

# *The Speech*

by

*Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*

NCLC 365  
Analysis Project

Submitted to  
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900-00-5733

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## Introduction To Hayawic Logic

Hayawic Logic is based on an assumption that all entities in the universe, living or not, existing or not, spiritual or physical, are forms. They change from one state to another within the cycles, which they are a part of. These entities are interrelated through the cycles they are in, and Hayawic Logic represents these relationships as dynamic forms interacting with other forms. Within all entities, there are representations of the Hayawic roots.

The main object of the Hayawic Logic is to facilitate understanding and interpretation of a text or speech by exposing the hidden nuances expressed in them. Hayawic Logic can be applied to all languages and cultures because its roots are universal. Application of this logic would enable more efficient cross-cultural communication.

Hayawic Logic uses a concept called Interest Square Unity to analyze speech. This square consists of four parts which are Conflicting, Unifying, Isolated, and Coexisting. Each of these are names of a pattern inherent in human speech.

Conflicting -	Unifying ++
-- Isolated	+ Coexisting

To be able to place specific words into the Interest Square Unity, three different criteria are used.

Positive-Negative: Depends on the tone and meaning.

Inner-Outer: Degree of intensity, outer being high intensity, and inner being passive.

Open-Closed: Degree of inclusion of others. Open means other people's interests are included, and closed means only self-centered interest is included.

When a person speaks towards a unifying goal, he will use open and outer oriented words. If a person is trying to isolate himself, he'll use inner and closed oriented words. In the same manner, conflicting is outer and closed, and coexisting is inner and open. If the speaker did not determine the goal of his speech yet, then he may use words from different parts of the square.

The most important aspect of Interest Square Unity is that it makes you analyze a speech without biases (cultural or personal) and beliefs. This way, the direction of the speech is objectively determined.

The speech I tried to analyze was delivered by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Within this speech, Ataturk summarizes the condition of the falling Ottoman Empire and how the Entente Powers (England, France, Italy, Greece) are trying to divide it. After drawing this vivid picture, he introduces his own solution which is to create an independent Turkish Republic in Anadolu.

Analyzing this speech using the Interest Square Unity makes it a lot easier to understand it. It clears the speaker's intentions and interests in all the paragraphs. It also creates a certain level of objectivity which I, as a Turkish citizen, would not be able to have because of the admiration I feel towards Ataturk. On the other hand, a person from a different culture can clearly understand this speech even if he is not familiar with the speaker because of this analysis.

After analyzing this speech thoroughly, I decided that it has one specific goal from the beginning to the end. The first few pages of the speech is mostly conflicting because Ataturk talks about the terrible condition of the falling Ottoman Empire. Then he talks about the Entente Powers which are trying to divide and share the country among themselves. Towards the middle, it becomes unifying as Ataturk explains the separate defense efforts utilized by local patriots, organizations, and societies. He also emphasizes that although these efforts have good intentions, they are not sufficient. At the very end, he proposes the idea of an independent republic. As seen, Ataturk's main goal throughout the speech is to convince the people to the idea of this independent republic.

When I first started to work on this project, I was intimidated by it. As I spent more time on it, it became clear to me that the aim of the project is to be able to analyze this speech without any biases and with total objectivity. It is now obvious to me that Hayawic Logic can play a major part in cross-cultural communication and help settle the differences between nations. Also, in a country like the U.S. where many different cultural backgrounds exist, Hayawic Logic can facilitate understanding others.

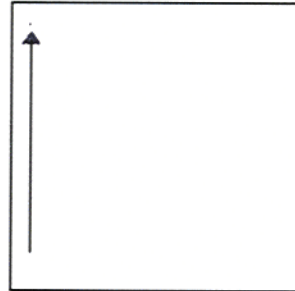
## THE GENERAL STATE OF AFFAIRS WHEN I DISEMBARKED AT SAMSUN

Gentlemen,

I landed at Samsun on the nineteenth day of May of year 1919. This was the general state of affairs:

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

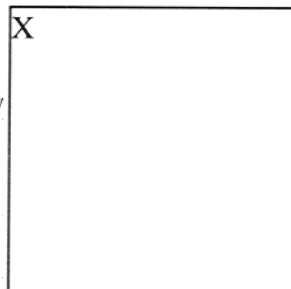
This paragraph starts isolated with a very dark description of the country and becomes conflicting towards the end as the speaker talks about the Sultan, the government, and their selfish behavior.



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

The *Entente Powers* did **not consider it necessary to respect** the terms of the *armistice*. On various pretexts, their men-of-war and troops *remained* at Istanbul. The Vilayet of Adana was **occupied** by the *French*; Urfa, Maras, Antep by the *English*. In Antalya and Konya were the *Italians*, whilst at Merzifon and Samsun were English troops. *Foreign officers and officials* and their special agents were *very active* everywhere. At last, on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, that is to say, four days before the following account of events begins, the *Greek Army*, with the *consent of the Entente Powers*, had **landed at Izmir**.

Conflicting because unlawful acts of the Entente powers toward the Ottoman Empire are explained. These acts are against the armistice and they aim to divide the empire.

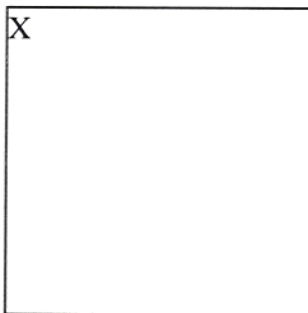


*Christian elements* were also *at work* all over the country, either *openly or in secret*, trying to realize their own particular ambitions and thereby hasten the breakdown of the State.

Certain *information* and **authentic documents** that fell into our hands later on prove that the Greek organisation "*Mavri Mira*" (*Document 1*), established by the *patriarchate* in Istanbul, was *forming bands, organizing meetings and making propaganda* in the vilayets. The *Greek Red Cross* and the *Official Emigrants Commission* supported the work of the "**Mavri Mira**." The *formation of Boy Scouts* in the Greek schools directed by the "**Mavri Mira**" were reinforced by the admission even of young men over twenty years of age.

Conflicting because certain preparations and acts which are meant to be destructive toward the empire are explained.

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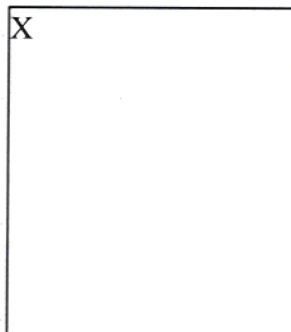


The Armenian Patriarch, *Zaven Efendi*, also worked in connection with the "**Mavri Mira**." The preparations made by the Armenians progressed *side by side* with those made by the Greeks.

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

Conflicting because description of the same kinds of organizations continue. There is an disapproving tone in both these paragraphs.

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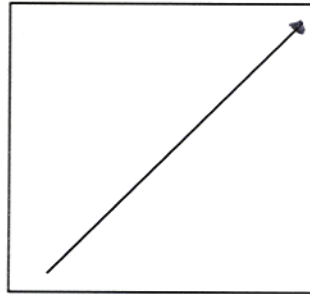


## CONSIDERED MEANS FOR SALVATION

On account of the appalling seriousness of the situation which was *apparent everywhere*, particularly in all the vilayets, certain **prominent personalities** had begun to develop **countermeasures** to **improve** the situation. This resulted in *new organizations* being started.

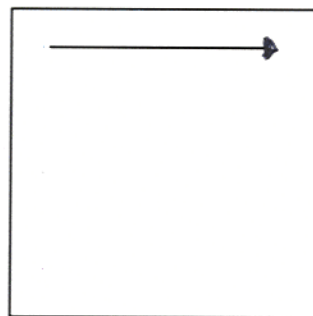
Thus, for instance, there were *unions or societies* at Edirne and surrounding districts called "*Trakya-Pasaeli*". In the east (*Document 3*), at Erzurum and Elazig (*Document 4*), the "*Union of Defense of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces*" had been formed, also with their headquarters in Istanbul. Again, in Trabzon there was a society called the "*Defense of Rights*" and in Istanbul a "*League for the Separation of Trabzon and its District.*" Through the exertions of the members of this league (*Document 5 and 6*), sub-committees had been established at Of and in the district of Lazistan.

It is isolated at the beginning with a brief mention of the state's terrible condition, and continues unifying when talking about the organizations aiming to defend it.



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

It starts conflicting because the possibility of a Greek invasion is discussed. Eventually becomes unifying when the efforts of the locals against the invasion are discussed.



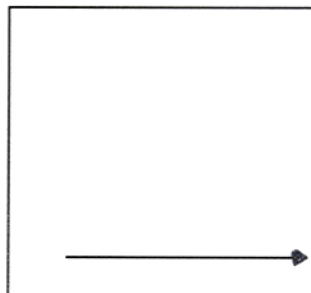
## NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR POLITICAL AIMS

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

I had already had a *conversation* in Istanbul with some of the leaders of the "*Trakya-Pasaeli*" Society. They considered that the

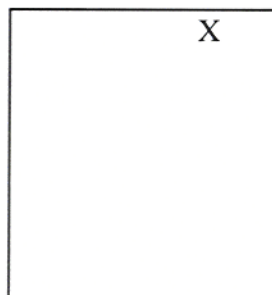
breakdown of the Ottoman Empire was *extremely probable*. In face of the threatened danger of the dismemberment of their country, their first thought was to **save** Eastern Trakya and later on if possible, to form a *Turco-Islamic community* that would include Western Trakya. The *only way* by which they thought they could **realize** this aim was to put their **trust** in *England* or, if this was not possible, in *France*. With this object they tried to *get in touch* with certain *political personalities* belonging to foreign countries. It was believed that their *intention* was to establish a *Trakya Republic*.

Isolated to coexisting because after the mention of a very probable breakdown of the state, this organization aims to save A specific region of the country.



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

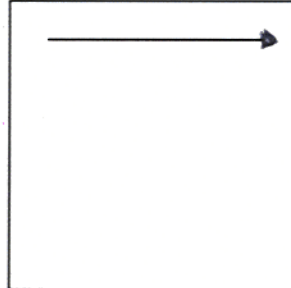
Unifying because the aims of this organization are to correct all the unlawful and unfair acts toward the Muslim population and to restore the good relations between all the elements in the region.



Acting on these *principles* that *emanated* from the Central Committee in Istanbul, the Erzurum Branch decided to undertake, **in defense of the rights** of the Turks, to *inform* the **civilised** world by means of *convincing documents* that since the *deportation* the people had been taking *no part* whatever in the excesses. Further, that the property of the Armenians had been **protected** up to the time when the country

was **invaded** by the Russians. On the other hand that the Muslims had been compelled to **suffer** from the **cruelest acts of violence** and that some Armenians who had been **saved** from deportation had, in **disobedience** of orders, **attacked** their own protectors. The Branch were doing their very **best to resist** any attempt to **annex** the Eastern Provinces. (Proclamation by the Erzurum Branch.)

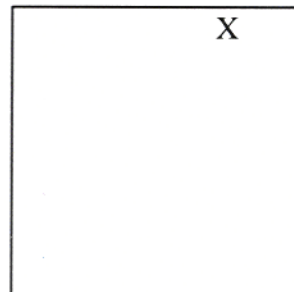
Conflicting to unifying because the aims of the organization are very noble, however, throughout the paragraph, there is a tone of aggression toward some minorities living in that region.



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

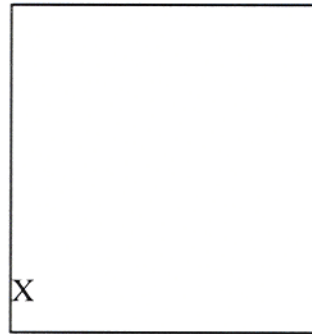
1. *On no account to emigrate*;
2. Forthwith to form *scientific, economic and religious organisations*;
3. To **unite in the defense** of even the smallest part of the Eastern Provinces that might be **attacked**.

Unifying because the organization desires to keep all eastern provinces together against any potential aggressors.



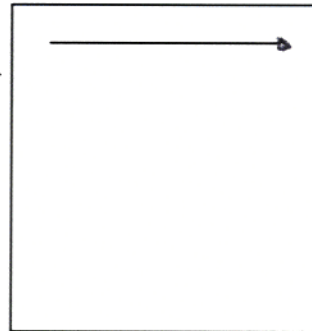
It can be seen that the headquarters of the "*Defense of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces*" were far **too optimistic** in their *expectation* to **succeed through civil and scientific** means. They continued to *exert themselves indefatigably* in this direction. For the purpose of **defending the rights of Muslims** dwelling in the Eastern Provinces they *published* a French journal, which they called "*Le Pays*." They acquired the right to *publish a magazine called "Hadisat."* They also *presented memorials* to the representatives of the Entente Powers in Istanbul and *tried to send a delegation to Europe.* (Document 7.)

Isolated because Ataturk criticizes this organization for being too optimistic and not realistic at all. He sees this as a waste of time.



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

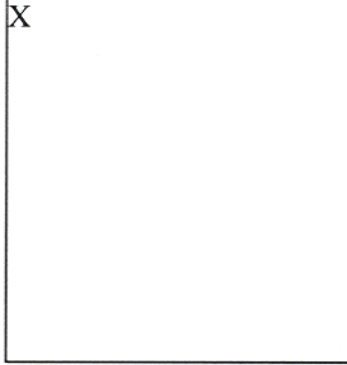
Conflicting to unifying because Ataturk describes the false claims Armenia makes over some eastern provinces with disbelief, then how this organization is going to oppose them.



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

Their *political aim* and program is already sufficiently obvious from its name: "*The Society for the Cession of the Territory of Trabzon*," whose head office was in Istanbul. In any case, they set out with the idea of separating this district from the Central Government.

Onflicting because this organization wants to separate the Trabzon District from the rest of the state.

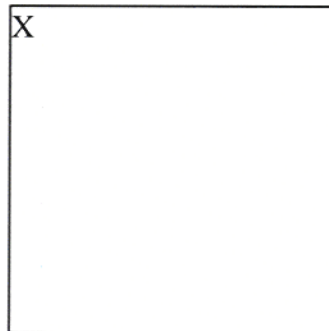


### ORGANISATIONS, IN THE COUNTRY AND IN ISTANBUL, HOSTILE TO THE NATIONAL EXISTENCE

Besides these organisations, which were being formed in the manner I have described, other *societies and enterprises* began to make their *appearance*. In the provinces of Diyarbakir (*Documents 8 and 9*), Bitlis and Elazig, among others, there was a "*League for the Resuscitation of the Kurds*" with its head offices also in Istanbul. Their aim was to **erect a Kurdish State** under *foreign protection*.

Work was going on at Konya and the surrounding district for the *formation of a league* having for its object the *revival of Islam* - also with its offices in Istanbul. There were organisations named "**Unity and Freedom**" and "**Peace and Salvation**" throughout almost the whole country.

Conflicting because Ataturk criticizes all these organizations covertly and doubts their sincerity and intentions seriously.



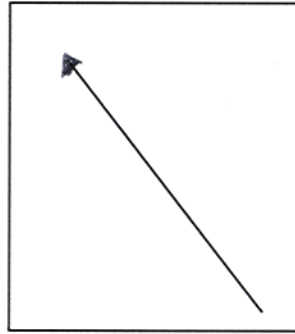
### SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ENGLAND

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

One of the most important of these, **the "Society of the Friends of England"** is worthy of special mention. It does not follow from its name that its members were *necessarily friends of England*. In my opinion, the founders of this society were people who thought, before anything else, of **their own safety** and **their own particular interests**, and who tried to secure both by inducing Lloyd George's Government to *afford* them English protection. I wonder whether these **misguided**

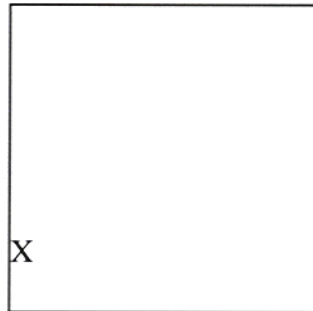
persons really imagined for a moment that the English Government had *any idea at all of maintaining and preserving* the Ottoman State in its integrity?

Coexisting to conflicting because Ataturk opposes the idea of getting help from the English and accuses the members of this society for being selfish.



At the *head* of this Society were *Vahdettin*, who *bore the title of Ottoman Sultan and Caliph*, Damat Ferit Pasha, Ali Kemal, Minister of the Interior, Adil Bey, Mehmet Ali Bey, and Sait Molla. Certain *English adventurers*, for instance a *clergyman named Frew*, also belonged to this Society. Their correspondence and operation make it clear that clergyman Frew was their *chairman*.

Isolated because Ataturk doubts all these people.



The Society had a double face and a twofold character. On the one hand, it openly sought the *protection of England* by methods inspired by **civilization**. On the other, it worked in *secret* and showed that its real aim was to incite the people to revolt by forming organisations in the interior, to paralyse the *national conscience* and encourage foreign countries to interfere. These were the treacherous designs underlying the work of the secret section of the Society. We shall see later how *Sait Molla* played just as *active* a part, or even a still *more important* one, in this secret work as in the public enterprises of the Society. What I have just said about this Society will become much *clearer* to you when I enter into further particulars later on and lay before you certain documents which will *astonish* you.

Isolated because Ataturk severely accuses this organization of conspiring secretly against the empire and working for its demise.

X

## SYMPATHESIZERS FOR AMERICAN MANDATE

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

Isolated because Ataturk is very doubtful of this solution.

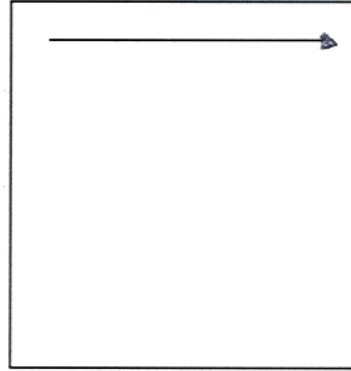
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## CLOSER EXAMINATION OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS

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

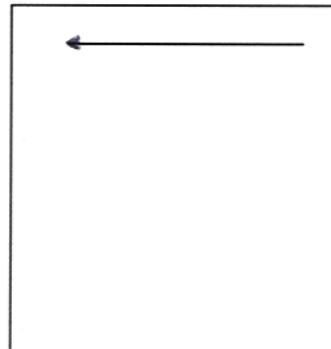
*Morally and materially*, the **enemy Powers** were openly **attacking** the Ottoman Empire and the country itself. They were determined to **disintegrate and annihilate** both. The *Padisah-Caliph* had one *sole anxiety-namely*, to *save his own life* and comfort. The members of the government had the *same feeling*. Without being aware of it, the nation had **no longer anyone to lead it**, but lived in **darkness and uncertainty**, waiting to see what would happen. Those who began to understand clearly the **terrors** and the extent of the **catastrophe** were seeking *some means* whereby to **save the country**, each guided by the circumstances that surrounded him and the sentiments that inspired him. The *Army* existed **merely in name**. The commanders and other officers were still **suffering** from the **exhaustion** resulting from the war. Their hearts were **bleeding** on account of **the threatened dismemberment** of their country. Standing on the brink of the **dark abyss** which yawned before their eyes, they *racked their brains* to **discover a way out of the danger...**

Conflicting to unifying because Ataturk first mentions the morbid condition of the country and who are to blame ; than he talks about the army and how they are trying to find a way out.



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

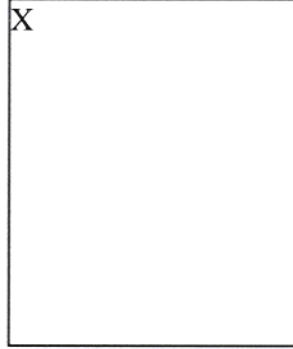
Unifying to conflicting because good intentions of the nation is described first. Then the effect that the sultanate has on people is mentioned.



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

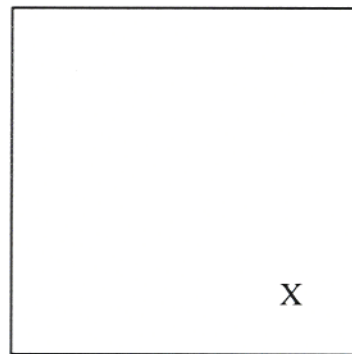
Not only the *mass of the people* thought in this strain, but those also who must be regarded as their *chosen leaders* *shared* the same opinion.

Conflicting because people who are afraid to fight are criticized.



Therefore, in seeking a **way out** of the **difficulty**, two questions had to be eliminated from discussion. First of all, **no hostility** was to be shown towards the Entente Powers; secondly, the most important thing of all was to *remain*, heart and soul, *loyal to the Padisah-Caliph*.

Coexisting because different solutions are discussed and doubted at the same time.



### CONSIDERED MEANS FOR SALVATION

Now, Gentlemen, I will ask you what decision could have been arrived at under **such circumstances** for **salvation**?

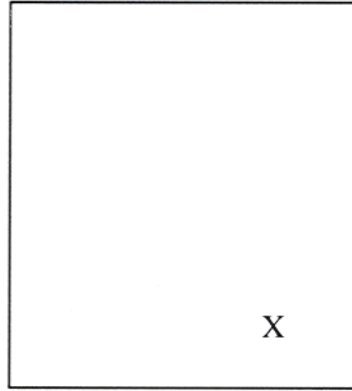
As I have already explained, there were *three propositions* that had been put forward:

1. To *demand protection* from England;
2. To accept the United States of America as a **mandatory Power**.

The *originators* of these two proposals had as their aim the **preservation** of the Ottoman Empire in its **complete integrity** and preferred to place it as a **whole** under the *protection of a single Power*, rather than allow it to be **divided** among several States.

3. The third proposal was to *deliver* the country by allowing each *district* to act in its *own way* and according to its own capability. Thus, for instance, certain districts, in opposition to the theory of **separation**, endeavoured to *remain* an integral part of the Empire. Others holding a different opinion already appeared to *regard* the **dismemberment of the Empire** as an accomplished fact and sought only their own safety.

Coexisting because solution alternatives are listed.



My above *explanations* are inclusive of the leading *motives* of these three kinds of propositions.

### MY DECISION

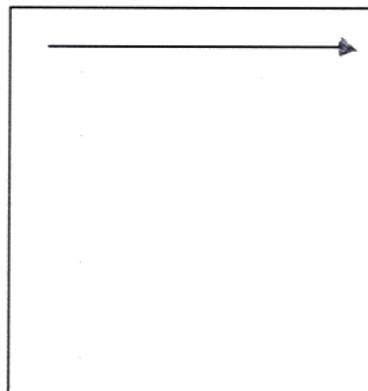
I did not think *any of these* three proposals could be accepted as sagacious, because the *arguments and considerations* on which they were based were groundless. In reality, the *foundations* of the Ottoman Empire were themselves shattered at that time. Its existence was threatened with extermination. All the Ottoman districts were practically dismembered. Only the **fatherland**, affording protection to a mere handful of Turks, still **remained**, and it was now suggested also to divide this. Such expressions as: *the Ottoman Empire, Independence, Padisah-Caliph, Government* - all of them were mere meaningless words.

Whose *existence* was it *essential* to save? And with whose help? And *how*?

Therefore, what could be a serious and correct resolution?

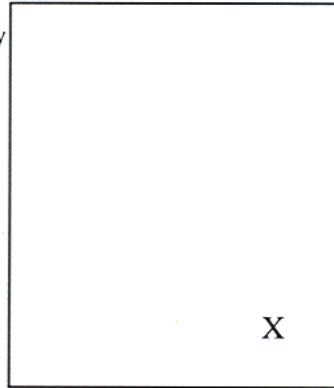
**In these circumstances, one resolution alone was *possible*, namely, to create a *New Turkish State*, the sovereignty and independence of which would be *unreservedly recognized*.**

Conflicting to unifying. Ataturk tells the reasons for rejecting the other alternatives and introduces his own solution which is an Independent Turkish State.



This was **the resolution** we *adopted* before we left Istanbul and which we began to put into *execution* immediately after we set foot on Anadolu soil at Samsun.

Coexisting because the decision was made by  
a certain group of people.

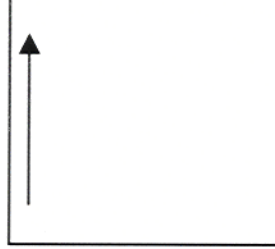


## SAMSUN'A CIKTIĞIM GÜN GENEL DURUM VE GÖRÜNÜŞÜ

1919 yılı mayısının 19 uncu günü Samsun'a çıktım. Genel durum ve görünüşü:

*Osmanlı Devletinin* içinde bulunduğu *topluluk*, Genel Savasta **yenilmiş**, Osmanlı ordusu her yanda **zedelenmiş**, koşulları **agir** bir «*Ateskes Anlaşması*<sup>2</sup>» imzalanmış. **Buyuk Savasin** uzun yılları boyunca, ulus **yorgun** ve **yoksul** bir durumda. Ulusu ve yurdu Genel Savasa **surukleyenler**, kendi **başlarının kaygısına** düşerek, yurttan **kacmışlar**. *Padisah* ve *Halife* olan Vahdettin, **sovsuzlaşmış**, kendini ve yalnız tahtını koruyabileceğini umduğu **alcakca** yollar araştırmakta. Damat Ferit Pasa'nın başkanlığındaki Hükümet, **gücsüz, onursuz, korkak**, yalnız padişahın **isteklerine uymuş** ve onunla birlikte kendilerini koruyabilecek herhangi bir duruma boyun eğmiş.

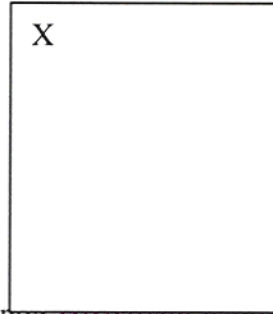
bu paragraf memleketin karanlık bir tasfiriyle izole başlayıp, sonlara doğru sultan ve davranışlarından bahsederken çatışmalı hale geliyor.



*Ordunun* elinden *silâhları ve cepanesi* **alınmış** ve alınmakta...

*İtilâf devletleri*, Ateskes **Anlaşması hükümlerine uymayı gerekli görmüyorlar**. Birer **uydurma** nedenle, İtilâf donanmaları ve askerleri *Istanbulda*. Adana iline Fransızlar; Urfa, Maras, Antep'e İngilizler *girmişler*. Antalya ile Konyada İtalyan birlikleri, Merzifonlu Samsun'da İngiliz askerleri *bulunuyor*. Her yanda yabancı devletlerin subay ve memurları ve özel adamları *çalışmakta*. Daha sonra, sozümüze başlangıç olarak aldığımız tarihten dört gün önce, 15 Mayıs 1919'da İtilâf devletlerinin uygun bulmasıyla **Yunan ordusu İzmir'e çıkarılıyor**.

Bu paragraf çatışmalı çünkü ülkenin nasıl bulunduğunu anlatıyor.

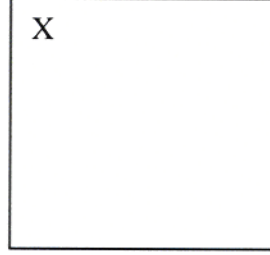


Bundan başka, yurdun dört bir ucunda *krizistayan azınlıklar*, **gizli, acik, özel istek ve amaçlarının** elde edilmesine, devletin **bir an önce çökmesine** çalışıyorlar.

Sonradan elde edilen **güvenilir bilgi ve belgeler**, İstanbul *Rum Patrikliğinde* kurulan *Mavri Mira Kurulu*'nun (*belge: 1*) illerde **çeteler kurmak** ve yönetmekle, *gösteri toplantıları ve propagandalar*

yaptirmakla ugrastigini dogruladi. *Yunan Kizilhaci, Resmî Gocmenler Komisyonu, Mavri Mira Kurulu*'nun calismalarini kolaylastirmaya yardim ediyor. *Mavri Mira Kurulu*'nce yonetilen Rum okullarinin *izci orgutleri*, yirmi yasini asmis gencler de katilarak, her yerde gelistiriliyor.

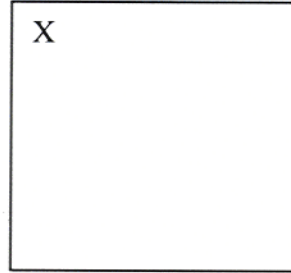
Bu paragraf catismali cunku ulkeyi bolmeye calisan organizasyonlar ve calismalari anlatiliyor.



*Ermeni Patrigi Zaven Efendi* de, *Mavri Mira Kurulu* ile dusunce *birligi ederek calisiyor*. Ermeni hazirligi da tam Rum hazirligi gibi ilerliyor.

*Trabzon, Samsun ve butun Karadeniz kiyilarinda* kurulan ve Istanbuldaki merkeze bagli *Pontus Cemiyeti* kolaylikla ve basariyla calisiyor (belge: 2) .

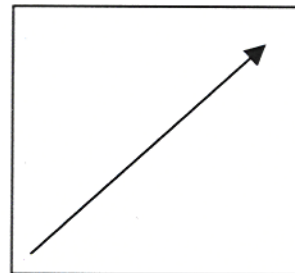
Catismali cunku kotu niyetli yabanci organizasyonlari calisma, amaclari anlatilmaya devam ediliyor



## DUSUNULEN KURTULUS YOLLARI

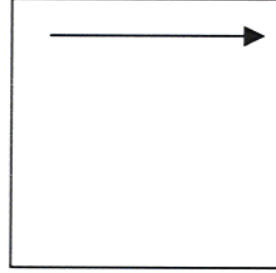
Durumun korkunclugu ve agirligi karsisinda, *her yerde*, her bolgede **birtakim kisilerce kurtulus** yollari **dusunulmeye** baslanmistir. Bu dusunceyle girisilen calismalar, **birtakim orgutler dogurdu**. Ornegin: Edirne ve cevresinde *Trakya-Pasaeli* adli bir dernek vardi. Doguda (belge: 3), Erzurumda ve Elazigda (belge: 4), genel merkezi Istanbulda olmak uzere *Vilâyeti Sarkiye Mudafaa Hukuku Milliye Cemiyeti*<sup>3</sup> kurulmustu. *Trabzon'da Muhafazai Hukuk*<sup>4</sup> adli bir dernek bulundugu gibi Istanbulda da, *Trabzon ve Havalisi Ademi Merkeziet Cemiyeti*<sup>5</sup> vardi. Bu dernek merkezinin gonderdigi delegeler, Of ve Rize cevresinde subeler **acmislardi** (belge: 5, 6).

Bu paragraf ulkenin durumundan kisa bir bahisle izole baslayip, sonlara dogru ulkeyi kurtarmak isteyen organizasyonlardan bahsederek brlestirici bitiyor.



Yunanlilerin Izmirde **gireceginin** acik *belirtilerini* Mayisin on ucunden beri goren, Izmirde birtakim genc **yurtseverler**, ayin 14/15 inci gecesi, bu acikli durumu aralarinda *gorusmusler*; bir olupbittiye geldiği kuskuyu goturmeyen bu girisin, **katma (ilhak)** ile sonuclanmasini onlemek dusuncesinde **birlesmisler** ve Reddi Ilhak<sup>6</sup> ilkesini ortaya atmislardir. Bu ilkenin *yayilmasi* icin ayni gece Izmirde Yahudi Masatligina toplanabilen halkca bir *gosteri toplantisi*<sup>7</sup> yapilmis da ertesi gun sabahleyin Yunan askerlerinin rihtimda **gorulmesivle** bu toplantidan umulduđu olcude sonuc **alinamamistir**.

Paragrafin basi catismali cunku muhtemel yunan isgalinden bahsediliyor, sondaki aklamalarla birlestirici hale geliyor.

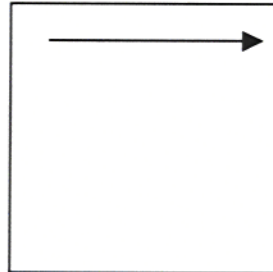


## ULUSAL KURULUSLAR, SIYASAL AMACLARI

Bu derneklerin kurulus *amaclari* ve siyasal erekleri uzerine kisaca bilgi vermek uygun olur dusuncesindeyim.

*Trakya-Pasaeli Cemiyeti'nin* ileri gelenlerinden kimisiyle daha Istanbulda iken gorusmustum. Osmanli Devletinin **cokecegini** *kesinlige* yakin bir olabilirlik icinde *goruyorlardi*. *Osmanli Yurdunun* **parcalanacagi** korkusu karsisinda Trakyayi, olabilirse Bati Trakya ile birlikte, *Islâm ve Turk toplulugu* olarak *butunuyile* kurtarmayi dusunuyorlardi. Bu amaca ulasmak icin o zaman akillarina gelen **tek cikar yol**, *Ingilterenin*, olmazsa *Fransanin* **yardimini** saglamakti. Bu *dusunceyle* kimi yabanci *devlet adamlariyla* *iliski kurmak* ve konusmak yollarini da aramislardi. Amaclarinin bir *Trakya Cumhuriyeti* kurmak oldugu anlasiliyordu.

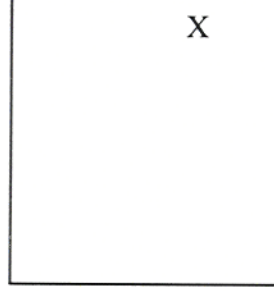
İzolede uyumluya cunku bu kurum muhtemel bir cokusten sonra ulkenin tek bir bolgesini kurtarmayi amacliyor.



*Vilâyeti Sarkiye Mudafaai Hukuku Milliye Cemiyeti'nin* kurulus *amaci* da (tuzuklerinin ikinci maddesi), dogu illerindeki *butun halkin dinsel ve siyasal haklarinin* **ozgurce** gelismisini saglayacak **yasa**

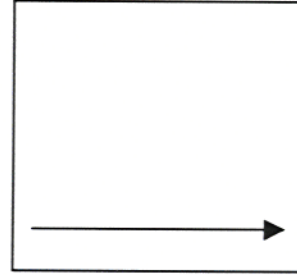
ve **tore ici** yollara basvurmak; adi gecen illerdeki *musluman halkin tarihsel ve ulusal haklarini, gerektiginde*, uygar toplumlar onunde **savunmak**; dogu illerinde yapilan **zulum ve cinayetlerin** nedenleriyle etmenleri ve **bunlari yapanlar ve yaptiranlarla** ilgili **tarafsizca** sorusturma acarak *suclularin* tez gunde **cezalandirilmalarini** istemek; Turklerle azinliklar arasindaki **anlasmazliklarin giderilmesine** ve eskisi gibi iyi baglari **pekistirilmesine** caba gostermek; dogu illerindeki, savastan dogma **yikim ve yoksullugu**, *hukumet katinda* girisimlerde bulunarak elden geldigince **giderme yollarini aramakti**.

Birlestirici cunku faydali yerel bir dernegin yararli amaclari ve calisma plani anlatiliyor.



Istanbuldaki yonetim merkezlerinden *verilmis* olan bu *yonerge* geregince, Erzurum subesi, dogu illerinde *Turklerin haklarini korumakla* birlikte, *Ermenilerin* gocu sirasinda yapilan **kotu islerle** halkin hic ilgisi bulunmadigini ve Ermeni mallarinin, buralara Ruslar **girinceye** dek **korundugunu**; buna karsilik, *muslumanlara* cok **kiyasiya** davranildigini ve dahasi, **buyruk disi** olarak gocten alikonulan kimi Ermenilerin, **koruyucularina** yaptiklari **kotulukleri**, *kanitlanmis belgelerle* uygarlik dunyasina *sunmaya ve bildirmeye* ve dogu illerine dikilen tutkulu bakislari sondurmek icin calismaya karar veriyor (Erzurum Subesinin Bildirisi).

Catismalidan birlestiriciye cunku bu Organizasyon Muslumanlara karsi yapilan tum Haksiz ve kotu davranislari kanuni yollarla Duzeltip dunyaya duyurmayi amacliyor.



*Vilâyeti Sarkiye Mudafaa-i Hukuku Milliye Cemiyeti'nin* ilk Erzurum Subesini kuran kisiler, dogu illerinde yapilan *propagandaları* ve bunlari *ereklerini, Turkluk - Kurtluk - Ermenilik sorunlarini*, **bilim, teknik ve tarih bakımından** inceleyip arastirdiktan sonra, gelecekteki *calismalarini* su uc noktada topluyorlar (Erzurum Subesi'nin basili raporu):

- 1 - Hic *goc etmemek*;
- 2 - Hemen *bilim, iktisat, din orgutleri kurmak*;