

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE  
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# FROM BEGINNING TO END

REFIK HALID KARAY

## Important Terms

Hundredandfiftyers	A list of 150 high-ranking personages of the Ottoman Empire who were exiled from the Republic of Turkey.
The Independence Tribunals	Special courts that are established in 1920 to prosecute mischief-makers during the War of Independence.
The Committee of Union and Progress party.	A secret revolutionary organization and political (CUP)
Yeni Mecmua	A magazine published by Ziya Gokalp and supported by the CUP.
Bey	An honorific for men equals to Mr. in English.

## People

Sabah Sevket	One of the managers of Istanbul Tram Company, lawyer
Necmettin Sadak	Journalist and politician
Ahmet Ferit Tek	Politician, diplomat, intellectual
Celal Nuri Ileri	Journalist, writer, politician, intellectual
Ismail Mustak Mayakon	Journalist, writer, politician
Celal Kadri	Publisher of the <i>Dogru Yol</i> [the True Path] newspaper
Hasan Sadik	Publisher of the <i>Dogru Yol</i> [the True Path] newspaper
Ismail Suphi Soysallioglu	Politician
Fuat Koprulu	Turkologist, writer, politician
Talat Muskara	One of the founders of the CUP
Yahya Kemal Beyatlı	Poet, writer, politician, diplomat
Cemal Pasha	Statesman, one of the three leaders of the CUP
Talat Pasha Soldier	Statesman, one of the three leaders of the CUP
Sukru Bey	Minister of education between 1913 and 1918, publisher
Ahmet Izzet Furgac	Soldier and statesman
Fethi Okyar	Soldier, diplomat, politician
Rauf Orbay	Soldier and politician
Ali Rıza Pasha	Soldier and statesman
Ahmet Tevfik Okday	Statesman, the last Ottoman grand vizier
Mehmet Ali Gerede	Statesman
Zeynel Abidin	Naqshbandi sheikh and politician
Nuzhet Sabit	Journalist and writer
Mustafa Arif Deymer	Statesman
Rıza Tevfik Bolukbasi	Poet, philosopher, politician
Damat Ferit Pasha	Husband of Mediha Sultan, sister of Sultan Vahdettin, politician
Marshal Nuri Pasha	Statesman
Mehmet Resit Bey	Soldier and statesman
Falih Rifki Atay	Journalist, writer, deputy
Refet Bele	Soldier and politician

## Synopsis

This book consists of Refik Halid Karay's memoirs that he wrote in 1923 to be published in newspapers in Turkey while he was in exile in Lebanon. However, the publication of memoirs of a persona nongrata caused great controversy in the press. Thus, firstly, he shares the disputes regarding his memoirs and then the memoirs in question describing the events between 1918 and 1922. In such a short period of time, eleven governments are formed. The Izzet Pasha government is followed by the two-term grand viziership of Tevfik Pasha. After Tevfik Pasha, Ferit Pasha the Groom becomes the grand vizier four times in a row. Following Ferit Pasha's resignation, the Ali Rıza Pasha government is established. The resignation of Ali Rıza Pasha is followed by the government of Salih Hulusi Pasha, which lasts only a few weeks. Then, Ferit Pasha the Groom returns to the seat, and finally, Tevfik Pasha becomes the last grand vizier, establishing the last government of the Ottoman Empire. In this process, Refik Halid first becomes the editor-in-chief of *Sabah* newspaper, then the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, and publishes his newspaper, *Aydede*.

## Events

### *Writing Memoirs*

Living as an exile in a country house overlooking the sea near Beirut in Lebanon in 1923, Refik Halid decides to write his memoirs to pass the time in the mornings. He writes five or six pages, then, his friend Sabih Sevket wakes up and comes up to him to ask what he is writing. When Refik Halid replies that he is writing his memoirs, Sabih Sevket does not say anything else. Refik Halid senses a mocking air in his eyes, and Sabih Sevket does not even glance at a page of his writings. However, he continues to write.

### *Aksam [Evening] Newspaper*

As he informs *Aksam* newspaper that he is writing his memoirs, Necmettin Sadak, one of the publishers, sends a telegram stating that they want to publish his memoirs. Refik Halid rejoices that he will earn some money. Although he is in financial difficulty, he stays in the luxurious hotels for effect and eventually retires to a country house. When his memoirs begin to be published, he gets some relief thanks to the payment he receives.

One day, when he goes to the post office to receive the payment, he is delivered a copy of the newspaper, and the article on the first page terrifies him. The article is to defend the newspaper's decision to publish his memoirs. It reads that although Ahmet Ferit Tek, the minister of internal affairs, wants the governor to end this series of articles, there is no law to force the newspaper to do so. However, they prefer to take a break from publishing Refik Halid's memoirs for a while not to feed people's prejudices.

In anonymous articles, the newspaper continues to defend itself against accusations that they work for the Freedom and Accord Party and aim to remove Refik Halid from the list, Hundredandfiftyers. Refik Halid learns from these articles that his name is also on the list.

### *Celal Nuri's Attacks*

In an unsigned article published in the *İleri* newspaper, he sees insulting words for him and figures that Celal Nuri, the publisher is the writer. Since Celal Nuri is fond of Arabic and prefers the Arabic version of everything to the Turkish one, they do not get along well. During the First World War, Refik Halid pens a critique titled "Respect for the Mother Tongue" without mentioning his name. But Celal Nuri is offended by this critique a lot. Thus, he does not miss any opportunity to insult Refik Halid in retaliation. When he writes an aggressive response to Refik Halid's article in the newspaper *Dogru Yol* [the True Path] in Aleppo, Refik Halid finally composes a satirical response to him in his newspaper.

### *Against the Minister of Internal Affairs*

The minister claims that the journalists tried by the Independence Courts defended themselves by declaring that the government did not enlighten them properly. Therefore, he has no other intention than to enlighten the publishers of *Aksam* through the governor. Upon this explanation, *Aksam* argues that journalists only need to be enlightened on issues related to foreign policy. The government cannot

intervene with journalists' work under the guise of enlightening them. There is either freedom of the press or not, and every newspaper can publish any article provided that it is not against the law. After reminding that citizens are supposed to know the laws, the newspaper demands that the government inform the citizens about any law forbidding the journalists to publish Refik Halid's memoirs. Moreover, it is not clear what the minister enlightens through the governor.

#### *In the Grand National Assembly*

When the debate is brought to the parliament, it is maintained that it is not appropriate to publish the articles of traitors. However, it is also against the law to order a newspaper not to publish anything.

#### *Ismail Mustak Mayakon's Comment*

Ismail Mustak criticizes Refik Halid because he abandoned art, became greedy, and entered politics, but finds it unfortunate that he had to flee the country. Underlining that the new regime guarantees the freedom of the press, he states that the governor submitted to an illegal order. He says that the four publishers of the newspaper—Falif Rifkî Atay, Kazım Sinasi Dersan, Necmettin Sadak, and Ali Naci Karacan—decided to publish the memoirs probably after reading them. So, if he has to choose between the opinion of the four journalists and the prejudice of the minister, he says, he would rather the former.

He does not find the statement of the minister convincing and argues that if publishing Refik Halid's memoirs is against the law, the authority that should take action is not the Ministry of Internal Affairs but the Istanbul Public Prosecutor's Office. He states that wanting to know whether politics or law is effective on the citizens' actions is not against the spirit of the revolution. On the contrary, it is the very nature of it.

Thereupon, Refik Halid writes an open letter to Ismail Mustak in *Dogru Yol* newspaper telling that the ship he boarded leaving the country bears the name of Pierre Loti, a friend of Turkish people and that he did not get on the British ship, Egypt is a sign of his patriotism. He states that he agrees with what he says but had no choice but to flee the country.

#### *In Aleppo*

When Celal Kadri and Hasan Sadik, the publishers of *Dogru Yol*, invite him to Aleppo, he moves there. He writes articles for the newspaper that are cited in the Istanbul press. After a while, he receives a telegram from Istanbul informing him that he can send his memoirs again. Upon that, he starts to write the rest of his memoirs.

#### *On Traitors' Publishing*

A bill is submitted to prevent those who are on the list from engaging in publishing activities. Some newspapers apply to the Istanbul Public Prosecutor's Office before the bill is presented and send a journalist to the prosecutor to get his opinion. The prosecutor claims that the publishing activities of those who fled the country are significant to them and that any broadcast harming the national security cannot be allowed, but Refik Halid's memoirs do not have such a quality.

#### *Law on the Maintenance of Order*

When a rebellion, led by the Kurdish leader Sheikh Said, breaks out, the government introduces *Law on the Maintenance of Order*. And all the debates in the press cease all of a sudden. However, some journalists try to portray Refik Halid as related to the rebellion.

After conveying these, Refik Halid shares the memories that led to these debates.

#### *News of Defeat*

On an autumn day in 1918, as he comes in front of the Committee of Union and Progress's headquarters, he sees the street full of cars and concludes that there is a meeting. Trying not to be noticed, he goes to the flat reserved for *Yeni Mecmua* magazine. Every time he comes here, he feels strange because he works with the Unionists who exiled him for five years. However, he also feels flattered because those who exiled him because of his writings work with him for his writings.

When he goes to the room where the writers gather, he finds Fuat Koprulu, Necmeddin Sadak, Yahya Kemal, and a few writers chatting as usual. A little later, Talat Muskara, known as Little Talat, comes in, but there is something strange about him. When Yahya Kemal asks him what is going on, Talat says that the Bulgarians left the front, and the connection with the Germans is lost. At that moment, only one picture comes to Refik Halid's mind; the entrance of the Europeans to Istanbul with enthusiasm and pride, as if to take revenge on Sultan Mehmed. He suffers when he thinks that a European man with a snobby attitude, which is hard to stand even in peacetime, humiliates him.

When he goes out, he turns back to look at the headquarters of the Union and Progress, not knowing that it is the last time he is there and feels like looking at a ruler's dilapidated palace.

### *There is Another Option: A National Struggle*

As he totters toward *Zaman*, the newspaper he works for, he convinces himself that everything is about to change forever. The first newspaper he works in when he returns from exile is *Vakit*. Later, he transfers to *Tasviri Efkar*, as it pays more. One day, he comes across Nureddin Bey, who later becomes the chief of police, and starts working for *Zaman* upon his suggestion. *Zaman* is a newspaper published by Sukru Bey, the former minister of education and post. Despite the kind attitude of Sukru Bey, Refik Halid secretly feels that he finds him reactionary. Sukru Bey engages in the sugar trade, as well, but later is accused of profiteering. Refik Halid cannot understand why he is put under pressure, although many traders are war profiteers.

When he reaches the newspaper, he finds Sukru Bey there. When Cevat Bey, the newspaper's director, asks if he is aware of what happened, Refik Halid replies that he was at the headquarters. Since he cannot see any signs of excitement in Sukru Bey, he tells him at length that the situation will get worse, they will be insulted, and they have no choice but to ceasefire. Finally, Sukru Bey starts to speak and says that the solution is to withdraw to Anatolia and fight. Refik Halid, thinking how adventurous the Unionists are, ridicules him and asks how they can fight. Sukru Bey self-assuredly says that the government has already thought about these possibilities and taken many precautions and they can even endure for fifty years. Refik Halid is not sure whether what Sukru Bey says is true or not, but one year after this speech, which takes place in November 1918, the struggle that Sukru Bey mentions is organized in Anatolia in November 1919. Refik Halid, on the other hand, does not believe even for a moment that a national struggle is possible until the victory in Sakarya.

### *About His Exile*

When Cemal Pasha acts for Talat Pasha, who is away to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk agreement signed on March 3, 1918, Refik Halid asks one of his old neighbors, whom Cemal Pasha respects, to be a mediator and with his help gets a 10-day leave. The reason why he is exiled from Istanbul is what he writes about Talat Pasha. Intending Talat Pasha, he writes, "Those who are used to wearing cardigans seem ridiculous in a frock coat" after Talat Pasha, who used to like to wear a belted dress and a cotton cardigan while spending time in the coffeehouses of Edirne and Thessaloniki, attends an invitation in a frock coat. In exile, he tries to find someone to mediate between him and Talat Pasha, but this never happens.

Refik Halid sees Talat Pasha only once in his life by chance. In the first year of the Constitutional Monarchy, as his schoolmate Izzet Bey and he are getting on a boat to go from Sirkeci to Galata, a man appears on the dock shouting, "Take me too, boys!" and jumps into the boat without hearing the answer. He asks them what they study at school and when getting off the boat says, "I will pay. Probably, your fathers gave you a little pocket money," and throws two cents to the boatman. This person is Talat Pasha. Refik Halid is very disturbed by his attitude and emphasizes that the person who breaks his pride is that young person that he underestimated.

When he returns to Istanbul from Bilecik under surveillance, he goes to the police headquarters and meets with Tevfik Hadi Bey, an acquaintance from law school, to say that he wants to roam free in the city. Although Tevfik Hadi Bey lectures him, Refik Halid does not argue at all to appear decent. In the end, Tevfik Hadi Bey gets permission from the chief of police on his behalf, and Refik Halid rushes to the street in joy. He takes a long walk and looks at the crowd he always remembers with longing in exile.

After describing this moment of reunion, Refik Halid states that exile is a great punishment and that those who push him into politics are Talat Pasha and Cemal Pasha, who exiled him without asking questions.

#### *The Government of Izzet Pasha*

Talat Pasha's cabinet resigns the day Refik Halid is in the headquarters of the Union and Progress, and the new cabinet is formed with the Unionists. Under the leadership of Izzet Pasha, Fethi Okyar takes the helm in internal affairs and Rauf Orbay in the navy. Refik Halid comes across Ali Rıza Pasha a week later.

Ali Rıza Pasha is an honest man married to the daughter of Refik Halid's uncle. His life is full of ups and downs. He is always placed in positions that demand achievement. However, according to Refik Halid, the only thing missing from him is the ability for achieving something.

Ali Rıza Pasha asks him if he likes the new cabinet, and Refik Halid honestly says he doesn't. Then the pasha says that Tevfik Pasha was preparing to become the grand vizier at the request of the sultan, but Izzet Pasha acted faster. Upon hearing this, Refik Halid thinks that the only skill of the new cabinet is to act quickly, so it should fall.

#### *With Cemal Pasha*

Refik Halid lives in an apartment given to him on the campus of Robert College since he teaches there. When he goes home after talking to Ali Rıza Pasha, he learns that a phone number from Beyoğlu called him. He dials the number, introduces himself; the caller is Cemal Pasha. He half-jokingly condemns Refik Halid for not coming to see him. Although Refik Halid says that he can come over to his place right away if he wishes, Cemal Pasha tells him that it is late now, but he is waiting him at noon the next day.

Six months before this conversation, Refik Halid meets Cemal Pasha when he is on leave. On his second day in Istanbul, he goes to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with Poet Nâzım Hikmet Ran's father, Hikmet Bey. Hikmet Bey enters Cemal Pasha's room to inform him that Refik Halid is waiting to meet him, and then goes out and tells Refik Halid, "Come on kid, hurry up!"

Cemal Pasha is engraved in Refik Halid's mind with a photograph, sitting in a car next to Enver Pasha with legs wide apart. Enver Pasha looks smaller. For Refik Halid, Cemal Pasha is the man who occupies the interior of the car alone.

When he enters his room, he cannot believe that he is standing in front of him as a dissident. Because the number of people who are hanged, killed, wronged, injured, beaten, imprisoned, exiled, and dismissed among the dissidents exceeds a thousand, and Cemal Pasha is the most responsible person for all of these. So, even the name Cemal Pasha intimidates the dissidents.

Cemal Pasha greets him standing up to keep the meeting short, but Refik Halid sits on one of the chairs because of his astonishment. He thanks Cemal Pasha insincerely. Cemal Pasha scolds him like Tevfik Hadi Bey in the police department, saying that he likes to batter the Unionists with his pen. Then he extends his leave and advises him not to appear much. When Refik Halid stands up and tries to greet him by bending forward, Cemal Pasha extends his hand. As Refik Halid shakes this hand, his soul's need for good treatment is met, and he is filled with pride. When he goes out, he feels that his feet are more firmly on the ground now as a man who shook the hand of Cemal Pasha in Istanbul, where Talat Pasha is the grand vizier.

Six months after this meeting, he gets on the boat to go to Cemal Pasha's seaside mansion in Boyacıoğlu at noon the next day. When asked about the state of the country, the boatman replies, "It is okay. You do not feel sorry. We will beat these infidels." Refik Halid cannot understand the man's relaxed attitude but thinks that Istanbul suffers the most from the war and that this is because of the Unionists who dragged the Ottomans into the war and that the man probably suspects him of being a Unionist.

When he arrives at the mansion, a young man at the entrance asks who he is looking for. He says he has an appointment with Cemal Pasha, then, the young man goes upstairs. At the moment, someone peeks out of the door on the right of the entrance. This person is Falih Rifkî Atay. Refik Halid is

disturbed by this discourtesy. After a while, the young man goes downstairs and takes him to the room on the left because Cemal Pasha is in a neighbor's house. Refik Halid sees that this guest room of Cemal Pasha, which is talked about a lot, is not filled with expensive items as is said, but rather plain and no different than a middle-class civil servant's house.

After a while, the door is opened, and Cemal Pasha enters in his civilian clothes. The only wish of Refik Halid at that moment is not to upset this person, who always treats him well. But when Cemal Pasha complains about the severity of the criticism against him, Refik Halid realizes that he cannot handle the situation in silence and claims that it is the fault of the second-degree civil servants. Hearing this, Cemal Pasha suddenly gets angry and begins to praise everyone whom Refik Halid criticizes. Refik Halid cannot stand this and starts to argue without breaking his respectful attitude. The discussion ends with their good intentions, and then, Cemal Pasha states that he wants to defend everything he has done before a fair court. He asks Refik Halid to comment on the memoir he plans to write if he thinks that there are any good points to emphasize.

Refik Halid is impressed that Cemal Pasha thinks he can defend his actions honestly. He only wishes him the best in life sincerely. Cemal Pasha leaves the country 36 hours after this meeting.

### *Meeting the Dissidents*

His three articles published in *Zaman*, "No One Is Guilty," "Do not Be Deceived, Do not Believe!" and "Where are You Going the Lords?" are met with great interest. It is translated into other languages and even republished every two days. In the first, he argues that the responsibility of the war does not belong to all the Unionists, but only five or ten people, and in the second, if a political party is gone, the following one is not much different, so one should not be fooled. For this reason, while some Unionists praise him, some dissidents accuse him of being a traitor.

One day, when he comes home from his literature class at Robert College, the servant informs him that someone is waiting for him. He is Ismail Suphi. Refik Halid knows him because he is the son-in-law of publisher Ahmet Ihsan Tokgoz, a friend of his older brother. He is also the person who published his book, *What the Hedgehog Says*. But now, he stands before him as a politician. He mentions that it is necessary to establish a political party and take things in hand and that the dissidents gather in Kinaciyann Inn every day and invites him to these meetings.

When Refik Halid goes to one of these meetings, he sees that about sixty-seventy people are trying to form a bloc so that the Unionists will not come to power again. Hodja Zeynel Abidin Efendi is the first to join them among the dissidents who were in exile. But in terms of dress and courtesy, only a person attracts his attention; Mehmet Ali Bey, son of Kamil Bey, one of the former security ministers. This gentleman is the owner of the meeting place in the Kinaciyann Inn and very humble. Another significant person he meets here is Nuzhet Sabit, who likes to give fiery speeches.

### *Tevfik Pasha's Cabinet*

The life of Izzet Pasha's government is short, and Tevfik Pasha forms his government soon after. Refik Halid is surprised to learn that Mustafa Arif Bey is the minister of internal affairs in the new cabinet. Although Mustafa Arif Bey is from Thessaloniki, he cannot come to terms with the Unionists and makes a living as a lawyer throughout the war. The day before the new cabinet is announced, Refik Halid's friends see him go out of the Kinaciyann Inn, bored with the discussions, and take him to Mustafa Arif Bey's workplace. The current government's inability to establish good relations with Europe and the fact that the Unionists still stay in power despite causing so many disasters bother them. They believe that if people who are never involved in war take over the administration, the deteriorated relations are restored. In the presence of Mustafa Arif Bey, whose modesty is evident in every way, they speak about Izzet Pasha and his cabinet in an angry way, but he acts prudently.

As a former deputy, Refik Halid asks him to tell the ministers that people are not satisfied with them. But Mustafa Arif Bey rejects this, saying that the cabinet needs to be changed, but that he is a man who sworn not to set foot in the Sublime Porte. This conversation is made at four o'clock in the evening, and the next morning, it is announced that Mustafa Arif Bey is the minister of internal affairs.

Another name in the cabinet that surprises Refik Halid is Rıza Tevfik, who is the postal minister. The Turkish teachers at Robert College gather at each other's house every two weeks to have dinner.

They wait for Rıza Tevfik for a long time at the dinner, which is three days after the announcement of the new cabinet. Contrary to what they expect, Rıza Tevfik arrives debilitated. Since the foreigners threw out the orphans living in their properties, he sought a place to settle them and left his car to them. So he came on foot.

While drinking wine after dinner, he tells them about the conversations between the grand vizier and the ministers. At first, Refik Halid thinks that he does this because they are in a friendly gathering. However, when he comes across him on the road the next morning, he sees him tell a man about a discussion in the council of ministers. When the man walks away, he asks Rıza Tevfik who the man is. He says he does not know him very well. Upon that, Refik Halid concludes that Rıza Tevfik tells everyone the secret things that, he thinks, are not harmful to the state but contribute to his reputation.

However, unlike the former ministers of the Union and Progress, who did not deign to come face to face with the public, Rıza Tevfik pays attention to people's problems personally. One day, when Refik Halid visits him in his office as they agreed, he sees a long queue waiting in front of his door. When he realizes that it is impossible to push his way through the crowd, he goes to the room of Rıza Tevfik's executive assistant. More elite visitors await in this room. Then, he somehow manages to enter Rıza Tevfik's room, but there is a crowd waiting there too. After a while, Rıza Tevfik says he has a job and leaves with him. One day, while Rıza Tevfik is in such a crowd, someone walks up to him and informs him that a new cabinet was announced five minutes ago and that his name was not listed. Rıza Tevfik says, "It was very good," feeling happy that he has time to finish the third volume of the book series he started to write.

#### *Joining the Freedom and Accord Party*

One day, Refik Halid meets Nureddin Bey on the ferry. Nureddin Bey insistently invites him to *Cercle d'Orient* in Beyoğlu. When they meet there two hours later, it is full of men in black suits. Suddenly, Ferit Pasha the Groom shows up and makes a speech. Refik Halid saw him once from afar in a presentation at Robert College a month ago and found him ridiculous with his fingernails and sideburns. Now, as he talks about the necessity of the Freedom and Accord Party and the services it can provide for the country, Refik Halid gets discouraged, because he is a bad speaker. However, the next day, when the news of this meeting is reported enthusiastically in the *Sabah* newspaper, Refik Halid decides to take part in this political enterprise.

#### *The Press Congress*

One day, he goes to the Press Congress held in the Press Society Office with Adnan Adıvar, and when he sees the crowd there, he thinks that the Unionists want to take over the administration again. When the majority wants to elect Celal Bey, the former minister of internal affairs, to the presidency of the congress, Refik Halid criticizes them by saying that the person to be president should be a journalist. This explanation shows its effect, and Refik Halid is elected as the second president.

Long discussions are held in the three-day congress. In the end, the majority of the new executive committee is made up of the Unionists. Refik Halid goes to Ali Kemal's house to inform him that he is also included in this new committee. But Ali Kemal says it is not possible to work with them. And that is the second time Refik Halid sees Ali Kemal.

Ali Kemal is not a reassuring personality for Refik Halid since Huseyin Cahit Yalçın disclosed his plagiarism. He translated an article of *Figaro* describing the Élysée Palace down to the conversations the reporter had with the employees and then signed it as if it was his original work. Refik Halid finds this unacceptable. While he was in exile, Ali Kemal published the newspaper *Peyam* in Istanbul, and Yakup Kadri suggested that he write for this newspaper every week. He accepted and started to write articles under the nickname *Aydede* [the man in the moon]. A month before the armistice, he came across Ali Kemal while passing by the Kınacıyan Inn with a historian. Although the two do not know each other, they shake hands and chat as if they know each other for a long time.

At the meeting of the Press Society, Ali Kemal treats everyone very kindly. Three days later, the Wilson's Principles Society's executive committee meets at the same place. Although Refik Halid is a member of this society, he has little idea of what the society serves. But here, he sees that Ali Kemal, who does not like to listen to long speeches, listens to Halide Edib Adıvar's speech with sincere curiosity.

### *The Freedom and Accord Party*

The party gathers for the first time in a broken-down and half-empty house. Refik Halid does not feel well in this cold, wet, and uncomfortable place, but it is full despite everything. Everyone is delighted when the seventy-five-year-old Chairman Marshal Nuri Pasha arrives in his car. Refik Halid, on the other hand, thinks that this man enters a miserable environment for the first time in his life. However, Nuri Pasha never shows displeasure and works in a way that is not expected from him. However, Ferit Pasha the Groom, who is known for his hostility to the Unionists, removes this experienced man from the party in order not to lose the grand viziership to him.

The party intends to create a program, but Nuzhet Sabit prepares it on his own, and nobody can object to him. For example, while the majority of the party wants the Subsistence Directorate to be abolished, Nuzhet Sabit wants it to be transformed into a ministry under his administration.

Despite everything, a meeting with Sultan Vahdettin is arranged thanks to Ferit Pasha. Nuri Pasha, Second Chairman Sabri Efendi, and General Secretary Ali Kemal attend the meeting. The next day, when all the newspapers talk about this meeting, they begin to look for an opportunity to overthrow the government.

### *The Fall of the Government of Tevfik Pasha*

When Refik Halid is in exile in Corum and goes to Ankara to ask permission from Governor Resit Bey to take his family from Istanbul, Resit Bey treats him with respect and even lets him stay in Ankara without asking permission from Istanbul. However, Refik Halid's house burns down, and he writes a petition demanding permission to go to Bilecik. Talat Pasha confirms this. Many people come to bid farewell to him. And Refik Halid, feeling grateful, attributes the reason for this interest, which he experiences as an exile, to Resit Bey's good attitude towards him.

After the armistice, Resit Bey is found guilty in the case held for the Armenian deportation and placed in prison, but he manages to escape. Refik Halid is deeply pleased with his escape, but as a member of the Freedom and Accord Party, he claims that this incident shows the incompetence of the Tevfik Pasha's government. While they are in a meeting about this incident, people fill the streets to protest the government. Many people dream of raiding the government building just as the Unionists did before, and some members are afraid that the Freedom and Accord Party takes the form of a committee as the Union and Progress.

At one point, a young man named Tahsin enters the meeting room, speaking in an Albanian accent – this person is later made the chief of police. When Second Chairman Sabri Efendi asks what is happening, the young man says that men are where they are needed and that they are just waiting for orders. Upon that, the party members state that their intention is not a massacre and ask them to withdraw their men. Meanwhile, a police officer sent from the station to prevent chaos returns without doing anything because he is a supporter of the Freedom and Accord Party. The party sends its five members, including Refik Halid, to Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha to declare that they barely restrain the crowd and that the government is in a weak position. Although Tevfik Pasha is in a meeting, he comes out of the meeting and listens to them. The government falls after a while, but a new government is organized right away under Tevfik Pasha's leadership again.

### *Ferit Pasha the Groom's Government*

Tevfik Pasha finally resigns, and the grand viziership is offered to Ferit Pasha the Groom. Refik Halid stops by *Sabah* newspaper, where Ali Kemal works, to give the news. Upon hearing that Ali Kemal is a minister now, the managing director of the newspaper wonders who is to be the editor-in-chief. Thinking that no one else would be suitable, Refik Halid undertakes this responsibility and decides to turn *Sabah* into a semi-official newspaper. He also takes command of the semi-official telegraph agency founded by Mehmet Ali Bey.

However, when he is alone, he tries to find a name to deal with the Allied Forces in Istanbul, maintain order in Anatolia, sustain peace, and punish those responsible for the war. Considering people in the cabinet, he does not believe that anyone can handle this complicated work.

### *The First Day in Power*



When he wakes up on March 4, 1919, forty hours passed since his 30th birthday. The fact that the political party he is affiliated with is now in power does not excite him. He goes out to meet Mehmet Ali Bey, the minister of posts and telegraph, in a calm and joyless state. When he sees him, he doubts whether he can carry the burden on his shoulders. But when he arrives at the party's headquarters, he finds everyone cheerful. Everyone believes that now it is their turn and that they will hold power for years, just like the Unionists.

Just the ministers of war, public works, and finance are absent. Minister of War Sakir Pasha becomes a minister at the insistence of Zeynel Abidin Efendi while Minister of Public Works Avni Pasha at the insistence of Sitki Bey. This situation disrupts Refik Halid. Finally, they set off for the Sublime Porte with those who are present and arrive at the place where Tevfik Pasha listened to their complaints a while ago.

Refik Halid wants to interview one of the ministers and encounters Avni Pasha, the minister of public works. During the interview, when the minister says that he is a soldier and not affiliated with any political party and will not get involved in politics, he does not know what to say. He gets angry and leaves without waiting for the official announcement of the new government. He directly goes to his office in the newspaper and pens an article praising the new cabinet, repeating to himself that he is responsible for defending the cabinet to the people and that he should not create any suspicion. So, his article is written in a semi-official style. He likes this seemingly neutral state and even considers his position more important than the ministers'.

However, the presence of the Allied Forces in the country prevents him from feeling like an influential person. He interprets this as the revenge of the Unionists on the dissidents. He feels like hearing the Unionists, who led to the occupation, tell them, "You will come to power, but the power will not be in your hands!"

#### *A Banquet*

When a correspondent of *Le Matin*, who is a friend of the Greeks and Armenians, comes to Istanbul, a banquet is held to get him to use his pen in favor of the Turks. Refik Halid, Minister of Education Ali Kemal, Minister of Post and Telegraph Mehmet Ali Bey, Fuat Pasha from the Assembly of Notables, Rıza Tevfik Bey, and Undersecretary of Education Resat Halis Bey are held responsible for this work. The journalist and his wife, whom they expect in their official clothes, come to the banquet in informal clothes and apologize when they see them in such formal attire. Even if Refik Halid and his friends behave as statesmen who often give such invitations that night, and the journalist writes a positive article about them, it does not take long for them to realize that this is only deceiving themselves.

#### *The Freedom and Accord Party's Style of Exile*

One day, working at *Sabah* newspaper, Refik Halid is informed that the editor-in-chief of *Vakit* newspaper wants to see him. Ahmet Emin Yalman is there to say goodbye to him as he is exiled with Celal Nuri Ileri from the newspaper *Ileri* for their criticism of the government. Refik Halid states that he prefers the Freedom and Accord Party's exile to that of the Union and Progress since the Unionists would not allow people to bid farewell. Moreover, Ahmet Emin Yalman continues to write for his newspaper while he is in exile. However, the reason for this attitude of the Freedom and Accord Party is not that it has a moderate character, but that it is incapable of governing anything, namely, its incapability.

#### *A Conflict with the Allied Forces*

Except for Minister of Internal Affairs Cemal Bey, no minister attempts to clean up the Unionists under their administration. And again, Cemal Bey makes two important appointments. He appoints Nureddin Bey as the chief of police and Nuzhet Sabit as the director of subsistence. After a short time, while Refik Halid is writing an article in his office, Nureddin Bey comes and complains that he was fired. The British did not recognize his appointment taken without consulting them and demanded the reinstatement of former Chief of Police Halil Bey, so Nureddin Bey was fired. They go to the police headquarters together, while Nureddin Bey collects his belongings, Refik Halid watches him and then goes to the Sublime Porte to hold the ministers accountable. As soon as the ministers see him, they announce that they resigned en masse and tell what happened.

Although Minister of Internal Affairs Cemal Bey is told that he needs the approval of the British in the decisions he takes, he does not give due importance to this. While chatting with an embassy officer, he asks if there is any problem with a new appointment, and the officer, as a member of the embassy, not the army states that it is okay. When Cemal Bey actualizes his decision, the British asks Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom to reinstate Halil Bey, the former chief of police. Although Ferit Pasha explains that the ministers do not trust Halil Bey, he cannot persuade them, and in the end, the ministers resign because they find this situation insulting.

However, Refik Halid learns the next day that the cabinet remains in place after Sultan Vahdettin's request to get along with the British, and Halil Bey is reinstated, as Nureddin Bey is appointed the administrative chief of Uskudar. The British inform Halil Bey that he must respect the government, and if he fails in this matter, they will allow his dismissal. Indeed, this is what happens next.

#### *About the Grand Vizier*

One day, as Refik Halid is preparing to write his article in his office, he is informed that the grand vizier called and wanted to talk to him. He leaves right away and goes to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The room reserved for visitors is jam-packed. He waits for a while and then finds the chief aide and lets the grand vizier know that he is yet to write his article. But the grand vizier asks him to wait a little longer, so he does. At five o'clock, he is informed that the grand vizier is too busy to meet with him, but he finds the criticism in his articles disturbing. Refik Halid gets angry and states that he is not an officer seeking the approval of his superior and leaves. He has only one thing on his mind; Ferit Pasha took advantage of the Freedom and Accord Party to become the grand vizier, now he does not need it.

But the grand vizier summons him two days later, and this time he accepts him into his room without waiting for even five minutes. When Refik Halid enters, he pretends to take the fez on the table to his head with apologies since it is considered rude to stay bareheaded in the presence of a person. Refik Halid says, "Not at all," then he leaves the fez where it is, stating that he will not wear it if he allows it. Refik Halid is very impressed by this show of respect. The grand vizier says that Izzet Pasha takes on some actions against the council of ministers, and he wrote a memorandum to be published in the newspaper if he allows it. When Refik Halid looks at this memorandum, he realizes that it is an article with long and pompous sentences and suggests he write another piece with the same meaning instead of publishing it. He states that in doing so, they can get a response from other newspapers and find the opportunity to discuss the issue in detail. The grand vizier accepts this. When the article is published, *Aksam* newspaper defends Izzet Pasha, but the discussion is closed without further discussion because other newspapers find it in Izzet Pasha's favor to remain silent.

Ferit Pasha, happy with the results, wants to see Refik Halid. When Refik Halid comes in, Ferit Pasha, this time, is having his lunch consisting of chicken, pies, and cognac mixed with water instead of wine. He states that no foreigner would step into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before their administration, but many people come to visit now, that he will soon go to Europe for peace, but first, something needs to be done about the supporters of Izzet Pasha in the Assembly of Notables. After this conversation, he dismisses Ahmet Riza Bey, the president of the Assembly of Notables, with an excuse and creates a group of his own supporters.

One day, Ferit Pasha invites Refik Halid to deliver a letter of refutation against the rumors about the appointment of Sabahattin Bey, the grandson of Sultan Abdulmecid, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, Refik Halid decides not to publish this disclaimer, as he does not know Sabahattin Bey and does not consider him a companion. Later, to those who ask about it, he explains that he does not find it appropriate to publish an official announcement since the newspaper has a semi-official quality.

#### *A Resignation*

Zeynel Abidin Efendi begins to place his acquaintances in significant positions and requests the appointment of Doctor Abdullah Cevdet to the Directorate General of Health. Refik Halid objects that Abdullah Cevdet is not a party member and cannot replace Adnan Adıvar, the director-general of health. Zeynel Abidin Efendi, on the other hand, has his request approved by the Minister of Internal Affairs Cemal Bey, who, three days before, denied the rumors that Adnan Adıvar would be dismissed. But Abdullah Cevdet starts to work without the approval of the grand vizier. Upon that, in a meeting of the Council of Ministers, the grand vizier states that it is anarchy to come to such an important position and start working without the sultan's approval. Then, Minister of Internal Affairs Cemal Bey hastily

writes his resignation and leaves the meeting. The next day, Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom appoints Mehmet Ali Bey as the minister of internal affairs without asking anyone.

Seeing that the Grand Vizier is now acting alone, Refik Halid decides to leave his post at *Sabah* newspaper but still does not lose his desire to defend his party in front of the public. Although he does not believe this, he writes that the minister's resignation does not matter. Finally, the appointment of Abdullah Cevdet is approved by the grand vizier, which confirms that Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom acts independently of the Freedom and Accord Party.

#### *Post and Telegraph Office*

One day, Refik Halid comes across Adnan Adivar on the ferry. Adnan Bey says that the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs will be turned into a directorate and asks why he does not aspire to this task. Because it will be a directorate, it will be a position where he can stay in place even if the government changes. This reasoning convinces Refik Halid, and he says he will meet with the grand vizier. He goes straight to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Mehmet Ali Bey states that the grand vizier wants to bring an Armenian to this office, but he is uncomfortable with this state. Refik Halid asks him to convey to the grand vizier that he is apt for the position. At night, he receives the news that the grand vizier is very happy with this idea, and he is appointed in a few days. Leaving *Sabah* newspaper, he takes on his new job.

Former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs Mehmet Ali Bey left a bag behind. When Refik Halid examines the bag, he realizes that it is full of informant reports. When the reports keep coming, he starts to tear them. Ismail Bey of Gumulcine, the governor of Bursa, demands the dismissal of the director of the station in Bursa in favor of another officer. However, Refik Halid rejects this request. Ismail Bey drops the subject saying that he made this request to size up Refik Halid.

#### *Talât Pasha's Photograph*

One day, Refik Halid finds himself in the museum while inspecting the offices and sees the photograph of Talât Pasha on the wall among the photos of the former ministers and directors of the Post and Telegraph Department. He asks an officer to remove the photos of those who are still alive and keep them in a closed place. The photo is removed as requested.

#### *The Occupation of Izmir*

One day, the telegraph director enters his room with a white face and hands him an urgent telegram from Nasit Bey, the deputy director at Izmir's telegraph station. As soon as Refik Halid reads the telegram, he jumps out of his seat. It reads that Muvaffak Bey, the finance inspector, informed that the Greek army would invade Izmir in a few hours. This telegram is the first telegram that reports the news about the occupation to Anatolia, Istanbul, and the government.

Refik Halid takes it to the minister of internal affairs right away, but neither the minister nor the grand vizier believes it. Since Muvaffak Bey is the son of Rifat Bey, the former chairman of the Assembly of Notables, they conclude that he is a Unionist and trying to cause a disturbance and order him arrested and sent to Istanbul.

At that time, almost everyone in the administration, including Refik Halid, think that the Unionists are behind every incident. However, the seriousness of the matter is understood in a short time, and the Council of Ministers meets urgently. The minister of internal affairs tries to reach the governor of Izmir, but this is not possible because all ties with the occupied Izmir are severed. It is thought that a gendarme from Salihli, which is close to Izmir, will go to Izmir in disguise and send instructions to the governor. However, this cannot be possible. Finally, the telegraph officers in Izmir, risking their lives and breaking the ban of the invaders, contact Refik Halid and inform that the governor and the officers were insulted, moreover some people were killed.

Communication with Izmir continues intermittently, and when the possibility of the occupation of Izmir by the Entente Powers just like Istanbul comes up, Refik Halid is happy about it and immediately goes to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As soon as he enters the door, he learns that the cabinet resigned, and the new cabinet was established immediately under the leadership of Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom. This time, Ali Kemal becomes the minister of internal affairs.

Refik Halid is awakened in the middle of the night and called to the grand vizier's mansion. The grand vizier requests that he be contacted with the governor of Izmir. It is done immediately. Since the soldiers in Izmir are asked to be ready to board the ferry with their families, the grand vizier asks the governor to learn where the soldiers are to be taken. The governor says that the soldiers should be removed from there, the note given by Admiral Calthorpe, representing the Entente States, orders the soldiers to stay in their barracks in order not to cause any disturbance as the Greek soldiers are disembarked. Then he asks if it is appropriate to transport the soldiers with their weapons to any point.

While Refik Halid thinks that the governor is acting cautiously, the grand vizier criticizes him. Then the soldiers are taken to Mudanya. After that, Refik Halid is awakened every night to provide communication. As the Greek soldiers continue their occupation around Izmir, he sends a notice to the telegraph officers to instruct them that they are now considered soldiers and should continue their duties until the last moment and inform him of what is going on.

### *The National Struggle Starts*

Telegrams sent to encourage people to protest the occupation by the Committee for the Rejection of Annexation (Reddi Ilhak Cemiyeti), which was founded the day before the occupation, attract the government's attention. The Ministry of Internal Affairs restricts these telegrams and then cancels this decision, seeing no problem with the unarmed action.

Governor of Bursa Ismail Bey is the first among the dissidents to propose getting armed against the Greek attack, but as he cannot find support from the government, he changes his mind. However, as soon as the enemy sets foot on the land under his control, he immediately takes up arms. Similarly, when the Greek soldiers attack Ayvalık, Commander Ali Cetinkaya starts the national struggle in that region. As Refik Halid receives the news, he calls the Minister of Internal Affairs Ali Kemal right away and reads the telegram sent by Commander Ali. Although he expects the minister to get angry, the minister says, "Well done!" He welcomes the news with appreciation.

The government does not openly oppose the attacks but partially tolerates the armed struggle. It maintains this attitude for a while, but as the number of telegrams that encourage people to get armed and go to Izmir by the Committee for the Rejection of Annexation increases, the government is frightened. Finally, Minister of Internal Affairs Ali Kemal enacts a circular ordering that the Committee's telegrams not be sent. However, the struggle in Anatolia intensifies after this order.

### *A Passionate Young Man: Mustafa Kemal*

Refik Halid is unaware of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the army inspector. All he knows is that a passionate young man was sent to Anatolia so that he would not mess with the army in Istanbul. One day before the circular, Ali Kemal tells Refik Halid that Mustafa Kemal Pasha asks his support for the appointment of Hamit Bey as the civil authority of Canik and asks his opinion about it. Refik Halid finds it appropriate. That is all he remembers about Mustafa Kemal.

One day, while napping at home after lunch, he is woken up and informed that an urgent coded telegram has arrived. He has the chief of staff on duty read it on the phone. The issue in question is the telegram that Mustafa Kemal Pasha wrote from Amasya to the provinces. It reads that no honest telegraph officer will obey this order suppressing the nation's voice and that those who obey are to be court-martialed. All telegraph stations receive the same telegram and request information on how they should proceed. Refik Halid wonders why Mustafa Kemal did not contact the government first to request to cancel the order. Now, if the telegraph officers listen to him, they are court-martialed. If they listen to Mustafa Kemal, they are dismissed.

Refik Halid, thinking that this is a political issue exceeding his authority, informs the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, Minister Ali Kemal is resting in Yenikoy, and there is not even a telephone in his house. Refik Halid telegraphs him. Ali Kemal replies that such threats should not be considered meaningful, and the order is still in effect. Refik Halid sends another circular to all telegraph stations and thinks that everything will be settled. The next day, he realizes that Mustafa Kemal had written a telegram to the government and Istanbul Post Office asking for the cancellation of the circular, but its delivery was delayed.

### *About Ali Kemal*

When Ali Kemal becomes the minister of internal affairs, the first thing that catches Refik Halid's eye is that the new minister tries to cover up his satisfaction with his seat with complaints. He says that he started a string of reforms as the minister of education but the ministry of internal affairs should not be left to everyone. Refik Halid, on the other hand, starts to confirm everything like a typical civil servant; "Yes sir, that would be great sir!" Ali Kemal is someone who can neither tolerate questions nor consultations. He always finds a cause to get angry with everyone.

One day, when Refik Halid enters his room, he finds him talking fervently to the poet Yahya Kemal. The night before, the neighborhood guards warned all Muslim houses against a possible Christian massacre by the central commander's order. And Ali Kemal, hearing this, summoned the commander to his office. While he is ranting about the commander, the commander comes in silently, but Ali Kemal cannot notice him behind his back and even swears at him. Turning his back for a moment, he comes face to face with the central commander. At that moment, Refik Halid closes his eyes as if avoiding seeing an accident. However, Ali Kemal suddenly changes his attitude and politely asks the commander what happened the night before.

Another feature of Ali Kemal is that he makes almost no expenditures. The British headquarters uses the telegraph wires to talk to Batumi but always demands repair as each line is broken. In the end, Refik Halid has them buy and transport the materials needed for the repair. He only gets a hundred liras from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to pay the mediator.

When he comes home one evening, he encounters some women waiting for him. The women are the wives of political prisoners deported to Malta by the British. Refik Halid wonders if this was with the government's consent. The next day, he asks Ali Kemal. Ali Kemal indifferently says that the British did this without asking the government, and thus he got out of trouble.

One day, Refik Halid sees Ali Kemal more cheerful than usual. The reason is that he reinstated Nureddin Bey to his post and finally settled the issue that caused them to clash with the British at the time. After that, he appoints Ferit Tek, former Kutahya Deputy, as minister of public works upon the demand of Sheikalislam Sabri Efendi.

Although Ali Kemal wants to attend the peace negotiations in Paris with Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom, Ferit Pasha does not consent to this, maintaining that it is not right to leave Istanbul without him.

### *Mustafa Kemal's Dismissal*

One day, Minister of Internal Affairs Ali Kemal asks Refik Halid to inform all the telegraph stations that Mustafa Kemal is dismissed. So, from now on, his messages are not to be delivered. What causes this is a telegram signed by Director Lutfi Bey at Sivas' telegraph station. It reads that in a circular sent by Mustafa Kemal to the provinces, he invites people to hold rallies and occupy telegraph houses. Refik Halid thinks that since Mustafa Kemal is dismissed, he will not cause problems anymore, but Defense Minister Sevkert Turgut Pasha does not sign and send the decree to the Sublime Porte. Every day, Ali Kemal goes to the Council of Ministers and comes back with empty hands. No step can be taken against Minister Sevkert Turgut Pasha, as Ferit Pasha the Groom recommended that no resignation be allowed as he is in Paris.

Meanwhile, Mustafa Kemal Pasha has the director of telegraph station in Erzurum arrested because he complied with the orders from Istanbul. One day after that, Refik Halid is invited to the grand vizier's mansion. He finds the vizier's representative Sabri Efendi and the Minister of Internal Affairs Ali Kemal alone. Defense Minister Sevkert Turgut Pasha eventually resigned, but the ministers demanded Ali Kemal's resignation as well. After long discussions, Minister of Internal Affairs Ali Kemal decides to resign.

Ali Ferit Pasha is appointed to the Ministry of Defense, and Minister of Justice Vasfi Efendi becomes the minister of internal affairs by proxy. Refik Halid received the order for Mustafa Kemal's dismissal verbally from Ali Kemal but already conveyed it to the stations in writing. So that this situation does not cause any problem, he requests a written order from the deputy minister. After receiving the order, he relaxes and returns to his work, but when he goes to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the afternoon, he sees that the deputy minister is Ethem Bey now. He leaves not to deal with this man with whom he never gets along.

However, since the telegraph officers are caught between two sides, they want to do something and write a letter to the Ministry of Internal Affairs informing that Mustafa Kemal continues official correspondence as if he was not dismissed and ask guidance with this situation. But new Deputy Minister Ethem Bey does not intend to interfere in anything political. This time, Refik Halid writes a memorandum to the sheikalislam and the deputy grand vizier, demanding that whatever is necessary should be done immediately against Mustafa Kemal, who disobeys the government's orders. On the same day, Minister of Defense Ferit Pasha communicates with Mustafa Kemal Pasha via telegraph. This communication, which lasts for two days and a night, does not result in an agreement. Finally, Mustafa Kemal Pasha resigns.

#### *Against Mustafa Kemal*

Ali Kemal's order restricting the telegrams of the Committee for the Rejection of Annexation is applied to all unauthorized organizations. However, this order is almost impossible to implement, as the government does not hand over a list of organizations it does not approve to the telegraph officers.

The second task of the Council of Ministers is to contact Commander of the Third Corps Colonel Refet Bey in Samsun because the British started to land soldiers in Samsun, and they heard that Refet Bey is preparing an attack against them at Mustafa Kemal's command. A telegram is sent from the Sublime Porte to Refet Bey stating that the British are greatly disturbed by Mustafa Kemal's actions and that the only way is to compromise. Refet Bey replies back that he does not receive any orders from Mustafa Kemal regarding the defense against a possible invasion, that he is ready to defend his district when necessary, that he learned from the British that the new soldiers are to replace the already existing ones, and the matter is resolved. He also states that there is no secret military organization and that he has no ties to Erzurum, where Mustafa Kemal is located. The government, on the other hand, repeats that it is dangerous to take military measures against the British in Samsun and then asks Refet Bey to advise Mustafa Kemal to return to Istanbul for the sake of the country.

#### *The Post Offices in Anatolia*

The Twelfth Corps Commander in Konya restricts communications without consulting the government. Accordingly, two soldiers are to check the letters and telegrams every day. Refik Halid is disturbed that commanders in Anatolia act independently from the government. He writes a memorandum to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defense explaining the situation. A day later, he learns that the governor of Uluborlu appointed a soldier to the post office, and even the bags of the postmen are examined. He reports this situation to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But the Ministry remains silent. In the end, former Minister Cemal Bey, the governor of Konya, takes care of these two issues.

#### *A New Government of Ferit Pasha the Groom*

Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom returns unsuccessfully from the conference in Paris. One morning, Refik Halid reads in a newspaper that the cabinet resigned, and the new government was formed immediately. The Minister of Internal Affairs is Adil Bey, and the Minister of Defense is Nazım Pasha. Nazım Pasha was the president of the Court Martial, but for Refik Halid, he is no different than a mullah. Adil Bey is his neighbor. He is a modern person who finds something to criticize in everyone and approves of the military organization around Izmir but is against the national struggle in Anatolia. He has disagreements with Nazım Pasha on many issues, including this one. But while they are busy with their disagreements, Mustafa Kemal's movement in Anatolia grows.

Refik Halid realizes that in primitive states where the army determines the policy, no group can stay in power without a strong military character at its head. Because the Freedom and Accord Party is composed of dissidents who are opposed to militarism, there is no good commander among them. Therefore, far from promising the people an honorable life, they always advise patience.

Finally, Suleyman Sefik Pasha is brought to the Ministry of Defense, and he works in harmony with Adil Bey. Refik Halid, obeying the order of the minister of internal affairs, informs the directors at all telegraph stations that the officers are responsible for inspecting the telegrams in the transit centers and that telegrams about congresses in Anatolia should not be allowed. However, when he realizes that the director in Sivas does not comply with the order, he has him dismissed. This time, Sivas Governor Resit Pasha decides not to follow the government's orders, and the dismissed director continues his duty.

Meanwhile, the Greek army continues to advance inland by obtaining the permission of the Allied Powers and informing the Ministry of Defense through them. Refik Halid witnesses this process once. While with the Minister of Defense Suleyman Sefik Pasha, an English document arrives and then is translated. It reads that a place in the east of Tire was decided to be occupied by the Greek army. Then the minister of defense, a district governor, the chief of general staff, and Refik Halid lay down the map and search for the place mentioned in the document and can find it after ten minutes. Refik Halid condemns himself and those around him, saying that this is the state of the men trying to protect the government against Mustafa Kemal.

#### *Istanbul and Anatolia*

One day, Minister of Internal Affairs Adil Bey wants to see Refik Halid together with Minister of Defense Suleyman Sefik Pasha, and he hands him a note regarding the encrypted telegrams in Anatolia. According to this note, Refik Halid sends a circular stating that commanders are prohibited from sending encrypted telegrams to each other and can only send encrypted telegrams to the Ministry, to all stations except in Izmir. But he expects that this circular will cause the national struggle to grow even more.

The government turns a blind eye to the Nationalist Forces' protests around Izmir and even communicates with the nationalists there. However, it does not want this movement to merge with the one in Anatolia. Meanwhile, Afyonkarahisar's telegraph station connecting Eastern Anatolia and Istanbul to Western Anatolia begins to ignore the orders coming from Istanbul. Moreover, since all commanders protest the Ministry's circular, Minister of Internal Affairs Adil Bey informs Refik Halid that the circular is cancelled. Refik Halid dismisses the director in Afyonkarahisar and sends someone else in his place, but as soon as the new director steps into the building, he is arrested by the national strugglers and then sent back to Istanbul.

Regarding the decision made before about the inspection of telegrams, Director Ramiz Efendi in Kastamonu brings the encrypted telegrams sent from Erzurum to the governor with their answers. When Minister of Internal Affairs Adil Bey examines them, he realizes that the governor, who expresses his loyalty to Istanbul at every opportunity, is in good relation with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and gets angry at this hypocrisy. He summons the governor right away to Istanbul and has him arrested after showing him the telegrams.

#### *The Sivas Congress*

The government cannot find any other choice but to dissolve the congress to be held in Sivas. Accordingly, Harpoot Governor Galip Bey will go to Sivas and dissolve the congress at all costs. A coded telegram numbered 906 is dispatched to Harpoot without informing Refik Halid. But it has to pass through the station in Sivas, which is under the command of Mustafa Kemal. Aware of the danger, the national strugglers push back the government forces, and the Governor of Harpoot, Galip Bey, is forced to flee to Aleppo.

#### *Ferit Pasha the Groom's Resignation*

No one trusts Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom as they used to. Everyone is aware that if he resigns, it is impossible to be appointed for the fourth time. On a Friday, Refik Halid is invited by the grand vizier's chief aide, and he goes directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ferit Pasha admits him to his room and complains that he cannot send gunboats to Samsun. Refik Halid remembers the telegram from the day before, in which a gunboat cavalryman moored in Sinop complains that their salaries and allowances are yet to be paid. Then, he politely states that there is a gunboat in Sinop. While he condemns the ignorance of the grand vizier in his heart, the grand vizier immediately summons the defense and navy ministers and informs them that there is a gunboat in Sinop.

On Eid night, the telegraph director calls Refik Halid and tells him that the Sivas Congress wants to meet with Sultan Vahdettin. Then, Refik Halid informs the Minister of Internal Affairs Adil Bey, and Adil Bey says this is impossible. When the commanders in Anatolia send a telegram repeating this request, it takes a long time to decide, and a deep silence covers both sides.

A few days later, Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom invites Refik Halid to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asks for the telegraph machine in the mansion to be prepared to communicate with Anatolia. Refik Halid does what he wants and then returns to his home. This meeting with

Mustafa Kemal's friend Abdulkerim Pasha does not yield any results, and the cabinet resigns after a few days.

Ali Rıza Pasha becomes the new grand vizier. Refik Halid offers his resignation by mentioning the telegram sent from Anatolia to the new grand vizier demanding his arrest. However, Grand Vizier Ali Rıza Pasha does not accept his resignation, stating that the national strugglers cannot do whatever they want.

### *Resignation*

Refik Halid finally resigns and returns home, imagining that he will no longer be awakened in the middle of the night. However, the national strugglers are now in Kartal, close to his home in Feneryolu. To feel safer, he moves to his brother's mansion in Yesilkoy on the European Side. He spends almost two months alone with his family without following the news. When things settle down a bit, he returns home and begins to write for the newspaper *Alemdar* with the signature of Aydede [the man in the moon].

Meanwhile, Falih Rifki, one of the writers of the *Aksam* newspaper, taunts him in his articles, causing a quarrel that Refik Halid will be ashamed of for the rest of his life. However, moving the newspaper to Beyoglu separates him from the world of the Sublime Porte.

### *Murder in the Anatolian Club*

One evening, Refik Halid joins his friends in the newspaper going to the Anatolian Club. However, he doesn't like the music, and when his friends go upstairs to watch the baccarat players, he follows them. While watching the game with sleepy eyes, they hear two gunshots coming from downstairs. He goes downstairs with his friend Sabih Bey and sees a groaning man lying on the sofa. He quickly tries to get out, but the doorman does not allow them. Refik Halid frightens the man and has him open the door. Immediately after them, four people carrying a man come out. They try to put the man in a carriage, but the man constantly falls. The two men get on the carriage, and they head toward Taksim. The next day, the newspaper *Aksam* reports the incident in a way that presents Refik Halid like a gambler.

### *Occupation, Resignation and a New Government of Ferit Pasha the Groom*

The Freedom and Accord Party is divided into two. Colonel Sadık Bey is the head of the new one, while Sabri Efendi leads the old one. Both groups try to win Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom over. However, Sultan Vahdettin and Damat Ferit Pasha are in favor of Sabri Efendi's more moderate party.

One night, Refik Halid wakes up to the sounds of cars and is surprised to see many vehicles full of soldiers. In the morning, he learns that Istanbul is under the occupation of England, France, and Italy. He believes that one of the biggest reasons for the occupation is a fake *Times* newspaper reporting Enver Pasha's achievements. The British intelligence lashed out at this fake news as it created excitement in the people of Istanbul. Meanwhile, Grand Vizier Ali Rıza Pasha resigns, and Salih Hulusi Pasha takes his place. However, his cabinet does not last long, and he resigns within a few weeks. Finally, Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom becomes the grand vizier again.

### *Back on Duty*

Refik Halid stops by *Sabah* newspaper to see Ali Kemal and asks who is included in the new cabinet. Ali Kemal says that the men at the party are inexperienced, illiterate, do not know the manners, and that is why they need qualified opponents. Then he recites the names of the new ministers.

Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom offers Refik Halid the Directorate of Printing, but as Refik Halid reminds that this position is lower than his former position, Ferit Pasha reinstates him. Then, Refik Halid sits back in the seat he left six months ago.

When the new Minister of Internal Affairs Resit Bey asks him to liquidate several people, he dismisses seven or eight directors. One of them is Chairman of the Supervisory Board Rana Bey. After Refik Halid left office, he wrote an improper note about him. Refik Halid dismisses him, arguing that the officer should not interfere in politics in this way.



Now, he is neither interested in the Anatolian movement nor the cabinet. But one day, Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom invites him to the Ministry of Defense. There, he finds the waiting room full of people. While the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Ihsan Bey is telling him that he could not reach the grand vizier for three days, the grand vizier lets Refik Halid in. Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha says in a low voice that a "general" will contact those in Anatolia to make a last attempt at peace and asks for the meeting to take place in a secret room of the telegraph station. When Refik Halid states that the telegraph station is under the control of the British, the grand vizier replies that he will get permission from them. Refik Halid finds it strange that the vizier refers to a Turkish pasha as a "general."

The grand vizier persuades Nurettin Pasha, who is to hold the meeting, to wait at the telegraph station until he gets permission. The permit is taken the next day. However, a British soldier is supposed to attend the meeting too. Nurettin Pasha, accompanied by a British soldier, a translator, a telegraph director, and some soldiers, communicates with the nationalist strugglers in Anatolia for three days. Refik Halid is no longer interested in these talks as he is no longer interested in politics. On the fourth day, Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha the Groom calls Refik Halid to inform him that Nurettin Pasha is no longer responsible for speaking to the strugglers in Anatolia. Refik Halid, thinking that he is not the right person to give this news, takes Nurettin Pasha to the grand vizier. The grand vizier kindly explains the situation.

#### *Falih Rifki*

When Falih Rifki is arrested, Refik Halid goes to the Court Martial after Necmettin Sadak notifies him about the situation. When he tries to get the president of the court Mustafa Pasha to release him, Mustafa Pasha summons the court members and asks them what the punishment of the journalist named Falih Rifki should be. Then the three brigadier generals answer with one voice: "Execution." Refik Halid leaves intending to explain the situation to a more influential person.

#### *A Muslim Actress*

One night, just as he is about to sleep, the phone rings. The caller is Doctor Huseyin Suat Bey, brother of Huseyin Cahit Yalcin. He asks him to act as an intermediary because the police prevent a Muslim actress from performing in a theater play in Kadikoy. Upon this request, Refik Halid urges Chief of Police Tahsin Bey to help the woman with the situation, and Tahsin Bey permits the woman to play the game.

#### *Resignations*

Cemal Bey, the former minister of internal affairs and governor of Konya, is the undersecretary of the grand vizierate in the new cabinet. However, like Refik Halid, he is not satisfied with the government. Together with Sheikalislam Sabri Efendi, the leader of the moderate wing of the Freedom and the Accord Party, he decides to resign. Their resignations are accepted, and both are replaced immediately. The new sheikalislam dismisses all the supporters of Sabri Efendi, fearing that the old sheikalislam secretly issues a fatwa to dethrone Sultan Vahdettin. Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha the Groom deposes Refik Halid and Mahir Said Bey, the general director of customs, after learning that Refik Halid is speaking ill of him. Upon that, Refik Halid returns to his old job and begins to write for Ali Kemal's *Peyam Sabah* newspaper. But within a month, Grand Vizier Ferit Pasha resigns, and Tevfik Pasha becomes the grand vizier again.

#### *Aydede [The Man in the Moon]*

Kadikoy is the freest district of Istanbul for Refik Halid. He spends his days writing articles for his newspaper, attending meetings organized by City Theater, and exchanging ideas. However, he suffers from financial hardship. One evening, while wandering around, he decides to publish his newspaper. But since the censor board forbids the publication of a new newspaper, he has to find a solution. He asks for help from Monsieur Feuillet, whom he knows from Galatasaray High School. Against the objection of the English delegate and the impartiality of the Italian official, the support of the French delegate works, and the board allows him to publish a new newspaper. Thus, *Aydede* starts to be published twice a week, and Refik Halid overcomes his financial difficulties.

### *A Chain of Coincidences*

One evening in September, Refik Halid and his family friends go to the open-air cinema in Kadıköy together. When they hear swearing people, Refik Halid goes in the direction of the voices to understand what happens. Surrounding a woman and a young man, he sees four or five drunken men verbally abusing them. When he intervenes to stop them, the men try to attack him. While the crowd watches them, Refik Halid tries to calm the men. Eventually, the men make threats and then walk away.

After this evening, rumors spread that Refik Halid has a relationship with that woman named Nermin, and he is summoned to the court as a witness. Refet Pasha enters Istanbul while he is witnessing in court.

### *And the Istanbul Government Falls*

One Saturday evening, while Refik Halid is at his friend Sabih Sevket Bey's, gunfire erupts in Istanbul. However, instead of being afraid of the sounds, they join them by firing their guns. In the morning, he learns that the reason for the noises in the evening was the fall of the Istanbul government.

While sitting at home in the afternoon, he receives a phone call from the newspaper and learns that Ali Kemal is arrested or is about to be arrested. He gets shocked. However, trying not to reveal anything to the people at home, he calls Ali Kemal. The maid at home says that Ali Kemal left the house an hour ago. He cannot stand waiting and goes to Beyoğlu. Ali Kemal's house seems peaceful on the outside. He walks to the end of the street, turns back, and looks at the apartment again. This time, Ali Kemal's maid appears on the side street. She tries to explain something to Refik Halid with gestures. Refik Halid immediately goes up to her. She tells that Ali Kemal is arrested.

### *Together with Ali Kemal for the Last Time*

Refik Halid sees Ali Kemal for the last time on Friday, two days before his arrest. Ali Kemal invites Sabih Sevket and him to lunch. But when they come together, they only sit together without talking. Only Ali Kemal mentions his plan to separate the newspaper *Peyam* from *Sabah* and continue to publish it to support the sultanate. Refik Halid listens to him without believing and confirms what he says just for the sake of talking.

### *Seeking Asylum in the British Embassy*

While most of the opponents are waiting at Ali Kemal's house, Refik Halid goes to the newspaper on Monday, and everyone advises him to hide, but he does not care. Only when the crime reporter comes to the newspaper to tell him that an arrest warrant was issued for him, does he realize that he has no other choice. He goes up to the others at Ali Kemal's house. There, they decide to take refuge in the British Embassy and go to the embassy in groups of three.

Embassy officers take them to a shed in the backyard of the embassy. But it is jam-packed. Refik Halid identifies many faces from his exile years, gets horrified, and tries to predict how long he will stay there, where he will eat, where he will sleep. He misses his clean bed in his house and cannot stand waiting. He gets out and lights a cigarette, then wanders a little under the trees. After he goes inside the shed, Lady Rumbold, the ambassador's wife, comes and informs them that the British will protect them no matter what. After she leaves, General Harrington comes and says similar things, but Refik Halid does not believe any of these words. Unable to stand the hunger any longer, he takes his two friends with him to the restaurant opposite the embassy. First, they drink raki and then have a good meal consisting of fresh fish, juicy steak, and baked pasta. The more they drink the wine, the more they are happy. After dinner, a friend returns to the embassy, and he goes to a friend's house with his other friend and phones his family.

When they return to the embassy, they see four big trucks to take them to the Taskisla military barracks. Refik Halid jumps into one of the trucks after a moment of indecision. When they are brought into a big, empty room with broken windows, he decides that he cannot stay there. After a British soldier informs them that they will give pillows and blankets to them, he tells him he does not want to stay there. The soldier leaves saying that he needs permission from his commander. Later, another soldier comes, Refik Halid tells him about his problem as well. This soldier is a kinder person, listens to him, and leaves saying that he will inform him. But people criticize him because he wants to go out

as people flock to the English palace to lynch them, and the embassy has some dissidents taken from their houses by car. When the soldier returns, he announces that those who want to leave can leave but never return. After that, Refik Halid goes down with his friend Mahir Sait and a mullah he does not know. Just as they are about to go out the door, the British soldier shows his throat, implying that they will be killed.

Refik Halid goes to the house of a relative living alone in Gumussuyu with Mahir Sait Bey. They sit and drink tea. In the morning, he puts guns in his coat pockets and goes to the embassy. When the interpreter sees him, he frowns and reminds him that he left there in the evening. Refik Halid states that his passport is ready and he does not need to wait there. His only request is to be safely boarded on the ship named Pierre Loti. Upon that, the interpreter asks him to wait. He waits until five o'clock in the evening. A car with a British policeman arrives, he gets into the vehicle, but he is worried because he does not know whether the ship is at the pier. Just then, the policeman gets off in front of Hotel Kroeker to get a task done, and Refik Halid follows him. He finds former Defense Minister Suleyman Sefik Pasha and Saban Efendi waiting in a room with Monsieur Cunningham, who speaks Turkish. When the British learn that the ship has not arrived yet, he stays there. Suleyman Sefik Pasha and Saban Efendi leave the country by the ship Egypt.

His friends come to visit him in the evening, but he does not like the idea of being alone after they are gone. He goes to his friend Sabih Sevket's with the hope of a clean house, a white-lined dining table, good food, drinking, chatting, and taking a bath. There, he takes a bath, puts on clean clothes, sits at the table, drinks raki, and eats with his friends.

### *Fleeing Istanbul*

While dreaming of feeling to Rhodes, he finds out that the Turks can only enter the island with special permission. Then, he considers going to Beirut with a permit from the French, as the ship, Pierre Loti, will go to Beirut after Rhodes. Under the impact of the murder of Ali Kemal, he has to walk among the crowd in horror. He meets the French Chief of Police Colombani through a friend, and the French embassy grants him permission. Finally, he goes home and spends the night in sorrow. He has to leave his home, job, everything behind and fit his life into two bags... The following morning, the chief of police comes to pick them up.

When they are informed by phone that the car is about to arrive, they put on their coats and take their things down. It is raining outside. And this weather makes it a little easier to leave, as it prevents him from thinking that he is leaving a beautiful city behind. Now, the only thing on his mind is how to make a living because the money in his pocket is only enough to cover their expenses for one and a half months.

### **Themes**

**The Ethos of the Opposition** The reason for this may be that he writes his memoirs from a point where history defeated him and his friends, but Refik Halid Karay calls his own circle "dissidents" even when the Freedom and Accord Party is in power. In doing so, he implicates that he looks at his own story through the eyes of the victorious. Moreover, he accepts the Union and Progress in particular and the opponents of the sultanate in general as a natural political power, positioning him and his friends as dissidents.

**Inconsistency** Refik Halid's memoirs contain inconsistencies in many points. For example, in an interview with the minister of public works as the editor-in-chief of *Sabah* newspaper on the first day of the Freedom and Accord Party's government, the minister says that he is a soldier and has nothing to do with politics. As a journalist, Refik Halid separates himself from his friends because he is not affiliated with any authority. But instead of reporting his interview, he prepares an article strengthening public trust in the Freedom and Entente Party. Similarly, when Minister of Internal Affairs Cemal Bey changes the director-general of health at the insistence of Zeynel Abidin Efendi and the new director starts to work without the grand vizier's approval, the grand vizier harshly critiques the minister, and Cemal Bey resigns. Refik Halid writes an article downplaying the importance of Cemal Bey's resignation. When he is brought to the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph Organization, he takes every step in consultation with his party. However, he dismisses the officers on the grounds that they are involved in politics.

**Unstability** Although Refik Halid Karay covers a short period, eleven cabinets are formed during the process. Each time, the government acts without a plan. For example, when the Freedom and Accord Party comes to power for the first time, the minister of defense and the minister of public works are unknown to the cabinet but relatives of two persons. Nepotism continues to shape the subsequent cabinets. Moreover, the problem of miscommunication in the cabinets is never resolved. For this reason, appointments that are not made duly result in resignations several times.

**Lack of Foresight** The Freedom and Accord Party members, whose common ground with each other is enmity against the Committee of Union and Progress, expose their lack of foresight when they disbelieve the telegram about the occupation of Izmir because the informant is the son of a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. After the occupation, the Greek army advances across the country with the permission of the Entente Powers. However, Refik Halid and his circle believe that they can compromise with a military with an antimilitarist attitude. They criticize the government of a militarist structure, essentially the Union and Progress, but they do not take any steps to oppose the occupation forces of the Allied Powers spreading to every area in the country.

#### **Bibliography**

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