

TURKISH HISTORY

BASIC HISTORY OF OTTOMAN MODERNIZATION AND TURKISH TRANSFORMATION (1789-1938)

Course description:

The aim of this course is to provide the students basic knowledge about the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire from mid-18th century to its collapse at the end of the First World War and the reforms performed after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic to enable the transformation of the Turkish state and society to the level of advanced states of the time. As a prelude to Ottoman modernization the course includes a brief survey of Ottoman decline, the socio-political interactions with the West and nature of changes starting from the Tulip Era. Analytical survey covers Ottoman reforms with references to reformists and ideological changes, the rise of Turkish nationalism, rejection of the nationalists to occupations following Ottomans' world war defeat, the Turkish Independence War organized, commanded and won by the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to establish Turkish sovereignty over the remaining Ottoman territories resided by Turkish majority. Among the many subjects examined are the international acceptance of Turkey's independence with the Lausanne Treaty, the nature and details of the six ideological principles of the Republic and of the Turkish Revolution encompassing the fundamental innovations to provide the overall transformation of the Turkish state and society to modernity.

General Instructions:

The course consists of 5 units taken up in 14 weeks each of which in chronological sequence provides a different phase of the topic. Suggested readings from major works are given at the end of each unit to equip the students with ample knowledge to analyze the covered points from different critical stances. The students are expected to answer the two essay questions at the end of each unit and submit a paper on a topic of their choice pertaining to topics covered in the unit, each comprised of approximately 1000 words. In order to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of the course, a final essay comprised of approximately 5000 words on one of the three suggested topics is expected from the students at the end of the course. In writing the papers and the final essay the students, assumed to be familiar with observing written and literary composition rules, are expected to explain the historical, social and cultural contexts, compare and contrast themes where possible.

About the Professor

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General Overview

The Ottoman Empire, recognized as one of the most powerful empires in history was founded at the end of the 13th century as a small northwestern Anatolian Muslim Turkic state which rapidly spread through wars and conquests to include vast resourceful territories in Asia, Africa and Europe. Religious toleration state displayed to its heterogeneous population added to its military strength and made the Empire the most influential power in world politics for almost four centuries. Non-Muslim groups recognized as millets were headed by officially confirmed religious leaders whose power was not in spiritual sense alone. Similar to the Ulema, experts of Islam composing the Ottoman learned class, they controlled entire community affairs. However, as overexpansion started to challenge Ottoman administration, the Empire slumbering in comforting illusion of self superiority missed the illuminating stages that transferred Europe from the dark ages to modernity and the state fell behind western powers in all aspects. The Ottoman territorial losses starting with the Karlowitz Treaty of 1699 became the recognized cause of the Ottoman decline whereas the isolationist policy of the state, entailing an oblivious attitude to novelties the west gained appeared to be its major cause.

Ottoman isolation from the developing west was stimulated by the ulema with the fear that enlightenment would deprive them of the privileges obtained by using religion. Members of this class issued religious sanctions (fetva) to prevent all western developments they classified as infidels' from entering the Empire and carrying western antagonism further, they collaborated with the military (janissaries) to reject renovations. There was no opposition to this strong coalition of divine and temporal weapons from the obliging Muslims so blocking of reforms accelerated Ottoman decline. In the meanwhile, increasing military failures entailing fiscal crisis and political unrest resulted in general discontent and invited the local notables (ayans) to assume authority in the provinces and made the complying Ottoman administration vulnerable to European interventions. As the decline became more noticeable, economic and strategic interests of the western powers in the Empire grew to the point of originating an internationally accepted political term "Eastern Question", defining ambitions of the big powers and their struggles to obtain desired areas of influence within the gradually dissolving Ottoman Empire. The root of the matter for European powers was profiting from Ottoman dissolution while for the Ottoman Sultans it was maintaining territorial integrity by a serious westernization process. Accordingly, Eastern Question played a significant role in the shaping of European relations with the Empire as well as compelling the Ottoman rulers to turn to the west in order to put up against it. In fact, the gradually developing technologic gap with the west was already noticed in the beginning of the 17th century as was the weakening of the central administration. Osman II who took the lead in attempting to refortify the state by reforming the janissaries was strangled for his intention. Nevertheless, as weakening of the state became more obvious in the advancing years of the 17th century; more attempts were made to stop land loss, restore order and centralize the state but their limited nature and scope brought their futility.

18th century reformists attributed the multiplying military defeats to technical superiority of the western armies and focused on renovating the military. However, the social impact of the refugees coming to the empire after the Karlowitz Treaty and rising curiosity about their diverse culture and lifestyles diverted Ottomans' attention to the west and opened the new age that came to be known as the Tulip Era (1718-1730). The new era promoting art, literature, architecture as well as technology was rightfully defined as the beginning of Ottoman intellectual awakening by many historians. The most significant innovation of the Tulip Era was the introduction of the printing press which was denied to Muslims for almost 250 by the ulema fearing that it would deprive a lucrative source of income. The social scope of the renovations of the Tulip Era remained limited and general reluctance to embrace the west was displayed in 1730 by the janissary uprising that turned into a violent revolt. Although the insurgents targeting abdication of Ahmet III and the head

of his enlightened Sadrazam (Grand Vezir) İbrahim Paşa got what they wanted, they still destroyed most of the accomplishments of the era, including the printing press.

Nevertheless, this first conscious step towards modernization was not all in vain. It paved the way to more concrete renovations of the following decades which included inviting foreign consultants and even employing some in state service to make them more instrumental. In time, foreign consultants were even permitted to preserve their religion whereas conversion to Islam was sought from the firsts. This toleration was silent admittance of western superiority; it also displaced the inclination of the rulers to delimit the effect of Sheria in state administration.

Foreign consultants were influential in making the Ottoman rulers realize that the root of the Ottoman backwardness lied in attachment to medieval military and educational systems. It was with their advice that military divisions were renewed and a military engineering school giving modernized education was opened in İstanbul. However, Selim III succeeding to throne in 1789 was able to realize that reforms including fundamental renovations was the only means for the Ottoman Empire to escape dissolution the decline would inevitably entail so his era introducing this new understanding became the turning point in Ottoman reforms

Selim III, succeeding to throne while the state was involved in disastrous wars, was quite aware of the inefficiency of the existing institutions, the administrative, social and economic setbacks. His determination to end this chaos guided him to systemize the military and broaden the scope of reforms to include adjustments in land tenure, provincial governments, revenue system, social welfare and diplomacy. Anticipating to reach his goal through salutary reforms, he first set up a committee of reformers composed of prominent bureaucrats and sought their views for the path to follow. The formation of this consultation body was a reform all by itself and it was with their feedback that Selim gave great emphasis to improving the military first. Noting the difficulty of drilling the nonconformist janissaries, he founded new infantry corps he named as Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order), trained, clothed and equipped in western model. After erecting the required installations, he constructed a new navy, modernized the existing according to latest improvements. Selim well understood the importance of education so in addition to starting technical schools to train youngsters with western techniques and sciences, he opened the land engineering school (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Humayun) and modernized the existing naval engineering school. In the meanwhile he revived the destroyed printing press to produce books including many translated sources to be used in the new schools. Selim's reforms also encompassed governmental measures. For example, to improve the corrupted administration he fought against bribery, ending nepotism, promoted ability in official appointments and promotions; struggled hard to wipe off banditry to store public order.

The series of new regulations Selim promulgated in order to provide and secure the application of the renovations he introduced were also named as the Nizam-ı Cedid collectively. Infact, the same term New Order represented the whole of Selim's modernization movement. But the application of the reforms required further steps and ranking first amongst them were the fiscal measures to finance the innovations. To meet the expenses of the renovations Selim, besides the accustomed applications of debasing coins and confiscating properties, resorted to creating independent treasuries funded by sources previously untaxed such as salted fish, fine leather, liquor, tobacco, and coffee.

Next Selim took up reforming foreign relations. Basing his reforms on westernization, he was the first Ottoman ruler to openly admit western superiority. Therefore he gave great impetus to foreign relations, opening permanent embassies in major European capitals to maintain regular and stable contacts. He established relations with European countries other than France and established a balanced policy of alliances. However, the intensified relations increased western influences as well as resistance to westernization. Equality, liberty, fraternity, nationalism principles of the French Revolution which gradually effected the subjects in European provinces inspired new reforms to the enlightened

while they started to breed contempt among the conservatives and nationalist ideas among the non-Muslims .

Consequently, intensified relations with the western states as well as Selim's extensive reforms became instrumental in stirring up the ulema and the janissaries who were in passive resistance while holding on to their coalition which soon proved to be strong and influential enough to prevent wide range application of reforms. Encouraging them were two political developments at the turn of the century which displayed the failure of the New Order and demonstrated the drastic erosion of Selim's authority. One was the inefficiency of the Nizamı Cedid army in confronting French forces during Napoleon Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, and the other was the rapidly expanding Serbian uprising which started as a local protests to arbitrary applications of local authorities who disregarded Porte orders for adherence to regulations and justice. The coalition lost no time in using both to start demonstrations which, with the inclusion of Selim's opponents, turned into a massive counter revolution. More than a fortnight of street fights and bloodshed ending with the reactionaries' victory brought the end of the Nizamı Cedid movement as well as of Selim, although he complied with the wishes of the rebels ready to dismantle the reforms by denouncing Nizam-ı Cedid first and then, abdicating. The triumph of the reactionaries ended when Bayraktar Mustafa Paşa, the Ayan of Rustchuk who was aware that authority of the Ayans would also be jeopardized once the state yielded to reactionaries, marched to İstanbul with his 30 000 men. Bayraktar fought and defeated the rebels in Istanbul, deposed Mustafa IV and put to throne Mahmut II (1809-1839) whose reign as the constituent of all of the following reforms deserves special attention.

Bayraktar's victory against the anti-reformist reactionaries demonstrated that Selim's reforms were instrumental in lifting the iron curtain between the Empire and the west and that they did not serve only to open the way for western technology to enter the Empire but provided the emergence of a new outlook on life among the people who were open to reason and progress. Gifted with the Sadrazam seal by Mahmut, Bayraktar convinced the young Sultan to restoring reform policies Selim had initiated. He also secured the recognition of Ayans' rights by the Porte in return for their obedience to the Sultan and support for reforms with the mutually signed Document of Agreement. The Agreement delimiting autocratic rights was resembled to Magna Carta, even evaluated as the first step towards constitutionalism by some historians. However, the Sultan's reluctance to signing it with the concern that it would jeopardize his sovereign power encouraged the infuriated janissaries rejecting the rebirth of the Nizam-ı Cedid army under the name Sekban-ı Cedid to disable the planned reform by killing Bayraktar Mustafa Paşa.

Although Mahmut II thus lost his mentor, he had already planned his own moves which were to discontinue the existing chaos by establishing state authority and stop the decline through wide ranging, radical reforms. Among the motives compelling the Sultan to radical reforms was the realization of the deploring degree of ignorance that captivated most of the Ottoman subjects. Equally compelling was the agitation separate state applications stirred among the non-Muslims. Considering the importance of both, Mahmut II culminated his reforms to centralizing the state, improving the military, eliminating inequality among the subject and promoting education. But standing on his way was the interior uprisings, particularly of the Greeks which, with the support of the European powers, developed into a nationalist and religious revolution. However, neither Ottoman military inefficiency in the uprisings or having to face disintegration and accept the independent state established at the end of the Greek Revolution discouraged the Sultan. In fact, he spent the first decades of his sultanate to establish his authority and centralize the state by suppressing the Ayans and Arab notables corrupting the state and dissolving the janissary corps constantly blocking renovations. Janissaries' abrogation in 1826, depriving the ulema from armed support was instrumental in curtailing its ultimate public influence. Killing two birds with one stone, the Sultan firstly replaced the janissaries with the new land army organized

in western model, then, confidently launched his reforms which surpassed institutional changes.

Mahmut's reforms, with the influence of Serbian and Greek revolts, were designed to minimize religious separations and install judicial equality among all subjects. However, concerned that both examples might be catching, he focused his reforms on fortifying the state and preserving the integrity of the Empire rather than basing them on human rights. This principle which was observed as the main objective of the previous reforms as well, became a characteristic feature of the reforms following those of Mahmut II, making it possible to assert that this was the main cause preventing their massive acceptance. Likewise, his failure to eliminate the old institutions while installing the renewed as he did with the janissaries also reflected upon the future reforms and brought invincible social bifurcations which disallowed their wholesome adoption by the entire Ottoman society. The reforms carried out by the authoritative Sultan who had developed ample confidence by beating the reactionaries into submission encompassed fundamental changes in administrative, bureaucratic, judicial, and educational fields, all requiring experts for application. To meet this requirement, besides consulting foreign experts, students were sent abroad to learn about western methods. Mahmut also gave great impetus to education, a serious defect of the previous reforms, particularly to fill the ruling institutions with adequately trained, competent bureaucrats. As a matter of fact, the necessity for enlightened, acknowledged statesmen was displayed in Mustafa Reşit Paşa, who by his bureaucratic contributions and diplomatic efforts became the confident of Mahmut, the first hand aid of his successor Abdülmecit and the author of the Gülhane Hatt, the Imperial order initiating the Tanzimat Era.

Mahmut's considerations for educational renovations inspired and enabled the opening of different types and levels of schools, ranging from primary (Rustiye) to vocational, all offering education in western model. The schools of Military Sciences (Mekteb-i Fünun-u Ulum-ı Harbiyye) and Medicine and Surgery (Mekteb-i Tibhane-i Amire ve Cerrahhane-i Mamure) especially contributed to the infrastructure of the new army and society. Significant changes which could be regarded a prelude to division of powers were made in the governmental apparatus, changing Sadrazam to Prime Minister and installing the cabinet system with ministries, each to supervise the related state affairs. Advisory councils were established to review legislative proposals before the Council of Ministers submitted them to the Sultan who topped the legislation and directed the applications with an imperial decree (Hatt-iHumayun) bearing his seal. Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye) and Deliberative Council of the Porte (Dar-ı Şurayı Bab-ı Ali) were established to discuss legislation of civilian matters and Deliberative Council of the Military (Dar-ı Şurayı Askeriye) handled military matters. Ability was sought in the appointment of civil servants, who were paid monthly salaries according to their rank. Reorganizations in the provincials governments and revocation of the timar system in order to escape the intermediaries before revenues reached the state treasury were added to the adjustments in the governmental apparatus.

In the judicial wing, although Sheria and fetva remained, the impetus was on equality of all subjects in courts. The Sultan believed that equality of all subjects would aid preserving the integrity of the state and reflected his understanding even to attires, replacing religious headgeras with fez, the traditional İslamic baggy pants and robes with trousers and shoes westerners wore. Especially the fez introduced as a common headgear to eliminate religious or social distinctions was not welcomed by the community leaders who were accustomed to being distinguished by their headgears to enjoy privileges thus acquired. Some other west-inspired social reforms included the publication of first Ottoman newspaper Calendar of Events (Takvim-i Vekayi) in 1831, inauguration of the postal system following cadastral surveys and construction of roads helping to enable this service; the lifting of domestic travel restrictions and assigning the Interior Ministry to issue passports for travels abroad, a service previously fulfilled by foreign embassies.

All of these innovations inspiring more advanced lifestyle were introduced primarily to elevate the respectability of the state among the western powers rather than contribute to the welfare of the society. Yet they were looked upon as inevitable when the state, unable to cope with the uprising of Mehmet Ali, the Egyptian Governor who by reforming and industrializing Egypt became powerful enough to threaten Mahmut II, was obliged to confide in England to secure Ottoman rule against a Muslim vassal.

It must be reminded at this point that this alliance entailed the Balta Limani Convention and the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty opening Ottoman lands and market to British trade and within a few years. The political consequence of this treaty which inspired other European states to conclude similar agreements was the foreign interventions further compelling the Porte to adopt liberal economy without providing its infrastructure. Its wider result was the introduction of the Tanzimat Era for the sake of equal coexistence with industrialized western countries with its premature adjustments before the Ottomans reached the ample socio-economic conditions they necessitated.

On the other hand, political and economic success Mehmet Ali acquired in Egypt by resorting to westernization had from the beginning inspired Mahmut to adopt many of his reforms. However his eagerness to adopt Mehmet Ali's social, educational, cultural renovations overshadowed his economic investments and fiscal measures. Although financing the costly reforms called for monetary support no radical steps were taken towards industrialization. There were more economic handicaps however, originating from factors such as yielding domestic markets to imports or mishandling inefficient financial resources; but most important was the general reluctance to learn about world economy. Apart from the summarized economic aspects, lack of experience, experts and most of all continuing contempt of the traditional society to the west confined most of the reforms to remain limited in effectiveness. Moreover, westernization measures did not eliminate different treatments of Muslim and non-Muslims, but developed the existing gap between those in power and the commoners, the wealthy and the poor, the educated and ignorant, and this prevented immediate absorption of reforms. For example, educational development was a slow process which gave way to bifurcation: modernized schools remained not more than few; Islamic courses were preserved in their curriculums while traditional schools based on spiritual education were continued. Contributing to this bifurcation which inevitably hindered the full application of the educational reform was the creation of new institutions or enactment of new laws and regulations without abolishing the old ones. Thereby, the outcome of the new system was the sharp duality within the Ottoman Empire which, joining the other handicaps of a split society namely as Muslim and non-Muslim, gave way to a set of more fundamental reforms introduced throughout the Tanzimat, meaning reorganization.

The Tanzimat Era (1839-1876) started shortly after Abdülmecit succeeded to throne with Mustafa Reşit Paşa's recitation of the Imperial Rescript (Gülhane Hatt-ı Humayunu), was the peak of the continuing reforms for including conceptual changes. Equipping Ottoman subjects with identity by making flock citizens was one of the major bringings of Tanzimat, an era which influenced the mentality of the future generations. Articles of the Imperial Rescript clearly reflected the continuation of Mahmut's policy of stemming the tide of nationalist movements within the Ottoman Empire and curtailing foreign pressures on behalf of non-Muslims by providing equality of all subjects. This was illustrated in the Gülhane Hatt as imperial warranty of life, honor and property to all subjects; justified taxation in an orderly system and equality before the laws. Accordingly, reforms of the following decades were designed to integrate all subjects regardless of their origin more thoroughly into Ottoman society by enhancing their civil liberties and professional and educational opportunities. In this respect, administrative, judicial, educational reforms installing secular measures into related institutions followed as the scope of state administration was widened by opening the way to active participation of non Muslims as well. In fact, full equality of non-Muslims in rights and obligations was reaffirmed by

Abdülmeccit in 1856 by the Reform Decree (Islahat Fermanı) proclaimed in order to assure the Ottoman Empire participation in the Concert of Europe. Until the conditions necessitated the confirmation, however, as well as afterwards, adjustments were made in the state apparatus enlarging legislative and judicial roles of the consultive assemblies established during Mahmut's reign so that what became Meclis-i Vala assembly with subdivisions for legislation, administrative investigation and judicial appeals took the shape of Council of State (Şuray-ı Devlet) in 1867 with legislative functions and a separate court of appeals (Makeme-i Temyiz) composed of Muslim and non-Muslim members. Actually, Tanzimat reforms targeting equality were intensified and often were fortified with enactments after the Empire was labeled "the sick man of Europe" in 1844. This encouraged secular judicial reforms based on equality with mixed tribunals and many enactments pertaining to civil, commercial, penal or inheritance matters of all communities. Moreso, Nizamiye courts were created in 1869 to deal with issues concerning both Muslims and non-Muslims and consequently, Mecelle, Ottoman code of civil laws which with modifications served until 1926 was prepared under the supervision of Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. In the process of this change the effect of Sheriat as well as religious reinforcements within non-Muslim communities were decreased in favor of secular laws.

Secularization was the basics of educational reforms of Tanzimat years also. The most striking educational reform of this era was opening school doors to girls which also meant the opening of masculine Ottoman community to equality and participation of women in working life. However, albeit the multiplicity of schools, mandatory religious courses in their curriculums continued the bifurcation started with Mahmut's educational reforms. In addition to co-existing medreses, secular schools, and foreign schools permitted to operate through capitulations, Missionary schools multiplying in number and level in the liberal atmosphere of Tanzimat contributed to this bifurcation so that the quadruple education system served to breed generations with different outlooks on life and curtailed the enlightenment of secular education.

In the meanwhile students sent abroad to learn about western advancements started to return as enlightened men well informed about different currents and ideologies developing in the west and eager to reflect what they learned to the society as well as to the administrators. Through them, Tanzimat era witnessed the emergence of the first Ottoman intelligentsia known as the Young Ottomans. Pinpointing territorial integrity and fortification of the state, this group introduced an ideological current known as Ottomanism, inviting all diverse groups in the Empire to assemble against aggressive powers under a representative government without abandoning traditional and Islamic views. Young Ottomans by supporting European reforms while in conformity with Ottomanism and Islam contributed to the exclusiveness of Tanzimat by constituting a cadre supporting westernization which was previously looked upon as the political choice of the sultans and a few obliging servants. Well informed about western values, capable of questioning Ottoman backwardness and full of expectations from westernization to end it, Young Ottomans stood up against absolutism and initiated the understanding that the intellectuals could and should have a word to say about innovations and state administration. Many of them were given bureaucratic duties in the Capital and in the provinces; became influential in bringing forth the importance of statesmen, contributed to promoting reforms, however their differences of opinions were often reflected upon their applications. For example, Namık Kemal was a strong believer in preserving some Islamic traditions whereas Ali Suavi supported secularism and Sinasi and Ahmet Rıza advocated a more positivist perspective. But they were all against absolutism and sought the welfare of the country in modernization of state and society. In spite of their constitutional and liberal ideas, they fell into conflicts first among themselves, particularly over their diverse ideas on secularism and peoples' sovereignty, then they conflicted with some of the Tanzimat men. Therefore they were unable to form a political front and had to suffice with establishing the society bearing their name. Nevertheless, Young Ottomans did not refrain from reflecting their ideas and

criticized reforms which they believed illustrated pressures of the western powers in journals and became the opposition as Abdülaziz intensified his absolutism. It was a fact that Tanzimat with the establishment of advanced institutions, legal adjustments and the subsequent social developments had achieved enormous progress in the general conditions of the Ottoman society, but failed to organize its offerings into a natural development process. Moreover, having to confront the burdens of numbers of wars while having to finance reforms soon robbed the treasury and thrust the Porte into financial crisis. The lack of industrialization and inefficiency in administering the newly adopted banking system enforced the government to resort to foreign loans. Furthermore, in spite of all measures towards modernity, the existing political system still lacked freedom; but the new understanding of nation, citizens' legal and expression rights, public opinion could be meaningful only with state support. Awareness of these realities once again ascertained the Young Ottomans who were moved with the Porte recognition of the Armenian Constitution in 1865 and the Jewish in 1869 that a liberal regime with a Constitution was the only solution to domestic and foreign problems of the Empire. Accordingly, they become the heart and soul of the Ottoman constitutional monarchy by pressing for the preparation and declaration of the first Ottoman constitution.

Constitutional era started in 1876 with the announcement of the *Kanûn-ı Esâsî*, meaning

"Basic Law", prepared by the Young Ottomans under Midhat Paşa's supervision. Except for a 30 year interval between 1878-1908, the era continued in two stages, the first surviving only two years and the 2nd, ending with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The *Kanûn-ı Esâsî* preserved its validity until the proclamation of the the new Turkish constitution by the nationalists in 1921. Actually, Constitutionalism emerged as the continuation of and reaction to the Tanzimat reforms, equipping subjects with citizenship and liberal rights but preventing their full exercise with the continuing autocracy and bureaucratic and military adherence to old applications. Abdülhamit II the Young Ottomans put to throne with the commitment to initiate constitutionalism, ironically was not a believer in any of its values and the interruption due to the defeat in Ottoman-Russian War of 1877 was merely the excuse he used for a quick return to absolutism. The aim of the constitutionalists was to prevent foreign interventions and preserve the integrity of the state by enabling all elements to voice themselves liberally in the General Assembly (Meclis-i Umumi) as legislature, composed of selected Chamber of Deputies (Meclis-i Mebusan) and the appointed Senate (Meclis-i Ayan).

Constitutional era introduced political parties in the Ottoman Empire, the first being the Union and Progress Party (İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası), which was the continuation of the secret society established under the same name (CUP) during the interruption years. The society and the party were both founded by the same: idealist military and civilian intellectuals referred to as the Young Turks. The CUP during despotic years when the Sultan by enforcing or purchasing staunchly tried to secure personal loyalty, worked as a secret society targeting to reactivate the constitution Abdülhamit nullified; heralded its name and ideas of liberty justice equality in secretly published journals and achieved the return to constitutionalism in 1908 with the Young Turk Revolution. The CUP became a political party after overcoming the reactionary 1909 counterrevolution and deposing Abdülhamit. It was rivaled by political parties composed of conservative and liberal Young Turks, but mainly by the Liberty and Accord Party (Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası). When CUP came to power with a coup in 1913 its main figures Enver, Talat and Cemal, recognized as triumvira shifted political power from the palace to the Porte. Many prominent members of the party served in high bureaucratic positions (Enver in fact was the Chief of General Staff and War Minister and Talat, the Interior Minister) or as deputies in the parliament. The party used the monopoly of power until the Ottoman defeat at the end of World War I, and in the meanwhile pushed through reforms starting with liberating economy from foreign entanglements by abolishing the capitulations, .

The modernization process of the Constitutional Era included expansion of Tanzimat reforms; technical innovations new to the world as well in addition to renovations constitutionalism necessitated, such as the voicing of different opinions through societies, organizations and political parties. In the first category, administrative reforms changing the nature of military, central and provincial administrations trophied all others. New vocational schools for girls and the establishment of Darülfunun, corresponding to university were the main renovations in education. Adding to them was the further secularization of the educational and judicial systems during the Second Constitutional Era. Adjustments in these areas provided the means and encouragement to women's participation in social and working life while the new court procedures and family law of 1917 which overshadowed the role and power of the ulema contributed to innovations changing peoples' understanding .

European technical advancements were closely observed by the new parliament which sought to modernize particularly communications and transportation networks in the Empire which had lost Cyprus Crete and the Balkans during Abdülhamit's reign. Innovations such as in telegraphic lines, railways and aviation opportunities were almost immediately adopted, expanded and socially accepted. However, industrialization remained feeble and the innovations gave way to multiplying imports; adding to the expenses of other reforms, this expanded foreign loans to the point of bankruptcy. Unable to repay debts the Sultan had to consent to a foreign control over finances so that in 1881, a large portion of the state revenues were handed over to the Public Debt Commission administered mostly by foreigners.

The widest range of reforms encompassed political changes, inviting ideological currents which also gave way to the emergence of Turkish nationalism. Interestingly, although minority issues, particularly of he Armenians dominated mainstream foreign policies in the new state structure, nationalism was able to trophy over the other currents: Ineffectiveness of Ottomanism in creating a common bond among the Ottoman citizens inspired Abdülhamit II to formulate a new and more relevant ideological principle around İslamism as religious unity while the Young Turks promoted ethnical unity of the Turkic elements (Türkçülük). These three currents formed the ideological basis of political and social debates over maintaining the integrity of the state. But all of these attempts proved fruitless and neither different ideologies or the reforms sufficed to save the Empire from dissolution at the end of the First World War.

The defeated Ottoman Empire was enforced to mark its dissolution by signing the Mudros Armistice on October 30, 1918. Following was the Treaty of Sevres in August 1920, legitimizing foreign occupations entirely contrary to the policy of the integrity and independence of Turkey accepted with Mudros. The Ottoman government signed both agreements which were sentences of death upon the Empire, feeling it had no other options. However, occupations of various parts of what was left of the Ottoman Empire was met with Turkish resistance which grew immensely after the British supported Greek landing in İzmir on May 14, 1919. Determination of the resisting forces was expressed as an organized military action for national independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, who was actually appointed by the Sultan to proceed to Anadolu to take under control the retaliations. Mustafa Kemal, targeting an independent, sovereign Turkish state liberated from the pressures of theocratic monarchy, used this opportunity to centralize all local resistance groups and start the Turkish Independence War targeting Turkish sovereignty which was fought against foreign powers and Ottoman autocracy in multiple fronts.

Independence war supported by the whole of Turkey swiftly grew into a major movement, bringing an alternative to the Sevres Treaty which was the National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*). The Pact was designed to express nationalists' determination to provide the universal recognition of Turkish sovereignty within the areas populated by Turkish majority, as specified by the Mudros Armistice. The foundation of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in Ankara in 1920 to secure the application of the National Pact followed by the decisive

victory of the Turkish forces over invasion forces and finally over the British-backed Greek army, compelled the Allies to invite the Nationalist government to negotiate. Mudania Convention which followed this appeal put an end to hostilities and opened the way to Lausanne peace negotiations. However, before the peace conference met, the fate of the Ottoman Empire was sealed by the decision of the Grand National Assembly: on 1st of November 1922 the Sultanate was abolished and the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, thus, Turkey was represented in political entity at Lausanne. The Lausanne Peace Treaty signed on July 24, 1923 was a turning point not only in Turkish history but in world history as well by providing universal recognition of the independent, sovereign, unitary Turkish state. Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, as a new breach with the past, Ankara was made the capital of new Turkey and on October 29, 1923, Republic was proclaimed. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, chosen the first president, did not lose any time to start the modernization process for fundamental changes in the entire structure of Turkish society and culture

Atatürk knew that it would be impossible to establish political and social order in the new republic based on peoples' sovereignty while state institutions recognizing God as the legitimate source of sovereignty were continued. Accordingly, the diversity in the assembly, existing since its opening, and traditional public pressures of the conservative resistance had to be overcome in order to launch the intended reforms. In fact, with this acknowledgement, even during the most strenuous days of the Independence War he had not neglected promoting secular education, worked hard to enlighten the people on the importance of territorial, economic and educational independence through public meetings and addresses and even held an educational congress in 1921 to decide for the future of the educational system. Making secularism the cornerstone of the Turkish Revolution, he focused his reform program on secularizing state institutions, overcoming ignorance and terminating gender discrimination. Acutely aware of the adherence of Islamic majority to religion based traditions, he proclaimed each of the social reforms stretching from changing the attires, alphabet, weights, measures, calendar, to women's emancipation and last names with enactments.

The legal application of secularism in Turkey materialized in three steps: Discarding non-secular elements from state institutions by the three acts the Assembly accepted on March 3, 1924 was the first step. The acts were secularizing state administration by abolishing the Caliphate; secularizing jurisdiction by discontinuing Ministry of Pious Affairs and Endowments and secularizing education by placing all schools under a national education system with compulsory education for girls and boys. The second step was discarding from the constitution in 1928 the article specifying Islam as the religion of the Turkish Republic. The third and last was the installment of the article confirming the secular character of the republic in the Turkish Constitution in 1937. This step, fortified by five other principles confirmed as basics of the Turkish Republic in the same article legally completed Turkey's transformation from an Islamic, multinational, theocratic empire to a modern, national, constitutional republic.

The introduction of the chain of reforms composing the Turkish Revolution took a little over a decade. Turkey, with the newly gained independence and radical changes entailing rapid advancements in all walks of life was closely observed as a role model by other Muslim communities which big European states had colonized. Nevertheless, colonial powers, namely England, concerned about the flourishing seeds of liberty among millions of Muslims under her domination, attempted to block the sober renovations in Turkey by inviting the conservatives' attention to restoration of the Caliphate. This was not unexpected therefore strong state control was resorted as each step of the Turkish Revolution was legalized.

Economic expansion was an inevitable requirement for the advancements targeted by the seriously handicapped new republic, erected over the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Resolution to accomplish the economic growth was sought in a protectionist trend although

this did not exactly comply with the foreign collaborations the crawling bourgeois desired. Furthermore, Turkey lacked private sector and commercial enterprise as well as an ample cadre with economic know how. The republican government assumed the major role in creating the infrastructure and providing the modern means to stimulate economic expansion. Investing in industrialization without omitting agrarian developments was part of this difficult task. Etatism, thus, was made the fundamental of economic policy of the new state in the following years.

The appropriate ground for the economic changes as well as social reforms was provided by the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926. The new Civil Code provided further disentanglement of the society from Islamic Sheria applications as it legally terminated feudal traces left from the Ottoman Empire. The new legal measures providing women equal rights with men guided the nation towards the solidarity the new state needed. Women's emancipation was one of the most important contributions of the Turkish Revolution providing the transmission of the unilateral and Islamic identity of the Turkish society into a secular, egalitarian structure.

It must be indicated that reforms introduced by Atatürk were not accepted by the people whole heartedly. The Turkish Revolution was more than a transition from absolute monarchy to democracy; it targeted mental changes while establishing national identity and ideals among the people. Immediate acceptance of this dramatic change by a traditionalist society for long subjected to cosmopolitan institutions was indeed very difficult. The conservatives and those deprived of their advantages the previous system provided as well as the ignorant commoners easily manipulated by the two rejected the reforms. Although political legitimization of the Turkish state universally and the stronghold of the single party facilitated restraining these rejections, time was required for the society to absorb and comply with the reforms. More so, as the excitement of the liberation from foreign and domestic pressures wore off, the Turkish Revolution as well as the revolutionary cadre started to be questioned. Atatürk's heroism, charismatic personality, unchallenged authority and strict restrictive measures prevented the opponents from hindering the reforms, however, Turkey entered a different path after his death.

Syllabus

UNIT I

WEEK 1: Decline of the Ottoman Empire and initial modernization attempts

The first lecture will acknowledge the students about the causes of Ottoman decline, the initial precautions the rulers took as military renovations in order to stop it and the opposition they encountered from the uncomplying janissaries and the ulema. Tulip Era, marked as the Ottoman Renaissance by many historians, the innovations it introduced to the Ottoman society, namely the printing press which opened the way to illuminating masses will be discussed with more details. Patrona Revolt, the janissary uprising targeting to wipe away the new spirit Tulip Era introduced will also be taken up with particular emphasis to the role of the reactionary mentality played in inciting the uprising and blocking the following reformative attempts.

Suggested readings:

M. D. Alderson, *Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford, 1956

Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

H. A.R. Gibb & Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 1975

H. İnalçık and D. Quartet, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, 1994

Salzmann, Ariel. *The Age of Tulip: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550–1730)*, Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922, Albany, 2000

Halil İnalçık & Osman Okyar, *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, Ankara. 1980

Essay questions:

1. What were the effects of the Tulip Era upon the Ottoman renovations of the following decades?
2. What were the chief obstacles the early Ottoman reformists confronted.

Paper of approximately 1000 words on a self-chosen topic pertaining to the subjects covered in this unit.

UNIT II

WEEK 2-3: Start of systematic renovations: Selim III and Nizam-ı Cedid movement

Selim III era beginning of serious steps and systematic reforms will be taken up in two weeks, with reference to positive influences of his predecessors and foreign contacts inspiring him to westernize to stop decline and end disruptions. Nizam-ı Cedid movement, including renovations on provincial administrations, taxation, diplomacy, land tenure and the military; the establishment of Nizam-ı Cedid corps atired, educated and trained in European style and strategy next to the non-conformist janissaries will be taken up next. The nature of the reactionary Islamic ulema, their silent collaboration with the janissaries to resist the reforms, strong reactions of this coalition evoked by increasing contacts with the west, particularly with France will be discussed as factors breeding hostility to the reforms. The effects of the French Revolution among the non-Muslims of the Balkanic provinces, influences of Napoleon Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign upon Muslims of the area and reflections of both on international relations bringing forth Selim's balance of powers policy and the Eastern Question will also be discussed along with the interior causes timing and determining the counterrevolution to suppress Nizam-ı Cedid movement.

WEEK 4: Janissary uprising nullifying Nizam-i Cedid and attempt to restore it.

Selim's vain struggles to store the Nizam-i Cedid movement, the Serbian revolt anti-reformists used to undermine Sultan's prestige and fortify their own, the fetva against the reforms, success of the rebelling janissaries in canceling the movement, deposing, later murdering Selim; the arrival of Bayraktar Mustafa Paşa, the Rusçuk Ayan with his men to suppress the rebellion are the matters to be examined in detail. Extra attention will be given to the Document of Agreement delimiting autocratic rights accepted at the end of the meeting Bayraktar held with the Ayans. Mahmut's refusal to validate this document with the fear of loosing his authority, the uprising of the janissaries opposing Bayraktar's military reforms and his assassination will be taken up as factors compelling Mahmut to radical reforms.

WEEK 5-6: Mahmut II reforms paving the way to fundamental changes

Independence movements of non-Turkish ethnic groups in the Empire enlarged by the interference of the big powers and Mahmut II's radical reforms to prevent both will be examined, giving special emphasis to the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1826 as the most notable acts of the Sultan to curb the reactionary ulema's authority and re-centralize the state. A running theme throughout the discussions on Mahmut II era will be his conviction that dismays, disputes and the entailing foreign interferences threatening the integrity of the state could be ended by establishing equality among the subjects. The extensive survey of fundamental changes in the military, administration, jurisdiction and education as well as of the economic measures the Balta Limani Convention invited will enable the students to understand why and how Mahmut's reforms paved the way to the Tanzimat Era, moreover, served as the basis for all future reforms, including the Republican.

Suggested readings:

Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*, London 1977

Tuncay Zorlu, *Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Ottoman Navy* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011).

S. Akgün *The Impact of the French Expedition to Egypt On Early 19th Century Ottoman Reforms*, Napoleon and the French In Egypt and the Holy Land 1798-1801, Israeli Society for Napoleonic Research, Istanbul, 2002

M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, London 1972

Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774-1923*. University of Texas Press, 1990.

Uriel Heyd, *The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization In the Time of Selim III and Mahmut II*, Jerusalem, 1962

Essay questions:

- 1- Explain the basis of the conflicts Selim had with the Ayans, the conservatives and the janissaries to store the Nizam-i Cedid movement.
- 2- Categorize and discuss the nature of pro-western social and economic renovations of Mahmut II era.

Paper of approximately 1000 words on a self-chosen topic pertaining to the subjects covered in this unit.

UNIT III

WEEK 7-8: The Tanzimat Era and the nature of Tanzimat reforms

The lectures of the two weeks will focus on the nature and scope of Tanzimat reforms starting with the Imperial Edict of 1839 promising legal equality, just taxation, regular conscription and security of life, honour and property to all Ottoman subjects for the sake of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman state and preventing foreign interventions. The overall reorganization of Ottoman the governmental apparatus and institutions in order to meet the imperial commitments reiterated with foreign pressures in the 1856 Reform Decree will be analyzed with references to fundamental legislative and judiciary changes, newly established assemblies, westernized schools opened to promote education as well as to rapidly overcome the lack of trained personnel to administer the renewed or recently founded institutions and the fiscal crisis obliging the state to resort to loans.

The stances of the ulema, community leaders and foreign powers to newly introduced western concepts like egalitarianism, liberalism will be reviewed with political examples and discussions on compatibility of westernization with Islam. The changing outlook on westernization from being a deliberate political choice of the sultans and his few obliging servants into an enlightenment movement originating and involving the Young Ottomans; science, positivism, and critical thinking they ushered in political reforms shifting power from the palace to the Porte will also be among the subjects to be discussed with details. Questioning the effectiveness of adopted or adapted renovations while duality prevailed, the unit will conclude with a survey on the traditionalist but liberal ideology of the Young Ottomans and their primary role in the genesis of Ottoman constitutionalism

Suggested readings:

Stanford J Shaw & Ezel Kural, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* Vol. II, 1808-1975; Cambridge 1977

S. Akgün: *European Influence on the Development of the Social and Cultural Life of the Ottoman Empire In The 18th Century*, Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Europeennes, Bucharest, Rumania, 1983

-----*The Emergence of Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire*, OTAM, Ankara, 1991

Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London, 1961

Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*. McGill University Press, Montreal, 1964

Carter V. Findley, *The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East*, Studia Islamica, 56, 1982

Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton, 1963

Essay questions

- 1- Evaluate the degree of achievement of Tanzimat objectives in providing social and religious equality.
- 2- Argue whether Tanzimat reforms were adaptations from or adoptions of westernization

Paper of approximately 1000 words on a self-chosen topic pertaining to the subjects covered in this unit.

UNIT IV

WEEK 9-10: The two stages of the Constitutional Era

Analysis of the factors enforcing Abdülhamit II to compromise with the Young Ottomans and concede to initiate constitutionalism, pointing to the fiscal crisis entailing foreign pressures making it inevitable to allow the non-Muslims to voice themselves through representatives will be followed with a general review of the Constitution. A brief reference will be made to political developments enabling the anti-constitutionalist Sultan to suppress the newly initiated system, re-shifting state power to the Palace for thirty 30 years. Collaboration of the liberals as the Young Turks forming the Committee of Union and Progress as a bastion to prevailing absolutism, their revolutionary stand against the maximized pressures of the Sultan undermining liberalism and westernization while promoting its technical developments, and greater religiosity Abdülhamit confided in by adopting Islamism as the policy to safeguard the integrity of the state will be among the topics of discussions on the First Constitutional Era.

The Young Turk Revolution reactivating constitutionalism will be examined as a prelude to the Second Constitutional Era, pinpointing to pro and con approaches of the non-Muslims, communities and their representatives, the stance of the foreign powers, the public opinion and reactionaries' attitude. Abdülhamit's evasive stand encouraging the rapidly suppressed counter-revolution, his deposition, political parties, diverse ideological and political policies to save the state, CUP's climb to power and Turkism policy are also to be examined. A brief glance to foreign developments prior to the world war will be followed with further discussions on the continuing duality, the limited scope of the renovations remaining in the upper class and detailed, comparative analysis of CUP's extensive social and economic reforms some of which served as the basis for the Republican reforms.

Suggested readings:

Enver Ziya Karal, *Non-Muslim Representatives in the First Constitutional Assembly, 1876-1877*,

(ed) Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. II N.Y1982

Feroz Ahmad, "The Young Turk Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3, 3, July, 1968

----- *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge, London:1993

Hanioglu, Sükrü. *Preparation for a Revolution*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2001).

Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*. Hurst and Company, Bloomington. 1995

Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 2000

Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Essay questions

- 1- How did the Young Ottomans and Young Turks differ in their approach to prevent Ottoman decline ?
- 2- Compare and contrast Mahmut II's and Abdülhamit II's approaches to non-Muslim subjects

Paper of approximately 1000 words on a self-chosen topic pertaining to the subjects covered in this unit.

UNIT V

WEEK 11: Nationalists' stance following the Ottoman defeat at the World War.

After underlining new enactments on civil rights and economic measures, Unionists resorted

to as last attempts to save the state from collapse, a rapid survey will be made on the Ottoman participation, defeat and disintegration in the World War, the Mudros Armistice marking the termination of the Ottoman state, the silent concession of the Porte to Allied occupations and local reactions shaped into a Turkish Independence War by Mustafa Kemal Paşa. Conceptual dimensions of the movement aiming full territorial, economic, cultural independence with the will of the people; the political vision and shape of the national struggle, namely the democratic character of the Grand National Assembly established in Ankara will be taken up in detail. Discussions will include analysis of Mustafa Kemal's determination to secure popular support of new concepts discluding the accustomed religious-imperial obligations by enlightening them through public addresses he did not omit even during the war.

WEEK 12-13: Turkish Republic, Revolution and transformation to modernity.

Ending of the struggle for independence with nationalists' victory, dissolution of the Ottoman state,

Lausanne Treaty marking the universal recognition of Turkish independence, declaration of the Turkish Republic and launching of the Turkish revolution will be topics to be discussed first. The analysis of the elements of the Turkish revolution will follow in chronological order, with detailed discussions on the pertinence, scope, and probability of full realization and acceptance of each of the revolutionary steps. The challenges founders of the Turkish Republic and architects of the Revolution faced trying to provide transition from absolute, theocratic monarchy to secular democracy while creating national identity and ideals among the people will be taken up, pointing to the difficulty of establishing the new political order and securing popular conformity to the renovations. Underlining the problems involved in presenting absolute separation of temporal and spiritual power to a society accustomed to theocracy, the stance of the conservative opponents mostly supported by the pro sultanates and foreign powers will be analyzed with examples of major resistances, justifying legalization of each of the reforms. At the end of the course in a historical context, six principles composing the fundamentals of Turkish republic and revolution will be analyzed.

WEEK: 14 Comparative general evaluation of Ottoman and Turkish modernization

The course will conclude with a general evaluation of Ottoman modernization by westernizing,

specifying what the rulers, the people, minorities and foreign powers expected from the process. The causes for their futility will be summarized by underlining the preference of the old by the traditional societies in cases of co-existence. The discussion of the Turkish revolution will follow with similar pinpoints, and student will be asked to compare and contrast, particularly in regard to the effects of dualities in developing societies.

Suggested readings:

Enver Ziya Karal, *The Principles of Kemalism*, (ed) Ali Kazancigil & Ergun Özbudun Atatürk, Founder of Modern State, London, 1981

Lord Kinross, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*. Weidenfield and Nicholson London: 1965.

Stanford J. Shaw, *From Empire to Republic* vol V Ankara. 2000

Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, London 1984

Seçil Akgün, *Louis E. Browne and the Leaders of the Sivas Congress, Studies In Atatürk's Turkey, The American Dimension* (ed). George Harris-Bilge Chriss Boston, 2009 Brill

----- *Opposition to the Abolition in Turkey*" La Question du Califat, L'Annales Islam No.2, Paris 1994.

Sina Akşin: *Turkey: From Empire to Revolutionary Republic: The Emergence of the Turkish Nation from 1789 to the Present*. New York University Press, 2007.

Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey, A Modern History*, London 1993

Final paper of approximately 5000 words on one of the below topics:

1. Explain the importance of the Balta Limanı Convention for the Ottoman Empire in relation to the economic, social and political developments of the following decades.
2. Discuss the ideological currents of the 19th century Ottoman Empire with references to intellectual developments paving the way to each.
3. Compare the nature of the reforms of the Tanzimat and Constitutional eras with those of the Turkish Revolution, indicating the scope of their domestic and foreign acceptance