

GENERAL NOTES FOR HIS 101

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Some Terms in Modern Turkish History

Modernization: It can be simply explained as the transformation of a society from a rural and agrarian condition to a more secular, urban and industrial one. To modernize something, means to change it by replacing old methods with new ones.

Westernization: Generally defined with the term of modernization in Modern Turkish History. It's because that the European countries such as England, France, Italy started their modernization periods earlier than the Ottoman Empire. So the Ottoman Empire and also Modern Turkey had an example of Europe, for making or practising modernization. For this reason the terms of modernization and westernization had equal meanings in the last period of Ottoman Empire and in the earlier period of Modern Turkey. But now it's not enough to explain the word modernization with westernization.

Revolution: Defined as a radical and a sudden change in society and the social structure, especially often accompanied by violence. It refers to a political, economical, social and cultural change and transformation.

Reform: It means the change to a better form, the improvement of what is wrong or corrupt. The reforms are limited, they don't contain radical changes as revolution does. In Modern Turkish History, the term reform generally refers to the Ottoman modernization, but the term revolution refers to the radical changes in the period of Atatürk in Modern Turkey.

Social Structure of the Ottoman Empire: The Millet System

The term **millet** does not mean **nation** in social classification of Ottomans. The millet doesn't have an ethnical meaning, it's based on religions. Although the Ottoman Empire was predominantly muslim, the state allowed non-muslims to practise their religion and conduct their community affairs. Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Mehmet 2nd) organised this system.

Millet System was organised as:

The Orthodox Community

The Armenian Community

The Jewish Community

Non-muslims had to be the parts of a millet in order to be considered as citizens of the empire. Each millet had a leader called Milletbaşı.

Orthodox Millet: The largest community in the Ottoman Empire. Consists of Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, Vlachs, Romanians and other different language groups. They're all affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in İstanbul.

Armenian Millet: Consists of Armenians (Gregorian).

Jewish Millet: Consists of Jews.

These religious communities were allowed to rule themselves under their own juristical system.

In the 19th century, new millets were created such as Bulgarians who separated from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and established their own Eastern Orthodox Bulgarian Church.

Modernization of Ottoman Empire

In the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire, the modernization attempts and the decline of the empire progressed simultaneously.

- *Western influences such as the Geographical Discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution had a great role both in modernization and decline of the empire.*
- *French Revolution (1789) had great effects on Ottoman Empire. It had positive effects with its notions of equality, human rights and democratization. It had negative effects for the multilingual, multireligious and multicultural structure of Ottoman Empire due to its notions of liberty, nationalism and national sovereignty. For this reason, it can be said that the modernization and the decline of the empire progressed together.*
- *The modernization attempts emerged to keep the persistence of the Empire and to rescue the state from decline.*

The first attempts at modernization dates to the early 18th century, called the **Tulip Era**.

In the Tulip Era;

- the first Ottoman language printing press was founded (by İbrahim Müteferrika),
- the first Ottoman temporary ambassadors were charged abroad.

The Tulip Era ended by Patrona Halil Revolt.

However reforms in the Tulip Era were quite limited and local. For this reason, it's generally accepted that the modernization period in the Ottoman State begins with **Selim III** (1789-1807). The first systematical reforms were carried out in this period. Ottoman State followed European reforms as a consequence of French Revolution. Selim established the first permanent embassies in Europe to pursue closely the European developments. A new army (Nizam-ı Cedit Army) was created to use the new European weapons and tactics. All of the reforms that Selim wanted to accomplish are called **Nizam-ı Cedit** (New Order).

The reign of Selim ended by the revolt of Kabakçı Mustafa, head of a unit in Janissary (Yeniçeri) corps. After Selim, **Mahmut II** (1808-1839) ascended the throne. The most comprehensive innovations and reforms had been done in this period. These reforms were regarding education, administration, military, social life and economy.

In this period also a Greek Rebellion occurred (in 1821). After a while Greeks attained their liberty and independence from the Ottoman Empire.

- *The first ethnical community which revolted against the empire was the Serbians (in 1804). But the first ethnical community which gained independence after the revolt was the Greeks.*
- *Serbia obtained autonomy by 1815 (in the reign of Mahmut II).*
- *In addition to the Serbian and Greek revolts, the reign of Mahmut II witnessed two another revolts: The revolt of Ali Pasha of Ioannina (Tepedelenli Ali Paşa) and the revolt of Cavallan Mehmet Ali Pasha (Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa).*

Mahmut observed the Janissary corps in the process of Greek rebellion and realized the corruption of the military system. In 1826 he removed the Janissary corps. This event is called **Vaka-i Hayriye**

(Auspicious Event) and a new military structure called Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye was established instead of Janissary corps.

Also he removed Divan organization in the field of administration and established the cabinet system. Meanwhile, there had been several regulations about the social rights and the vestures of civil servants. Post organization was established and the first official journal of Ottoman **Takvim-i Vekayi** was founded. Also there had been several educational reforms in this period. Tıbbiye and Harbiye as military academies and Rüştiye as secondary schools were established.

All those reforms of Mahmut II had certainly opened the way for the Tanzimat reforms.

- *Mahmut II is generally known as the most reformist sultan of the Ottoman Empire.*
- *While the reforms were carried out in this period, the empire faced with some economical difficulties. The most important one of them was the **Convention of Balta limani** which was signed with the Great Britain in 1838. The agreement reaffirmed and widened Britain's rights under the capitulations. In other words, the said agreement opened up the Ottoman market completely to British trade.*

Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)

Tanzimat means regulation, organization and reform. It's the name of the series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire during the reigns of Mahmut's sons: Abdülmecit (1839-1861) and Abdülaziz (1861-1876).

- *Tanzimat period begins with the Tanzimat Fermanı (Tanzimat Decree/Tanzimat Edict). The years in the effect of Tanzimat and Islahat Decrees are called as Tanzimat Period which begins in 1839, ends in 1876 (year of the declaration of the First Constitutional Monarchy).*

Tanzimat Edict (1839)

Reasons:

- To modernize the Ottoman Empire,
- To secure its territorial integrity against nationalist movements.

For instance; Greek rebellion triggered off the Tanzimat reforms. It can be said that the regulations of Tanzimat focus on keeping together the Ottoman subjects. For this reason, the program of Tanzimat especially fronted towards the non-muslims.

It was created by Mustafa Reşit Paşa (Minister of Foreign Affairs). It was a reform program which involved new rights and promises.

The targeted reforms according to Tanzimat Edict were;

- To provide perfect security of all Ottoman subjects for their lives and properties,
- To provide equality among all Ottoman Subjects,
- The reorganization of the civil and criminal codes,
- The abolitions of slavery and slave trade,
- Arrangements about taxes.

Islahat Edict (1856)

Reasons:

- The inability of implementing Tanzimat reforms,
- Crimean War in 1853-1856 (Ottoman X Russia).

Islahat Edict was a result of Western pressure. Because the Ottoman-Russian Crimean War rendered the Ottoman Empire dependent to England and France. To sustain the expenses of the war, Ottoman State borrowed its first **external dept**. So these western countries wanted larger privileges from Ottomans. As a result of that, the Islahat Edict was declared.

The reform of 1856 (Islahat) was intended to carry out the promises of Tanzimat. This time, the status of non-muslims was more significant than it was in Tanzimat.

Result: Tanzimat and Islahat were not constitutions but serious reforms. These reforms provided a secular system, in other words, the authorization of millet leaders were limited and the Islamic character of the state was less mentioned.

- *Reforms went ahead in many fields in Tanzimat period. Laws from European countries such as Criminal Code and Commercial Code became valid in this period. Also Yargıtay (Supreme Court) and Danıştay (Council of State) was established. Several educational reforms were carried out. New schools towards higher education such as Mülkiye, Darülmuallimin (teacher's training school for boys), Darülmuallimat (teacher's training school for girls), Sultani (modern high school) were established. The first modern university Darülfünun was founded, but it began to give education in the period of Abdülhamit II.*
- *Nineteenth century Ottoman modernization was undermined by financial difficulties, opposition by the Great Powers and the rise of nationalism among many of the subjects. The Crimean War and its aftermath exacerbated the empire's financial difficulties. The state declared bankruptcy in 1875.*
- *The main ideology of Tanzimat period was Ottomanism (Equality between all subjects).*

Ideologists of Tanzimat Period: Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Agâh Efendi, Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi (Young Ottomans).

Young Ottomans thought that the Tanzimat reforms were incompletely carried out, the only way to carry out the reforms exactly was to create a state based on equality and constitutional system. They believed that the only solution to create a modern state was to establish a constitutional monarchy.

The purpose of Young Ottomans was also supported by Mithat Paşa, a reformist statesman of Tanzimat period, also the one who led the council of the first Constitution “Kanun-i Esasi”.

1st Constitutional Era 1876 (Kanun-i Esasi)

Young Ottomans forced Abdülaziz (the sultan after Abdülmecid) to abdicate because of his opposite ideas about constitution. With the efforts of Young Ottomans and Mithat Paşa, Abdülhamit II promised to declare the constitution and ascended the Ottoman throne in 1876.

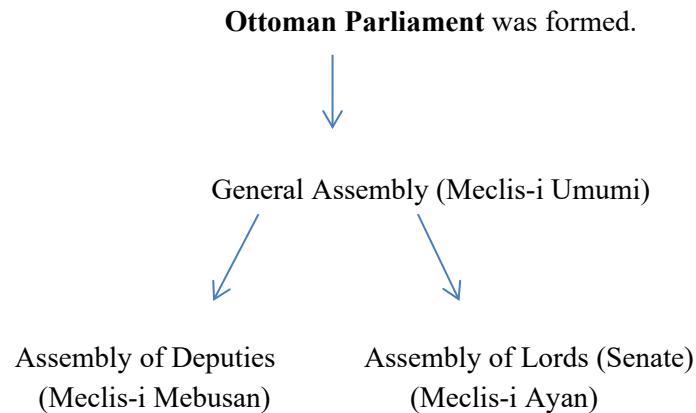
After that, the Constitution “**Kanun-i Esasi**” was prepared by Mithat Paşa and was declared on 23 December 1876.

- *Kanun-i Esasi was prepared by taking Belgium constitution as an example.*
- *This constitution was consisted of 119 titles and the first five ones described the rights of Sultan.*
- *Kanun-i Esasi didn't limit the authority of Sultan, so the origin of sovereignty didn't change.*

- All Ottoman subjects were equal in this constitution.

Kanun-i Esasi was the first constitution of the Ottoman Empire, but only for two years it was really in effect (1876-1878). This two-year period is called as the **First Constitutional Era**.

The most important point of having a constitution was that the constitution marked a further advance towards a democratic Ottoman government and society, creating an elected Parliament which was more representative than before.



Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 (93 Harbi)

In April 1877 the war between Ottoman Empire and Russia broke out. During the war the Assembly couldn't work and Abdulhamit cancelled not only the assembly but also the constitution. After the war, Ayastefanos agreement was signed. But Western countries didn't accept this agreement and arranged **Congress of Berlin**. **Eastern Question, Armenian Question** (in international area) and **Macedonian Question** were pronounced in this congress for the first time.

At the end of Berlin Congress a treaty (Treaty of Berlin) was signed. According to the treaty;

- Cyprus was rented to England (in case of Russian threat),
- Three new states were established: Romania, Serbia, Montenegro. And Bulgaria became a principedom,
- Ottoman State lost all its control in Balkans.
- The foreign policy of England towards Ottoman State “*To respect the territorial integrity of Ottoman State*” ended up.

Abdulhamit Era

After the cancellation of constitution and parliament, the absolute monarchy period began once again. This period is generally called as an autocratic period (istibdat). The foreign policy and the ideology of this era was **Islamism**.

Nonetheless, quite a few reforms had been achieved in this era : **Mulkiye** which was established in Tanzimat period was reorganised, commercial, veterinary and art schools were founded, Darülfünun (the first university) began to give education, telegraph system was improved all around the country, railways from Syria to Palestine and from Ankara to Konya were established.

Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and Committee of Union and Progress

Who are Young Turks?

- * All of them may not have been ethnic Turks but they identified themselves as Turks.
- * The great majority of them were young.
- * They belonged mostly to the bureaucratic class, they were either military officers or civilian officers.
- * They had studied in modern schools.
- * They had a bourgeois ideology.
- * They aspired to create a modern Turkish society on the contemporary European model.
- * They based their political ideology on to provide the constitutional monarchy functional.
- * They established in 1889 in Istanbul a committee called **Ottoman Union** (İttihad-ı Osmani), this was a secret organization.
- * In 1895 they prepared a regulation and according to this regulation the committee was broken into small covert cells.
- * The committee emerged/uncovered with the Armenian protests in 1895.
- * **Prince Sabahattin** organised the first Young Turk Congress in 1902. In this congress, Young Turks argued about saving the empire and putting the constitution into effect. Sabahattin's solution was different from others. He claimed to cooperate with foreign countries against Abdulhamit. He also justified the ideology of autonomous government (adem-i merkeziyet: to create a state in the circle of individual).
- * After 1905, opposition against Abdulhamit gained power. Expressly, rising the separatist movements in Macedonia, most of the people of Empire became anxious. And in this atmosphere a lot of secret organizations occurred.
- * In 1907 the second Young Turk Congress was opened. In this congress all the ideological movements of Ottoman State met up.
- * A manifest was prepared and aimed to remove Abdulhamit: By making propaganda in the army, by showing strong resistance by contacting the military organizations in Macedonia they incorporated and named themselves as **Committee of Union and Progress**.

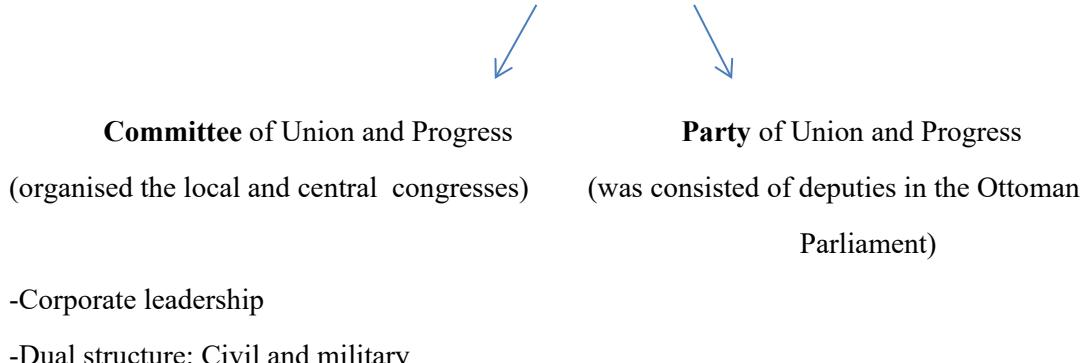
Promulgation of 2nd Constitution (1908)

Reasons:

- * The role of the agreement between England and Russia about sharing Ottoman territories (Reval Negotiations),
- * Unionists learned the plans of England and Russia in Reval
- * Unionists blamed Abdulhamit as the only person in charge.
- * After all these, with 400 people, Resneli Niyazi and Enver started a revolt in Macedonia and revolution began.

- * Rumelian People supported this movement.
- * They pressed putting the constitution into effect and opening the assembly. Kanun-i Esasi put back into effect by the Young Turk Revolution.
- * Eventually after 30 years, liberty (hürriyet) was announced.

UNION AND PROGRESS



Ideologies of Constitutional Era

Ottomanism (İttihat-ı Anasır/Common in Tanzimat Era/Expired after the Balkan Wars)

Islamism (Common in Abdulhamit Era/Expired with the Albanian Revolt of 1910 and Arab Revolt of 1916)

Turkism (Common after the Balkan Wars/Representatives: Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura)

Westernism (Generally had an impact both 1st and 2nd Constitutional Era/Representatives: Celal Nuri, Abdullah Cevdet)

31st March Incident (1909)

This movement occurred against both the constitutional system and the Committee of Union and Progress. It was a counter-coup attempt against the government. To quell the uprising, the Unionists constituted an army called Army of Action (Hareket Ordusu) in Salonika which was commanded by Mahmut Şevket Paşa. Among the officers of the army who entered İstanbul was Mustafa Kemal.

As a result of this uprising, **Abdulhamit was deposed by the Assembly**. It can be said that the 31 March Incident gave a great opportunity to the Committee of Union and Progress for the restoration of constitutional monarchy under the absolute control of the Unionists. In 1909, an extensive restoration of Constitution was put into effect.

Tripolitanian (Trablusgarp) War of 1911 (Turco-Italian War)

Italy X Ottoman Empire

Italy was aspiring to Tripolitania-the last territory of the Ottoman State in North Africa. Tripolitania was important for raw materials and it was a good market place.

The Tripolitanian War began in 1911 when the newly-unified Italian Kingdom attempted to establish its presence in Europe by securing some sort of colonial possession in an area whose more favored provinces had already been claimed by France and Britain. (Egypt was under occupation of Britain, Tunisia and Algeria were of France.) Ottoman ability to resist the Italian invasion was diminished by the need to maintain a strong defence force against the probability of Balkan attacks. Also the Ottomans couldn't send a force to Tripolitania because of Italian control of the seas. Only limited numbers of men and officers were sent to the area as volunteers. These were led by Enver, Mustafa Kemal and Ali Fethi, who helped to raise a native Libyan national guerrilla resistance against the Italian invasion.

The resistance against the Italian invasion was strong. But during the war, Balkan countries constituted a number of alliances against the Ottoman State and the Ottomans was forced to request an armistice to end the Tripolitanian war when a hot conflict broke out in the Balkans. At the end of the war **Oushy Peace Agreement** was signed between Italy and the Ottoman State. **According to this treaty**; Ottoman state lost its last territory in North Africa; Dodecanese (Oniki Ada) and Rhodes (Rodos) were left to Italy temporarily (until 1947).

Balkan Wars (1912-1913)

Reasons: Nationalism, results of Berlin Peace Conference and independency of Bulgaria in 1908.

Russia organised the union between Balkan Countries. (**Montenegro, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia**)

In the First Balkan War; Balkan Countries attacked to Ottoman State, Edirne and Kırklareli were occupied by Bulgaria. At the end, **Albania** got its liberty; Aegean islands, Macedonia, East and West Thrace were lost. This defeat effected the internal affairs of Ottoman State; Committee of Union and Progress blamed the government and in 1913 with a coup called **Bab-ı Ali Baskını**, the Unionists got the exact power.

- *The Albanian revolt began in 1910 led by Muslims for whom national identity was more important than religion. The revolt showed that the ideology of Islamism was not enough to keep the Ottoman subjects (especially the Muslims) together.*

The Second Balkan War started because of the large **Bulgarian expansion** at the end of the first Balkan War so; the **Balkan countries made an alliance against Bulgaria**. Ottoman State wanted to use this opportunity in favour of itself (Particularly to get Edirne and Kırklareli back from Bulgaria).

Bulgaria was defeated by Greece and Serbia, at that time **Romania** entered the war and occupied the North Bulgarian territories (Dobruca) and Ottoman State got back Edirne and Kırklareli.

As a result:

Between Ottoman Emp. and Bulgaria: İstanbul Agreement,

Between Ottoman Emp. and Greece: Athens Agreement were signed.

The Unionists reinforced their power, **Turkism** ideology arose and **Ottomanism** ended up.

- *The Ottoman Empire lost all of its control in the Balkans and in the Aegean Sea.*

WORLD WAR 1st (1914-1918)

Background

French Revolution → Nationalism

Industrial Revolution → Colonialism

Apparent Causes

- Bosnian Crisis of 1908 (Austrian Annexation of Bosnia)
- Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo (1914)

As a result of the assassination of Sarajevo, Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia.

Alliances:

Entente (Allied) Powers: Britain, France, Russia, Serbia, Japan, Italy (in 1915), the USA (in 1917), Greece (in 1917)

Central Powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria (in 1915)

1914

Ottoman State entered war as a supporter of the Central Powers in 1914 referring to the secret Ottoman-German Alliance Convention that signed in August 1914.

- *The German warships of Goeben and Breslau constituted an important link for Ottoman Empire to enter into the war. Goeben and Breslau escaped from British ships in the Mediterranean and passed through the Dardanelles, then they handed over to the Ottoman Empire and renamed as Yavuz and Midilli. Those ships bombarded the Russian harbors in the Black Sea, then Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire.*

In the same year Ottoman State declared (on 14th November) *Cihad-i Ekber* to Muslim communities which were under the control of England. Sultan Mehmet V aimed to take the support of these communities against England. Ottoman's entry into the war, greatly increased the Triple Entente's military burdens. Russia had to fight on the Caucasus Campaign alone and in the Persian Campaign along with the United Kingdom.

Ottoman State primarily started to fight in Caucasian Front with Russia. Enver Pasha set off for the **Battle of Sarıkamış** with the intention of recapturing Batum and Kars, overrunning Georgia and occupying north-western Persia and the oil fields. Fighting with the Russians in the Caucasus, however, the Ottomans lost ground, and over 100,000 soldiers died.

1915

One of the most important event of this war was the Dardanelles Campaign. Çanakkale front was opened by England to help Russia. **Battle of Gallipoli** or the **Battle of Çanakkale**, was a campaign of the World War I, that took place on the Gallipoli peninsula. The campaign was one of the greatest Ottoman victories during the war and a major Allied failure.

- *The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) took part in the Battle of Çanakkale as a part of the British Army.*

England and France planned to control Istanbul and to gain victory against Germany and Austria, also another aim of them was to take control of the Ottoman State. For this reason they attacked with their strong navy to the Dardanelles Strait on 18th March 1915. But they were defeated by the Ottoman forces.

The successes of the Ottoman forces in the Dardanelles encouraged Bulgaria and the Bulgarian forces participated in the war on the side of the Central Powers.

After a while, the Allied Powers tried to get the control of the Dardanelles overland. They arranged a campaign towards Seddülbahir and Arıburnu. After the three months battles, **Mustafa Kemal** gained a great victory in that front. Allies withdrew in 1916 and couldn't get any success.

In the same year, the Ottoman forces organised a new campaign called Canal. They planned to get Egypt under the leadership of Cemal Pasha and struck to Suez Canal but couldn't get any success.

During the war, the Ottoman government also faced difficulties on the homeland, including isolated Armenian rebellions in the eastern Anatolia that led to an order for the **Tehcir Law** (Sevk ve İskan Kanunu) of 1 June **1915** to 8 February 1916 (**relocation**) of Armenians from the region.

Some of the articles of the law:

- The Ottoman Army can move the people in villages or towns in case of spying or treachery ,
- In case of any offensive, disobedience to government, the army commanders can interfere.

- *In the text of the law there was no explicit mention for the Armenians, in other words, it wasn't directed against one particular ethnic group. However, due to the aggressive attitude of the Armenians and their cooperations with the Allies (in eastern Anatolia), referring to the conditions of the law, they were migrated to the Southern regions (Syria, Lebanon) which were the parts of the Ottoman territories at that time.*

Moreover, Allies made some secret agreements to share the Ottoman territories in 1915. According to **Istanbul Agreement**, which was accepted by Britain, France and Russia, the Ottoman capital İstanbul and the Straits were promised to Russia. Even though Britain never wanted Russia to control İstanbul or the Straits, she saw this agreement as a means to keep Russia in the war.

- *The Istanbul Agreement was one of a series of secret agreements regarding the partition of the Ottoman Empire by the Entente Powers (Britain, France, Russia and Italy), including the Treaty of London (1915), the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the Agreement of Saint Jean de Maurienne (1917).*

Italian entry into World War I on the side of the Allies, also effected the Allied Powers' plans. Another secret agreement –the **Treaty of London**- was signed between the Allied Powers and Italy regarding to the partition of the Ottoman Empire in 1915. According to this agreement Antalya was given under the influence of Italy and the Allied Powers committed to accept the Italian rights in the Adriatic Sea.

1916

In the early months of 1916 Russia took action in the Caucasian Front over again. Russian Forces got the control of Mus, Rize, Trabzon, Ispir and Erzurum. But in the Iraq Front the Ottomans gained a significant victory against England.

Another important event of this year was the **Arab revolt**. And another secret agreement about sharing the Ottoman Arabian territories was signed between England and France. The Middle East Connoisseur of England Sir Mark Sykes and ex-Beirut Consul General of France George Picot agreed on sharing the Ottoman Middle East territories. According to the **Sykes-Picot Agreement** in April 1916, France would get Syria, Lebanon, Kilikya (Çukurova) and Mosul; England would get Iraq, Jordan and North Palestine.

- *At the end of the war, England got Mosul from France on condition that France would receive a share from the oil production in Mosul.*

1917

In 1917 the **Bolshevik Revolution** gave the Ottomans a new chance. On 5 December 1917, the **Armistice of Erzincan** (Erzincan Cease-fire Agreement) was signed between the Russians and Ottomans in Erzincan, and that ended the armed conflicts between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. On 3 March, the Grand Vizier Talat Pasha signed the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** with the Bolsheviks. It stipulated that Bolshevik Russia would give Batum, Kars, and Ardahan back to the Ottoman State.

The absence of Russia was filled by the **USA**. The USA was never formally a member of the Allies but became a self-styled associated power. But the withdrawal of Russia changed the secret plans of the Allies, so Italy wanted new regulations about secret agreements. England, France and Italy came together to negotiate new territorial plans. In April 1917 another secret agreement called **St Jean de Maurienne** was signed. According to this agreement; Izmir, Aydin and Konya was going to be given to Italy.

Also in 1917 **Balfour Declaration** (Lord Arthur Balfour- Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UK) for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine gave a chance to the Jewish people all around the world for building a national state. This caused a great support of the Jewish people to the Allied Powers during the war.

In 1917 also **Greece** entered the war on the side of the Allies. This would create a critic point for the Ottoman State later on. (Greece will occupy Izmir according to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.)

1918

In 1918 **Fourteen points of Wilson** (President of the USA-Woodrow Wilson) was declared.

1. **Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.**
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
3. The removal, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance

also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.
8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.
11. Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.
12. **The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.**
13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.
14. **A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.**

These principles exhibited in which conditions the new order after war will be established. (self determination – leaving secret diplomacy)

However Ottoman forces got important successes in Caucasian Front, the defeats in Iraq and Palestine Fronts determined the result of the war.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

- At the end of the war central empires such as Ottoman, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Germany dissolved.
- Monarchies broke down and republics established.
- Instead of Russia, the Soviet Union; instead of the Ottoman State, Turkey, in the territories of Austria-Hungary 4 new country (Austria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia) were established.
- At the end of the war, in the countries that participated in the war (even if defeated or not) some social, economical and political depressions occurred. Afterwards, some kind of totalitarian and authoritarian governments gained power.
- The First World War constituted the main reason of the Second World War.

ARMISTICE PERIOD 1918-1922

(Mudros/Mondros Armistice 1918, 30th October) Between the Ottoman State and the Allied Powers

-Ottoman Delegation under the presidency of Hüseyin Rauf Bey (the Navy Minister).

-Allied Powers were represented by England under the presidency of Admiral Calthorpe.

The armistice was signed on 30th October on the British battleship *Agamemnon*.

Articles:

- I. Opening of Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and secure access to the Black Sea. Allied occupation of Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts.
- VII. The Allies to have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.
- XXIV. In case of disorder in the six Armenian provinces, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

After The Armistice:

- England occupied: Mosul, Iskenderun, Antakya, Batum, Kilis, Antep, Haydarpaşa Station, Maras, Birecik Samsun, Urfa, Merzifon, Kars.
- France occupied: Mersin, East Trace Railways, Adana, Pozanti, East Railways, Taurus Tunnel System, Afyon...
- England and France (Together occupied): Dardanelles, Turgutlu, Aydın Railways...
- Italy occupied: Konya Station, Antalya, Kusadası, Marmaris, Bodrum, Fethiye, Afyon, Burdur.

Governments of this Era (Until the Occupation of İzmir in May 1919)

- Talat Pasha (Until the end of the World War)
- Ahmet İzzet Pasha (This Government signed Mondros Armistice)
- Tevfik Pasha (without Unionists)
- Damat Ferit -1919 (Anglofilo)

Paris Peace Conference-1919 January

England, France, the USA, Italy and Japan organized this conference. Their Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs joined the conference.

The Big Four were the President of the United States Woodrow Wilson; the Prime Minister of Great Britain David Lloyd George; the Prime Minister of France Georges Clemenceau; and the Prime Minister of Italy Vittorio Emanuele Orlando. They met together informally 145 times and made all the major decisions, which were ratified by the other participants. In this conference the peace agreements which were going to be signed with defeated countries except Ottoman State were decided:

- The Treaty of Versailles, 28 June 1919, (with Germany)
- The Treaty of Saint Germain, 10 September 1919, (with Austria)
- The Treaty of Neuilly, 27 November 1919, (with Bulgaria)
- The Treaty of Trianon, 4 June 1920, (with Hungary)

* *In this conference İzmir was decided to be occupied by Greek forces.*

Mustafa Kemal in Samsun:

During the Armistice period Mustafa Kemal was in Syria he was commander of Lightning Group of Armies (Yıldırım Orduları Komutanlığı). After dissolving of this army he came back to Istanbul. During his days in Istanbul he published a newspaper called **Minber** with his friend Fethi Bey.

After the Armistice, Greek movements spreaded in the Black Sea region. According to the 7th article of the armistice, the Allies threatened the Ottoman Government about occupying this region. And the government decided to charge a commander to control the conflicts in this area.

Mustafa Kemal was the commander that the government had chosen to calm the conflicts. He went to Samsun as the Inspector of the Units of the 9th Army. His authority was large enough, included, Samsun Van, Trabzon, Erzurum and also the civil administrator of these cities and military forces. All these provinces were at his service. At the same time on 15th May 1919, İzmir was occupied by the Greek forces with the support of the Allied powers.

Mustafa Kemal arrived to Samsun on 19th May. After a while on 28th May he announced **Havza Circular**. Main idea of the circular was **to create awareness against occupations**. He wanted public to protest the Mudros Armistice.

On 22nd June 1919 **Amasya Circular** was announced:

- **The integrity of the country and the independence of the nation are in danger.**
- The central government is unable to carry out the responsibilities which it has undertaken. As a result our existence as a nation remains unrecognised.
- **The independence of the nation will be saved by the determination shown by the nation itself.**

It has been decided to convene a national congress at the earliest opportunity in Sivas.

* *The method, reason and the ambition of national war of independence were pointed out in this circular.*

Erzurum Congress on 23rd July 1919:

- Mustafa Kemal quitted his military duty before the congress, was elected as the president of the congress.

The decisions of the congress:

- **The fatherland is an indivisible whole within its national frontiers.**
- If the central government is unable to defend the country the temporary government will be formed. Its members will be elected by the National Congress. If the congress is not in session, the appointments will be made by its Standing Committee.
- The Christian population is not to be allowed to have political domination or privileges upsetting the balance of society.
- **No foreign mandate or protection will be accepted.**

Sivas Congress on 2nd September 1919:

- Mustafa Kemal was elected as the **president**.

Decisions:

- This congress debated the decisions taken by Erzurum Congress and also a memorandum drawn up by some of its members.
- **The Society for the Defence of Rights in Anatolia and Roumelia (Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti)** was established.
- This congress gave Mustafa Kemal the opportunity to take charge of the forces of the nation and to direct them.
- **Standing Committee (Heyet-i Temsiliye)** became general, representing the whole country. And worked as executive function **until the inauguration of the National Assembly**.

Mustafa Kemal and Standing Committee arrived to Ankara on 27th December 1919. In Ankara Mustafa Kemal prepared **National Pact (Misak-i Milli)** as the president of Standing Committee. For him the recognition of National Pact, in Ottoman Assembly of Deputies was so important.

In January 1920 the last Assembly of Deputies was inaugurated. And the National Pact was accepted. In February the final text of National Pact was announced and sent to the parliaments of Europe and the World press.

As a reaction to the National Pact in March 1920 İstanbul was occupied by England. The Assembly of Deputies was closed and quite a few deputies were arrested. A few of them escaped to Ankara.

This occupation resulted with the inauguration of National Assembly in Ankara. (April 23rd 1920)

The structure of Grand National Assembly

Most of the researchers think that the first Grand National Assembly was the most democratic assembly in Turkey. There were soldiers, merchants, lawyers, farmers, journalists and religious men... Also many people had chances to express their opinions and point of views. There were different ideas and world views. Also there were groups in assembly such as İstiklal (Liberty), Halk Zümresi, Tesanüt (Solidarity) and Islahat. These groups worked as political parties. In addition, the deputies closer to Mustafa Kemal constituted "**The First Group**" and the opposite people to Mustafa Kemal constituted "**The Second Group**".

Sevres Antlaşması

In August 1920 **Sevres Peace Treaty** was signed by Istanbul Government. The treaty was planned in **San Remo Conference** by Allied Powers. But because of there was no assembly in Istanbul, the treaty was accepted in Sultanate Council. The Grand National Assembly did not accept this treaty and announced the one who signed this treaty as a traitor.

In 1921 National Assembly accepted the new constitution of Ankara Government called **Teşkilat-ı Esasiye**. This constitution was very short and created in a short time. The absent part of this constitution was filled with **Kanun-i Esasi**. So we called this period as a **dual constitutional period**.

1st Article of Teşkilat-ı Esasiye: *Sovereignty is vested in the nation without condition. The governmental system is based on the principle of self-determination and government by the people.*

NATIONAL WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (FRONTS)

Eastern Front : There had been several conflicts and fights between Turkish forces and Armenians. Kazım Karabekir protected this front. At the end, **Gümrük Peace Treaty** was signed between Ankara Government and Armenian Government. *This treaty was the first international Treaty of Grand National Assembly.*

Southern Front: This front was divided into four sections: Adana, Urfa , Antep and Maraş Fronts. There had been several fightings between Turkish forces and French forces. The French Forces withdrew from the Southern Anatolia (and the front was closed down) by signing the **Ankara Treaty** with Ankara Government in 1921.

Western Front

1st Inonu Battle / January 1921, began with the offensive of Greek troops. The forces of Ankara Government stopped the Greek forces in front of İnönü village. As a result of this war, Allied powers recognized Ankara Government.

1921 London Peace Conference

- The Allies hoped to impose modified Sevres as a peace settlement on Ankara.
- The Entente foreign ministers proposed Ankara to establish an Armenian state in eastern part of Anatolia, removing Turkish troops from the Straits area, and also wanted Turkish abandonment to the Greeks of Smyrna and Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople.
- These proposals were so incompatible with the National Pact (Misak-ı Milli) that it was easy for the Ankara Assembly to reject them.

Ankara Government was represented by Bekir Sami Bey and Istanbul Government was represented by Tevfik Paşa. Allied powers invited two governments to benefit from the conflict between them. Main idea of Allied powers was, to provide Sevres Treaty to be accepted by Ankara Government.

- Bekir Sami Bey signed dual agreements with England, France and Italy without the permission of Assembly.
- So Grand National Assembly rejected these agreements.
- The invitation of Ankara Government to this Conference exhibits the recognition of Ankara Government. This conference is the result of Inonu victory.

Treaty of Moscow / (March 16, 1921), pact concluded at Moscow between the nationalist government (Ankara Government) of Turkey and the Soviet Union that fixed Turkey's northeastern frontier and established friendly relations between the two nations.

With the advent of the Russian Revolution (October 1917), Russia withdrew from World War I and ceased hostilities against the Ottoman Empire. The new Soviet regime found itself allied with the Turkish nationalists who were fighting against both Western domination and the Ottoman government that had capitulated to the Western Allies. According to Moscow Treaty signed between Ankara Government and Soviet Russia;

- The Soviets accepted National Pact,
- The Soviets accepted the treaties between Georgia and Armenia,
- The agreements between Tsarist Russia and Ottoman State will be cancelled,
- The agreement which one of them do not accept, won't be accepted by another one.

2nd İnönü Battle / March 1921: Greek Forces was defeated by Turkish forces.

Kütahya Eskişehir Battles: Turkish forces was defeated by Greek forces. With this defeat opposing group in National Assembly began to criticized Mustafa Kemal.

On 5 August 1921 in the Assembly, **the Law of Commander in chief (Başkomutanlık Yasası)** was accepted so Assembly transferred all its power to Mustafa Kemal for **3 months**. After 3 days Mustafa Kemal declared **National Obligations** (Tekalif-i Milliye Emirleri).

Sakarya Battle / September 1921:

With this war Ankara Government confirmed its existence and victory. After this victory **Ankara Treaty** with France was signed. (The southern front was closed with this agreement), France changed her approach towards England and quited her cooperation. So this victory created division between Allied Powers. One year after this victory, the Great Offensive of Turkish Forces began.

Great Offensive / August 1922:

In 1922 the last offensive was actualized by Turkish Forces. All Greek Powers were defeated. Mustafa Kemal declared to Armies "Armies your first target is Mediterranean" and he pointed the Aegean Sea. And Greek Armies were forced to withdraw. At the end of this victory **Mudanya Armistice** was signed.