

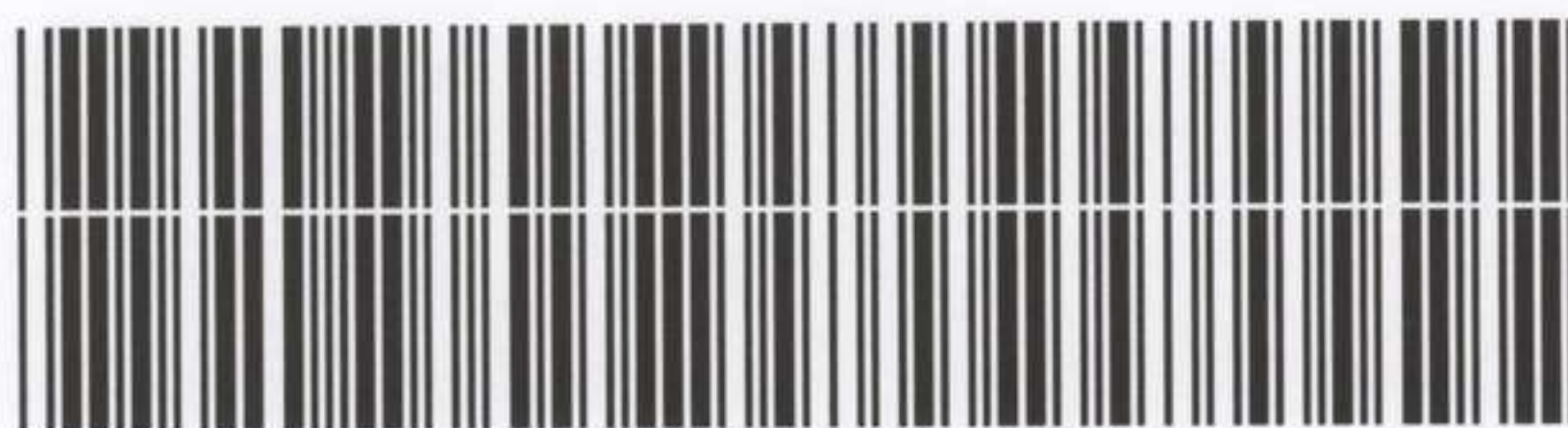
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**SECRET.**

# POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY.

## PRESS SUPPLEMENT—No. 1.

*Constantinople papers—June 1 to July 13.*

*Syrian papers—June 1 to July 31.*

### I.—GENERAL SURVEY.

The Turkish Press during the first half of June was comparatively quiet, discussions about the Black Sea Fleet had died down, and it was only towards the middle of the month that the polemics between the Turkish and the Bulgarian newspapers on the subject of the Dobruja and Maritza frontier question began to assume the acrimonious character which they maintained until nearly the end of the period under review. The Caucasus, Russia and Persia all have a comparatively large share of the space allotted to foreign politics. The discussion of war aims provides scope for the ingenuity of certain editors, each of whom develops his own theory about the material advantages which should accrue to Turkey after the War. Events at home are more important than usual. The death of the Sultan is made the occasion for many panegyrics on the Committee régime from the pens of subservient editors. The fires at Constantinople fill much space for a time. The abolition of the political censorship is of less moment than would have been the case if it had implied the beginning of an era of real freedom for the Press. During June the internal Loan is still the subject of discussion, but it no longer occupies the prominent position which it maintained throughout May. The usual number of articles are devoted to the economic and intellectual revival. All of them are intended to show the prosperity of the country, to paint pictures of a dazzling industrial and agricultural future, to illustrate the progress of education, and generally to lay stress on the rebirth of Ottoman Nationalism. Comment on affairs in Europe lacks originality and follows the lines dictated by German influence.

### II.—THE CENSORSHIP.

The papers announce that the political censorship was abolished on June 9. The notice is in most cases accompanied or followed by a paragraph expressing the general satisfaction at this measure, and pointing out that it is significant that the Government has taken this means of expressing its full confidence in the press and the public. It is subsequently reported that steps are being taken to modify the military censorship also, leaving to the papers greater discretion as to what should be printed or omitted, and in this way saving the delay which was caused by printed matter having to be sent to the censor before publication. It is also stated that the inland letter censorship for districts outside the war zone will also shortly be abolished. It is at present too early to say whether the abolition of the political censorship will give any editors the courage to express unorthodox views. The best comment on its immediate effects is contained in an article which the "Vossische Zeitung" of July 10 published from its correspondent in Constantinople. It is worth while reproducing almost "intoto" because of its detailed appreciation of the whole Turkish Press.

"Although the Turks", it says, "like other Orientals", have political gifts, and therefore take a lively interest in reading the news, the Turkish Press is still very backward. This is due partly to the number of illiterates, and partly to the polyglottism of Constantinople, which has papers in French, Greek, Armenian and Jewish. As against the many French papers, due to the old supremacy of French 'Kultur' in the Orient, there is only one German, the 'Osmanische Lloyd.' Moreover, the Press is muzzled by the Government of the day, whose mouth-piece it is. The censorship was quite recently removed for political reasons. The Sofia Press, with Malinov's 'Proporetz' at the head, had been writing with an ever-sharper tone on the Turco-Bulgarian frontier questions, and Constantinople thought that the time had come for the Turkish Press to present more clearly and openly the Turkish standpoint. The Press thus became free.

"In removing the censorship the Government was undoubtedly actuated by the desire to emphasize Turkey's attitude to the Black Sea question. There is scarcely a paper but does not insist upon the necessity of the domination of the Black Sea. But the military censorship is not raised, and every week the military censor, Seifi Bey, meets the journalists and conveys the wishes of the Government—which do not always remain in the sphere of the military censor. A glance at these meetings affords an opportunity for describing the constitution of the Press.

"(a) The Press of the Government, or Young Turk Committee is represented by the 'Tanin' ('Echo'); (editor, Muhy ed-Din Bey), the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. All the Committee's decisions are first published here.

"The 'Tasvir-i-Efkiair', edited by Yunus Nadi Bey, the veteran of the Constantinople Press, is a free, popular organ of the Young Turks, with strong chauvinistic leanings.

"The 'Sabah' ('Morning'), edited by Ismail Mushdak Bey, is a Turkish paper, in the possession of the Armenians. It is especially interesting for producing news which the Government cannot very well print in the official 'Tanin.'



"The 'Vakit' ('Times'), founded last October by Ahmed Emin Bey, former editor of the 'Sabah', is distinctly social-political, due probably in part to his German and American studies. While representing the ideas of the Committee it has hitherto been relatively quiet and practical in all questions of internal and external politics. It is a convinced supporter of the German alliance, and only recently has a slight chauvinistic tendency become traceable.

"(b) Of the Opposition Press, the 'Ikdam' ('Energy'), is edited by Jelal Bey. It was founded before the revolution by Ahmed Jevdet Bey, a supporter of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid. He was arrested at the rise of the Young Turks, but was released, and opposed the Government. An outspoken Ententist, he proceeded to the Caucasus at the outbreak of war, and remained there, frequently sending political and other articles to his friend, Jelal Nury. Political news from Switzerland can only seldom be utilised (because it is pro-Entente.—Ed.). The 'Ikdam' may be regarded as a moderately patriotic paper, without any political bias.

"'Aati' ('Future'), founded by Jelal Nury in the autumn of 1917 at first non-political, has gradually begun to assume a distinct political colour.

"The 'Zeman' ('Epoch') is the latest Turkish paper (the first number appeared on April 1). It is edited by Velieddin Bey, Deputy for Aidin, a former champion of 'peace by understanding'. It may be regarded as the organ of the Opposition within Committee circles. Behind it is the former Minister for the Interior, Shukri Bey, and the former Ambassador at Sofia, Fethy Bey. Its watchword is Nationalism as against Turanianism (the union of all Turkish races under Turkish supremacy), and it hopes to see Turkey, after the conclusion of peace a friend of both the Central Powers and the Entente. The paper takes up a rather 'realistic' position and without the optimism of the other organs of the Opposition.

"As a whole the Turkish Press has only rather confused political ideas, e.g. in the discussion of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier question there was not a single political article with anything of the nature of a programme. One feels that the Government did not wish to disclose its designs.

"Recently its organs have turned exclusively to alleged articles in German papers which are said to have expressed themselves in a depreciating manner over Turkey's share in the world-war. [We have not the slightest knowledge of such in the German Press. (Editor of the 'Vossische.')] ]

"The Opposition Press manifests more initiative, although there is no 'real politisch' programme. Most of the papers devote themselves to a more or less naive optimism, the high-water mark of which is reached in the 'Aati' of June 15. (See Summary No. 11, page 1.)

"One cannot quite exclude the idea of covert political speculation, which by awakening exaggerated hopes (which perhaps could not be fulfilled on the German side), may alienate the people and prepare the ground for a later new political orientation. The leaning towards the Entente and the hope for a return to the old conditions before the war are unmistakable in this journal.

"Veli Eddin (of the 'Zeman') is an optimist, his hobby is the release of all the Turkish tribes from a Bolshevik Great Russia by exploiting the present favourable situation. He would like to see new Turkish-Tartar States spring up in Trans-Caucasia, Cis-Caucasia, and the Don country. To achieve this he would strive for an understanding with England with reference to Persia; but should this not succeed, he hopes for a joint attack upon India with Germany in order to force the English to an understanding.

"But still Turkey is far from a real freedom of the Press, and the concessions of the Government are only for those whose activity is on the side of the Government's policy. Now, as ever, the Government lays down the general political lines for the leading articles of the Press and undoubtedly stands behind them."

The "Hilal" of July 13 summarizes this article, but approaches the subject somewhat diffidently by saying that the article contains "more or less, amongst other things, what is quoted below." Numerous points are omitted, as, for instance, all reference to the Entente and the reason given by the "Vossische's" correspondent for the removal of the censorship.

### III.—THE SULTAN.

According to newspaper reports, the late Sultan, Mehmet V, was unable to attend the Selamlık on June 28 as he had a cold. Up to July 3, the news about him is confined to reports of a slight indisposition from which he was said to be recovering. On July 4 it is announced that he died on the previous evening. According to medical report, death was due to diabetes, from which he had long been suffering. He was seventy-six years of age. The ceremony of the Bi'ate, or investiture of the new Sultan took place on the morning of July 4, and was immediately followed by the funeral of the late monarch. It is noteworthy that the new Sultan attended his brother's funeral, an event which had not previously occurred in the history of the dynasty. The articles of which the Press is full during the next few days are of the nature of those usually written on such occasions, and calls for little comment. The late Sultan is upheld as Turkey's first constitutional monarch, to whom "the idea never came to oppose his own will to that of the people", which is simply a nice way of saying that he implicitly obeyed the Committee of Union and Progress. It is hoped that the new Sultan will follow in his footsteps. The "Lloyd Ottoman", the organ of the German Embassy, lays stress on the good personal relations existing between the new Sultan and the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs.

The new Sultan's "Hatti Humayun" (Accession Proclamation), which is mentioned in Summary No. 13, in connection with the account given of the effect of the Sultan's accession in the Capital, was publicly read in Constantinople on July 8. Its tone is very moderate and there is no suspicion of Pan-Turkish declarations. The Ministry is confirmed in office; an amnesty is offered to political and civil offenders of good conduct who have served two-thirds of their sentence (not two or three years as previously stated); War Zones are to be defined, outside which Martial Law is to be abolished, and particular attention is to be paid to the improvement of the economic situation. In this last connection "prompt and efficacious measures are to be taken to attend to the need and distress which the shortage of supplies, due to present conditions, has caused to the people."



All the papers express their general satisfaction, especially with the confirmation of the Ministry in Office and with the parts of the proclamation in which it is stated that the present home and foreign policies will be maintained.

#### IV.—THE CONSTANTINOPLE FIRES.

The devastating fire which broke out in Constantinople on May 31 and rendered 50,000 people homeless, was the subject of long descriptions which filled the Press for some days.

In this connection the "Hilal" of June 19 publishes a police notice which states that after minute enquiry it had been ascertained that the recent fires in Constantinople were due to accidents and not to incendiaries. Examples were taken of six fires which broke out in widely separated quarters of the city on the night after the great fire. The police stated that the object of publishing this notice was to discredit the rumours that these fires were intentionally started.

(NOTE.—Prisoners of War have frequently reported these rumours which are to the effect that the fires were caused by the Armenians and other disaffected sections of the population.)

#### V.—INTERNAL LOAN.

The subscription lists in the provinces closed on June 30. In spite of the discrepancy between the figures obtained and those anticipated by Javid Bey, the papers hail the result as a great success. As the "Hilal" of July 2 remarks, it is taken to indicate not only a landmark in Turkish financial history but also the fact that the people has shown its aptitude in familiarizing itself rapidly with the questions which form the education of the most advanced nations.

Javid Bey's visit to Berlin at the end of June, immediately the result of the loan became clear, is almost given the character of a triumphal progress. In connection with some optimistic statements which he made at Budapest on his journey, the "Hilal" of July 10 quotes from an article in the "Pester Lloyd" eulogizing the progress of Turkish finance and stating that the loan is "an important step on the road towards the economic independence of Turkey"—this while Javid was actually travelling to Berlin in search of German financial support.

#### VI.—TURCO-BULGARIAN RELATIONS.

By far the most prominent subjects of discussion during the period under review are the questions of the Dobruja and the Turkish claims in Thrace.

A storm of discussion is aroused by an article in the semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of June 7 in which it is stated that "a glance at the unanimity with which German public opinion congratulates Bulgaria on her great national successes may convince our Balkan Allies that their great vital interests can find no better friend than Germany is or will be."

This statement was evidently intended to pacify feeling in Bulgaria, but was liable to misconstruction in Turkey.

The "Lloyd Ottoman" foresaw the danger ahead and in an article in its issue of June 10 tried to avert it. "It is to be hoped" it says, "that public opinion in Bulgaria will be reassured. Unfortunately the Bulgarian Press has not lately kept that well balanced serenity which we had a right to expect. Bulgaria has won so much already from co-operation with the Central Powers that she ought to be less exacting on a minor question."

Many Constantinople newspapers nevertheless interpreted the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung's" article to mean that Germany has decided to support Bulgaria in the dispute with Turkey. The "Tasviri-Efkari" thought that Germany doubted the fidelity of Turkey to the alliance.

The "Lloyd Ottoman" considered it necessary to pour oil on the troubled waters and stated on June 15 that "Germany can only advise an agreement, but cannot take one side or the other. The German Press cannot do so either without sowing discord, which would be dangerous to the alliance. Nevertheless Germany is always willing to act as mediator."

Evidently the "Norddeutsche" realised it had gone rather too far, as in a further article of June 13 it remarked that Germany could not take sides or give a decision, adding rather plaintively that its previous article had not found the hoped for echo.

In spite of German efforts at conciliation, the Press battle continued. The "Ikdam" of June 14 advises Bulgaria to insure against a repetition of the third Balkan War, since Roumania, Greece and Serbia will certainly nourish plans of vengeance and Bulgaria will have to fight to keep her conquests. It is, therefore, to her interests to make sure of Turkey's friendship by making the necessary concessions.

This attitude is much resented by the Bulgarian Press and "greatly astonishes" the "Dnevnik." This paper apparently does not take Turkey's assumption of the rôle of a Great Power, which will protect Bulgaria from her other Balkan enemies after the war, very seriously. The "Preporets" shares the same views and referring to Turkey's exorbitant war aims as published in the "Aati" (see Summary No. 11, page 1), says that Turkish aspirations when they do not affect Bulgaria, "make us smile in our sleeve." Other papers publish stinging attacks on what the "Mir" calls "the outrageous and arrogant manner" in which the Turkish papers are pressing for restitutions to Turkey in Thrace. The "Kambana" of June 21 quotes an article by Hussein Jahid, the editor of the "Tanine" in which he said that if the Turks could not get an extension of territory on the Ægean by amicable means, they would conclude an alliance after the war with Roumania, Greece and Serbia and take by force that which Bulgaria would not cede voluntarily. To this the "Kambana" replies: "Many thanks for the warning. The Turks, engaged as they are in Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Caucasus, admit that they cannot extort anything from us. There will not be a repetition of what happened in 1913, 'Messieurs les Turcs' (when Turkey reoccupied Adrianople). Bulgaria is victorious and will valiantly guard her new frontiers." Again on



June 27 the same paper denies that Turkey gave any substantial help towards the conquest of the Dobruja. "Turkey" it says "has no right to ask for any compensation whatsoever from Bulgaria and she will never receive any. Let this be remembered." Other papers angrily state that whatever Turkish assistance was given in the Dobruja was not asked for.

The resignation of the Bulgarian Premier, M. Radoslavoff is variously interpreted in Turkey. The "Lloyd Ottoman" of June 18 endeavours to show that it was entirely due to the internal situation and was in no way connected with the Dobruja question. The "Tanine", however, on June 24 thinks that M. Radoslavoff resigned very largely because he failed to understand the community of interests between Bulgaria and Turkey. "If at the time that the Dobruja and Maritza questions had arisen" it says, "M. Radoslavoff had had the energy to declare that Turkey was right to insist on just compensations, the present difficult situation would never have arisen" which is a truism the Bulgarian Press cannot let by unchallenged. The "Mir" is annoyed because not only Turkish but German papers eulogize Radoslavoff as "loyal to the alliance with Germany—as if Bulgarians could only be conveniently divided into Russophiles and Germanophiles", his only fault being that he "failed to crown his solution of the Dobruja problem by ceding the Maritza valley to Turkey." The "Preporets" of June 17 "deeply regrets that some of our German contemporaries are encouraging the Young Turks in the wrong path they are following."

Von Kuhlmann's declarations during the debate in the Reichstag on the Rumanian Treaty attracted a great deal of attention as might be expected from the proportion of them which were devoted to the Turco-Bulgarian question. These statements were mostly of a very guarded nature but, if anything, were inclined to favour Turkey. He admitted the value of Turkey's military co-operation in the Dobruja, and stated that the treaty of 1915 had been hastily concluded and had created "a highly undesirable frontier", which no impartial observer could consider permanent. He also went out of his way to correct any possible impression that the remarks of a previous speaker might have made in the sense that Germany was more favourably disposed to Bulgaria than to Turkey. On the other hand he freely granted the justice of Bulgarian aspirations in the Dobruja.

The "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" is at pains to emphasize the German Government's obligation to "express itself with reserve, if Germany is not to incur heavy responsibilities in the future." According to this paper both Bulgaria and Turkey interpreted Von Kuhlmann's speeches as being in their favour. The "Tanine" sees in them a "perfect impartiality", since after having admitted that Turkey had her share in the occupation of the Dobruja, he said that there remained to be considered the question of what compensation Turkey should receive.

(NOTE.—This is rather a free rendering of what Von Kuhlmann actually said.)

The "Tanine" goes on to say that of course this must mean a rectification of frontier near Adrianople. "We are sure" it concludes, "that a settlement will be reached, but it would be a dangerous thing to leave an apple of discord between the two countries", which is equivalent to saying that unless Bulgaria makes the necessary concessions, such discord will exist. The "Sabah" is pleased because, it says, the unfavourable impression created in Turkey by the alteration in German opinion on the Turco-Bulgarian question (as exemplified in the "Norddeutsche's" article of June 7) has vanished since Von Kuhlmann publicly approved Turkey's standpoint. "Will Bulgaria restrict her insatiable appetite?"

By the end of June the discussions had slackened off. The "Journal de Beirut" quotes the "Vakit" saying: "We see no obstacle in continuing the argument, because we are firmly convinced that such a question, touching the vital interests of two countries, cannot be resolved by journalistic controversies. The Bulgarian papers may make as much noise as they please, but we will not reply in the same way, because discussions of this kind can only be of profit to our enemies."

The "Lloyd Ottoman" tries to calm the ebullitions of its less responsible contemporaries. "We think it very doubtful" it says "whether a noisy defence of claims, which involves the addressing of reproaches to our Allies, can serve any good purpose. History teaches us that a quarrel over the booty before final victory has been attained is always a cause of the dissolution of coalitions. The Press should avoid everything which might give rise to the idea that even the possibility of such differences exist within our group."

#### VII.—THE CAUCASUS AND THE RUSSIAN MOSLEMS.

The arrival in Constantinople in the middle of June of a number of delegates from the various Caucasian States as well as from Kazan and the Crimea gave a great impetus to the curiosity of the public with regard to affairs in Moslem Russia. The delegates were welcomed like long lost brothers, so that the proceedings partook of the nature of a family gathering. The numerous interviews granted by delegates and visitors threw some interesting light on events among the Russian Moslems since the revolution. One of these, dealing with the present situation in Trans-Caucasia, will be found in the present Summary; it is proposed to utilize the remainder in a future attachment.

#### VIII.—PERSIA.

The views of the Turkish Press on this question, which arose out of the Turkish occupation of Tabriz, will be found in Summary No. 12, page 2.

#### IX.—THE ARAB WORLD.

Efforts are made whenever possible to induce the public to believe that the North African Colonies of Entente Powers are seething with revolt.

Syrian papers towards the end of July quote a message from the Constantinople Press Association, which has it from a sure source, that some of the Arab tribes are beginning to show their dissatisfaction at the treatment they have received from the British. They expressed their grievances to the Sherif who called together an assembly of Ulema to calm them.



The "Tanine" of July 7 publishes an article in which "the dexterity of the British in carrying out their plans in the Arab world" is violently attacked and in which our so-called duplicity is exposed. Pity is expressed for "some innocent hearts who are not aware of the truth and who have been poisoned by the microbes of these falsifications." These seemed all very plausible when the British were on the other side of the Egyptian frontier, but since the occupation of Palestine their aims have been revealed in their true light. "Whenever they met persons who were imbued with true Islamic spirit, they either killed them or banished them . . . . They arrested Turks and hanged them on the charge of being faithful to Turkish ideals; they caught Arabs and slaughtered them because they were faithful to Arab interests." As a result of such treatment, the "Tanine" says that "a fierce desire for vengeance is growing up in Arabia and Syria", which would not be surprising if the facts stated in the article were true.

According to the "Shark" of June 27, news from German sources announced the outbreak of a revolution in Tunis on the Tripolitan frontier. Fighting was reported between the insurgents and French troops. "El Shark" takes the opportunity of discoursing on the corruption of French rule and hopes that the opportunity has now come for the natives to revenge themselves.

The "Ikbal" of July 18 has an article in which Raisuli's renewed activity in Morocco is mentioned. It is said that the Turks intended to bring a certain Mulai Abdel Hafiz over from Spain by submarine, but that the venture failed.

#### X.—WAR AIMS.

The "Lloyd Ottoman" of July 7 publishes the text of an article by Count Reventlow in "Deutsche Tageszeitung" on Turkish war aims. This article was prompted by some declarations made by Selim Fuad, the Turkish Minister at Berne, whose views on the subject under consideration appear to have changed since May, when Count Reventlow found it necessary to attack some statements which he made to the effect that the Caucasus was the central point of Turkey's interests.

(NOTE: This article was summarized in Summary No. 9, page 1.)

Count Reventlow is delighted that Fuad Selim no longer talks of Turkish conquests in the Caucasus, but only speaks about rescuing the native peoples from bands of marauders. Since his last article was written, he says, negotiations have taken place in Berlin and Constantinople between Germany, Turkey and the Caucasian States, which appear to have done much to avoid anything to give rise to a possibility of the independence of the Caucasian States being threatened. "A conflict between real German interests and real Turkish interests in the Caucasus is excluded."

Fuad Selim expressed his satisfaction at the German declarations shewing how much importance Germany attached to the retaking of Arabia, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Count Reventlow is glad to hear this, as he considers that this, and not the realization of Pan-Turanianism, should be Turkey's objective in the war. He is, however, anxious to add Egypt to the list, as he thinks that Egypt is the key to the Arab world.

(NOTE: If Fuad Selim's statements really reflect the views of the Turkish Government, this is a clear indication that the German protests at Turkey's advance in the Caucasus have had the desired effect. News from Constantinople, however, does not lead one to believe that Pan-Turkish ambitions of the Committee leaders have in any way cooled, though pressure from Germany may have prevented such an active pursuit of these ends as had been planned.)

#### XI.—WESTERN AFFAIRS.

The German offensive in France is made the subject of numerous articles enlarging on the successes claimed in the German communiqués. These continue until the middle of June, after which comment ceases.

The Austrian offensive in Italy is much talked about during its initial stages, but after a communiqué had been issued to the effect that Italian counter-attacks had been repulsed, no more is said about it.

Most papers are at great pains to show that France is on the point of collapse. M. Clemenceau's "audacious bluff" is made light of, and it is pointed out that the French people, who are the real sufferers from the war, deceived and led on by England up till now, shows signs of weakening resolution. Articles from French papers are quoted criticizing Clemenceau's policy. The controversy between the French and German Press on the subject of the necessity of declaring definite war aims is given great prominence, but in a distorted form. The German point of view as exemplified in the "Kreuz Zeitung's" articles at the end of May, advocating a peace offensive against England, is suppressed, and the public is given to understand that the French Press invented the reports of any talk there may have been about peace in Germany, so to be able to air their own views.

American help, it is thought, will not be forthcoming owing to submarine activity in the Atlantic, and Italian assistance in France will not, it is considered, be of any real use owing to the danger from Austria.

The assassination of Von Mirbach, the German Ambassador at Moscow, is ascribed to Entente machinations and is used to show the methods which the Entente are likely to adopt if they intervene in Russia.

Special efforts are made to impress on the public the fact that Von Kuhlmann's resignation does not mean a change in German foreign policy but was due to his having been unable to gain the approval of the extreme right and extreme left. On the whole the remarks passed on the ex-minister are favourable.



# NOTE ON THE SYRIAN PRESS.

Although Syrian papers have been received up to the end of July, the news they contain does not carry events any further than the point reached by Constantinople newspapers issued in the middle of the month.

Slowness of communication with the capital is largely responsible for this. The "Journal de Beirut" of June 20 complains that the readers of local papers are left in complete ignorance of important events in Europe and even in Turkey. This, it is explained, is due to the fact that, whereas there are several telegraphic and news agencies in Constantinople, the Syrian papers depend entirely on the "Agence Milli." This institution, however, only sends irregular and brief notices, which are always received late and are often incomprehensible, because the Agency tries to reduce the messages into a certain compass of words, which it is not allowed to exceed. "We are usually obliged," the paper continues, "to rely on the papers of the capital to throw light on the situation, but how often have we been twenty or twenty-five days without a mail!" All this is borne out by a study of the various papers published in Syria. Apart from purely local news the bulk of each issue is taken up with quotations from Constantinople papers a fortnight old. It was not until July 13 that "El Balagh" published a garbled version of Von Kuhlmann's speech delivered in the Reichstag on June 21, and no mention is made of the Turco-Bulgarian question until after the first week in July, when several papers published articles explaining what it was all about.

The agitation for a better supply of news can be traced to some extent to the abolition of the political censorship. The "Journal de Beirut" of July 18, in announcing the formation of a Syrian Press Association on the model of the one recently inaugurated in Smyrna and the existing institution in the capital, emphasizes the necessity of this step by saying: "What do we know, for example, about the Turco-Bulgarian question. Nothing! This is the point to which we are reduced." The "Iktal" explains this apparent neglect of a vitally important subject in its opening words: "Ever since the peace negotiations with Roumania began" it says "a battle has been going on between the Press in the capital and Bulgaria about the Maritza frontier, but in those days the Turkish papers could not answer the Bulgarian Press as the censorship had not then been abolished."

It is not surprising that in the absence of reliable news, the wildest rumours were current all over the country in connection with the events following the new Sultan's accession, the result of the battles of the Western front and the Turco-Bulgarian dispute. The "Journal de Beirut" quotes an article on this aspect of the case in its issue of July 11: "Those who circulate such rumours" it says "not only do harm to their country's cause, but unsettle peoples' minds, upset the market and create a state of general disturbance throughout the town, which inevitably brings about a complete stagnation of business."



**CONFIDENTIAL.**

C/23 1 168 September 25, 1918.

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY.

### PRESS SUPPLEMENT—No. 2.

*Constantinople papers July 14–August 15 (Received Sept. 15).*

#### A.—GENERAL SURVEY.

The frankness of the Constantinople Press during the period under review, and the critical attitude adopted towards subjects, which, up till now, have only been spoken of in a very general way, might lead one to suppose that the abolition of the censorship had opened up a new era of free discussion. There is every reason to suppose, however, that this is only superficially the case, and that in reality, the change is part of a concerted scheme, engineered and controlled by the Government itself, with a definite political object. It is noticeable, for instance, that the articles on the internal situation are little more than elaborations of the views publicly expressed by the new Minister of the Interior and that in the rare instances in which independence has been shown, the iron hand of the censorship at once made itself felt.

A violent outburst of political activity in home affairs takes the form of a mania for reorganization in almost every branch of the administration. Following about ten days after the new Sultan's accession comes the announcement of the nomination of a new Minister of the Interior and a new Minister of Education, while more important still, is the decision immediately to create a Ministry of National Economy. The formation is announced of a statistical department to collect and publish official statistics for the Empire, which up till now have been non-existent. Brigandage, which has recently increased to such an extent, as seriously to threaten public security in Asia Minor, is to be at once and sternly suppressed. Immediate steps are to be taken to repatriate the many thousands of deported Armenians, Greeks and Arabs. A special administration has been created to ensure the efficient organization of the reoccupied provinces in the Caucasus. The police, whose discipline is said to have recently suffered considerably, is to be thoroughly over-hauled. Reforms are promised in the schools and inspectors have been appointed to look after Turkish students in Germany. It is stated that owing to the urgency of putting these reforms into execution, the Chamber of Deputies will reassemble on September 15, that is, six weeks before the date previously announced.

On all these subjects the Press is most optimistic for the future. The tendency is to say, "let us forget the past, with its numerous mistakes and failures, and let us look forward to an era of law, order and prosperity." The sentiments are laudable enough in themselves, but they ring false. The admissions, made by the Committee of Union and Progress and the semi-official Press, indicate rather that they are seriously alarmed at the internal situation arising out of the food problem and the increase of brigandage. On the accession of a new Sultan and a reconstitution of the Cabinet, the Government appears to be endeavouring to restore confidence by lavish promises of amendment. This is not the first time in Turkish history that such a situation has arisen and if these promises are followed by the usual negative result, the position of the Government instead of being strengthened will still further be weakened.

The most interesting feature of articles dealing with Turkey's relations with her allies is the licence allowed in press criticism of Germany's attempts to thwart Turkish ambitions in the Caucasus. The result is a duel between the "Osmanischer Lloyd", representing the German Embassy, and the Jingo Turkish newspapers. The causes of the dispute were Streseman's suggestion in the Reichstag of exerting "friendly pressure" on Germany's ally, and an article by Shekib Arslan, the renegade Druse deputy for the Hauran. Remarks of a somewhat acid nature are exchanged and at intervals the "Osmanischer Lloyd" adopts a tone of almost disdainful reproach which hardly seems calculated to soothe the ruffled feathers of its Turkish contemporaries. A noteworthy article is that describing the manner in which the German and Austrian Embassies attempted to make the Turkish Press dependent on them by controlling the paper supply.

There is a good deal less talk during the period under review about the dispute between Turkey and Bulgaria. Either the Turkish and Bulgarian Press had exhausted their stock of vituperation, or they had come to the conclusion that their polemics were unlikely to bring about any very definite results. The uncompromising attitude of both parties seems to have brought about a deadlock. The Bulgarian attitude appears to be that Turkey bought Bulgaria's friendship by the Treaty of 1915, and that any alteration in it will mean a reversion to their former state of hostility. The Turks, on the other hand, maintain that unless the Treaty is revised the present friendship between Turkey and Bulgaria will be dissolved, and that after the war, Bulgaria will not be able to rely on Turkish support against the probable attacks of her Balkan enemies.

The visit of the Khedive to Germany and his interview with the Kaiser at General Headquarters aroused considerable attention. This and the change of Ambassador at Berlin, arising out of the death of Hakki Pasha, give occasion for quoting copiously from articles in the German Press, bearing on the community of Turco-German war aims and the importance of Egypt and victory in the East to the future development of the two countries. In this connection Count Reventlow is as usual to the fore.



Comment on military affairs in the Eastern theatres is chiefly represented by two articles on operations in Palestine, which are remarkable rather for the inventive genius displayed by their authors than for their utility as contributions to a truthful history of the war.

## B.—POLITICAL.

### THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME AND THE SUPPLY PROBLEM.

The "Tanine", of July 19, gives the first news of the Government's new programme in its report of a meeting, held by the deputies of the Chamber, who were members of the Committee of Union and Progress. Talaat Pasha was in the chair and outlined the existing situation in its bearing on the new measures. The "Tanine" points out that at the beginning of the war more attention was paid to resisting the attacks of the enemy than to strict observance of the law. Measures of more than usual severity were applied. In course of time, however, the state of war became the normal state of affairs, and it was incumbent on the Government to put an end to the exceptional conditions which it had brought about.

The abolition of the censorship, for instance, was not an isolated measure, but the prelude to a series of proposed reforms. With this policy in view, the Government determined to devote its undivided attention to the supply question, on the outcome of which depends the solution of many other problems. Formerly the Government in its efforts to secure the success of military operations had concentrated its energies on the supply of the army. They were now of the opinion that the success of military operations depended on the solution of the general supply question.

Describing the proceedings of the meeting of Committee deputies, the "Tanine" states that the Government had intended to wait for the re-assembly of Parliament before inaugurating any reforms, but that the urgency of the supply question had compelled them to take advantage of an article in the Constitution which gave them the power of applying provisional laws. As, however, a food supply law had been passed as recently as the end of last March, the Government was particularly anxious to consult the present meeting of Committee deputies on the subject. (That is to say, the Government, foreseeing awkward questions from its opponents in Parliament, determined to present the Chamber with a *fait accompli*, confident in their ability to override any opposition in the *de jure* Assembly, by previously obtaining the approval of their own supporters at a quite informal conference of the *de facto* ruling body of the country.)

The draft proposals for the new Supply Law were accordingly read. They provide for the creation of a new Ministry which will dispose of transport facilities and will control imports, exports, and other commercial activities, together with the measures to be taken against profiteering. The duties of the Minister of Supplies will be to assure the feeding of both the army and civil population, while at the same time looking after certain public institutions.

Kemal Bey is mentioned as Minister designate, and according to subsequent newspaper articles, one of which describes him as "energetic and an uncompromising disciplinarian", his appointment is taken as a good omen for the success of the new scheme.

The nature of the revolution, which it is intended to introduce in the methods of Turkish Administration, is set forth by the "Tanine", in its issues of July 23 and 30, which contain appeals on behalf of the Government for co-operation from the people in its endeavours to settle the food problem, and to secure respect for and obedience to the law. "Immorality and lawlessness have assumed a contagious form which has given rise to the erroneous idea that they are encouraged by the Government: on the contrary, the Government has decided to put an end to this state of things. But, in its endeavours to enforce the law, the Government must be supported by a law-abiding people." (This appears to be a defence of the Government's inability to put down brigandage in the provinces, about which there have been many complaints. It is evidently intended to attribute this failure, in part at least, to the apathy of the population.)

"In Constantinople, and especially in the provinces," continues the "Tanine", "Government officials must remember that their acts seriously reflect on the honour of the Government. In order to enforce the law, officials must themselves be law-abiding individuals."

In its second article, the "Tanine" continues to emphasize the necessity of obeying the law, but conceives a sudden fear that too strict an obedience will only plunge the State from anarchy into bureaucracy. "The new spirit", it says, "which will make law dominant in the country, must fight arbitrary actions as much as hesitation to act without superior authority. For in the first case, the country would fall into disorder, and, in the second, it would be condemned to stagnation."

The "Hilal", of July 30, criticizes a contemporary for trying to show the new Minister how to set to work, but at the same time gives its own opinion on the subject. "The new spirit", it says, "which has manifested itself in the formation of the new department, will prevent a recurrence of those errors, of which evil consequences have been the result. One of these errors was the neglect of the peasant's interests. Every one realizes that, if the producer is regularly and punctually paid, he will be better disposed to part with his produce. It is unbelievable that every endeavour will not be made to pay the peasant what is due to him, and to set aside the necessary sums for the purchase of the new harvest, cash down. No measure can so effectively encourage the producer to dispose of his produce, instead of holding it up and allowing it to rot, at the risk of its being useless to anybody."

"The repaying of the arduous and useful labour of the producer, the facilitation of the storage of his corn by the establishment of depôts near the railways, and the improvement of means of rapid transport from the interior, these are the essentials to prevent the abundance of the harvest being of no avail, and to secure its being of full benefit to the population. By such means, a judicious and equitable distribution will be assured, so that, for example, a great consuming centre like Constantinople, shall not be insufficiently supplied and forced to charge exorbitant prices for articles which can be bought



astonishingly cheap at the very same moment in Smyrna. In addition, it is essential that not only the productive, but also the non-productive elements of the population should receive their share of the produce of the soil in proportion to their needs. This will, no doubt, be the new Minister's most difficult task."

In a subsequent article, on August 15, the "Hilal" informs its readers that, "the public is awaiting with genuine impatience the inauguration of the new Ministry of Food Supplies. This impatience is explained by the really untenable position of those whose resources cannot cope with the extreme cost of living, and by a current of confidence which is manifested by the public in the beneficial effect of the Ministry."

"As a rule, the public does not hope for much from innovations in this or that branch of the administrative services. It knows by experience that the change usually only affects the form and not the heart of the matter. Our good public has seen the formation of many commissions, which have elaborated regulations and promulgated edicts only to end up by reproducing exactly the same situation as that which they set out to improve."

The reason for the public's confidence is stated to be not only the guarantee of success given by the Minister designate's personality, but also "the new conception of its duties which the State has adopted." The public now realizes, says the "Hilal", that the needs of the civil population will no longer be subordinated to those of the army. The State is "impelled by the imperious necessity of protecting the civilian as an indispensable factor for the security of the country."

#### CIRCULAR FROM THE NEW MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS.

The papers of July 22 quote a circular, addressed to all Vilayets and Independent Sanjaks, by Ismail Jambolat Bey, on the occasion of his assuming the duties of Minister of the Interior. The attention of civil officials is drawn to the following points:—

(1) "The aim and highest duty of every Government being to protect the life, property, and honour of the population, and the Government having resolutely decided to re-establish, as quickly as possible, public security, which is disturbed at several points, all officials are expected to show the greatest activity towards the effective accomplishment of this object."

(2) "The aim of the Constitution being to protect and assure the liberty and personal rights of all, and it being forbidden to attack, in any way, the sacred rights of the people, it has been decided, most rigorously, to apply the provisions of the law against all who act in a way contrary to these rights or are guilty of their abuse."

(3) "The actions of all officials will be kept under constant and permanent control and inspection. Those who act strictly within the limits drawn up by the law will be rewarded, and those whose actions are found to be contrary to the provisions of the law will be punished in proportion to their guilt."

"In conclusion, all civil officials are advised strictly to conform in their actions to the provisions of the Constitution and other laws, and to work during these difficult days with the greatest devotion and resolution within the sphere of their competence and in the Government's service, without the necessity arising for intervention of any kind from any quarter whatsoever."

(NOTE.—Ismail Jambolat Bey, the author of the above circular, was himself convicted in 1912 of the murder of a Police officer who was sent to arrest him on a charge of sedition.)

#### THE POLICY OF THE NEW MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

In two interviews, granted by Jambolat Bey, to representatives of the "Tasvir-i-Efkari" (quoted in the "Osmanischer Lloyd", of July 28, and the "Ikdam", August 17, the new Minister of the Interior outlines his policy.

In reply to a question by the "Tasvir's" correspondent, Jambolat replied that his programme consisted in "the execution of existing laws." "On the journalist expressing doubts and astonishment that an administration, which was so corrupt from top to bottom, could be reformed by such simple means, the Minister stated his conviction that abuses would vanish as soon as the law came to be more strictly administered, and a severer control was imposed on officials." When asked what was his opinion about profiteering by deputies and ex-Ministers, Jambolat said: "I can answer this question by a single word—regret."

With regard to the restoration of order in the interior by the suppression of brigandage, the Minister stated that this was a question of the greatest importance. In spite of his assumed confidence, however, there is a certain vagueness about his remarks, which admits of the conclusion, that the prospects of the stern measures advocated being successfully applied in the near future are not very hopeful. "We shall proceed without haste and in a methodical manner", he says. "The Ministry of War has promised to supply a sufficient force of gendarmerie. The brigands are mostly deserters; so the Ministry of War in making arrests will also be supplying reinforcements for the army." Jambolat expresses himself to be satisfied with the number of brigands who have surrendered as a result of the amnesty proclaimed on the Sultan's accession.

The Minister, in addition, "promises far-reaching reforms in the police, whose discipline has suffered of late in consequence of the general disorder."

Amongst other statements, Jambolat announced that the repatriation of deported Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, and also of certain Turks, had been approved in principle by the Government and would shortly be carried out.

He also stated, that, in order to ensure efficiency, special measures had been adopted for the administration of the reoccupied provinces in the Caucasus. A Committee will sit at Constantinople,



composed of representatives of the different Ministers ("Hilal", August 8), and an Inspector-General is to be appointed. (The "Hilal", of August 8, states that Tahsin Bey, the former Vali of Damascus, has been nominated to this post.)

#### EDUCATION.

The appointment of Dr. Nazim, as Minister of Education, which was announced on July 21, inspires the Turkish Press to a survey of the situation in Turkey, from an Educational point of view. The conclusions are not very satisfactory. According to an article in the "Vakit", the administration and organization of schools has suffered a great deal, during the last seven or eight years, owing to the lack of a uniform plan. "Our system of Education", it says, "has remained purely mechanical, and is as low as that of the Armenian schools and those of the 'Alliance Israelite.'" According to the "Tasvir-i Efkiar", the decline in the schools must be attributed to the failure of the Ministry of Education to take advantage of the specialists engaged from Germany. The important problem of national instruction has not been solved. The "Sabah" thinks that the new Minister "would agree with us, that sufficient attention has not been paid to national education. Dr. Nazim's past, and his character, give a guarantee that this aim will now be realised. We should like to point out that there is an imperative necessity for a larger number of primary schools. Eighty per cent of the population of Turkey is illiterate."

(NOTE.—Dr. Nazim is the Robespierre of the Young Turk Revolution, notorious as a moving spirit in the persecution of all non-Turkish elements in the Empire, and in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian propaganda. In order to enforce his doctrines, he has declared that Turkey required ten years of a despotism ten times more severe than that of Abdul Hamid.)

Discussing the question of Turks, who are being educated in Germany, the "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 1 and 11, states, that there are altogether 1,954 Ottoman students abroad, of whom 1,488 are in Germany, 329 in Austria, and 137 in Switzerland. These are divided into three groups: firstly, students and apprentices sent through the intermediary of the Turco-German Committee; secondly, apprentice-artisans, agriculturalists, and miners, sent by the Ministry of War; thirdly, those sent by other Ministries, and youths, who are studying in Germany on their own account. This last group includes twenty-five teachers, who have been sent by the Ministry of Education, to Normal Schools in Prussia. Up till a few months ago, these students were under no supervision from Turkey. A Committee of Inspection has, however, recently been created by the Ministry of Education for the purpose of making tours of inspection.

The "Hilal", of July 31, states that certain private schools, notably the Greek school, Zappion, which have not been devoting sufficient attention to the teaching of Turkish, have been instructed to take steps to remedy this gap in their curriculum.

#### BRIGANDAGE.

The papers of July 19 publish the text, from the Official Gazette, of the amnesty granted, on the occasion of the Sultan's accession, to N.C.O.s and men who have deserted or have overstayed their leave. They are to report themselves, within a fortnight of the appearance of the Proclamation, to the nearest recruiting office, or if abroad, to the nearest Turkish Consul. This amnesty extends to all crimes committed by them during the period of their desertion. Civil rights will be restored. The amnesty will not, however, be extended to those who are guilty of military crimes, or who have gone over to the enemy.

It was announced later that this amnesty has also been extended to include persons who have assisted deserters, but this will only apply when the deserters concerned have themselves surrendered.

From the end of the first week in August onwards, all the papers contain, almost daily, announcements of the surrender of notorious brigands and their bands in various parts of Asia Minor, particularly in the Vilayet of Brussa. General satisfaction is expressed at the successful results of the amnesty.

#### STATUS OF PUBLIC DEBT AND TOBACCO RÉGIE OFFICIALS.

The "Hilal", of August 8, states that a ruling has been given by the Council of State, at the request of the Ministry of Finance, to the effect that officials of the Public Debt and Tobacco Régie will in future be treated, in respect of offences committed in the execution of their duties, on the same footing as ordinary Government officials.

#### THE LATE TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN BERLIN AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

The "Hilal", of July 31, announces that Hakki Pasha died on July 29 at Berlin, where he had been Turkish Ambassador since July, 1915. The Turkish Press quotes numerous articles from the German papers, bearing testimony to the late diplomat's experience, ability, and personal qualities. All these extracts uphold Hakki Pasha as the principal supporter of the Turco-German Alliance, and the energy with which he worked for its consolidation gives the measure of the praise bestowed on him.

The Turkish Press has few observations of its own to offer on Hakki Pasha's character. Ahmed Jevdet, however, gives him a not very complimentary obituary notice in the "Ikdam." "The late Ambassador", he says, "did not possess the political and psychological qualities which characterise great statesmen." He was a learned man and a lawyer of some eminence, but as Grand Vizier and as Ambassador, he has hardly been up to his task. Jevdet Bey especially reproaches Hakki Pasha with not having foreseen Italy's attack on Tripoli. "When one considers this fact," he says, "one is tempted to conclude that, after a two years' stay in Rome as Ambassador, Hakki Pasha came back without knowing either Rome or its policy."

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 15, devotes an article to the career of Rifaat Pasha, who was appointed Hakki Pasha's successor in Berlin. Rifaat Pasha is fifty-seven years of age, and is the son



of a well-known butter merchant in Constantinople. From 1885 to 1891, he occupied various consular posts in the Caucasus. In 1891, he was appointed Consul-General at the Piræus, and in the following year, Counsellor of Embassy at Berlin. In 1896, he filled the same appointment in London, and after the Turco-Greek war, he became Minister at Athens, where he remained for ten years. In 1908, he came to England as Ambassador, and in 1909, he formed part of Hussein Hilmi's Cabinet, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In spite of the changes of Grand Vizier, he remained in office during this troublous year, and did not finally resign until 1911, when he was appointed Turkish Ambassador at Paris. Here he remained until the entry of Turkey into the War. Rifaat Pasha's wife is the daughter of a Russian General.

#### REPATRIATION OF ARMENIAN, GREEK AND ARAB DEPORTEES.

The "Aati" publishes an article by Sabit Bey, formerly Vali of Erzerum, on the fate of the refugees from the eastern provinces of the Empire.

The writer recalls Javid Bey's promises in his budget speech last February, and states that the actual situation has prevented the realization of the hopes aroused by the Minister's declarations. "Twenty per cent of the population of these regions", continues Sabit Bey, "have fallen on the field of battle, fifty per cent have perished at the hands of brigands during the emigration, and the remaining thirty per cent are now in such a state that they are daily exposed to death."

"Directly their homes had been liberated, these refugees hastened to return, but even there they are in danger of starvation. They are given no food, no cereals, no cattle and no money. Not a single efficacious step has been taken on their behalf, and action is limited to vain words on paper. On the least provocation weeks are spent in correspondence between different ministries; yet, every day, hundreds of these people are dying. If this goes on there will be none left."

The "Zeman" publishes an article by Suleiman Nazif Bey, a former Vali, entitled "Our living martyrs."

"From what I can gather", he says, "no measures have yet been taken to ameliorate the condition of refugees. I fear, that in a few years, those historic mountains and plains will have been transformed into vast deserts, and that it will have been forgotten that they were formerly inhabited by men."

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 4, states that, according to the "Ikdan", the Caucasian Armenian delegation has asked the Porte to facilitate the repatriation of Armenian refugees. The Ottoman Government promised shortly to take the necessary steps.

According to the "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 5, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instructed the Turkish Minister, at Berne, to deny the "lying and malevolent" statements of the "Gazette de Lausanne" on the persecution of the subject races in Turkey.

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 6, states that according to the "Ikdan", all Armenians are to be repatriated, on the conclusion of an enquiry, now being undertaken by the Minister of the Interior. Arab deportees will only be allowed to return home if they have not been deported by order of a Court Martial.

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 11, states that permission has been given for the return of Armenian refugees to the regions of Alexandropol, Batum, and Kemri (?).

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 13, states that Oecumenical Patriarchate has determined to petition the new Minister of the Interior to order the repatriation of Greek refugees.

The paper learns that the Ministry of the Interior has already decided to authorize the repatriation of Greeks, whose homes are on the shores of the Black Sea and the Marmora, but that this can only be done gradually owing to the lack of transport. Those who can make their way home at their own expense are free to do so.

#### THE OTTOMAN NATIONAL FETE.

The tenth anniversary of the inauguration of the Constitution of 1908, was observed with the usual ceremonies and rejoicings, on July 23, in Constantinople. The celebration gives the opportunity to the Turkish Press of reviewing the events of the last few years.

"Since that day of victory", says the "Osmanischer Lloyd", "many things have taken a different course than was hoped. Internal troubles and external wars have caused a return to the union of 1908 to be fraught with many difficulties." The paper hopes that a time of peaceful re-organization will come after the war.

The "Ikdan" points out that the anniversary which is being celebrated coincides with the date of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in 1914.

The "Tasvir-i-Efkari" reviews the four years of war with the material and moral prejudices which have resulted to Turkey. The re-occupation of the Caucasian Provinces is, however, pointed out as the the brighter side of the picture.

"The "Vakit" recalls how, ten years ago, under the influence of victory and liberty, the people thronged before the British Embassy at Constantinople, acclaiming Great Britain as the protector of the freed. It is then pointed out that this same England, under cover of false friendship, was meditating the ruin and the annihilation of Turkey."

#### TURKISH INTERNEES IN ENGLAND.

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of July 22, publishes a letter from a certain Helmuth Reinhardt, who had recently been released from internment in the Isle of Man, as evidence of British brutality towards their prisoners.



Herr Reinhardt, who claims to have been employed as Turkish interpreter, paints an appalling picture of the alleged sufferings of Ottoman internees who have had the misfortune, as he says, of being "buried on the desert island of Man."

He states that, owing to the food situation in England, conditions in the prisoners' camps had reached such a pitch, that most of the internees were in the last stages of exhaustion. He describes their accommodation as "insufficient and wretched", and asserts that, besides being deprived of all help from their own country, the Turkish prisoners were much worse treated than Germans or Austrians.

He points out that, according to agreements concluded between the respective Governments, prisoners who have reached the age of forty-five, or who are otherwise unfit for military service, are supposed to be repatriated. This, he states, has not been done in the case of Ottoman prisoners: there are Turks of sixty and sixty-five still in captivity in England enduring "indescribable sufferings", and a prey to "terrible infirmities."

#### THE "TASVIR-I-EFKIAR" IS SUSPENDED.

The abolition of the censorship, in spite of its really very partial character, has nevertheless led a number of Turkish papers to commit tactical errors in the eyes of the Government and of the Germans.

It was announced, on July 29, that the "Tasvir-i-Efkiair" had been suspended by the authorities on account of an article which it had published, on July 26, calling attention to the neglect of Aviation in Turkey.

This article is headed: "What can we do against the enemy's air raids? There is nothing to be done but to develop the science of Aviation in the country." The paper then remarks that enemy aeroplanes are able to conduct raids over Constantinople in broad daylight without interference. It is pointed out, that before the war, the Government was taking energetic measures to create an efficient Flying Corps, and a tribute is paid to the valuable services of a French officer, who assisted in this task of organization. Since the war broke out, however, it is stated that the name of not a single Turk has been mentioned in despatches for a victory in the air. "Why should we leave such a sacred duty as the defence of our capital in the hands of foreigners? We must not be so dependent on foreign assistance. Every nation must be able to defend its own country against its enemies without the help of others."

According to the "Hilal", of August 3, the Editor of the "Tasvir", and the author of the article were acquitted by the Court Martial which dealt with the offence, and the paper was allowed to resume publication. The other Turkish papers all express their satisfaction at this decision, observing that thereby it has been shown that the Press "has nothing to fear when it is a question of articles which are useful to the country."

#### THE "ZEMAN" IS REBUKED.

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of July 28, takes the "Zeman" to task for publishing an extract from the Paris "Journal de Debats", which included a quotation from the "Volksstimme", of Chemnitz, on the subject of the "Aati's" famous article on Turkish War Aims. (See Summary, No. 11, page 1.) The "Osmanischer Lloyd" complains that the "Zeman" ought to know that the "Volksstimme" is a Social Democratic minority organ, which would only find favour in such Parisian Journals.

#### THE "VAKIT" DEFENDS ITSELF.

According to the "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 13, the "Vakit" has been attacking abuses in the Government. The "Vakit" states that the persons whom it attacked tried to get the paper suspended, but did not succeed, as the Government was satisfied of the paper's patriotic intentions. The "Vakit" declares its intention of continuing to expose the truth as it has done hitherto.

#### DEPENDENCE OF THE TURKISH PRESS ON THE GERMAN EMBASSY FOR PAPER.

The "Hilal", of August 14, reproduces an article from the "Vakit" on the subject of the difficulties experienced by the Turkish Press in obtaining paper.

After the outbreak of war only three of the Constantinople newspapers were able to procure paper from Allied countries. The paper which the others required was furnished to them by the German Embassy, and also in a certain degree by the Austrian Embassy. This had the effect of making the Press of the country dependent on these two Embassies, and, although they represented Allied Powers, such a state of affairs constituted none the less a slur on the national dignity. (See Summary, No. 4, page 2.)

The Press Association managed to obtain a monthly supply of paper from a society of German publishers, but were even then handicapped by the difficulties of transport.

The "Vakit" declares that the authorities at the German Embassy were not at all pleased with this arrangement, and only allowed it against their will and on certain conditions. It appears, in fact, that the Embassy wished to keep the distribution of paper to the Turkish Press in its own hands. The Austrian Embassy endeavoured to supplement the regular and insufficient supply consignments of paper from Germany, by supplying it themselves directly to the papers concerned, without consulting the Press Association, to whom it, at the same time, stated that it was impossible for any paper to be obtained from Austria.

Ahmed Emin Bey, Editor of the "Vakit", demands that the Government should take steps to protect the Press from such intrigues. He suggests that a law should be passed by which paper should cease to be an article of commerce, and that it should be distributed at cost price by the authorities.

The "Aati", in an article on the same question, entirely agrees with the sentiments expressed by the "Vakit."



## TURCO-BULGARIAN RELATIONS.

The "Hilal", of July 15, quotes from an article in the "Neues Wiener Tageblatt", which suggests that a solution of the difficulty could be found on the analogy of the agreement reached in the Treaty of Bucharest about the Constanza-Czernovada Railway. Bulgaria, by this means, would be free to use the railway to Dedeagatch, while restoring to Turkey the territory on the Maritza ceded in 1915. The Bulgarian Press, however, refused to accept this solution on the grounds that Bulgaria must resist any proposals which included concessions in favour of Turkey. The "Preporets", of July 17, asserts that the Bulgarian Press is only defending itself against attacks from Constantinople. "The Treaty of 1915 was made on the advice, and under the guarantee, of the Great Alliance, and forms the basis of the Turco-Bulgarian Alliance." This point of view is also upheld in an interview, accorded by M. Malinoff, to a correspondent of the "Vossische Zeitung", which is quoted by the "Hilal." In this interview, the Bulgarian Premier stated, that the significance of the Treaty of 1915, was that it formed the basis of the new Bulgarian policy towards Turkey. To tamper in any way with this Treaty would be to shake the foundations of this policy. A Sophia telegram, of July 18, quoted by the Turkish Press, states that Malinoff will work in Constantinople for the renouncement of the Turkish share in the Northern Dobruja, in return for Bulgaria's recognition of the Turkish point of view in the Caucasus.

## TURCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

A statement, made by the German Deputy Stresemann about the Caucasus, gave rise to a good deal of indignation in Turkey, which is reflected in a controversy between the "Osmanischer Lloyd", the organ of the German Embassy in Constantinople, on the one hand, and the Turkish papers, representing the Committee of Union and Progress, on the other. The point at issue is the attempt, made by Germany, to prevent Turkey from obtaining any further influence in the Caucasus than would be permissible by a strict interpretation of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The "Tanine" objects to Stresemann's suggestion that "friendly pressure" should be put on Turkey to check her advance. The object of Turkey's action, says the "Tanine", is not only to secure herself against the anarchy reigning in the Caucasus, but also to guard against the British menace from Persia. The situation that has arisen was inevitable, as one of the contracting parties of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was not responsible for its actions. It is pointed out that the same situation arose elsewhere, and that Germany was obliged to act in a similar way. On July 15, the "Tanine" follows up this attack in an article deploring the lack of comprehension shown by the Germans of affairs in Turkey. This is illustrated, not only by Stresemann's remarks, but also by the article on the Turkish Press which appeared in the "Vossische Zeitung." "It is true", says the "Tanine", "that the Constantinople Press does not present a very brilliant exterior." The idea that it is more closely controlled than the Press in other countries in war time is, however, denied, as is also the imputation that there exist Government and Opposition groups of papers. "All are united in the desire to win the war, though some may adhere more closely than others to the views of the Government."

This article provoked a reply from the "Osmanischer Lloyd", which on July 17, accused the Turks of being too excitable and fond of exaggeration. An effort is made to minimise the effect of Stresemann's remarks by ridiculing the violence of the storm raised "merely on account of the speech of a Reichstag Deputy." To this the "Tanine" retorted, on July 18, that it thought there had really been extremely little stir in view of the seriousness of the remarks in question. Much less importance had been given to Stresemann's remarks than if they had been made by the Chancellor: Stresemann was, however, not Haase. In other words, the "Tanine" implied that although Stresemann's declarations did not carry the weight of a ministerial utterance, they were sufficiently to be identified with the Government's policy to make some protest essential. "We venerate memories of Turco-German fraternity of arms", concludes the "Tanine", "but we do not wish these memories to be prejudiced by the words of gasbag deputies or by shortsighted journalists."

Differences of opinion between the Germans and Turks on the Caucasus question are again exemplified by further polemics between the "Osmanischer Lloyd" and the jingo Turkish Press. On July 21, the "Osmanischer Lloyd" published an article from the pen of Emir Shekib Arslan, the Arab Deputy for the Hauran, in which he attempted to show that the jealousy existing between Turkey and Germany regarding the Caucasus was of no importance. "Germany", he says, "has every interest in seeing Turkey as strongly safeguarded as possible on her eastern frontier, while Turkey is similarly interested in Germany's connection with Georgia, which would secure that Turkey should not stand alone against a reconstituted Russia." As regards German statements that Turkey ought not to neglect her southern front, Shekib Arslan explained that the Turks were keeping the south firmly in mind, while hoping for assistance from her Allies in that quarter.

This article aroused considerable interest, and gave rise to the publication in the "Osmanischer Lloyd's" issue of July 23, of a question from a correspondent as to whether Turkish aspirations in the Caucasus were compatible with the fulfilment of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Shekib Arslan replied to this question in a letter published by the "Osmanischer Lloyd" on July 27. He said that he considered that everything which had been done on the Caucasus frontier was simply a rectification necessitated by purely military considerations. "If the German point of view admits of no alteration in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as regards the Caucasus question, it follows that Georgia must remain Russian, whereas everything leads one to believe what the declarations of Von Kuhlmann, in the Reichstag confirm, that this country will be granted independence. We should like our Ally to take the same interest in the Northern Caucasus, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, as she has done in Georgia. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk cannot be interpreted literally on one point, when less care is taken to do so on another."

To these remarks, the "Osmanischer Lloyd" adds a disapproving note, stating that "the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk cannot be modified without the consent of all the signatories to the Treaty, including Russia. The Emir is mistaken when he asserts that Von Kuhlmann announced the



recognition of the independence of Georgia in the Reichstag. The Secretary of State simply declared that Germany recognised the existence of a *de facto* Georgian Government. This is merely an acknowledgement of the fact that it is not the Russian Government which is ruling at Tiflis. The term *de facto* merely designates something which exists without legal basis."

The "Osmanischer Lloyd" goes on to defend itself against the attacks which the "Hilal-i-Ahmer", of July 24, and the "Tasvir-i-Efkia", of July 25, commenting on the questions raised by Shekib Arslan's first article, made on the German attitude towards the Caucasus question. The "Hilal-i-Ahmer" compared the situation in the Caucasus with that in Finland and the Ukraine. To this, the "Osmanischer Lloyd" replies, that the difference lies in the fact that Russia solemnly recognized in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the separation of Finland and the independence of the Ukraine, and that Germany only intervened at the request of these states, who were independent not only *de facto*, but also *de jure*, so as to secure the fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The "Osmanischer Lloyd" takes objection to the title, "An improper question", which the "Tasvir-i-Efkia" gave to its article. "We beg our contemporary", it says, "to allow us the choice of deciding what is proper and what is not. The suggestion that the Deputy for the Hauran wrote his article of the 21st at our instigation is absolutely untrue. According to the "Tasvir" the Ottoman Government has never expressed a desire to modify the new frontiers in favour of Turkey, and has never made any attempts in that direction. We have reason to believe that this is untrue, as is proved by Shekib Arslan's present letter. We have already explained that the comparison which the "Tasvir" draws between the Caucasus and Finland and the Ukraine, is not justified by the facts.

In its issue of July 31, the "Osmanischer Lloyd" replies to some advice given to that paper by Jelal Nuri Bey, of the "Aati", on the subject of its "duel" with the other Constantinople papers.

In this article, Jelal Nuri Bey called the "Osmanischer Lloyd" a "former Austrian organ." "The Editor of the 'Aati'," continues the "Osmanischer Lloyd", "then accuses our Chief Editor of having published in the 'Berliner Tageblatt', certain articles, dealing 'in a partial manner', with the internal affairs of Turkey. He indicates which are the articles which provoked his wrath."

"It is a question of certain publications on the Turkish Movement, which appeared a long time ago. Jelal Nuri Bey sees prejudice in the fact, that the correspondent of the 'Berliner Tageblatt' thought it his duty to enlighten the German public on the subject of the Turkish movement, in certain articles, which, indeed, treated only of matters of fact, and necessarily involved the making known in Germany of the characters of such personalities as, Ismail Jambolat Bey, Zia Gök Alp Bey, and Kemal Bey."

"In spite of his efforts, Jelal Nuri Bey has been unable to convince the German correspondent, that the nationalist movement does not merit serious consideration."

"The Editor of the 'Aati' states, that it is the duty of the Press to draw the two allied countries nearer to each other. The articles which appeared in the 'Berliner Tageblatt' were intended to serve this very object, and it is this same objective which the 'Osmanischer Lloyd' pursues when it combats dangerous errors. It must not be forgotten, however, that the best friends sometimes hold different opinions as to the best means of reaching a common objective."

#### THE EX-KHEDIVE IN GERMANY.

The ex-Khedive arrived in Berlin from Constantinople on July 23, accompanied by various members of his suite. On the 24th, a banquet was given in his honour by Von Hintze, the new German Minister of Foreign Affairs. The next day he left for General Headquarters, where he had an interview with the Kaiser and the military chiefs. On August 1, he returned to Berlin, and thence proceeded on a tour to inspect a factory containing Egyptian workmen at Kulinden. The Turkish Press quotes extracts from a number of German newspapers, the general tone of which is to emphasize the importance of Egypt as a war aim, both to Turkey and to Germany. The usual hopes are expressed, that "the cause of Egypt, India, and Ireland will be taken up as a counter blast to the Entente's declarations regarding Belgium and the subject races under the rule of the Quadruple Alliance." The "Osmanischer Lloyd", on July 26, quotes another typical article, by Count Reventlow, in the "Deutsche Zeitung", in which, he expresses the hope that the ex-Khedive's visit will draw the attention of the German people to the extreme importance of the Egyptian problem. The liberation of Egypt will mean the deliverance of all the Moslems of North Africa, and the establishment of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and is, therefore, of as vital importance to Germany as to Turkey.

While he was in Germany, the ex-Khedive granted an interview to the "Berliner Lokalanzeiger", which is reproduced in the "Hilal", of July 27, and another to the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", which is quoted in the "Hilal's" issue of August 9.

In both of these interviews, the ex-Khedive gives rein to his feelings of animosity against the British in the usual strain. He dwells on the fortunate situation of Egypt before the war in its relations with Turkey, pointing out, that as the country was protected by the military power of the Ottoman Empire, it could dispense with the necessity of keeping up a costly Army and Navy, but he naturally makes no allusion to the efficacy during the war of this Turkish protection upon which he professes to rely. When he goes on to paint the picture of the prosperity of Egypt, he equally omits to describe the state in which that country would now be, if there had never been a British Occupation.

#### TURKEY'S WAR AIMS.

The "Osmanischer Lloyd", of August 12, reproduces an article, by Count Reventlow, from the "Deutsche Tageszeitung", of August 3, entitled: "Germany and Turkey's war aims."

"The Constantinople Press", he writes, "has discussed with some heat, during the last few months, the question of Turkish war aims, and what public opinion in Germany thinks of them. Two questions



especially have given rise to misunderstandings. The Turks have been considerably agitated, owing to the attitude of a certain part of the German Press, in which they imagine that they see disapproval. This is explained by the scrappy nature of the extracts from German papers, transmitted by the news agencies to Constantinople. We think it necessary to insist upon this point in order to avoid misunderstandings."

Count Reventlow, after setting forth the orthodox German view on the Turco-Bulgarian dispute, turns to the situation in the Caucasus, and the Egyptian and Mesopotamian questions. He repeats the opinion, which he expressed in a former article (*see* Press Supplement, No. 1, page 5), that Turkey's vital interests lie principally in the Arab countries, and professes the belief that Turkey is accepting the advice given to her. "It appears", he says, "that Turkish opinion has changed its attitude towards the Caucasus question. There is no longer any reason to doubt that complete agreement exists between Germany and her Ottoman Ally. It is well understood that German and Turkish interests in this quarter are identical." The same applies to the policy pursued in Northern Persia.

#### C.—MILITARY.

##### A TURKISH ACCOUNT OF OPERATIONS EAST OF JORDAN IN MARCH AND APRIL.

The "Tasvir-i-Efkiair", of July 20, publishes the following interview with Colonel Essad Bey :—

Essad Bey is one of the most capable and highly-trained of modern Turkish commanders. He is the leader of a Cavalry Division, and has twice defeated the British troops East of Jordan, for which his name has twice been mentioned in despatches.

This young commander was kind enough to answer the following questions which were put to him :—

"How did you get wounded?"

"During the second offensive of the British, East of Jordan, we were obliged to counter-attack the enemy's superior forces. For the purpose of leading the movement to better advantage, and to encourage my men, I was in the firing line and a bullet, hitting me in the right leg, broke the bone."

"How were the British defeated East of Jordan?"

"By the assistance of the Almighty, and the bravery of our army, the enemy has been twice defeated East of Jordan, once at the beginning of April, and again in the early part of May."

"In my opinion, the enemy's plan was to make a surprise attack on our army, so that he might be able to send some of his troops from Palestine to the Western front, and not be obliged to call new troops to Palestine."

"General Allenby had a cavalry force consisting of eighty squadrons, approximately amounting to 10,000 horse. His intention was to cut the Hejaz railway, by advancing as far as Amman, and then to make a quick enveloping movement in rear of our front. At the same time, the British Commander hoped that the operations would have a political effect in the Hauran and among the Arab tribes. The enemy placed great reliance on his own strength, and thought that we were too feeble to make a stand. He wished his movement to be rapid, and after crossing the Jordan advanced towards Amman, without taking the necessary precautionary measures."

"Amman was defended successfully for three days against the enemy's continuous attacks by a handful of Turks. I then noticed that the enemy had only left a trifling force at Es Salt. I immediately attacked the town. The enemy forces who were fighting at Amman, when they saw their communications being cut, instantly retired by the roads on their right. The small British force at Es Salt made a stubborn stand, in order to cover the retreat of the units which were fighting at Amman, but my brave regiments soon overcame the British resistance, and I captured Es Salt after it had been defended one day by the enemy. Then I joined up with the Turkish force which arrived from Amman, and started in pursuit of the enemy, who fled in disorder under the pressure of our advance. The enemy, meanwhile, had sent reinforcements to the field, but by the courageous assaults of our units and under the threat of our bayonets, the enemy was completely thrown back to the other side of the Jordan with heavy losses."

"Would you kindly give some details about the second fight which took place in the Jordan area?"

"In order to repair his first defeat, the enemy launched another attack at the end of April. General Allenby's attacking force consisted of one infantry, and three cavalry divisions, assisted by numerous armoured cars. The enemy this time had learnt his lesson, and was very careful in not exposing his flanks and rear. We, also, were better prepared and in greater strength than on the first occasion. The enemy had thrown six pontoons over the Jordan, and all his troops crossed to the east of the river. Immediately, they started to spread towards the mountainous country in the north, and, in the meantime, began to advance in the direction of Es Salt and Amman."

"In advancing northward, the enemy's intention was to prevent the Turkish units from crossing the river by holding the approaches, but the cavalry division, which was under my command, manifested such activity and self-sacrifice in crossing the Jordan, in spite of the insufficiency of its means, that the enemy was surprised to find them on the east bank of the river. While the Army Corps of Ali Fuad Bey and the division of Boma Bey were engaged in intense fighting with the enemy, I took up a position on the hills north and north-west of Es Salt. The enemy had already captured the town, but as a result of my assault, which was launched from west to east, the enemy's one cavalry division was defeated, and his flank was threatened. The British wanted to retire towards the south, but the roads leading in that direction were occupied by us. They were obliged to move in the mountainous country, where we compelled them to leave their guns to us. This is the first time guns were captured from the enemy on the Palestine front. The town of Es Salt was recaptured on May 3, by a night attack, and the enemy cavalry was thrown back on the Jordan in disorderly haste."

"The enemy force, which retired from Es Salt, attacked the Army Corps of Ali Fuad Bey, which was engaged in fighting in the vicinity of Tel Nimrim. The heroic defence of this Army Corps and the courageous attacks of my cavalry achieved success for our side."



"Our pursuit was so vigorous and successful that the enemy was obliged to leave in our hands a good many horses, mules, camels and prisoners. One of our regiments even pursued the enemy as far as Nebi Musa, across the Jordan."

"How did you find the British cavalry?"

"The British cavalry can be described as 'light cavalry.' They have very strong and good horses, but are not highly trained."

"All movements against British troops must be carried out vigorously, and as quickly as possible. When the enemy receive a swift and staggering blow, they are immediately thrown into disorder, and become disorganized, but, if they find time to establish themselves, it becomes very difficult to turn them out of their positions as they fight very stubbornly."

"Can you give me your opinion of the morale of our troops and the military situation on the Palestine front?"

"The situation on our front is highly satisfactory, both from the point of view of strategy and tactics. In one word, it is as strong as iron. The enemy is so exhausted by the numerous defeats which he has sustained, that it is impossible for him to make any thrust against our positions. Owing to the intense heat of summer, operations have been delayed till autumn."

"Our troops have fought with exceptional and superior valour. Their morale has been raised by the victories they have achieved. The prisoners, who were left in our hands, state that the Turks were superior in numbers in both battles which took place east of Jordan. This statement from our enemy is good evidence of the self-sacrifice and high morale of our troops, because in reality, both our numbers and other advantages were much inferior to those of the enemy."

#### THE TURKS CLAIM SUCCESSES IN PALESTINE.

The "Hilal", of July 22, publishes the following account of the operations undertaken by the Turks on July 14, which resulted in their complete repulse and the capture by us of over 500 prisoners:—

"A Press communique, from Headquarters, gives details of an action on a fairly wide front, fought on July 14, by the Turkish, and German troops, west of the Jordan. The objective was the English and Australian positions; information as to the disposition of the enemy forces was also required."

"After a preliminary bombardment of the enemy positions during the afternoon and evening of the 13th, our troops detailed for the attack advanced heroically at 3 a.m. on the 14th against the enemy positions west of Jordan, while a portion of our troops east of Jordan executed a feint attack."

"As, during this operation, a violent bombardment was taking place along the entire front as far as the sea, and our reconnoitring parties were entering enemy positions, the enemy was at a loss to discover our real objective. Our action to the west of Jordan was entirely successful, and the attack developed speedily, encountering no resistance. The first enemy line was immediately captured, the English troops bolting headlong to their second line. But, in this second line, only a few officers and N.C.O.s offered any resistance; the main enemy force fled to the other side of the Auja plain. Those who resisted were driven back and we advanced against the main camp of the enemy, in which our heroic troops caused the utmost alarm. The English abandoned their positions without fighting and we captured three guns and numerous machine-guns. A great deal of foodstuff was found in the tents."

"Hereupon we recalled our troops in face of the enemy's counter-attack, now developing with heavy losses to him."

"Those of our troops, which, during this time, had advanced east of Jordan, reached the river and took part in the action. Our cavalry, under the command of Colonel Kirstein, and the German infantry succeeded in capturing an enemy bridge-head on the Jordan, several groups succeeding even in crossing the river."

"At this moment, the English moved from their chief bridge-head several cavalry brigades east of the river, part of which advanced against the Turkish troops holding Tel Nimrin; the remainder, supported by armoured cars, advanced against Colonel Kirstein's cavalry. The enemy were caught in our heavy and very effective fire. Examination of the killed and of prisoners established the fact that the enemy forces engaged were Indian cavalry regiments of Hajder Abbad [sic]. They were literally decimated by our murderous fire; only a few escaped by flight. Many prisoners fell into our hands and we captured many animals. The operation was entirely successful, and once more established the wonderful initiative in attack of our troops."

"During the night, our troops were ordered to take up their old positions, which they did without enemy impediment. It is interesting to note that during this day the temperature was at 64° centigrade (presumably sun heat), which gives an idea of the endurance and bravery of our troops."

#### BRAZILIAN TROOPS FOR PALESTINE.

The "Hilal", of August 15, quotes the following amusing statement, which the "Frankfurter Zeitung" obtained from Basle:—

"The 'Neue Zürcher Zeitung' states, that a declaration has been made to the Press by the Brazilian politician, Jorge Mitre, to the effect that Brazil has an army of 200,000 men ready, which will be sent to Palestine and Mesopotamia, to relieve the British troops on these fronts, and permit of their being sent to the Western theatre. The climate of Asia is supportable to the Brazilian troops."