

THE WAR OF TURKEY AGAINST ARMENIA: ANALYZING THE TURKISH DOCUMENTS (NOVEMBER 1920)

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The November of 1920 was fateful for the Republic of Armenia. The Turkish army captured Kars on 30 October, predetermining the military defeat of the Armenian side in the Armenian-Turkish war. The gravity of the struggle was transferred into the diplomatic sphere. A treaty was signed with Turkey on December 2 in Alexandrapol after intensive and multilateral negotiations of about one month, which ratified the results of both the military and diplomatic defeat of Armenia.

The native historical science, dragging new archival and other documentary materials of a considerable quantity, laid a serious basis for comprehensive and impartial study of this tragic page of our modern history¹.

Nevertheless, the Turkish documents remain for the most part still unreachable to us. The present publication is the first step on the way to filling this gap.

A number of important documents dated with November 1920 are presented in translation, annotated in detail and analyzed as well. These are fragments of encrypted writing between the heads of the Turkish state and military highest organs, the Head of General Staff of the Armed Forces and then the commander of the Western front Ismet (Inönü), acting Foreign Minister Ahmed Muhtar (Mollahoğlu) and the commander of the Eastern front, Kâzım Karabekir, as well as documents, reflecting the guiding role of Mustafa Kemal, the Speaker of the Turkish National Grand Assembly (TBMM). The secret letters of the two conflicting heads of the Turkish Communist Party (TCP) operating in Baku, addressed to Kemal and Karabekir are involved as well. In fact, the authors of the said letters were acting as agents of nationalistic forces.

The documents were mainly secret or strictly confidential; some of them are cryptograms. This fact gives them an exceptional importance, since it provides an opportunity to be introduced with the real purposes of the policy of the new, Republican Turkey, being at that time formed upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, “founding fathers” toward Armenia as well as their approaches, reviews, working style and tricks in regard to Armenia.

This is the case when they did not need to keep hiding behind the circulating diplomatic statements, the great masters of which were the Turkish rulers of all times, having formulated their thoughts with full clarity.

In particular, the documents prove undeniably that the supreme goal of Turkey at the last stage of the war was the destruction of Armenia as a substantive factor. Thus,

¹ Sargsyan Y., *Conspirative deal. Armenia, Russia, Turkey*, Yerevan, 1995 (in Arm.); Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, Yerevan, 1997 (in Arm.); Galoyan G., *Armenia and the Great powers. 1917-1923*, Yerevan, 1999 (in Arm.); Khurshudyan L., *The disintegration of Armenia in 1920*, Yerevan, 2002 (in Arm.).

according to the precise formulation in the cryptogram sent to the acting minister of Foreign Affairs of the TBMM's government on November 8, "it is an absolute necessity to liquidate Armenia politically and materially"².

Unfortunately, the Armenian political society was unable to discover this purpose timely, which was a considerable factor for a defeat Armenia suffered on the diplomatic front. The head of the delegation, composed for conducting peace negotiations with Turkey, and Alexander Khatisyan, the former prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs was subsequently confessing in his memoirs, "...Our delegation was thinking that the Turks were wishing for a viable Armenia as the Turkish state figures were continuously declaring that"³.

The documents reveal that the actual conceptions of the Kemalists about the national interests of Turkey were diametrically different. To find out their real intentions one needs to pay a significant attention to the speech of Mustafa Kemal delivered in the closed session of the TBMM on November 18, 1920, where he noted that the military actions against Armenia were aimed at establishing a land communication with Azerbaijan, having based upon the conclusions of the Army Headquarters⁴. Hence, the "official" interpretation of the causes of the war against Armenia, notified for the whole world in the famous "speech" of the same Atatürk later, in 1927, is disproved, "The harmful actions taken by the Armenians in the Autumn of 1920 became intolerable. We made a decision to go against Armenia"⁵.

The well-informed Turkish authors are writing that the initiator of the military actions against Armenia was Mustafa Kemal himself. He had come to the conclusion still in 1920 that the "Caucasian Wall", that is Armenia, should be destroyed from behind⁶. The undisguised pan-Türkist intentions of the Kemalists are proved by the abovementioned fact as well⁷.

It is obvious that the cryptographs that were being sent from Ankara with the signature of acting foreign minister Mukhtar bey were speaking up for the approaches and assessments of Mustafa Kemal.

The Turkish documents prove that the Turkish ringleaders while initiating the war had a more "modest" intention, not to destroy Armenia, but its armed forces only. This is proved by the order of the Chief of the General Staff, Isnet bey, about launching an

² Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

³ Khatisyan A., The rise and development of the Republic of Armenia, Athens, 1930, p. 263 (in Arm.).

⁴ See [Atatürk], Erzurum Mebusu İsmail Beyle Rûfekasinin, Ermenistan Sulh Şeraiti Hakkında İstizah Takriri ve Hariciye Vekâleti Vekili Muhtar Beyin Cevabi Münasebetiyle Sözlere. - [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları. Yayına Hazırlayan: Kâzım Öztürk. Ankara, 1990, s. 322.

⁵ Kemal Atatürk, Nutuk. Cilt: II, 1920-1927, İstanbul, 1961, s. 486.

⁶ See the following work one of the pillars of the Kemalist official historiography wrote - Tevfik Biyiklioğlu, Atatürk Anadolu'da (1919 - 1921), Ankara, 1959, s. 19.

⁷ Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

attack against Armenia. Turning to the command of the Eastern front, he writes, "Our ultimate goal is the annihilation of the Armenian armed forces"⁸. One has noted in the order that the relevant decision of the TBMM was a ground for this document, which was also approved by the government⁹. But later on, defeating the Armenian army in a few battles and seeing that Armenia is isolated and abandoned by its allies, the leadership of Turkey began to make changes in its plans. This process, which can be considered as one of the key events of the Turkish-Armenian war, lasted a few days and caused quarrels in the ruling circles of the Kemalists. The Turkish sources provide a chance to clarify some details of the said process.

The memoirs of Karabekir make it evident that he informed by telegram the Military minister of the Kemalists, Fevzi pasha (Chakmak), in the next day of capturing Kars, October 31, about the details of his victory, stating specifically that the amount of trophies is so large that may be enough to fight for ten years¹⁰. It is noteworthy that after two days the said telegram of Karabekir was received, in November 2, the government of TBMM turned to the government of Armenia, offering to immediately start negotiations for the purpose of making peace¹¹.

This document is written in a quite soft style and does not contain provisions of ultimate character; basically, it is an offer to start peace negotiations. Approaching to Armenia with such a cautious offer from the Kemalists about peace negotiations proves that they still had serious fears at that moment concerning the capture of Kars, which could result in heavy diplomatic complications; hence, they were trying to mitigate their incroachments on the territory of Armenia.

As İsmet proclaims in his memoirs, the political circles of Ankara had not a definite approach when considering the rapid advancement of Karabekir in Armenia. To the opinion of some actors in Ankara the said triumph of Karabekir could have been harmful when discussing the total and final victory¹². On those same days, some of the deputies of the TBMM acted even with questioning and requested explanations about the enlargement of the war against Armenia without the permission of the TBMM¹³. All it shows the existence of disagreements among the ruling circles of the Kemalists regarding the subsequent actions towards Armenia.

Nevertheless, Karabekir was aloof from such fluctuations. He was sure that the advancement into Armenian territory, to Alexandrapol, should be continued and only after that the peace negotiations should be started. Therefore, he decided to act independently, ignoring the position of the government. Leaving in Kars only an armed detachment, composed of one thousand volunteers, who had come from Samsun on

⁸ This remarkable document is published without curtailment by İsmet in his memoirs. See İsmet İnönü, *Hatıralar: 1. Kitap*, Ankara, 1985, s. 222.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 898.

¹¹ See the text Khatisyan A., *The rise and development*, p. 245-246.

¹² İsmet İnönü, *Hatıralar: 1. Kitap. Yayına Hazırlayan*, 1985, s. 222.

¹³ *Siyasi Kirginliklar: 15 Gün Gizli Tutulan Görev. - Tercüman*, 04. 05. 1993.

the eve and hurried to join the regular army for the purpose of lootage, Karabekir started moving forward on the direction of Alexandropol on November 3, having under his command combatable military units for capturing this important city as well¹⁴.

At the same time, being still not confident that he would be able to continue defeating the military units of the retreating Armenian army, addresses a message to the commandment of the 11th Soviet Army¹⁵. This letter is a document of political character at first, where a coarse misrepresentation of reality has been made.

Trying to convince the Russians that Armenia is an aggressor state and that the war of the Kemalists against it is merely an act of self-defense, Karabekir insists that Armenians “have captured Erzurum” as a result of the “total attack”, started in September 24, which did not correspond to reality¹⁶. Nevertheless, the essential purpose of the message was much more specific; a suggestion was being made for the “Soviet Russia, an ally” to give assistance to Turkey and put an end to the “dominance of dashnaks [members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation]” through the way of taking “decisive measures”¹⁷. In fact, this was an offer to the Russians to open immediately a new front against Armenia. There is no record about the answer of the Russian side.

Karabekir was not wrong; the Armenian troops had not still lost their fighting efficiency. The very next day the Armenian army showed fierce resistance to the enemy in the battle near Kyzylchakhchakh and caused serious losses to the Turks. The Armenian troops left their positions in an organized manner in the evening only and retreated¹⁸.

The advancement of Karabekir was not coordinated with Ankara beforehand; as Karabekir himself points out in his memoirs, “I informed (emphasis is ours - R. S.) the Command of the General Staff”¹⁹. Probably, he was not sure that the government would permit his further offensive actions at that time.

The reason of the cautious position of Ankara’s government was the external factor. In fact, the leaders of the Kemalists were considering the positions of three

¹⁴ Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 899.

¹⁵ See the text: The telegram of the chief of the 11th Red army staff Pugachev to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic with the Turkish version of events in Armenia, provided by the Kemalists command of Eastern front. – in *The Genocide of Armenians. The responsibility of Turkey and obligations of the world community. Documents and commentaries*, vol.2, part 1 (compiler, editor, author of the Preface and Commentaries by Yu.A.Barseghov), Moscow, 2003, p.218-219 (in Russian). This document was published in Armenian partly by E. Zohrabyan; see Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, Yerevan, 1997, p. 287 (in Arm.).

¹⁶ See in the text of Karabekir’s message The telegram of the chief of the 11th Red army staff Pugachev to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic with the Turkish version of events in Armenia, provided by the Kemalists command of Eastern front, p. 218.

¹⁷ Citation is made according to Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, p. 287 (in Arm.).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 273-274.

¹⁹ Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, İstanbul, 1959 - 1960, s. 899.

countries, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and Georgia. The most important of them were, certainly, the two, Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

But the position of Georgia was not still roundly clear as well. There was a fear in the governmental circles that the Georgians, taking advantage of the situation, could capture Kars, being in fact defenseless. In addition, as Karabekir points out in his memoirs, he had received the message of ultimate character from the commander of the Georgian army, located in Ardahan, in November 3, where it was underlined that if the Turks were to go out of Kars and to pass the line the Georgians had drawn, then the latter would have attacked them²⁰.

Taking into consideration the abovementioned circumstances, the General Staff, having received the report of Karabekir pasha about the preparations for capturing Alexandropol, ordered, "This operation is dangerous. The attacks of the Georgians on Kars cannot be excluded. That is why it is needed to go back to Kars without delay"²¹. Karabekir expresses disagreement with this order of the General Staff, does not obey the command and continues to move forward on the direction of Alexandropol. His response was the following, "I do not think it right to leave the enemy, being pursued and already defeated and to retreat to Kars in order to prevent the operations of a new possible enemy. If the Georgians are going to take such an operation, then, after having hit Armenians once more, I shall return to Georgians and defeat them, too, striking them from the rear. I continue the advancement"²².

The change of the abovementioned cryptographs between Ankara and Karabekir took place on November 5. Subsequently, the Turkish troops occupied positions on the hills west of Alexandropol in the evening of that same day, disobeying the command of the General Staff, and, thus, created a direct threat to the city. Karabekir received the suggestion of Armenian government about signing a ceasefire still in the morning of November 3. He transferred it to his leadership and presented immediately a number of demands of ultimate character to the Armenian side without waiting appropriate instructions from his governors.

The next day, on November 7, the Armenian side surrendered Alexandropol to the Turks, accepting the demands of ultimatum²³. Thus, the self-guided operations of Karabekir were crowned with unprecedented success; the war was over.

In fact, the said success of Karabekir accelerated the process of modifying the ultimate goals of Turkey during the war of both Turkish government and General Staff with Armenia. It was expressed in concentrated form in the texts of two ultimatums about the ceasefire, addressed to the Armenian side²⁴. The first one, dated with November 6, includes lesser requirements than the second, which was presented just

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See the texts of the ultimatums; Simon Vratsyan, Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 1993, p. 511-513 (in Arm.).

after two days, on November 8. The first ultimatum was the result of Karabekir's "spontaneous activity", having as a basis, in all likelihood, the already mentioned note of a relatively lesser demands of Ankara's government on November 2. The second one was written after revaluations of the created situation by the ringleaders of Kemalist movement. The strictly confidential cryptogram of the acting Foreign Minister of the TMBB's government, Ahmet Muhtar, dated on November 8 and addressed to Karabekir, had served as a basis for the mentioned document²⁵. The approaches, being definitively formulated as a result of these revaluations, are presented in details here and the motivations of the said approaches are interpreted as well.

It is instructive to compare this coded document with the other official writing, signed in the same day and by the same leading figure; it is about the letter, addressed to the Foreign Ministry of Armenia and containing the general conditions of peace Turkey had proposed. In other words, we are dealing with the document of diplomatic character, which was provided for "external use"²⁶. Thus, for example, if the first one was making accents on the annihilation of Armenia as an independent factor, the second one was about Turkey doing its best both to help Armenia with foodstuff and to assist in developing its economy.

It was pointed out in the letter addressed to the government of Armenia that "the determination of the Turkish-Armenian border should be a matter of simple statistics and referendum"²⁷, and the cryptogram was an explanation for pasha, having been far from diplomatic tricks, that the objective of the proposal "stems from the aspiration of preventing the determination of border"...

Based on the new instructions from Ankara, Karabekir, too, presented the second ultimatum, containing extremely hard conditions.

The victory in the war against Armenia was also a result of well-thought-out and flexible diplomacy of the Kemalists. Usually, it is common for us to judge about the Turkish diplomacy, relying upon the results it has obtained. The present publication provides an opportunity to get introduced with the approaches and judgements, which gave birth to the Turks' actions in the diplomatic arena. In that sense, the document, put in the Appendix and signed by Muhtar, likewise, presents an interest, which deals with the explanations of a number of important clauses and manners of diplomatic tactics, elaborated by the government of Ankara and applied in regard to bolshevik Russia within the circles of Armenia-related questions²⁸. In particular, Karabekir was required to be "yielding" during the discussions with the Russians, bearing in mind that the Soviet Russia was the only ally of Turkey. At the same time, Muhtar bey was explaining to him how the Bolsheviks' fear of Englishmen should be exploited, persuading them that in

²⁵ Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

²⁶ See the text Sulh Şartlarımız, Ankara, 8/11/1920. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 900.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanı Kâzım Karabekir Paşa Hazretlerine, Ankara, 20 - 21/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 905-906.

case of Van and Bitlis to be passed under the control of Armenians, “this will greatly strengthen the British positions in the East”²⁹.

No matter how strange it may seem, but these primitive geopolitical arguments were reaching their goals...

The document no. 7 of the Appendix of the present article, containing the order of Kemal, deserves attention, the essential meaning of which is possible to comprehend only in case of being introduced with its prehistory³⁰.

Since the Summer of 1920 and, especially, after the successes of the Kemalists in the initial stage of the Armenian-Turkish war, some common interests were emerged between Ankara and London³¹ and a diplomacy of secret relations was pushed forward³², and before that, the close relations of Ankara with Moscow began to get frozen to some extent and were of an irregular nature.

The Turkish sources state that the Kemalists were able to correctly evaluate this newly-emerging situation and use it wisely. Based on the fact that a new government, consisting mainly of Mustafa Kemal's supporters, had come to power in Constantinople by the British approval on October 21, which had expressed a wish to send a delegation to Ankara and to conduct negotiations with the government of the nationalists, they shaped an opinion among the Russians that this government, performing the British assignment, had to seek the ways of “drawing the movement of Anatolia towards the British side, isolating it from both the Bolshevik and Islamic worlds”³³.

The mentioned move of the Kemalists reached its goal; the Bolsheviks started to go into relations with their ally more “tactfully” and showed greater willingness to meet halfway³⁴.

At the same time, the government of the TBMM spared every effort to touch some terms of an agreement with the British through secret contacts and playing the fact of its allied relations with the Bolshevik Russia³⁵.

²⁹ Ibid., s. 906.

³⁰ Mustafa Kemal, Doğu Cephesi Komutanlığı'na, Ankara, 30 Kasım 1920. - Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları, C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 210-211.

³¹ See about that in details in the following monograph: Agapi Nasipyan, Britain and Armenian Question 1915-1923, Beirut, 1994.

³² Salahi R. Sonyel, Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlerinde Batı Siyasamız (Nisan 1920 - Mart 1921), Belleten, Ocak 1981, Cilt: XLV/1, Sa. 177, s. 359-360.

³³ According to the Turkish researcher E. Tellas, the letter of the acting Foreign Minister of TBMM, Ahmet Muhtar, dated on October 22 and addressed to G. Tchicherin, the Foreign Commissar of Russia, was pursuing the said goal. See Erel Tellal, Sovyetlerle ilişkiler. - Türk dış politikası: Kurtuluş savaşı bugüne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar (Cilt I: 1919 - 1980), İstanbul, 2002, s.170. Here the position of Ahmet Muhtar is wrongly mentioned as a “People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs”.

³⁴ The telegram of I. Stalin to V. Lenin is typical in this sense, where he advises to delay the signing of the agreement with Armenia, since it could alienate the Kemalists and motivate them to come to an agreement with the British. See Telegram from I. Stalin to V. Lenin, Baku, November 5, 1920. - The Armenian Genocide. Responsibility of Turkey and obligations of world community. Documents and commentaries, p. 216.

³⁵ İlhan Uzgöl, Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, İngiltere ile ilişkiler. - Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşı Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (Cilt I: 1919-1980), İstanbul, 2002, s. 141-142.

Based on the British archival documents, the Turkish researcher Salahi Sonyel writes that from the mid-August of 1920, that is immediately after the Sèvre treaty was signed, Mustafa Kemal had tried to come to an agreement with the British through his secret representatives, having even promised to place the Caucasian Army of Karabekir under their command and employ it against the Bolsheviks³⁶.

We have to mention that Kemal was trying to influence the British through Italy as well, with the representatives of which he has also established secret contacts. During September-October of 1920 these were being carried into effect through the unofficial representative of Kemal³⁷. Nevertheless, in November 1920 he sent his official representative, the Minister of Interior, to Rome. The envoy of the Sultan Government in Rome, Ferruh bey, sent information to Constantinople, stating that a great significance was given by the Italian governmental circles to the said visit³⁸. Thus, a more favorable diplomatic atmosphere was secured from the viewpoint of achieving the strategic goals of Turkey when the war against Armenia is considered. In particular, making use of this fact, the Kemalists refused the mediation of Russia in the Armenian-Turkish negotiations, and this was the case when they had given their consent beforehand³⁹. But when it became clear that Russia has taken a more decisive stand and brings troops into Armenia, establishing direct contacts with the army of Karabekir, this trick temporarily lost its significance and was even seen as one, full of dangerous consequences. The resolute command of Mustafa Kemal to deny hearsay of cooperating with the British by all possible means and contained in the Appendix No. 7 was followed under these conditions.

Mustafa Suphi had conducted vigorous activity in that period, who was able to become an authoritative leader of the Turkish Communist movement, having domiciled in Baku on May 1920⁴⁰.

He was absolutely sharing the approaches of the Kemalists about Armenia⁴¹. The letter Mustafa Suphi addressed to Mustafa Kemal and presented here in translation (the document No. 8) proves that the Turkish Communist Party under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi was actually operating as a propagandistic, information-gathering and intelligence organisation, supporting the military operations of the Kemalists against Armenia. At the same time, he was acting as a mediator between the representatives of the Russian Bolsheviks' leaders in Baku and Kemalists. In particular, as the letter of Mustafa Suphi addressed to Mustafa Kemal shows, the former had organized not only the meeting of the representative of the TBMM's government, Memduh Shevket, being

³⁶ See about that Salahi R. Sonyel, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlerinde Batı Siyasamız* (Nisan 1920 – Mart 1921), *Bellekten*, Ocak 1981, Cilt XLV/1, Sa. 177, s. 359-360.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 356-357.

³⁸ See this document: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Büyükelçiliği 118/73 numaraya ek:*

³⁹ TBMM Başkanı Mustafa Kemal, *Bariş Delegeleri Hamit ve Necati Beyefendilere*, 23 Kasım 1920. - Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları, C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 207.

⁴⁰ Mustafa Suphi was considered "the Man of Moscow". See, for instance, Doğan Avcioğlu, *Millî Kurtuluş Tarihi 1836'den 1995'e*, İstanbul, 1976, s. 621-624

⁴¹ See Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908 – 1925*, 3. Baskı, Ankara - İstanbul, 1978, s. 228.

at that time on a visit to Baku, with I. Stalin, but also got a chance to be present at their conversation⁴².

The personal letter of Karabekir's longtime friend (the document No. 6), Ismet bey, who was the commander of the Western front in that period, is a matter of interest, for it shows clearly, first of all, that the victory over Armenia saved practically the nationalists, rebelled against the authorities of the Ottoman Empire⁴³.

When the activities of Karabekir during the Armenian-Turkish war is characterized, one needs to consider the fact that he was virtually playing dual game; showing loyalty to Mustafa Kemal, he did not break his ties with one of the Young Turks' ringleaders, infamous Enver pasha, engaged in vigorous activities at that time⁴⁴ and, in some cases, has even acted according to the instructions of the latter⁴⁵. In his turn, Enver was supporting Karabekir in all ways. In particular, one of the founders of the "Turkish Communist Party" created in Baku under the leadership of Enver, the famous Young Turk figure Fuat Sabit⁴⁶ (later he adopted a surname Agacik) was acting as a "communication official" of Karabekir, sending him reports. One of them, which contains a reference about the Armenian-Turkish war, is included in the Appendix of the present article in translation as a document No. 5⁴⁷.

The prevailing part of the presented documents is taken from the books written by Kâzım Karabekir, a commander of the Eastern front created for the war against Armenia⁴⁸. The army having many armed robbers joined and being commanded by Karabekir invaded Armenia, spreading death and destruction everywhere. Karabekir was awarded the military rank of *ferik* (lieutenant-general) for the mentioned "heroism"⁴⁹ and after the war was over, he was bestowed with the "Medal of Independence with Green and Red Ribbons"⁵⁰ and entered in the official historiography of the republican Turkey as a "Conqueror of the East"⁵¹.

The Turkish historian Cemal Kutay who was distinguished by his independent views has given a more realistic assessment to the activities of Karabekir, characterizing those as "Destruction of Armenia"⁵².

⁴² TKP Merkez Heyeti Reisi: Mustafa Suphi, Kâtibi: Ethem Nejat, B. M. M. Reisi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretlerine, Bakû [? Kasım 1920]. - Mete Tunçay, Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925, s. 231-233.

⁴³ İsmet, 28/Teşrinisani/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, s. 903.

⁴⁴ A number of letters exchanged between Karabekir and Enver in that period were contained in one of Karabekir's books. Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî, İstanbul, 1967

⁴⁵ See Murat Çulcu, Spekülatif Marjinal Tarih Tezleri. 6. Baskı, İstanbul, 2000, s. 281-282.

⁴⁶ See Doğan Avcioğlu, Millî Kurtuluş Tarihi 1836'den 1995'e, s. 487.

⁴⁷ Doktor Fuad Sabit, Kâzım Karabekir Paşa Hazretlerine, Bakû, 25 Teşrinisani 1920. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî, İstanbul, 1967, s. 78-80.

⁴⁸ Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Muhammed Erat, Kâzım Karabekir Paşa'nın Ermeniler Üzerine Harekâtı (1920). - Kafkas Araştırmaları, II, 1996, s. 102.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See his study: Cemal Kutay, Karabekir Ermenistan'i Nasıl Yok Etti?, İstanbul, 1956.

But this ambitious Turkish pasha was not satisfied with the rewards he had received from his state. He decided to investigate the history of the people he himself had slaughtered and explain to him “where he came from and where he goes”⁵³.

Having declared with self-confidence that he is familiar with almost all the literature about the Armenians⁵⁴, Karabekir came to “conclusion”, which is remarkable for its exceptional cynicism even within the frames of the opinions on Armenians expressed by different representatives of the Turkish elite in decades. Finding out that “there are proofs about the Turkish origin of the Armenians”⁵⁵, the Turkish pasha, who had penetrated deeply into the history, made a demand, “the Armenians have to do the following - they should spread love to the Turks through the press...”⁵⁶.

Ignoring the details of Kâzim Karabekir’s political outlooks and activities, we have to mention only that his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained from the years of the nationalist movement, for Karabekir was considering that Kemal depreciated his decisive role in the victory against Armenia, and Kemal, in his turn, was jealous of Karabekir’s glory and reputation⁵⁷.

Karabekir was even accused in cooperation with Young Turks preparing an assassination attempt against Kemal in 1926, having been arrested consequently⁵⁸. For all these reasons, many of five dozen books, authored by Karabekir, especially those, which touch the war against Armenia and further events, were prohibited, having been published after his death only. For instance, all examples of his memoirs entitled as “The reasons of the war for our independence” and prepared for publication in 1993, have been confiscated in publishing house and liquidated by the decision of the Independent court with extraordinary licenses⁵⁹. The house of Karabekir was also sought through, the great part of his personal archive being confiscated; nevertheless, the manuscripts and the original documents were not found⁶⁰.

The saved part of the archive began to be published just after the death of Atatürk and Karabekir. The voluminous book (1171 pages) of memoirs, “The war of our independence”, is being separated from these publications, which were published by his daughters. They mention in the introduction that the manuscript is published in an

⁵³ Karabekir finished the manuscript of his book, dedicated to the Armenians, in 1946 when the Armenian Question was modernized again; the work was entitled “The Armenians. Where did they come from? Where are they going? It was published decades later under the heading of “Armenian dossier”. See Kâzim Karabekir, *Ermeni Dosyasi*. Yayına Hazırlayan Prof. Faruk Özerengin. İstanbul, 1994.

⁵⁴ Kâzim Karabekir, *Ermeni Dosyasi*, s. 29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, s. 40.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, s. 42.

⁵⁷ The detailed interpretation of the history of relations between Mustafa Kemal and Kâzim Karabekir can be found in [Kâzim Karabekir], *Kâzim Karabekir Anlatıyor*. Yayına Hazırlayan Uğur Mumcu, Beşinci Basım, İstanbul, 1990.

⁵⁸ Later he stood before the court and was found innocent. See Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, Leiden, 1984, p. 152-154.

⁵⁹ See Feridun Kandemir, *Kâzim Karabekir’in Yakılan Hatıraları Meselesinin İyüzü*, İstanbul, 1964, s. 90-115.

⁶⁰ See Faruk Özerengin, *Sunuş. - Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizin Esasları*, İstanbul, 1992, s. 5.

original type, without changing even a letter⁶¹. The book was published in July of 1960 when the country was not yet calmed down after the military coup of May⁶². Perhaps, this fact fostered the emergence of the documents, revealing the real objectives of the Turkish policy towards Armenia⁶³.

A number of Karabekir's books were also published later on. One of his works, which reveals the significant role of the Young Turkish Party in the Kemalist movement upon the basis of the rich and new sources, it being for the first time in the Turkish historiography, was useful from the viewpoint of the present publication⁶⁴. The daughters of Karabekir, who are the publishers of this volume as well, make a special accent on the fact that they are publishing the manuscript he has left in an original type, "both adding and making apart no word"⁶⁵. In fact, their approach in such a way gave an opportunity to put a number of Turkish archival documents, concerning immediately the Turkish-Armenian war, in scientific circulation.

Also, we have applied various other publications, published in Turkey, especially the documents, signed by Mustafa Kemal, or the volumes containing his parliamentary speeches⁶⁶. These publications are of importance, for they provide an opportunity to get introduced with the documents reflecting the approaches of the nationalist movement's leader, which found no place in the "Speech", chosen carefully by himself and canonicalized by the official historiography⁶⁷. In particular, even one single document, which could refer to the Turkish-Armenian war, is not published here⁶⁸, while the documents, included in the mentioned work, "are important and trustworthy sources for those, having a desire to get acquainted with Atatürk"⁶⁹.

We think that the documents, being presented in translation, give a picture of the wide and diverse activities the Kemalists had carried out during the final stage of the Turkish-Armenian war. They help us to make our perceptions of different developments of the expansionist policy regarding Armenia, elaborated and implemented by Turkey, clearer and more objective as well as give an opportunity to understand some distinctive features of the Turkish elite's mentality.

⁶¹ See Hayat Feyzioglu, Emel Özerengin, Timsal Ayasbeyoglu, Önsöz. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, s. VI.

⁶² See Erik Jan Zürcher, Young Turk Memoirs as a Historical Source: Kâzım Karabekir's İstiklâl Harbimiz. - Middle Eastern Studies Vol. 22, No. 4, October 1986, p. 565.

⁶³ It is remarkable that the Turkish law enforcement system was waken up a few months later after the book was published and began to persecute the publisher, but it was late. See Ibid., p. 565-566.

⁶⁴ Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî. İstanbul, 1967.

⁶⁵ Merhum General Karabekir Kizlari, Önsöz. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî. İstanbul, 1967, s. III.

⁶⁶ [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990; [Atatürk], Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları. C. II. Yayınlayan, Ankara, 1995.

⁶⁷ Kemal Atatürk, Nutuk. Cilt: I – III, İstanbul, 1961. Our historians have used the Russian translation of the first publication of this book: Mustafa Kemal, The way of the new Turkey. 1919-1927, Vol. 1-4, Moscow, 1929-1934.

⁶⁸ The second volume of Mustafa Kemal's "Speech", which is entitled "Documents", contains 299 official documents.

⁶⁹ Kâzım Öztürk, İkinci Baskinin Önsözü. - [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990, s. III.

APPENDIX

TURKISH DOCUMENTS

1

The cryptogram of the acting minister for Foreign Affairs, Muhtar bey⁷⁰, to the commander of the Eastern front, Kâzym Karabekir pasha.
(November 8, 1920)⁷¹

Ankara
8/11/1336

To the Command of the Eastern Front

There is no doubt that the ceasefire offer, made by Armenia, is aimed at avoiding a disaster at the moment, when she is isolated both from Western and Eastern worlds. Armenia will, naturally, try to implement the duty of cutting our connection with the East, imposed on her by the treaty of Sèvres, as soon as she gets stronger as well as will distort our life and progress in conjunction with the Greeks. It is impossible that Armenia, having been in the centre of the Muslim environment, will refuse the responsibility of that cruel gendarme with the conviction of the heart and decide to fully connect his fortune with Turkey and Islamism.

That is why it is an absolute necessity to have Armenia eliminated politically and materially. Along with that, one needs a coordinated preparation of the abovementioned important preconditions, for the implementation of that goal depends on possibilities that our capacity gives. It follows from that that our retreat because of a simple ceasefire agreement with the Armenians could not be a matter of discussion. The fundamental clauses of the ceasefire, transferred to the Armenians, should be aimed at misleading the Armenians and appearing peace-lovers for Europe instead of leaving Armenia. Nevertheless, their results will actually be the creation of preconditions, necessary for the gradual preparation and maturation of our goal.

At the present it is an absolute necessity to demobilize the Armenian army and confiscate its weapons, thus providing no chance of restoring its military structure.

⁷⁰ Ahmet Muhtar; he has adopted the surname of Mollaoğlu later on (1870-1934). A diplomat, deputy foreign minister; he was often taking the place of the first foreign minister of the Kemalist Turkey, Bekir Sami, having been on an international and long-lasting business trips. He was the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire to Greece and Ukraine, occupied the posts of ambassador in Moscow and Washington; has been a deputy of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for many times.

⁷¹ Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901. The partial Armenian translation of this document was published by E. Gh. Sargsyan. See Sargsyan Y., Armenian-traitorous activity. - "Hayastani ashkhatavoruhi", 1991, N. 3, p. 1-2 (in Arm.) and Sargsyan Y., Conspirative deal, Armenia, Russia, Turkey, p. 170-171 (in Arm.). Both translations are significantly different from one another and deflect from the original text. The document was also considered by Vahakn Dadryan, who published the English translation of its one part; see Vahakn N. Dadrian, The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus, Oxford, 1995, p. 358.

Under the pretext of keeping the railways under control and protecting the rights of the Muslim population, we have to establish our military control over the entire territory of Armenia and thus keep all the roads that link Turkey to Azerbaijan. The aforementioned goal must be fulfilled in a covert and soft manner both in the text of the peace treaty and in the actions that come from it on condition of being always peaceful in the eyes of the Armenians.

The first point of ceasefire sent to you today for the transfer to the Armenian government is the adoption of a referendum principle on the border that stems from the aspiration to hinder the final decision on the border with Armenia⁷². You can temporarily admit the Brest-Litovsk border, as the goal is to get a written suggestion on the border with Armenians beforehand and thus hinder the entrance into a deadlock. However, it is necessary to prepare a ground for continuous intervention under the pretext of protecting the rights of the Muslim minority on the other side of the border. It is supposed to include provisions in the treaty that will enable the immediate confinement of weapons from the enemy's hands and the deployment of its army as soon as possible.

There is a need to make special efforts to arm the Turks of the region step by step and to create national armed forces. They will connect East and West and turn Azerbaijan into an independent Turkish state.

The current directive, containing the real purpose of the government, is confidential. It is provided only for you.

Please inform us in writing about the full decoding of this cryptogram.

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Ahmet Muhtar

2

The speech of Mustafa Kemal at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey about the written inquiry of the deputy of Erzurum Ismail Bey⁷³ and his friends on the peace with Armenia and the response of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhtar Bey (18 November, 1920)⁷⁴

Mustafa Kemal Psh⁷⁵ (Ankara): "I would like to remind you about a point and acquaint the assembly with information about military matters that I have received from the military department. As the honorable gentleman mentions⁷⁶, the Armenians have accepted the terms of the previously proposed ceasefire. Two fundamental provisions

⁷² It concerns the document to be transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia.

⁷³ Later he adopted the surname Arslan.

⁷⁴ Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990, s. 321-322.

⁷⁵ Pasha.

⁷⁶ Perhaps, he means Muhtar Bey, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

were based on the clauses of that ceasefire. First: to confiscate weapons from the Armenian army. Second: proceeding from the existing situation, to create a neutral zone between the line, until the Armenian army retreats, and between the border, which we are going to defend in the future. We advanced the previous line much ahead. From the previously founded positions, our troops advanced not only in the eastern direction, but also from the center, including Shatakh (Çatak), to the south. For that reason, the part of the ceasefire agreement, which was about the border, of course, was subject to changes. Our Chief Officers came up with a few new suggestions about it. In most of them there are not particularly important provisions: this one is a bit more to the west of the new line, the other is a little more advanced. But there is a new viewpoint there too. It is as follows: roads from the south to Azerbaijan should be completely safe. Here is the proposal that the Chief Officers have, gentlemen. The military came up with their offer at the right time.

3

The code of Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhtar Bey to Kâzım Karabekir Pasha (Kâzım Karabekir Paşa)
(20-21 November, 1920)⁷⁷

Ankara

20-21/11/1336

To the Commander of the Eastern Front, His Excellency Kâzım Karabekir Pasha
In response to the 13/11/1336⁷⁸ telegram⁷⁹

1....⁸⁰

2. Rumors are spread that the Armenian newspapers were published with black mourning frames because of the endless range of our victories in the Eastern Front, and the Muslims are extremely happy and enthusiastic. The lack of contacts with Europe and the difficulty of communication hinder to receive more complete information about the reaction of the Caucasus events. The most recent European journals, which were attained here, are dated to October 20, and there are no details on that topic in them.

3. We informed the Russian Soviet government⁸¹ that the reasons for our attack were: the massacres committed by the Armenians, the Dashnaks' refusal to conclude a peace with us, as well as their desire, as a tool of British imperialism, to fully capture our eastern vilayets and to contact with the British troops in Iraq. It was not possible to find

⁷⁷ It is published: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 905-906.

⁷⁸ November 13, 1920.

⁷⁹ Karabekir has not published this document in his memoirs.

⁸⁰ In the first item of the code some issues related to the activities of the Sultan's government in Constantinople are described. We haven't translated that part.

⁸¹ In the Turkish text of the telegram here is a multipoint, most likely, the word could not be read or deciphered. Those years the telegraph connection was unreliable. The meaning of the sentence suggests that here should be "we have informed" or another phrase, having the same meaning.

out whether the relevant telegram on these issues reached our representative in Moscow, Bekir Sami⁸², the opinion and approaches of the Russian government on these issues are not known as well. Taking this opportunity once more with importance, I ask you to provide reliable telegraphic or radio contacts with Russia at any cost.

4. Taking into account the envisaged signing of the Treaty of Friendship, as well as the peculiarities of our relations, please, if you contact with the Russian troops, don't keep yourselves away from them. It should be taken into account that the two nations are jointly fighting against global imperialism, and Russia is the only great power that has recognized us, has established relations with us and can help us, even if it is insignificant.

If the problem of Van, Bitlis, well-known to you, is discussed⁸³, then act softly in that issue, explain, that from the viewpoint of the right of nations to self-determination it is unacceptable and politically unrealizable. Also, explain that the purpose of the formation of the government of Ankara is to create politically and economically, completely independent Turkey within the framework of boundaries recognized by the National Covenant, and if he comes out from the framework of the program, the people will completely lose their enthusiasm, will be disappointed once again and the power will pass to Istanbul. In that case, by making Ferid Pasha⁸⁴ a Sadrazam (Grand Vizier), the British people will possess the whole Caliphate people, including Anatolia, which will have extremely unfavorable consequences for the Bolsheviks of Russia both in the Caucasus and Asia.

The second: when it becomes obvious that the Armenians, who entered Van, Bitlis can easily join the British in Iraq, then it will greatly strengthen the positions of the British in the East. During the discussions over the Iraqi mandate in the London parliament, former Prime Minister Asquith has already announced that, in order to be able to protect Mosul, it is necessary to reach the Black Sea, and if the Armenians are allowed to descend so far to the south, then that would be a great service for the English imperialism. I think it is necessary to explain it⁸⁵... On the other hand, on any occasion I ask you to make feel, that the Government of Ankara is preparing to carry out

⁸² Bekir Sami (later he adopted the surname Kunduh)(1865-1933, according to some sources, 1932), politician, diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. During World War I he occupied management positions in the system of the Ottoman government. He occupied the post of Foreign Minister in the first and second governments of the Kemalists (1920-1921), led the first delegation of that government to Moscow (July- September 1920). His role in the implementation of the Armenian Genocide has not been fully clarified as there are contradictory testimonies. See, for example, A. Antonyan, *The Great Crime. The Last Armenian Massacres and Tala'at Pasha*, Yerevan, 1990, p. 31 and *British Foreign Office Dossiers on Turkish War Criminals* (By Vartkes Yeghiayan. La Verne, 1991, p. 325).

⁸³ He means the proposal of the Soviet government- to hand Van, Bitlis and Mush to Armenia.

⁸⁴ Ferid Pasha, Damad, the representative of the sultanate family (1853-1923), an Ottoman statesman, occupied the position of Sadrazam (the president of the government) for five times. He headed the Turkish delegation in Sevre and signed the Treaty of Sevre.

⁸⁵ This is how the Turkish text is. Apparently, this part of the document was unreadable for the publisher.

modern social reforms and revolution, necessary for our country, which will make the foreigners' interference impossible.

Sir, I ask you to present our position in Gyumri⁸⁶ about the Armenians, according to the recital made by me - the humiliated one.

Acting Foreign Minister:
Ahmed Muhtar⁸⁷

4

The president of the TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) Mustafa Kemal's instruction to Peace Delegates: honorable gentlemen Hamit⁸⁸ and Necati⁸⁹ (23 November, 1920)⁹⁰

The intervention and mediation of any other party in our negotiations with Armenians cannot be discussed. In particular, you can declare that the mediation is unacceptable for those who will want to represent the Armenians and will want to interfere in the case to protect them. It is clear that we will never give up our rights. Gentlemen, the relevant information has already been sent to His Excellency Kâzım Karabekir Pasha by the Foreign Ministry.

The president of the TBMM
Mustafa Kemal

⁸⁶ He means the negotiations in Alexandrapol.

⁸⁷ Describing this and the next document, Karabekir writes: "During the Eastern operation, we also had some exchange of letters with Ankara on the general situation". See: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 904. It is noteworthy that in the code of his response, Karabekir has informed about his approaches only to the points of Ahmed Muhtar's letter which related to the activities of the Sultan's government of Constantinople. See the text Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 906-907.

⁸⁸ Hamit Bey (later adopted the surname Kapal) was a vali (governor) of Erzurum during that period. He was known as "Crazy Hamit". Among others he had signed the Treaty of Alexandrapol in 1920. He is considered as one of the organizers of the murder of Mustafa Suphi.

⁸⁹ Suleyman Necati Bey, later adopted the surname Güneri, (1890-1944), a member of the Kemalist Movement, a figure in educational and publishing spheres. He was a deputy of the TBMM from Erzurum, was distinguished for his anti-Armenian speeches and interpellations. Among others signed the Treaty of 1920. Later he taught Turkish at the Galatia Armenian College of Constantinople. He has authored a non-voluminous memorabilia book. Suleyman Necati Güneri, *Hatıra Defteri*, İstanbul, 1999.

⁹⁰ It is published: [Atatürk], *Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları*. C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 207.

Signaller official Dr. Fuat Sabit Bey's⁹¹ letter to Kâzim Karabekir Pasha
(25 November, 1920)⁹²

Baku

to His Excellency Kâzim Karabekir Pasha

⁹³
...

Everyone wants to benefit from the attacking action⁹⁴. The Dashnaks and Armenian nationalists as well as Muslim capitalists spread news that the Turks have joined the British, have attacked the Bolsheviks, and after eliminating them thus will re-establish the independence of Turkey. Through these rumors, the rich Muslims try to maintain their wealth which they are about to lose. And the aim of the Armenians is to exacerbate the relations between the Turks and the Bolsheviks and leave the Turks alone. I am sure that Suphi also benefited from it with great skill⁹⁵. He did not miss the opportunity to present the advancement of Turks as suspicious and he tried to convince that if he didn't exist, then many adventures would take place in the nationalist, imperialist, pan-Islamist Turkey. In this way he sought to reinforce his weakened position. In my familiar circle, meeting with my acquaintances, I declare that it is groundless, that the Turks will never get closer to the imperialist and capitalist Europe. Even if we admit that their leaders can make some deviations to maintain their existence, then from those who have already clarified their views, no one can expect them to join the murderers and come up against the revolution. It is also unbelievable that those who have already been exempted from slavery power, will come to an illegal agreement with him, thus putting themselves into eternal economic slavery. I said that even if the leaders have such an inclination, then the Turkish people have already left behind the time when they listened to everything that has been said. Now they already have such a power that is able to smooth a way for the realization of the people's fate and desires.

Along with that, there is a great suspicion towards the Turks in the Russian revolutionary circles. I am convinced that it is irrelevant and in the near future the fact of

⁹¹ Doctor Fuat Sabit, later adopted the surname Ağacık: a figure of the Young Turk Party, an active participant in the Pan-Türkist movement, one of the founders and leaders of the extremist organization "Türkish Hearth". See about it, in particular, Tarik Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*. Cilt I: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi, 1908 - 1918. Genişletilmiş İkinci Baskı, İstanbul, 1988, s. 432. He was a member of the *Teskilat Mahsuse* (Special Organization), which carried out the Armenian Genocide. See about it: Abdullah Muradoğlu, *Teşkilat-i Mahsusa*. - *Yeni Şafak*, 23. 11. 2005. During the years of the Nationalist Movement, he was one of the leaders of the TCP, founded by the Young Turks, came up with the role of a Signaller among the Enverists, the Kemalists and the Russian Bolsheviks. About his life and activity see Ali Birinci, *Dr. Fuat Sabit*. - *Türk Yurdu*, 1999, Sayı. 139-141, s. 45 - 58.

⁹² It is published: Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânı*. İstanbul, 1967, s. 78-80.

⁹³ The first part of the letter describes the activity of Mustafa Suphi in Baku. That part is not translated.

⁹⁴ He means the attack of Turkey on Armenia and the occupation of Kars.

⁹⁵ He means the attack of Turkey on Armenia.

being unfounded will become obvious. It is necessary to eliminate that suspicion in time and not to pay attention to the intrigues of the adventurers⁹⁶...

Dr. Fuat Sabit

6

Ismet Bey's letter to Kâzim Karabekir Pasha
(28 November, 1920)⁹⁷

My dear brother Kâzim,

Today Saffet⁹⁸ is coming. Together with Fuat Pasha⁹⁹ they will be at your place. They are so happy! What a great happiness to see you! You can't imagine how I missed you, how I want to see you. Now my biggest desire is to get ten-to-fifteen vacation days to stay with you. But at present it is an impossible illusion...

The eastern action¹⁰⁰ revived us and our work. We were in such a difficult situation, we were so disturbed, that it was an absolute necessity to open a vent, that could make the situation breathe. By Allah's mercy, you opened it with the deserved success and coordination. By the providence and destiny you are committed to provide great services to our nation and history. Allah donated you to our nation. Especially Mustafa Kemal has no idea what to do to be able to show and express his gratitude. Everybody is in the same situation¹⁰¹.

At the same time, the East has entered a phase of a delicate nature. If it is possible thus to achieve a result, then the path of salvation will be really opened. How and in what manner it will take place is not worth discussing here, as the case is moving forward.

In the West, our situation is difficult, Kâzim: a lack of ammunition, anarchy, intrigues, and the most important is, of course, the ammunition¹⁰²...

Ismet¹⁰³

⁹⁶ The rest of the letter which is not related to the Turkish-Armenian war, is not translated.

⁹⁷ Is published: Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 903. It is written from Eskişehir.

⁹⁸ Colonel Saffet Bey, later adopted the surname Arikan (1888-1947). He was a military, statesman and diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. On November 14, 1920 he was appointed as an attaché to Ali Fuat's embassy to Moscow.

⁹⁹ Ali Fuat Pasha, later adopted the surname Cebesoy (1883-1968): a military, statesman and diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. On November 21, 1920 he was appointed as the first ambassador of Kemalist Turkey to the Soviet Russia. In 1921 signed the Russian-Turkish Treaty of Moscow. He has published a memorandum book on Turkish-Russian talks. See Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Moskova Hatiralari* (21/11/1920-2/6/1922), İstanbul, 1955.

¹⁰⁰ He means the war against Armenia.

¹⁰¹ As it is seen from Karabekir's comments below, he was not satisfied with the official congratulations of Mustafa Kemal and others.

¹⁰² The text published by Karabekir ends with this.

¹⁰³ Karabekir wrote about this letter in his memoirs: "From Mustafa Kemal and Fevzi Pasha, as well as from official congratulations received from the others, more important for me were Ismet Bey's letter and telegram, as he had placed the role of the Eastern Front in the War of Independence and its significance for our national work in the

7

The telegram of Mustafa Kemal, the President of the Grand National Assembly
To the Eastern Front Command
(30 November, 1920)¹⁰⁴

Ankara, 30 November, 1920

To the Turkish representative in Baku Memduh Shevket Bey
To the Turkish representative in Tiflis Kâzım Bey¹⁰⁵

As turns out from the news coming from different places, the British people resort to all means to ruin the relations between the Bolsheviks and us, as well as the Islamic countries. They hope that when they succeed in it, they can oppress two societies separately. One of the rumors spread for that purpose is that instead of handing Azerbaijan to us by the British, we will create a front against the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus. A number of other frauds, like this, are being circulated. You are competent and obliged to deny all kinds of rumors immediately and clearly by all means at your disposal.

No proposal on peace was done to us either directly by the British, the French or the Italians or by the government brought to power by them in Istanbul.

Mustafa Kemal

8

The letter of Mustafa Suphi, President of the Central Board of the Turkish Communist Party to Mustafa Kemal, the President of the Grand National Assembly
(November¹⁰⁶, 1920)¹⁰⁷

To the President of the Grand National Assembly, His Excellency Mustafa Kemal pasha

Baku

1...¹⁰⁸

2. The successful attack¹⁰⁹ of rebel troops in the Eastern Front has caused a good impression here. Since no recent news has been received from you or no signaller

framework of our history". See Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 902-903: Ismet's coded telegram was written on December 9, 1920, and is therefore not involved in this publication. See the text: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 903.

¹⁰⁴ [Atatürk], *Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları*. C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 210-211.

¹⁰⁵ Kâzım Bey, later adopted the surname Dirik (1880-1941). A professional soldier, statesman among Republicans, was a part of Mustafa Kemal's close circle.

¹⁰⁶ The month is determined by the Turkish publisher.

¹⁰⁷ Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925*. 3. Baskı. Ankara - İstanbul, 1978, s. 231-233.

¹⁰⁸ The initial part of the letter, which speaks about the possibilities of communist activities in Turkey, is not translated.

¹⁰⁹ He points to the Eastern Front of the Nationalist Armed Forces, the commander of which was Karabekir.

came here, a delegation has been sent to your sides under the leadership of comrade Mdivani for studying the situation and establishing a more stable relationship. During that attack, too much deepening in the Armenian borders has caused some doubts in the public opinion, which have been dispelled by us through the widespread messages. We have mentioned that the attack will not harm the Armenian worker and peasant and that its purpose is to punish the Dashnak government, which, being the agent of the Entente, didn't abhor to commit many deceits and crimes.

Apparently, the public opinion reacted on these messages positively, because this time there was no propaganda about the barbarism of the Turks, as usually happened in such cases in the past. Even the Armenian communists came up in the press as supporters of the Turkish attack and continue to publish rumors which describe the rebels of Anatolia as a righteous side.

In any case, we think it is worth noting, that no possibility was given to use the "Armenian massacre" as a means to direct the opinion of the proletarians of Russia and Europe against the Anatolian movement and to qualify us as deceivers.

3. Due to the risk of failure and stabilization of the Western and Eastern fronts by Anatolia, increased the danger in recent days that Britain will enter into allied relations with the government of the TBMM¹¹⁰. Such a union will lead to the loss of the so far achieved of the Anatolian rebels. At the same time, because of the British, Anatolia will be deprived of any kind of material and moral assistance sent by the Soviets. That is why we think we didn't make a mistake when we said that the rebels are trying to have stronger and more active relations with Russia.

4. We had already informed beforehand that a Turkish Red Regiment was formed by our party to assist the Anatolian movement. Approximately three weeks ago, under the command of the member of the Central Committee, comrade Mehmet Emin¹¹¹, it was sent over Nakhijevan at Kâzim Karabekir Pasha's disposal. But at that time, because of closing the road of Nakhijevan by the Dashnaks and the attack of the Eastern Front it was not possible for the soldiers to reach Anatolia. Our regiment made a transition from Kerüsid¹¹² to Arpachay and completed it successfully, causing great damage to the enemy's forces. Our losses amounted to 11 killed soldiers and 20 slightly wounded. As it is winter at present, so our soldiers went to rest in Aghram¹¹³. All necessary measures will be taken to send them over Delijan¹¹⁴.

5. Just after the arrival to Baku, the representative of the TBMM in Azerbaijan Memduh Shevket Bey¹¹⁵, was given the necessary measures for the successful

¹¹⁰ TBMM - the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

¹¹¹ According to Turkish sources, this official of the TCP was under the influence of Enver, later he delivered Mustafa Suphi to Kemalists, who had arrived in Erzurum, thus saving his life. See about it Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925*. 3. Baskı, 1978, s. 215-216.

¹¹² In Armenian - Goris.

¹¹³ Apparently it should be Aghdam.

¹¹⁴ In Armenian - Dilijan.

¹¹⁵ Memduh Shevket Bey, later adopted the surname Esendal (1883-1952): one of the leaders of the Young Turks "Union and Progress" Committee and the Kemalist Republican-People's Party, diplomat, writer. In 1920-1924 he was

fulfillment of his duties decided by us, and he was introduced to famous revolutionary figures, in particular, with comrade Stalin, a member of the Council of People's Commissars of Russia, who is here in recent days. We assume that Memduh Shevket Bey has presented you the results of the conversation with Stalin, which lasted for up to two hours. We find it necessary to add another two or three points to it.

First of all comrade Stalin mentioned that the Soviet government of Russia views the national rebel movement of Anatolia as an important historic event, which should serve as an example and to which all the nations of the East should follow. Russia is ready to go for all kinds of sacrifices to strengthen that movement. After that he explained that the reason for not helping them so much was that actually only recently it was managed to establish a reliable relationship with Anatolia. On the other hand, the rumors that the Red Army remained neutral after the Anatolian movement started, does not correspond to reality. He informed that important forces are currently taking part in the occupation of Nakhijevan, and after the end of military operations in Crimea, the Caucasian direction will move to the foreground.

Comrade Stalin also talked about the third important issue.

The good reception of Enver Pasha and his friends in Russia is conditioned by their work in favor of the rebel Anatolia. They are provided with material assistance. Do they have the opportunity to try to cause internal rebellions and destroy the military front of Anatolia? Memduh Shevket Bey responded that the help to Enver Pasha and his friends could be continued and clarified its reasons.

Dr. Fuat Bey¹¹⁶, who has long been acting under the name of Communist, who actually has nothing to do with communism and whose relations with our organization are broken, tries to present the movement of Anatolia as an unorganized¹¹⁷ movement to which is specific only nationalism. The abovementioned person, relying on the information provided by Bekir Sami Bey a few months ago, announced that he was the ambassador of the TBMM of Anatolia in Russia, and ordering a seal, demanded four million roubles from the Azerbaijani government, thus creating an ugly situation.

We think the person who will represent Turkey in front of the Soviet government of Russia, must be chosen among the most active revolutionaries in the rebel movement.

7...¹¹⁸

TCP (Turkish Communist Party) Central Committee

President: Mustafa Suphi

Secretary: Ethem Nejat¹¹⁹

the ambassador of Ankara to Baku. Accomplice to the crime of the Armenian genocide, about which was mentioned in one of the verdicts of the Turkish military extraordinary court in 1919. See Osman Selim Kocahanođlu, İttihat - Terraki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması: Meclis-i Mebusan Tahkikati, Teşkilat-i Mahsusa, Ermeni Tehcirin İyüzü, Divan-i Harb-i Örfi Muhakemesi, İstanbul, 1998, s. 521.

¹¹⁶ It is about Dr. Fuat Sabit (Agacik), mentioned above.

¹¹⁷ The Turkish text uses the word "choban" (oban), which in this case has the meanings "rude" and "boorish".

¹¹⁸ This is how the Turkish text is, the sixth item is missing.

¹¹⁹ Ethem Nejat (1887-1921) has participated in the Pan-Türkist movement during the Young Turks, later was actively involved in the Communist movement and together with Mustafa Suphi was killed by the order of Kemal and Karabekir.