

ARTICLE

A Foreign Mission from the National Struggle to the Republic: The Paris Representation

Aydın ÇAKMAK *

Abstract

Turkish-French relations started to improve after the signing of the Ankara Accord of October 20, 1921. Taking a new step in this political environment, the Ankara government decided to open a representation in Paris. Ferid Bey, an important politician of the period, was appointed to this position. However, he was recalled to Ankara in early 1923 following an incident with the French delegation in a meeting at the Lausanne Conference, to which he had been invited to assist. No new appointment was made after Ferid Bey's return to Ankara. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, who was brought in charge of the Paris Representation, acted as the representative by proxy. Eventually, the Paris Representation was elevated to the level of ambassadorship and Cevad Bey, an experienced diplomat, was appointed as ambassador. By analyzing archival documents, periodicals and copyrighted works, this article examines the establishment and activities of the Paris Representation, which has a special place in the history of Turkish diplomacy, for the first time and in a comprehensive manner.

Keywords

Paris representation, Turkish-French relations, Ferid Bey, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, Cevad Bey

* PhD, Istanbul University, Department of Atatürk's Principles and Revolution History, Istanbul, Türkiye. E-mail: aydin.cakmak@istanbul.edu.tr. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2413-7760>.

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Introduction

Even though the Ottoman-French relations, which had a long history, progressed considerably over time, the two states sided with different blocs and fought against each other in the First World War.¹ The fact that the Ottoman Empire was on the losing side and France was on the winning side at the end of the war completely changed the relations between the two states. After the Armistice of Mudros of October 30, 1918, France adopted an occupying and destructive policy toward the Ottoman Empire, which upset Turkish-French bilateral relations in a fundamental way.

The French forces first occupied Istanbul together with the Allied States, and then proceeded to occupy the territories that were left to France by secret treaties. Having settled in Syria and Lebanon under the mandate regime, France took over Turkish territories such as Antakya, Urfa, Adana, Maraş and Antep from the British forces. However, it encountered very strong resistance from the Turkish people there.² The Turkish National Struggle movement, which started in Anatolia, sought to liberate the Turkish lands from occupation with all its strength. The successful resistance of the Turkish national troops established in the region frustrated the hopes of the French government. The financial burden of maintaining the troops on the French state budget was also evident.³

As a result, France's policy toward Ankara government began to change as of the spring of 1920.⁴ Meanwhile, French public opinion had gradually turned in favor of Ankara government⁵—so much so that the Aristide Briand government, which chose the path of compromise, sent Henry Franklin Bouillon, the head of the Foreign Affairs Commission and a former minister, to Ankara for negotiations. As a result of long and intensive negotiations, the Ankara Accord was signed on October 20, 1921, establishing a preliminary peace between the two parties.⁶

Following the signing of the Ankara Accord, a foreign mission named the Paris Representation was established. In this article, the Paris Representation, which has not been the subject of any independent study before, is discussed in detail. Since the Paris Representation has an important place both in the development of Turkish-French relations and the evolution of Turkish diplomacy, analyzing this subject would be very helpful in evaluating Turkish foreign policy in the period that is under consideration.

The First Period in the Paris Representation

After the signing of the Ankara Accord, relations between France and Ankara government started to improve. At that time, Ankara government only had a mission in Italy among the Western countries. Therefore, it was decided to open a foreign mission in the French capital, Paris. Ahmed Ferid [Tek] Bey, a member of the parliament from Istanbul and former deputy finance minister, was appointed as the Paris Representative,⁷ and the staff and salaries of the mission were drawn up.⁸ Ferid Bey's appointment was notified to the French High Commissioner General Pelle,⁹ and a letter of accreditation was written stating his appointment as a plenipotentiary representative to France.¹⁰ After these preparations, Ferid Bey left for France by steamer via Beirut after staying in Adana and its surroundings for a while.¹¹

At the time of Ferid Bey's appointment, moderate winds were blowing between France and the Ankara government. The Turkish army, which had won the Sakarya Battle in September 1921, was preparing for a decisive and final war. This was the atmosphere in which Ferid Bey arrived in Paris on December 1, 1921 and began his semi-official mission.¹² In the statement he gave to *Le Temps* newspaper after he set foot in Paris, he explained that his first duty was to resolve the problems arising from the implementation of the Ankara Accord and that he would work to improve relations between Paris and Ankara.¹³

It should be noted, however, that at the time Ferid Bey took office, there was already another Turkish representation in France. The mission of Nabi Bey, who was representing the government of Istanbul, carried the title of 'Ottoman Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference'. The day after his arrival, Ferid Bey, who had sent his Chief Clerk Hüseyin Ragıp [Baydur] Bey to the Ottoman delegation, expressed his wish to reside in the Ottoman embassy

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building. Upon hearing this, Nabi Bey sent a telegram to Istanbul stating that Ferid Bey had requested to reside in the embassy building with his entourage consisting of four officers upon the orders of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara.¹⁴ Ferid Bey, who met Nabi Bey personally on the same day, repeated his request, explaining that the purpose of staying in the embassy was to give the image of a united country to those with whom he would hold financial negotiations. Nabi Bey, however, replied that this purpose could not be achieved by staying in one building and that the apparent duality of governments was appropriate for the time being in terms of national interests.¹⁵ In any case, a negative response was received from Istanbul. The Ottoman Foreign Minister Ahmed İzzet Pasha, who stated that the Sublime Porte had no knowledge of the negotiations and that the Ankara government did not provide information, stated that residence in the embassy could not be considered appropriate in any way and that Ankara's representatives in other countries could not stay in the Ottoman embassies.¹⁶ In the face of this negative response, the two Turkish representations in Paris could not be merged. Ferid Bey rented a building on Victor Hugo Street, 200 meters opposite the Ottoman Embassy. As in Italy, there was a period of two-headed representation in France. From then on, the two missions continued their duties, sometimes in the same direction, sometimes in different directions, but separately.¹⁷

Inaugurated in late 1921, the Paris Representation was a small mission consisting of four officers and Ferid Bey. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey served as the chief clerk. The second clerk was Cemal Hüsnü [Taray] Bey, who was responsible for sending reports on economic issues.¹⁸ Numan Tahir [Menemenciöglü] Bey later joined this delegation.¹⁹ Thus, at least four people who would assume important roles in Turkish diplomacy in the following years served in the Paris Representation, albeit in different periods.

Ferid Bey's appointment as the representative in France had great benefits for the Ankara government.²⁰ In fact, the first tasks that he would perform in his mission emerged even before he started his journey, when he received instructions from Ankara on issues such as urgently finding money for the supply of arms and ammunition and persuading the French factories to make on-credit sales.²¹ Moreover, he was authorized to sign contracts for the purchase of war materials and military equipment.²²

In the aftermath of the signing of the Ankara Accord, the French government was subjected to fierce attacks both at home and abroad. Ferid Bey had a meeting with Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Aristide Briand at this very moment. The French leader made positive statements about the Turkish cause and asked Ferid Bey to convey his respects to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, stating that he was a sincere friend of the Turks. He also emphasized that Ankara was the sole representative of Turkish sovereignty and that Istanbul had to respect this reality. During the meeting between the two men, issues such as the future of Turkish war of independence, relations between Ankara and Paris (as well as their separate relations with London), financial matters and the purchase of military equipment were discussed. Ferid Bey, who recognized the importance of tipping of the French press and public opinion in favor of Ankara during his first contacts in France, also brought up financial issues and the purchase of military equipment. Ferid Bey also believed that Nabi Bey's mission should be taken out of Paris as leading French banks questioned the existence of two rival governments in Istanbul and Ankara.²³

Upon his arrival in Paris, Ferid Bey immediately started to deal with the procurement of supplies and financial matters. He divided the financial issues into five parts and soon realized it would not be possible to secure the political assistance of the French government in these matters as Briand told him that the situation of the French cabinet was delicate and that there was a possibility of his withdrawal. Confirming this information, Ferid Bey reported to Ankara that the Briand government, which had been in power for a long time, was on shaky ground, and that Ankara's interests favored the continuation of the present French cabinet. He also emphasized that borrowing and purchasing from France was unlikely under the current conditions mainly because a lasting peace in Anatolia had not been yet achieved and the legal status of the Ankara government had not been yet determined.²⁴

At the end of his first month in Paris, Ferid Bey summarized France's policy toward Türkiye as "sufficient friendship in theory, maximum hesitation in practice," even though he believed there was a favorable view toward Islam as well as the Turks and Ankara in the French government, parliament and among politicians. However, it was not possible for them to act freely for the time being due to criticism from

Britain, since Anglo-French rivalry was on the rise on a number of issues after the war. Britain seemed to be opposed to the strengthening of France within the framework of its traditional continental European policy, while France was oriented toward a policy of economic pressure and a circle of alliance tilted toward Germany. French initiatives like signing alliance agreements with Belgium and Poland, establishment of the Little Entente, launch of a Scandinavian policy and friendship with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were all part of this objective, as was the policy of rapprochement with the Ankara government and the Caucasus. Thus, the development of France's Turkish policy, which aimed at peace in Anatolia for long-term French political and economic interests, depended to some extent on the shape that the Anglo-French struggle would take.²⁵

Ferid Bey was interested in general political issues in addition to Turkish-French economic relations. As a diplomat serving in one of the main centers international politics, he was busy with many different issues. Meanwhile, the expected development took place and Briand's government resigned, while Raymond Poincaré came to power in

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Paris.²⁶ Ferid Bey was of the opinion that the cabinet change would not make any difference in terms of French general policy,²⁷ as Poincaré had made statements in favor of the Ankara government some time ago. Still, there were concerns in Ankara regarding the government change in Paris. In this respect, Ferid Bey

immediately took action to protect Turkish rights.²⁸ Monsieur Peretti, Chief of the Political Section, also made statements to allay concerns in Ankara about the change of government.²⁹

According to Ferid Bey's assessments, the disagreements between France and Britain did not diminish after the change of French government, but became even more pronounced.³⁰ In fact, these disagreements had existed since the armistice of 1918. Apart from Britain's role in the postponement of German debt and the inclusion of the Bolsheviks in European settlements, the ongoing negotiations for an Anglo-French

treaty which almost tried to make France a British protectorate were the last drops that overflowed the full glass. The general atmosphere in the Washington and Cannes Conferences in 1922 also showed that Paris was mostly alone in its disagreements with London. Ferid Bey made interesting assessments of the leaders of France and Britain in light of such disagreements. According to him, the new French Prime Minister – exaggeratedly dubbed ‘Poincaré-War’ by his opponents – was a man of principle subject to cold balance and judgement, while British Prime Minister Lloyd George was known with his opportunistic, unstable and handful character. The former was a politician who did and said what he thought, while the latter was not afraid of making contradictory statements or expressions. In addition, Poincaré adhered to principles as a former president, while George had a habit of dominating domestic politics in Britain since the war began. In short, it was clear that the two politicians could not easily get along.³¹

Ferid Bey noted that one of the reasons for the disagreement between Britain and France was the Ankara Accord and said of the new understanding in Paris that “if it could, it would bury the accord in the ground.”³² In light of the ongoing Anglo-French disputes, the Paris Representation received instructions from Ankara on various issues.³³ For example, it assisted the Turkish delegation, which was sent to France for military purchases, in political matters.³⁴ Meanwhile General Pellé also paid a visit to the Paris mission. In a meeting held in the presence of President Alexandre Millerand, he stated that it had been decided not to change France’s policy towards Ankara.³⁵ In the same period, Ferid Bey held his first official meeting with Poincaré, during which he expressed the favorable feelings of both Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Ankara government toward France. In response, Poincaré initially only stated that his favorable opinion about Ankara should be trusted and that he could not promise anything more than the assurances he had previously given. However, in response to Ferid Bey’s decisive stance, he softened his statements a little and said that he was sincere in his good intentions.³⁶ In the meantime, Mustafa Kemal Pasha informed Ferid Bey in two separate telegrams that his work in Paris was worthy of thanks, that he followed his official reports with interest and that he found them satisfactory.³⁷

It should also be noted that the Allied States had been preparing for some time to put an end to the ongoing Greek-Turkish war in

Anatolia. Therefore, France became a center for discussions regarding this issue as well. Under these conditions, Yusuf Kemal [Tengirşenk] Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ankara government at the time, organized a trip to Paris and London. Among those who welcomed the Turkish delegation in Marseille³⁸ was Ferid Bey as the Paris Representative.³⁹ Soon after, the Allied States announced the armistice with Ankara government on March 22, 1922 and declared their peace terms four days later. However, the conditions of the Ankara government, which accepted the armistice in principle, regarding the evacuation of Anatolia by the occupation forces were not accepted by the great powers.⁴⁰

The Ankara government sent new instructions to the Paris mission at this time. One of them was to analyze the news of a rapprochement between France and Greece.⁴¹ In addition, matters such as thanking the French parliament for the groundbreaking ceremony of the mosque built in Paris,⁴² preventing France from taking the railway material in the Adana region across the border,⁴³ keeping the money given in advance for the submarine and torpedo ordered before the First World War (against other orders) were also on the agenda of the Paris mission.⁴⁴

Thus, the scope of work of the Paris Representation included a wide range of diverse and complex issues. Ferid Bey continued to send reports to Ankara about matters related with French domestic and foreign policy. For example, the turmoil in Tunisia caused by the Paris cabinet, which at first seemed to be an internal matter, suddenly became a matter of concern for Ankara. This was because some French newspapers, citing the revolution in Tunisia, criticized Ankara and even wrote that this movement had been encouraged by the National Struggle in Anatolia. Some politicians, however, stated that Paris should learn from this example and pursue a policy of goodwill toward the Islamic world and Ankara government in particular.⁴⁵

In addition to these developments, Ferid Bey gave detailed information about the oil deposits in Anatolia, stating that the competition for oil was one of the most important political issues of the world and drew attention to the economic and political aspects of the oil industry that were related to the interests of the Ankara government.⁴⁶ Indeed, many organizations of French origin were applying to the Paris mission for the

rights to exploit Anatolia's underground and above-ground riches. One of these was the International Omnium Oil Company, headquartered in Paris. The representatives of the union established by this company stated that they would like to send a delegation to Ankara to investigate the petroleum resources in Anatolia and to exploit the rich oil fields if they were found.⁴⁷

The Paris Representation was also active in press and propaganda activities. Ferid Bey, through his writings, and his wife Müfide Ferid, through her lectures, tried to inform French public opinion and distribute propaganda through official channels.⁴⁸ Ferid

Bey also made attempts to turn France's policy toward Ankara in a positive direction. He tried to influence people who were close to Ankara either out of friendship or interest.⁴⁹ As a matter of fact, Ferid Bey, who reported Poincaré's statement in favor of Ankara upon the question of a Turkish-friendly deputy in the parliament as "we provoked it," used the expression "the purpose has been achieved."⁵⁰ In addition, the press bureau in charge of press relations in the Paris mission carried out very useful activities⁵¹ and Hüseyin Ragıp Bey published a book in French, titled *Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turkish National Movement*.⁵²

In the summer of 1922, Ali Fethi [Okyar] Bey, the Minister of Interior in Ankara, was on a political trip to Europe that included a stop in Paris⁵³ when the news reached him of the start of the Turkish Great Offensive and the Battle of the Commander-in-Chief. Following the developments closely, Ferid Bey sent a congratulatory telegram to Mustafa Kemal Pasha after the Turkish victory.⁵⁴ He reported that the victory had created repercussions in French public opinion in favor of Ankara.⁵⁵ The Turkish victory was greeted with great joy in Asian and African countries, especially in the Islamic world. Many people in these countries sent congratulatory telegrams indirectly, that is, through the Paris Representation, due to the censorship of the Allies.⁵⁶ During the Çanakkale Crisis with Britain and the Mudanya Armistice signed in October 1922, the Representation carried out intensive activities in

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terms of both negotiations and information flow.⁵⁷ Ferid Bey had an interview with Lord Derby upon his visit to Paris,⁵⁸ as well as with General Townshend, who visited the representative in person.⁵⁹

After the abolition of the Ottoman sultanate by the Ankara government in November 1922, the Paris Representation was moved to the building that had been used as the Ottoman Embassy for years.⁶⁰ It took over the building, keys, fixtures, safe and cipher books of the Embassy. The Ottoman diplomatic missions in Western countries were also temporarily attached to the Representation. Thus, the Paris Representation and Ferid Bey assumed an important role in the process of connecting the Ottoman foreign affairs system to the Ankara government.⁶¹

It was decided that the peace conference to follow the Turkish victory would be held in Lausanne, Switzerland. A delegation headed by İsmet Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was to represent Ankara at the conference. When the opening of the conference was postponed, İsmet Pasha stayed in Lausanne for a short time and travelled to France with a small group including Ferid Bey. Arriving in Paris on the morning of November 15, 1922 İsmet Pasha and his entourage were welcomed by the staff of the Paris mission and some Turkish citizens. In Paris, İsmet Pasha held meetings with various people, including the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Poincaré,⁶² who also attended a dinner organized by Ferid Bey hosting around 35 guests.⁶³

The Paris Representation, which remained as the only Turkish mission in France after the dissolution of the Istanbul government, was interested in the problems faced by Turkish students studying there as well.⁶⁴ It also dealt with the situation of citizens who could not afford to make a living.⁶⁵ In the meantime, it is noteworthy that some people in France, who had not visited the Turkish Embassy for years, applied to the Paris Representation to benefit from the rights of foreigners.⁶⁶

It should be emphasized, however, that Ferid Bey had to defend himself in response to a critical letter that came from the Ministry of Finance regarding his financial activities in Paris. He refused these criticisms and stated that the Turkish government's instructions included the duty to follow up on the purchase of foreign debt and that he was even given certified authorization documents. He also emphasized that he attached special importance to the financial reputation of the Turkish

state and pointed out that he did not request loans by “going from door to door” and that he did not do anything other than what was asked of him by the ministry.⁶⁷ On the same subject, he even wrote a petition to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, namely Mustafa Kemal Pasha,⁶⁸ and sent a letter to Prime Minister Rauf [Orbay] Bey, beginning with the address “my brother.”⁶⁹

As stated before, Ferid Bey was also invited to the Lausanne negotiations to assist the Turkish delegation in financial and economic matters in the absence of Hasan [Saka] Bey. However, Ferid Bey’s reaction to the harsh words of one of the French delegates regarding the Ottoman debt issue in one of the meetings irritated the French side. As a result, Ferid Bey was dismissed despite all the support he received from İsmet Pasha, who described him as “a great ambassador.”⁷⁰ After this incident, Ferid Bey returned to Paris again and continued his mission for some more time.⁷¹ However, the British government criticized Ferid Bey’s statements about the Ottoman debt issue and advised France to expel him from the country. As also indicated in a British intelligence report, the Poincaré cabinet also wanted Ferid Bey to be removed from Paris “because of his pro-German tendencies.”⁷²

As result, Ferid Bey departed from Paris in February 1923 and Hüseyin Ragıp Bey was appointed as the acting representative. Both of these developments were reflected in the Turkish and French press.⁷³ For example, *Le Matin* reported that Ferid Bey had made a farewell visit to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that his leave was indefinite.⁷⁴ It was also reported that either Zekai [Apaydın] Bey, a member of parliament from the Adana province or Nihad Reşad [Belger] Bey would be appointed in his place.⁷⁵

Proxy Period in the Paris Representation

After Ferid Bey’s departure, no permanent appointment was made to the position of representative and it was decided that Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, who was already serving as the chief clerk in the Paris Representation, would manage the mission as a kind of chargé d’affaires by proxy. In this role, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey conducted useful services in Ankara government’s most important foreign mission and in the diplomatic profession at large.⁷⁶ However, at the time of his appointment, the

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Lausanne Conference was interrupted, and a new conflict emerged between Ankara and the Allies due to the issue of capitulations. In this interim period, the Paris Representation became the most important center of communication between the Ankara government and the Western countries as it sent very important information to Ankara regarding the domestic

developments taking place in the Allied States as well as about the ongoing peace talks.⁷⁷

During this period, certain anti-Turkish articles and news appeared in the French press that were particularly critical regarding the "Chester Project" which was launched by the Ottoman-American Development Company in April 1923 for the management of mines in Anatolia. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey emphasized that this project disproved the claim that business could not be conducted with Ankara without capitulations. He also indicated that Ankara would grant privileges to the party that offered the most favorable conditions and that French companies only wasted time in vain to make use of previous capitulations instead of competing with the American company.⁷⁸ Despite such remarks, the French government continued to protest, while the French press published critical pieces about Ankara government's approach in this issue.⁷⁹ Emmanuel de Peretti de La Rocca, who was the Director of Political Affairs, conveyed the reservations of the French government and also complained about other issues such as the closure of a French bank and company in Adana, reduction of French lessons in Turkish high schools and Turkish military build-up on the Syrian border. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey responded to these complaints on the grounds of defense and criticized the remarks made by the French press about Turkish domestic issues.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey also worked to secure the purchase of French military equipment for Ankara.⁸¹ In addition, he closely followed French politics and informed Ankara about the developments. For

example, he reported that the new French government, which had just received a vote of confidence, was not fully trusted in the parliament and that the Ruhr issue – the joint invasion of the Ruhr region in Germany by France and Belgium in January 1923 in response to Germany's failure to pay reparations – had necessitated a vote of confidence. He also reported that the French government was being criticized in the domestic scene for its policies toward the Ankara government.⁸²

The workload of the Turkish representation in France became heavier in light of such developments. For instance, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, resisting the decision taken on the status of foreign schools in Anatolia, sent a diplomatic note stating that this measure, which threatened the existence of the schools, was contrary to the Ankara Accord.⁸³ The Paris cabinet, on the other hand, issued a communiqué to the press regarding the build-up of Turkish troops on the Syrian border,⁸⁴ and also discussed the problems experienced by French merchants, companies and banks in Anatolia.⁸⁵ It also insisted that it should not be necessary to obtain permission from Ankara for French people to travel to Istanbul. In response to this, the French police started to refrain from recognizing visas issued with the Turkish seal by the Paris Representation.⁸⁶

At the same time, it should be mentioned that the Ankara government provided essential support to Turkish students, who had been sent abroad during the time of the Ottoman sultanate or who had travelled with their own means, and helped them complete their education. Within the framework of its reform program, the Ankara government also started to send new students abroad.⁸⁷ The Paris Representation remained at the center of activities related to the students going abroad for education.⁸⁸ In fact, according to a directive issued by the Turkish Ministry of Education, it was made responsible for the affairs of students in Paris, London, Lausanne and Belgium.⁸⁹

Signed on July 24, 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne was greeted with joy in various parts of the world. For example, well-known French writer Claude Farrère sent congratulatory telegrams to the Paris Representation, while Muslims living in Tunisia and Marseille expressed their congratulations, underlining their hope that this development would be a new beginning for the strengthening of relations between

Ankara and Paris.⁹⁰ In this regard, one of the most important items on the agenda of Turkish-French relations seemed to be the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, which would also mean the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Ankara did its part and ratified the treaty quickly in August 1923, while the French ratification process took a longer time. Nevertheless, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, who had been signing the documents “on behalf of the Representative of Paris” until then, started to use the title of “Acting Representative of Paris” in light of these developments.⁹¹

Another area of work of the Paris mission was the activities for the development of the Turkish economy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already instructed its missions abroad to provide information and send reports on European trade centers for Turkish merchants.⁹² Similarly, the Paris Representation became the application authority for individuals and companies wishing to do business with the Ankara government.⁹³ For example, the director of the newspaper *Le Journal* submitted a petition to the Paris Representation on behalf of the capitalist group to which he belonged.⁹⁴

During the days when the Republic of Türkiye was proclaimed in October 1923,⁹⁵ the political atmosphere in France was getting more complicated. In the latest by-elections, the opposition Left Bloc was successful, while the National Bloc, the supporter of Poincaré’s government, lost power. The discontent felt in the majority group in the parliament due to the election results was so strong that the government’s position became fragile. In any case, no one inside or outside the French parliament seemed satisfied with the situation.⁹⁶

Türkiye attached great importance to the principle of reciprocity in the re-established relations with France. An example of this was the endeavor to have a representative in Marseille to reciprocate the installation of a French official serving in Izmir, whose duties would be the same as those of the French official. The request to send Turkish officials to Aleppo and Beirut was partially successful though.⁹⁷ It should also be mentioned that the French government frequently brought up the issue of ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne for about a year after the treaty was signed and even made veiled threats from time to time on this issue. In addition, the news of the dismissal of the French

second principal and teachers at Galatasaray High School was met with reaction in Paris. Some French newspapers interpreted the incident as a sign of growing Turkish hostility toward France.⁹⁸ The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs even stated that such an arrangement, which Paris deemed to be contrary to the 1921 Accord, would have a negative impact before the handling of the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne in the French parliament.⁹⁹ The Ministry then issued a second note, reiterating that Ankara's treatment of French teachers, who had been involved in teaching for half a century, would have a negative affect on the ratification of the treaty.¹⁰⁰ In response to all these reactions, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey had to issue a denial through the *Agency Havas*, *Times* and other press organs.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, the Paris Representation continued to send to Ankara the requested information and documents about the changes to be made in Türkiye, which was in the process of major reforms.¹⁰² It particularly analyzed the practices in France regarding the reconstruction and repair of the regions that had been devastated after the wars.¹⁰³ In addition, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey supported the establishment and activities of the Paris Turkish Students' Association – more precisely the Paris Turkish Dormitory.¹⁰⁴

The difficult days of the Poincaré government continued in 1924.¹⁰⁵ Hüseyin Ragıp Bey's observations were quite accurate in describing the political situation in France. According to him, the fall of the franc against other currencies and the increase in the cost of living caused great reactions not only among the French public, but also in the press and especially the parliament. Had it not been for these financial problems, the government could still remain in power despite making major political mistakes. Yet, the French people were particularly sensitive about economic issues, as also indicated by the parliament's tough stance about the issue of the Ottoman debt in the Lausanne Conference. The parliamentary debates, in which the government presented decrees and tax increases as counter-measures, were the scene of great struggle for this reason. If the franc continued to fall despite the measures taken, there would be little chance for the government to stay in power.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, consular activities between Ankara and Paris, which had been interrupted by the First World War, were re-established. The new Turkish state opened a consulate deputation in Paris and the duties of the mission related to citizenship affairs and transactions were started to be carried out by this institution.¹⁰⁷ In the same period, a Turkish consulate general was also established in Marseille, which was a major center of economic relations between the two countries.¹⁰⁸

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about this incident in some French newspapers became a negative instrument used by those trying to delay the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne.¹⁰⁹ It is also interesting to note in this regard that the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a now customary note stating that the incident of the seized tugboat in Mersin could delay the ratification of the treaty.¹¹⁰ It also protested against the closure of nine French

schools in İzmir on the grounds that they had failed to remove religious symbols.¹¹¹

While the Paris Representation was under great pressure due to such issues, new developments took place in French politics. The government, which brought the credibility issue to the agenda during the discussion of the pension law, failed to receive the vote of confidence it requested.¹¹² However, Poincaré himself was again given the task of forming the government.¹¹³ The government then made a proposal to send an ambassador to Türkiye as the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne was postponed to the next session of the parliament.¹¹⁴ During this period, the Paris mission worked even at night and on holidays.¹¹⁵

Following a period of turmoil, general elections were held in France in 1924. The May 11 elections resulted in an outcome that had not been foreseen or desired by the government and majority bloc—or the

opposition. The Radicals and the Socialists were the two important winners of the elections, and the leader of the Radicals, Edouard Herriot, became the most authoritative man in the country. Poincaré and his government, which had been in power for more than two years, decided to resign, but they would still continue their work until the opening of parliament. The new majority group in the parliament promised to follow a policy of peace in international relations. Although it was not possible to determine what the change in policy toward Türkiye might be in advance, there was no doubt that it would be quite different from the previous one.¹¹⁶

Hüseyin Ragıp Bey reported the political developments in France back to Türkiye in detail including the opinion of the French politicians, who were likely to come to the government, on the resolution of the disputes and improvement of relations with Türkiye, while also calling for the redefinition and communication of the issues that were expected to be resolved.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper correspondent Faik Sabri Bey conducted an interview with Hüseyin Ragıp Bey in Paris. In the article, it was pointed out that Türkiye's most difficult disputes were currently with France, and that the Paris Representation had been going through a critical period for the last two years. The article also emphasized that Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, who had been carrying out this duty with great success for about a year and a half, had remained stoic, persistent, serious and sincere in his work to support the interests of Türkiye. After this, an interview was held in the Paris embassy and the expected policy of the new government toward Türkiye, as well as other issues including the schools, the southern border and Turkish students in France were discussed.¹¹⁸

Hüseyin Ragıp Bey requested to come to Ankara in order to inform the Turkish government about the establishment of Herriot's government and the developments that could happen in France until the new French government started to work.¹¹⁹ He also pointed out that the restraining of local Turkish newspapers in the regions close to the Syrian border would be beneficial for the relations between Türkiye and France.¹²⁰ However, the Turkish foreign ministry did not deem it appropriate for Hüseyin Ragıp to leave Paris, since it did not want any interruption in the flow of information from France at such a critical period.¹²¹ Thus, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey continued his work in Paris. However, the Turkish government, which was sensitive about maintaining good relations

with Paris, partly listened to his advice and requested the Turkish press organs, to the extent 'permitted by the law', to remain calm in their publications on France.¹²²

Hüseyin Ragıp Bey also wrote a long report about his meeting with Henry Franklin Bouillon, during which Bouillon stated that the new French government was favorable toward Türkiye. Regarding the problem about the French schools in Türkiye, he said, "if I had known that one day I would see these schools completely closed, I would not

Another bone of contention between Türkiye and France was the closure of the French schools in Edirne. The publication of the news about this incident in some French newspapers became a negative instrument used by those trying to delay the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne.

have signed the Ankara Accord."

In response, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey said that the Turkish government, which had abolished the caliphate and closed religious schools in the country, could not grant religious privileges to foreign schools.¹²³

Hüseyin Ragıp Bey also had a favorable interview with the new French Prime Minister Herriot.¹²⁴

Later, he continued to work on issues such as the economy, trade, health and forestry.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, he was given a representative

allowance and his title was raised from chief clerk to undersecretary of the embassy.¹²⁶

The summer months of 1924 were eventful in terms of Turkish-French relations. Türkiye's main expectation from Paris was the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne and embassy-level French representation in Ankara.¹²⁷ However, it took quite a long time for France to ratify the treaty, which it had signed about a year earlier. Factors such as debt coupons, status of the French institutions in Türkiye and the political debates about these issues in domestic politics prolonged the ratification process. Finally, the Treaty of Lausanne was ratified by the French Parliament on August 26, 1924, and by the Senate the following day.¹²⁸

With the ratification of this treaty, a period of peace and developing relations started between the two states. More importantly, there was no longer any obstacle for either side to open an embassy in the other country. However, neither Ankara nor Paris made any appointments regarding this issue. During Hüseyin Ragıp Bey's absence for a brief

period of time, Chief Clerk Celal Hazım [Tepeyran] Bey managed the Paris mission 'on behalf of the Acting Representative of Paris'.¹²⁹ Later, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey's returned to his duties, this time as chargé d'affaires.¹³⁰

During the period of the government in which Ali Fethi Bey served as Prime Minister and Şükrü Kaya served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Türkiye, the Paris Representation was raised to the level of ambassadorship. Cevad [Ezine] Bey, then serving at the Embassy of Bucharest, was appointed as the Paris Ambassador¹³¹ and thus became the first ambassador of the Republic of Türkiye to France.¹³²

On the same day, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey was appointed to the Embassy of Bucharest.¹³³ In other words, the two diplomats switched places in a kind of shuffle. However, they both remained in their posts for some more time. After coming to Ankara and meeting with the authorities, Cevad Bey finally left Istanbul for Paris on January 25,¹³⁴ while Hüseyin Ragıp Bey also left Paris around the same time.¹³⁵

During the period of the government in which Ali Fethi Bey served as Prime Minister and Şükrü Kaya served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Türkiye, the Paris Representation was raised to the level of ambassadorship.

Cevad Bey presented his credentials to French authorities at a ceremony held on February 1, 1925, and officially began his ambassadorial duties in Paris. This development was met with interest in the French press. According to the *Journal*, the inauguration of Cevad Bey, a Turkish diplomat by profession, did not mean that the diplomatic contacts between the two countries had been completely severed despite the bitter memories of First World War. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, who was now assigned to the Embassy in Bucharest, was also remembered fondly in Paris for his honesty and courtesy. It should be noted, however, for the relations between the two countries to become fully naturalized, France would also have to appoint an ambassador to Türkiye – a development which indeed took place very soon.¹³⁶

Conclusion

As discussed in the previous sections, after signing the Armistice of Mudros in 1918, the Ottoman Empire left the First World War

defeated, while the Allied States, including France, started to occupy various parts of Anatolia. The French troops occupying the south of Anatolia and the Çukurova region in accordance with the secret agreements made during the war encountered the strong resistance of the Turkish people, while the Turkish National Struggle movement achieved great success throughout the country. In this environment, the French government, realizing that it could not be successful in retaining the territories it occupied in Anatolia, sought an agreement with the Ankara government. The Turkish-French wars were thus ended with the Ankara Accord signed between the Ankara government and France. The Ankara Accord created a favorable political environment between the two sides, and the Ankara government sent Ferid Bey as a plenipotentiary representative to France and established a foreign mission called the Paris Representation. Established in late 1921, the Representation not only endeavored to improve relations between Ankara and Paris, but also assumed the command of the most important Turkish diplomatic center in the West. In Paris, Ferid Bey engaged in propaganda activities with the press and sought to explain the rightfulness of the Turkish cause to the French authorities. He also held important meetings with many officials during his tenure and maintained an intense level of diplomatic activity in times of war and peace, presenting many reports to Ankara. His work was appreciated by both Mustafa Kemal Pasha and İsmet Pasha, which was the main reason for his participation in the negotiations during the Lausanne Conference. However, due to some problems he had with the French delegation during the Lausanne talks, he was recalled to Ankara by the Turkish government in early 1923 and no new appointment was made in his place.

Chief Clerk Hüseyin Ragıp Bey was appointed as the Acting Representative of Paris after Ferid Bey's departure at a time when the Lausanne Conference was interrupted due to disagreements between Ankara and the Allies. In this interim period, the Paris Representation became the most important center of communication of the Ankara government with the Western countries. Closely following the changes in French politics and public opinion, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey dealt with a number of newly emerging problems, while also taking care of Turkish students and citizens in France. At this time, he served as chief clerk, acting representative, undersecretary and charge d'affaires.

Finally, in December 1924, the Paris Representation was upgraded to ambassadorial level and Cevad Bey, an experienced diplomat, was appointed to this post by Türkiye. Yet, it should be recalled that the Paris Representation served in accordance with the foreign policy principles of the new Turkish state such as non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign states, stability and reciprocity. At the same time, it took its place in the history of Turkish diplomacy as an important foreign mission from the era of the National Struggle to the Republic.

Endnotes

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2. Hülya Baykal, “Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk-Fransız İlişkileri ve Bir Fransız Türk Dostu Albay Mougin,” *Atatürk Yolu*, Vol. 2, NO. 7 (May 1991), p. 472.
3. Süleyman Hatipoğlu, *Türk-Fransız Mücadelesi (Orta Toros Geçitleri, 1915-1921)*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2001, pp. 117–120.
4. Ömer Budak, “Milli Mücadele Dönemi Türk-Fransız İlişkileri,” *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, No. 19 (Autumn 2008), p. 111.
5. Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı ve Fransız Kamuoyu (1919–1922)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, pp. 343–344.
6. Bige Yavuz, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Döneminde Türk-Fransız İlişkileri: Fransız Arşiv Belgeleri Açısından 1919–1922*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994, pp. 133–148.
7. *Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate Of State Archives Republic Archive [Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi- BCA]*, Institution: 30-18-1-1, Location: 3-34-2. Decree, 26 October 1337/1921.
8. *BCA*, Institution: 30-18-1-1, Location: 3-34-5; *BCA*, Institution: 30-18-1-1, Location: 3-34-6.
9. *Bahçeşehir University Library*, Kızılaycı Hamit Archives, 1330. From Hamid Bey to Yusuf Kemal Bey, 3 November 1337/1921.
10. Engin Yürür et al (eds.), *Türk ve Fransız Diplomatik Arşiv Belgeleriyle 100. Yılında 1921 Ankara Anlaşması*, Ankara: Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 1922, pp. 117–118.
11. *Turkish Diplomatic Archives [Türk Diplomatik Arşivi- TDA]*, 525/37886-152848-8; *TDA*, 525/37886-152848-26; *TDA*, 525/37886-152848-28.
12. İsmail Soysal, “Türk-Fransız Siyasal İlişkileri (1921-1984),” *Belleten*, Vol. XLVII, No. 188 (October 1983), p. 968.
13. Salâhi R. Sonyel, *Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) ve Kurtuluş Savaşı (Yeni Belgelerle) 1918–1923* (Cilt II), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008, p. 1418.
14. *Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archive [Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi-BOA]*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Paris Embassy [HR.SFR.4], 971/93- 2; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, Ankara: Bilgi, 1996, pp. 137–138.
15. *BOA*, HR.SFR.4, 971/93- 1; Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, p. 138.
16. *BOA*, HR.SFR.4, 971/93- 3; Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, pp. 138–139.
17. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, pp. 139–140.
18. *TDA*, 525/38627-156396-174; *TDA*, 525/38627-156396-175; *TDA*, 525/38627-156396-172.
19. Yücel Güçlü, *Eminence Grise of The Turkish Foreign Service: Numan Menemencioğlu*, Ankara: [No place of publication], 2002, p. 25.
20. Yenal Ünal, *Ahmet Ferit Tek*, İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz, 2009, p. 44.
21. *TDA*, 525/37886-152848-27. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Paris Representation, November 29, 1337/1921.
22. *TDA*, 525/38588-155984-105. Authorisation Certificate, 2 November 1921.
23. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-25. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 11, 1337/1921.
24. *TDA*, 525/38623-156351-20. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 18, 1337/1921. In the same days, Nabi Bey, who met with a person close to A. Briand, made supportive statements that the hardship that “our citizens in Ankara” would be exposed to due to lack

- of money would not only harm the struggle, but would even harm France's oriental policy. See: *BOA*, HR.SFR.4, 971/120.
25. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-26. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 28, 1337/1921. For a summary of the report, which seems to have had a great resonance in the corridors of Ankara, see also: *TDA*, 525/37886-152837-3.
 26. *TDA*, 525/37886-152837-17; *TDA*, 525/37886-152837-18.
 27. *TDA*, 525/37886-152836-20. From Hamid Bey to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 16, 1922.
 28. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-16. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 20 January 1921[1922].
 29. Yavuz, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Döneminde Türk-Fransız İlişkileri*, p. 159.
 30. *TDA*, 525/37864-152750-23. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 21, 1922.
 31. *TDA*, 525/37864-152750-22. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 22, 2022.
 32. *Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Archives [Cumburbaşkanlığı Arşivi- CA]*, 01003568_5. From the Paris Representation to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, February 20, 1922.
 33. *TDA*, 525/38623-156348-57; *TDA*, 525/38623-156348-56.
 34. *TDA*, 525/38588-155984-99. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Paris Representation, February 2, 1922.
 35. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-18. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 21, 1922.
 36. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-17. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 21, 1922.
 37. *CA*, 01003547-7; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Atatürk İle Yazışmalar I (1920-1923)*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981, pp. 178–179.
 38. Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, *Vatan Hizmetinde*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, pp. 300–308.
 39. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, No. 453, 12 March 1338/1922, p. 1.
 40. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, "T.B.M.M. Hükümeti Umur-ı Hariciye Vekili Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk'in 1922 Martında Yaptığı Avrupa Gezisiyle İlgili Anılar," *Belleten*, Vol. XL, No. 160 (October 1976), pp. 665–666.
 41. *TDA*, 525/37864-152755-19. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ferid Bey and Doctor Hikmet Bey, April 2, 1922.
 42. *TDA*, 525/38610-156227-167. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Paris Representation, April 3, 1922.
 43. *TDA*, 525/38622-156329-2. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ferid Bey and Doctor Hikmet Bey, April 4, 1922.
 44. *TDA*, 525/38628-156406-9. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Paris Representation, April 16, 1338/1922.
 45. *TDA*, 525/37863-152729-8. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 11, 1338/1922. In addition to the report, which aroused great interest in Ankara, Ferid Bey stated that the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not agree with the newspapers attributing the Tunisian incident to Türkiye (*TDA*, 525/37863-152729-3). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for its part, stated that an organization founded by the palace and the British in Istanbul was sending men to Islamic lands and trying to cause incidents, and that they might have had a hand in the incidents in Syria, Tunisia and Tripoli (*TDA*, 525/37863-152729-2).
 46. *TDA*, 525/38585-155980-29; *TDA*, 525/38585-155980-27.
 47. *TDA*, 525/38585-155978-110. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 13, 1922. Hamid [Hasancan] Bey, the semi-official official of the Ankara government in Istanbul, stated that the delegation from Zaho to Mosul should be allowed to inspect the region and

- that the oil issue was a great rivalry, and described the trip as a blessing because this rivalry between the oilmen could save the Mosul region. See: *TDA*, 525/38585-155978-108.
48. Akyüz, *Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı ve Fransız Kamuoyu (1919-1922)*, pp. 45 and 215.
49. *TDA*, 525/38627-156396-114; *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-8. For the preparation of a map suitable both for propaganda purposes and for use in schools, see: *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-14.
50. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-13. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 22, 1338/1922.
51. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, p. 148.
52. George S. Harris, *Atatürk's Diplomats: Their Brief Biographies*, İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010, p. 324; Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, p. 181.
53. *CA*, 01003712-32/01003712-34; *CA*, 01003768-17/01003768-18. The Memorandum Signed by Yusuf Kemal Bey, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, for Matters Concerning Himself.
54. *CA*, 01016626-415/416; Şimşir, *Atatürk İle Yazışmalar I*, p. 236.
55. *TDA*, 525/37886-152838-4. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, September 11, 1338/1922.
56. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Doğunun Kabramanı Atatürk*, Ankara: Bilgi Publishing, 1999, pp. 41–56.
57. Engin Yürür et al (eds.), *Türk Diplomatik Arşivi Belgeleriyle 100. Yılında Mudanya Askeri Sözleşmesi Tutanaklar-Belgeler*, Ankara: Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2022, pp. 8–15, 20–29, 52–73 and 89–93.
58. *TDA*, 534/36983-148657-21. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 16, 1338/1922.
59. *TDA*, 534/36983-148658-4; *TDA*, 534/36983-148658-7.
60. *TDA*, 525/38634-156446-3. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, report.
61. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Günlüğü*, Ankara: Bilgi Publishing House, 2012, pp. 123–126.
62. *Ibid*, *Lozan Günlüğü*, p. 91-125.
63. Salahi R. Sonyel, *Gizli Belgelerle Lozan Konferansı'nın Perde Arkası*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006, p. 41.
64. *TDA*, 525/38631-155921-230. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 10, 1338/1922.
65. *TDA*, 525/38610-156227-239. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 11, 1338/1922.
66. *TDA*, 525/38632-155934-252. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 12, 1338/1922.
67. *TDA*, 525/38623-156351-5. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 14, 1338/1922.
68. *TDA*, 525/38623-156351-6. From the Paris Representation to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, December 15, 1338/1922. In the same timeframe, Ferid Bey sent another letter to Mustafa Kemal Pasha on issues such as representation, the Lausanne Conference and the situation of Britain and France. See: *CA*, 01003517_2.
69. *TDA*, 525/38623-156351-7. From the Paris Representation to the Prime Ministry, December 15, 1338/1922.
70. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, pp. 155–160. For these correspondences see: Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları (1922-1923)*, Vol. I, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990, pp. 384–386, 421–423, 437, 485–486, 490.
71. *TDA*, 525/38627-156396-182; *TDA*, 525/38634-156440-21; *TDA*, 525/38620-156271-31.
72. Salâhi R. Sonyel, *Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) ve Kurtuluş Savaşı (Yeni Belgelerle) 1918–1923*, Vol. III, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Publications, 2008, pp. 1889–1890, 1962.
73. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, No. 741, February 16, 1339/1923, p. 4; *İkdam*, No. 9311, February 16, 1339/1923, p. 1.

74. *Tanin*, No. 130, February 20, 1339/1923, p. 1.
75. İkdam, No. 9313, February 18, 1339/1923, p. 2; *Vakir*, No. 1867, 21 February 1339/1923, p. 1.
76. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, pp. 181-182.
77. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları (Şubat-Ağustos 1923)*, Vol. II, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Publications, 1994, p. 149-197.
78. TDA, 525/38634-156440-41. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 12, 1339/1923.
79. TDA, 525/38634-156440-39. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 13, 1339/1923. On the subject, see: TDA, 525/38634-156440-36; TDA, 525/38634-156440-37; TDA, 525/38634-156440-68.
80. TDA, 525/38101-155039-15. From the Paris Representation to the Presidency of the Delegation, April 24, 1339/1923.
81. TDA, 525/38588-155984-79. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 4, 1339/1923.
82. TDA, 525/38101-155039-55; TDA, 525/37864-152751-8. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 9, 1339/1923.
83. TDA, 525/38101-155039-53. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 9, 1339/1923.
84. TDA, 525/38101-155039-54. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 10, 1339/1923.
85. TDA, 525/38661-155996-51; TDA, 525/38622-156327-7; TDA, 525/38634-156440-104.
86. TDA, 525/38632-155934-278. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 21, 1339/1923.
87. Aysen İçke, *Atatürk Dönemi Yurt Dışı Eğitimi (1923-1938)*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2018, pp. 47-51.
88. TDA, 525/38632-155930-5; TDA, 525/38545-156250-6; TDA, 525/38545-156250-10; TDA, 525/38619-156314-79; TDA, 525/38628-156400-18; TDA, 525/38619-156314-67; TDA, 525/38545-156250-19.
89. TDA, 525/38631-155921-240. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 21, 1339/1923.
90. CA, 01003720; BCA, Institution: 30-10-0-0, Location: 197-350-4. Letter sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 31, 1339/1923.
91. TDA, 525/37863-152724-2. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 27, 1339/1923. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey's report dated October 9 was about the title of the mission and the way of correspondence. According to the report, the delegation that arrived in Paris two years ago was known as *Mission Diplomatique Turque*. It would have been appropriate to write this name or the similarly recognized title of the *Turkish Embassy* on the envelopes sent from the Ministry. To prevent the loss of correspondence, *33 Rue de Villejust* should have been added to the envelopes. Some of the correspondence sent from other ministries and addressed only to the Paris Representation arrived by chance through the French word Angora on the cold stamp on the envelope. Therefore, stamps had to be used for such letters to be sent to foreign countries. See: TDA, 525/38610-156227-81.
92. TDA, 525/38627-156396-183. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, circular, August 28, 1339/1923. For two examples of reports on commercial issues, see: TDA, 525/38627-156396-189; TDA, 525/38611-154284-33.
93. TDA, 525/38612-154285-52. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 1, 1339/1923.
94. TDA, 525/38583-155883-1. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 3, 1339/1923.
95. For the congratulations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see: TDA, 525/38599-156133-6.

96. *TDA*, 525/37863-152724-7. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 14, 1339/1923.
97. *TDA*, 525/38588-155984-50. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 15, 1339/1923.
98. *TDA*, 525/38604-156220-80. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 15, 1339/1923.
99. *TDA*, 525/38604-156220-81. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 17, 1339/1923.
100. *TDA*, 525/38604-156220-75. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 10, 1339/1923.
101. *TDA*, 525/38604-156220-65. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 17, 1339/1923.
102. *TDA*, 525/38622-156277-8; *TDA*, 525/38661-155994-35.
103. *TDA*, 525/38623-156448-6. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 27, 1339/1923. On the subject, see also: *TDA*, 525/38661-155994-31.
104. *TDA*, 525/38631-155921-216. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 28, 1340/1924.
105. *TDA*, 525/37863-152727-8. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 29, 1340/1924.
106. *TDA*, 525/37863-152727-16. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 11, 1340/1924.
107. *TDA*, 525/38632-155934-71; *TDA*, 525/38632-155934-35; *TDA*, 525/38611-154284-67.
108. *TDA*, 525/38612-154285-163; *TDA*, 525/38612-154285-116; *TDA*, 525/38612-154285-126.
109. *TDA*, 525/38604-156216-19. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 25, 1340/1924.
110. *TDA*, 525/38547-155998-180. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 25, 1340/1924.
111. *TDA*, 525/38547-155998-30. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 14, 1340/1924. Hüseyin Ragıp Bey went to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and made the necessary explanation on the subject. He stated that he had made this statement only to enlighten them and that it was neither a negotiation nor a request. He emphasized that the Turkish government, while respecting the treaties, was determined not to accept or even consider any foreign interference in its freedom of movement within its own country. He added that the procedures and conditions to which private schools would be subject had been determined by law, without any attempt to resemble capitulations. See: *TDA*, 525/38604-156215-8.
112. *TDA*, 525/37863-152727-4. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 26, 1340/1924.
113. *TDA*, 525/37863-152727-3. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 27, 1340/1924.
114. *CA*, 01012284. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Presidency, April 7, 1340/1924.
115. *TDA*, 525/38610-156227-95. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 20, 1340/1924.
116. *TDA*, 525/37886-152837-7. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 19, 1340/1924. This report was also submitted to the Presidency. See: *CA*, 01012284-20; *TDA*, 525/37886-152837-6.
117. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-44. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 20, 1340/1924.
118. *Cumhuriyet*, No. 24, May 30, 1340/1924, p. 4; Sabahattin Özel & Işıl Çakan Hacıbrahimoğlu, *Türk Devrimi Müslakatları*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2011, pp. 190–192.

119. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-50. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 9, 1340/1924.
120. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-49. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 14, 1340/1924.
121. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-48. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Paris Representation, June 17, 1340/1924.
122. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-51. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Paris Representation, June 17, 1340/1924.
123. *CA*, 01008660-1/6; *TDA*, 525/37886-152836-4. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 21, 1340/1924.
124. *TDA*, 525/37886-152834-42. From the Paris Representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 1, 1340/1924.
125. *TDA*, 525/38612-154285-44; *TDA*, 525/38623-156350-15; *TDA*, 525/38631-155922-13.
126. *BCA*, Institution: 30-18-1-1; Location: 10-38-15. Decree, August 6, 1340/1924.
127. Serhan Ada, *Türk-Fransız İlişkilerinde Hatay Sorunu (1918–1939)*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005, pp. 65–67.
128. Gülden Hacıoğlu (ed.), *Türkiye Dış Politikasında 50 Yıl- Lozan (1922–1923)*, Ankara: Dışişleri Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Siyaset Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü, [No date of publication], pp. 155–156.
129. *TDA*, 525/38619-156308-20; *BOA*, HR.İM., 115/47- 1; *TDA*, 537/7415-43709-1.
130. *TDA*, 525/38599-156135-14; *TDA*, 525/38661-155994-12; *TDA*, 525/38631-155926-11.
131. *BCA*, Institution: 30-18-1-1; Location: 12-60-6. Decree, December 7, 1340/1924.
132. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Sinan Kunalalp, Frédéric Hitzel, *Représentants Permanents de la France en Turquie (1536-1991) et de la Turquie en France (1797–1991)*, İstanbul: Isis Press, 1991, p. 142.
133. *BCA*, Institution: 30-18-1-1; Location: 12-60-12. Decree, December 7, 1340/1924.
134. *Tanin*, No. 822, 25 January 1341/1925, p. 1-2; *Vatan*, No. 651, February 1, 1341/1925, p. 2.
135. *Cumhuriyet*, No. 266, February 1, 1341/1925, p. 2; *Tanin*, No. 829, February 1, 1341/1925, p. 2.
136. *İkdam*, No. 10001, February 4, 1341/1925, p. 1-2; *Tevhid-i Efkar*, No. 1299/4327, February 4, 1341/1925, p. 3.