also demanded 15 million gold pounds as compensation. Finally, he said, "All this amounts to 122 million. However, the external debts of England, France and Italy are enormous. This means that Turkey's debt is small. Therefore,

"Turkey is fortunate," he said. We are eternally grateful for the happiness he has given us... We should be grateful to him. We are the most fortunate people in the world, and we didn't even know it... He also told the story of how Grand Vizier Said Halim deceived him regarding the outbreak of war. In 1854, Turkey fought against the states that were fighting to secure its own existence and was ungrateful. It is responsible for the war.

Suleiman the Magnificent and Francis I had formed an alliance. France always maintained this friendship in its diplomacy," he said. This last part is a lie. He made it up.

Kanuni protected François and saved him from the Austrians. It was not an alliance. Then France acted against us in every century. But outwardly, it always appeared friendly. It acted against us from below. In fact, it was the French ambassador in Istanbul who brought up the partition of Turkey. Then our debt is small, but our blessings and wealth are also small. He never mentioned this ratio. He is deceiving children.

These words weighed heavily on us. Bompard is no diplomat. He will trick us into signing. Yet he has greatly angered us. These words have troubled me deeply. In the final part of his speech:

WHAT WAS SAID TO ISMET PASHA

"İsmet Pasha! Make peace at this most critical and dire moment! We have gathered today for this purpose. I am telling you this personally. You have told me many times that you have full authority, that peace is in your hands." And then, offering a bribe, he said: "You have courageously defended the homeland; now make peace with courage!" Then he bribed Mustafa Kemal too. These last sentences are diplomatic. And finally: "Consider that Turkey's future and destiny are now in your hands." He hurled his threat mixed with praise and flattery. Truth be told, this is also very diplomatic. Well done, Bompard...

I am now learning something from Bompard. İsmet said, "Peace is in my hands. I have full authority." What a blunder! Can diplomacy be like this?

When Curzon finished his speech, he handed the chair to Garoni. He sat down in Garoni's chair. When Garoni finished, he stood up and gave his place to Bompard.

finished, Curzon took the chair again. These men pay close attention and observe such ceremonies. Now the American representative is reading his paper. In short, he also advised us to sign. He finished. The Romanian delegate, Diyamandi, then the Yugoslav delegate, Rakiç. Always the same refrain... In short, Köroğlu took it, Ayvaz took it...

6 - No Peace, Then War (!)

For the past five or six days, political storms have been brewing again in the air of Lausanne.

Lightning and thunder had begun. Everyone was saying, "If the Turks do not sign the peace treaty, there will be war, and the states will send armies." İsmet was even more anxious than usual this time. He stopped eating and drinking again. Once again, a bunch of upstarts flooded into Lausanne. They were supposedly friends of the Turks. They advised and urged us to make peace at all costs, to sign the treaty, in the name of their love for the Turks

One of them is Mr. M.....He also came through came through Nihat Reşat. Kan is trying to deceive İsmet. This French woman also met with me. I said in front of everyone, "If you are our friends, try to get the French to change the terms of the treaty in our favour. No other words are fitting for a friend's mouth." She was badly upset and ended the conversation abruptly. This woman had come to Turkey a couple of times. She had travelled around with Hamdullah Suphi (109). She had also met with Mustafa Kemal. She had put many people in the closet and obtained the information and investigations she wanted, as well as a lot of money. She also supposedly wrote a book in our favour. However, I strongly suspect that she is one of the spies of the French Foreign Ministry.

Since the national movement in France, every book written in our favour has been written with money from our government.

Curzon had arranged the scene very well. The scene, the delegates' attitudes and words, inspired awe and dread. The threats were frightening. I felt a kind of... numbness and distraction. A terrible moment...

DID THE AMERICAN DELEGATE PUT İSMET IN THE CLOSET?

We requested a week to examine this project. Upon this, they adjourned the session for a while to discuss among themselves. An hour later, they reconvened. At this session, İsmet said he was hopeful about the American delegate's efforts for peace. This shows that İsmet was terribly afraid. He says he is appealing to America—but I don't quite understand why. For the last day or two, İsmet has been going to him frequently, and he has been coming to İsmet. They were talking privately. İsmet doesn't tell me anything about this. It is not my habit to deign to ask. Yet it was his duty to tell me. The man

is accustomed to despotism, secret work, self-interest, and intrigue. Hüseyin (Pektaş), one of the teachers at Robert College, is present at these meetings as an interpreter. This gentleman is an honourable, sensible, and well-mannered man. He is one of those who earned my affection and respect in Lausanne. He knows about these negotiations. It is his duty to write these things down exactly for history. The American delegate was going to make the French make amendments in our favour and bring about peace. İsmet mentioned the American delegate's efforts on his behalf, saying that in this last session he had advised us to sign the project. It seems to me that this is a ploy by the American delegate. He sided with the French. He was putting İsmet in a tight spot. İsmet was hoping for help from this. He probably finally agreed to sign the project.

They gave us this much time. Lord Curzon said, "I have work to do. I must return to London. I cannot stay." We suggested, "Go! Let us sort out the new and uncertain matters with the others." Curzon cut us off, saying, "Nothing can be done by the British, especially in my absence." Finally, they gave us until 4 February (15 February). Curzon also said, "During this time, I will hold private meetings with the Turks." The session ended.

I will hold private talks with the Turks during this time." The session ended.

7 - Negotiations Halted

Truth be told, Curzon had staged a beautiful *mise en scène*. That was the official part. There was also an unofficial decor and play outside: all sorts of rumours were flying around, all hell was breaking loose. In short: if the Turks did not accept, there would be war. Curzon had said in his speech that they were averse to war, but they were perfectly executing this threat both in the session and outside. They have played this war game three or four times so far. They are playing the same game again.

İSMET SAYS, "LET'S SIGN IT"

The American delegate Child's meetings with İsmet became more frequent at this time. The session ended. We returned to the hotel. İsmet's first words to me were:

"Rıza Nur! Let's sign this project!" I objected vehemently. A heated argument ensued between us:

He - We'll sort it out later.

I - Nothing will happen, be brave!... You're afraid.

He - I am afraid. We will spill it. Let's make peace no matter what. It is necessary.

I - This agreement will ensure the independence and future happiness of the Turks.

He - That is sufficient.

Me - How is that enough? There are so many unresolved issues. These are economic matters. There are crucial points. And they've also squeezed new things into the project. That means imposing them. Capitulation is still on the table. How can these be accepted?!

He - Don't do it! Then there will be war. We will be ruined. We have gained quite a lot, it is enough.

I - They have threatened us with war many times and in many ways up to now. They have always pushed for war. We were not afraid. We always won them over to our side, they used every means against us. Flattery, sycophancy, all combined with an attack in court to humiliate us, lies, harsh words, insults, threatening to destroy Turkey by war, they have always done this. I am sure this is also a bluff. I have faith that they cannot wage war. Now they are trying to threaten us with a break in negotiations. If we stand up to this like lions, they will eventually call us back and make an agreement as we wish. At the end of Curzon's speech, he said, "I am leaving. If the Turks agree, I will come back and sign .". This leaves the door open. This could be evidence that there will be no war. Don't weaken, hold firm. Be brave! On the contrary, let's make an excellent agreement with Turkey while we have the opportunity. Let's free it from all constraints and make it a fully independent, genuine state.

O - Don't do it! That's not right. If we keep arguing, we'll lose what we've already gained. Come on, let's sign this. Don't do it, we have no other choice. You'll regret it later.

I saw that my words weren't even getting through to him. He was terribly frightened. What a coward. I'm amazed at how he became commander. On the one hand, I started to get angry

. This man doesn't care about the state. No matter what shape or form it takes, as long as they get their hands on a state, they'll just sit on top of it and enjoy themselves. This is always the case, and it makes me dislike this man a little more every day. It seems he has made his final decision: he will make peace, no matter what it takes or at what cost. Absolutely...

I said, "Absolutely not. I won't sign such an agreement," and dismissed him.

For three days and three nights, he wouldn't leave me alone. He begged. As was his custom, he embraced me. He held me tight. He kissed my face. "Come on, let's sign it!" he said. I kept saying "no."

Our delegation was completely astonished... Everyone was thoughtful, sad. They wouldn't say a word. They heard the rumours outside, became frightened and excited.

We had now reached the final moment. It was about to happen, any second now... One night, İsmet summoned me. He had sent a telegram to Ankara, just a few lines long. He told me, "Sign this!" I looked at the telegram. It said, "There is no other option. We will sign this project." However, until now, he had kept the telegrams he wrote to Ankara strictly from me, not having me sign them. Seeing this responsibility, I rebelled. "I won't sign it. I won't let you send such a telegram either," I said. "I'll send it," he said. He had also summoned Hasan and told him to "sign it!" there. Hasan did not respond. Münir was beside me, watching us. I said, "Then you send this! I will send a separate coded message."

Hasan also said, "I'll write separately too." İsmet saw that it wasn't working. In the end, he agreed to this approach. I can see he's gritting his teeth inside. But he can't say anything rude, afraid I'll get angry. He knows my nature. I'd snap back immediately. Besides, his nature is to smile to your face and stab you in the back.

I wrote the following telegram exactly as it is and signed it:

"The terms of the agreement that have been determined do not grant Turkey political and economic independence and viability. The idea that Turkey possesses viability has not yet entered the minds of Europeans. Mosul is very necessary for the country's development because of its oil is also very necessary. Moreover, its loss would bring about the calamity of a Kurdistan

which is also very important, the British have driven the matter to a standstill. They were also dragging the French and Italians along like servants, and they have dragged them along.

This threat of interruption is either serious or a bluff. If it is serious, they have been stalling us with conferences to prepare for mobilising the Greek armies. I believe it is more likely to be a bluff. From day one, I have been of the opinion that it is possible to resolve this matter without a rupture. They will not accept the peace treaty that is necessary for the Turks without carrying out all the threats they have in their hands. We must test the limits of the resistance and perseverance we have shown so far. British public opinion is not about Mosul, but about evacuating Baghdad . It is certain that France and Italy will not participate in the war. British public opinion is also against the war. They want to use threats to make us renounce our demands. Not only is it not yet time to make sacrifices such as giving up Mosul, but I believe that once we make a sacrifice, they will become more demanding in their other demands will become more pressing and we will no longer be able to hold out. It is they, not us, who are breaking off negotiations. I believe we should stand firm against this, assess the situation and decide on a course of action accordingly. The Lausanne circle believes that Ankara (the Allied Powers) will yield to the Allies' demands. This gives them great hope. In this case, leaving the matter unresolved and coming to Ankara is the most appropriate course of action."

Lozan, 27 January 1332 (7 February 1923) Rıza NUR Hasan also

sent a telegram.

I immediately gave it to him to be encrypted by his own hand. I saw that İsmet's aide, Atıf, was also encrypting it.

The telegrams were sent. İsmet still wouldn't give up trying to sweet-talk me whenever he got the chance, begging me.

I SAID, "I WON'T SIGN"

In a very tense atmosphere, with frayed nerves, the deadline passed. On the last day, they held a general meeting at the Château. They summoned us to Lord Curzon's room. On the way, I said to İsmet, "If you sign, I won't." İsmet and I went. We took the lift down from our room. We got out of the lift. A crowd of people crowded around. There were perhaps fifty of them. They were watching us. They wanted to read something from our faces

. They were looking at us intently. Among them was Madame Bompard. Madame approached me:

- Rıza Nur! Apposez Votre signature! S'ilavous plait apposez!.. she says. She's begging. I felt like slapping her with the back of my hand. No one, not even our advisers and clerks, knows what will happen to me. Only Münir, my
During my discussions with İsmet, he was writing a telegram. Neither of us two delegates even knows what will happen. There is disagreement between us.

Curzon is unwell. He cannot walk properly. He has stretched out his legs. His walking stick is beside him. He took İsmet and me aside. The other delegates had also arrived. Curzon spoke. In short: "Sign!" he said. Bompard and the others echoed the same refrain in various pitiful and dire forms. İsmet began to say a few words. I was very excited. I couldn't remember them. Just in case, I immediately took the floor.
In summary, what I said was this:

"Such an agreement does not guarantee Turkey's independence! Moreover, it is being imposed, at least in part. İsmet Pasha cannot sign this. There is a National Assembly in Ankara. It will destroy us."

That was the end of it. I cut him off like a knife. Curzon said, "I'm leaving tonight. Think about it." There was nothing left to think about. I got what I wanted. I acted decisively. I didn't give İsmet time to say he would sign. The other delegates began to plead. They urged us to think carefully. "The consequences will be dire," they said. Bompard's behaviour was particularly noteworthy. He stood up, frantically: "What are you doing? Sign... etc." Seeing that we were standing there like statues, they finally adjourned the session. We arrived at the hotel. We entered. About a hundred people had gathered, waiting for us. "What happened?" they asked. We had no answer.

8 - Backstage, backstage...

I don't know if I've ever felt this excited before, I'll say. No, I only felt such intense excitement once during the Bolu uprising (110) when Refet (111) went over to their side to negotiate with the rebels, and I said, "Oh dear, everything is lost."

I had said. The very existence and survival of the entire Turkish nation seemed to hang in the balance before my eyes. I had felt the same way during the defeats at Eskişehir and Afyon.

Then, when Mustafa Kemal gave the order to retreat during the Battle of Sakarya, I felt exactly the same way. Now I feel the same way again. I almost regret what I have done... A sadness, a melancholy has fallen upon me. I can no longer think of anything.

I am personally responsible for this. The responsibility is very heavy. What if there is war... İsmet had already written that he would sign the peace treaty. He would immediately shift the responsibility onto me; and who knows what harm he would do to me?! I am crushed under these thoughts.

He's no friend...

A little later, I began to think more clearly. "This is the right thing to do. Since this is my conviction, I have fulfilled my duty. If there is no war, and we return and make a good peace, what success, what honour for me!

I am the very reason for this. I am the one who has saved Turkey. Both internally and externally, amidst tremendous difficulties, responsibilities, and dangers. I am granting it a peace that gives it full statehood." I said.

We told our friends there was no peace. All their faces were clouded with sorrow.

They had rights. Especially Mr Münir, sitting hunched over like a cat that had spilled milk,

staring straight ahead. He looked like he was going to eat me alive, and an hour passed like this. I found courage, even cheerfulness. I started laughing and joking with some of them.

At that moment, Chiid (the American delegate) arrived. İsmet took him into the room opposite. Hüseyin (Pektaş) was talking with them. Hasan and I stayed in İsmet's room. Then Bompard and Montagna arrived. Montagna had the famous legal formula in his hand. He said to me, "Let's settle this, let there be peace." I knew there would be no peace with this, but he didn't know that. However, I said, "While we have the chance, let's take this out of the bag of troubles and put it in the bag of gains," and I said, "All right."

I had him remove the sentence he had previously inserted. He insisted on accepting the position of advisor for five years

I saw it wasn't working. "Wait!" I said. I spoke with Münir. Münir said, "These are our officials; they won't go to court, there's no problem."
Completely correct.

Bompard was also arguing with Haşan Üe. It was clear that, like Montagna, he too would have to make certain sacrifices. To be honest, I was so engrossed in my negotiations with Montagna so deeply that I wasn't even aware of what Hasan and Bompard were talking about.

TAHIR WRAPPED AROUND ME LIKE A BOA CONSTRUCTOR

To Montagna: "All right, I accept. But let me just tell İsmet Pasha first," I said. I went and called İsmet from Child's side to the door. I explained. "All right!" he said. I stepped out into the corridor. Tahir (Taner) caught up with me. He was as frantic as a hen whose chick had been snatched by a hawk. This man was so devoted to his work, in such a strange way...

devoted to his work... He had been following me... "Oh no!" he said. He hugged me, not with words, but like a snake. He wasn't flapping his wings.

It turned out he had found out about my negotiations with Mr Münir and had come. He said, "The nation is sinking. Don't accept this! It's absolutely impossible." I didn't answer, I wanted to leave. He held me tight, wouldn't let go. I saw it was difficult to get away from him. I shook him and said in a stern voice, "You're not in charge of this matter, let me go!"

ma!.." He let go of me and fell silent. Everyone in the corridor witnessed this. Later, Hüseyin Cahid wrote about this and how Tabir* had prevented it in this manner. I entered the room.

THIS TIME İSMET SAYS "NO!"

I said to Montagna, "It's done. This matter is settled." He was pleased. They came during this interval. "İsmet Pasha wants you," they said. I went out, leaving Child behind. He was waiting for me outside the room door. Tahir was with him. İsmet: "No way!" "Give it up!" he said. I said, "Well, now you've agreed. I didn't do it without telling you. I told Montagna. Now you're turning back a minute later. Is that right?" How can I tell Montagna? Isn't that rude?" "No, I won't accept it," he said. I was getting really angry now. I was fed up. Maybe I could have persuaded him. I know his temperament. I'd stir up his worries. But I'd had enough. My stubbornness took over... "Well... I'm the one who's left. Whatever happens." I said.

It turns out that when he couldn't get me to agree, Tahir immediately called İsmet outside, tricked him, and made him change his mind. It turns out that Mr Tahir is a sticky, slimy nuisance... A real pain in the neck... A terrible chewing gum... Once he starts something, he doesn't let go. But he doesn't understand either. That's a very good trait, but not here. He can't properly appreciate his place, his job, his nature. That's a big flaw. He doesn't give up on the job, but he hasn't been able to do anything for months. He couldn't even do a single word's worth of work... A useless man. Both a troublemaker and a nuisance... He can't do anything with his hands,

he's useless. He tried so hard himself. He couldn't do anything. I put the job in order. It was completely suitable for us. He ruined that too. You got angry, like they trample on the souls of the damned, why don't you just step on Tahir and until he's dead? What a fool, what a disaster you are, for heaven's sake! That İsmet was going to sign the entire harmful project an hour ago. And in the meantime, this... It would have been accepted along with Montagna's sentence in the formula. Now that this sentence has been removed, he does not accept it. This man has no logic. And he is surprised!

Advisors... We are already obliged to bring in several hundred advisors from Europe for various matters, not just three. I believe it is impossible to establish Turkey as a state and the Turks as a nation without them. Indeed, while the French strongly proposed this issue of advisors to us, I would say to İsmet, "Now you yourself take on many French advisors! Send them to Ankara! You want this, so don't tire yourselves! We are taking them on ourselves and will continue to do so. There is no need to interfere, and the matter will be settled." But he wouldn't listen. In short, I told İsmet about this advisor issue every time we met, both in Lausanne and after returning from Lausanne to Ankara. He simply wouldn't agree. He told me openly: "Foreigners are dangerous. It would harm the state." That was his reason. "What harm would it do?" I asked. They would engage in politics, he said. "You take them from neutral parties. They're under your control. Keep them under constant surveillance and send them back if they do anything," I said. He had no answer to that. At one point, he grew tired of my insistence: "There's no need for foreign experts are unnecessary. We have our own experts." I understood that he was being malicious, that he didn't want to be overshadowed, that he wanted a share of the credit. So, this man wasn't thinking about the nation or the state.

I gave Tahir a good telling-off. We reached an agreement, but what troubles we faced, what I went through... Then I lost my temper and stormed into the room. I said to Montagna, "It won't work!" The poor man was taken aback. "How can that be? You just agreed. It's a shame," he said. It was harsh, but he was right. I swallowed my pride. The Turkish delegation seemed bewildered, in a state of anarchy. "What can I do? İsmet Pasha has changed his mind. He called me just to tell me that," I said. "So nothing." I said, "Yes, it's not happening. It's over." "Then shall I tell Curzon he's waiting for me? Shall I tell him it's not happening and to get on the train and leave?" he said. I said, "Yes, let him go back!" He took the phone and said just that. Apparently, Curzon

was going to leave on the afternoon train. He had stayed on the evening train in the hope that we would make peace with his sacrifices...

HAŞAN IS SWEARING

I'm in my own turmoil. My head is spinning, my eyes are blurred. I have no idea about Bompard and Hasan talking at the next table. Suddenly, I heard Hasan utter a nasty curse in French and Bompard say, "Quelle insulte?" (What an insult). They stood up. Haşan apparently realised immediately what he had done.

He took a guilty stance and a moment later left the room and slipped away. Bompard, the poor man, is turning around in the room like a man on a merry-go-round, saying "Tiens! Tiens!" The polite and courteous man said nothing. He had been subjected to words that no diplomat would ever expect. This Hasan is mad! Until recently, he and Cavit were defending the French thesis against us, and now suddenly he's hurling insults right to their faces!

Those who are mentally ill cannot be reasoned with. When provoked and in moments of crisis, they can suddenly and automatically do anything.

While Bompard was pacing around in such a state of agitation, Montagna sprang into action. He said, "What an insult! This man is a drunkard. I won't let this insult go unpunished."

I looked at his face, he was genuinely angry, his face, his entire neck and nape red as a turkey's wattle up to his collar. Swollen with blood... As if his skin was about to burst, blood gushing out... Bompard was still pacing and shouting "Ti-ens! Tiens!" The poor man could find no words other than insults and excitement. He kept saying this, so I said to Montagna: "Leave the Baron alone, this man has gone mad. He acted automatically. His excitement is intense. Give him credit. This is an important and grave moment. These things happen..."

He did it, but he was ashamed himself, he ran away. Let's mind our own business." Anyway, I silenced him. He calmed down. I got up and said to Bompard, "Your Excellency! Forgive me!" and so on... calming him down too. They left, they went away.

Well, that was the last attempt. If Tahir hadn't interfered, and if İsmet had been reasonable, the legal matter would have been settled. If there had been a capable man in Hasan's place, it is likely that some of the financial and economic matters would have been resolved as we wished, and new terms would have been removed from the agreement, and there would have been peace. Because the fact that these men came to us probably indicates that they intended to give up some of their demands. Indeed, Montagna did so. The opportunity was lost. Then

the second round of conferences, after the In-kita, we started again from scratch to resolve these articles and especially the legal issue, and we were exhausted.

Look! There was a break, we went to Ankara, they called us again, we came, we started on the legal matter. The French gave us a new project. We saw that they had forgotten the famous

Montagna formula, which was even more impressive than their first projects. We said: "But we settled this in the first phase. It was the Montagna formula. We had made amendments to it. Let's accept it." They said: "No, you didn't accept it then. It's over. Now this is our demand." We struggled again. It took months.

What we sucked from our mother's breast came out of our nose. With a thousand troubles, we managed to return to the old form. The French would naturally come to this form. Since they had accepted it, they would do it again. There was no point in them not doing it. However, they kept this as a bargaining chip. And by giving this to us, they took certain things from us. That was the doing of Tahir and İsmet. Yet I had finished it so beautifully. This great responsibility rests on the shoulders of these two men.

Bompard, Montagna, and Child left. We had dinner. My anger subsided again. Curzon waited hopefully, boarded the evening train, had the sealing wax and everything else ready to seal the agreement, saw that we weren't coming, and left. Immediately afterwards, the other delegations left too. Only Montagna and a few people from the Italian delegation remained. This was probably also based on hope.

IT TURNS OUT ISMET...

I later learned that İsmet had promised Curzon and the others in his final private conversations and before the last session that he would sign the project they had presented. İsmet's pressure on me, Curzon's hope, and their waiting were all because of this... This man is astonishing. What is this?! I am a delegate. How could he give this promise without me? I don't know if he wrote to the government and received their consent. Or did he write privately to Mustafa Kemal and receive his consent?! Because he wrote to him and consulted him more than the government on everything. It is not his custom to undertake such serious matters on his own. He does not take responsibility for them. I don't know...

When Curzon went to London, he submitted an official report to the government. They published it. I haven't seen it. According to what they said, in this report: "It meant peace. İsmet gave me his word that he would sign the project. The end."

A wicked spirit interfered with the work, and it didn't happen," he said. That wicked spirit was me, of course.

THE CHIEF RABBI ON STAGE

At that moment, Chief Rabbi Naum entered the stage. We saw my statement in one of the Paris newspapers. In summary, it said: "Don't worry, İsmet is my friend. He won't go back on his word. I'll go and fix things." Then, from Paris a telegram arrived for İsmet from the Rabbi: "I am coming. I have sorted things out. I have important news for you. Don't you dare stop the job before I arrive!" But we had expelled the Jew from Lausanne. He has no shame, writing this. Of course, the Jew... Shameless... I laughed. Look at this Jew's trickery! What does he say to the newspaper, what does he say to us?! According to the newspaper, he serves the French, according to his telegram, he serves us... That's how Jews are... İsmet, Münir, a few others and I are sitting in İsmet's room. Nefer came and said, "Naum Efendi is here, he wants to see you." I yelled at İsmet, "Don't say a word. Leave this to me! I'll show this pig Jew." Of course, the Jew in the the Jew in the hallway heard them too. I said to the soldier, "Bring him in!" He came. "Sit down!" we said, and he sat down. "What's the news?" I asked. The Jew... Master... He heard me and said, "Nothing. I came to visit you." If my anger hadn't stopped me I would have laughed out loud. But I admired the fellow's skill. That calmed my anger. Jews are like rubber, they stretch in every direction. They bend like a thin reed in the wind. But what did he say in the telegram? It's no use... After all, not feeling ashamed... For a Jewish reporter, not feeling ashamed is the greatest art, virtue, and weapon. "Well!" I said. "You wrote in your telegram that you had important news?" He couldn't answer that. He stammered. So he wasn't a full Jew... If he were, he wouldn't stammer, he'd find an answer, but nonsense... No harm done, he'd say. If the bloke had tried to trick me, I would have started badly. Since he didn't and just spilled it out like this, my anger subsided. I gave him the newspaper. "What is this statement?" he sat down. The guy doesn't stand up for himself... He's as soft as dough. But I treated him coldly and quickly got rid of him, and he left.

I'M SCARING TAHİR

Now most of us are sitting down. Tahir is there too. Everyone is sulking, sitting in a row like a row of rusty water jugs. Their jaws are clenched. A mischievous thought came to mind. He deserved it. His offence was great. At least he should be a little scared, feel a little sad. I'll take my revenge. I said:

"Mr Tahir! Did you see that? You ruined the formula. There was no peace. It's your fault." Tahir's eyes dimmed behind his glasses. Münir nudged me with his elbow. He whispered, blinking his eyes, "Go on! Go on!" Tahir stood there looking very anxious.

I continued: "Now there will be war again. And this time the British, the French, and the Italians will send armies too. If the formula had been accepted, there would have been peace. You went and deceived Ismet Pasha. You alone prevented peace. So you are the one responsible for the war. Blood will flow like water because of you. Let's see how you will bear this heavy responsibility."

■ Tahir felt faint. His face turned ashen. He was an honourable man. He did not resort to evasion, denial, or sophistry. In fact, he had no strength left for denial. But he said:

"Yes, I am responsible. I didn't know. I caused such a disaster. Then I should kill myself..."

He was about to cry. I said:

"No, no... Don't commit suicide!"

Things are bad... I felt sorry for him and felt the need to console him a little. "No, no, that's an important point. But it's not just that... There are other reasons why there is no peace. I don't think there will be a war either," I said. Münir was enjoying himself like a man who had taken his revenge. Because Tahir, along with me, had also nullified his work. I enjoyed myself just like him. We made fun of him. Tahir was relieved.

Now the way was clear for us too. The Italians advised us to leave Lausanne completely and leave only one official behind. In fact, the conference had not been cancelled. Officially, there was no such

thing. In fact, in his speech, Curzon had said, "If you want to go and sign later, I will sign again." So it was just a simple interruption. The Italians' proposal was also a blessing. We left Mustafa Şerif in Lausanne as liaison officer. We gathered our belongings. I sent a telegram to my wife in Nice: "Come immediately!" They came with her nurse.

THE PERIOD OF INTERRUPTION

1 - Return from Lausanne

Now there is the matter of the route. İsmet does not want to pass through Edirne. He is afraid the Greeks will assassinate him. They probably couldn't do it in front of the world. It's a weak thought, though. The Greeks are a crazy people. İsmet is probably right. We decided to go via Romania. I

Due to the severity of winter in Romania, I chose to travel from Sofia to Varna. Tevfik did what he did and encouraged İsmet to take the Constanta route. I tried hard, I didn't want to, but it happened. The reason: it's winter, we'll take the route from Belgrade to Bucharest.

It's a roundabout way, but we can go from Sofia to Varna, and even if not by train to Plovdiv, and by car it's not far to Varna or our land. They spoke with the Romanians. We settled on that route. Now İsmet is colder towards his mother. He's sulking. It's clear he's really angry... To be honest, I've cooled off towards him too. I've now fully understood what this man is like. I've read him inside and out. I've observed him thoroughly, day by day, with a doctor's eye, in turmoil, in drink, in pleasure. I've observed him thoroughly with a doctor's eye. His anger towards me was tremendous. But he doesn't want to show it. That's where his strength lies. He hides his pronouns like a devout believer hides his faith. One day in Lausanne, I tested him:

"What do you think of me? What are my faults? Do I have any virtues? You are intelligent, you can see. I want to know. Tell me!" I said. No matter what I said, he did not answer and bowed his head as if in prayer. I pressed him harder and harder. Finally, he simply said this, and nothing else: "You are the commander! You are the commander!" I couldn't get any other words out of him. Kill him, he still won't tell you.

I don't see him much on the road either. We arrived in Bucharest. He checked into the best hotel with Tevfik (Bıyıkhoğlu). He sent word that there were no rooms available for me! I had already found a separate hotel. It was a bad hotel. I checked in there. Prime Minister Praçyano and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were also at the conference in Doka. Praçyano hosted a banquet for İsmet and me.

THE TRAIN GOT STUCK IN THE SNOW

After staying in Bucharest for a few days, we are going to Constanța. The train point, stuck. It couldn't move forward or backward. I saw that the snow on both sides was higher than the carriages. I felt terrible. What if we were stuck here for days... We might even go hungry. Because the locomotive was frozen solid. We were freezing too.

I climbed onto the coal bunker and said to Tevfik, standing next to Tsmet and everyone else, "Did you see your skill, your intelligence and your resourcefulness? Tell me!" He stood with his face bowed. No answer. He was afraid I would do something. He was practically trembling. I said whatever came to mind.

Thankfully, the Romanian government sent labourers and military units from behind. They worked for a few days and cleared the road. We arrived in Constanța. İsmet had requested the steamship Gülcemal by telegram. The steamship was there. I felt sorry for the people's money. This man has no pity for the people. What need is there for such a large steamship? Can this be done at little expense? We could have travelled perfectly well by Romanian post. We arrived in Istanbul.

I CARRIED MY OWN LUGGAGE

The City Council hosted us again at the Perapalas. İsmet went. I refused. I didn't even see İsmet in Istanbul. My heart has grown cold; I don't even want to see his face. A few days later, we boarded the train. We're going to Ankara. It's a bad train. There's nowhere to sleep. İsmet has arranged for himself a sleeper carriage. He's settled in with Tevfik, his aides, even his soldiers. I left my companion in Istanbul. I'm alone. I have nowhere to sleep.

The train set off. We arrived at Büyükköprü. As this bridge had been blown up with dynamite, we got off the train. My luggage was just a simple suitcase. İsmet's soldiers had taken his luggage. I hoisted my suitcase onto my own back. We were going with the soldiers, climbing the other hill. I asked the soldiers:

"What was Lausanne? What is this place? Where will we find that comfort again?"

"That's right," they said. I said, "Well, do you want that place or this one?" They said,

"This place is good for us, it is our home, our homeland." I was surprised by their attitude. I admired it.

I was pleased. İsmet Pasha's friend, the Grand Vizier of Turkey and his representative at Lausanne, carried the load with his soldiers and chatted as they reached the other hill.

What could we do... No one carried our suitcase. We boarded the train again.

OUR SOLDIERS

Let me mention something here: Although these soldiers are Anatolian, and some of them cannot read or write, they immediately combed their hair every day in Lausanne. They walked around the hotel with their heads uncovered. They immediately learned to eat with a fork. Their manners are excellent. They are attentive to their duties. They never slack off. They are well-behaved. They did not commit any misdeeds. They did not cause any trouble.

After a while, they even began to curtsy. When given an order, they would say "yes sir" and then bow their heads (not bend them), which

I was amazed by the Turks' ability. In three days, they became as well-mannered as Europeans. I was proud. Only, they refused to wear hats. They did not consider it appropriate to walk around with a kalpak, so they walked around with their heads uncovered. This was also fashionable there. They turned out to be more cautious than Baha Bey (Director of Religious Affairs at the Ministry of Justice), who walked around wearing a fez. One day, I was talking to two Swiss people in the hall. One of the soldiers came up to me. He swallowed hard. Such was his politeness and tact that he stood there without saying anything so as not to interrupt our conversation. I said "Excuse me" to the Swiss men and asked him, "What is it?" Then he said, "The Pasha wants you." "All right, I'm coming," I said. Again

He bowed, took a few steps back, turned, and left. He had caught their attention. One of the Swiss asked me, "Who is that?" "A soldier," I said. He said, "How can that be? It can't be." I repeated myself. "I don't believe it, a soldier can't be so refined and well-mannered," he said. I tried to convince him with various assurances. Because I was very proud. It was an opportunity to prove the manners of a Turkish soldier to two Europeans. This nation

possesses such an astonishing capability. Ah, what a pity... It still hasn't found a good leader. If such a person were to emerge, this nation would become a great nation in twenty years.

2 - Return to Ankara and the Construction of the Ankara Palace

Now we are experiencing a period of interruption in Ankara. İsmet has settled in a room at the Agricultural College, that is, at the War College, and is staying there. I am temporarily staying with a friend. Because there is no hotel to stay in. I haven't seen or checked on İsmet. He hasn't looked for me either. Time passed, and I guess

İsmet has realised that I have grown quite cold towards him, but I am not the type to keep things to myself... I show my feelings immediately. Now he wants to treat me kindly. I don't know why. Perhaps it's because of the code issue and my resignation at the Council of Ministers at that time. He's trying to win me over. What else can he do? There's work to be done, and he needs me. Lausanne isn't over. He saw that the job couldn't be done without me. He understood.

In short, I haven't been dismissed yet. I still have some juice left... They took me to the War Council. They put me in a room. During the day and until midnight at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He eats his meals there too. He's pressuring me, making me eat with him. He warns me to come. If I don't go, he sends word.

LONDON EXPORT AND ANKARA PALACE

When I became Minister of Health, long before Lausanne, I was very concerned about the situation of orphans. But there was no money. I couldn't stay in Ankara permanently. I was constantly on diplomatic trips. One day, the pharmacist Hüseyin told me a story. A Time reporter had come to Ankara. He had collected lice from his hotel bed and put them on paper. He said he would take them to London. Apparently He was going to breed them in London! Ankara is famous for its cats and goats, but these creatures aren't furry, and I'd never heard of lice being famous. I was very embarrassed. I decided to build a hotel like the ones in Europe. There were bonds belonging to orphanages, so I sold them. I managed to raise about a hundred thousand lira in other ways. I started building a hotel opposite the National Assembly.

I named it Ankara Palas. That is still its name. My aim with this is, first of all, to provide foreigners with a civilised hotel and save us from disgrace. Secondly, such a hotel will be the most profitable business in Ankara. Good income for the orphanages. Thirdly, teaching the art of hospitality to orphanages is one of the most important tasks. I will train

I will train girls and boys in the hotel as waiters, chambermaids, concierges, etc., under the tutelage of a French manager. In this way, genuine Turkish hoteliers will be trained. In our country, the hotel business is in the hands of Greeks and Armenians. They only know half of it. I will directly inoculate the Turks with European culture.

I will give the Turks another art. I called Architect Vedat (112). Then, with the ability to add another floor later, I started work by having a two-storey hotel plan drawn up. With this, I will be the first to undertake a construction project in Ankara.

I have started. Work has commenced. I visit them three times a day. I have referred the purchases and accounts to a commission. I am also keeping an eye on things.

There was no room for laziness or theft. When I went to Lausanne, I also inspected this hotel. I placed orders for furnishings. I had cupboards built into the walls. I had en suite rooms built. I had a large hall and two large dining rooms built. One of them can also be accessed through another door. This is

for banquets. This way, the hotel guests won't be disturbed during such banquets. I had the exterior done with mosaic tiles because it's cheap. I prepared everything for the sofas, including the tiles. I even found equipment to drill an artesian well because there was no water in Ankara. I ordered the windows and cabins. When I resigned from the Ministry of Health

Ministry of Health, only the roof remained to be covered. Two thousand sacks of cement, tiles, timber, and bricks were all ready. However, ninety thousand

lira had been spent. I had offers brought in for everything inside, down to the cutlery, in Lausanne. The entire building and furnishings would cost two hundred thousand lira.

After me, that is, after the Treaty of Lausanne, when I resigned from office, the new Minister of Health, Refik (113), gave the building to Evkaf. Gaye left. Nothing came of it for the orphans. They immediately plastered the outside of the building with cement. It was completely unnecessary. It was a tremendous expense. In Europe, for example in Paris, there are thousands of beautiful buildings like this. They put three domes on top.

It was completely unnecessary. I had the façade built in the Seljuk style with a large main door. These domes looked awful. The reason was that after me, everyone got involved. Mustafa Kemal recommended a dome in the middle, and they built it. İsmet thought it would be appropriate to have one on each side, so they built those too. Then everyone heard about it. This time they ordered the domes to be demolished. Thousands of lira were wasted.

Later, when Fethi (Okyar) was Prime Minister, he toured the place and saw some of the guest rooms with doors on the sides and spaces inside the rooms. He asked about it. They said:

"They made the servants' room doors wrong, so we demolished them. We are building a corridor." They also didn't understand the cupboard spaces on the walls. He asked me. I said, "Bathroom." "Oh... Can there be a servants' room next to the guest room?"

' I said. I explained that the things on the wall were the latest system, cupboards that didn't clutter the room or take up space. They divided the rooms, wondering if the hall could be such a large salon. Of course, these people didn't know Europe, life there, or how hotels are organised. In short, they ruined the hotel. My heart is broken. I was creating it like a child. And finally, after me, they spent not just on the building, but another half a million. That's incredible. Absolutely incredible... All the materials were ready. It was even covered. Ninety-three thousand lira had gone. How is that possible?

That's how it is with us: the elders stick their noses into everything, give orders, and no one dares to object to their commands. The work turns out terrible. Now this hotel's...

It gives me pleasure. No one knows our name. They were jealous of even granting us this honour. After my resignation, I wrote a report on this matter and submitted it to the Ministry of Health, which contains all the details. A copy of this report is in my library in Sinop. It is printed.

While it's on my mind, let me mention that my library contains many items related to Lausanne. Drafts, various projects. Drafts showing the evolution of each project. There are drafts that I marked as accepted on an envelope during the sessions, to which I added and wrote. Those who want details, those who will conduct research, should examine these as well. Likewise, there are also items such as the Moscow Treaty project and drafts, notes from my second trip to Russia, the pens and seals I used to sign the Moscow and Lausanne treaties, and other such items are also present.

3 - Signature dispute in the Council of Ministers

We arrived in Ankara, and a couple of days passed. There was a meeting of the Council of Ministers. I went. My colleagues were cold towards me. Something was going on, but I couldn't understand what.

Then, the Minister of Education, İsmail Safa (114), looked at me coldly and said, "Doctor, we didn't expect this from you!" I like this man very much. He's strict. We have no law, but he is very honourable, patriotic and a man of integrity. His gaze and tone weighed heavily on me. I asked anxiously what offence I had committed. He said: "We had pinned all our hopes on you. Our hope was always in you. You advised us to seek peace, but İsmet advised rupture."

I was stunned. I was shocked and said, "No, I advised a break, İsmet advised peace." "No! The telegram is out there!" he said. Then I understood. There was some trickery, but what? I asked Rauf. "Yes," he said. I explained. He was interested. I said, "Bring me this document! I will officially ask the Council of Ministers to read it." He was like a Maghreb man who had found treasure. "Okay!" he said. Because he understood the situation. There was fraud. It would hit İsmet where it hurt. That's what he wanted. Would he miss the opportunity? He brought it. I said, "There seems to be a mistake in the signatures on the telegrams we sent. Let them be read and corrected". They read them. I said, "This telegram is mine, and this one is İsmet's. How is this possible!" İsmet was pacing around. He approached and listened standing up.

He had begun to hesitate. They asked him. He paused for a long time. Finally, in a weak voice, he said, "Yes, there must have been some mistake. This telegram is the doctor's; this one is mine." "Then let it be officially corrected and recorded, and let the corrected copies be placed in the file," I said. That was decided. Rauf made the correction. They say it is Rauf's custom to keep one copy of every document for himself. He must have one copy. placed in his file." This was decided. Rauf made the correction. They say Rauf has a habit of keeping one copy of every document. He must have a copy. In short, my signature was placed on the telegram recommending the transfer.

This matter was very difficult for İsmet. I don't know what he thought that evening in Lausanne, but he changed the signature while it was being coded. It is customary to be unable to make a decision about a matter every minute. Those who did the coding were his own aides.

I saw that this blow had shaken the entire Council of Ministers. İsmet frowned. But he didn't say anything to me either.

Now, who in my position wouldn't grow as cold as ice towards İsmet?

Rauf immediately said to me, "I wrote you a letter and you didn't even reply." I said, "I did reply." "No!" he said. I told him I had written and even handed it over to Reşit Saffet to be sent by courier. And then I remembered. One day in Lausanne, İsmet said to me meaningfully, "Rauf is a good friend of yours, I guess you wrote him a letter. What did you write?" I didn't understand what he meant and said, "I wrote a letter and he replied." So Reşit Saffet had given him the letter and he opened it but didn't send it. There was nothing in the letter, but he was angry with him. I told Rauf.

I RESIGNED FROM THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND THE MURAHHASLIK

I RESIGNED

That was it. Working with such a man was a mistake. I decided to resign from both the ministry and the commission. Meanwhile, Cahid (Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın) had also turned against me and

writing incessantly. The next day, I saw his new article. I said, "You can't stay in a mess like this, I'm out," and wrote my resignation. That day, at the Council of Ministers meeting, I saw that Rauf was pleased. İsmet thinks I am Rauf's friend. However, I am resolving some incompatibilities between them. As İsmet rages at Rauf, I bring calm. He probably thinks this is friendship. But I have seen Rauf: he is weak-willed, unsuccessful, and then he pretends to be a man, but he is not. He is no friend at all. I don't like the man. I have no business with him. Whereas I have a lot of contact and business with İsmet. Of course, Rauf was glad that I was out of the way. He quickly shoved the paper into his inside pocket, as if to grab it and give it back. I left the Council of Ministers and went. I'm not going to the Ministry of Health anymore either. I took my things from there too. Three days passed. İsmet saw me. He got the letter of resignation from Rauf. He showed it to me: "I'm going to tear this up, give it up!" he said. "No!" I said. I fought back. He wouldn't leave me alone for a few days. He tried hard. He said things like, "You do all the work. If they call us back the day after tomorrow, the conference won't happen without you. I beg you in the name of serving the country," and finally persuaded me. He tore up the letter of resignation.

It was after this that he took me to the Agricultural College. He invited me to his meals. We had the project that the French gave us in Lausanne and asked us to sign translated into Turkish. We discussed it in the Council of Ministers and finalised it in its amended form. The remaining issues were financial matters. Şaşı Haşan Fehmi (Gümüşhane) (115) was the Minister of Finance. This man is truly remarkable. He has now done in Ankara what Pazarola Haşan (Saka) and Şefik (Bekman) could not do, and he has done it perfectly. It is as if he studied at the high school of finance

. This man only had a primary school education. He cannot even say or pronounce 'jandarma' or 'reji'. He says 'candarma' and 'reci'. Two lines of honest meaning and He cannot write without spelling mistakes. There were twenty or twenty-five errors in his ten-line draft. But he is clever. Especially his logic is strong. He handles these important matters with these qualities. He is a true Turk, possessing the characteristics of a gentleman. After all, Pazarola Hasan was the Minister of Finance; he would turn things upside down and make a mess of them, and Şaşı Hasan would come and fix it. He ran the ministry smoothly. As soon as our army entered Izmir, he went to Izmir in his capacity as Minister of Finance for the jewellery and similar items left behind by the fleeing Greeks and Greeks. He brought this jewellery to Ankara with him. He had them auctioned off...

So, İsmet's main principle of "sucking the juice and throwing away the pulp" had not yet been fully realised. Like everyone else, I was still a tangerine, meaning I still had juice left. Once the job was done, they would throw me in the dustbin as pulp. And that's exactly what happened.

While we were in Lausanne, the second group had taken action. The majority was now in their hands, and they weren't standing still. They were making reckless attacks on Mustafa Kemal. They were also publishing a newspaper called Tan (Dawn), attacking the government. The newspaper and its printing press belonged to Ali Şükrü, a member of parliament from Trabzon. I saw that there was a major change in the situation in the Assembly. Mustafa Kemal also had a newspaper. Its name was Hakimiyet-i Milliye. It was his own property. He had given its management to Recep Zühdü.

He had been managing it for a long time. The second group had obtained it by paying Recep Zühdü. He was also helping them. Mustafa Kemal heard about this. He dismissed Recep Zühdü. Months later, he took him back again with the help of Arnavut Bozok Salih (Yaverdin).

There is also a newspaper called "Yenigün" in Ankara. This belongs to Yunus Nadi. It always favoured Mustafa Kemal, but now sometimes writes against him. One day

Then again in his favour. An incomprehensible mystery outside. Yunus Nadi is given all the allocations of the Press Directorate; the papers are passed through customs duty-free. One day I am with him. I mention Yunus Nadi writing against him. Mustafa Kemal said, "Ah, he is such a creature..."

THE END OF OSMAN AĞA

In Parliament, Arnavut Haydar, a former governor and member of parliament, proposed a motion to hang Osman. This proposal was accepted. They dug Osman's body out of the grave and hanged him. It was a terrible thing. Nizameddin, who had once been the governor of Giresun and was now the governor of Diyarbakır, was on very good terms with Ağa. Nizameddin knew his secrets. He was a loyal man. He had asked to bury Ağa's body in his homeland, but they refused. He appealed to me. That day, Ağa's wife also sent me a telegram saying, "Send my husband's body here!" I told Raufa, "This is too much. He's dead, everything is over, finished. Give me the body!" I had the body retrieved. Nizameddin took it brought it to Giresun.

Poor Ağa had, in my opinion, rendered great services to this country for three or four years, working tirelessly. He was very cruel and ruthless. But the people he killed, the Greeks, had also massacred Turks in the Samsun region. He was also very Turkish, patriotic, diligent, and Muslim. Still, path, he strangled Ali Şükrü. In doing so, he gave up his own head. The water jug breaks on the water path. But the poor man was illiterate and ignorant, yet he was a man of sound mind: "I have done a lot of work. Do you think I will be saved? I served the homeland, but one day they will sacrifice me." It was as if he had a gift. What he said came true. He fell victim to his ignorance. There is also an important moral lesson here. This man had served the homeland greatly. The Pontus uprising, He suppressed the Koçgiri uprising, formed several regiments from bandits he gathered from the Giresun mountains, and participated in the wars against the Greeks. His personal service to Mustafa Kemal was also quite significant. Osman's men had been protecting his life for years.

I still feel sorry for Osman. One day, in the office of Finance Minister Ferid, in the presence of five or six ministers, he said, "I am ignorant, but I am Turkish, I am Muslim. I do what I do well with these two aspirations. If I am wrong, show me the right way, and I will do it." Whenever I remember this tragedy, these words ring in my ears. He is a new Köroğlu. I wanted to write his legends as a story or a comic opera. I still haven't been able to put pen to paper.

Ziya Hurşit and some other deputies organised a grand funeral procession for Ali Şükrü and brought his body to Trabzon.

I WAS THE FIRST TO USE THE WORD

‘SECULAR’ AT LOZAN

On this occasion, let me mention an incident: I was the first to utter this word at the Lausanne in the sessions. "Turkey has become secular; religion and government are separate. As soon as peace is established, we will enact the Civil Code," I said, as recorded in the minutes. This was one of my important arguments in defending our interests at Lausanne. I also included the clause that religion and state are separate in my resolution abolishing the sultanate, which is the foundation of secularism.

Ziya Gökalp translated this word as "Lâdini". A grave mistake... Our journalists also published my statement using the translation "lâdini". At that time, the professors in Parliament were furious. When I returned from Lausanne, that is, at the time of the break, they asked me about this in Parliament. And they tried to accuse me tried to accuse me. I saw that they had made this into an important issue. I explained it to them. It is in the minutes of the Assembly. I said, "Secular does not mean 'lâdini'. The translation was very wrong. It means 'earthly'. The opposite of the divine is the earthly. In the past, the Rashid Pashas had translated this as 'physical'. Not spiritual. It is physical." They were satisfied. The issue was settled.

THE ASSEMBLY IS BEING DISBANDED

Mustafa Kemal attached great importance to the People's Party and worked tirelessly on it. During this period of interruption, he was preoccupied with it and did not even concern himself with the amended bill we had prepared for Lausanne. the alternative project we had prepared for Lausanne.

İsmet was more in contact with Mustafa Kemal than with the government in Lausanne. It was an ugly method. The government in Ankara had sensed this and was angry. They were right.

When we returned to Ankara, I found the Assembly hostile towards us (the Delegation). They criticised us for about a week in closed sessions. However, this was spreading outside. I saw that the second group still could not extricate itself from the wrong path. Nowhere in the world is external criticism used as a tool to overthrow a government. But they are doing it. They are also closing their eyes.

They were blinded by bloodlust. I had told them before, but instead they sent the delegation with force! The task at hand is one of peace, not personal, but for the nation. They simply did not understand. They claim we acted contrary to the instructions of the Council of Ministers. We did not act contrary to the simple twelve-point directive given to us.

I don't know, perhaps they gave Ismet new instructions in Lausanne, and if there is anything contrary to those... Ismet does not show me his correspondence, but as far as I know, there is nothing of the sort. These matters are probably Rauf's instigations, inciting the deputies to take revenge on Ismet.

The second group of deputies are strongly against Rauf.

They complain a lot about Rauf. They say, "What is this man talking about with us, what is he doing with Mustafa Kemal?"

The issue of dissolving the Assembly followed. I am fully aware of this matter. I was the one who told him this at his home that night. This is a serious matter. But I put forward this idea because we have the issue of peace before us. This is also a vital matter. The opposition in Parliament is unreasonable. It has gone too far. Various incidents will occur. The conference will suffer from these events. In the minds of the French, if a strong government succeeds in dissolving Parliament, the French will say, "Ah, the government is very..."

They say he is "powerful." They negotiate politely and almost respectfully.

Indeed, on our second visit to Lausanne, I heard some of the French delegates say, "Your government is strong and stable. It dissolved the parliament." They also asked us whether the government would win the upcoming elections. I replied, "Certainly."

Indeed, once the elections concluded in favour of the government

, they became fully convinced and continued the negotiations. Until then, it was clear that they had been in a period of hesitation and waiting.

Mustafa Kemal gathered the Council of Ministers at Rauf's house. He also got them to accept the dissolution of the Assembly. The party leadership had arrived. They objected. Within a day or two, he persuaded them too. Then he gathered his party in full. He got them to accept the dissolution as well. According to the Constitution, he had to decide on the dissolution of the Assembly himself. The second group also readily agreed. The Assembly was dissolved. A new election order was issued. Mustafa Kemal formed an election committee. He put me there too. Yunus Nadi was also there. However, I only attended one or two meetings.

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE LOZAN CONFERENCE

On 23 April 1923, we were summoned back to Lausanne. This time, İsmet appointed Tevfik Kâmil as secretary-general. Tevfik Kâmil was a capable man.

I understood and liked it in Lausanne. He removed some of the advisers, such as Yahya Kemal, Nihad Reşad, Seniü'd-din, Veli, and Ruşen Eşref. This time we went fewer and better. The quantity was less, but the quality was higher. We set off. İsmet said, "I will take my harem with me; but she is very inexperienced. She knows nothing.

I'll be embarrassed. But let her learn." So I took my harem too. We arrived in Lausanne. We settled into rooms next to each other.

We started work again in Lausanne. This time, the conference was subdued. The fervour, excitement, crowds, hustle and bustle of the first round were nowhere to be seen. Lausanne was not as crowded as before. It was terrible. The chief plenipotentiaries of the French hadn't even come. The British plenipotentiaries were Rumbold and Ryan. This time, the French sent General Pelle, who was in Istanbul. They removed Bompard. The Italians only had Montagna, and the other countries had their second plenipotentiaries. Anyway, the work no longer required passion. I no longer had the passion, excitement, and energy of the first session. My fire had gone out. In short, everything had gone out...

In the first phase, I was not quite myself. I had become a completely different creature. I was in a state of divine ecstasy, of love. I had no thoughts of fear, food, or sleep. I was devoted to a sacred goal. A famous Italian journalist, who was a former minister, met with me at that time and said: "Our representatives are nothing. You are pursuing an ideal. You are possessed by an ideal. There is no doubt that you will succeed." So even these men saw that we were driven by a burning ideal.

The sections accepted in the first round are acceptable. We have entered into negotiations on the articles they requested again in the project they gave us without interruption and asked us to sign, along with those that are still pending. We also have an alternative project. In the first round, I was the only one who submitted a counter-project. This time we came with a counter-project, which is good. This is very necessary for our negotiation agreements. Unfortunately, İsmet had not given this much importance before.

We have started working again. Münir is working very hard again. We benefit most from this man. We consult with him on all matters of international law, even economic issues. Not only that, but he handles financial matters a thousand times better than Hasan.

4 - The Devout, Honourable Advisor

Let me describe and characterise Münir (Erteğün):

A dark-haired, thin, frail, delicate man. Just as he is physically, so he is mentally. Very timid, very soft, very submissive. God created him to be a mere servant of orders. He is terrified by the slightest thing. He has no courage whatsoever. Our old saying fits him perfectly: He is incapable of war and struggle. Even his gait is crooked. He is frail and weak. He walks as if he might collapse at any moment.

He is as light as a feather. During important matters, heated debates, he would shake violently in the car on the way to court. On the other hand, he is very clever. He makes witty remarks, and if you say something witty, he understands immediately. He looks at you with a clever eye.

He also gives witty replies. He is truly a scholar of law, and foreigners have confirmed this. The British were close to peace at the time, and they said of Münir, "He is among the foremost legal advisers in England." Quiet, angelic. Hit him on the back of the head, take his food. Moral, very honourable, very patriotic. I would see him tremble at the slightest loss to the Turkish people. He was meticulous. Very hard-working. His life was spent working. He worked day and night at Lausanne. So much so that he grew thin. He also had the early stages of tuberculosis. My heart trembled, fearing he might fall ill. I always told him not to work so hard. He would work regardless. I had seen this man at work and admired and loved him so much that his illness and death became ingrained in my mind as a loss of a valuable treasure for the nation.

His grandfather was a Turk who came from Turkistan. He was one of the sheikhs of the Uzbek Dergah in Üsküdar. He himself knows Chagatai Turkish and enjoys speaking it. He is very religious. He prays.

He never drank raki, never knew womanising; Grand Vizier Talât was the first to make him drink raki. He was present at the Brest-Litovsk Conference (117).

This man worked so hard that I have repeatedly suggested to İsmet that the government should award him a monetary reward after the peace.

Another aspect of this man: He is completely old-fashioned. He never works after meals, takes a day off once a week, and such things

He is an extremely devout Muslim.

He never wore a hat; he went around in a kalpak. We finally forced him to wear a hat. to wear a hat. Two hundred years ago, he was involved in the coupon business in Paris. Once he took me to the Paris Mosque. He goes there every Friday to pray with the congregation.

He was a very cautious man. He never discussed politics or the bad things happening in the country with anyone. I think this habit of his is very bad.

The cane that Mustafa Kemal always carries with him today is a rifle given to him by Münir. He had sent one such rifle each to İsmet and Tevfik Rüştü.

His caution is extraordinary. I have never seen anyone like him. Cautious people keep one spare of something. Not him, he has many spares. He smokes cigarettes with a mouthpiece. He has three or four mouthpieces in his pocket. He carries pencils. He has four or five pencils. He also had a stylus. He had at least two of those. He had a penknife, various sizes of paper, notebooks, He even has needles. Not just one pocket knife, but several. He even has two watches. He's like a mobile shop. His pockets bulge like sacks. Without exaggeration, he has enough stuff to fill a shop.

This struck me as very strange. I would laugh and tease him. I would say, "Why do you need five pencils?" He would say, "Just in case... What if one breaks or go missing..." "Well, two would be enough..." I would say. "What if that one breaks too..." he would say. "Okay, make it three... No need for more. Because by then you'll be home. You can put new ones in your pocket or sharpen them." I would say. No answer... "What about the time?" He couldn't answer these, he just laughed. I suppose in this person, whose sense of caution was so great, this feeling had risen so high and become a habit, it had become an unnecessary habit, a bad habit, like a disease. He couldn't feel at ease unless he filled his pockets with all sorts of things.

He told me himself: his house was full of things; it could have been capital for several shops. He also has this illness: wherever he finds something old, he buys it. When he sees something, he cannot stop himself from buying it. I don't want to, that term doesn't suit him. But he is a genuine Jewish junk dealer.

For example, there was a break, and Münir disappeared. I was curious, so I found out. There was a flea market in Lausanne. How did he find it? He found it, went there, and bought a lot of old things. He took them all to the station. Among them was even ordinary straw. I teased him. "Dear Münir Bey, what on earth is this straw for?"

What's going on? Has someone broken the root of the reed in Istanbul?" I said. "It's cheap, and different," he said. While dealing with coupons in Paris, he had found the flea market here. There is such a market at the Clignant-court gate in Paris. The French call it the "Flea Market" or "Marché des puces." It's a more polite term than ours. Or perhaps fleas are common in Paris, while lice are common here, which is why the name has changed; but they are very similar. Fleas are indeed very common in Paris. After the war, lice were also very common.

In fact, I got lice two or three times in Paris this time. Münir goes to the flea market every Sunday. He took me twice. I saw it. He bought a lot of old things from there. He bought about thirty or forty large paintings.

He believes some of them might be antiques. I don't understand art, but they were nonsense. He spent money on them, had them packed, and sent them to Switzerland. I imagine his house in Istanbul is crammed full, like our Istanbul Customs Warehouse. I don't know how they all fit in their house!

This is a monomania. It happens to almost everyone in some way. For example, Münir told me that the French Legal Adviser Froma-jon had such an obsession. This man is truly a scholar. He and Münir had become friends while working together. When walking down the street, he would look down at the ground, searching for almond shells and the like. When he found one, he would rejoice, step on it and crush it. The crack it made was his greatest pleasure. Even when he was on one side of the pavement and saw an almond shell on the other side, he would inevitably cross over, step on it and crush it. No matter how urgent his business, it was futile. He would always cross over to that side.

Well, our Münir has this monomania too. He's very fond

of money.

The second time, work stopped for a while. He was idle. Apparently, he met a girl from the typists and immediately fell in love with her. But it was platonic love. He wrote a French poem. He showed it to me. I looked at it and saw that he knew nothing of the rules of French poetry, so in that respect it was worthless; but it had an extraordinarily lofty and refined spirit and very beautiful poetic similes. I am amazed and impressed by this man's various talents.

5 - The Debt Issue

We are continuing the negotiations. General Pelle is a polite and capable man. He understands Turkey's new mindset and situation. His approach have facilitated the negotiations. Many things have been resolved through his prudence.

We included a clause that shifts the responsibility for the capital shares of the Public Debt Administration that were transferred from us to other states onto those states. Considering the work of Cavit-lerin Hasan, whom I mentioned earlier, this was a great success. Whether the annual interest should be in gold or paper and the amount was a long process. It was decided to form a commission in Paris for the details of this.

This business, known as the coupon business, lasted a year or two in Paris. Anyway, Münir earned a lot of money through this, and rightly so. He was the ambassador in Bern, but he was also based in Paris for the coupons and received a daily allowance. Şefik also became quite wealthy through this.

We cooked up and finished the Public Debt business in the first phase. We now divided the capital in such a way that this scourge was lifted from the state. The magnificent Public Debt building in Istanbul was a terrible monument to Europe's economic domination of us, to financial capitulation and our financial slavery.

It was vacated and passed to us. We demolished it and finished it off. Such an institution no longer exists. We were delighted and pleased that the City Council would use the building.

One thing and one truth must be said. Despite everything, Abdülhamid (Sultan Abdülhamid II) paid off debts; he did not incur new ones. These debts were incurred through the extravagance of Mecit and Aziz. At that time, the extravagance of the palaces and dignitaries such as Fuad Pasha was tremendous. Then the Unionists added considerably to this debt. We struggled so much with these matters, and during the discussions we got to the bottom of this issue so thoroughly that, in my opinion, the principle emerged that incurring debt for the state is the greatest betrayal and crime. İsmet also came to this conclusion and used to say so openly. But now, surprisingly, he is borrowing and trying to borrow. There is no such thing as a debt-free state. We are poor Turkey, and we cannot progress without European capital. This is also a fact. However, the state should not borrow as before for its own expenses and extravagance. The state should run on its own resources.

It must be roasted. Loans should be made for simple roads, railways, factories, irrigation or drainage of marshes, education and suchlike. Such loans are necessary and do not burden or harm the state, but rather yield profit after a while. When concluding the Treaty of Moscow, we had already cancelled the state's debt to Russia. Now we have reduced it further. Turkey has become one of the least indebted states.

During this time, the French delegation made great efforts to acquire the Anatolian railway. They had already withdrawn the Germans from this project in the Treaty of Versailles. We did not give it to them, saying that the Turkish government would purchase this line itself.

6 - The Greeks Are Building Up Forces

The representatives of all the foreign powers in Istanbul were again in Lausanne. There was a problem concerning the Public Debt, called Muharrem Karamamesi (118). The foreigners seized upon this. However, it was dismissed.

We demanded war reparations from the Greeks. In this regard, we had been submitting numerous lists to the conference since the first round, showing the destruction and damage caused by the Greeks and similar examples. It didn't work. We said we wanted a large sum of money to repair the damage they had caused to our country. In return, we wanted to take the Greek navy

. This was Rauf's idea. A bloody uproar ensued. Greece said, "We won't give it!" The others supported them. The French informed us that if we insisted on this money, they would leave the conference. In return, they promised to give us Karaağaç. We, however, insisted on our demand.

It was indeed a right. Our action was correct.

At that time, General Pangalos and Plastiras were dictators in Greece. They had executed the Gonaris brothers. From what we heard, Pangalos was a madman. One should not fear the intelligent so much as the mad. This man had this to say: "The traitors (the men he had executed) have brought great shame upon Greece. I will cleanse this stain. I will seize Eastern Turkey from one end." He had indeed assembled an army of 40-50 thousand men. He had deployed it to Western Thrace. Using the compensation issue as a pretext, he prepared for an attack. Venizelos did not want war again. He begged us privately. The French pleaded. We still did not listen. The tension reached such a point that

Pangalos was about to attack. We wrote to the government. The government ordered, "Do not give up under any circumstances!"

Mustafa Kemal, in his speech, said that there was a disagreement between the government and the Heyet-i Murahhasa, that he was not involved in it, but he himself had given this order together with the government. Could the government have done such a thing, especially something so serious and important, without his permission?

Now we were caught between a rock and a hard place.

We were at a loss as to what to do. Our special investigation indicated that Pangalos would attack. We asked the Bulgarians. They asked their country. They said the attack was certain. This was a great danger.

It meant we were going back to war. That was not at all to our liking. I have never been afraid at the Lausanne Conference, either up to now or since; but this...

I held my ground, held my ground, then I got terribly scared. I was absolutely terrified. Because the man is mad. According to our Mudanya Armistice, we only have a force of 10,000 in Rumelia. It's impossible for us to send troops there. The occupying forces in Istanbul won't allow it. It's not a smart move, Ismet says we can't get them through. "The Greek Navy will cut off our line of retreat," he says. That's true. The strait is open. The eight or ten thousand soldiers there cannot resist this attack. And there isn't a single artillery piece.

We had smuggled thirty cannons. An English warship caught and seized them. In this situation, Pangalos will even enter Istanbul. In this situation, that glorious victory in Izmir will be poured out, to use İsmet's famous expression.

I thought about it a lot. I came to the conclusion that we must give up the indemnity. İsmet agrees. Anyway, I'm thinking, even if we take it, what will we get from Greece? It is a bankrupt state under European control. It won't give up its navy, even if it dies. Will we occupy Western Thrace, as the French did with the Ruhr Basin, which they kept under military occupation? This occupation requires money. Can we afford it? No. Even the French saw no benefit in it and incurred expenses. We sat down with İsmet. "What shall we do?" we said. The government has given its final order. Rauf is furious. We wrote again. No reply in three days. There is no time.

The day to respond has arrived. The Lausanne area is once again in turmoil. İsmet decided to leave us and go to Ankara himself to sort things out. He wrote... I strongly opposed this idea. Otherwise, he would have gone. Let him go, but there is no time. Finally, we discussed it like this:

İsmet - There's no time to go and come back. So what shall we do?

Me - We must give up the compensation.

He - The government's order is final.

Me - True; but Pangalos' attack is probably certain. What do you think? Him -
Definitely!

I - Defence is impossible too, isn't it? He - Yes.

I - Then there's no time. We must immediately make a noble decision and abandon this venture. Otherwise, disaster will ensue.

He - The government will hold us responsible.

I - If war breaks out and Istanbul falls, the government will be responsible.

But of course, the nation and the state will be dragged into this predicament. What is the government's responsibility worth? I believe personal responsibility is at stake here. This is no time to think of ourselves. The supreme interests of the homeland are at stake and prevail.

Tell me this: Do you believe that giving up is necessary?

O - Yes! If we don't give up, Pangalos will attack and undoubtedly take Istanbul too. And everything will be ruined.

I ~ In that case, we must take responsibility and act with courage.

He - That's too heavy...

I - If they sentence us to death for this, I will rebel against the government based on my belief in this national, supreme interest and this matter, and I will give up and save the state from this predicament. Can't you take that risk?

He - I can.

I - Then there is no issue. We have made our decision.

He - We have.

I - Go and announce it!

In this way, we gave up the money. We officially announced it at the conference. Everything calmed down. After the peace, I asked the officers who came to visit us while passing through Edirne. They said, "The Greeks had made full preparations for an attack. They had sent forward some detachments. Their attack was certain."

This matter is not yet settled. Our actions in this regard must be investigated and a decision made. If the attack was certain, we would have done a great service. We rebelled against the government. This was a very ugly thing. However, having risked our lives for such a service may mitigate it, perhaps even bring us greater honour; but if it was a bluff, our situation is dire. The government should have referred us to the High Council, or had the treaty rejected by the National Assembly. It did not. The French imposed a huge financial burden on the Germans. For this, they also occupied the Rhine region. This incident is illuminating. Great France demanded the money it wanted from Germany.

He can't get it. The occupation of Ren is an expense for him, on top of the stove. If we had insisted on repairs or compensation, and if Pangalos's deal had been a bluff, the Europeans would never have accepted it in the first place. We have no leverage to make them accept it. Let's say they did accept it.

How would we get this money from Greece? Here we see the exchange issue and the issue of non-exchangers' money. Leytelealidir (he said, he had said) and our people are still in favour of the Greeks, no money for the Turks. Greece is already a bankrupt state. Its finances are under European control. Where would they get it? This is, of course, a pipe dream. Let's temporarily occupy Western Thrace, like the French did with the Rhine, for guarantee and pressure.

Will they allow us to do that? No way. And it's just as well they don't. The state would have to maintain a force of about fifty thousand men there. How would it feed them?

In short, insisting on compensation was pointless. It was chasing a mirage. Run, run, there is no water. It was a fantasy. And against such a fantasy lay a grave danger. Even if this grave danger was a bluff, it was not worth risking against such a grave fantasy.

was not worth choosing. Even the bluff attack was heavier on the scales than the other.

The question of whether this was a bluff or not is an open issue that requires investigation. The investigation and our position on this matter should be criticised. However, it might have been possible to gain a few things, such as Dimetoka, in return for our concession. I don't know that either. Some say it was possible. If so, we are at fault.

The French, who refused to accept Greece's offer to pay us for the repairs, did not hesitate to ask us for expenses for themselves. What unjust and tyrannical people they are. They are relentless... For this, they want fifteen million lira in gold. We barely managed to get out of this by making a settlement exchange.

They were also burdening us with the retirement pensions of those who had left us, who were civil servants and officers in our service. We managed to get rid of that burden.

THE BRITISH TOOK OUR GOLD

The gold that guaranteed our paper money issued during the war was in a bank in Vienna.

bank in Vienna. At the beginning of the armistice, the British seized it. They took this money. Our paper money was left worthless. I am still amazed that this unsecured paper money is considered currency! It was not possible to obtain this guaranteed money.

The owners of foreign companies and factories in Turkey flocked to Lausanne. They wanted their rights, the continuation of their privileges, an increase in their profits commensurate with the situation caused by the war, and compensation for their war losses. The French were the most insistent on this. I said to İsmet, "Let's not accept these." I said, "It's not our job; let them go to Ankara and do it there." We succeeded. They went there. A committee was formed in Ankara. These matters were resolved. At the same time, the Ottoman Bank was also asking us to extend its privileges. We did not take that on either.

If you were a speculator, these would have been profitable deals. We got rid of them all. Now

I hear that the Ottoman Bank, trying to intimidate us, sent the scheming Jew Metr Salem. Salem succeeded in getting the extension. He paid a considerable amount of bribery.

We must mention this again: we had no one competent in economic and financial matters.

Our weakness was plain to see. The French had sensed it. They had many remarkable men in this field, such as Sir Reynolds. This man oversees France's international financial affairs. He is always present at such conferences. Finally, the French told us: "You are good at many things. But you have no understanding of financial matters."

For this reason, I say that, above all else, training specialists in finance and economics is a matter of vital importance for this state and nation. This can be achieved by sending intelligent young people who have received a good university education to study finance and economics in Europe. After their studies, they must be employed in Europe, in banks, companies and similar institutions. Because theory alone is useless. Indeed, to be a good doctor, one must work in hospitals and laboratories. In the national and economic sphere, hospitals and laboratories are banks, companies and similar institutions.

Moreover, these financial matters were always one-sided. We had no requests from them in this regard that we could negotiate. For this reason, the principle of reciprocity had effectively ceased to exist. This was burdensome. It was a great difficulty for us.

But what can we do? We are not a nation with banks, merchants, companies, and factories in Europe...

a wealthy and financially independent nation... We have no banks, merchants, companies, or factories in Europe...

THE GOVERNMENT IS ANGRY, HAŞAN IS LOUDMOUTHED

These economic difficulties, and especially our failure to demand compensation and reparations from Greece, strongly incited the government against us. This hostility continues. İsmet still won't show me the correspondence. He simply tells me that relations with the government are tense. Accordingly, relations with the government are once again

There is a major disagreement between us. Rauf is the one doing this. He keeps stirring things up. He's going to knock İsmet down. So the reason for the quarrel is more personal than anything else. God forbid, I'm fed up... İsmet took these things for granted, and this time he tried to send Hasan to Ankara. I advised and insisted that he not send him. I said, "You see the man and you yourself say he's worthless. I don't think this man is in control of himself. He's mentally ill. Don't send him!

He'll make a complete mess of things." He didn't listen. Hasan went, and the newspaper reporters in Lausanne were on fire. One of them heard that Hasan was on his way, went and boarded Hasan's train, interviewed him, and sent it to his newspaper in Paris. The newspaper arrived before Hasan did. We saw that Hasan had told them everything.

These were all our government's views. Our views were worth nothing. This man's carelessness was disastrous. He revealed the secret. We were angry. But we said, "Maybe it's a lie. Let's wait for Hasan to come!" He came. He had accepted all the government's ideas and was defending them to us. The government was giving things we hadn't given. I looked at İsmet and said, "What's the news? Didn't I tell you not to send him?" I gave Hasan the newspaper. He looked at it. "You told them everything before us," I said.

Cleaning up Hasan's mess caused us quite a bit of trouble in the negotiations. We didn't look at the government. We read what we knew.

7 - Strolls in Lausanne

It was the height of summer at this point. Business was slow. Some of the delegates were going to the countryside

to the countryside. We had a lot of free time. İsmet and I took our wives and drove around the forests near Lausanne in a car. İsmet was very keen on sports.

We play jeu de quille here. Sometimes we play billiards. I'm twenty.

When I was younger, I could make fifteen to twenty shots in one go. I haven't played for twenty-five years. We both adjust to each other. That is, we take turns two or three times, but we can only make one or two shots. Now they say İsmet is the Turkish billiards champion. Well done. That means he must have practised billiards a lot. Long live pleasure and enjoyment. I'm still in the same position. And I haven't been able to play even once since Lausanne. Mostly we get into a boat and row in front of the harbour. We have rowing races. What a competitive man... Stubborn too... He insists on beating me. I grew up on the sea like a seagull, while he grew up in the mountains of Bitlis, so of course I always beat him. He gets really angry. A few times we went all the way from Lausanne to Château de Chillon. I had visited this important castle twenty years earlier. I took him there too. Once we also had a

We couldn't beat each other by even a knife's edge. He's from Bitlis, I'm a sailor. He had to beat me... It was evening. Darkness was falling.

We couldn't see ahead. We both fell. We had been running on a path in the forest. Thankfully, we didn't hit a tree. Our heads would have been broken. The sleeve of my shirt was torn.

I devoted part of this free time to Turkish and Armenian history. I had our clerk, Hidâyet (119), transcribe Armenian history. He met Karasu, a Jewish newspaper owner in Istanbul. He published a few articles from him. Hidâyet is a good boy who will do well. Similarly, Cevat Bey's son, one of the clerks, is a good young man who will do well. Above all, I should mention Ahmed Cevad (Emre). He is truly a good young man who will do well.

I should also mention Naci (Ali Naci Kara-can), who works in the cipher department, who has worked with diligence, decorum, and discretion, almost beyond human effort.

Taking advantage of this unemployment, we visited farms, milk, butter, chocolate and similar factories, and schools in Switzerland. We saw a school where they were actually teaching the local

teaching village girls how to raise children and cook meals. What a splendid school. If only we could do that in our cities for now...

WE ALSO FLY

Once, at the government's invitation, Ismet and I flew to Bern.

It was my first time on a plane. Sometimes it descends suddenly. It's like getting off a merry-go-round. These are areas with low air density.

The aeroplane suddenly drops there. Sometimes it suddenly descends fifty metres towards the ground. You can't get your head out of the cockpit. There is a very strong wind due to the speed.

To begin with, there's a hood that covers your ears. But you still can't withstand the wind. The machine is also incredibly noisy. It's impossible to talk over the noise. The aeroplanes are single-seaters. They strap you to your seat by the waist. I was scared at first. Then I got used to it. I took the strap off my waist and stood up. I'm looking at the ground.

A beautiful view. Completely bird's-eye. We are looking down on the lower part of Switzerland. The fields are completely green, meadows. Either cultivated land or forest. There are many yellow lines between them.

only these lines have not been cultivated. These are roads. Straight, long, and with many branches.

In general, it looks like this: Switzerland is a web. The roads are the threads of the web; the

eyes are lush green forests and fields. The view as we pass over the cities is also strange. Neat and orderly buildings, long straight roads.

The buildings are islands connected by roads. We went in the morning, when the weather was favourable. The President of Switzerland showed us around. We saw institutions, factories, farms.

On our return, a strong wind had picked up. They advised us to return by train; they said it was dangerous. But we took the bold approach. "No, let it be the aeroplane," we said.

In any case, we returned safely to Lausanne.

8 - Agreement with Poland

We started work again. Meanwhile, the Poles sent a delegation, wanting to negotiate with us. Well... There's nothing better than this against our enemies. "Fine!" we said. We appointed Münir and Tahir to negotiate. İsmet and I were not involved in this matter at all. We simply gave instructions. They consulted us on some issues. Let me say that this agreement is the work of these two men. We signed it for free. Especially Haşan! Completely for free.

Treaty is also quite unjust. He rendered no service whatsoever. He is detrimental to the treaty. Münir, Hikmet, all the other advisers, even the clerks and code breakers, deserve more credit than he does. But that's how things are. Future generations, seeing his signature on this treaty, will think he rendered a service. He did not contribute a single idea or word to the agreement.

The Polish negotiations are continuing. One day, one of our people came. He told me secretly: "On the way from Ankara, they forgot to write the letter of authorisation for Poland. They have it for the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, etc., but not for this one. Now İsmet Pasha has given the order. He is bringing a letter of authorisation from the government only for himself a letter of authorisation for

himself alone." What on earth is

this? I was furious.

On our first trip from Ankara, we were tasked with negotiating agreements with all the states other than the Allied Powers: Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Spain, America, etc. Separate letters of authorisation had been written for each of these states

separate letters of authorisation had been written for İsmet, me, and Hasan. These were in the delegation. However, it seems the letter of authorisation for Poland had been forgotten...

İsmet, so he's even denying me the honour of signing this Polish Agreement. This man can never accept sharing his fame. It's not in his power to deprive me of this... This is an authority and a right granted to me by the government. Ugh... I'm burning up, boiling over. A tremendous storm of rebellion erupted inside me. He has no regard for friendship, rights, or justice. Who knows what else this man will do to me later? So he harbours a tremendous

feeling of rivalry towards me. His goal is to humiliate and destroy me. Will he do it? He will do it perfectly.

It hurt me deeply. Yet signing the Treaty of Poland was also an honour ? He even envies that. I signed the Moscow Treaty, which is much greater than his and is the first treaty of the new Turkey and the basis for many things. We will sign the Treaty of Lausanne, and Lausanne is a monument... But İsmet's move really hurt me. I do not violate anyone's rights. But I am also someone who perfectly defends my own rights. Rights are sacred. Everyone, no matter who they are, is obliged to defend them.

I AM CALLING İSMET'S BLUFF

I said to myself: "How many times has this happened? Enough is enough. I won't work with this man. Before he crushes me, I will leave him myself. He will prevail. It is impossible to fight this. I thought for a moment: "The Treaty of Lausanne isn't finished yet. A lot has happened, but there is still about ten per cent of the work left to do. It would be disgraceful. He accepts all the demands of the French. Let me digest this," I said. This thought held me back, but a moment later, I couldn't see anything else. I sacrificed everything. I rushed into İsmet's room to confront him. İsmet, my wife, and his wife were sitting there. I attacked like a hawk. Lightning flashed from my eyes. I said:

"You've brought yourself a letter of authority just for Poland. But we were all three given duties regarding these matters. Indeed, for the other states we all have mandates. Poland has been forgotten. Are you jealous of Rıza Nur, your friend and colleague, who has the honour of signing a Polish Treaty? ... So you are terribly jealous. What right and authority do you have to exclude Hasan and me? Who are you? So your morals are not honest either. My relationship with you ends at this moment. I cannot work with a man like you. I have resigned from my positions as plenipotentiary, deputy, and member of parliament. See what it means to be ambitious and not to be."

İsmet froze like a statue. He turned red and pale. He couldn't utter a single word.

I turned to Kanma: "Get up, come on!" I said. We went to our room. I said, "Let's pack our bags now. Let's go to Nis and stay there for a while. That way

we'll rest. Then we'll go to Istanbul." We packed our bags. It was time for dinner. I was eating with İsmet. Maybe he'll come and insist

I lay down on the bed. I would use illness as an excuse. Indeed, İsmet came.

He apologised to me. He asked for forgiveness. "I did a terrible thing," he said.

Absolutely.

I didn't listen to him. "Let's go eat," he said. "I can't eat with you. It's all over." He begged so much that he deprived me of any feeling of anger. This time, softly: "I'm sick. Can't you see? I'm in bed," I said and didn't go. He saw there was no solution. He left.

He sent his harem. I politely refused them too. He saw it wasn't working. He left too. We didn't go to dinner. The next day, İsmet came again. He got another refusal.

My decision is final. I still don't see anything.

This time, the husband and wife have tricked my harem. İsmet told her, "Rıza Nur is the one who made the Treaty of Lausanne. Without him, we can't do anything. The country needs him. He can do great things. He is patriotic.

Don't do it. I urge you, in the name of the homeland, to persuade him. Persuade the doctor not to go." She is a woman, she is weak, she is useless. My wife, who had taken advantage of the

Now my wife, who had been a lioness taking advantage of the baseness of the situation, softened. "All right," she said. She came. She tried to persuade me. I resisted her too and said, "On the contrary, let's go. It's time." "I'm not going!" she said. The issue became complicated. The woman is worthless, but the man is worthless too. Because the so-called man, that vile creature, cannot resist the woman. The woman does not use harshness, but various flattery, and if that doesn't work, she has an important weapon, like a forty-two-pound cannon:

It is a tear. With it, you can make him do whatever you want; he will agree to anything. Our blood eventually persuaded me too; two days passed while fighting with the blood. Finally, İsmet and the harem came, took me away, and we gave up on resignation and such. But this is a scar that has become a thorn in my side.

This incident probably gave this man the idea that I was eager to sign agreements.

Because after the agreement, in Ankara, he sent me to appointed as Foreign Minister in Istanbul in place of Adnan (Adıvar),

as Foreign Minister, and when I refused, he was shocked and tried to persuade me, saying a lot about it. Among these, the first thing he said and repeated with the utmost importance was: "Go there, there are many more states

. We will make treaties. I will have you make them all." I rejected these as well. This man never understood me. This

My rebellion was solely due to his unjust treatment. I cannot tolerate injustice. They say that people judge others by themselves. He thought I was as ambitious for fame as he was. There are people who, without a second thought or hesitation, kick away positions and the honours that come with them. Indeed, he later gave me, one after another and at intervals, the posts of Istanbul representative, Berlin ambassador, London ambassador, and Quarantine liquidator. I immediately kicked them all to the kerb. They had previously offered me the ambassadorship to Moscow, which I had declined. Again, I accepted several offers of deputy positions with their requests and gratitude. After these subsequent refusals, they must have realised that I was not like them, that there was no difference between the position of ambassador and the one-lira chair in my home. After my subsequent refusals, they must have realised that I was not like them.

He wrote immediately, and letters of authority for Poland arrived for us along with him. This agreement was made. The three of us signed it.

MONTAGNA WANTS US TO TAKE IN ITALIAN REFUGEES IN ANATOLIA

We continue with our work. During these complicated matters, one day Montagna invited me to his hotel. My cigarettes were famous in Lausanne. Everyone said so. I had had five or six thousand first-class cigarettes made in Samsun. I gave some to Montagna. We are friends, but the man is a devil. Of course, friendship should not influence business.

That's the truth. If diplomats find fools in front of them, they enter into a phase of friendship and deceive them. So friendship is simply a means of deception. Montagna said that certain issues should be resolved through sacrifices on our part. He also insists that we allow hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants to settle in Anatolia. You are economically needy. You lack labourers and craftsmen. He wanted to convince you that this was in your interests. Seeing that I wasn't buying it, he dropped the sweet talk. He got angry. I raised the stakes. This time he started threatening. We argued like this:

He - We'll fight.

I - (Calmly) What will happen if you do?

He - What will happen? The British, French, and we will send armies, we will enter Anatolia. We will put Ankara on your heads.

I - (In the same tone) Well, go ahead! Don't hesitate, start right away! He -

(With a crimson face, furious) You'll be ruined...

Me - Listen carefully! I'll give you some good advice. You might need it for your country later. You'll start a war, you'll send your armies into Anatolia, but Anatolia is cursed. It devours the armies that come. Look at the example... The Greek army. It was buried in those Anatolian lands, gone.

O - But we are not Greeks.

I - You demonstrated your heroism in Abyssinia. Then you showed it to us in Tripoli. There we had twenty or thirty officers and five hundred soldiers. There were also a couple of thousand local Arabs. We had no shortage of weapons or ammunition. We drove you back to the shores several times. However, you would take refuge under the protection of your fleet and hold your ground. This time, come to Anatolia, and we will have a proper showdown with you.

I paused, waiting for a response. He could not find an answer to my threat. He paused. I continued:

I said, "There are many old, historical examples of Anatolia's ill fortune. For example, the armies of the Crusaders were also devoured and swallowed up by this Anatolia. So many armies came, which one returned to Europe? Especially Kihçaslan, how many of them did he send to the bottom of Haymana? by the roots in Haymana? It was always the Turks who did these things.

No answer... The blow was complete. Without giving room for another word, without letting the blow's effect wear off, I got up. I said bonjour and left.

They say Rıza Nur is harsh. But I am not harsh towards anyone without cause. If they attack me, I retaliate fiercely. That is how it is; Venizelos was the same.

The issue of Italianisation is a crucial matter. The most important point of their policy today is the occupation of the part of Anatolia stretching from Izmir to Alexandretta and the establishment of Italianisation there. Furthermore, the coal needed for Italian industry is not available in Italy or its colonies. For this reason, they also have their eyes on the Ereğli Basin. This policy was strengthened under Mussolini.

At Lausanne, Montagna worked with great fervour to settle Italians along the Menderes River. He wanted us to accept this as a gesture of friendship. He had told me this perhaps ten times. I, on the other hand, was trying to expel the Italians from Izmir. There are about fifteen thousand Italian subjects in Izmir. These are mostly local people. Greek, Catholic Armenian, Jewish. Before the Constitutional Monarchy and even afterwards, the people of cities on the coast such as Thessaloniki, Izmir and Istanbul secretly took Italian nationality. They were not Turkish subjects, they also carried Italian passports in their pockets. They gained benefits as Turkish subjects, and when trouble arose, they declared themselves Italian to take advantage of the capitulations and the Italians would protect them. Some Italians were also added to this group. I wanted to expel this mixed, troublesome population from Izmir by including them in the exchange as Greeks. The Italians raised hell. Since they were officially Italian subjects, it was impossible to include them in the exchange.

In the final volume of My Turkish History (I have not yet published the 14th volume), there is information about the Italians' ambitions to invade our country.

Montagna began by claiming that Turkey lacked skilled and even sufficient labour, and that we could only succeed in developing our country by settling Italian labourers and immigrants. He took such a stance that it seemed as if he were a close friend showing us the best way forward, and he stated this openly. When he saw that I was not falling for this deception, he began to threaten me, and we had arguments. Time passed, and I am still friends with Montagna. That is, we are like dogs. We fight, we quarrel, and yet we still love each other (!). What can you do, diplomacy! One day, I cornered Montagna during a private conversation and made him tell the truth. Namely:

"There is a large population increase in Italy. The Italian people cannot fit in Italy. Colonies are absolutely necessary to settle them there."

I - There is empty land in the southern part of Italy.

He - Yes, but those areas are barren. They need to be reclaimed. That is costly and time-consuming.

I said, "But you took Tripoli from us just yesterday. It's a vast area. Settle them there!"

He - No, no Italian wants to settle there. They want Anatolia. Anatolia has a good climate and rich soil.

He expressed it like this, speaking from the heart. I also gained knowledge by hearing these things from him.

The Italians wanted to settle in the Menderes region first. This issue has been around for thirty or forty years. They also wanted to start by purchasing the Dalaman Farm there from Khedive Abbas Hilmi. The Khedive tried very hard to sell the farm to them, both during the time of Abdulhamid and during the time of the Unionists. These governments acted wisely and did not allow the sale. Today, knowing all this, Ismet has allowed this in order to receive some money from Italy, and many Italians have come to Izmir and its surroundings.

This Italian issue is currently Turkey's most important and dangerous problem. If the state has sensible officials, it is possible to prevent this now. Because this matter carries significant weight. Italy is currently in competition with Yugoslavia and France. Good diplomacy is conducive to taking joint measures with these states on this matter. Especially the French do not want the Italians to set foot in Anatolia because they want Cilicia for themselves. Italy is in contact with these two pressing forces on its own borders. These two pressures may prevent it from invading Anatolia. However, if it is not managed well, it is possible that the French, in order to remove the expanding Italian forces from themselves, may direct them towards us.

Moreover, Italy, in the south-east of France, also desires the Côte d'Azur and its shores. This unites these states with us in a common cause

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9 - Copyright - Translation Rights

We have commenced official negotiations. We are continuing. The issue of literature was discussed. They invited us to accept the International Bern Convention (120). I said we would not join* Form: 17

. They insisted. This is a great disaster for us. We have no scholars or writers. We are always dependent on translations from European languages. If we cannot do this, there will never be intellectual progress in our homeland. Once we enter this convention, we must obtain the author's permission to translate anything. For this, we must pay the author. We are a poor nation. Who can afford to pay and obtain permission from the author?! The publishing world in our country is nothing but misery. This world is a world I know very well. Someone translates a book here, but cannot find the money to print it. There are also those who sell their homes to print books and then go hungry. Even if one prints a thousand copies, book sales are so limited that they do not even cover the printing costs. I have printed five works so far. I do not know of any from which I have made a profit. Most have not even covered the printing costs. I made a little money from *Vakia Fenn-i Hitan* (121), but that was from a single sale, and the proceeds were negligible. In this situation, how can they grant copyright to European authors? It means that books will not be translated. If this is the case, then even if intellectual activity does not die out in our country, it will come to a standstill.

The true author is like bird's milk to us. Publications are always false translations and plagiarised works from Europe. Most steal ideas and sentences from European authors. Some even plagiarise verbatim. They do not even mention the author's name, and keep their own name. In this case, entering into a contract means killing the Turk in the field of thought and science. To explain this to the French in an appropriate language to the Europeans: "We need to translate European books. This is also your honour. Moreover, this is a crucial issue concerning humanity and civilisation. Europe is in a position to spread civilisation to the world. You must allow us to freely into Turkish." They could not say anything to this. They accepted. I was delighted to have made a great profit. Although authors are not like us, they are also miserable in Europe. To encourage authorship and for the sake of humanity, authors need help. Let us help them,

be humane, and let us say this is not dishonourable for us. But we cannot do this. We would be doing it to ourselves.

CAHİD ALSO ATTACKED ME

It's strange... Hüseyin Cahid failed to appreciate the value of this. Because of this matter, he wrote vehemently against me. Yet he is at a level where he should appreciate it.

level. I suppose it was more a case of personal animosity. He attacked me for any reason he could find. Because I did not accept the Bern Agreement, he wrote against me in his newspaper, saying: "Signing this agreement is a civil honour. Rıza Nur threw away this honour." Yes, but empty honours and imaginary greatness do not fill the stomach. To leave a nation behind for the sake of imaginary honour, to leave them like oxen, as Cahid put it, to deprive them of the blessing and honour of progress in the fields of thought and science, is unthinkable. One would have to be very foolish to do such a thing. After I wrote this book, some time later: I

I am saying this. The İsmet Pasha government sent a delegate to a conference convened on this matter and accepted it. Now our writers cannot translate, this work has stopped, and I have seen bitter complaints in the newspapers. What foolishness! My dear, this is something that has been achieved. Why would you give it away?

I did something good in the negotiations on this issue. General Pelle and I were conducting the negotiations in the general assembly. I had Pelle add the sentence "the right to translate into Turkish is free" to the article.

This killed two birds with one stone. According to the Treaty of Lausanne, translation in Turkey is free for simple Turkish. It is not free for Greek, Armenian and Jewish are not free. This means they cannot translate. In that case, they will remain culturally deprived.

Moreover, when this happens, they will be compelled to learn Turkish and adopt Turkish ideas.

This is a point where the "hüve" is hidden in the throne. No one reading the treaty can understand this. This is what I always say. It is for this reason that, after Lausanne, I repeatedly and insistently told İsmet that a work explaining these points, that is, revealing the "hüve"s, should be published, and that a commission should be formed to manage and control the implementation of the treaty. He did not do it.

What would have happened? Were works translated into Greek, Armenian, and Yiddish from Europe
or serialised in newspapers, the

the commission would secretly inform the European author of the work. They would say, "This right is reserved for Turkish." The author would sue and receive compensation from them. How would the author of the work find out about this? This commission would secretly inform him. The government would also say, "Yes, this is the text of the treaty is as follows," thereby winning over the European author. This also provided the government with a good opportunity: It would say, "Turkey is faithful to the agreement; look at its signature . They would also use this as an opportunity to demonstrate this. Greeks, Armenians, and Jews would no longer be able to translate it and would be forced to refer to the Turkish version. In this way, Turkish writers would also be able to They would have obtained translation rights. Because copyright and translation rights are legally protected within Turkey. It didn't happen... We couldn't explain it! In the end, they ruined a whole sack of figs.

10 - Between the Future and the Past

In the second session, once again, I was the one who prepared the speech for İsmet, who spoke at the previous general session. And once again, Münir was on one side and I was on the other. Münir was translating what the French were saying. İsmet was reading. I was writing on a piece of paper in between and saying, "Say it like this!" I rarely spoke myself. In fact, in this session, there were no big speeches like in the first session. Just small remarks. I only managed the quarantine issue in these commissions. First, I sent Nihad Reşad to it. It didn't work out. The French demands were tremendous, even exceeding the previous ones. And I had taken many things. Now I conducted the negotiations entirely myself and got them where I wanted them.

The subcommittees of this session are being managed and resolved by our experts. İsmet approves in the general assembly. Some people, even European delegates, say to me: "You are not like you were in the first session. What passion you had. It's gone out. You don't get involved in the discussion anymore." That was true. The reason was that the issues

were entirely economic, technical and specialised. Moreover, there were no longer any global issues causing turmoil in the session as before. Acting with unnecessary agitation is harmful. It is always necessary to take measures, act and behave according to the situation. The most important thing is to be flexible. I, who caused an uproar in various matters and never gave in, had given in on the issue of Greek reparations and got out of the situation. Diplomacy, in particular, requires flexibility!

At this time, I am sleeping a lot. I am busy with my work titled Turkish History. I am eating perfectly and without haste. I am travelling. So much so that I have become extraordinarily fat. In short, I have put on weight.

In the first phase, on the contrary, I was in great distress. I was sleepless, without appetite, and weak. Let me say one thing: it is very beneficial for those who work. In the first phase, when I got up in the morning, I would fill the bath and get in, staying in the hot water for about twenty minutes. After getting out, I would do various body movements for five or ten minutes, that is,

I always had heartburn. This has been the case since my school days. Here, I drank cherry juice with my meals. With these two measures, I felt as if I had slept well and was not tired at all; I felt refreshed and strong. I benefited greatly from these three

things were very beneficial to me. It is thanks to them that I was able to work actively.

It was decided to establish various courts to settle certain financial matters. This is customary. It is temporary. States do this after wars.

There are certain international "conventions" to which every state has acceded. They are truly matters of humanity and civilisation. We accepted them. However, two articles of the Paris Sanitary Convention (122) confirm capitulation in our country. I declared a reservation on them.

Some of my compatriots objected to my acceptance of the Opium Convention (the treaty prohibiting narcotic substances). They argued that opium cultivation exists in our country and that the British also have reservations about this, because significant quantities of opium are shipped from India to China. As a physician, I knew that opium was a terrible poison that caused serious damage to people's health, so I accepted this humanitarian convention without any objection. But the British did not, as this example shows. What does it matter? There is no such thing as a bad example in a humanitarian cause. In fact, they say, "Falsehood cannot prevail." That is quite true. After all, from this...

There was no harm to our trade either. Because our opium is the best opium. Medical preparation factories buy ours. This is legitimate and sufficient. There are fifteen to twenty such agreements. I negotiated and accepted them.

I included a clause stating that the states had accepted the abolition of the capitulations. This is, of course, very important. This is what makes Turkey a true state. It has freed it from bondage. It has made it fully independent. However, let us also note the following:

While doing this, I naturally also abolished the foreign post offices. I did this myself. To tell you the truth, my heart ached when I abolished the post offices. I remember these post offices especially during the time of Abdülhamid, and I remember what a great service the French post office in Galata rendered in achieving freedom and constitutionalism for the country: I was a student at the Medical School at that time. Turkish publications opposing despotism in Europe would come to us through this post office; I would collect them and distribute them everywhere. It is largely thanks to this that the nation

were enlightened. After these thoughts crossed my mind, the following image came to my mind, I swear:

Our country had not yet completed and closed the revolutionary phase. The people are ignorant. In an ignorant country, every tyrant who comes to power is cut down. Indeed, the Unionists... While working for freedom, they became terribly cruel. Mismanagement, favouritism, plunder, and oppression took hold. The people groaned in agony. A crucial period for progress was lost. This will continue indefinitely... Perhaps I too will become an opponent and publish works in Europe... It will not be possible to bring these publications into Turkey. I am destroying this valuable tool with my own hands right here and now
own hands.

And I thought again: "What can be done? This is the horizon that appears. All of this is on the map, but above all else is Turkey's independence. What can we do? We must bear this loss must be endured." That is how it turned out. I became an opponent and went to Europe. But I have not yet found the opportunity to publish. My scholarly pursuits, my duty to history and the nation to write these memoirs, have not yet afforded me this opportunity. My time is limited. I do not have the funds necessary for this endeavour.

We destroyed a scourge like the capitulations. We destroyed it, but let us admit that it had at least some benefits. We could not judge foreigners, but we made use of foreigners in the cause of freedom. Freedom-lovers would take refuge in embassies when necessary. They would place them on foreign ships in full view of the government and send them outside the borders. When a patriot was in trouble, he would throw himself onto a foreign steamer. The government couldn't do anything about it. These were great services and benefits for humanitarian and freedom goals. I destroyed them with my own hands at Lausanne.

"YOU WILL WRITE ABOUT OUR INSIDE STORY TOO"

It was around this time. One day, İsmet, my harem, and I were sitting, talking about this and that. İsmet had read our "The Inside Story of Freedom and Union" and mentioned it. Finally, he looked at me meaningfully and said, "One day, you will write about our inner workings too."

I was startled. It was a very important, very meaningful statement from Atiye. I held myself back. I didn't say a word. I went to my room and wrote that statement down in my notebook.

So İsmet had studied me well. He knew himself well too. He had seen that I was honourable. I was not greedy. I would not get along with them; one day I would leave. I would rise up against them. I had a past that proved this. Moreover, I am not like them. He had made up his mind that Rıza Nur must be destroyed in advance. Because Rıza Nur would inevitably...

He will publish against them. He is involved in every matter, he knows the secrets. Therefore, he will also write about their inner workings. So even in Lausanne, he had already made his decision against me. against me. This was natural in many ways. I was thinking the same things at the time.

So it seems that both he and I were gifted with foresight... We could see the future even then. Indeed, everything we thought about has come to pass. Then I left and came to Paris. I am writing about the inner workings of these individuals, and I am about to finish. But they couldn't destroy me. They even had bullets fired at me. But they didn't succeed. They simply dismissed me from my position. I, on the other hand, threw myself into Europe. I brought my necessary belongings, my documents, my notebooks here. I worked for years in this free country. I wrote this work.

11 —The Quarantine Issue

One day, General Pelle said, "Let's finish this quarantine business. The experts can't do it.

It's dragging on. They sent me a project from Istanbul. It's good. Let's build on that."

I said, "General, let's start on this too. Let's get that out of the way. But what is the project sent from Istanbul? Is it Dö Lamar's project?" He said, "Yes, it is. He did it jointly with your doctors." I said, "This project imposes tremendous capitulations on us. It has even intensified the old ones. You know how sensitive we are about capitulations

. After all, a clause regarding the abolition of capitulations has been included in the treaty. We cannot possibly begin work on a project in this matter. You

showed great resolve in the negotiations. You have shown

. I appreciate your magnanimity.

Based on your feelings, I would say that you would never consider it appropriate to begin negotiations on such a project.

He paused; he thought, he thought. "Very well! Let's leave it at that," he said. He didn't cause any trouble. He was a very good man. In the second term, he resolved a number of contentious issues solely through his tact, determination, and courtesy.

About five or ten days ago, Dr. Akil Muhtar (123) sent me a letter from Istanbul in French. He wrote that what we had done with Dö Lamar, that nothing better could have been done for us, that he had rendered a great service with this (!), and that it should be accepted immediately. However, we had not appointed this man for such a thing. He had taken it upon himself; he had done it on his own. I suppose Adnan also It exists. But there is no mention of it in the letter. Dr Kilisli Rıfat (124) and Dr Esat have also written letters; they too consider this a success and recommend its acceptance. So there is a conspiracy. Either these poor souls have been deceived and sent to influence us, or Akil did this to Dö Lamar for the sake of Cemile. Dö Lamar is the one who did this. Akil has also made Muhtar an accomplice... Dö Lamar is one of the doctors of the French Occupation Army. During the occupation, the French, through the Minister of Education Ali Kemal, brought two French military doctors into the Faculty of Medicine as professors. Their goal was to expel the German education from our Medical School. Dö Lamar also made the Quarantine House on the Galata quay – which is a beautiful building – his private residence. He was

he was staying. He also took control of the laboratory there. This man seized the opportunity and is stabbing Turkey in the back.

I have started a new project. We have begun work. The Italian advisor, Dr. Şenini, is a very good man. He genuinely likes Turks. He is my friend. I met with him privately. He helped me a lot. Through negotiation, negotiation, we achieved something good. I agreed to take on three foreign doctors as advisors for a period of five years. That was nothing. There were one or two other issues.

The Treaty of Lausanne has already saved us from every calamity. Only one small issue remains! That is in the judiciary, in cabotage, etc. It is a five-year consultant issue. It will be over in five years. What are five years in the life of a nation? Moreover, it is harmless and beneficial.

WE ARE PROUD OF OUR TURKISH DOCTORS

The discussion of the quarantine issue in the general assembly was somewhat heated. To us

"You have no doctors. This is a serious matter. It is a matter of humanity. It concerns not only Turkey's health, but the health of all Europe. Your country is a gateway. The famous cholera epidemics have swept through Istanbul, your shores, and Europe." they said. My response to them was this: "There are many highly capable doctors in Turkey.

I am ready to compare Turkish doctors with those of any European nation through examination

and I dare to say this publicly here before the whole world. We take pride in our doctors."

I am proud to defend my colleagues in this way, and I am certain that I have not spoken unjustly.

. Yes, we do not have medical scholars or important professors like they do in Europe. However, the medical profession is of a high standard. I have seen British doctors in Egypt. I have seen French doctors practising their art. Our doctors are not inferior to them. In fact, they may even be superior. This is due to Gülhane Hospital and German training.

At least in Istanbul, they tried very hard to establish an international health commission. I did not accept it. They wanted to do it in Beirut, then in Alexandria. I did not even consider it.

WE ELIMINATED THE QUARANTINE ADMINISTRATION AT ITS ROOTS

I endeavoured to eliminate this institution by liquidating the funds and retirement pensions of our quarantine administration, and I succeeded. In other words, this institution was abolished at its root. The contagion was not left behind.

The formation and history of this quarantine administration are peculiar. I had examined all of this at the time. I have documents related to this in my possession from Lausanne are in the library in Sinop. It is an interesting page in our medical history.

I promised him that we would take him on as an Italian consultant in return for his service to Senini. He was delighted. When I resigned from the Ministry of Health after Lausanne, I mentioned this to the Minister of Health, Refik (Koraltan), as a national and official promise,

He gave his word, but did not act on it. This is shameful on behalf of the state. In fact, contrary to the agreement, he did not even hire the advisor. It is a matter of honour for a state to be faithful to its agreements. However, if no leak occurred, then the government may well have done so. In any case, that is how this matter ended.

THE PATRIOTISM OF MEDICAL STUDENTS

Then, Dö Lamar's wickedness became known in Istanbul. Medical students heard that he wanted to maintain the quarantine capitulation and that a project had been sent to me for this purpose. They insulted Dö Lamar at the school. They went on strike in his class, saying, "We don't want a teacher like this." Medical students are brave. I was proud. These are the ones who lead the way in Turkish freedom. National,

They always show enthusiasm in civil matters. Being a medical student has always been my greatest pride. They did not learn that Akil Muhtar was an accomplice to the crime. If they had known, who knows what they would have done to him. There is no doubt that they would have done even more to him because he was Turkish. I received a telegram from Adnan (Adivar): "He insulted me by saying that Talebe Dö Lamar had requested capitulation in the quarantine matter

They are not accepting the lesson. Write back quickly so I can resolve the matter." I didn't even reply. In the end, this man couldn't hold on at the school. He left, departed. Well done to the medical students... I don't know what to say to Adnan

to say... Unfortunately, during his time as Foreign Minister, Adnan did nothing but serve the French. Well, he later he received his reward from them in Paris. He was appointed as a lecturer for Turkish lessons at the Elsin-i Şarkıye School with a salary.

I also had one more success in quarantine work. Nowhere else can they collect health taxes from ships arriving at ports. I made them accept that we should collect it. So I secured revenue for our quarantine from foreigners.

I did one more thing. I made our quarantine administration a directorate attached to the Ministry of Health. However, I said that its budget would be independent. The French had not requested such an independent budget from us. I proposed it at the general meeting. They were very pleased. They accepted it. İsmet was astonished. After the court hearing, at the hotel, you said, "Why did you do that? You gave it to them without them asking for it."

." My intention in this was as follows: The state of our government is well known. Money that enters the Treasury, even if it is entrusted, never comes out again; it is consumed. They will not allocate sufficient funds here either. The quarantine administration will be ruined. However, organising this matter and managing it brilliantly is a matter of the state's honour, dignity, and benefit, as well as the humanitarian benefit of Europe.

This matter is not like others. It involves contact with foreigners. Any shortcomings will immediately become apparent. That is why I did this, to remedy the situation. I explained these things to İsmet. He said nothing, but it was clear from his face that he was not pleased.

My aim was to use this tax revenue to build excellent buildings, dispensaries and laboratories where they were needed, to employ good doctors, to make it respectable in this way, and to say to the Europeans, "What? Can Turkish doctors can't manage?" But things didn't turn out that way. I withdrew.

Contrary to the agreement, they began to withdraw the money to the centre and spend it elsewhere. The quarantine system also fell into disarray. In the end, we demonstrated our incompetence to the Europeans once again.

12 - Foreign Schools

We resolved the cabotage issue through somewhat arduous negotiations, with a two-year grace period and limited permission. It was possible to eliminate it entirely. I did not agree with that idea. Because we have no ships. Goods and passengers will remain in the docks for weeks.

at the docks. Although it is very important for the economic development of the nation and the state, there is also an immediate drawback. This is

terrible. I worked among our people to get this period accepted. It is such a period that it will allow time for our maritime trade to develop, ships to be acquired, and navigation to be organised without harming business. That is what happened. A maritime trade fleet began to form in our country as well.

During this time, a man from Lloyd's in Trieste, Italy, arrived. Montagna introduced him to me. Their goal was to take over our shipping routes for a long period of time and with certain partners for this company. This man also offered me the leadership of this company. Bribery. I turned him down.

COLLEGES ARE THE HAVENS OF CHRISTIANITY

Europeans, especially Americans, attached great importance to their schools in Turkey and to the study of ancient artefacts. They demanded things akin to capitulations for these purposes. However, we abolished them too. Robert College and the Jesuit schools are very important and necessary for the intellectual development of our country. However, these schools are religious and political. They were established in our country solely for this purpose. They want to make students Catholic and Protestant. The precursor to colonialism is schools, orphanages, and hospitals. For centuries, Europeans have always started this way in the countries they colonised.

If you see such schools and hospitals in a country, you can immediately conclude that the state wants to colonise that place. This colonisation business is a serious matter. There are hundreds of books on this organisation. It would take too long to discuss here. The Turks, in particular, should examine this thoroughly. It is a matter of life and death for us. The headquarters of this French organisation is in Lyon. This should be noted. Indeed, in recent years, the Italians have put effort into this work and are opening many schools here. Also, in the past, Greeks and Armenians filled these schools. Jews also attended the schools of the Alliance

Israelite. This institution belongs to French Jews and serves French interests. The aim is to fill these schools, especially American schools, with Turkish children. However, attention must be paid to religion and beliefs, and to the preservation of nationality. In recent years

I was pleased to see that three-quarters of the students at Robert College in Istanbul are Turkish children.

13 - Rumbold is Getting Restless

Things were very easy and finished quickly. It was the end of June. At this time, Rumbold and Ryan, especially the former, began to get very grumpy. However,

That wasn't the case. He doesn't want to accept anything. On the contrary, he is making unreasonable demands. And he is saying these things angrily. He is even openly insulting us. The man is reckless... He doesn't even feel the need to hide his insults. When he speaks, he becomes agitated and bright red. In court he even makes serious insults against us by issuing statements to the press. Yet we had already reached the end, the stage of the final decision.

I was frightened and alarmed by Rumbold's behaviour. Have the British given up on peace?! A question, the current situation, war weariness, Europe's economic ruin, what Nikolson told me in the first phase about the Patriarchate issue, the fact that they threatened to break off negotiations and go to war, yet still invited us back to Lausanne, all prove

In the second phase, Rumbold's attitude was the same. Now it has suddenly changed. Why is Rumbold like this now?!

A great anxiety has overtaken me. The others are fine. It's all down to the British. If they want peace, it will happen. If they don't, it won't. This is as certain as two plus two equals four.

RUMBOLD: "I DESPISE THE TURKS"

Forbes Adam had told me some time ago that after the truce, they would send Rumbold to us as ambassador. I replied, "If you want friendship with us, don't send him. Because at the beginning of the armistice, he earned the displeasure of the Turks. In fact, take Ryan back too!" A short while later, he said they would do as I had suggested. Perhaps they heard about this and that is why they are acting up? That is nothing.

Rumbold's behaviour suggests that he will definitely cause a major incident. An incident so severe and forceful that it will make further negotiations impossible. It will force the British to put their pride on the line. They will leave Lausanne and go. The peace will remain. I am terrified.

One day, he made a statement to a newspaper in Lausanne. In it, he said all sorts of nasty things against us. In short, he said, "I am disgusted by the Turks." I remember. The sentence is: "Les Turcs m'écœurent". This is a terrible insult. And not just to us personally. To the nation. The answer to this is to make a statement to our newspaper and vehemently reject this insult, saying that we too are "disgusted by the British". "Our national and personal honour demands it. It demands it, but it won't happen. Because a man who has not decided to abandon negotiations cannot say this. We, however, want peace. İsmet was furious. I advised him to be moderate. "Let's pretend we didn't see this. I think this man wants to cause an incident and make peace impossible," I said. That's what we did. We paid no attention, but Rumbold did not stop. He was looking for an excuse and found one.

RUMBOLD CALLS İSMET A "THIEF"

After our people sent eight thousand gendarmes to Rumelia, they loaded thirty cannons onto a steamer. They were taking them to Tekirdağ. A British warship captured the steamer and seized the cannons. The government wrote to us, and İsmet wanted to convene a session. Rumbold said, "No." İsmet insisted. Rumbold flared up and said, "These cannons are not yours." İsmet said, "They are ours." Rumbold raised the curtain and said, "These cannons were

. You stole them. You are thieves." I saw that İsmet began to tremble. His legs were shaking. I was very anxious. I thought the inevitable was about to happen, that it was all over. I immediately wrote on a piece of paper. I tapped İsmet's knee with mine. I pushed the paper towards him.

What I wrote was: "Oh, don't mind him! The bloke wants to finish the job, it's a disaster. Pretend you're deaf, act like you didn't hear! For heaven's sake, control yourself!" He was truly a man in control of himself. But in this situation, he suddenly lost himself. His face turned ashen. Yet that was uncharacteristic of him. He was a man who never showed his colours. He immediately pulled himself together. He didn't care. He simply continued to demand the balls.

BUT WE HAD BOUGHT THEM FROM THE ENGLISH COMMANDER'S AIDE

Let me explain what Rumbold said: It's true. When the armistice came, the states confiscated Turkey's weapons. They destroyed what they could and stored the rest in warehouses. Some were guarded by British soldiers, some by French soldiers.

. During the national movement wars, the organisation in Istanbul paid British and French officers, who stole weapons from here and sent them to Anatolia. These officers gave us all our weapons by stealing them in exchange for money. We even paid the aide-de-camp of the British commander, General Harrington, to steal weapons from the warehouses.

What a turn of events! So it's come to this... I should immediately say, "We're not the thieves, you are. Then your officers stole from the warehouses and sold them to us. And your theft is even worse." But would I ever say that? Then it would come out, and Rumbold would achieve his goal.

THE MAN'S INTENTION IS CLEAR...

I couldn't hold back again. At least I'll tell the French this privately, I thought, so that they won't support Rumbold, they'll gather and give him away. We're at a long table. To Rumbold's right is Ryan, further to his right is Montagna, and... No-gara, General Pelle is on his left, and on his left is Koloniyer, who is directly opposite me. We are sitting in a line at the table. I am on İsmet's right. İsmet is opposite Pelle, Münir is on İsmet's left, opposite Rumbold. Further to the left is Hasan Nogara, opposite him.

I reached out to Döklöziye. I said to him, "Reach out a bit!" He reached out. Pelle reached out too. I'm talking, they're listening. I said, "They're the thieves, not us. You know very well about this arms smuggling business, you were in Istanbul. The officers guarding us sold our own property for money and stole it. Now I'm going to say this." Döklöziye panicked. He begged, "Please,

don't say it!" Pelle also pleaded. "For your sake! All right..." I said. But if they insist, I won't say it... Then the French remained neutral in this matter.

I SENT REFİ CEVAT

The session ended. We left. Now I'm worried. "I think the English are backing out of the peace deal

because Rumbold's actions indicate this. And a plenipotentiary cannot do this on his own. I am curious. How will I

? In the end, we were back in the hot seat. That day, Refi Cevat (125) came to me. He had come to Lausanne. He had been in Istanbul with Ryan.

I asked if they were friends during the armistice. He said they were very good friends, and that Ryan had given them orders at that time. Refi Cevat was Pehlivan Kadri's best friend. At the beginning of the armistice, I was living in Erenköy. One day, while going down to Haydarpasa, I happened to meet Pehlivan on the train. He had a basket in his hand, filled with quinces and similar fruits.

I had never seen such large and beautiful quinces and fruits in my life. "Where did you find these?" I asked. "From Kartal, I'm taking them as a gift to Ryan," he said. What he said must be true. I said to Cevat, "I'll give you as much money as you want, I'll get you pardoned, and I'll send you back to your homeland. Ryan is very much in favour of peace. Not Rumbold. Can you go to Ryan and find out why he wants peace?" He thought about it. "How can I do that?" he said. I said, "You go. You go to him. You used us so much against these Kemalists. Now you're making peace with these creatures. You abandoned us. You threw us into the fire and burned us. We went hungry." "All right!" he said. He went. This bloke can't be trusted, he's very greedy for money. He also really wants to return to his homeland. He has no hope left in the English. He came back. "Well, what happened? Tell me the story!" I said. He did. He went to Ryan. This conversation took place between them:

He - I heard you're making peace. You used us as tools. You burned us. We're wandering around here hungry. How can you make peace now?

Ryan - Cevat Bey, neither I nor Rumbold want to make peace.

We're doing everything we can to prevent it. We're telling London that the Turks aren't willing to make peace, that they should give up on the idea; but what can we do, the government wants it. Curzon is ordering us flat out to "Make peace quickly and get it over with!" It's out of our hands, there will be peace.

I see, that's very good information. It can't be a lie. It's too unbelievable. I feel relieved. Sometimes even people like this can be useful.

We have now taken firm steps. Had it not been so, we might have given up certain things and backed down. On the contrary, this time we defended our interests with restraint, caution, and greater persistence. No one should be considered superfluous.

We are now relieved. So, Curzon has decided on peace. That is enough. Now we need to slap Rumbold in the face with a few words. I thought about it. That won't work either. We must continue to endure the insults. Because if you react, there will be trouble. It will become a matter of national honour. Rumbold means to refuse peace despite Curzon's orders. However, he cannot refuse. If trouble arises and this trouble becomes a matter of personal honour, and national honour because he is a delegate, he will abandon the negotiations and leave. The British are very arrogant. For them, nothing stands in the way of national dignity. They do not criticise Rumbold, they praise him. At that point, it is unclear what the peace will be like. This means that, as before, it is necessary to endure the insults and turn a deaf ear. However, we can continue to defend our interests in a secure manner. That is what we did.

İsmet is very angry. He is furious with Rumbold. He wants to retaliate. I calm him down. I say: "The time will come. Let the matters be completely settled, let the day of signing be decided. There is no danger now. At the end of that session, you will say this : 'You called us thieves. You did so taking advantage of my physical disability. Had I heard you, I would have responded immediately. This conference I find it inappropriate and I return this statement to you.'" We decided on this.

We also secured the immediate evacuation of Istanbul and the acceptance of our conditions. At this point, there were five or ten minor issues remaining. The negotiations had progressed considerably.

In such matters and in everything, intelligence is very important. Perhaps, in my opinion, it is above everything else. Nogara is harassing our Hasan. He won't leave Hasan alone.

He won't leave him alone. If he doesn't see Hasan in the square, he looks for him and finds him. I watch from a distance. He treats Hasan like a close and familiar friend.

Nogara is a devilish Italian. He's a sly fox! He makes Hasan talk, gets him to say things among friends. He even provoked Hasan once in court.

Hasan flew into a rage. He immediately revealed something that was a secret to us.

Nogara, sensing Hasan's temperament and state of mind, knew that if he didn't get him to talk with sweet words,

Hasan got angry, there was no way he could control himself. He would curse everything inside him.

I was furious. After the session, I told İsmet what had happened. "Hasan must not come to the session again. In fact, he must not even see Nogara," I said. "I can't say it, you say it!" he said. You know, he doesn't make enemies. I do. I make enemies for the people. I called Hasan: "I see that you've been very irritable lately. Things are about to fall apart, and when a delicate situation arises, it gives you excitement . " He immediately said, "Yes, that's right." I said, "In this state, you can't work. Then your nerves will completely play up and affect your mind. You'll get sick. I can see this with a doctor's eye. You need a change of scenery. Don't come to the sessions! In fact, leave Lausanne and take a few days' rest! I'll call you." I dismissed Hasan in this manner. He never attended another session.

NOGARA IS LOOKING FOR HASHAN

Hasan left. We entered the first session. I said to İsmet, "You'll see now. Nogara will search high and low for Hasan." We went to the session. We sat down. The discussion began. Both İsmet and I were paying attention. After a while... Nogara raised his head. He looked at Hasan. Hasan was not there. He looked around, still no sign of him. Immediately, his face was overcome with signs of sorrow and anxiety. He anxiously asked one of our clerks. He received the answer, "I don't know." He got up and searched the rooms, but he was nowhere to be found. He asked again. I smiled and said, "He's ill, he won't be coming." I smiled at İsmet and said, "Did you see that?" Nogara's behaviour was astonishing.

The British are going to send Rumbold to Istanbul as ambassador after the peace. They are also going to send Ryan back to his old post. This was told to me by the advisor Forbes Adam, who committed suicide in Istanbul. He said that İngiltere would now be friendly with Turkey. I told him, "If England wants friendship with us, it should not send these two men. They have done bad things to us. The people do not like them. Friendship cannot exist with elements of enmity. I also recommend replacing the current ones." This issue came up between us many times.

Finally, Forbes Adam said, "Britain appreciates this point and will not send them." would not send them." Indeed, they did not send them. Apparently, Rumbold had heard this news and had risen up against us violently. However, it was very necessary not to bring this man

back into our lives. During the armistice, the Greeks and Armenians in Istanbul had thoroughly brainwashed him; his ideas were all wrong and distorted. His views during the first round of negotiations had sufficiently demonstrated his hostility towards Turkey.

During Rumbold's outbursts, there was again a disagreement between us and the Council of Ministers. Rauf insists that the matter of the coupons and privileges be settled first. By God, with patience. Why get involved in such trivialities? Are the French our servants? If they don't want to settle the coupon first, shall we beat them into submission?! This time Rauf was really worked up. He was shouting. İsmet was also furious. Again, he wouldn't show me the correspondence. He was just talking about the dispute.

According to İsmet, the government is giving us orders from Ankara down to the smallest detail and strictly forbidding us to accept a single word without consulting him. This is not acceptable. Can business be managed from afar

? There are many stages and aspects to it that only those involved in the work can see. When a commander is appointed, he is simply told, "You will defeat such-and-such enemy army." That is all. No one interferes. This was the case here too. They appointed us. They gave us instructions. In particular, they gave us full authority. That was enough.

İsmet wrote a reply and showed it to me. I read it. I told him, "Add this sentence!" "Your interfering in the negotiations and giving orders from there is no different from Abdülhamid directing the 93 campaign from Yıldız Palace." Accepted. He added it. I see it in Mustafa Kemal's Nutuk. İsmet amended this sentence slightly after me. For example, he removed the word Abdülhamid (page 474). Finally, he said to Rauf, "You come with the Minister of Finance and manage the business." This is mockery. Hasan Fehmi (see Note 129) does not know a single word of a foreign language. Rauf also does not understand financial matters. He does not know French either. He has no other knowledge either.

WE SENT A MASS RESIGNATION TELEGRAM

The government was furious with this sentence of mine and insisted on their course of action. İsmet went mad. If he had Rauf in his hands, he would tear him to pieces and hang each piece on a branch. I was also fed up with these orders. I saw that it was impossible to act as they said, and İsmet was shouting, "This won't do, what shall we do?" I told him the solution. I said, "It is impossible to work under these conditions. Therefore, Rıza Nur, Haşan, and I have resigned. To avoid alerting our enemies to this disagreement, we are leaving here immediately. Therefore, appoint the delegates you will assign to replace us quickly and send them! Let's send a telegram to hand over the work to them." He thought about it a lot. "Yes," he said. He sent such a telegram. They did not accept our resignation. This means they accepted our point of view. They let us go. They did not cause us any trouble. But in the end, we wrote, "The matter has been settled. We will sign; the agreement is being drawn up." Rauf did not say no or yes to this. İsmet was anxious. He drew terrible conclusions from this. He was in a panic. But it was unnecessary. Asking whether we should sign was pointless.

It was a dispute, and the matter was settled. It was the final hearing. Rumbold was more irritable and gloomy than usual, his face dark and sullen. He was probably furious that he had failed to ruin the deal and that he would have to sign something he did not want to sign with his own hand. session, the final decisions were made. There was no issue left. The day for signing the agreement was set

. İsmet asked to speak. He said the sentence I wrote earlier to Rumbold: "A few sessions ago, you called us thieves, and you did so, taking advantage of the fact that he couldn't hear you

." Rumbold immediately reacted as if he were boiling over and said, "No, that's not true. If you didn't hear it then, hear it now. I repeat." İsmet should have responded fiercely. He cut off the tapping and wanted to say a few things. But he was weak. Rumbold prevailed. We were humiliated. The session was adjourned, and the matter was closed. The English are polite people, but this Rumbold was truly impolite. A delegate could not

. Especially not insult a nation he was negotiating with in a newspaper by saying, "I despise them."

WAS IT EDITED?

As we worked, the jurists' editorial committee also reviewed the articles from a legal perspective.

It was written in French, in that style and with that vocabulary. Neither I nor İsmet saw these. Münir was from our side on this commission. I cannot say for certain, but as I said before, it seems to me that while writing, the French shifted the sentences slightly in their favour. I say this because I noticed a difference between the draft I had and the one I wrote. I had most of these drafts. They are in the library in Sinop. If someone knowledgeable in law and fluent in French compares them with the agreement, they will determine the issue.

If this happened, it was certainly not because Münir was not patriotic. He is a man who trembles over a single word in this matter. Perhaps he did not understand every word of this sophisticated French. Indeed, among these, there are a few things that I understand well, which have come about solely through the writing of this commission. Or perhaps Münir was weak and gave up, not considering the ihrams important.

Or perhaps he did not dare to object to the French of a Frenchman like Fromageot.

The agreement is now ready. It has been printed. The signed copy of this agreement will be kept by the French government in Paris. At the University of Lausanne

We signed the agreement with great ceremony. There was a large crowd inside and outside. Photographers and filmmakers had rushed over. They took various pictures of us while we were signing and leaving. The Swiss President presided over the signing ceremony and also gave a speech.

We were signing. Rumbold was still looking at us treacherously. He had taken his seat without even greeting us. Unfortunately, the French were the same. They were all very angry with us. Whereas we should all have been happy. On the contrary, they had long faces. We had been together for about a year. When we left, they didn't even say goodbye to us. We were completely happy.

I later learned the reason for the Frenchmen's frowns. The Frenchmen resistance. Financial matters were their most important concern. The poor wretches had not been able to get almost anything they wanted. However, Lord Curzon exerted pressure on the French government, forcing them to accept the terms and sign the peace treaty. So, the peace was achieved thanks to England and especially thanks to Curzon. I strongly believe this to be true. For this reason, the French delegates could not return to France with honour. They remained resentful towards us. Even Rumbold left Lausanne without saying goodbye to us.

We signed. I believe we have now given the nation the peace we have endured through crises, a peace that sometimes seemed like a dream slipping through our fingers. And we did so with great profit and great honour. We had settled Turkey's nine-century-old (Seljuk and Ottoman) accounts and made the necessary settlements. We had dealt with all of Europe. Now we felt satisfied. I am quite pleased; the pen I signed with was a stylus. I did not have a seal like the one in Moscow. Neither did İsmet. We had seals made. We sealed the red wax with them. I kept them in the library in Sinop as a memento. Seeing them made me happy. Yes, they are the tokens of the fruit of a difficult labour. But for three or four years now, I have been a wreck. I have even been deprived of seeing them.

TWO DEAF FACING EACH OTHER

The signing and ceremony were over. We were leaving. The Americans also wanted to make an agreement with us. We did. There are imposing marble steps in front of the Darülfünun gate. While walking on this marble platform with İsmet, an American delegate, Grew (who later became the Ambassador to Istanbul), and an American advisor approached us. Grew brought his head very close to İsmet's. İsmet suddenly became frightened. He pulled his head back and bent backwards, standing still. Grew was saying something to him. The adviser said to me, "Tell İsmet Pasha! Grew is deaf, he won't hear. Lean over and whisper in his ear." I couldn't help but laugh. I thought to myself, "Which one should we tell? They're both deaf." A photographer captured this scene exactly as it was and published it in a large format in a Swiss magazine. I laugh every time I see it. This is also in Sinop.

photographer captured it exactly and published it as a large plate in a Swiss magazine. I laugh every time I see it. This is also in Sinop.

We also signed the American Treaty. It is very regrettable that the American Congress has still not ratified it.

Mustafa Kemal sent us a telegram of congratulations. Then a telegram arrived from Rauf. Strange writing... It makes no sense. Congratulations? What? It's incomprehensible. According to Mustafa Kemal, Rauf wrote this under pressure from others.

European newspapers have now extensively covered the treaty. They praised the Turkish delegation and wrote that Turkey had achieved a diplomatic success. For example, the Tan (Temps) newspaper wrote the following sentence in its editorial: "İsmet and his colleague Rıza Nur have achieved a great diplomatic victory."

This agreement is unique in Turkish diplomacy after the Moscow Agreement. Even when this state was victorious, it did not make such an agreement in its favour. Turkish diplomats were deceived or gave away state interests as bribes. Later, the agreements of the decline period were particularly harsh.

This treaty is also significant in that it cleared away the mistakes accumulated over six or seven centuries by the Sultan and his ministers, removed the accumulated burdens, freed the state from all constraints, and made it a completely independent and European-style new state.

THE FLAW OF THE TREATY

However, this perfect treaty has one flaw. We granted freedom to the Straits, but we could not grant autonomy to Western Thrace, we could not obtain compensation from the Greeks, we could not bring the Turks of Alexandretta within our borders, and the resolution of Mosul was postponed. But it was not possible to do these things either. We have written about the reasons for this have been explained in detail.

İsmet's role during this conference was essentially limited to communicating with the Council of Ministers and Mustafa Kemal. It could be said that he spent his life doing this.

He was only about one-tenth as involved with the main task, dealing with the French.

VENIZELOS IS COMPLAINING

Let me not forget this either: In recent weeks, we have begun to befriend Venizelos. There was no longer any significant issue between us and the Greeks. He came to us. We had

visits. Venizelos poured out his troubles to us. He said: "These French are terribly selfish. They pressured me and pushed Greece into Anatolia. When things got tough, they abandoned us. Not only did they give us no money or weapons, but as you saw, they didn't even provide diplomatic assistance at Lausanne. Ah, my heart is full." He even cursed. What he said was true. That's how the French operate. They use you as a tool to serve their own

interests, then abandon them. Isn't that what they did to the Armenians? They didn't just crush the Greeks in Anatolia.

They also sent the Greek army to Crimea for help. The Bolsheviks crushed them until not a single soldier remained. Let this be a lesson. Oh well... There is just one point. The British

helped the Greeks a great deal. Without them, we would have crushed the Greeks. However, Venizelos is right on one point. When it came to the most important Greek interests, they gave them to us for their own benefit. That is, the Patriarchate was destroyed, the Greeks were subjected to military service, etc. Venizelos undoubtedly says that he did not receive political assistance under the influence of these provisions. Yes, they were being helped. It reached a point where their own interests were at stake (the Nikolson appeal I mentioned earlier), they immediately abandoned Greek interests. Not only did they abandon them, they forcibly persuaded the Greeks. Well, let this be a lesson and a warning to Greece, so that it does not throw itself into the fire again at the word of the French.

THE FRENCH ARE EXPELLING VENIZELOS

Let's do Venizelos a favour and create a rift between him and the French, we said. "We won't pay the debt in gold. You shouldn't either. What are you waiting for? Go and tell the French!" "Agreed!" he said. He went and told them. The French expelled him. He told us he would go to Paris to rest after the signing. The French press launched a fierce attack against Venizelos over this request. So much so that the poor man couldn't go to Paris.

We boarded the train in a pleasant manner. We entered our border. They welcomed us at every station. There was a very large and unprecedented welcome at Sirkeci. I didn't get involved in these things. I didn't get off the train and didn't look out the window. Because I don't like ceremonies and pomp. Once, İsmet forced me to get off. I walked on one side, Haşan on the other.

I went back home again. Again, I did not accept the Municipality's hospitality at Perapalas. We boarded the train to Ankara. Mustafa Kemal also boarded at Eskişehir. I don't know what they talked about. I wasn't around them much. In fact, I didn't participate in the welcome ceremonies along the way either. I don't like such things. İsmet

and Hasan were getting off. In fact, İsmet once said to me, "Why don't you come too?" I still didn't go.

So we arrived with an honourable peace. Everyone was united in

this. ISMET PRAISED ME

İsmet gave a speech in Parliament. He praised me in it. I don't remember it well, but it's in the minutes. He said that three-quarters of the treaty was due to my efforts, determination and, above all, my resistance. He showed this appreciation. In fact, these words were those of the French delegates at Lausanne. They said, "Rıza Nur made three-quarters of the treaty." He did not praise me, but he did so because it was common knowledge. On the one hand, this was a bad thing. It meant that he was doing something terrible to me was doing something bad against me. Because that's his nature. Whoever he praises and loves, at that moment he is digging their grave, preparing a great evil for them.

He said, "You signed such an agreement, so you've done the biggest thing. Now step aside. Sit down!"

In this work, which is a very important period in Turkey's life, the greatest and most important events, the events that led to success, who are the people who did them, who are the agents, and the subject matter, are understood with this work of ours. Those who wish to do so should, while reading this work, write down one by one those resolute and liberating happy events and those who brought them about. They will see what these are and to what extent certain individuals were involved and influential.

Thus, peace was achieved. On the day the treaty was signed in Lausanne, the national uprising, the national movement, the War of Independence, and the national war also ended. And they ended successfully.

Grand National Assembly

SECRET MINUTES OF THE

LOZAN NEGOTIATIONS

t: 22.3.1339 c: 3

SECOND SESSION (MEETING)

2 March 1339 Friday

THIRD SESSION (MEETING)

CHAIRMAN: His Excellency Ali Fuat Pasha, Second Chairman

TEMPORARY SECRETARY: Ziya Hurşit (Lazistan), Necati Bey (Saruhan)

CHAIRMAN - I hereby open the session.

Mr Hüseyin Rauf has the floor regarding the implementation of the secret session. Please proceed, sir.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Chairman of the Executive Committee) - Sir, the agreements and projects presented by the allies and our delegation...

We had previously begun the discussion in private. I propose that this discussion continue in private.

CHAIRMAN - Those in favour of the session being confidential, please raise your hands. Approved.

I am reading the summaries of the minutes of the previous confidential sessions.

1 - MINUTES SUMMARY OF

THE SECOND SESSION

Tuesday, 27 February 1339

* Form: 19 FIRST

SESSION

Under the chairmanship of His Excellency Ali Fuat Pasha, the summary of the previous session was read and accepted verbatim. A debate ensued regarding the procedure for the peace project

was discussed, and the session was adjourned for a break. SECOND SESSION

After the discussion on the procedure for deliberation was deemed sufficient under the chairmanship of His Excellency Ali Fuat Pasha, the motion regarding the separate explanations to be given by the delegation of Saruhan Deputy Reşat Bey and his colleagues and the specialised deputy advisers was accepted, and the meeting was adjourned until Wednesday.

The meeting was adjourned.

Second Chairman Ali Fuat, Secretary Van Hakkı, Secretary Kayseri Atif.

CHAIRMAN - Are there any comments on the summary of the previous minutes? The previous minutes

I present to you: Those who accept... Those who do not accept... It has been accepted.

2 - NEGOTIATED ISSUES

1. The negotiation of the peace treaty, clause by clause.

PRESIDENT - As you are aware, the meaning of the resolution you last accepted is as follows: Before expressing its opinion and views, the High Assembly wished to hear our friends in the Council of Ministers and the Delegation, as well as our fellow deputies and advisers, in order to be fully informed on the matter in question. If you will allow, let us hear first the Council of Ministers and its members, then the Delegation, and finally the advisers.

HAFIZ MEHMET BEY (Trabzon) - The old words are still there, aren't they?

CHAIRMAN - They are, sir. If you wish, I will read out those who have taken the floor.

SALÂHA İ İ N BEY (Mersin) - Your Excellency, I would like to ask a question. Will the major sections not be discussed separately? Or will we discuss the entire agreement at once?

CHAIRMAN - Sir, it will be as the High Assembly wishes.

SALÂHATTTN BEY (Mersin) - As far as I know, we will discuss a major section and form opinions on that section. In other words, the section should be discussed. should be negotiated. I believe the current negotiation is also on the first chapter.

PRESIDENT - Sir, the motion you accepted was to hear the Council of Ministers and the delegation. Now let us hear the Council of Ministers and the delegation.

Mr Rauf; there was a motion accepted by the High Assembly. I presented this motion on behalf of the Assembly. Please tell us your opinion on how the High Assembly, the delegation and the advisers should proceed.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Chairman of the Council of Ministers) (Sivas) - Sir, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, myself and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief Plenipotentiary, His Excellency İsmet Pasha, had briefly expressed our point of view. Your

Your Excellency previously wished to hear the explanations of the delegation. If I recall correctly, you wished for Mr. Haşan to provide explanations regarding finance, and for the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief Plenipotentiary Pasha to explain the land issue. In short, I believe your request was for the plenipotentiaries to provide explanations, and that is how I remember it.

Therefore, if you will permit, let them explain these points in order, and let the discussion proceed in order as well.

SALÂHA İTİN BEY (Mersin) - May I have your permission, Mr Rauf? Sir, the matter has been understood. I will make a proposal. If you agree, we will proceed accordingly. The agreement consists of three main parts. One is the administrative part section. The second is the financial and economic section. The third is the land section. The financial and economic section is lengthy. It is a detailed matter. The political and land sections can be thoroughly examined. However, more important than all of these are the minority issue, which demonstrates Turkey's independence and contains binding provisions, and certain articles such as agreements, which directly administrative matters. Unless this is resolved, the others cannot be resolved. Do foreigners accept or not accept a law, a statute, in whatever remains of Turkey? To understand this, we must first sever our connection with administrative matters. I propose that we discuss that first. Then we will move on to other aspects.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - Sir, according to your point of view as a touchstone. Some colleagues may consider the judicial aspect, others the financial aspect, and still others the land aspect. Therefore, if you will permit, the fundamental principles , including the point you mentioned in this context. We will discuss that when the time comes. Let us proceed from land matters to financial, judicial, economic, and other matters. The issue you mentioned is also included in this context. Therefore, if you agree, His Excellency İsmet Pasha will clarify the land issue well and, undoubtedly, better than anyone else. His Excellency İsmet Pasha will explain the land issue.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - The question of independence should be discussed first, sir. Perhaps I did not express my opinion clearly enough in my statement. Let me explain it more briefly in two words.

The first thing we must understand in the agreement is whether the independence of the Turkish nation, that is, internal administration, has been secured or not. To what extent have we succeeded in this? If this has not been secured, then one step forward, one step back, in my opinion, is a secondary issue. If we decide to resolve this land issue first, can we do so without being certain of the other side's intentions? No; therefore, the land issue is a matter of force

If we have the strength, we will go as far as Macedonia. If we do not have the strength, we will remain behind. The most essential thing to be secured and negotiated is independence. We must negotiate this, and we must have no doubt about independence being an absolute thing. Only then will we feel peace and conscience. Independence must be secured first. My request is that after this is secured, the land issue, whether other matters have been negotiated or not, whatever it may be.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - The government agrees with Mr. Salâhattin's opinion; let us not waste time. We can begin in this manner.

ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - I have a question, sir. The explanations to be given here will be oral explanations. Therefore, it is important to take notes on these important explanations, understand the issue, and
It is not right to make a decision based on speculation. What we have been given is a counter-project from the states that has been mistranslated. Where is the counter-project that İsmet Pasha gave? I believe we requested this earlier, and if the government has something else it wants to do today, what are its basic principles? We must see it and decide accordingly.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - There is no additional proposal to be made to your distinguished committee. We have clearly stated our point of view in the negotiations. Upon that, you said that your representatives should come here and explain these and those points. Now the government has presented the counter-project to your distinguished committee.

Your Excellency has now agreed to discuss its articles. You said no. That is how it happened.

ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - If we do not have a counter-proposal, can you not give us the proposal that İsmet Pasha gave earlier?

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - The one His Excellency İsmet Pasha will

present... ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - Sir, he presented it earlier at Lausanne. The one he finally presented at Lausanne...

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - Please allow me, sir. Let the discussion proceed in the manner proposed by Salâhattin Bey. The delegation will express themselves. Please ask about any points that are not explained.

ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - Make fun of it, from the air.

HÜSEYİN AVNİ BEY (Erzurum) - Sir, as I understand it, the objective is still not being achieved. There are still difficulties. If you will allow me, I will explain. Sir, the issue is still not being explained. There is still a lack of understanding. Our friends returning from Europe should explain to the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers has prepared a project. They will submit this project to Europe. Suppose the honourable council says to submit it without understanding the nature of this project. I beg your pardon, I do not understand the meaning of keeping what will be submitted to Europe hidden from us.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - Sir, there is no concealment. There is a misunderstanding. The Council of Ministers may request something from us. Gentlemen, we have listened. You have listened too. They are not saying, "Let us submit a project incorporating your opinions." They are requesting permission to submit the project they have prepared. Please, we ask, what is the project? They are not showing it to us. Let the project be given to us, Is the proposed project compatible with our economy and national independence, or not? That is what should be discussed. If they say, "Yes, gentlemen, we will listen to you. We will make a new project, I would understand. Today, you are going down the wrong path. You are wasting time. The Council of Ministers has formed an opinion. But we are not aware of their opinions. Let us understand what they understand. They want to hear our opinion on the project, gentlemen. The procedure is wrong. Discussion It has started on the wrong path. We must see the project. We must enlighten ourselves. We will either approve it or make up for its shortcomings. There is no other way to describe it, sir.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - Sir, a motion was submitted a short while ago, which I requested and endeavoured to explain, and which was accepted by your distinguished assembly. Your distinguished assembly accepted that motion. Accordingly, arrangements were made and preparations were carried out. The representatives dealing with the sections pertaining to both the project submitted by the allies and the government's point of view will provide explanations. Please accept this. Let us proceed on this basis. You will hear both sides. You will object to points that do not agree with your opinion, that you do not find correct or find incorrect, you may object. You may clarify. You may correct, sir. (Correct statements) Now, sir, this is wrong, that is wrong. If you say it should not be discussed in the air, we must wait another five or ten days.

RAGIP BEY (Amasya) - Many trivial things are being printed; let them be printed too.

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - The Assembly has decided on the printing of those trivial things. It has accepted it. Make your decision, and we will do the same.

REIS - My dear sir, every representative will read and explain it. What else can we do? I beg you, the situation has been sufficiently clarified by the distinguished assembly. There is an issue that the honourable assembly debated for five hours last time as a matter of procedure. You have accepted a motion. If the distinguished assembly wants something other than what it has accepted in this motion, that is another matter. (Voices of dissent) That is the situation.

HÜSEYİN AVNÎ BEY (Erzurum) - We do not recognise the project organised by the government. Does the government have no counter-proposal?

HÜSEYİN RAUF BEY (Continuing) - The Finance Commissioner will begin.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Kâğırtı) - The distinguished assembly has accepted that in the administrative affairs of the country...

CHAIRMAN - Mr Rıza Nur will provide an explanation.

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - It was requested that the Committee of Deputies be heard regarding the minorities. As I was occupied with all matters, I was particularly occupied with seven issues. commissions. I shall present these.

If my explanation focuses on the issues I have been most involved with, it will be possible to provide clearer information. Nationality; minorities, health issues, hostages, persons whom the Greeks have gathered from civilians throughout our country and whose fate is unknown to us, and the issue of military equipment in Greek hands. Then there is the issue of the military camp's residence, as well as judicial capitulations and general amnesty, which is a matter that is customary to include in every treaty. Before addressing this issue, let me mention one small thing. When we went there, we found the whole world before us. The British had their allies and those who had fought alongside them during the war, followed by distant nations such as America and Japan. Then there were all the European states, followed by the Armenians, Chaldeans and Assyrians. I don't know what to call this group of people who do not constitute a state. They had brought all these people and presented them before us.

They have presented a formidable front, and Lord Curzon has repeatedly demonstrated this: "You see," he said, gesturing with his hand, "there is a united front before you." Let me say that a world of infidels has appeared before us and has always threatened us in this way. Every time the subject came up, the argument turned into a great battle, a great war. So much so that my nerves reached the limit of endurance. I endured with difficulty. In short, it was difficult. They resorted to every means, they did everything. Finally, they combined these issues. Once again, they attacked us all at once. In every attack, in every issue, I can say that we have shown the immense power of resistance. I believe this has been seen. The newspapers have not been able to convey that much. This was the case in the first
was the case with our first endeavour. If you liken it to a battlefield, there was a front line in front of us, and we can say that we took the first line, in our own way. But a second line, a second phase, had come. They call it the intermediate administration (regime...). In other words, we can say that we encountered such a line in a transitional period and we dealt with it. Because if such things had not happened, they would have first confronted us with the Treaty of Sèvres, and not only Sèvres, but they would have added some other articles and confronted us with that. That situation is over.

In the second phase, they brought up something else. Because they say: we will always live as an independent nation, as a state. The determination of the nation is firm. There is no other way. We want everything, whether it be political or economic. We have said there is no other way. When they saw that it was not possible in any way, they said: let it be a transitional period, it cannot be otherwise, this cannot be overcome suddenly. We said it can be overcome. The work
We had endured the struggle and could not go any further. No matter how much we struggled and fought, it did not happen, and finally they gave us a treaty project which contained three parts. One part was related to parties, another part is still under discussion by both parties, and the third part is something we know nothing about, given to us to sign. We saw that there was no other option.
Our means, everything we had, were exhausted. And they were already preparing to leave. So we left it at that and came here. That is why we are requesting, and as is well known here, amendments have been made to the draft they gave us. We have come before your honourable Assembly with these amendments, made in accordance with our national aspirations. (Applause).

ALÎ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - You came after giving your response.

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - Nothing has been given, nothing has been sent. That is the nature of the matter. We have also made some amendments; we are presenting them, the decision is yours.

ALI ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - He said we had appointed a chief representative, no harm done. SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - I have a question. (Voices: We all have questions).

CHAIRMAN - Let him explain everything thoroughly, then ask your questions.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, to follow the order of the project here, let us begin with nationality.

The issue of nationality is the nationality of the people who remained in the territory separated from Turkey, which is customary after every treaty. This section shows what kind of nationality these people will have, and the people are given the right to choose. Those over 18 years of age can choose which nationality they want within two years they wish to adopt. This is a common practice everywhere. Those under the age of eighteen acquire the nationality of their head of household.

Something has been added here. The issue of Jews residing in Palestine, which is not a matter that concerns us. This is the essence of it. There is nothing else.

The issue of minorities: This is one of our most difficult tasks. Because the entire Christian world; Christians under Muslim rule
He attached great importance to its administration. Acting in concert on this matter, telegrams poured in from outside delegates, congregations, and later from all over the world to the existing representatives. For example, if a telegram arrived from America on behalf of 5 million Christians, for example, all the English and Anglican churches were sending telegrams there, sending priests. The place was filled with priests and such. We initially wanted to avoid minority rights. We did not want to accept such a thing in the Grand Commission. They caused a huge uproar. Yet our demand was even greater than that of the National Pact. Because the fifth article of the National Pact stated that minorities... Previously, European states, which had formed alliances through wars

or with the powers that had later formed in Europe, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, and that is also acceptable to us. Whatever is in the fifth article is acceptable, all of it is acceptable. Therefore, we have entered into this, and these articles concerning minority rights have not been changed in the new draft. Because the negotiations have ended.

whatever is in the treaties is present. We have even been able to remove some of it. But after that, we have absolutely not accepted anything. They want the League of Nations to send an ambassador to our country. They said that this ambassador should have the same immunity as diplomatic ambassadors, that he should have complete immunity and be able to travel around the country, inspect it, and act accordingly. We said we would never accept this, and it caused a great deal of controversy. A few remained focused on this. Finally, we removed it.

Then they brought up the issue of military service, which was not among their agreements. There is no such thing in their existing agreements. They all have military service. But they said it would not apply to us. We asked why. Finally, they said this too: you form labour battalions, send them back, and cut them off. We said we won't cut them off. We will form labour battalions not only from Christians but also from Muslims. But the country's resources are not like those of Europe. Disease will break out, people will die. Then they said, if that is not the case, then form separate battalions. We said no, that will not work. They will betray us; they have already committed many acts of treachery. We said no. They said that the general opinion in Europe this would warm the European Christian world and the Muslim world to each other. Muslims and Christians would become like brothers in the country. We said that this would not happen. We said that if they lived in the same barracks, then they would become like brothers. Finally, Venizelos made a proposal regarding the military issue. They attached so much importance to this that the issue took up several sessions. Five or six issues remained unresolved. There was again debate and conflict among them. Venizelos finally said that political rights are the greatest rights. Minorities in your country should be deprived of the right to vote. We said that they are also citizens. Citizens should have political rights. Indeed, it is the same with military service. Every right must be shared. We said let that remain, let it remain in military service. Their intention was to use this as an argument to exempt them from military service. For them, military service is, so to speak, a kind of burden. During this debate in the commission, I said, gentlemen, in this world

it is impossible for some members of a country's population not to go into military service because they are Christian, while Turks go and they engage in trade. They should give up their trade. The others should be rich. I even said that some should not be with their families, while others should be with their families and have children.

TUNALI HİLMİ BEY (Bolu) - First of all, you should have said this (Handeler).

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - There is also the Patriarchate issue here. (What was the outcome of the military service, Sadalan?) The outcome of the military service: we have extended military service to them as well. They will become soldiers. In fact, the Greeks in Istanbul

will go to Van and serve in the military if necessary. (Very good voices). The Patriarchate issue has been resolved in this manner.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisari Şarki) - Rıza Nur Bey, the more important thing is...

CHAIRMAN - Please allow me, there is someone before you.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisari Şarki) - I will ask a question; let them state the issues that are under discussion and have not been resolved.

RIZA NUR BEY (continuing) - If the distinguished assembly agrees, the issue of minorities has been resolved. I am explaining that. So I will not say it. (No, no voices) The Patriarchate issue has also become a lofty issue.

It led to a great dispute. The distinguished assembly did not even consider the issue of the Patriarchate, not even for the sake of the distinguished assembly or the government. We invented it. Sometimes, even though we did not want something, even though we did not need it, we invented it specifically so that we could get something in return. We saw that the French have a bargaining mentality. I would say that they engage in Jewish-style bargaining and drive people crazy. That is why we invented such things. This caused a huge uproar. Now all the infidels have done it. They threatened us for this. Romania threatened us, war threatened us, I don't know, America threatened us, they all did it. As you know, during this dispute, there is the issue of the privileges of the Patriarchate, which has been going on for many centuries, in the matter of minorities. They wanted to exercise these religious privileges to the extent that they were not included in the international treaties I mentioned

and wanted to enforce these religious privileges to the fullest extent. The Greeks also strongly desired this. They worked hard for it. However, this was one of the fundamental issues for us. We proposed that the Patriarchate and all its dependencies leave the country. Finally, after many discussions, as you know, the Patriarchate had political, administrative, judicial, and religious duties. For centuries, there have been revenue courts. A

priest would sentence someone and notify the government. The government would then enforce the sentence. It was such a serious matter. The Patriarch would come, and our soldiers would salute him at the vizier's office. We wanted to abolish all of this. However, it was not possible to completely remove the Patriarchate, and all the English, under pressure from their churches, wanted to save it and even made representations on this matter. Since the issue of religious privileges was only important to us, we succeeded in this. Today, the Patriarchate has nothing left but its religious sensitivity. I do not know what the court will do, but if it deals with a political issue, we can expel them beyond the borders. For centuries, it has interfered in the administration, encouraging all Greeks against this state and nation, but after removing such people as Mahakim, it has lost its authority. Today, it has become nothing more than a village priest. It has no official status left.

ETHEM FİKRİ BEY (Menteşe) - He is still sending envoys.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The agreement has not yet been put into effect. And the situation in Istanbul is well known. If this does not happen, we will settle everything in a single day. At this point, we are compelled not to insist, that is, not to make it public , but the matter is already settled:

if the Patriarchate leaves and Aynaroz takes its place, there is no doubt that the administration will act against us

. However, the most beautiful description is that he is isolated from everything in Istanbul, like a priest under our control.

is the most beautiful description of being isolated from everything in Istanbul. This matter has been resolved in this manner.

OSMAN BEY (Kayseri) - Does the title of Patriarch remain?

RIZA NUR BEY - (Continuing) In fact, we considered it in another way, that it should be in the form of a bishop, and so it has remained. Gentlemen, after all its qualities have gone, it has no merit left. It will remain a helpless creature under our control. state.

In these matters, there is the well-known issue of the Armenian homeland. One day during the negotiations, at the end of the discussion, the leader announced that in the future

We will hear the Bulgarian delegation at our meeting. I will also be present at that session. I immediately became suspicious. What business do the Bulgarians have here? I don't know what kind of clever* people they are in such matters. There are no Bulgarians in the country, so

will inevitably lead to trouble. I did not accept it. The next day, they sent me an agenda and held two sessions. In between, they smoked cigarettes and so on. We protested during the first session. We absolutely refuse to accept it, and it cannot be revived; if it is heard, it has a special nature. It cannot be recorded in the minutes, it stays as it is. But they schemed. They will bring them

If I'm not there for the first one, it doesn't matter, I'll go to the second one. In the second one, they'll bring the minutes and make them sign. They will also put it in the minutes. They will do all this, and then we saw that there were Bulgarians, Armenians, and even Chaldeans and Assyrians, whom we had not remembered at all, and they also wanted land. The Bulgarians also wanted to bring back the Bulgarian population that had been exchanged from Turkey in accordance with the treaty at the time. We categorically refused. The Bulgarians also tried to deal with it in a special

, but we did not accept it. Do not say such things. Such matters will turn Turkey and the Turks against you. However, the Turks are your staunch friends, and you need the friendship of the Turks. Do not do such things, I said. Finally, they listened to the Bulgarians, Armenians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans themselves. We also protested this matter and provided the known facts. In this way, the Armenian homeland issue was resolved and not revoked.

The Assyrians and Chaldeans have naturally disappeared. The Bulgarians' conversion has not been given any natural importance either; they too have been discarded. I would like to draw your attention to one thing here. It is well known that for centuries, Christians have been a reason for the intervention of Russia, Austria, England, and other European powers in Turkey. It is a most important issue, and they have taken up this cause. With this, they have divided us until today. With this, they created an issue, and indeed, the treaties made earlier

the treaties that had been made were also based on ethnicity, religion, and lineage. We strongly opposed this and said that war and anything else would happen because of it. Much effort was expended on this, and finally, we always went beyond that point, eventually avoiding that term and saying 'non-Muslim' instead. Finally, after further discussions, we were able to resolve this. There, our eyes were opened even more. When they insisted on minority rights and reciprocity with Christians

, the Serbs showed such violence that you turned your eyes to Belgrade again. Again, the Muslims?

You will stir them up, and then they will say that there are Bosniaks in Bosnia. They are also Muslims, of Serbian descent. We will protect them. The British, unfortunately, admitted this in their conversations. We will also protect the Abazas. Because we worked with them, they said, and for that reason, I believe that this success is one of our greatest successes. The non-Muslims wanted to interfere in everything. This was the surest means of dividing the country, as the past clearly shows. Gentlemen, if you look at the first articles, the politics, property, and whatever else of the Christian, that is, non-Muslim minorities, are under the protection of the state. These are general terms. They are things that happen everywhere. Even our Constitution has provisions stating that language, race, and sect are all free. Having the same rights as Muslim subjects is the same thing.

OSMAN NURİ BEY (Bursa) - Such as obtaining a civil service position.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - They wanted to do things like obtaining civil service positions and schooling almost everywhere. For the language issue, they have stipulated that if there is a significant majority in a village, they can open a school in their own language.

Then, they could also apply to the courts in their own language, both in writing and orally, and this is the case in every treaty, and we removed the written form of this. Because it requires manpower, it would cause confusion. We could only leave it in the oral form.

Then, there is protection for churches and synagogues here. The government will protect them, and no one will be able to violate them, and these are already existing things. This is also the same. It is in our Constitution.

Next comes the term non-Muslim. Article 37 guarantees the protection of all citizens of Turkey without distinction of birth, race, language or religious sect. The security and public order of all the inhabitants of Turkey, and in particular the security and public order of the entire country, are guaranteed by us. This is not found elsewhere. They shall enjoy freedom of practice of their creeds and beliefs. These are things that have been required by the Constitution since time immemorial. Non-Muslims, minorities, and subjects of the Turkish

subjects, will be able to fully benefit from the measures taken in the Turkish part of the country or in any part of the country for the defence of the nation or the maintenance of public order, shall be able to take full advantage of freedom of movement and emigration. I should point out here that they have indeed established freedom of movement and emigration. People who possess this freedom and are covered by the following clauses, are entitled to this right. Within the country, everyone will be able to move freely. Then they will be able to emigrate abroad.

We have included the above provision regarding public safety and security so that the government may, if it so wishes, prohibit such actions. However, we are more inclined towards emigration. Let them go; their departure is what we desire. That is why it has been done in this manner.

ÖMER LÜTFÜ BEY (Amasya) - Is there emigration from abroad?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, that is not the case. There are two things: emigration and immigration. These are mutually exclusive, and this is reciprocal with Serbia and Romania, because we understood one thing in all the negotiations. If we give them a right, they should give us a right. We requested this for Serbia and Romania as well. They have also been persuaded. However, the law they had previously established with European states, the law of minorities, exists. The law of Muslims there is such that the Greeks also tried to establish such things with us and made it an issue. Since this law exists there, we made it reciprocal with Greece, which is the fourth and final difference. Now, gentlemen, this issue of minorities is one of the most important issues and has been accepted by our national covenant. When we did not want to accept it, they held our national covenant. We accepted it. But it is less than what currently exists. And even if it weren't, we accepted the population exchange, forcibly. There will be no minorities left. Except for Istanbul... (Armenians' voices) But friends, how many Armenians are there? (Jews' voices) There are thirty thousand Jews in Istanbul. (Noise) Jews, as we know, are people who go wherever they are taken. Of course, it would be better if they weren't there.

ALİ SAİP BEY (Urfa) - Will the Armenians not come after the general amnesty?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Gentlemen, then the Armenians asked for a homeland. We did not give the Armenians a homeland; we had many discussions and debates. We said they cannot have a homeland in Turkey. Some said Cilicia, some said Van, and we rejected them all. They saw that it wasn't working, and we refused to accept the negotiations. Finally, they said, "These are Protestants, and they should come." We said it was impossible, and they would not come. Then the Greeks who were to leave through the exchange would not come either. They tried very hard to exclude Istanbul from the exchange. We accepted this in order to exclude Western Thrace from the exchange. But under many conditions. Initially, they wanted to draw the boundaries of Istanbul. From the boundaries of Çatalca, from I don't know what part of Şu, in short, such a large boundary. We reduced this to the city boundaries. They insisted on that too, even though the railway line and Caddebostan were also boundaries, they wanted the city boundaries.

Let it be up to Maltepe, up to Kartaltepe. In the end, we did not accept that either and expelled them, imposing the following condition: that any Greeks who had come to Istanbul from elsewhere in Anatolia after that date would also be subject to exchange. subject to exchange. If there are 200-250 Greeks in Istanbul, I don't know how it is. I suppose a quarter of them will leave. In the end, they will leave and never be able to return.

HAFIZ MEHMET BEY (Trabzon) - There is no clarity on this. SALÂHA

İLLİN BEY (Mersin) - Is it written down?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - If you read the minutes, it is there. It is not partially here; the details are in the minutes. The minutes are available.

ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - Where are they?

DURSUN BEY (Çorum) - Where are they?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I don't know how we will get these in here. It should be examined for a month; it is not something that has not been classified, so it will be settled. In fact, Lord Curzon's statement is in the Patriarchate's records. It was done specifically. It is included in those minutes so that it can be separated from such administrative and political matters. Such things are also in the minutes. This is also the issue of minorities.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - Let us ask our questions on this matter.

CHAIRMAN - Gentlemen, they will ask questions on the matter.

ATIF BEY (Bayazit) - There is something in Article 43 of the International Convention. Could you explain it?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes, it is so that the existing treaty has an international character. The rights of minorities are subject to international decisions. All the treaties made by Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and I don't know what else are also international. No one can enact laws that would violate these. This is how international treaties are. That is why we have not been able to renounce it. Because we have also accepted that international treaty in our national covenant.

ALÎ SURURÎ EFENDÎ (Karahisari Şarki) - Sir, I request that the question be asked before the gentleman has finished his explanation.

CHAIRMAN - He has finished his statement, sir.

ALÎ SURURÎ EFENDÎ (Karahisari Şarki) - He has not finished the discussion on minorities.

CHAIRMAN - He has finished the minority discussion, sir. Sir, may I make a suggestion? If you wish, let Mr Rıza Nur complete the explanation of all the sections. We will then proceed with the questions. (Voices of disapproval) In that case, let us proceed with the discussion. (Voices of agreement) In that case, Mr Sirri has a question.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - Sir, you said that they gave us a thousand-page project. This project consists of three parts. One part had been decided, another remained undecided. The other part was never discussed, and after that nothing happened between us. We left, you said. However, we are officially and unofficially obliged to present a counter-project to our allies before our delegation took any action . The matter at hand was communicated to us by the Council of Ministers in such a way that some of the issues were accepted and some were rejected. However, Your Excellency is not aware of this.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - How am I not aware? I am aware. SIRRI BEY

(İzmit) - You did not say so here.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It is not a matter that concerns me. Questions do not belong to minorities. The distinguished Council accepted the discussion section by section.

ATIF BEY (Bayazıt) - Mr President, would you allow me to speak?

PRESIDENT - I have not given you the floor.

ATIF BEY (Bayazıt) - I only wanted to say that they should let Rıza Nur Bey finish his speech...

CHAIRMAN - Your Honour, the distinguished committee has agreed to hear Mr Rıza Nur's explanations in sections and to ask questions after each section has been explained.

Therefore, questions will be asked regarding the minorities.

MR RIZA NUR (Continuing) - We said at the end that we accept this, we do not accept that. However, the things we will accept have already been accepted this evening. That is the issue.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - I still have something to

say. CHAIRMAN - Regarding minorities?

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - Yes. The answer given by the gentleman has not convinced me.

Then my second question: You mentioned the Muslims of Western Thrace. However, this issue clearly violates the provisions of the National Pact. Because after the Muslims of Thrace freely express their opinions, they will determine their destiny. It was not a country that remained in Greece and accepted its legal status, so you cannot equate their exchange with that of the Greeks of Istanbul. Therefore, in this way, you are violating the provisions of the Pact.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Let me explain. In this manner, no action contrary to the provisions of the National Pact has been taken. Because these

To say that they should be excluded from the exchange essentially means that they should remain there. That is not the purpose of this provision.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - Even your answer regarding the equivalence of the Muslims of Western Thrace to the Greeks of Istanbul did not convince me. Since the principles accepted internationally regarding the rights of minorities were not to be violated by us in any way, Conversely, there should have been a clause stating that Muslims who remain cannot be restricted in any way.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, if you read the last clause, it says... SIRRI BEY

(İzmit) - I have read it.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - According to that clause, the rights surrendered by us under the provisions of this section have been handed over by Greece to the minorities. The rights of Muslims residing within its own territory have been accepted. All these rights are international, and Greece has also accepted them.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - The number of Muslims in Serbia is many times greater than the number of Muslims in Greece.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Serbia is excluded from this, the Serbia issue is excluded. The question lies with Greece.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - I submit this on the grounds that it is international.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This is indeed international. Because this article is explicit. If you pay attention, you will see that whatever provisions there are regarding minorities apply to Greece. (Voices of disagreement)

RASİH EFENDİ (Antalya) - No conclusion will come from the question. Let us leave the question and speak.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, they are asking questions about the section and explaining the points they do not understand.

DR. MUSTAFA BEY (Kozan) - He asked a question and received an answer. What is the point of arguing?

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - Did we make a mistake, sir?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - They cannot bring it from Greece. NEŞ'ET

BEY (Üsküdar) - If they do bring it, what is our power of confirmation?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Our authority is the Patriarchate. If he does such a thing, he should be grabbed by the arm and thrown out.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Üsküdar) - Excuse me, sir, earlier it was stated that this would be carried out...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Such a thing is not included in the agreement. We did not include such a clause in the agreement.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Üsküdar) - Excuse me, there is.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, there is not. That is, we did not include it in an international treaty style. We considered this.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Üsküdar) - Second question: You said that in villages and towns, they will be able to open schools and conduct education according to their own views. If this provision is not included, will their presence in villages and towns not pose a risk?
towns. Wouldn't this pose a danger?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, they are not saying here that they will establish schools in the villages according to their own views and use their own languages. They will still be under our supervision. But where will this majority be after the exchange? The exchange of populations is what resolves the issue at its root.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - Allow me to speak; for example, you are allocating money from budgets. Money will again be given to them from the Istanbul budget or from special budgets.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It will be given. The National Pact has accepted it. It is present in the current agreement, in a more severe form. What can we do?

CHAIRMAN - Sir, I would just like to request that there are forty-five or forty-eight people who wish to speak. After the gentleman has given an explanation on a particular issue in the questions, it may be unclear whether this point is essentially this way or that way. If there are no questions, then it will be discussed, sir, or I would request that.

Please, Mustafa Bey, leave this task to me. Please continue, Sırrı Bey.

SIRRI BEY (Continuing) - We cannot go to court on Christian holidays.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This fault is not ours. The fault lies with the National Pact. Because the National Pact has accepted those international agreements as they are. It is included in it. Even on Saturdays, Jews, I don't know who is not invited on Sundays.

SIRRI BEY (İzmit) - It is not in the National Pact.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I say it is included. SIRRI BEY

(İzmit) - I say it is not included.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - How can it not be there, sir?

ALİ ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - Please let Sırrı Bey speak.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Article 5. The rights of minorities within the framework of the principles established between the Allied and Associated Powers... If you read the existing treaty, you will see that it mentions the Jews and the Sabbath. It is not contradictory.

CHAIRMAN - Emin Bey.

EMIN BEY (Bursa) - Pasha, I will ask about this in the next discussion. I reserve my right to speak.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Üsküdar) - In my opinion, the Patriarchate remaining in any form you have ordered is, in my opinion, devoid of good interpretation and I do not believe it will yield good results in practice. It is dangerous for the Patriarchate to remain in Istanbul in any form. In Istanbul is dangerous. In the future, it will expand further and have an even worse effect than before.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The Patriarchate consists of two councils. One is the Synod Council, the other is the Mixed Synod Council. It is composed of 12 metropolitans. Today, all Greeks are leaving Anatolia through exchange. They will never be able to find a metropolitan again.

RASÎH EFENDÎ (Antalya) - They will bring them from Greece. My friends who are asking questions should resolve their doubts. Salâhattin Bey will ask Rıza Nur Bey a question.

M. DURAK BEY (Erzurum) - There is no subject for discussion. Please allow me to say something here about the procedure for discussion. Our aim is to understand the matter.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, the distinguished committee has agreed to discuss the procedure at length as follows. That is, the members of the Delegation will come here and provide explanations...

M. DURAK BEY (Erzurum) - This is not the accepted form. I will present it.

PRESIDENT - Sir, the accepted motion is here. I beg to differ. I know my duty. Please go ahead, Mr. Salahattin, ask your question.

SALAHÂTTÎN BEY (Mersin) - Sir, the capitulations are being abolished by a single article. In their place, a series of consecutive and punitive provisions are being adopted. Are these not capitulations?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Which one, sir?

SALAHÂTTÎN BEY (Mersin) - In this article, I see a moral obligation for me to ensure the freedom of non-Muslims and not to oppose their freedom. Then, I see the court of justice as the legal and factual authority for individuals

Then I see a completely orderly defence for both Muslim and non-Muslim minorities. Therefore, I see that the existing capitulation has been abolished and a perpetual capitulation has come into effect. Isn't this extremely serious? I want to understand this. It feels like we are bound. Is this the case?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Now, sir, this concerns the non-Muslims.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - Are Muslims not included?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir, it concerns non-Muslims. SALÂHATTİN

BEY (Mersin) - It concerns only Christians.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - That is, it does not concern Muslims. It is not a matter of race or language.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Continuing) - It is here, sir.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, it does not. It is about the right to life, the preservation of life...

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - No, the use of language as they wish in courts; this is very severe.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It concerns non-Muslims. The speaker, who is of Turkish nationality, that article exists.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - They will not recognise these in Istanbul, and this idea will kill nationalism. What are we committing to for the country?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This, sir, is for the courts and is essential. Indeed, there are interpreters in our courts today. Is that not so? Those who do not know the language have interpreters. However, we have this in other treaties, both orally and in writing. We succeeded in removing the written part, but we could not remove the other part. That is the situation. As you mentioned, capitulations are generally international and reciprocal between the parties, so the conditions of capitulations

is like the conditions of the capitulations. But what can we do? Our National Pact has accepted them. That is how it is; it has accepted them.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - The perpetual commitment to independence binds the future of the country.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Please allow me to repeat.

The principles that distinguish the Fifth Article between the Allied Powers and their adversaries and some of their partners

are preserved in the future, and the rights of minorities are protected.

SALAHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - Please allow me, this is the principle. But this does not mean that everyone in Turkey can stick their finger in. This does not mean that they can establish a law or a court in Turkey, up to the level of fundamental law, up to the level of the High Council. These principles have been preserved in some places.

But

there will be no nationality in Turkey. Muslims have a say and will play their part. I find this very troubling.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This law is an absolute necessity for us. The National Pact has accepted it. They have said so. The British did not want to accept it. All hell broke loose. It went as far as a rupture. But there is one issue. You always bear in mind. That is the issue of population exchange. We have accepted this exchange in a compulsory manner. Once this is accepted, their rulings are void. Minorities have no rights. Is that not so, sir? I will compensate you and report to Your Excellency later. Because it should not be prolonged, sir.

CHAIRMAN - Hacı Şükrü Bey, please proceed.

HACI ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Diyarbakir) - I have withdrawn.

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - Sir, in this section, does the term 'minorities' refer to Christian minorities? (Noise)

CHAIRMAN - Please, let us be quiet. Please continue. RIZA NUR BEY

(Continuing) - Regarding non-Muslims.

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - Very well, in Article 37, it is necessary to specify non-Muslim minorities.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The minorities referred to there are non-Muslims, meaning Christians.

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - In that case, Article 37 is superfluous. Because there are many areas where it is open to interpretation.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Article 37 is a general term.

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - In that case, after Article 38 is specified as non-Muslim minorities, there is no need for Article 37 at all.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - They included it, but we couldn't explain it, sir.

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - The country has turned into an Arab soup.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Don't see that as a problem. Because we have made exchanges there, everything has been finalised. If Article 36 is seen, then...

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - You can also see how much coercive power it has.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - That is true. But if you open the Constitution, you will see. Are these provisions not there? The Constitution has already proposed them.

HACI ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Diyarbakir) - The Constitution is rubbish.

POZAN BEY (Urfa) - Sir, you have ordered a general amnesty. Is this general amnesty only between us and Greece, or is it between all states?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I will address that when the time comes. However, I will answer now. The general amnesty is, first, between Greece and us, and second, between the Allied Powers and us.

CHAIRMAN - Please note that this discussion pertains to minorities.

TUNALI HİLMİ BEY (Bolu) - Sir, whether official or unofficial, there is a prevailing notion. Under the name of Turkish Orthodox Christians in Anatolia. Are these included in the exchange or not?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - If you wish, you may exchange; if you do not wish, it is subject to you. Because there is no provision in such exchange rulings that excludes Turkish Orthodox Christians.

TUNALI HİLMİ BEY (Bolu) - The Turkish government declares to the League of Nations that each member of the Assembly is authorised to bring any violation or threat of violation of these commitments to the attention of the Assembly, and that the Assembly will investigate the matter in a manner deemed necessary and appropriate. There is a British representative in the League of Nations. There Christians in Turkey have been treated as follows: Christ has been expelled, Christ's ear has been bent in Istanbul, as has been the case for centuries. Could this clause cause trouble for us, supposedly due to certain valid or invalid issues?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, as I mentioned earlier, they attempted to send an ambassador here, which was not in the other existing international treaties. We managed to remove it after much effort. However, despite all our efforts, such a clause exists in all existing treaties. We must also be certain of this. That is how it is. But this has also been done regarding Romania, it has been done regarding Poland, it has been done regarding Serbia, it has been done regarding all of them. But rest assured that this has no power of enforcement. It can do nothing. Indeed, the Jews have been badly harmed in Bulgaria and Romania recently. The League of Nations couldn't do anything. So these are just words.

ALİ CENANİ BEY (Gaziantep) - While the question of whether Greeks and Hellenes who had been expelled from the Ottoman Empire or Turkish territories would return had been settled in the sub-committees, it was decided that Greek subjects could return subject to the rulings of various courts. Is this the case?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We did not do such a thing, and it is not a matter that concerns me. I do not know. It is a matter that concerns the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ALÎ HAYATÎ BEY (Gaziantep) - You were on the subcommittee.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - If they are Greek subjects and try to enter on that pretext, it is meaningless; they cannot enter.

ALÎ CENANI BEY (Gaziantep) - So they cannot enter.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) —Of course, they certainly cannot enter. The subcommittee has decided.

ALÎ CENANI BEY (Gaziantep) - Later...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Later, I don't know.

ABDÜLKADİR KEMALÎ BEY (Kastamonu) - Sir, I see that see that non-Muslims are not barred from the courts, but that they are barred from the possibility of making oral applications. Essentially, those who do not know Turkish

It is one of the fundamental duties of the courts to appoint interpreters to hear people's appeals in court. Our laws provide for this. There is no point in including this in the agreement.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I would like to point out that our laws are very clear on these matters. However, the Europeans, in their arguments against us do not believe any of these. They say our commitment should be an international commitment. In other words, they want to place us under international guarantee , and that is why they have included it in every agreement. That is how it is. We have said this many times. It is in our law. We say it is ambiguous. They are convinced that we do not comply with our laws.

Sir, let me mention something here. One of the newspapers (Ladini) (Is it the Istanbul newspapers?). I don't know. It has caused some controversy, and I will explain the reasons for this, of course we don't speak Turkish there. We speak French. There is a term for French

. They say (Lâik). We have told them this many times, and they say it. They wrote it like this when translating it; however, this is not what it means. This is, at best, nasut, the opposite of lahuti, meaning nasuti. This, which belongs to the people, never means irreligion. This has never come out of my mouth; it has been mistranslated; such a word has never come out of our mouths. Therefore, it is not a correct translation.

Sir, regarding the health matter; "711"

Sir, there is a well-known issue, namely capitulations. This concerns sanitary capitulations. About a century ago, cholera entered our country from India. The government established its own quarantine procedures on its own initiative. However, this required expenses, so they wanted to collect duties from foreign ships. Because of this, they said they would not allow a Turkish official on our ship. Therefore, they formed a High Sanitary Council. Foreigners were also present there. They dismissed the Turks one by one. Then, consisting entirely of Frenchmen, this too became a capitulation imposed upon us. Here, there was abuse, embezzlement, bribery, favouritism, wastefulness, in short, everything. Then, they did not act in accordance with modern medicine. They stuck with the old system. To abolish this, the health issues you see here were addressed by getting the following accepted (see Article 129): The Istanbul High Health Council was abolished. It was assigned to the We have managed to pass this with great difficulty.

After that, there are health taxes. We have maintained health taxes and have worked very hard to succeed in this. It is a big thing. Because no other state has health taxes. They do not collect them from ships, only we do. They maintained it. Then there are treaties and agreements prohibiting the publication of certain indecent pictures and books, and prohibiting the seduction of women and young people and trading in them. These have also been included. In the name of the health and morality of the country, we will accept these with complete satisfaction. There is only one issue. There is the opium thing. As you know, opium is sold to the people in certain cities. They sell hashish. You know that this is harmful to health. There is an international agreement prohibiting this. In the name of the country's health and morality, we will accept this too. There is only one issue. From the Izmir region to the present day, they cultivate opium in Afyon Karahisar and elsewhere

and trade it, and this opium is the most acceptable opium in medicine. It is the first medical opium. It goes to Germany, where medical preparations are made. We investigated this. Does it cause harm or not? We asked this question here, we asked the Izmir Chamber of Commerce, and we ourselves examined that treaty from cover to cover with a few people. We did not see any such harm. We accepted that too.

Then, this High Health Council has "600,000" pounds sterling. Part of this is for pensions. Part of it is also its own wealth. Some of this money has been spent on officials who have gone to the Hejaz and elsewhere from us. Many places are short-staffed. Based on the number of officials; that is, since there are more than we need, we will pay personal compensation to the officials who will be dismissed. Because this is a matter of right and

Most of these are Turkish civil servants. Then we separate another portion, which we allocate to the pension fund. The remaining portion is transferred to the Turkish lira, and such a liquidation process will be carried out. However, the Treasury cannot spend this money or the health fees to be collected thereafter anywhere else; it will be spent solely for the public, such as building hospitals or similar health institutions. In other words, it will be spent in favour of our subject, and this is correct. Now, there is a section remaining here, following the sentence I read, up to the beginning of the last paragraph of Article 130, which they slipped in when we accepted these. They said: finally, let it be as you say, but we will establish a committee called a "health committee for the straits" in the straits. For this, we will appoint three members, and this

committee will continue for five years, they said. We fought against this, but it was impossible to remove it. However, recently, the Italian delegates said that instead of this in our discussions, if we take three members for our quarantine administration and three doctors from them as our officials

doctors as our officials for a period of five years, they would remove it. This also remained as it was. This part will be omitted. It is not acceptable. In other words, we did not accept this. Because this is essentially a capitulation specific to one area.

Then there is something else that needs to be explained. It must be clearly understood. This is that their intention is to abolish this committee before even proposing it. Since this is another opportunity, they want to reintroduce the health capitulation under another name, in another form. Because the state of mind of these people is

We saw it. If we don't accept something, they change its name, and if you understand it, they reshape it. If you understand that too, they reshape it again. That's how strange they are. Finally, they say, accept this. I said, fine; let there be a delegate from us to accept what you say. As for the location, they wanted it to be in Istanbul. I said, no. If any state accepts it, let it come there, and you will see it there. It will be outside. For example, in Beirut, during the pilgrimage season, they form such a committee to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. But it will be either in Beirut or Alexandria, meaning we are capitulating to another country in this way. Now, sir, if there are any questions regarding health matters, I will answer them.

DR FUAT BEY (Bolu) - You have not explained whether we will accept foreign doctors or not.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I believe I explained it a moment ago. Sir, we will take them as our officials, as advisers, for a period of five years. They will be in our quarantine administration, which is a Turkish administration. According to this agreement, they will serve as consultants for a period of five years.

FUAT BEY (Bolu) - Those holding foreign diplomas practising their profession in our country...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, no, that is another matter. This is not the issue; it is another matter that foreign doctors practise their profession in our country.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - Sir, they mentioned that the High Health Council was abolished and replaced by the Straits Committee.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I did not say it was accepted, sir.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - You mentioned three consultant doctors. In response to Fuat Bey.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir; I said we rejected them and cannot accept them.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - Didn't the authorised representative explain to them that these quarantine regulations are a fantasy and a thing of the past? They wanted to lecture us on this matter in connection with the health budget. Why do they want to continue with this flawed method? Are Europeans not as advanced as we are? The Minister claimed at the time that quarantine procedures had been abolished. I want an answer to this.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Please proceed with your response. Gentlemen, during this debate, the French, British, and Italians had brought their own delegates to the High Council of Health. They were debating, and others were present as well. My evidence for saying that this High Council had rendered no service to this country was this: a year or a year and a half ago, the League of Nations sent its representative to Istanbul, conducted an investigation on this matter, and wrote a report. I examined that report and confronted them, saying that they were talking about wastefulness and the old ways, and I added that they were still dealing with quarantine. There is no quarantine method. Instead, serums and vaccines are used. I even said that you don't want to like Turkish doctors. But they are very highly regarded and are even on a par with you, that is, European doctors. Even even when you used certain serums there, you used the vaccines made by Turkish doctors

I said. Now, the issue is that there is no quarantine. But there is an issue called health borders. A state is obliged to defend itself against infectious diseases coming from outside its borders. It is an important benefit. Today, the cost of quarantine quarantine expenses are being covered.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - You have taken that too.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Let me finish my point. We will manage these expenses with the health fees we collect from foreigners. We will go there. We will vaccinate them. If necessary, we will observe them for a day or two. If necessary, that observation must be done. There are ovens there to disinfect their clothes from germs and lice, and we will do that. That means an institution is necessary. It cannot be done without it. However, there is no quarantine.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - Which quarantine procedure was abolished? You have admitted the truth.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - There is no quarantine.

OPERATOR EMIN BEY (Bursa) - Ha... That is how the truth is being contested. It's not over yet, Pasha. I haven't finished speaking. Therefore, the capitulations they accepted in this manner are not from my side, but are being brought about in the country by Mr Riza.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - You want to take revenge for the past. But it never happened, Emin Bey (Handeler).

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT - The international principles accepted in Europe up to now...

SIRRI BEY (Izmit) - Is Operator Emin Bey right? Or wrong? RIZA NUR

BEY (Sinop) - Wrong...

OPERATOR EMIN BEY (Bursa) - The verdict will be given by the doctors' conscience.

DOCTOR REFİK BEY (Bayazit) - The international resolutions adopted at health congresses and the health agreements we have accepted contain provisions relating to the old capitulations. Shall we implement them?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, we have accepted a number of international agreements here. These agreements are the 1912 Paris health agreements. There are parts of this convention that are not entirely good and not entirely in line with science. That is, border health requirements are necessary. And all states have accepted them. However, there are two articles. Those two articles confirm the existence of the Istanbul High Sanitary Council, which we have abolished here. When you look at the minutes, that is, (per...), you will see them. We have also accepted these as a precautionary measure. That is, we have not accepted them definitively. We have accepted them except for those two articles.

ABDÜLKADİR KEMALİ BEY (Kastamonu) - Sir, there is an article here Article 41. The Turkish Government's personal capacity regarding non-Muslim minorities...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We haven't reached that yet.

CHAIRMAN - It has been passed.

ABDÜLKADİR KEMALİ BEY (Kastamonu) - If it has been passed, it is a very important matter.

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - You are late. It is a very important matter, but it is not in this section.

ABDÜLKADİR KEMALİ BEY (Kastamonu) - Sir, now, as in all treaties, there is an exchange of prisoners of war. When they are to be returned, if they have any offences will not be taken into account. Whether they are military prisoners or civilian detainees, they will be returned and their belongings will also be given to them. The two sides will also exchange the expenses they incurred to feed the military prisoners . In other words, neither side will pay the other anything. This is the general exchange of prisoners is with states. Sir, there are two parts here, let me explain. There is an exchange of prisoners with Greece. We have divided this into two parts. We call one part "hostages". These are our people taken away by the Greeks. Now, as you know, the Greeks committed great treachery in our country.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, there is noise.

DR MUSTAFA BEY (Kozan) - The health issues have been resolved. RIZA

NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes, they have been resolved.

DR MUSTAFA BEY (Sinop) - This is the accepted form. However, the International Straits Health Committee has not been accepted and has been rejected. Instead, an agreement has been reached as follows. This happened at the last moment. We will take three foreigners as advisers to that administration. We will take them into that administration.

RASİH EFENDİ (Antalya) - Which administration will we appoint them to?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - As our officials, we will take charge of the health quarantine administration.

RASİH EFENDİ (Antalya) - Are you affiliated with the Ministry?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes, the quarantine administration affiliated with the Ministry in Istanbul is Turkish.

RASİH EFENDİ (Antalya) - You are hiring a foreign advisor for our general organisation.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - As an advisor. RASİH

EFENDİ (Antalya) - What kind of advisor?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Please reject it, I beg you. Gentlemen, this is all we can do. There is something about this matter. This is all we can do. We have done our utmost, this is all we can do. Here

They have come this far. This is a matter for the High Council. This is all we could do. If you wish, you can send someone else, you can have it done differently. You say it didn't work, it didn't work. You can go to war if you wish. The matter is yours. We have come, we are presenting it to you. This is all we could do.

RASİH EFENDİ (Antalya) - Isn't the previous form the status quo?

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - Sir, the previous one is specific to the straits. It is purely foreign administration. It is capitulation in nature and is binding. It is international. The Turkish Government cannot interfere with them. Because if we accept their proposals. However, we are now saving the situation with three advisors in our administration, acting as our officials. Until now, our government has had multiple such advisers and used them on multiple occasions, and there has never been capitulation. That is the whole matter. Sir, regarding the issue of prisoners of war, I have told these men to their faces with all manner of force, and there are reports from the international Red Cross.

I have read them to them. The person who wrote it was a fair-minded man. He says that what happened in Anatolia in the twentieth century was done by Christian hands. I have read these to them in an official session. These are from the enlightened, the notables, and the dignitaries of our country. According to the government's statistics, they took away about ten thousand people. So what... Their fate is unknown. We discussed this. The Greeks say that we have three thousand such people, that is...

as hostages, as civilian prisoners. We said there were ten thousand of them, and we wanted them all

. Eventually, this matter reached a point where we managed to get them accepted. We signed these separately from the treaty. We also drew up a separate agreement regarding this, signed it? It was supposed to be implemented on 6 February. Those hostages were supposed to arrive at the port of Izmir on 6 February. Unfortunately, they did not come.

DR. FUAT BEY (Bolu) - It was in yesterday's newspapers.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes... Now we said you would hand over those three thousand. Initially, we asked the Red Crescent and the International Red Cross because those people behaved very well. There will be a delegate there. They will investigate and register. They will take three thousand people. We also have about a hundred hostages. They are civilians. We will also give them to the Greeks. to the Greeks. However, for the remaining seven thousand people, a case will be opened; an investigation will be conducted. An international investigation will be carried out. What happened to these men? How were they killed? It will be written down. In other words, how they were exterminated will be exposed to the whole world.

Secondly, the prisoners of war: They demanded all our prisoners of war. We said no, that won't do. We won't hand them over without a peace agreement. There were many arguments. Finally, we were forced to hand over our prisoners. However, not in instalments, but we will bring them all at once by ship or two ships, and they will disembark in Istanbul and Izmir. We will see them, and we will exchange them on a one-for-one basis, soldier for soldier, officer for officer. We will also give Greek prisoners. However, we will give the excess portion after the peace is signed. This prisoner exchange issue is, in general terms, as follows.

Sir, another matter is the issue of residence.

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - The exchange of prisoners with other states?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes, I mentioned it, sir. The other one concerns residence and the conditions for entry into Turkey. As is well known, in every treaty, both parties conclude agreements containing certain provisions for the entry and exit of each other's subjects into the other's territory and their residence there, and this section is an important one. It also touches on the capitulations. However, there is one thing: if both parties independently grant rights to each other's subjects, it is reciprocal and therefore not considered a capitulation, and this is essential. Every state has granted each other certain rights. The vast majority of these

exist in international law. Our opponents insisted on this point very strongly at the conference. In very important matters, that is, matters that violate that law, it is almost more severe than capitulation, but we cannot call it capitulation. They wanted us to accept rights that greatly harmed us. The Italians went further on this matter. This issue, as I mentioned earlier, These are not settled matters. Among them are projects that, like those in Sevr, are being abandoned, along with threats of war and so on. That is what is happening there. Some of these had one or two articles that we had accepted during the negotiations. Some remained unresolved. We did not accept them. They insisted. Some have been added again.

SALAHAL'LIN BEY (Mersin) - Please enlighten us on this matter.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I will explain now. You have a book in your hands. Open the book; you will see that the proceedings have taken place up to the first article. Up to that point, the part up to the phrase "they will be dealt with" is the accepted part. But there is another part below that which we did not accept. We wish to remove everything below that point from the perspective of the property, rights, and interests of individuals, in a manner consistent with our interests. From this article onwards, we state that the property, rights, and interests of individuals shall be subject to the full protection of our financial laws. That is, it is specific to our laws. Therefore, subject to the laws and regulations in force in the country, including those of the police, they shall be entitled to enter Turkey and enjoy freedom. Complete freedom. (Voices: Which article?) It is the second article. Sir, I have stated this. Sir, they shall be able to depart, return and reside. That is, it is public law. It is part of public law. It is international law. Public law shall not prejudice Turkey's right to permit or prohibit immigration. We do not accept this in this regard. We have accepted the third article. (Where are the voices?) Sir, if you look at page 109 regarding the conditions for entry and residence in Turkey, you will find it there.

We are of the opinion that the final clause of the fourth article should be completely removed, and we have not accepted it. These are reserved solely for Turkish subjects. With the exception of those belonging solely to the local administration, all types of trade and

professional activities belonging solely to the local population. In this regard, sir, there is an issue here. Sir, with this article, they proposed that doctors from their subjects could practise medicine in our country, their lawyers could practise law, their engineers could practise engineering, and so on. However, these are reserved for the subjects of free, independent, sovereign

. We have attached great importance to this point. We have not accepted this. The fifth article will also be rejected, we have not accepted it. (From where the voices come from) Third

line refers to transport and insurance companies. We are excluding everything below that.

Established in Turkey, recognised by Turkey, and their rights to establish and maintain rights to the case will be determined in accordance with national law. The establishment of executive proceedings in Turkey, the acquisition of immovable property, and other matters will be subject to Turkish law. We will propose this. I do not know if they will accept it. However, we cannot accept it otherwise. We accept the sixth article.

With some minor amendments, instead of military service, we say service - in the first line

- military service. Subsequently, the law says that something should be done. Ultimately, they were afraid of something. They said that if you make an expropriation law, you will expropriate the property of our subjects to destroy them. However, we wanted to do it in such a way that it could be announced in advance. It will not be done unless it is announced. There are also some other sentences. That is, it is not an accepted article. They are some local matters.

In the eighth article, we want to remove the third line or what follows it. We want to amend it. We find the ninth article completely harmful and do not accept it.

In the financial section, in the third article, they have inserted certain things between the sentences. We want to amend them. We intend to accept the 11th article, again by amending it in a manner consistent with our interests. We want to remove the 12th article entirely and replace it with

We wish to do something that is in our best interests. Therefore, we did not find it acceptable. In the thirteenth article, we are in favour of accepting it with a few minor amendments, such as adding a couple of sentences.

We wish to accept Article 14 with a few minor amendments.

Ultimately, there is one thing: no special duties or charges will be levied on these items. We can accept these. We consider the fifteenth article to be entirely harmful and do not accept it. Likewise, we accept Article 16, with a couple of minor adjustments. We consider Article 17 harmful, we reject it, we do not accept it. These foreign subjects have their own judicial rulings. There are certain harmful aspects in these judicial rulings. We also intend to accept these. But we do not know whether they will accept or reject them. However, we cannot accept them as they are. The same applies to the twentieth article; we completely reject the twenty-first and twenty-second articles. Then, sir, come the final provisions. The twenty-fourth article: We completely reject it and wish to replace it with something else. It is one of the articles we cannot accept. Likewise, we are completely rejecting the twenty-fifth article. We did not find it acceptable. We are completely rejecting the twenty-sixth article; we did not find it acceptable. The twenty-sixth article is the same as every other article. That is how we are proceeding. Sir, now regarding the judicial rulings, there is a draft declaration in Turkey concerning the Judicial Administration System, which is essentially judicial capitulation.

ÖMER LÜTFÜ BEY (Amasya) - Have you accepted the twenty-third article?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We wish to amend the twenty-third article in a manner that is favourable to us. We are deleting the twenty-second article in its entirety, amending the twenty-third article in a manner favourable to our interests, and deleting the twenty-fourth article. And we wish to insert another article in its place. Sir, this was also an important issue here.

It is one of the factors that influenced the proceedings from the beginning to the end of the entire conference. It has been the best tool for our opponents to use against us for propaganda purposes. Because they are all concerned about it. They told us about this matter, saying, "You will establish courts of justice." Justice does not exist; it is not good. You have no judges. Your laws are not good. They said all of this. We responded that our judges are good, and our laws are good. Everything we have is good. They said your prisons are terrible. We responded by saying this is how it is, that is how it is (Handeler). Of course, we know our shortcomings in relation to them. But naturally, we discuss them among ourselves. We do not discuss them with them, we cannot praise them. But when they spoke, we refuted them; it exists, it is good, you do not know...

SÜLEYMAN SIRRI BEY (Yozgat) - It is worthy of praise in every way.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Now, sir, they have done a lot regarding the issue of prisons, and it is there. We have understood better that it is imperative to reform issues such as prisons urgently. It is imperative that we reform them. Because it is the greatest problem facing the country. It is a tool they have at their disposal to use against us. It is necessary both for the justice of our country and in this regard.

What they initially told us was that, due to this situation, you will establish mixed courts, meaning your own judges and foreign judges will be present. You will establish mixed courts, your courts and...

In the project they presented, foreign judges were in the majority. We said that such a thing was absolutely impossible, that if there was anything that could not happen in the world, it was this.

So whatever happens, whatever we do, we are content with Allah's will, we said. Sir, they took this and reshaped it; there are details. There is no need to go into the details. Finally, they gave us the project you see here recently. We objected to this as well. Finally, we made amendments to it and put it in a form where we will hire foreign consultants, and those foreign consultants have no connection with the court. They cannot delay enforcement; there is only one thing: they accept complaints, but they complain. They do not enforce. They submit the complaint to the Minister of Justice, they report it.

RASÎH EFENDÎ (Antalya) - So it is a position higher than the Minister of Justice.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, that is not the case. They have many demands. If you wish, you can amend that too. It is not us who will accept or reject it, but the High Council. We are presenting the truth of this matter. That is, we have brought it forward.

HAKKÎ HAMÎ BEY (Sinop) - Accepting the intervention of the League of Nations...

LUTFU BEY (Malatya) - Rıza Nur Bey, how many years?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We will take on advisors for five years. Whatever the reason may be, gentlemen, I submit to you that the matter has not yet begun in such a way that your legal judge takes our right into his hands. We have struggled. We have fought. We have finally reached the point I mentioned. We could not do more than that. Perhaps your honourable assembly will do it differently.

MÜFÎT EFENDÎ (Kırşehir) - Do the counsellors have the right of inspection?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - There is no right of inspection. They will only receive complaints from foreigners, and we have done nothing; they cannot do anything about this matter. They will report it to the Minister of Justice, but they cannot interfere; they can only act as intermediaries.

FAİK BEY (Cebelibereket) - Does this have any meaning other than control?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - They cannot interfere, impose restrictions, or question what it is. However, ultimately, an agreement was reached on this matter as well. There is the issue of our selection from a list of names to be chosen by the Hague International Justice Commission. But our advisers have not suffered any harm from this. In particular, some said that it could not be better, that it is a better court than ours, that it is specialised and honourable. For example, twenty names will be written down, and we will choose from among those twenty names. However, we have also added the following condition to this: they must not be subjects of the Allied Powers, they must not be from states that participated in the war, they must be impartial, and they must bear the title of arbitrator.

That is why they said this is better. The powerful elite, because we know. Turkey has used consultants in various departments. Some of these consultants were not selected appropriately. This has caused harm rather than benefit. Money has been wasted.

They have taken money for nothing. However, the consultants are truly honourable, truly experts in their field. Our country has truly benefited from this.

We can mention that doctors from the military and those recruited, etc., have revived us. Now, sir, the issue is this: This issue, which is so important and which has been used as a means of propaganda against us in the last period,

issue, which is so important and has been used against us for propaganda in the last period, began in a very important situation. It began in a terrible way. It has now reached a relatively mild situation. It is in the form of a consultant. It has no other nature.

However, its acceptance or non-acceptance is up to your distinguished assembly. We could not do this. But we have brought it this far. I beg you

there are certain issues that you previously ignored, which we said in the last session that there is no commitment to. It is to come and ask you.

HACI TAHİR BEY (Isparta) - Will this replace the sixteenth chapter?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, it will remain in place instead of five. It is a draft declaration on the rules of military administration. This has been removed. It has been changed to another form; if you wish, we can discuss this as well (No need, voices).

Now this
issue is also settled.

ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Bolu) - It would be better to present the final version in the form of a magazine.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We are not including the final form it has taken in the form of a declaration. We are presenting this in the form of a declaration. We are making a declaration that we will take an advisor and it will be like this and like that, we will have officials, and it will be completed in five years. There is one thing I wish to mention. It is what we call the intermediate clause.

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT - It is a transfer.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Yes, it is a transfer. The transfer period is precisely because of this. It has become stuck. Nothing else could happen. It has not moved forward; that is the situation, sir.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - I would like to ask a general question about the fourth article, namely the article concerning the judicial authority regarding the issue of residence for foreigners, and the article that replaces the capitulations concerning the right of residence, national authority, and economic rights.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The financial provisions?

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - No, sir. I would like to ask a general question about these articles that replace the capitulations.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - About the capitulations?

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - Yes, did we accept this agreement? In other words, do we have any objections to the agreement?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - We have submitted this agreement, but they have not accepted it. Our current opinion is as follows: We are in favour of acceptance with the minor amendments I have requested. I do not know whether they will accept; this is not known.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - I am concerned about the following. If our counterproposal had been accepted and immediately signed

would these terms have been accepted as they are?

RIZA N'JR BEY (Continuing) - No; absolutely not, absolutely not, and indeed we did not accept them.

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - After this clarification, you stated that you accepted the issue of the customary definition of immovable property, which I will explain in detail at any point in our country. Article 4-Page 190 (To foreigners, in Turkey, without distinction and without conditions or restrictions)

The right to dispose of immovable property has been granted. Could this situation not lead to the enemy's immense capital entering the country and its complete expropriation? Is no remedy being considered against this? Is no remedy or precautionary measure being considered for the protection of our own nation and people?

? I see that no objection to this has been raised in your statements. Firstly, this is a danger; just as military exemption is accepted for the subjects of foreign powers, it is evident that they will not be subject to any

. Is this the case everywhere in the world? A foreign subject resides in Turkey for a long time. While the country makes sacrifices such as stationing soldiers at the border and gendarmes within the country to protect him, is it right for foreigners to take advantage of this and reside under this name?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - What obligations?

* Form: 22

SALÂHATTİN BEY (Mersin) - Military tax, all taxes related to military obligations. Nothing can be done about these, either now or in the future.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, this is the case everywhere. He happens to be in a foreign country, but he cannot be conscripted. Naturally, other obligations cannot be imposed on him either.

SALAH İLİN BEY (Mersin) - If you will allow me, I would like to draw the attention of our representatives to these two points.

I do not see anything about this in the objection. However, these two points are extremely important. I will speak if I have any comments. Disposal of

is to completely surrender this country to foreigners (approving voices). Second; the military exemption of non-Muslims, that is, the exemption of foreigners from military obligations and related taxes, is a danger. I draw the government's attention to this. We cannot even get an answer.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Do you know what we are saying? Unless a fair compensation is paid, their right to dispose of their property cannot be revoked; that is correct.

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - My exemption from any kind of obligation is not time-bound. I will not raise my voice until the very end, even if it takes ten years. These rulings are binding rulings. They are not time-bound. I see the danger in that.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Very well, we will address that too. Would you please state the other clause?

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - It is 6 to 4. It concerns immovable property. However, it is necessary to restrict it to real estate and separate it from land.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Among us, there have been many debates about it, here and there, we said this, we said that.

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - It is sufficient if we save the land.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This truth is a matter of debate and is correct. We considered the issue of migration. The Italians are a threat. This is dangerous for us. This means taking land from our country, bringing all their labour here, engaging in certain economic activities, and thus cultivating things in the country...

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - So, they are replacing the Greeks...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - That is very true. The Italian population is very dense. They cannot fit in their country, and it was because of this need that Italy occupied Tripoli. But they could not enter Tripoli. That is, they did not go inland from the coast. If they are looking for another place, we are one of them, and it is very

important. We have considered this point, but there is also the fact that preventing foreigners from acquiring land is not part of the current affairs. It is the same everywhere.

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - If you allow the purchase of property in the town...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It is right to determine and restrict something.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - Should difficulties arise in future matters, the permission granted to Rıza Nur Bey and your distinguished committee by the esteemed committee. The advisors were merely advisors. Your distinguished committee went a step further and, by accepting the advisory role regarding the Treaty of Sèvres in another manner, to the extent of a form, Why did you go beyond that level?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - I will answer. Nothing beyond the permission granted has been exceeded.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Kangırı) - There is no quarrel here.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It is not a quarrel; I am answering.

ABİDİN EFENDİ (Niğde) - You attacked Venizelos.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, there is no question of jurisdiction either. He is an advisor.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - Reis Pasha, my question is not finished. Acceptance implies authority. He does not accept that, only the word adviser should remain. If this precedes, it acquires the nature of capitulation. Jurisdiction, the acceptance of the petition is incorrect.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - So this is a matter for the distinguished committee. This is the conclusion we have reached. There is no possibility of going beyond this. Therefore, whatever you decide will be done.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - I would like to ask a question regarding the judicial inventory commission. When discussions are held regarding the disposal of immovable property, it was discussed that the nation is the owner of the property and has the right of disposal over the land.

the nation is the owner, and even regarding the right of disposal over the land, even during the time of the absolute government, no conclusion was reached based on the Prime Minister's announcement, and it was said that we cannot do it, so we do not accept this either. If we accept it, it will only be regarding property rights. The land belongs to the people. Its disposal cannot be given to anyone, nor can it be accepted, we said, and even though we presented this report, why did you absolutely accept immovable property here? You are accepting this with an article.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir, we did not accept it. I said that the issue is indeed debatable, that is correct.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - Is the duty of the future advisers, as far as we are concerned, limited to receiving and following up on petitions from foreign nationals regarding the complaints of the people of this country and their dealings with the judiciary?

Do they have any other duties?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The Ministry of Justice will use these like civil servants. Whatever the adviser sees will be the case. I am not entirely an expert on this. The Ministry of Justice may say, "Make a project related to the trade agreement, whatever section it belongs to."

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - Allow me, sir. Advisors who do not have their duties defined will stick their noses into everything in court tomorrow and say, "I will also follow the proceedings that the public prosecutor is following," and will reach out to the Ministry of Justice as if to conduct an inspection. If they are left with such absolute be left like this, sir; duties must be restricted.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - This is an encroachment in the manner you have ordered. This form exists. The government prohibits it. His duties are not undefined. How can this be? The advisers have no duties. Whatever duties the Minister of Justice assigns to him, he performs.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - What benefit do foreigners expect from placing this advisor in our courts? Of course, they have an interest. If they had no interest, would they send them and insist? If the article remains ambiguous, it will be entirely subject to judicial control.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Allow me, sir. His duties have not been determined. But can the advisor say, "I will do this, I will do that"? Of course not. However, if the Minister of Justice is lenient, then it is different.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - What is the ruling on entering into an international amnesty?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Ah, these men say they will not accept this. İsmet Pasha, in particular, was sceptical about this matter and resisted it. But those men said to us: if you abolish the laws of justice all at once
What will our subjects say? Indeed, our subjects in Istanbul are not satisfied, and the foreigners in Istanbul are sending people, causing an uproar.
They were sending men, sending reports, asking what we would do. They said all sorts of things, like justice exists with us, I don't know what. Finally, they said that this is ingrained in our mindset. First, we need to establish security. They even said that this is necessary for you, it is in your best interest, and in response I said: my dear, we can certainly assess our own interests better than you. That is what I mean by their mindset. They gave us this reason: if there is no such guarantee in our country, there will be no foreigners. If there are no foreigners, you cannot do trade or economics. You need foreign capital. Such things annoyed me. They say that we need to satisfy our subjects. Otherwise, they claim there is no security in our judiciary.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - The advisors they send are not our officials, but their own officials. Please pay attention to this point. The officials they send to us as advisers to satisfy our subjects will make all the necessary demands. If you are granting authorisation, it is a matter of duty.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - However, I am of the opinion that one cannot take it upon oneself to create duties in matters of public service.
cannot be self-imposed. However, if the Minister of Justice is lenient, they will do everything as you have ordered. Indeed,
it has always started that way, as with the capitulations. This is not our duty. We must always strike at the top.

MÜFİT EFENDİ (Kırşehir) - The signed report we accepted regarding the advisors stated that we could appoint advisors whose opinions and knowledge we could utilise for judicial purposes

Otherwise, we did not accept advisers for judicial proceedings, nor did we grant them authority.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - That is correct. But they will not pursue the rights of foreign subjects. They only accept complaints. That is the issue. Let me tell you; there is no committed issue. Ultimately, this belongs to your distinguished assembly. We have brought this to you; ultimately, the decision is yours.

OPERATOR EMIN BEY (Bursa) - Sir, is it true that our adviser has declined to participate in the contentious discussions on judicial capitulations at the peace conference?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, if you will allow me, I must answer the question posed by Emin Bey. It is not right to say such things. Our issue is a national issue, a matter of duty. Speak and ask questions about the matter at hand. It is not right to say that a person said this or that.

OPERATOR EMIN BEY (Bursa) - The advisor we sent is refusing to defend us, sir. (Noise).

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Please allow me to speak. What is being done is the subject of discussion. Individuals are not the subject of discussion.

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - No, that is not acceptable. With your permission, I will respond. Our general assembly has not yet made a decision. A colleague of ours who does not wish to defend our case before the peace conference has said that our defence of these capitulations is weak, that he cannot defend them. Is this true or not? I would like to understand this. (Bravo cries) This is a national cause. Everything must be said.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, please ask His Excellency the Chief Plenipotentiary about this matter. (Applause.)

OPERATOR EMİN BEY (Bursa) - In that case, I have a couple of similar questions. God willing, I will combine them and ask them. Financial
There are also sections. The Assembly should understand these.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - Sir, please continue, the question remains reserved.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, such things happen all the time.

İSMET PAŞA (Minister of Foreign Affairs) (Edirne) - Friends! Do not examine the advisors accompanying the delegation accompanying the delegation, did not scrutinise whether they were lenient on this issue or strict on that issue. Do not do so, so that the advisers can tell their colleagues what they know with a clear conscience. If the advisers later say, "I said this" or "I did that," they will remain anxious and fearful that they will be held accountable, and they will say something other than what is in their minds and it will be impossible to resolve. Then the fifteen advisers we have with us will become fifteen. When they sit down, they will speak the most extreme thing about everything, as if they ruled over fifteen states. Then there will be no way out of the situation. We are here. If you ask what the advisers said, do not look for them. Ask me. Friends, I will speak the truth without hesitation, regardless of whether the advisers consider an issue to be extreme. Let them speak. If we do not consider their competence and authority sufficient, we will be obliged to remove them.

YAHYA GALÎP BEY (Kırşehir) - With your permission, I would like to ask you a question. A counsellor who has no opinion. How will he defend the matter in this case?

İSMET PAŞA (Continuing) - He has an opinion in favour of a matter. Another adviser has an opinion against him on that matter. He expresses it.

YAHYA GALÎP BEY (Continuing) - Since he has an opinion against it, this would be between you. Such information would not be disclosed.

CHAIRMAN - Please, Yahya Galip Bey, kindly take your seat. In my opinion, the matter (Noise) Sir, please allow me.

Rasih Efendi, the question is yours.

RASIH EFENDÎ (Antalya) - It is a motion that forms the basis of today's discussion. That motion was to be heard by the expert advisor and our fellow advisors. For that reason, we cannot participate with İsmet Paşa . Our colleague Rıza Nur Bey, the judicial representative, is representing us. If they have defended the discussion, we will listen.

Another friend is defending him; we would like to hear him out, and we have many questions for him.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, if you will allow me, this legal expert, Mr Veli, is our friend. They have not participated in the Assembly.

RASIH EFENDİ (Antalya) - He was accepted the other day. We sent a telegram that evening, asking him to join the Assembly immediately, two days ago, sir.

CHAIRMAN - If you wish, we can confirm it.

RASIH EFENDİ (Antalya) - Certainly, sir. Due to the absence of Mr Veli Bey, and perhaps among these, the most...

CHAIRMAN - Within the delegation, Rıza Nur Bey is more concerned than Veli Bey. If that is not enough, you can ask Veli Bey.

YAHYA GALİP BEY (Kırşehir) - This matter is extremely important. It concerns the life of the nation. I will go as far as necessary. It is treason.

REIS - He had first reported his illness to the office of the president. A telegram was sent to him at your request. We wrote that he should set out immediately and come here.

YAHYA GALİP BEY (Kırşehir) - We would like to understand the matter.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, please allow us to ask a question. Rasih Efendi said that we would like to hear from our friend who has defended judicial matters the most. Therefore, since Rıza Nur Bey is not a specialist, you will hear from the other one. I submit that there is no problem.

HÜSEYİN AVNİ BEY (Erzurum) - Your Excellency, with your permission, I have a question for Your Excellency. Your Excellency did not clarify, but rather restricted and distorted the issue. Why did they interfere, Your Excellency?

CHAIRMAN - Please allow His Excellency to respond when he takes the podium. Sir, I said that Rıza Nur Beyefendi did not wish to respond on behalf of all the advisers and all the representatives. His Excellency the Chief Representative

would give the answer, they said. I couldn't make myself heard. They spoke loudly from there.

HÜSEYİN AVNÎ BEY (Erzurum) - I submit to the distinguished assembly that the Parliament is not playing games. If you ask me, the entourage is not here. The Parliament

keeps colleagues here who are experts in examining the matter. If they do not know something, they ask their own colleagues and conduct the proceedings themselves.

CHAIRMAN - If you do not accept, you may ask your question.

HÜSEYİN AVNÎ BEY (Erzurum) - Certainly, sir, this right cannot be denied.

CHAIRMAN - No, sir, the right is not being denied.

HAKKI HAMÎ BEY (Sinop) - Regarding this judicially final accepted form, has the delegation promised the other side that it will accept it? Has it definitively separated its own opinion on this matter?

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - The final draft they gave us is the draft you have in your hands. In the end, they wanted to add certain things again. This led to a long debate. We are always moving towards reduction. That is why such writings occur. We felt that something like this could be accepted to the last degree. However, the issue had already passed its time. The British delegation had also left. But they had taken this issue as an important banner. They had unfurled it like a large flag and were proclaiming it to the world, conducting a tremendous propaganda campaign. We went to take this issue out of their hands, that is, to take this banner out of their hands. But then the British delegation had already departed. What would happen? After that, whether we accepted it or the French accepted it, it would certainly remain uncertain.

HAKKI HİLMÎ BEY (Sinop) - If I may, has the form regarding these last advisors not been accepted by the committee?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Nothing has been accepted yet. We have not made any commitment. We have not signed anything. We have gone forward, we have gone back; we have indicated that we could accept it.

HAKKI HİLMİ BEY (Sinop) - Is there a possibility of referring back to the committee in this manner, or not?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Certainly there is. There is no acceptance anyway. Let me explain how it happened. Perhaps this part is unclear. This issue was brought up, discussed, and various things were added to it, and it ended up in a state where it could be accepted. It was not accepted, it was deemed unacceptable, and that's how it went. Ultimately, we have a declaration. We said that we cannot make any commitments. There is nothing that requires acceptance. We did not accept it. How can you accept it? This does not require acceptance. But we have said that we can accept such a thing. However, saying it is not the same as making a commitment.

ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Bolu) - So, can you now retract this?

KADRİ BEY (Diyarbakır) - Will the advisors we hire also listen to the complaints of our subjects? Some of us may also apply.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - They say they should only listen to the complaints of foreigners.

KADRİ BEY (Diyarbakır) - So there is no clarity on this. They can listen to any complaint. When it comes to the court, they can listen to everyone's complaints.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - There are no established duties. As I understand it, nothing has been accepted. (Noise) That is correct, we have not accepted it. We are making amendments to it. They will submit the complaints they receive to the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Justice will follow up on the outcome.

KADRİ BEY (Diyarbakır) - Will the advisor follow up on the investigation or not?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir, there is no such authority. That is not the case; what you read is not correct.

MR KADRÎ (Diyarbakır) - It should be recorded.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir, what you read has not been accepted. That is what you are expecting from him.

KADRÎ BEY (Diyarbakır) - Muslims...

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - There is no non-Muslim issue. There are foreign subjects here. In my opinion, this is solely a matter for the Minister of Justice. The Minister will pursue what he wants.

RASIH EFENDÎ (Antalya) - We always assume. How can one be satisfied with this?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, there is a final form that has been reached. I will read it to you, as it is...

CHAIRMAN - Ali Hayati Bey has a question.

ALÎ HAYATÎ BEY (Gazianteb) - Rıza Nur Bey; will you present the counter-project you proposed after the British left as accepted, or will you reject or amend it?
?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, the final form reached, which we believed would have greatly facilitated our work had this matter been resolved earlier, They insisted on this very strongly. The final outcome is as follows: We are submitting the entire text of the agreement to the High Assembly. This is how it will be. If the High Assembly does not approve it, there is nothing we can do.

ALÎ CENANÎ BEY (Gazianteb) - Will it be so if the Assembly approves? What is the Government's opinion on this matter?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - The government's opinion is also as follows. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey has had the opportunity to declare that it is capable of providing full guarantees to foreigners regarding the jurisdiction of its courts and of exercising this jurisdiction fully, without any foreign interference. Nevertheless, this

government is prepared to conduct investigations and studies to bring about the reforms that civilisation, morality and progress

. With this in mind, the Turkish Government wishes to make the following statement. The Turkish Government, for a period it deems appropriate, not less than five years, until 1914-1918..

ÖMER LÜTFÜ BEY (Amasya) - Excuse me, sir. Less than five years, or more?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - It is ours, sir, but it belongs to us. We make the declaration. We cannot do it for less than five years. There is no question about it. When we say it cannot be less than five years, we have granted this right for five years.

. We have done this for five years, sir. It cannot be more, sir; this condition is sufficient. We say five years for a period deemed appropriate; we say five and a half years. It intends to immediately employ European legal advisers selected from among those listed by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, who are members of states that did not participate in the 1914-1918 war. These legal advisers shall be Turkish officials and shall be subject to the Ministry of Justice. The aforementioned Ministry will participate in the work of the judicial reform commissions as advisers, reside in Istanbul and Izmir, monitor the implementation of Turkish law and criminal justice, including investigations and arrests, hear complaints regarding both legal and criminal matters, the enforcement of penalties, and the application of the law, and shall report to the Ministry of Justice on all these matters to ensure the full application of Turkish law. In cases where there is no violation or threat to public order, the release of suspects on bail may be arranged, i.e., release on bail shall be granted.

HACI TAHİR BEY (Isparta) - Our law does not require bail.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - In legal and commercial matters an application shall be made to the court, and the arbitrators' decisions shall be enforced with the approval of the president of the court of first instance, and the president of the court of first instance shall not refuse to approve the decision unless it is contrary to public order. This declaration shall be valid for five years.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisarısahib) - Mr Rıza Nur, you followed this legal matter, did you not?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, I am not a legal expert, and it is impossible for one man to know all the details. This matter was previously pursued by His Excellency the Chief Plenipotentiary Pasha's friend, who was well-versed in law. However, when it reached the final stage, I also intervened. What they actually gave is this, and the final thing is this book. As a result of the struggle, we have reached this form. That is the matter.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - This matter is beyond your authority...

HÜSEYİN HÜSNÜ EFENDİ (Isparta) - Mr. Chairman, there is no majority left.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisansahib) - We are not going to make a decision.

RAUF BEY (Head of the Executive Committee) (Sivas) - The Assembly has been opened by a majority vote. The debate continues. There is nothing to add to the decision. Therefore, let us continue the debate.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, I know whether there is a majority or not. There is a majority.

HÜSEYİN AVNİ BEY (Erzurum) - Today is Friday; the Assembly has been in session for a week. Tomorrow is the day after Friday. There will be a meeting tomorrow as well. Please grant us this.

This is not an urgent matter. It will take another month.

CHAIRMAN - It is not right to look at the issue from only one side. There will be there will be a debate. Therefore, let the Assembly adjourn and let us go. Let us not look at the issue this way. The delegation always presents the matter as urgent. It is not possible to finish today. But let us finish this part today while there is time. (Voices of agreement)

RIZA NUR BEY (Sinop) - I have something to say, sir. It is a matter of urgency. It cannot remain unresolved for long.

The eyes of the entire world are upon this esteemed assembly, upon this Parliament. All eyes are on us. Whatever is to be done must be done without delay.

HAFİZ MEHMET BEY (Trabzon) - But there is no issue to be resolved, I beg your pardon.

ALİ CENANI BEY (Gaziayıntab) - Allow me to speak about procedure.

CHAIRMAN - Ask your question, sir. What procedure will you speak

about? HAKKI HAMİ BEY (Sinop) - We cannot reach a conclusion,

sir.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisarısahip) - Mr Rıza Nur, a remark made by the colleague who spoke before you has become known in the Lausanne circles. Unfortunately, that colleague has given foreigners the impression that we could accept this. Upon that, they have insisted on this matter. Your Excellency, you are now expressing the final form

. The government also wishes to accept this form. This form is highly detrimental.

That is, it claims that we have abolished judicial capitulations.

Although we have done so and recorded it, new judicial capitulations of a new nature are being introduced.

HAFİZ MEHMET BEY (Trabzon) - That is not the case. This is of no importance.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Trabzon) - The word "follow-up" is used here. This is what I understood by follow-up.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, please do not express your opinion. We are not here to debate, but to ask questions.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, please allow me. I understand your noble intention. In this way or that way, the government did the same.

MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Karahisarısahip) - Allow me to explain my opinion. Many things can be inferred from the word "follow-up".

. Secondly, it implies acceptance. How will the delegation face each other again? If you have accepted, why are you not accepting now ?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Send another delegation, it does no harm; this is a matter for the nation. It is not a personal matter. By God, let it be the business of the nation alone. One of our friends is troublesome. It will not do. From there, our friend Hafız Mehmet Bey says it is good. I don't know, sir, this does not imply acceptance. This matter is in your hands. Please, you are the judge, accept it or reject it, it is up to you. If we cannot do that job, if it is not in our interest, send another delegation. It is all up to you.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Kangın) - Sir, one condition in what you have just read catches my attention. It is the matter of releasing prisoners on bail. As you know, in our country, the release of defendants and their release on bail is subject to a procedure. Cash bail, sir. It is of no consequence. It is stipulated in our law and there is a procedure. Will bail be granted on the basis of what these advisers will submit to the Ministry of Justice?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, no, it is not a matter concerning the advisors. It does not belong to the advisor.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Kangın) - Please read it.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, it is not relevant. NEŞ'ET BEY (Kangın) - Sir, please read it once.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Now look, it says here that they will report on those matters, and in cases where there is no violation of public order or obstruction of the investigation, the accused will be released on bail. They will also provide cash bail to the person they are bailing.

• Form: 23

NEŞ'ET BEY (Continuing) - Sir, allow me to explain. Neş'et Bey's point is that if it is not safe, then our blood...

İSMET PAŞA (Edirne) - The reason for this is that in some countries this practice does not exist. You too can make a law and abolish it. Therefore, it will be applied for a period of five years.

period.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Both the consultations are over and the declaration is complete. They want this for five years. It is always what they say and the administration is temporary, the term is temporary. The issue has come to this point. They have done this everywhere. We have not been able to abolish it.

Now, sir, the other issue is general amnesty. As you know, we are making some adjustments within the framework of general amnesty and in what has been submitted here. We are making some reforms, and for this reason, it is not a significant issue. There is another matter: reciprocal pardons are being granted. We insisted that there are some traitors. They have betrayed this cause. They have used weapons. We cannot make an exception for them. We said we cannot pardon them. We will show that the property of these 150 individuals is also involved in this exception.

ETHEM FEHMİ BEY (Menteşe) - Has a list been provided for the individuals?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - No, sir; they told us to give them your names. We already knew their names. The truth is, let the relevant authority give the answer.

SALAHATTIN BEY (Mersin) - It will be done by national decree.

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - One hundred and fifty men will be determined by the national will. Excuse me, sir, this was truly a disgraceful thing. These people, who betrayed this nation, this state, during the most turbulent period in history, acted as enemies, and then came and sat down with us, did they not?
sirs? We have done this; we have identified the individual. You will identify the individual later.

NEŞ'ET BEY (Kangırı) - Excuse me, one hundred and fifty people are fixed. If tomorrow or the day after, 149 people commit the crime of treason, where will you find the additional person?

RIZA NUR BEY (Continuing) - Sir, we said a maximum of one hundred and fifty; we made an estimate. We said one hundred and fifty. There is nothing in hand. Well, sir, I will conclude my statement this evening. I believe I have explained the situation and the issue. What is the current state of affairs? I have analysed it; now it is up to you to decide.

CHAIRMAN - Gentlemen, please take your seats so we can see the majority. (There is no majority, voices are heard).

ZÎYA BEY (Mersin) - We also have something to say regarding Rıza Nur Bey's opinion.

AVNÎ BEY (Saruhan) - I will speak between sessions, Pasha. (Noise)

M. DURAK BEY (Erzurum) - Your Excellency, please adjourn the session for one hour. If it is very important, let us reconvene in an hour.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, our colleague's opinion lasted exactly three and a half hours. We still have colleagues to listen to after this. As you know, exactly forty-five of our colleagues have taken the floor. I have now gathered this in my mind. If each colleague is given three hours to speak, we will be occupied with this for two weeks, and it is likely that it will not be finished in two weeks.

ALI RIZA BEY (Kars) - Four weeks have passed, and this is the most vital issue facing the country. The world is waiting for us; there is no point in saying that we should stay here.

THE LEADER - Allow me to speak. Our delegation insists that this matter be resolved immediately. If Your Excellency were to resolve this matter within a month...

RASÎH EFENDÎ (Antalya) - We are not in such a hurry as they are.

YUSUF ZÎYA BEY (Bitlis) - If it is absolutely necessary to discuss this tonight, adjourn the session for an hour. (Adjourn for an hour, let's listen to the voices). (Let's listen to Hasan Bey's voice).

M. DURAK BEY (Erzurum) - Suspend the session for an hour, let us come back in an hour. It will take too long, Pasha. (Noise, continue, we will listen to the voices).

Mr. ZÎYA (Mersin) - If we need to listen to Mr. Hasan, adjourn for an hour, then we will come back and listen. (Noise, now we will listen to the voices).

ŞÜKRÜ BEY (Bolu) - Your Excellency, do not adjourn; we cannot meet again.

HÜSEYİN AVNÎ BEY (Erzurum) - Sir, the committee has not told us anything about the petition and will not tell us. This is not an urgent matter, it is a vital matter. You will have to account for three years. Perhaps we will resolve it in a month.

ALÎ RIZA EFENDÎ (Kars) - These matters have been left to the experts. However, none of us are experts on this matter, and we will speak out. Why such haste?

CHAIRMAN - Your words are noted, sir.

- İTRAUF BEY (Head of the Executive Committee) (Sivas) - Some gentlemen are making certain remarks are supposedly preventing you from speaking. But that is not the case; your wishes are being fulfilled here. You are being asked. As you wish, the advisers and experts are stating their observations here. That is my point of view. Then you will discuss it. We are saying that we request that your wishes be implemented as soon as possible. Why the rush?

Are you doing it? (We are reading from the secret minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the Lausanne negotiations, 357, and you are making noise). We will give an urgent explanation; we are human too. We have work to do as well. Like you, we will work here and we will work in the government. You come in the afternoon, but we work eighteen hours a day; show a little mercy.

CHAIRMAN - Sir, I understand that it is impossible to negotiate in this manner. I am adjourning the session until half past ten.

DR. RIZA NUR AND THE LOZAN TELEGRAMS...

The documents that best shed light on the Lausanne issue are undoubtedly the telegrams sent by and to the delegation. These telegrams were recently published by Bilal N. Şimşir. Turkish Historical Society Printing House, Ankara 1990.

We present to the reader in this section a few of these telegrams related to Dr. Rıza Nur, due to their importance.

We should also note that in this valuable work, Mr. Şimşir makes a gross error by referring to Dr. Rıza Nur as the "third delegate" rather than the "second delegate".

No: 58, Date: 30 November

Prime Minister H. Rauf Bey to İsmet Pasha, Tel. No: 43..... Page

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I request a repeat of your telegram No. 36. (See No. 53) No. 59,

Date: 30 November

Telegram No. 41, 42 from İsmet Pasha to the Prime

Minister's Office.... Page 151

Sub-committees discussed customs, the sharing of Ottoman debts, and maritime transport; our cabotage rights were accepted.

The Allies invited only the Russians to the conference regarding the Straits.

Rıza Nur discussed the Mosul issue with the British undersecretary. The French chief delegate visited me. I said, "We want Mosul, what is France's position?"

If discussed openly, they will support the British. Let us publish that they do not accept our economic independence.

No. 85, Date: 6 December

Telegram from İsmet Pasha to the Prime Minister's Office No. 62, 63

5 December report:

The exchange issue was discussed in the subcommittee. It is desired that the Greeks of Istanbul be excluded from the exchange. The Pope issued a statement referring to the Armenians. We issued a counter-statement. I met with the French delegate; finance and economy.

He is very extreme in his work. I met with the American delegate; we discussed minorities. Rıza Nur went to Curzon. He wanted Mosul. The Dardanelles issue will be discussed. (See No. 94)

No. 104, Date: 8 December

Telegram from İsmet Pasha to the Prime Minister's Office No: 69

There have been complaints regarding the Aydm and Baghdad railways. (See No. 114, 139)

No. 105, Date: 8 December

Telegram from İsmet Pasha to the Prime Minister's Office No: 72, 73, 74

8 December report:

1. The Straits Commission met in the morning. We stated our opinion; Curzon breathed a sigh of relief at our acceptance of disarmament. He will respond in the evening. Çiçerin will respond after reviewing it. Both were surprised by my speech.
2. After the conference, Rıza Nur went to the Russians. He argued brilliantly. There was another meeting in the afternoon. Çiçerin rejected the Allies' to send a fleet to the Black Sea.
3. We can defend the Straits during the war. In peacetime, we can pass as many warships as the strongest fleet in the Black Sea.

According to Garoni, it is impossible to expel the Greeks from Istanbul. It is necessary to cooperate economically with the Italians. There is hope that the Patriarch will be removed.

No: 355, Date: 16 January

Prime Minister H. Rauf Bey to İsmet Pasha, Tel. No. 263. For your eyes only. Top secret.

Together with Gazi Pasha, the government met with the conference staff. Clerk Suad Sedat must be sent back. Haim Naum Efendi received 5,000 lira for four months to be sent to England. Cavit Bey has received money from the Public Debt Administration and will protect their interests. It is unfortunate that he is in Lausanne and is being portrayed by the British as your rival. (See No. 15, 492)

No: 443, Date: 27 January

Telegram from İsmet Pasha to the Prime Minister No.

283, 285 27 January Report:

1. The official work of the conference has ended. The following issues remain unresolved: Mosul, judicial capitulations, the Thracian border, reparations and repairs. Financial problems have been exacerbated because of Mosul.
2. I will return to Ankara not having cut off the conference, but having suspended the proceedings. But in reality, it is cut off (interrupted).
3. "I am inclined to seek peace by relinquishing Mosul." (İsmet Pasha)
4. (Rıza Nur's opinion): The agreement is not of a nature that would provide Turkey with independence and the means to survive. Mosul is very important to us. Let us resist to the end.
5. (Hasan Bey's view): The agreement is not of a nature that could provide Turkey with independence and the means to survive. Mosul is important and delicate; I cannot decide. I am inclined to seek peace by doing something about the compensation issue.
6. The Allies claim that Ankara wants peace, while the delegates in Lausanne are resisting. (See Nos. 444, 473, 483)

No: 444, Date: 27 January

From Prime Minister H. Rauf Bey to İsmet Pasha, Tel. No. 331, 332

Reference: No. 442, 443

It would be inadvisable to adjourn the conference before Istanbul is evacuated. The situation will be presented to the Assembly. No ground will be given to unfounded rumours.

No: 296

To the Presidency of the Council of Ministers

Report of 6 February: No. 197

1-Ka -d The Capitulations Commission met. I responded to the previous considerations with a detailed reply. I categorically rejected the judicial system. They gently insisted that I offer something in return for their proposals. I refused. With the hope that a suitable solution would be found in due course,

The meeting concluded. The matter remained unresolved. I subsequently presented the American representative's proposal for a specialised commission separately. I am hopeful that if we take on a few advisors on our own account, the matter will be resolved. In a subsequent private message sent to me by the Italian delegate, a mixed commission was again proposed, and it was deemed sufficient for this commission to have the authority and responsibility to oversee the enactment of laws and the implementation of legal procedures. and that it would be sufficient for it to be shown that it has the authority and competence to do so, and that the Italian opinion-makers It is reported that there is an opportunity and possibility to show such a favour to the general public. I categorically rejected it. I conveyed my opinion that declaring that the Italians would not renounce the capitulations would quickly generate great satisfaction in Turkey and that this exceptional opportunity should not be missed. I request a response regarding the issue of advisers (¹). It is imperative to receive the missing response to this issue urgently.

2 -Ta -On our part, Rıza Nur Bey insisted on the military service of non-Muslims in the subcommittee chaired by him and to the commission. In return, we did not resolve the issue of general amnesty. On the contrary, we took a position that would extend general amnesty to many Muslims in their own colonies. These two points remain the main issues. Venizelos reintroduced the religious privileges as before, but they were rejected due to our strong opposition.

No: 198

After this, the allies proceeded to make detailed statements and claims regarding the Armenian homeland and the Assyrian and Chaldean homeland. Rıza Nur Bey

stated that he could not allow these statements and insisted on obtaining a prior commitment from the President. Ultimately, despite the President's efforts, he left the commission together with its members (2). This was the measure required by the situation against the allies who were trying to create a fait accompli in order to speak and make proposals on Armenian issues. In his statements, Rıza Nur Bey that if the allies were under a moral obligation for causing the Armenians' current misfortunes by using them as a political tool, this could not be related to Turkey. In a joint letter addressed to me, the conference leaders, faced with the events and the accusations and allegations, found themselves in a position of defending their rights. and we stated that we were compelled to do so and that the matter could be considered closed. We had also strongly opposed their attempts to create a new fait accompli. We strongly opposed their request. When they deliberately sought to discuss the Armenian issue, it was our duty to act firmly and decisively (***)).

Early this morning, after discussing various financial matters in my meeting with the French representative Barrere, he conveyed the following message to me. The fact that the conference in Paris led to a difference of opinion is a matter of repair. General policy and the Lausanne policy are always the same among the allies. It is necessary not to think otherwise. Secondly, we stood firm on all issues. The Turkish delegates are not making any progress on any issue. Do we think we will reach peace with this approach? I gave the answer to the first question. I went into the details of the second I went into detail. I said, "We want Mosul, what is your opinion?" He said, "It belongs to the British, and we are with them." I said we categorically . He said they would insist and that we should not make any proposals. I also gave the official response to these.

İSMET

had discussed the matter with Montagna beforehand. Montagna had said that the Allies wanted to talk about the Armenian homeland and asked that no objection be made to these talks. Faced with his insistence, Rıza Nur agreed that the president should simply dismiss the matter with a sentence or two. Let us read the rest from Rıza Nur's pen:

"I said: If you (Montagna), on behalf of all of them, as president, say, 'It is a pity for the Armenians. Give them a homeland!'... I will agree to your speech... 'Very well,' he said. 'Do you guarantee with your honour that this will be the case?' I asked. 'Yes!' he said.

"At the end of the 6 January 1923 hearings, Montagna moved on to the Armenian Homeland issue. He began reading what he had written on the subject. I saw it was quite lengthy...

He was defending himself. I looked again and saw that he was adding things that hadn't even occurred to me... So he was adding fuel to the fire. Montagna was the most distinguished creature of the type I had imagined. I objected, but he paid no attention. "We won't listen, that's how it will be?" He didn't care... He just carried on. It was as if he had been born deaf... He finished and Rumbold began. I objected again. I asked to speak. They paid no attention... They carried on. They read at length, their faces bright red with anxiety. So they were afraid of something inappropriate happening. I wanted to speak plainly. He finished, and the French delegate began. This time I intensified my request. I stood up. Like Montagna, I said, "I'll say a few words." I began before Prangal spoke.

I said: "The Allied Powers have used the Armenians as a political tool and attacked them. They have incited them to revolt against their own state. The result has been their punishment. They have been punished with contagious disease and emigration. The entire responsibility for this lies not with us but with the Allied Powers. If the Armenians deserve a reward, you give it to them! You cannot win friends with other people's money."

The Armenians are oppressed... But there is not just one oppressed nation in the world. Egypt has been shaken by bloodshed several times in its struggle for freedom, most recently just yesterday.

India, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco want their freedom, their homeland. Even the Irish have shed so much blood for centuries for their homeland and independence. Give them their independence, their homeland. All you have read is nonsense. Under these conditions, we cannot stay here. I adjourn the session

I said, "I'm leaving the session..."

"Montagna, calm down. 'You cannot leave the session!' he began to shout loudly. He was tearing at me. I said, 'Can't we leave the session?' Montagna said, 'Yes, you cannot!' I said, 'Is there a force capable of keeping the Turkish delegation here? We will leave the session, and you will see how we leave!'... I said to our advisers and clerks, 'Come on, get up!'... They got up, and the clerk

Ahmed Cevad was standing in front of me, stunned. "Sir, am I also leaving?" he shouted. "What are you waiting for, get up!" I said. He gathered his bag and papers. In his haste and panic, he dropped the papers, scattering them on the floor. He gathered them up and got up too. I led the way, the others followed behind me. To Montagna, I said, "Look, this is how we're leaving. Bonjour Monsieur," I said. We walked. Montagna was still shouting, "You cannot leave the session," stamping his feet. The other delegates were confused, everyone was astonished. We left and went...

We arrived at the hotel. I told İsmet (Paşa), "They mentioned the Armenians again. I left the session. They tried very hard and were very anxious for me not to leave the session. I didn't listen." * Form: 24

I said. I explained the other details. He hugged me and said, "I congratulate you a thousand times. You've buried the Armenian issue once and for all." He kissed me on the cheek. I thought he would be afraid, but on the contrary, he responded courageously and was very pleased. I felt relieved too..." (My Life and Memoirs. III, pp. 1061-1064.)

*** The incident was widely reported in the foreign press. Below are three news articles and commentaries from the next day's newspapers:

A VIVID INCIDENT IN LAUSANNE

Turkish delegates leave the meeting room

Lausanne, 6 January. - An incident marked this morning's session of the minority sub-commission. The Turkish delegates, led by Riza Nour, deputy for Angora, left the meeting room, declaring that they no longer wished to continue the discussion. Here is how the incident unfolded:

Mr Montana, chairman of the sub-commission, had read a statement concerning the establishment of an Armenian national home. The British delegate, Sir Horace Humboldt, supported his colleague's motion, adding that he made the same proposal in favour of the Assyro-Chaldeans, in whom Great Britain has a powerful interest.

When the French representative requested the floor to present his government's point of view, Riza Nour insisted on being given the floor.

Without further delay, they had to yield to his demands, and that was when the incident occurred. Ri-za Nour stated that he understood the vital interest that the great powers attach to minorities in Turkey, for, he said, the misfortune of these minorities has always stemmed from the fact that the great Western powers have encouraged minorities in Turkey to arm themselves and fight against the central government. On behalf of the Ottoman delegation, Riza Nour declared that, under these circumstances, he could not continue to listen to the statements that had just been made before it, and that the Ottoman delegation considered the statements that had just been made null and void.

He announced that, under these circumstances, he had no choice but to withdraw.

The commission's president, Mr Montana, observed the gravity of the gesture the Ottoman delegation was about to make.

Riza Nour, without waiting any longer, rose and left the meeting room. (Echo de Paris, 7 January 1923)

What a peculiar way to discuss matters!

The last session of the sub-commission on minorities was marked by a most regrettable incident. The sub-commission first examined the question of the armistice. It was found that it was not possible to take a decision and that the matter should be settled by the plenary commission.

The delegates of the three Allied Powers then read out a declaration in which they submitted to the Turks the question of the Armenians, the Assyro-Chaldeans, the Bulgarians of Western Thrace, etc.

According to these declarations, nothing on this subject should appear in the peace treaty, but the Allies wished to submit these questions, which interested them from a humanitarian point of view, to the favourable consideration of the Turks, in the hope that, with the collaboration of the S. d. N, they might find a solution, particularly concerning the Armenians, and grant them certain guarantees, while maintaining the sovereignty of Turkey.

The Italian and English delegates had taken the floor when the Turkish delegate, Riza Nour Bey, requested to make a brief statement. He said he understood perfectly well that the powers were interested in the fate of minorities, since it was they who had brought misery upon these populations by using them as agents for their own policies. He added that Turkey had no business concerning itself with these matters, and he left the room.

After his departure, the French delegate read his statement, drafted in terms similar to those of Italy and Great Britain. The President then adjourned the session, noting that Riza Nour Bey, by his action, had assumed a heavy responsibility. The British delegate expressed himself in the same vein.

Protest by the Allies

The Allied delegations sent a letter to Ismet Pasha this afternoon protesting against the attitude taken by Riza Nour at Saturday morning's session of the sub-commission on minorities. They point out that this manner of acting can only hinder the smooth progress of the peace talks, that it is undiplomatic, and that the Allies can only regard it as an offence.

(Gazette de Lausanne, 7 January 1923)

The incident at the Minorities Sub-Commission A note

from the Allies to Ismet Pasha

Lausanne, 7 January]

The plenipotentiaries sent Ismet Pasha a joint note on Saturday evening in which they discuss the incident created in the morning session of the sub-commission on nationalities by Riza Nour Bey. In their note, the Allies set the record straight and ask the head of the Turkish delegation what he thinks of his colleague's behaviour.

Armenia Sacrificed

Lausanne, 6 January.]

(From our special correspondent)

The incident caused by Riza Nour Bey, who abruptly left the commission meeting this morning, demonstrated once again the absolute intransigence of the Turks on the Armenian question. This is a particularly grave observation given that the Allies were on the verge of surrendering almost completely. Indeed, it emerges from the statements made by the British, Italian and French delegates that the Armenian question had been dropped from the future peace treaty. No guarantees were demanded of the Ankara government regarding the creation and status of the future homeland; it was simply asked to take into consideration the claims of its victims and to grant them a vague administrative and municipal autonomy. As the representative of the France, there was nothing there that could undermine its sovereignty, as several European states had also assumed similar commitments. Czechoslovakia, for example, accepted much greater restrictions in favour of the Carpathian Ruthenians. By rejecting these suggestions in advance these suggestions, Riza Nour thus demonstrated that the Turks refused to make any concessions whatsoever and that they would not hesitate, should the Allies persist, to provoke a breakdown of the conference. However, it seems doubtful that, under the current circumstances, the Allies would wish to expose themselves to such a threat. Angora will thus prevail over all humanitarian considerations. Despite the protest lodged by Lord Curzon, Mr. Barrère and the Marquis Garroni to Ismet Pasha concerning the of his representative, it is therefore almost certain that the Armenian question will henceforth be set aside.

(Journal de Genève, 7 January

1923) Council of Ministers No:

283, 285

27 January 1923

Report of 27 December 339:

1 - First, second and third grand commissions until evening
They reviewed their accumulated work. They accepted the agreements for the exchange of Greek civilians, military personnel and inhabitants. They would be signed two days later. Curzon made propaganda in Gelibolu, mentioning the need to respect the graves in order to dispose of the Anburnu land like graves. After this, the capitulation issues and then the summaries of all financial issues were reviewed. Financial issues were once again particularly
After lengthy discussions, everyone maintained their point of view. Greek reparations became a hot topic again.
Venizelos also requested money under the names of occupation costs and refugee costs. In summary, the official proceedings of the Lausanne Conference came to an end. Thus, Mosul, judicial capitulations, the Thracian border, financial matters, especially the fifteen million lira compensation, and Greek reparations remain unresolved.
Upon my insistence that Mosul be categorically demanded, the conference concluded by further aggravating the financial issues in particular.

2 - Bompard b l ana showed Poincaré's telegram to Gazi Pasha this evening. He gave the following information about the outcome of the conference

The conference in Lausanne has not been successful. On the 29th, the text of the agreement will be given to us privately. On the 31st, it will be officially presented again in a meeting of the commissions, and we will be advised to accept it. If we refuse, it will be terminated. If we leave to consult with our government, appearances will be saved. The conference will not break off; another one will be held in a month or two.

The initiative will be considered. On 1 February, the Straits Commission will convene, and perhaps a proposal for signature will be made, which will naturally remain. On 2 February, Curzon will go to London. This is the actual state of affairs. The negotiations have come to an end. Without making a break here, perhaps taking a pause, I will return to Ankara. But in truth, it is a break, and reconvening depends on the opportunity.

3 - The American representative said the other day that, on condition that Mosul and the capitulations be left behind, other matters are negotiable. The Japanese representative said the same thing. This time, the French spoke of a definitive settlement. The Italian also expressed this idea. The Greeks maintain that there is nothing to discuss regarding repairs. Therefore, the most favourable terms of peace can currently be estimated as follows. The surrender of Mosul

is necessary. There is a possibility of escaping the judicial system, but it is not certain. In financial matters, I will strive to escape compensation at all costs. If I do not succeed, I will not accept it.

The border in Thrace, i.e. Karaağaç, is questionable. Without any conditions, Istanbul and the Straits, the army, etc. are well known. I must also state that the allies, this time, have a temporary system for every issue.

Since they are of that mindset, when we show such a tendency, they may not be able to ease any of the conditions, especially the capitulations and financial matters. In this case, it is not possible to avoid a break.

The question now is: Which is more appropriate, to come to Ankara after a break and seek a new opportunity for peace by starting with the renunciation of Mosul, or to renounce Mosul and seek peace? I am of the opinion that we should renounce Mosul and seek peace.

Rıza Nur Bey's opinion is in the fourth article. Haşan Bey's opinion is in the fifth article.

No: 285

4 - T - The terms of the treaty do not grant Turkey political and economic independence and viability. The idea that Turkey possesses viability has not yet entered the minds of Europeans. Mosul is very important to us because of its oil, which is essential for the country's growth and prosperity. Losing it would mean bringing the scourge of Kurdistan upon us, which would strike us at our heart. It would unite with Armenia. It would also sever our ties with the East, which is our future. For these reasons, the issue is very important. The British have brought the matter to a standstill. They were dragging the French and Italians along like servants, and then they dragged them along. This threat of a standstill is either serious or a bluff. If it is serious, they have kept us busy with the Conference for preparations such as mobilising the Greek army. I am more inclined to believe it is a bluff. From the very beginning, I have been of the opinion that this matter can be resolved without a break. They will not accept a peace treaty that is favourable to the Turks without implementing all the threats they have in their hands.

We must test the limits of the resistance and perseverance we have shown so far. to the utmost. British public opinion is inclined to evacuate not only Mosul but even Baghdad. It is certain that France and Italy will not participate in the war. British public opinion

is also against the war. They want to force us to renounce our demands through threats. It is not yet time to make sacrifices such as giving up Mosul. If we make one sacrifice, they will become more insistent on their other demands and

I believe we can no longer hold on. It is they, not us, who are causing the rupture. I am of the opinion that we must resolutely confront the situation, observe the circumstances, and determine our course of action accordingly. The Lausanne circle believes that Ankara will yield to the demands of the Allies. They are very hopeful about this. (This gives them great hope.) In this case, leaving the matter unresolved and coming to Ankara is the most appropriate course of action.

27/1/1923

Dr. RIZA NUR³

5 - The fundamental issues that now appear to have reached a definitive conclusion in the peace negotiations have resulted in the following fundamental issues that appear to necessitate a break:

- 1) The city of Mosul and its southern region, 2) Judicial capitulations, 3) The fifteen million gold pieces in compensation and reparations demanded by the Allies arising from the state of war and war measures, 4) The validity of the agreements made by the Istanbul government, 5) Recognition of old privileges and acceptance of the adaptation of railways to current conditions, and transfer of the Anatolian and Baghdad lines, considered German companies, to a group belonging to the Allies, 6) Four billion gold francs in reparations demanded from Greece, 7)

Division of debts

These are matters concerning the execution of capital. It is sufficient to delete the clause they wish to include in the agreement for this purpose from the explanatory statements we will make regarding the repayment of public debts.

In my humble opinion, the key to peace lies in the issues of Mosul and personal indemnities. Sacrifice for Mosul is an extremely important and delicate matter. I cannot decide on this personally. For personal compensation, seeking a compromise with some of your counter-proposals may be considered acceptable for peace. Firstly, it may be proposed that the 30 million we requested as debt shares for Syria and Iraq from our cash documents be settled with cash documents. They have not accepted this anyway. Secondly, we requested the return of the five million gold coins to the public treasury to be given to the holders of the first order, and we requested the value of the well-known warships from the British, which they did not accept.

, the five million gold pieces we requested to be returned to the public debt, and the value of the war ships we requested from the British but which they did not accept, can be offset. We are obliged to obtain a certain amount from the Greeks for repairs. However

even if the Greeks accept the four billion gold francs we demand, it is materially impossible to pay them. It is reasonable to reduce this to a minimum.

We must seek peace by securing other goods with these and settling the public debts in francs, and in doing so, we must avoid weakness.

We must not give the impression that we will not show them and that we will accept all their demands. There is hope that we can resolve the matter with statements that judicial capitulations will further improve judicial reforms in our country and that we will invite specialists in European law to our country for this purpose. We may be somewhat at odds on other matters. That is my opinion.

HAŞAN HÜSNİ

6- The Allies believe that Ankara wants peace, but that the plenipotentiaries here are obstinate.

Head of the Delegation ISMET No.

355

[1](#)

See Nos. 294, 291, 297, 300

[2](#)

Rıza Nur gives a lengthy account of the incident. According to him, the Chairman of the Second Commission

[3](#)

Rıza Nur also provides this document in his book titled "My Life and Memoirs." The following

is noteworthy that the words written in black are present in the telegram but not in the book; parentheses

The words in it are also in the book, but not in the telegram. (See *My Life and Memoirs* III, pp. 1150-1151).

To His Excellency İsmet Pasha

No. 263

For the Honourable Person

16 February 39 (16 January 1923) Strictly

confidential.

A discussion took place in the Council of Ministers, in which His Excellency Gazi Pasha also participated, regarding the individuals who had recently been offered positions at the Conference.

As the situation of Secretary Suad Sedat Efendi is known to the committee, it was deemed inappropriate for him to continue in his position and he was dismissed in an appropriate manner ⁽¹⁾; Haim Naum Efendi was sent from here on special assignment to England, and five thousand lira was given to him as compensation for four months' expenses and allowances until the end of the second month of the year; the collection of this amount was to be carried out from February onwards; Cavid Bey's position in the delegation

since the beginning of the month of February; that his presence there has been deemed inappropriate by the Assembly and, in particular, has caused distress among his colleagues in the Council of Ministers; and that the severance of his connection is urgently requested by His Excellency Gazi Pasha

is also desired, especially since he receives all payments from the General Administration of Public Debt-i Umûmiye İdaresinden küllî tahsilât aldığı halde İdâre-i mezkûrenin menâfiini müdâfaa edeceği tabîî görüldükten mâada da hey'et-i murahhasa tahsisâtından yevmiye beş İngiliz Lirası alması bihakkın şiddetle muâheze edildiğinin ⁽²⁾ and that the British authorities preferred Cavid Bey as a rival to His Excellency.

It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of Your Excellency that their propaganda has deeply offended Gazi Pasha and us, his friends.

HÜSEYİN RAUF

He is worthless, a thief. I said, "Don't take him!" but Hasan took him anyway, saying, "He is a very honourable young man." I see this boy at every meeting and always. It caught my attention. Why is he always there, everywhere? It seems unnecessary... I became suspicious.

"Days passed. The hotelier said that this boy had not been seen for three days, that they had opened his door, found an empty suitcase, and that he owed the hotel about 600 francs. This money is two thousand Turkish lira. It turns out he had also borrowed money from our advisers and clerks and spent it... We notified the police. They searched for him. The information provided by the police at the end of their investigation is as follows: One night, he was seen in a notorious tavern in Lausanne with one of Switzerland's most notorious thieves. One night, he was seen in Venizelos's car.

He was in contact with the French delegation. He often visited the Russian delegation's representative at night. Especially in recent days, he was always there. He used to gamble at our hotel at night. Three days ago, he crossed the Swiss border. He stole someone's suitcase on a train near Vienna
he stole someone's suitcase on the train. From there he went to Russia...

"The delegation settled the budget as a matter of state honour... The worst part is that this dishonourable fellow acted as a spy, reporting everything he saw and heard to the enemy." (My Life and Memoirs, III, pp. 1127-1128)

*• See No. 191

Mr Cavjd joined the Turkish delegation about a month later. He arrived in Lausanne on 12 December 1922, just as the Ottoman debt issue was to be discussed.

During his tenure as Minister of Finance, his opinion would be sought on the loans taken from France. However, it appears that Cavjd Bey raised suspicions in Lausanne. Rıza Nur writes the following on this matter.

"The matter of greatest interest and importance to the French is financial and economic affairs. The most important and foremost of these is the Public Debt...

"İsmet (Pasha) had brought Cavid for these matters. Cavid also presents himself as a financial expert. Haşan, Cavid, and Cahid are

They are busy with the Public Debt. These three are like a trio. They have formed a triad, and during the day

and day... They are always and specifically on friendly terms with the members of the French delegation, sitting with them. They dine and go out together...

We know that during the armistice, the French protected Cavid, rescued him from Malta, and that Cavid, when he was Minister of Finance, was in close contact with French financial circles and was on friendly terms with them. We also know that he was a representative of creditors at the Public Debt Administration. In any case, he is indebted to the French. At the very least, he cannot show them a hostile face.

and had been friends with them, and that he had served as a representative of the creditors at the Public Debt Administration. In any case, he is indebted to the French. He cannot turn his back on them. This only increases my suspicion.

"A man keeps coming to see me. He says the Public Debt sent two million and that he would give this money as a bribe for this job. Apparently, the idea that someone wanted to bribe me has spread to everyone's lips. At the same time, it is said that he gave a bribe to Cavid, Cahid.

"Negotiations, negotiations. Cavid, Haşan, Cahid, the Public Debt Administration capital, but on the basis of dividing the interest. This is beyond my mind... All the debt will remain on Turkey's shoulders. They will divide the simple annual interest between us and the devils who took land from us... Disaster...

We asked Cavit, and he said, "Capital division is scientifically impossible." "We found an important European expert. He said that capital division is technically possible," I said. Cavid blushed. He turned beetroot red. This man was very arrogant. Even the slightest objection would make his blood boil and his face turn bright red. Cavid knows that this is technically possible. He deliberately says it isn't. He is a traitor.

I told İsmet (Paşa). İsmet still isn't saying anything... Hüseyin Cahid is defending Cavid's words in his newspaper, writing against us. He accuses us of ignorance and mocks us. He was the Deputy Minister of Finance too! These gentlemen have been feeding off the Public Debt Administration for years. They still are...

"I told Bompard that there would definitely be a capital distribution. This caused an uproar among the French. Panic and heated arguments, threats. Everything...

"İsmet is in great distress. He is in a terrible state. He doesn't say anything to me either. Finally, he confessed:

"Cavid, Cahid, Hamid have become a curse upon us. We have to deal with the enemy, and now we have to deal with them too. They are betraying us—

"We cannot resolve this matter until we are rid of them. They are standing in our way..." he said.

"That was indeed the truth. My feelings were also with their betrayal..."

"İsmet said to me: 'I have a solution in mind. Let's bring Ferid from Paris. Let's have him draw up a project on capital distribution. Let's appoint him to negotiate with the French.'"

(My Life and Memoirs, IH, pp. 1120–1125). OUR

GREAT POET

YAHYA KEMAL'S TESTIMONY

Yahya Kemal, who was a member of the delegation at Lausanne, describes Cavid Bey's infamous role at Lausanne in pages 145-153 of his book *Political and Literary Portraits*, which we quote verbatim.

There was a young Lacretelle, a correspondent for *Debats*, who was a fierce enemy of the Turks and sent a telegram to *Debats* almost every day.

Cavid, Hamid, and Hüseyin Cahid Beys had split from the Heyet-i Murahhasa as a faction; they always sat in a separate corner of the Lausanne Palace hall with the French representative Monsieur Bompard and Madame Bompard; indeed, they presented a scene of separation from us.

The overt meetings with French informants writing against us in Bompard were further inflaming the anger of those who had come from Ankara. It was said that Cavid Bey and Ferid Bey, the French representative in Paris, played the leading role in this matter. circle, it was said that the main role in this affair was played by Ferid Bey, the Paris representative. Almost every day, there were bitter attacks on Ferid Bey in the Paris newspapers.

One of those gloomy days, we were discussing this matter with Zekâi Bey in a corner of the hotel lobby. Although Zekâi was the friend who was the main driving force behind the Ankara allegations, he was very objective; unlike the others, he did not attack Cavid and Hâmid Beys

He did not even mention their names; in short, he did not put himself forward in this case. He explained the case to me again that day in that corner and said, "If we accept the capital as it is, without division, and pay the interest in gold, never believe that we could borrow from France

! From now on, France itself

needs to borrow. How can it lend to us? We saw that borrowing from France was difficult even before the Great War, but now, after the Great War, borrowing is impossible. We will not be able to borrow from France, or from any other state. The best policy is to refrain from borrowing

and to rely on our own resources. However, even if borrowing were possible, there is a question of right and principle: the debt of a partitioned state is also partitioned, as all states accepted in the Treaty of Berlin. Here, the states may accept the division of capital, but it is imperative that we resist; otherwise, it is absurd to speak of independence. A tributary Turkey is not an independent state.
"It's beyond counting."

That day, Zekâi Bey said these words and explained the proposal he had prepared to pay the interest we would give to our creditors with two and a half paper lira instead of gold lira.

The dispute had subsided. This topic was discussed everywhere. We once discussed this topic with Ahmed İhsan Bey. Until then, Ahmed İhsan Bey, who had been on very good terms with Cavid Bey, was reluctant to get involved in this dispute.

However

he said to me confidentially, "My dear friend, I have come to the firm conclusion that Cavid and Hamid Bey are acting on behalf of the French in this matter." Ahmed İhsan Bey's statement shook me profoundly.

That night, İsmet Pasha summoned me to his salon. I went. He sat me down in a confidential manner and sat me down opposite him. He brought up this subject. He asked me what I thought about Cavid and Hâmid Bey in this regard. Adding a sentence to his question, he said: "Why

are they acting this way? Do you see them too often? Are their actions truly based on malice and self-interest? What is your opinion?" Gathering my thoughts from the beginning of the dispute up to that moment, I said: "Paşa! I cannot yet pass judgement on whether Cavid and Hâmid Bey have committed treason. Until now, in Istanbul, in financial matters, foreign interests

Defending against the state was considered permissible. Unfortunately, such a permissive attitude existed in our national environment. Due to our lack of national consciousness, we were particularly negligent in matters of finance and economics. Since the time of Abdülmecid, acting against our national interests in alliance with foreigners was not criticised; those who acted in this manner received ranks, honours and positions from the state and were respected. We saw the manifestation of nationalism in economics and finance for the first time in Ankara. Cavid and Hamid do not know the courts of Ankara; they see no problem in acting as they did before, they are unconscious in their actions, but they are not traitors
I believe this."

Ismet Pasha was very thoughtful. He said to me, "I am very pleased with the trial, you have cheered me up. But we must wake these men up, they are acting badly, we are the representatives of a poor, destitute, wretched nation. What will happen if we do not defend the inalienable rights of this nation? We called Cavid and Hamid Bey here to benefit from their expertise in finance: if we defend ourselves and give the French the right, what meaning will this expertise and competence have?" he said.

... went to plead. I believe he mitigated the situation. Nevertheless, in accordance with the orders given, they all left the Lausanne Palace and the city of Lausanne on the train that evening. Hamid Bey and the Chief Rabbi went to Paris. Nihad Reşad Bey departed for London. Cavid and his household withdrew to a mountain hotel in Switzerland. I do not know what effect this terrible order had on Cavid Bey. Cavid Bey certainly showed a face contrary to my expectations.

He behaved calmly, without protesting. He did not see Ismet Pasha either. He did not show much embarrassment towards those around him in the Lausanne Palace, where he had once been recognised as the greatest statesman. His manner of conduct in this situation revealed that Cavid Bey was not as nervous, impulsive, and sensitive as he appeared; he was, above all, practical, not one to burn the bed for a flea, not one to let an incident disrupt the course of his life and career; in short, he was unflappable.

Days passed. The conference was interrupted for the well-known reasons.

We all returned to Ankara. The dispute in Lausanne had spread its roots and branches throughout the circles of Istanbul and Ankara

. It was being discussed everywhere. Only the peace treaty had not been signed. The nation's eyes were on the signing of the peace treaty and on being rid of the uncertainty as soon as possible: for this reason, these disputes seemed insignificant; they did not concern many people.

Nuri Bey and Cavid lived in two adjoining houses in Nişantaşı. Their lives were closely intertwined. At that time, Nuri Bey was very fond of me; he would constantly seek me out and invite me over. I liked him too. We got along very well. When I visited him, he would always try to drag me to Cavid Bey's house. I had lost my trust in Cavid Bey; I considered it unnecessary to meet, to get involved in political intrigues, to cause pointless resentments. Nuri Bey insisted constantly. I said to Nuri Bey: "Why should I argue with Cavid Bey, his thoughts belong only to himself and only selfishness. He will speak, I will respond, and that will be the end of it."

I will offend you; one should not engage in argumentation; especially rushing into argumentation for the sake of fighting is inappropriate.

However, Nuri Bey, being a great admirer of Cavid Bey, kept saying that he would convince me in every way.

One day, we were again in Nuri Bey's salon. Cavid Bey and his harem arrived. The Ankara debate, which I was so wary of, began again.

We began to argue with balanced aggression. The heat of the discussion increased. I brought up the capital issue, which had remained a knot in my heart. I said to Cavid Bey, "You said at the Lozan Palace that the states would never accept the division of the Düyûn-ı Umûmiye capital, yet the states accepted the division of the capital. I now doubt the accuracy of your opinion."

"I said. Cavid replied, "Yes, that's correct. They accepted the division of the capital in principle, but the settlement has not yet been signed, and we will see the outcome of the coupons issue." I did not find this answer very convincing: "No, Your Excellency, you told people like me who do not understand finance that the capital could not be divided! I mean, your opinion has not turned out to be correct!" I said. Cavid Bey again resorted to weak and convoluted arguments, failing to convince me or those listening around us.

The discussion took a rather unpleasant and harsh turn; Cavid Bey began to berate İsmet Pasha and to criticise Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, except for his military service. I asked him a question I had wanted to ask him for a long time, and this is exactly how the conversation went between us. I said:

* Form: 25

- Sir, it was during the First İnönü battles, and you sent a letter from London to Nuri Bey from London, and Nuri Bey read that letter to us one evening in the hall where he resided on
on Şişli Avenue, in the hall where he was staying. Nuri Bey is also here...

- Yes, I sent that letter, I know. In that letter, I expressed my thoughts on peace. That's what you want to talk about, isn't it?

- Yes, I want to say that, but please listen for a moment! In that letter, you said: There is no other option but to make peace quickly, no matter the cost.

there is no other option.

- Yes, what does that mean? I thought so at the time; it is an opinion.
- Yes, this is an opinion, a view, but if your opinion had been accepted and implemented at the time of the First Battle of İnönü, naturally there would have been no victory and Greece would not have withdrawn from Thrace; perhaps it would have retreated from the front line but remained in the city of İzmir in some way. The Greek element would also remain in the country as before; Istanbul would become an international city. France would have found a way to remain in Adana. In short, if peace had been concluded according to your interpretation at that time, we would never have been able to comprehend this situation again; we would always have been faced with an overbearing Greece, with one foot in the Marmara and the other firmly planted in Çatalca, wouldn't we?
- What do you mean?
- What I mean is that you had a peace decision at that time, and Mustafa Kemal, whose politics you disliked, also had a decision, claiming that salvation lay in war. Your decision was wrong and his interpretation was right; if we had followed and applied your interpretation, we would have been a captive and defeated nation. By following and applying Mustafa Kemal's interpretation

we emerged from the situation as both an independent and victorious nation. Our ruling at that time was wrong; our ruling on the distribution of capital our *ijtihad* proved wrong again. Citizens whose *ijtihad* is always wrong are not considered criminals, but they do not come to power. Why do you want us to abandon Mustafa Kemal, whose *ijtihad* is consistently correct, and follow your highness, whose *ijtihad* is consistently wrong? We, as ordinary citizens, love Mustafa Kemal because we think this way, and we cannot trust you.

Cavid Bey was upset by my words and said:

- Sir, in politics, *ijtihad* depends on the situation. Whatever I think in a given situation, I say it clearly. Just as I said then, so I say now.

I am saying. Ismet Pasha's reconciliation, Ankara's economic systems...
ilââhirihi... continued.

He gave an eloquent lecture, mixing up many things: people, events, ideas. But he failed to convince me. However, even Nuri Bey, his greatest supporter, seemed a little thoughtful after that day's discussion. After Cavid Bey left, he said to me:

- The question was strong, Cavid couldn't give a convincing answer!

Quite some time passed after that heated debate. One day, we were in Nuri Bey's garden. It was adjacent to Cavid Bey's garden, separated only by a short wall. Cavid Bey called out from the porch of his house, inviting us to his garden . I had to cross over to the other garden and join them. Cavid Bey and his family, Nuri Bey and his wife Suphiye Hanım, their son Şefkat, and I gathered around the tea table. We agreed not to discuss politics at first.

I had been elected as a member of parliament in those days. On this occasion, Cavid Bey showed me very sincere support. He recounted at length how we had entered the Great War, if not about recent politics, then about the past; we listened. He congratulated himself. One thing Cavid Bey said during that conversation stuck in my mind. It was a confession that perfectly expressed his psychology; it was a remark that conveyed how much he loved politics and that he could not give it up. He said: "Yahya Kemal Bey, Hakki Pasha once told me in Berlin, based on his experience, that a person does not sink in political life; if they persist, they will inevitably rise again one day! This is a truth!"

There was something sad in Cavid Bey's opinion: he was saddened by being excluded from politics; he was the happiest, most prosperous, most honourable man in Istanbul. The Cercle d'Orient and the Büyükkada Club were institutions under his command. High society seemed to revel under his leadership; his salary from the Public Debt Administration far exceeded that of Ismet Pasha from the government. The most fashionable men and women of Istanbul sought his company, his conversation...

NOTES

1 - Yusuf Kemal Tengirşek. Born in Boyabat in 1878. He graduated from law school in Istanbul and Paris. He was a member of the Ottoman Parliament. While he was a professor of economics at Darülfünûn, he was elected as a member of parliament for Kastamonu in the 1st term of the Grand National Assembly at the age of 42. He also served as a member of parliament for Sinop in the 2nd to 8th terms. He served as Minister of Economy, Justice, and Foreign Affairs. He signed the and the Turkish-French treaty as the head of the delegation. He passed away in 1969.

2 - Fethi Okyar. He was born in 1880 in the city of Pirlepe, Macedonia. He was elected to the Meclis-i Mebusan (Parliament). In 1917, he was appointed Minister of the Interior. Upon the start of the National Struggle, he moved to Anatolia. He was elected as an Istanbul deputy to the first Grand National Assembly of Turkey. He served as Minister of the Interior. He became Prime Minister on 14 August 1923. His premiership was short-lived. He served as President of the Grand National Assembly between 1923 and 1925. After leaving this post, he became Ambassador to Paris. In 1930, he founded the Free Republican Party. Four months later, his party was closed down. He also served as Minister of Justice for a time. He died in Istanbul in 1943.

3 - This refers to his trip to Moscow as head of the delegation in connection with the Ankara Agreement signed between Turkey and Soviet Russia.

4 - Hüseyin Rauf Orbay. He was born in Istanbul in 1881.

He graduated from the Naval Academy. He was elected to the Assembly of Deputies. He entered the Grand National Assembly as a deputy for Sivas. During the occupation of Istanbul

he was exiled to Malta by the British. After escaping from there he went to Anatolia and entered the first Assembly as a deputy for Sivas. He served as the second president of the Grand National Assembly. He also served as a deputy for Istanbul and Kastamonu. He was first Minister of Public Works, then Prime Minister. He died in 1967.

5 - Reşit Saffet Atabinen. Writer, historian, diplomat. Born in Istanbul in 1894 in Istanbul. He graduated from Saint-Joseph School and studied Political Science in Paris. He served as ambassador to Bucharest, Washington, Madrid and Tehran. He was Director of the Special Office of the Ministry of Finance and a member of the Council of State . He served as a member of parliament in the first term of the Grand National Assembly. He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as "General Secretary". He wrote for many local and foreign

and wrote over 40 works in French and Turkish. He died in 1965.

6 - Armistice of Mudros: The Armistice Agreement (30 October 1918) prepared in preparation for the peace treaty that the Ottoman Empire was forced to sign with the victorious powers after its defeat in the First World War.

7 - Admiral Galthorpe: The British admiral who, on behalf of İngiltere and the Allied Powers, summoned the Ottoman Empire to the Armistice of Mudros and presided over the armistice negotiations.

8 - Kara Vasıf Bey. Born in Istanbul in 1872. He graduated from the Military Academy and the War College. While serving as a member of parliament for Sivas in the Meclis-i Mebusan, he was arrested by the British and exiled to Malta. He was the founder of the Karakol Society, which supplied arms to Anatolia. He attended the Sivas Congress as a delegate from Afyon. He was a member of the Representative Committee of the Anatolia and Rumelia Defence of Rights Society. He was released in 1920 and came to Ankara, where he took his seat in the first Assembly as a deputy for Sivas

He served as general secretary of the Progressive Republican Party. Although implicated in the assassination attempt on Atatürk, he was acquitted by the Independence Court. He then left politics. He died in 1931.

9 - Haşan Hüsnü Saka. Born in Trabzon in 1886. He graduated from the School of Political Science (Mülkiye Mektebi). After completing his political studies in Paris and returned to Turkey, where he taught at the School of Political Science. He served as a member of parliament for Trabzon during the final term of the Assembly of Deputies. He also entered the First Assembly as a member of parliament for Trabzon. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as a delegate. He served as Deputy Speaker of the Assembly and held the positions of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Economy, Minister of Finance, Minister of Trade, and Prime Minister. He died in 1960.

10 - The Allied Powers consisted of the following countries: England, France, Italy, America, Greece, Japan, Romania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

11 - Mehmet Tevfik Pasha. The last Ottoman Grand Vizier. He was born in Istanbul in 1840. He served as a court clerk, undersecretary to the Grand Vizier, and Minister of Forestry and Mines.

He held positions such as Nazır. He was one of the few Ottoman officials who retained his position after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. He died in 1917.

12 - Meşihat: The highest religious office in the Ottoman organisation, the office of the Sheikh al-Islam, which oversaw whether the rulings issued by the sultans were in accordance with Islamic law.

13 - Caliphate: The office representing religious authority at the highest level as a political power.

14 - Miralay (Colonel) Mojen. A military observer who came to Ankara after the signing of the Ankara Agreement with France and remained there for a long time.

15 - Second Group. The group representing the opposition in the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly itself gave it this name. The group was led in the Assembly by Kara Vasıf Bey, Deputy Emirum Hü-

şeyin Avni Ulaş, and Mersin Deputy Hüseyin Selahattin Köseoğlu. (For further information, see *Opposition in the Atatürk Era*, Nursen Mancı, İstanbul, 1984).

16 - M-jfMüfitinKurutluoğlu. Born in 1879 in Kırşehir; graduated from the Law School. Practised as a lawyer and served as a mufti. While a member of the Ankara General Assembly, he entered the Assembly as the Kırşehir Deputy for the 1st Term. He served as the Secretary of the Justice Committee and the Second Deputy Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. He died in 1958.

. 17 - The last Ottoman caliph, Abdülmecid Efendi.

18 - Damat Ferit Pasha. The last Ottoman Grand Vizier. He was born in 1853. He joined the Foreign Office at a young age and rose to the position of ambassador.

He served as ambassador to Paris, Berlin, Leningrad, and London.

While serving as consul in Bombay, he came to İstanbul and married Sultan Abdulhamid II's daughter, Mediha Sultan.

Abdülhamid II, and became a member of the Council of State. During his final term as Grand Vizier, he dissolved the Parliament.

He attempted to crush the National Struggle in Anatolia. When the Entente Powers requested a delegation from both the İstanbul government and the Ankara

government. Upon the success of the National Struggle, he fled to Europe. When the National Forces approached Istanbul, he came and settled in Nice, taking his family with him. He died there in 1923.

1

See No. 15

Regarding Suad Sedad, the secretary who aroused suspicions from the very first days of the Lausanne Conference, Rıza Nur writes the following

2

Hasan (Saka) brought it to Lausanne, and I said to Hasan in Sirkeci: This child, ah~

19 - See note 21.

20 - Ali Kemal was a well-known journalist at the beginning of the 20th century, famous for his political debates and relentless struggle against the Committee of Union and Progress. He was born in Istanbul in 1876. While in his fourth year at the School of Political Science, he fled to Europe. He returned to Istanbul for a while but was arrested for his political activities and exiled to Aleppo. Five years later, while returning to Istanbul (1894), he fled to Europe again. He became known for his articles published in the İkdâm newspaper in Paris. Although his real name was Ali Rıza

he was known by the name Ali Kemal, which he used in his writings. He returned to Istanbul during the 1908

, he returned to Istanbul. He joined the Freedom and Unity Party and wrote fiercely against the Committee of Union and Progress. He served as Minister of Education and the Interior in the last Damat Ferit

Cabinet. He published the newspapers Peyam, Sabah, and Peyam-ı Sabah. He wrote harsh articles against the National Struggle.

Finally, as mentioned above, he was arrested in Beyoğlu in accordance with the directives of the Ankara Government and sent to İzmit by motorboat.

While being transported to Ankara, he was lynched and killed by the public (1922).

21 - Esat. An intelligence officer who served in Istanbul during the National Struggle and acted in accordance with Ankara's instructions. He rose to the rank of Istanbul Police Chief.

22 - Sakallı Nurettin Pasha. Commander of the 1st Army (Sakallı) Nurettin Pasha, who rendered great services during the final period of the Ottoman Empire and the National Struggle and played a major role in liberating İzmir from occupation.

was born in Bursa in 1873. During the First World War, he served as a division commander on the Syrian front. After the armistice, he was first appointed Governor of İzmir

and then appointed Commander of the 17th Corps. He provided great support to the Society for the Defence of Ottoman Rights in İzmir. He resigned from his post on 11 March 1919 and came to Istanbul. At the request of Damat Ferit Pasha, he contacted Mustafa Kemal. Later, stating that "no more Muslim blood should be shed," he sided with the Ankara government. He decided to work under the Grand National Assembly. He was first appointed Commander of the Central Army and then Commander of the 1st Army in the Great Offensive.

His army was the first to enter Izmir. He became the governor of Izmir. Upon his death, in accordance with his will, he was buried in the cemetery of a mosque built on the Kordonboyu (1932).

23 - Şehremaneti: Mayoralty.

24 - Ömer Faruki Bey. He was one of the most famous lawyers of the period. Member of the Istanbul Bar Association.

25 - Zeki (?), aide to Mehmet Vahdettin. He spent his life in the palace until Vahdettin left the country. Vahdettin's departure from Istanbul
At that time, he also went to Malta with Vahdettin. Later, still in Vahdettin's service, Zeki went to the Hejaz to join Sharif Hussein. When Vahdettin sensed Sharif Hussein's betrayal and went to San Remo, Zeki also settled there. After Vahdettin's death, he moved to Nis. He died in poverty and misery.

26 - Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar. He was one of our renowned scholars and politicians. He was the husband of Halide Edip Adıvar. He was born in Gelibolu in 1882. After graduating from the School of Political Science and Medicine, he fled to Germany in 1905. He worked as an assistant at Berlin University. He returned to Istanbul in 1908 with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. He became a professor of medicine. During the First World War, he served as a reserve medical captain in the General Directorate of Health. When the National Struggle began, he went to Anatolia with his wife
Halide Edip. He was appointed to the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance. Social Affairs. After the victory, he served as Ankara's Foreign Affairs Representative in Istanbul. While serving as an Istanbul MP, he travelled to Europe and conducted scientific research in England. Upon his return to Turkey, he was appointed chairman of the translation and editing committee of the Islamic Encyclopaedia. He has numerous translations and original works to his name. He died in Istanbul in 1955.

27 - Lord Curzon (1859-1925). British politician. He entered the House of Commons in 1886. He served as Under-Secretary of State for India, Foreign Secretary
and Governor-General of India. He became Leader of the House of Lords and was created a Marquess in 1921. He represented Britain at the Lausanne Conference. He fought the hardest to prevent Mosul and Kirkuk from passing to us. He has many works on European and Asian issues.

28 - Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu. First Secretary General of the Presidency. Historian, writer, soldier, diplomat. Mehmet Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu was born in Çanakkale in 1889. He graduated from the War Academy. During the War of Independence, he served as head of the Western Front Operations Branch. He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as a military advisor. He served as ambassador to Moscow. He was also the first president of the Turkish Historical Society. He has numerous translations and original works to his name. He died in Ankara in 1961.

29 - Münir Ertegün. Born in Istanbul in 1888. Graduated from Istanbul Law School. Held various positions. During the War of Independence, he was sent by the Istanbul government to meet with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and served on the committee headed by Ahmet İzzet (Furğaç) Pasha. He remained in Ankara and assisted the National Struggle. He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as a Legal Advisor. He made great efforts. He served as ambassador to Bern, Paris and Washington. He died in Washington in 1944. His body was brought to Turkey two years later on the Missouri ship.

30 - Zekai Apaydın. Born in Bosnia in 1877: He graduated from the School of Political Science. He held various positions. He entered the First Grand National Assembly as a deputy from Adana. He was a member of the Eskişehir Independence Court. He attended the London Conference and the Treaty of Lausanne. He was an advisor to the delegation in Lausanne. He served as Minister of Agriculture, Public Works, and National Defence. He served as ambassador to Moscow. He died in Istanbul in 1947.

31 - Mustafa Şeref Özkan. He was born in Burdur in 1887. He graduated from the Istanbul and Paris Law Schools. Özkan, who participated in the Lausanne Conference as an advisor, served as a member of parliament for Burdur in the 2nd to 5th terms of the Grand National Assembly. Özkan, who also served in the Ottoman Parliament, died in 1938.

32 - Veli Saltık. (Member of Parliament for Burdur).

33 - Şükrü Kaya. Born in Istanbul in 1883. Graduated from the Paris Law School. In 1913, he was involved in the supervision of the Commission for the Exchange of Populations with the Bulgarians and the resettlement of Greeks from the Aegean coast to inland areas. He then began teaching at the Buca Sultanisi. He joined the İzmir Defence of Rights Society. He was arrested and sent to Istanbul. Following the occupation of Istanbul, he was exiled to Malta on the grounds that he was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. He escaped from there and went to Europe. He then

he came to Anatolia and joined the National Struggle. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as an advisor. He served as Mayor of Izmir and Minister of Agriculture, Foreign Affairs and the Interior. Although he was the general secretary of the CHP, he was not nominated as a candidate in the elections because he opposed İsmet İnönü's presidency. He did a lot of translation work. He compiled his memoirs describing the events between 1927 and 1937 under the title "My Words and Writings". He died in Istanbul in 1959
he passed away in Istanbul.

34 - Senüyyiddin Başak (Legal Advisor to the Istanbul Waqf).

35 - Hamit Hasancan. (President of the Red Crescent Society).

36 ~ Prof. Dr. Nihad Reşat Belger. (Paris Press Representative).
Economist.

37 - Yahya Kemal Beyatlı. Famous poet 1884-1958.

38 - Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın. One of our famous writers. (1892)
He was born in Istanbul. He participated in the National Struggle. He worked as a war correspondent for Hakimiyet-i Milliye. He supported the National Struggle with his writings.
He served as a Member of Parliament, Secretary General of the Turkish Language Research Society, Secretary General of the Presidency, Ambassador to Tirana, Athens and Budapest, and Ambassador to Rome, London and Athens. He died in 1959.

39 - Nusret Metya. One of the advisors to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time. He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as an advisor.

40 - Şevket Doğner (Lieutenant Colonel), Director of the Maritime Department of the Ministry of the Interior. He went to Lausanne as an advisor. He is the brother of Ali Şükrü, the Trabzon Member of Parliament, who was famous for his opposition in the Assembly.

41 - Hüseyin Pektaş. Born in 1883. He was the second principal of Robert College at the time and taught Turkish. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as an interpreter (see Nutuk, Vol. I, p. 248).

42 - Cavid Bey. One of my former finance ministers. Born in Thessaloniki in 1875. He graduated from the School of Political Science. He worked at the Agricultural Bank for a while. After teaching finance and economics at Darülmualimin-i Âliye for four years
at the Higher Teachers' College, teaching finance and economics.

He became the headmaster of the Feyziye School in Thessaloniki. He was one of the leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress. After the Second Constitutional Era, he came to Istanbul. He served as a member of parliament for Thessaloniki in the first and second terms of the Meclis-i Mebusan (Parliament), and for Biga in the third term. In 1912, he served as Minister of Public Works in the Sait Pasha government, and briefly as Minister of Finance in 1914. He established the Ottoman National Credit Bank. He served as Minister of Finance in the cabinets of Talat and Izzet Pasha. During the Armistice period, with the start of the trials of the Unionists, he fled to Europe. He was sentenced in absentia to 15 years in prison by the Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi (Military Court of Appeals). He returned to Ankara. In 1921, he participated in the London Conference as a Turkish delegate. Cavit Bey, who was a financial advisor during the first period of Lausanne, was removed from his post when it became known that he had established close contacts with the French. He was arrested on charges of involvement in the assassination attempt against Atatürk in Izmir and was later executed by the Independence Court (1926). He was the first to address the economy in Turkey in a modern sense.

43 - Fuat Ağralı. Born in 1878 in Midilli. He graduated from the Law School. When the War of Independence began, he moved to Anatolia. He was the treasurer of the Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Conference.

He served as a Member of Parliament for Istanbul and Elâzığ, President of the Divan-ı Muha-sebât, and Minister of Finance in three different cabinets between 1934 and 1944. He died in İzmir in 1957.

44 - Yusuf Hikmet Bayur. Historian and politician. He was born in Istanbul in 1891. He was the grandson of Kıbrıslı Kamü Paşa. He graduated from Galatasaray Sultanisi and then graduated from the Faculty of Science and Literature at the University of Paris. As soon as the War of Independence began, he crossed over to Anatolia and joined the National Forces on the Salihli front. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as an advisor. After holding various positions in the embassies in London and Belgrade ambassadorships, he became the ambassador to Kabul. He was elected as a member of parliament for Manisa. He served as Secretary-General of the Presidency twice. While serving as Minister of National Education, he implemented university reforms. He taught Turkish Revolutionary History at various universities. Together with Fevzi Çakmak, he founded the Millet Party. He later joined the DP. He was elected as a Manisa deputy from the DP. He has many research and copyrighted works on foreign policy, revolutionary history and various historical topics. He died in 1980.

45 - Ali Şefik Bekman. He was born in Trabzon in 1886. He graduated from the School of Political Science and the Paris School of Political Science. He was a member of the Ottoman Parliament

He served as a member of parliament for Trabzon in the 2nd and 3rd terms of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as an advisor. He served as Chairman of the Inspection Board of the Ministry of Finance.

46 - Mustafa Zühtü İnhan. One of our economics professors. Born in 1881. He fled to Russia during the reign of Abdulhamid. From there, he went to Berlin to complete his education. With the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he came to Istanbul and taught at the Law School. He participated in the Lausanne Conference as an economic advisor. He authored various works on economics. He died in 1970.

47 - Ahmet Cevat Emre. Born in Crete in 1878. He studied at the Military Academy for a period.

at the Military Academy. He worked in the language department. He participated in some subcommittees in Lausanne as a clerk. He was a member of parliament for Çanakkale in the 4th and 5th terms of the Grand National Assembly.

48 - Ahmet Cevdet (İkdamcı). One of our famous journalists. After graduating from Kaptan Paşa Rüştiyesi, he began working at the Tercüman-ı Ahval newspaper. During the same period, he attended and graduated from the Law School. He then joined the editorial board of Takvim-i Vekayi. He held various civil service positions. He was the chief editor of the Sabah, Tarik and Saadet newspapers. In the İkdam newspaper he founded, he fled to Europe as soon as the 31 March movement began because of the criticism he launched against the Committee of Union and Progress government during the constitutional period.

He remained in Switzerland for a long time but continued to send his writings. He drew attention with his simple Turkish and served Turkish culture. In 1935, he suffered a heart attack and died in Ankara, where he had come for the Press Congress. He is buried in Eyüp, Istanbul.

49 - Velid Ebuzziya (Abdurrahman Velid Bey). He studied at Galatasaray and Saint Benoit high schools. He graduated from Istanbul Law School and Paris School of Political Science. He wrote his first articles in Tasvir-i Efkâr in 1912. In 1920, he was arrested for his harsh writings against the occupying forces and exiled to Malta. Upon his return, he published the Tevhid-i Efkâr newspaper. He served in various capacities within the MM Group, which was the Turkish fifth column in Istanbul during the National Struggle. He also supported the National Struggle through his writings. After Lausanne, he was brought before the Independence Court due to some harsh criticisms he directed at the government, but he was acquitted.

he was brought before the Independence Court but was acquitted. In 1934, he founded the Zaman newspaper. He retired in 1943 and died in 1945.

50 - Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın. He was born in Balıkesir in 1874. After graduating from the School of Political Science, he entered the world of journalism. He held various civil service positions.

He also began writing novels in the same year* Format: 26

He published the Mektep magazine. He was a member of the Edebiyat-ı Cedide group. He published various stories, art and literature in Servet-i Fünun. The magazine was closed down due to a translation related to the French Revolution.

He was elected to the Meclis-i Mebusan (Parliament). He served as president of the Parliament. He was exiled to Malta by the British. During his exile in Malta, he learned Italian and English in addition to French and turned to the field of sociology.

He escaped the 31 March incident because his printing press was not operational. From that time onwards, he defended concepts such as liberty and equality within the framework of the French Revolution, and socialism from the Republican era onwards. He wrote harsh articles in the Tanin newspaper, which he began publishing again. He was exiled to Çorum by the Independence Court. Simplification of language, To be more precise, he fought hard for pure Turkish. He argued that language could evolve rather than undergo a revolution. He produced numerous original works, translations, articles, writings, novels, and short stories. He passed away in 1957. He served in the Turkish Grand National Assembly as a deputy for Çan in the 5th and 6th terms, for Istanbul in the 7th and 8th terms, and for Kars in the 9th term. He was against İnönü in Lausanne, but became an "İnönücü" at the end of his life.

51 - Al-Ali Naci Karacan. Journalist, writer. Born in Istanbul in 1896.

After graduating from Galatasaray High School, he began working at the Tasvir-i Efkâr newspaper. He served as editor-in-chief of the Tasvir-i Efkâr and Vakit newspapers. He founded the Akşam newspaper in 1918 with Necmettin Sadak, Kazım Şinasi and Falih Rıfkı Atay. He supported the movements in Anatolia during the National Struggle. He published the newspapers Inkılap, Politika, and Tan. When the multi-party era began, he founded the Milliyet newspaper (1950). Karacan, who also served as press attaché in Switzerland for a time in the 1940s, died in 1955.

52 - Necmettin Sadak. Journalist and politician. Born in Isparta in 1890. He graduated from Galatasaray High School and the Faculty of Arts at the University of Lyon.

He worked for a time at the Copyright and Translation Board. He taught sociology at Darülfünun. After Ziya Gökalp, he was appointed professor to the same chair. He made a name for himself in the press with his articles in Vakit. He supported the National Struggle with his articles in the Akşam newspaper, which he published with his friends Ali Naci Karacan, Falih Rıfkı and Kâzım Şinasi. He served in Parliament from 1927

1950. He participated as a Turkish delegate in the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the Montreux Straits Convention. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the governments of Haşan Saka and Şemsettin Günaltay. In 1950, he left politics and began working as chief editor at the Akşam newspaper. He died in New York in 1953.

53 - Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz. Journalist, writer, publisher, and politician.

He was born in Erzurum in 1866. After graduating from the School of Political Science, he worked in the Translation Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1890, he founded the Alem printing house and began publishing Servet-i Fünun, the famous magazine of the Edebiyat-ı Cedide movement. He taught from the Second Constitutional Era until the end of the First World War. In 1919, he travelled to Europe to promote the ideas and aims of the Representative Committee to the European public. He chaired the Turkish Press Office in Lausanne during the Lausanne Peace Conference. In 1931, he entered Parliament as a representative of Ordu. He wrote many memoirs. Ahmet İhsan was the first to translate Jules Verne's novels into Turkish. He died in 1942.

54 - Metr Salem. He belonged to the Jewish group known as the Selanik Dönmesi. In the fields of finance and law, he had a great influence on the Ottoman state officials. He had established particularly good relations with Talat Pasha and had become privy to many of the state's secrets.

He was one of the Jews who made the greatest efforts, after Emmanuel Karasu, to establish the State of Israel. While serving as a member of the board of directors of the Thessaloniki Bank in Istanbul, he went to Italy, which had long served his ambitions, following the occupation of Istanbul. He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as the Italians' financial and legal advisor.

He also participated in the Lausanne Conference as the Italians' financial and legal advisor.

55 - Karasu Efendi (Emmanuel). Selanik Dönmesi (of Jewish origin) Turkish politician. After graduating from Istanbul Law School, he began working as a lawyer in Thessaloniki. He became the "supreme master" of the Masonic lodge called "Makedonia Risorta". By joining the Thessaloniki branch of the Committee of Union and Progress, he facilitated the society's relationship with Masonic lodges and the infiltration of Masons into the society

During the Second Constitutional Era, he served two terms in the Chamber of Deputies. He was very active in securing land for the Jews in Palestine. Despite all his insistence, Sultan Abdülhamid, who did not take such offers seriously and constantly dismissed him, was also on the committee that went to inform him that he had been deposed. During the Second Constitutional Era, he became one of the leading figures of the Committee of Union and Progress.

He got what he wanted within the party. As soon as the First World War began, he had himself appointed as Inspector of Supplies and amassed a vast fortune. In 1919, he fled to Italy and settled in Trieste. After years of exploiting the Ottoman Empire at Lausanne, he made great efforts to gain a share in the newly formed young Turkish Republic. He died in Trieste in 1934.

56 - Talat Pasha. One of the last Grand Viziers. Born in Edirne in 1874. He graduated from the Edirne Military Secondary School. He was arrested for participating in activities against Abdülhamid II and was later exiled to Thessaloniki (1898). Although he attended the Law School there, he did not graduate. He was among the founders of the Ottoman Freedom Society (later renamed the Committee of Union and Progress). Encouraged by Emmanuel Karasu Efendi, he joined the Thessaloniki Masonic Lodge.

When his secret activities were discovered, he was to be exiled to Anatolia, but was saved by the intervention of Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha. He came to Istanbul and secretly organised the Committee of Union and Progress there as well. With the deposition of Abdulhamid and the rise to power of the Committee of Union and Progress, he became a member of parliament for Edirne. He played a significant role in the actual events leading to the dethronement. He served as Minister of the Interior in the second Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha cabinet (1909–1911). During the reign of Kamil Pasha, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, rumours spread that Edirne would be handed over to the Bulgarians.

He was among those who organised the raid on the Sublime Porte following rumours that Edirne would be ceded to the Bulgarians. Following the Second Balkan War and the recapture of Edirne,

he participated in the peace talks held in Istanbul as the Ottoman chief delegate. In 1913, with Sait Halim Pasha as Grand Vizier, he became one of the three individuals who prepared and directed events that would affect the entire destiny of the Ottoman Empire (Enver Pasha, Talat Bey and Cemal Pasha). The politics of these three led the state into the First World War. On 2 August 1914,

The alliance formed by the German Empire with the Germans without the government's knowledge,

became the death warrant for the great empire. Following the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, he participated in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations as the chief delegate. He continued to hold the position of Grand Vizier

and continued to hold it during the reign of Mehmet Vahdettin. When it became clear that the Ottomans had been defeated, he resigned so as not to obstruct the peace process (8 October 1918). After the Armistice of Mudros, he announced his resignation at the general congress of the Committee of Union and Progress and fled to Germany on a German submarine, first to Russia and then

Germany via a German submarine. He settled in Berlin. There, he corresponded with Enver Pasha, who was working to revive Turkish unity in the Soviet Union, and Cemal Pasha, who had entered the service of Afghanistan. He also exchanged letters with Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Unlike Enver Pasha, he was tolerant of the awakening in Anatolia and argued that there was no need to rush into immediate action.

In Berlin, on 15 March 1921, he was shot and killed near his home by an Armenian named Bogomon Tayleryan.

57 - Maurice César Joseph Pelle. French general. After graduating from the Polytechnic School as an artillery officer, he held various positions.

At the beginning of the First World War, he was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff, and subsequently Chief of Staff. He was first appointed to the 135th Infantry Division, and then to the 5th Corps Command. After commanding French forces in Czechoslovakia (1919), he was sent to Istanbul in 1921 as France's Extraordinary Commissioner. He participated in the second phase of the Lausanne Peace Conference as the French Chief Delegate. He replaced Lord Curzon at the Conference. He made a significant contribution to the signing of the peace treaty.

He signed the treaty on behalf of France. He died in 1924.

58 - Muhtar Çilli. Former undersecretary of the Ministry of Public Works. Born in Rize in 1871. He served as a member of parliament for Rize in the 4th term of the Ottoman Parliament and the 2nd term of the Grand National Assembly. He also served as Minister of Public Works in the İsmet İnönü Cabinet. He died in 1958.

59 - The Ankara Agreement The Turkish National Liberation Struggle fully proved itself to the world, opening the eyes of the French, who wanted to escape the quagmire they had fallen into in Anatolia as soon as possible, and forced them to reach an agreement with the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. To this end, France sent Franklin Bouillon, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, to Ankara and finally signed the Ankara Agreement with the Ankara Government on 20 October 1921. With this agreement, the main text of which is found in Düstur, 3rd Series, Volume 2, pp. 152-171, the state of war between the Turkish Grand National Assembly and France officially ended.

France withdrew from Southern Anatolia and the Turkey-Syria border was drawn. Only the Iskenderun region was left within Syrian borders, but according to Article 7, a special administration would be established there and every facility would be provided to Turks to develop their national culture. The official language would be Turkish.

The Ankara Agreement, concluded between France, one of the victors of the First World War, and the newly established Ankara Government, meant that for the first time a major European state had officially recognised the Republic of Turkey. This also signified the acceptance of the National Pact.

60 - Seliye: As will be seen in the following pages, the Westerners resorted to every means to retain the capitulations they had obtained from the Ottomans. Especially when the issue was Mosul, Kirkuk and the oil in this region, visits to the Turkish delegation would increase, various intrigues would be spun, and some advisers in the Turkish delegation would have to be removed from their posts and sent away from Lausanne. Initially, large companies that sent women would eventually resort to threats in order to extract certain privileges from the young Turkish state. Seliye is just one example of this. In the following pages will present various examples of this.

61 - Prince Sabahattin. Turkish politician and sociologist. Born in Istanbul in 1878. He was called a prince because he was the son of Seniha Sultan, the sister of Abdulhamid II.

He was educated like a Westerner. He fled to Europe in 1899 with his father, Mahmut Celalettin Pasha, and his brother, Prince Lütfullah.

In Europe, he was involved in and at the forefront of activities against Abdülhamit. After staying in Egypt with his father for a while, he went to Paris and settled there.

He met Edmond Demoulins, one of the leading figures of the School of Social Sciences (İlm-i ictimai, sociology), and under his influence, he educated himself in the field of social sciences. He developed ideas about society and politics and argued that for Ottoman society to develop, "private enterprise" (özel teşeb-büs) needed to flourish and that the administration should be decentralised, like the British and American systems, with provincial administration.

He put forward theses and ideas that were extremely new, even unheard of, for Ottoman society. Arguing that reforms would be fruitless unless the structure of society was changed, Prince Sabahattin stated that Ottoman people should be raised as entrepreneurs rather than civil servants, and that this could be achieved through education based on individualism

. Together with his father and brother, he brought together Turkish intellectuals in Europe.

He also held the first congress of the movement, later known as the Young Turks, in Paris in 1902. At this congress, topics such as whether the Ottoman Empire should be intervened in from outside were discussed. Their disagreement with the Committee of Union and Progress began after this congress and these discussions. Prince Sabahattin also tried to spread his ideas through the *Meşveret* and *Terakki* newspapers and magazines published in Europe. The Freedom and Agreement Party, which opposed the Committee of Union and Progress, arguing that Prince Sabahattin's idea of decentralisation would lead to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, valued Prince Sabahattin's views. When the Second Constitutional Monarchy was proclaimed, He came to Turkey. He continued to spread his ideas. Both his supporters and opponents increased. He had a profound influence on the new generation. However, following the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha, he was forced to flee to Europe once more. He remained there until 1918. In 1918, he came to Istanbul and supported the National Struggle through his writings. In 1924, when the Ottoman dynasty was exiled abroad, he settled in Switzerland. He lived in poverty and died there in 1948. His works, which address the theses he defended, still exist.

62 - The assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha: In 1912, the Unionists stormed the Babıâli, killed Nazım Pasha, removed Kamil Pasha from the Grand Vizierate, and replaced him with Mahmut Şevket Pasha, directing their hatred and resentment towards the Union and Progress Party towards him. A year after becoming Grand Vizier, he was assassinated by a group of opponents. On 14 June 1913, he was shot and killed in Beyazıt Square while leaving the Ministry of War to go to the Sublime Porte.

63 Kazım undertook certain activities to overthrow the Committee of Union and Progress and eliminate Mahmut Şevket Pasha. One of these was to replace Mahmut Şevket Pasha with Kazım Pasha. Mahmut Şevket was killed, but this worked in favour of the Committee of Union and Progress . After this incident, the Committee of Union and Progress ceased to be a party supporting the government and became the ruling party itself.

64 - The Halâskâr issue. Gelibolulu Staff Major Kemal (Şenkil) Bey. Ali Kemal Pasha, who served as Chief of the Gendarmerie General Staff for the Istanbul Government at the beginning of the War of Independence,

Kolağası Hilmi from Kastamonu and some fellow officers, with the aim of overthrowing the Committee of Union and Progress government, which they considered illegitimate, and dissolving the Parliament. This organisation carried out many events in line with its goal and even achieved partial successes. However, the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912 and the subsequent Babıâli coup left the organisation in a difficult position. Seizing this opportunity, the Committee of Union and Progress dismantled the organisation.

65 - Dr. Lütfi Özsoy.

66 - Şerif Pasha. He was the son of Kurdish Sait Pasha. He was born in Istanbul in 1865. He graduated from Galatasaray Sultanisi and the Paris Saint Cyr Military Academy. He served as ambassador to Stockholm. During his time as ambassador, he supported the Young Turks. After the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he was not appointed to the London embassy, so he turned against the Committee of Union and Progress and sided with France.

Constitutional Monarchy, he turned against the Committee of Union and Progress because he was not appointed to the London embassy and worked to sour relations with France

. He founded the Islahat-ı Esasiye-i Osmaniye Fırkası in Paris. Through the newspapers he published and the articles he wrote, he fiercely opposed the Committee of Union and Progress. He was implicated in the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha and sentenced to death in absentia. He was a defender of the Kurdish cause.

He then settled in Egypt, spent the latter part of his life there, and died in Cairo (1944).

67 - Al-Mahmet Rıza. One of the Turkish statesmen.>5189 He was born in Istanbul. He graduated from Galatasaray Sultanisi and the Paris Grignon Agricultural School. He held various civil service positions. Sent to Paris to attend the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution, he resigned from his post and remained there.

He took lessons from the French positivist Pierre Lafitte. He established close ties with the Young Turks. He founded the Paris branch of the Society of the Ottoman Empire, later named the Committee of Union and Progress, and began publishing the society's first official organ, Meşveret. He maintained an uncompromising opposition to Abdulhamid. He was the one who opposed Prince Sabahattin, who advocated decentralisation at the Young Turks congress, criticising him in the harshest terms and rejecting interventionism. Over time, he lost his influence within the Committee of Union and Progress. With the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he returned to Istanbul and entered the Meclis-i Mebusan as an Istanbul deputy. Due to his great influence among the liberals, he was appointed as the Speaker of the Assembly. He frequently disagreed with the Unionists because he opposed their committee-based approach, and eventually broke away from them. At the beginning of the First World War

and its subsequent years, he engaged in fierce opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress.

He first became a member of the Senate, then its President. Although he sought to reunite the societies and organisations that had been dispersed by the armistice, he was unsuccessful. He established the Committee of National Unity and assumed its leadership.

In 1919, he fled Istanbul and went to Paris. There, he published statements against the Armistice of Mudros and the Treaty of Sèvres. He remained indifferent to the Defence of Rights and Independence movements. After the proclamation of the Republic, he returned to Turkey. He lived out his days as a retired man who had fulfilled his historical role. He wrote numerous articles on his copyrighted works and the issues he championed. He died in 193Q.

68 Eleftherios Venizelos was born in Chania, Crete, in 1864. He led the Cretan independence movement. In 1910, He was appointed Prime Minister of Greece. He formed a government and enacted a constitution that limited its powers. He carried out judicial, administrative and economic reforms to modernise Greece. By joining the 1912 Balkan Pact, he fought against Turkey in the Balkan War. against Turkey. In 1913, he secured the union of Crete with Greece through the Treaty of London. Although he initially remained neutral at the start of the First World War , he promised to send troops during the Gallipoli campaign. This caused a rift between him and King Constantine, who dismissed him from office. He returned to power in the subsequent elections. The king forced him to resign again, whereupon he had Thessaloniki occupied by the Allies. He established a separatist government in Athens. Ultimately, Constantine was deposed, and Venizelos returned to Athens and declared war on Bulgaria (1917). From then on, he pursued the Mega Idea (Greater Greece) at every opportunity. He attempted to force him to accept the Treaty of Sèvres. Encouraged by Lloyd George, he attacked Anatolia to compel Mustafa Kemal, who had launched the National Struggle in Anatolia and refused to recognise the Treaty of Sèvres, to accept it. The defeat he suffered discredited him. He was the victim of an assassination attempt in Paris but survived with injuries. From then on, his life was marked by power struggles and resignations. In 1930, he officially visited Ankara. He fell from grace because he was unable to stop the decline in his country. In 1935, he staged a show of force in Crete, declared independence, but ultimately had to flee to Paris. He represented Greece at Lausanne alongside Caclamanos. He died in Paris in 1936.

69 - Sir Charles Harrington. British general. Born in 1872. He served as Chief of Staff of the British Army in France during the First World War. He was promoted to general at the end of the war. In 1918, he was appointed Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Following the signing of the Armistice of Mudros and the occupation of Istanbul, he was appointed Commander of the British Occupation Forces (1918-1923). Harrington, who was later knighted, died in London in 1940.

70 - Sir Somerset Arthur Gough Caithorpe. British Admiral. Born in 1864. He served as a military attaché in various countries. He was appointed Commander of the Second Cruiser Squadron

and later as Under-Secretary of the Admiralty. In 1917, as Commander of the Mediterranean Fleet, he signed the Armistice Agreement with Ottoman delegates at Mudros

Armistice Agreement with Ottoman delegates (30 October 1918). He served as British High Commissioner in Istanbul during the occupation. He was promoted to Admiral of the Fleet in 1925 and received the title of Sir.

He died in 1939.

71 - Galip Bahtiyar. One of the leaders of Western Thrace. When the Ottoman Empire, particularly during the First Balkan War, became convinced that it could not return to the Balkans following the Bulgarian occupation of Edirne, the Turks remaining in the Balkans, especially in Western Thrace, took up arms to preserve their unity. They fought to prevent Western Thrace from being ceded to the Greeks or Bulgarians. At one point, they even declared their own local government. Before the Lausanne Conference began, the general mood around the world was that Turks were in the majority in this region and would win a plebiscite if one were held. Greece entered into various

When the Lausanne Conference began, a delegation from Western Thrace, led by Galip Bahtiyar, one of the leaders of Western Thrace, came to Lausanne to ensure that their rights were not forgotten, but for reasons that remain unclear, they were not well received by the Turkish delegates.

72 - The Treaty of Uşi. The peace treaty that ended the 1911-1912 Ottoman-Italian war (Treaty of Uşi) Upon the outbreak of the Balkan War (8 October 1912), the cabinet of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha, forced to end the Tripoli War, requested peace from Italy. Italy responded positively, and Italian and Turkish delegates gathered in Ouchy (Uşi), the port of Lausanne, Switzerland, and signed a four-part peace treaty. According to this agreement, the Ottomans would immediately evacuate Tripoli and Benghazi, while Italy would evacuate the 12 Islands. The Ottomans evacuated, but Italy did not evacuate, fearing that the Greeks would occupy the territory, and later annexed it to its own territory. As a result, both North Africa and the islands were lost.

73 - Chicherin (Tchitcherin, Georgiy Vasilyevich). Born in 1872. Because he was a socialist, he fled Tsarist Russia in 1907. He first went to Germany.

He then went to England. When he was deported by the British in 1918, he returned to Russia. He was a Menshevik but became a Bolshevik. In 1918

he became Foreign Minister after Trotsky. In 1922, he attended the Genoa Conference. By signing the Rapallo Treaty with the Germans, he ensured Russia's first participation in international politics after the October Revolution.

At Lausanne, on the issue of the Straits, he advocated that control should remain entirely under Turkish sovereignty, as he considered this more favourable to Russia's interests. He was removed from office in 1930. He died in 1936.

74 - Varovski:

75 - Christian Rakovskiy. Bulgarian-born Soviet politician. Born in Kotel in 1873. He participated in the 1893 International Zurich Conference as a Bulgarian delegate. He played a major role in the 1905-1906 strikes in Romania. He was arrested for Bulgaria's opposition to World War I. He fled to Russia at the end of 1917. He joined the Bolshevik Party.

He served as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine from 1918 to 1923. He participated in the activities to establish the First Communist International. He served as ambassador to London and Paris. In 1927, when the Trotskyists were accused and expelled from the party, he also suffered the same fate and was exiled. era, he returned to the leadership, was readmitted to the party, but only for a short time. He was then expelled from the party again. He was tried at the Great Moscow Trials and sentenced to 25 years in prison. He died in prison. It is not clear when he died (1941 ?).

76 - The Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine. The peace treaty between the Allies and Bulgaria. With this agreement, Bulgaria emerged from the First World War with three significant losses: Firstly, territorial losses, with Western Thrace, Dobruja and some provinces in Macedonia being taken from Bulgaria and given to Greece and Serbia. Second, military losses. Bulgaria's army and police force were reduced and restricted. Third, financial losses, as it paid war reparations.

77 - Bekir Sami. He was one of our statesmen who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs during the National Struggle years. He graduated from Galatasaray High School. He held various civil service positions during the reign of Abdulhamid II. After the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908), he served as governor in various provinces. He made a name for himself during his governorship of Trabzon. He served as a deputy for Tokat during the first term of the Grand National Assembly. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for a time. In 1921, Bekir Sami Bey attended the conference held in London as Minister of Foreign Affairs on behalf of Turkey. However, the agreements he signed were contrary to the spirit and purpose of the National Pact and the National Liberation Struggle, and were not ratified by the Grand National Assembly, and he was removed from office. Dr Rıza Nur referred to these agreements as "Bekir Sami's disgrace". He died in 1932.

78 - Franklin Bouillon. French journalist and politician. Born in 1870. Served as a member of parliament from 1910 to 1919 and from 1923 to 1936. Held the position of Minister of State. Visited Turkey in 1921-1922. Conducted negotiations on behalf of the French government with the Grand National Assembly government and Mustafa Kemal.

He signed the Ankara Agreement with Turkey. This (see footnote 69) in Ankara was one of the factors that led to the formation of the Lausanne Peace Conference. Bouillon died in 1939.

79 - Cemal Hüsnü Taray. One of the Turkish diplomats. He was born in Bitlis-Ahlat in 1895. He studied at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences in Lausanne. He also graduated from the Banking Department of the Faculty of Commerce. He served in various public services. He served as a member of parliament for Bolu and Gümüşhane in the Grand National Assembly between 1923-1931 and 1935-1939. He served as Minister of National Education for a period in the 4th İnönü cabinet. He served as ambassador to Rome, Athens and Tehran, and died in 1955. While ambassador to Rome, he was slapped by an Italian tenor, causing a scandal.

80 - Sir Charles Vere Ferrars Townshend. British general. Born in 1861. During the First World War, his division, which had captured Kut al-Amara on the Iraqi Front, was surrounded by the Turkish Army. When his attempts to break through were unsuccessful, he was forced to surrender with the 13,309 men under his command (1916). During his captivity, he was allowed to reside in Heybeli and Büyükada (1916-1918). When the Izzet Pasha Government decided on an armistice, it sent him to Mondros to act as a mediator (October 1918). After the armistice, as a friend of the Turks, he defended their rights in London. During the War of Independence, Townshend was summoned to Ankara by Mustafa Kemal Pasha and, despite his government's opposition, did not hesitate to go to Ankara. He arrived in Turkey in July 1922 and met with Mustafa Kemal in Konya. He published his memoirs about the war in which he was taken prisoner in Iraq. He died in Paris in 1942.

81 - Rüstem (Keidani).

82 - Dr. Nansen (Fridjof). Norwegian explorer. He made great efforts to discover the North Pole. He studied the life of the Eskimos and reached 86.14 degrees latitude for the first time. Unable to go further, he turned back. He was stranded on the Franz Josef Islands. He was rescued by the English explorer Jhansen. He then conducted oceanographic research and later entered politics. He played an active role in Norway's separation from Sweden.

After the First World War, he devoted all his efforts to humanitarian activities. He carried out prisoner exchanges on behalf of the League of Nations. In 1920, he went to the USSR and secured the return of 500,000 prisoners to their homeland. He received the Nobel Peace Prize. He died in 1930.

83 - Vani Mehmet Efendi. He gained great influence during the reign of Mehmed IV under the name Hünkâr Şeyhi. He was born in Van. Vaniköy in the Bosphorus takes its name from him. He gained a large circle of friends and wealth through his preaching and oratory in Istanbul, where he served as a preacher. Through the intercession of Fazıl Ahmet Pasha, he received great favour from the sultan. Later, he fell victim to the wrath of his detractors and was dismissed from his post. He was also removed from the palace. He retired to his farm near Bursa, where he died. He has works on Mevlevi mysticism.

84 - Nazım Pasha. Turkish soldier and statesman. He graduated from the Military Academy. He served as Commander of the 2nd Army and Minister of War in the government of Kamil Pasha. However, his appointment as minister led to the fall of the government, He was appointed governor of Baghdad. He was then placed in charge of the Imperial Army, which settled and reformed the region around Mount Bereket. When the Balkan War broke out, he was reinstated as Minister of War. After the Balkan War ended in defeat, the opposition Committee of Union and Progress declared him a war criminal in order to overthrow the government of Kamil Pasha. He was shot and killed by Yakup Cemil during the Babiâli raid organised by Enver and Talat Bey (later Pasha) (1926).

85 - Noradonkyan (Ottoman Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs). Despite being of Armenian descent, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. By being appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he betrayed the state. He betrayed the state that appointed him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

86 - Caningham. The British judge of the court where the Allies occupied Istanbul, tried the members of the Committee of Union and Progress, and exiled most of them to Malta.

87 - Suggestion. Persuasion.

88 - Muslihiddin Adil. Professor of Political Law. A professor of Jewish origin from Macedonia who converted to Islam. While the issue of minorities and the exchange of populations was being discussed in Lausanne, he contacted the Turkish delegation and requested the protection of the rights of Muslims and Turks remaining in Macedonia

He published a legal journal titled Hadi-sât-ı Hukukiyye ve Siyasiyye.

89 - Abdülhalim Çelebi. One of the post-nişins of the Mevlânâ dervish lodge in Konya. Born in 1874. He entered the first term of the Grand National Assembly as a deputy for Konya. He played an influential role in the Mevlevis' support for the War of Independence. He was the first deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly. Following the declaration of secularism and the closure of dervish lodges and zawiyas, he went to Syria and continued his post-nişin duties there. After Atatürk's death, he returned to Turkey and died in 1945.

90 - Mustafa Abdülhalik Renda. He was born in Yan-ya in 1881. He graduated from the School of Political Science. He served as a district governor, provincial governor and governor. After the First World War, he was exiled to Malta by the British. Renda, who came to Anatolia from there, joined the National Struggle. He served as undersecretary of economy and finance. After serving as governor of Konya and Izmir

* Form: 27

he entered the Assembly as an Izmir deputy. In 1924, he became Minister of Finance, and in 1927, he became the Minister of National Defence (Defence Minister). In 1934, he became Deputy Chairman of the CHP Group, and in 1935, he was elected Speaker of the Grand National Assembly. In 1939, he served as Deputy President. In 1946, he resigned from the Speakership and served as Minister of State in the Haşan Saka cabinet. He resigned from his post in 1948 and died in 1957.

91 - Besim Ömer Pasha (Akalin). One of Turkey's physicians. Born in 1862. He graduated from the military medical school. He was sent to France. He worked in renowned maternity clinics. Upon returning to Turkey, he became a midwife instructor. He made significant contributions to raising public awareness and acceptance of women's health and childcare issues. He established the nursing organisation. He reorganised the Red Crescent (Kızı-lay). He founded and managed social security and health institutions such as the Child Protection Agency (Himaye-i Etfal), Milk Drop (Süt Damlası), and Veremle Mücadele (Tuberculosis Control). Due to his closeness to Sultan Abdülhamit II, his rank was reduced to Colonel when the Second Constitutional Monarchy was declared in 1908, but the people continued to call him Pasha. He served as Director General of Health and Rector of Darülfünun. He was dismissed from his post in 1933. He entered the Assembly after being elected as a Member of Parliament from Bilecik

. Besim Ömer Pasha also published the first Medical Yearbook in Turkey. He died in Ankara in 1940.

92 - Mustafa Necati Bey. He was born in Izmir in 1892. He studied at Istanbul Law School. He practised as a lawyer. When İzmir was occupied by the Greeks , he joined the national guerrilla forces in the Balıkesir region. Together with Hüseyin Vasıf Çınar, he published the newspaper İzmir'e Doğru. He served in the 1st-3rd terms of the Grand National Assembly. He presided over the Independence Court, served as a prosecutor in the Eastern Independence Court, and held various ministerial positions. He died in 1929.

93 - Nicolsohn, Sir Harold. British writer and diplomat. Born in Tehran in 1886. As his father was a diplomat, he spent his youth in Iran, Central Europe, Turkey, Madrid and Russia. After studying at Oxford, he joined the Foreign Office. He entered the Ministry. Alongside his diplomatic career, he constantly wrote novels, memoirs and travelogues. In Lausanne, he was Lord Curzon's closest confidant, his right-hand man. He wrote a column for the Evening Standard newspaper. During the Second World He worked at the Ministry of Information during World War II. He was a manager at the BBC between 1941 and 1946. He was knighted in 1953. He wrote 125 books, including travel notes and memoirs. He died in 1968.

94 - Mustafa Vasfi Süsoy. Born in Tokat in 1876. While a retired infantry captain, he was elected as a Tokat MP in his first term at the age of 44. He served as a Tokat MP in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th terms. He served on the Petition and National Defence Committees. He died in 1934.

95 - The Treaty of Berlin. The treaty signed after the congress held in Berlin following the 1877-1878 Turkish-Russian war. At this congress, the Treaty of Ayestafanos, which had granted Russia significant influence in these areas, was revised, and Greater Bulgaria was divided into three parts. At the congress held by European states to break Russian influence, the Ottoman Empire was forced to pay war reparations in addition to suffering some losses. The Ottoman Empire agreed to pay Russia 820,500,000 francs in war reparations, but this was to be paid in instalments of 350,000 francs. Although the Ottoman Empire lost territory in this war, the reparations were not divided, and the entire amount was imposed on the Ottoman Empire.

96 - Ferit (Ahmet Ferit Tek). Turkish journalist and politician. He was born in Bursa in 1877. He graduated from the Military Academy.

He was expelled from the army for his involvement in politics and exiled to Tripoli. He fled to France in 1900, where he studied Political Science. He collaborated with Ahmet Rıza (see footnote 67) in Paris and wrote articles for *Meşveret*.

With the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he came to Istanbul and began working as chief clerk in the Meclis-i Mebusan (Parliament). He taught political history at the School of Political Science.

When the Balkan War broke out, he served as a staff captain on the Çatalca front with the rank of Staff Captain. When he was expelled from the Committee of Union and Progress, of which he was a member, he founded the National Constitutional Party. He was the chief editor of the *İfham* newspaper and president of the *Türkocağı*. His newspaper was then closed down and he was exiled to Sinop.

After the war, he was appointed to the consulate in Kiev. He became Minister of Public Works in the cabinet of Damat Ferit

's cabinet. In October 1919, he founded the National Turkish Party. He entered the Ottoman Parliament. When the Meclis-i Mebusan was stormed by the occupying forces, he went to Ankara. He served as Minister of Finance in Fevzi Çakmak Pasha's cabinet. While publishing the *İfham* newspaper for the second time in Istanbul he was the first journalist to print Mustafa Kemal's first declaration, but he could not escape being accused of opposing the National Struggle later on.

While discussions regarding the 150s were ongoing in the Grand National Assembly, Damat Ferit Pasha, while serving in his cabinet, sent a telegram to Miralay Refet Bey (Bele)

When newspapers published statements against Mustafa Kemal, he found himself in a difficult position. Although he claimed it was a code between them, Refet Bele, who was ideologically opposed to him at the time, denied it, forcing him to resign from the ministry.

Ferit Tek had travelled to Paris as Mustafa Kemal Pasha's special representative and, upon request, went to Lausanne to serve as an advisor. Tek had also served twice in the İsmet İnönü cabinet

as Minister of the Interior in the İsmet İnönü cabinet. After resigning from the Ministry of Finance, he served in various embassies. He died in 1971 at the age of 96.

97 - Topçu İhsan (Eryavuz). He was born in Üsküdar in 1877. He graduated from the Military Academy. He served as a deputy for Cebelibereket in the 1st and 3rd terms of the Grand National Assembly. He served as president of the Independence Court for a period. He served as Minister of the Navy in the cabinet of Fethi (Okyar) Bey.

period, allegations emerged that corruption had occurred in the repair work of the Yavuz battleship, which had been approved for repair, and his name became associated with this corruption, putting him in a difficult

. The Fethi Bey cabinet dissolved, and when the İnönü cabinet was formed, an investigation was launched into Topçu

İhsan. Following the investigation, he was found guilty and referred to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court sentenced him to a severe prison term. He died in 1947.

98 - Rıfat Pasha.

99 - Celalettin Arif Bey. He was born in Istanbul in 1875. He graduated from the Law School and taught there. He was a member of the last term of the Meclis-i Mebusan (Parliament) and served as its president. Following the dissolution of the Meclis-i Mebusan, he went to Ankara. He served as the Erzurum deputy during the first term of the Assembly. He was elected Second President of the Assembly. He also served as Minister of Justice for a period. He then left the Assembly with permission and went to Erzurum, where he declared himself and its surroundings, and appointed Hüseyin Avni Ulaş, another Erzurum deputy, as Governor of Erzurum. When summoned to Ankara, he sought refuge with Kazım Karabekir Pasha. He did not remain idle there either and complained to Mustafa Kemal about corruption in the army. He was then ordered to return to Ankara. After becoming involved in certain incidents in Ankara, he was appointed to the Embassy in Rome. Celalettin Arif never returned to Turkey. He died in Paris in 1930.

100 - Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha. He was born in Alexandria in 1874. He was the last Khedive of Egypt. He was educated in Paris. He strove to free Egypt from British influence. He adopted a pro-Ottoman stance. When the First World War began, he was in Istanbul due to illness. In a statement he published, he called on the Egyptians and Sudanese to side with the Ottomans. When Britain took Egypt under its protection, he was removed from office (19 December 1914). When Egypt gained independence under British protection, Abbas Hilmi's uncle, Hussein Kamil, was installed as sultan in his place.

Abbas Hilmi was banned from entering Egypt. The Ottomans recognised his viceroyalty until the Treaty of Lausanne. He spent the last years of his life in Europe. He died in Geneva in 1944.

101 - Emir Şekip Arslan (Syrian diplomat). He served as a Syrian deputy in the last two terms of the Meclis-i Mebusan.

102 - Caberizade İhsan (Syrian diplomat). He served as a member of parliament for Damascus during the final term of the Meclis-i Mebusan. He worked to revive Arab nationalism.

103 - Suphi Nuri İleri. Writer and politician. He graduated from Istanbul Law School and Paris School of Political Studies. He managed the İleri newspaper, which he published with his brother Celal Nuri İleri. He served as General Secretary of the Socialist Party and was a member of the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party. He participated in the second session of the Lausanne Conference as an advisor. After the proclamation of the Republic, he published the Müstakil and Son Telgraf newspapers. He was tried at the Elazığ Independence Court for his ideas but was acquitted. He defended the left and communism in his writings. He died in 1945.

104 - Nafi Pasha. One of the governors of Mosul.

105 - Said Zaghloul. Founder and leader of the Egyptian Wafd Party. He made great efforts to liberate Egypt from British rule. He came to Lausanne to liberate Egypt from the British and requested assistance from the Turkish delegation so that Egypt could gain independence under the terms of the treaty to be signed by Turkey. (Faliḥ Rıfıkı Atay, Zeytindağı).

106 - Basri Dukakin. Dukakinzade Basri Bey. One of the Albanian leaders. He entered the Meclis-i Mebusan as a deputy from Debre. He was against the Unionists. During the era of the Committee of Union and Progress, he rebelled against the government.

107 - Miralay Mehmet Sadık Bey. Born in Istanbul in 1860. He is famous for his efforts in proclaiming the constitutional monarchy and as leader of the Committee of Union and Progress. He graduated from the Military Academy as a cavalry lieutenant. He served in Syria and Tripoli. He later moved to Thrace. While serving as Commander of the Manastır Cavalry Regiment, he was also Chairman of the Manastır Branch of the Freedom and Union Party. He was the one who ensured the assassination of Şemsi Pasha and the removal of Field Marshal Osman Pasha to the mountains, and who sent telegrams of rebellion to the Palace. Although he was one of the leading figures after the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he left the party, claiming that the Committee of Union and Progress had introduced Freemasonry and Zionism into the country. He later founded the Freedom and Union Party. After the Babiâli raid, when the Committee of Union and Progress returned to power, Miralay Sadık Bey first went to Paris, then to Egypt. He remained there until the end of the First World War he remained there. As soon as he returned to Istanbul, his opponents launched a campaign against him and accused him of treason. As a result

he was included among the 150 and exiled abroad. He lived in Romania for 22 years, enduring great hardship in the villages

. In the final years of his life, he was brought from Romania to Turkey on the orders of İsmet İnönü. However, his longing for his homeland did not allow him to live long. His existing breathing difficulties worsened due to his excitement and longing, and he passed away as soon as he arrived in Istanbul. He was buried in Karacaahmet (1940).

108 - Tahir Taner. One of Turkey's jurists. He was born in Eskişehir in 1883. After graduating from Istanbul Law School, he worked for a time at the General Debt Office. He was sent to France on behalf of the Ministry of Justice and completed his law studies at the Sorbonne. Upon his return, after holding various positions, he was appointed as a prosecutor at the Court of Appeal (1921). He lectured at the Faculty of Law and the School of Political Science. In 1927, he became dean of the Istanbul Law School. In 1926, he was elected as a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague. He retired in 1955. He authored various works in the field of Criminal Law. He died in Istanbul in 1962.
he died in Istanbul.

109 - Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver. Turkish writer and politician. He was born in Istanbul in 1885. He was the son of Minister of Education Abdül-latif Suphi Pasha. He completed his studies at Galatasaray Sultanisi. He held various positions and worked as a teacher. He taught pedagogy at Darülfii-nun. He established the Turkish and Islamic Fine Arts Department and became its head. He was one of the pioneers of the Turkish nationalism movement. He served as president of Türkocağı (1913-1931). He was a member of the Meclis-i Mebusan. He was elected to the Grand National Assembly. During his tenure as Minister of Education, he organised a competition for the National Anthem. M. Akif Ersoy's work was selected. When the Turkish Cultural Centres were closed, he was sent to Bucharest as an ambassador. There, he took an interest in the Gökoğuz (Gagauz) Turks living in the villages of Dobruja and Basa-abya. He established a Turkish cemetery in Bucharest for Turkish soldiers who died in World War I (1935). After the coup, he re-entered the Assembly as an Istanbul deputy. When the DP was founded, he joined that party. In literature, he was among the representatives of National Literature. He has many works in the genres of short stories, criticism, and articles. He died in 1966.

110 - The Bolu Uprising. The Düzce events, supported by the Istanbul government, quickly spread to Bolu and an uprising against the Ankara government had begun. rebellion against the Ankara government. Starting in Bolu and expanding, the rebels, strengthened by the addition of another group in Bepazarı

, succeeded in driving out the gendarmes holding the Bolu Pass. The uprising suddenly spread to Gerede and Mucur.

It also spread to neighbouring areas. To suppress the uprising, which quickly engulfed the entire region, national forces under the command of Major Şemsettin and District Governor Arif Bey were mobilised. As a result of clashes in various locations, Bolu, Hendek, Gerede and the entire surrounding area were cleared of rebels. The ringleaders were also captured and executed (26 May 1920).

111 - General Refet Bele. Born in Istanbul in 188t. He graduated from the War Academy as a Staff Captain. He fought on the Palestine Front during the First World War

Front. In 1919, he became Commander of the 3rd Corps. He was among those who accompanied Mustafa Kemal to Samsun. He played a significant role in suppressing groups opposed to the National Struggle.

. He served as a deputy during the final period of the Ottoman Parliament. He served as a deputy in the first term of the Grand National Assembly. He was also a deputy for Izmir in the first term of the Grand National Assembly. He served twice as Minister of the Interior and Minister of National Defence. He was appointed to take charge of the surrender of Thrace by decision of the Grand National Assembly. He lost his former prestige when he joined the Progressive Party. He was arrested in connection with the Izmir assassination but was acquitted by the court. In 1926, he resigned from all his posts and his seat in parliament and began to live a simple life. He died in 1963.

112 - Architect Vedat. One of the two famous architects of the late Ottoman period who built the Fourth Vakıf İşham. (Architect Kemalettin and Architect Vedat.)

113 - Refik Koraltan. He was born in Divriği in 1889. He graduated from Istanbul Law School. He entered government service, working as a prosecutor and national security inspector. He entered Parliament as a deputy for Konya in 1920. He served as a deputy for the same province until the 5th term. He was not elected in the 5th term and served as governor. He then re-entered Parliament. In 1946, he was a member of the Four-Party Coalition.

He resigned from the CHP by signing a declaration and founded the Democratic Party with three friends. He served as a member of parliament from May 1950 to May 1960. Following the coup d'état in 1960, he was sent to Yassıada. he was sentenced to death, but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. He was later released under a general amnesty. He died in 1974.

114 - İsmail Safa Özler. He was born in Adana in 1885. He graduated from the School of Political Science. He worked as a journalist. He served in the 1st, 2nd and 4th terms of the Grand National Assembly. He served as Minister of Education

He died in 1940.

115 - Haşan Fehmi Ataş. Born in Gümüşhane in 1897. Received private education. Served in the 2nd and 3rd terms of the MevJis-i Mebusan and the 1st to 8th terms of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Served as Minister of Agriculture and Finance and Deputy Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Died in 1961.

116 - Tevfik Kamil Koperler. He participated in the second session of the Lausanne Peace Conference as the "General Secretary" of the Turkish delegation.

117 - Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. An agreement signed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria and Russia in the final years of the First World War (2 December 1917-3 March 1918). Under this agreement, Russia ceded Batum, Ardahan and Kars to the Ottomans.

118 - Muharrem Decree.

119 - Hidayet (Lozan, secretary during the second period).

120 - The Berne Convention. The agreement that settled international copyright and translation rights. This agreement, signed in the Swiss city of Bern to be valid among European countries, later became valid worldwide. The agreement was named after the city of Bern, where it was signed.

121 - Fenn-i Hitan: Dr. Rıza Nur's work, which describes modern circumcision for the first time in Turkey. He wrote and published it while he was a lecturer at the Mekteb-i Sıhhiye (School of Health).

122 - Paris Agreement (health).

123 - Dr. Akil Muhtar.

124 - Dr. Rifat Bilge (from Kilis).

125 - Refi' Cevat Ulunay.

GLOSSARY

- B Population: All residents of a country

Islamic Population: Muslim population

Ahalî-i Mahalliye: Local population

Ahass-ı Emek: Main purpose, objective

Ahkâm: Rulings

Ahkâm-ı Musalaha: Rules of

peace

Ahkâm-ı Şer'îye: Religious rulings, divine laws Anasın

Elements

Âri: Free, naked, deprived, destitute Âtıl:

Lazy

Âtalet: Laziness, stagnation, inactivity Bâdilava: Free

Bahri: Pertaining to the sea, related to the sea

Bahrisfid: Mediterranean Sea Bahrisiyah: Black Sea Prime Minister: Prime Minister
Prime Minister's Office: Prime Minister's Office Berk Salim, liberated, clean, distant.

Bililtizam: Knowingly, willingly and deliberately Bitaraf: Impartial

- C -

Cowardly: Cowardly, timid, lowly

Summoning: Bringing, pulling, calling

Session: Session

Cemile: Flattery, show of friendship

Cemiyet-i Akvam: League of Nations

Cenubigarbi: Southwest

Cenubişarki: Southeast Cidal: Fighting, struggle, wrestling

- D -

Dağdağalı: Noisy and chaotic

Dai: Preacher, propagandist Dârûleytam: Orphanage Defetme:

Expulsion, pushing away, removal, repelling

Denâet: Baseness

Dere etme: To put inside Derketme:

To understand, to comprehend

Dessas: Trickster, deceiver, schemer

Dimag: Brain

Dûn: Low, lowly, base, ignoble Duyûn:

Debt

Duyun-ı Umumiye: Organisation established to pay the debts of the Ottoman Empire

- E -

Ecnebi: Foreigner

Ehl-i hibre: Expert

Ekalliyet: Minority

Essential: Necessary, indispensable

Coercion: Forcing someone to do something by pressure, fait accompli

Property: Assets

Sign of life: Sign of life

- F -

Fasih: Clear, explicit expression

Fe minei matlub: The best result Fevt

olma: Disappearance, extinction Fırka:

Group, division, party

- H -

Habbe-i vahide: One, single

Habis: Filthy, bad, dangerous for some diseases

Hâdis: Event, incident, something that suddenly

comes up Hall-i kati: Definitive solution

Hatt-ı ricat: Route of retreat

Come what may: No matter what, at any cost Council of

Ministers: Cabinet

Hilm: Gentleness

- 1 -

İbka: Leaving in place

İbraz: By pressure, force, insistence

İbtida: Beginning

İcbari: Compulsory, coercive

İcra: Execution, implementation İhdas:

Establishment

Voluntary: Something that is optional, not mandatory

Approximation: Approaching, bringing closer

Abolition: Repeal

İltizam: Requirement İnbisat: Expansion İnhitat: Collapse, falling down İnkıbaz:
Narrowness, tightness İnkıraz: Destruction, collapse İnkıta: Interruption, pause
İntihab: Selection

Execution: Turning back,

reversing Irrigation: Watering

Dissemination: Dissemination

Production: Obtaining, becoming a result

Future: The future

İstikbal: To welcome with a ceremony

İstikraz: Borrowing, taking out a loan

İstinadgâh: Support

Frowning: To frown İzac: To

disturb

Growth: Growth

Vital capacity: Ability to live Completely:

Entirely, in the best way possible Reserve:

Reserve As if it had never happened: As if
it had never happened

Dense: Thick

Essence: Core, fundamental, basis

_ L -

Lâ: No

Nothing: Nothing

Leffetme: To bind, to present together

Levazım: Necessity, requirement, things needed

* Form: 28

- M -

Other: Other, except

Subordinate: Below,

lower Hidden: Hidden

Orbit: Orbit Similar to:

Similar to

Mâliyyun: Accountants, financial experts, specialists in monetary matters

Malûl: Sick

Absorption: Absorption, dissolution within the entirety of something

Debtor: Debtor, indebted

Absence: Non-existence, non-presence

Circles: Environments

Menhus: Unlucky, bad, unfortunate

Meskût: Silence

Meşbu: Full, saturated, thoroughly sated.

Metalıb: Desires, demands

Materials: Substances

Crops: Grains

Minkudretn: From power, from God's power, by itself Miyar: Standard

Amended: Modified, altered Agreement:

Contract

Opposite: Contrary,

contradictory

Communication:

Communication Enemy:

Enemy Environment:

Environment

Usurer: Usurer, stockpiler

Mixed: Mixed, varied Delegate:

Delegate Dispute: Dispute,

conflict Armed: Armed

Stable, continuous

Consideration: Reflection, examination to reach a judgement on a matter Approval:

Suitability

Suitable: Appropriate

Equivalence: Parity, parallel

Parallel: Parallel

Exchange: Change, substitution

Purchase: Buying and selling

Conversation: Mutual talk

Obstruction: Hindrance, impediment

Exclusively: Particularly, only Devourer:

Eater

Bribe-taker: One who takes

bribes Equal: Equivalent,

equal

Preparations: Prepared medicines Hidden:

Secret, concealed

Soiled: Dirty, filthy

Armistice: Ceasefire, mutual laying down of arms

Homogeneous: Homogeneous, consisting of the same elements

Repulsive: Repulsive, unwanted, repellent, disgusting

Dependent: Bound

Discussion: Thoroughly discussing a topic, exchanging views Tedious: Boring, tiresome

- • N - N -

Naam: Yes

Natuk: Eloquent, persuasive, oratorical Nazariyat: Theory

Minister: Ministerial

office As if: As though,

like

Growth and development: Development and growth

Point of view: The main point to consider on a subject

Nüvaziş: Caress

- R -

Binding: To tie Briber: One

who gives bribes Man:

Male

Ricat: Withdrawal, retreat

Riyaset: Presidency

Evil spirit: Evil spirit Agenda: Agenda

- S -

Sadn Chest

Safderun: Gullible, easily deceived Sâik:

Cause, agent

Clarity: Openness

Work (Sa'y): Labour

Selahiyet-i tâmm: Full authority

Subcommittee (Fr.): Sub-committee

Misunderstanding: Misinterpretation, wrong

interpretation Form of formation: Formation pattern,

formation shape South: ^{South}

Violent: Severe

Municipality: City council

Conditions: Requirements

Accomplice: Accomplice

Island: Island

- T -

Taayyün: Determination, what is determined, what

emerges Tabasbus: Flattery

Tactics: Strategy

Tahriri: In writing

Throne: Bottom

Submarine: Submarine

Delay: Delay

Christianisation: Conversion to Christianity

Tarafeyn-i akideyn: The two parties signing the
agreement Tariz: Provocation

Tayip: Reproach

Containment: Holding, containing Adulteration: Mixing,
contaminating

Undertaking: Promising to do or not to do something, agreement Alteration: Changing
Changes: Alterations

Donation: Gift

Disinfection centre: Disinfection

centre Assault: Assault Isolation:

Isolation

Defensive: Defensive Separation:

Separation

Retirement: Retirement

Desire: Wish, desire Absorption:

Suction, melting

Illumination: Enlightenment, illumination

Regression: Retreat, decline Trinity:

Threefold

Tetebbu: Research, investigation

Tezayüd-i nüfus: Population

increase

- Ü -

Point of departure: Starting point, point of departure

- V -

Vahidülcanib; One-sided

Vakia: 1 - event, 2 - indeed, it is true that Revenue:

Income

Vatancüda: Exiled from one's homeland

Vaz: To place

Vaziulimza: Signatory, signer Vekâlet:

Ministry

- Y -

Yafta: Poster, notice

- Z -

Zaar: Perhaps, possibly Zamir:

Inside

Zebun etme: To ruin, to weaken Zebunkeş: Helpless,
suffering

Zem: Slander, speaking ill of someone behind their back

Zîya: Loss

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