THE FORMATION OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY:
THE ROLE OF THE GREEK "OTHER"


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# ABSTRACT

# THE FORMATION OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY:

# THE ROLE OF THE GREEK "OTHER"

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This dissertation analyzes the role of the Greek "other" in the process of Turkish national identity formation. Addressing the transformation of Turkish identity from multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious imperial character into a homogeneous and unitary national form, this thesis mainly focuses on the changing attitude of the Ottoman elites of the last period and the modern Turkish state elites towards the Greeks in domestic and foreign affairs. In fact, this change can be evaluated as a part of constructing a Turkish nation which had been long carried out as break from the plural Ottoman inheritance. Within this context, this dissertation aims to understand the importance of Greek culture in Turkish identity, the stimulating role of the Greek existence in Anatolia during the Turkish War of Independence, neglect of the Turkish history writing about the Greek background or the *Rumi* identity and besides, the fragile relations between Turkey and Greece via questioning the overlapping aspects of Turkish nationalism and Greek "otherization".

**Keywords**: Nation, identity, otherization, Turkish, Greek

# ÖZ

## TÜRK MİLLİ KİMLİĞİ'NİN OLUŞUMU:

## YUNAN "ÖTEKİSİ"NİN ROLÜ

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Bu tez Yunan "ötekisi"nin Türk milli kimlik oluşumu sürecindeki rolünü incelemektedir. Özellikle son dönem Osmanlı ve modern Türk devlet seçkinlerinin iç ve dış politikada Yunanlılara karşı değişen tutumları, Türk kimliğinin çok-etnisiteli, çok-kültürlü ve çok-dinli imparatorluk karakterinden uzaklaşarak homojen ve üniter milli yapıya dönüşümü içerisinde ele alınmaktadır. Aslında, bu değişim uzun zaman sürdürülmüş olan çoğul kimlikli Osmanlı mirasından kopuşun bir parçası olan Türk milleti inşa etme sürecinin içerisinde görülmelidir. Çalışma kapsamında, Yunan kültürünün Türk kimliğindeki önemi, Anadolu'daki Yunan varlığının Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı sırasındaki tahrik edici rolü, Türk tarih yazımının Yunan tarihi ve Rum kimliğini görmezden gelmesi ve ayrıca Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın kırılgan ilişkilerinin Türk milliyetçiliği ve Yunan "ötekileştirmesi"nin örtüşen yönlerinin sorgulanması aracılığı ile anlaşılması hedeflenmektedir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Millet, kimlik, ötekileştirme, Türk, Yunan

**To my dear mother,**

**Refiye Ergül**

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

# LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

# LIST OF MAPS

MAPS

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHP ............................................. Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)

CUP .............................. Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*)

DP............................................................................. Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*)

EU........................................................................................................European Union

IR......................................................................................................International Relations

NATO....................................................................North Atlantic Treaty Organization

TBMM.................... Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*)

TDK....................................................Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*)

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Identity as a dynamic social construct emerges and survives on condition that it interacts with other identities. It is a dynamic social construct since the initial formulation of the concept necessitates the existence of a scene in which "the self" is in a process of perpetual make up with "the other". What is more the perception of self and others is the process that makes identity as a form of recognition. This recognition has a dual effect on identity: to differentiate the other as an outsider and to limit oneself which is not the other. Hence, the perception of the other is the prevalent factor of constructing an identity, in this sense. The main claim of this thesis mostly depends upon this formulation about the interacting and interdependent relationship of self and other. The formation of Turkish national identity and the significant role of the Greek "other" within this process are analyzed in the thesis. Specifically, the aim of the thesis is to underline the ignored importance of the Greek perception in this process which has started from plural imperial construct and turned into a homogeneous nationality. In this study, the connection between the detachment of Turkish national identity from imperial Ottoman identity and the otherization of the Greeks in this process of detachment will be highlighted by means of historical data. Since it is argued that the Greeks had been an important part of the Ottoman identity, the detachment of it from this imperial culture through building up a national unit and identity have included the Greek otherization, as well. This argument will be clarified by some cases from history textbooks, several examples

from domestic and foreign affairs of Turkey and some analysis pointing out the triggering role of the Greeks in the development of Turkish nationalism.

Such a research is thought to be useful in any analysis on the relations of Turkey and Greece. Their relations are generally referred in the framework of conflict analysis in International Relations (hereafter IR, as the name of the research area) literature. Disagreements about the possession of certain territories, clashing arguments on the rights regarding the Aegean Sea or conflicts in the Cyprus issue are among the common topics of this relationship. For example, in his 1999 article titled "NATO and Greco-Turkish conflict", Ronald R. Krebs analyses their relations from the perspective of IR theory and labels two countries as the "longtime antagonists". Their history is frequently described with terms such as "hostility", "distrust" and "enmity" which were because of their shared historical experiences from course of the 1820s Greek struggle for independence to the Sévres Treaty of 1920. According to Krebs this bitter past creates "deeply ingrained resentments" and popular stereotypes that are still used by both nations. He, then, surveys each détente period between Turkey and Greece as a discontinuity of the given conflictual structure of the relations and portrayed the situation as a contention "deeply rooted in history and geography".[1] This type of analysis underlining the historical background of the conflict relations between Turkey and Greece are not rare in literature. Likewise a historical examination of the relations would probably be the record of conflicts between the Turkish and Greek states in the last century, although these nations have been sharing a common history for more than a millennium. Hence, there is a misperception that these problems have been continuing for centuries between these nations and their relationship has a conflictual structure from the beginning. Thus, the relations of the Turks and Greeks are scrutinized within this confrontational

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[1] Ronald R. Krebs, "Perverse Institutionalism: NATO and the Greco-Turkish Conflict" *International Organization,* Vol. 53, No. 2, Spring 1999, pp. 343-377, especially between 356-366

frame, which is said to be derived from the overlapping interests on the same territories.

However, not only the conflicts, but also the cooperation and partnership can be found in the history of Turkish-Greek relations, when the limited scope of presentism is abandoned. When Turkish-Greek relations are surveyed back to the pre-modern times, it will be seen that of they once shared a common culture and values; they have lived together for centuries and created a compound identity within the same social system. Therefore, in order to get rid of reductionism, the modern international problems should be explored on the basis of this common past which includes instances of both cooperation and conflict. In fact, this attitude has been a kind of contribution to IR where history holds the key to a more complete analysis.

This thesis aims to embrace this key throughout its analysis and mentions that a more elaborate analysis of Turkish national identity formation referring to the role and the meaning of the Greeks within this process can enlighten the current issues between Turkey and Greece. By doing so, the conflicts between these nation-states can be evaluated according to the course of how the Greeks became the "other" of the Turks during the transformation of the imperial identity into a modern nation-state identity. To put in another way, it is underlined in this study that this transformation is the main cause of the otherization of the Greeks in Turkish national identity, which has been used by the Turkish state elites in order to strengthen the idealization of the Turkish "self" or rationalize certain national interests. Moreover, the existence of the Greek element within the imperial "Turkish" identity or a Greek state nearby the young Turkish state constituted important criteria for the Turkish state elites in order to draw the boundaries around the nation. In history the Greeks were used to be the center of the *Rumi* identity of the Ottoman Empire and therefore the Turkish identity. However, with the new Republican national form of identity, to put aside the Greeks seemed to be the part of constructing the nation. Besides, this putting aside could have turned into a way of formulating the Turkishness. Since it is

hard to carve out a definite "Turk" from the intermingled and interpenetrated identity "chaos" of the Ottoman inheritance, using the matrix of "who is not a Turk?" could have simplified the process of self identification.

It is noteworthy to mention that the term "otherization" does not merely mean animosity at all; rather it is a way of identifying "the self" with taking the "other" as a reference point. It would be easier to draw its own national boundaries, while the mirror image of "other" is clear enough. To this end, two nations had very much in common which makes their relation so unique. The relationship can be complex, sophisticated or problematic, but this doesn't mean a life-long animosity. Besides, the interpenetrated relations do not allow a complete rupture. Hence, although there were tensions between two states at times and also disputes related to the status of certain territories, the bilateral relations between two nation-states includes more than bad memories about wars. This relationship is a kind of magnetism between two poles which create a sphere of pushing and pulling together, which put the Turkish-Greek connection on a complex platform. There is more than mere security, politics and even international relations between Greece and Turkey. There happens to be a long-lasting sui generis interaction between these national identities today.

As mentioned so far, the aim of this thesis is to explain the importance of the Greek "other" in Turkish national identity formation in order to understand the social dynamics of the Turkish nation-state as an international actor and to go back to the historical background of its Greek policy today. Obviously, the literature presented in this dissertation on Turkish nationalism, Ottoman history and Turkish-Greek relations may be assessed as highly broad for this kind of study. So the limits of the research have to be mentioned. Firstly, it should be stated that this thesis is not an analysis of Turkish-Greek relations. Although a contribution to the analysis of the relations is aimed by this thesis, it is not a historical research on the Turkish-Greek relations, at all. The issues are mainly explained from the perspective of the Turkish side and according to its interpretation of the Greek "other". Several problematical

issues between two states are given in some parts of the thesis in accordance with the context, but still this study cannot be seen as a complete analysis of the relations of Turkey and Greece. Instead of briefing the history of the relations, understanding the role of the "other" in the development of these relations is the main focus of this research. In addition, this thesis is not a specific historical study of the Turks or the Ottoman Empire. It is a study about the historical development of the Turkish national identity in respect of its Greek otherization. All the historical data are tried to be analyzed according to this task.

Moreover, instead of Central Asian background and Seljuk Empire, the historical analysis begins with the Ottoman Empire in the thesis, because one of the premises of this study is that the national identity of the Turks in modern sense had been shaped during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, not before. Therefore, the analysis focuses on this last period of the Empire when the Turkishness became a new formula for the rising Ottoman intellectuals for the new modern national identity instead of the collapsing imperial identity. Besides, this thesis does not have the purpose of proposing answers to the questions "who is a Turk?" or "who is a Greek?" Only the narrations about the Turkish history and the construction of the "Turkish self" are discussed. Therefore, the ontological problem about the classifications of the "Turks" and the "Greeks" is ignored during the analysis, since the focus of the study is not about defining the Turks or the Greeks, but getting acquitanted how the Turks define the Greeks, including the *Rum* minority of Turkey (or the Ottoman Empire) and the Greek citizens of Greece. The starting points of these terms can be briefly mentioned here to understand these units of analysis. The term *Rum* had begun to be used by the Ottomans to define the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire up until the formation of the Greek state. It was derived from the root "Roman" denoting the descendants of the Eastern Roman Empire. After a while, this term turned into a general name for all Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, some Ottoman sultans, Mehmet II or Kanuni Sultan Süleyman,

preferred the title of *Kayser-i Rum* (*Rum* Sultan) in order to underline their authority and ownership of the territories inherited from the Roman Empire. Besides, there were some important Greek activists, such as Rigas Velestinlis (1757-1798), of the Greek Revolution who referred the term *Rum* denoting the Greek nation itself.[2] After the establishment of the Greek Kingdom, the Ottoman state began to name the citizens of the Greek Kingdom as *Yunan* (derivated from the antic word Ionian) and continued to name the Greek-origined Ottoman subjects as *Rum*. In this thesis, the term *Rum* is referring the Greek settlers of Anatolia who are mainly Greek and Orthodox (few of them are Catholic). Sometimes, "the Greek citizens of Turkey", "the Greek minority in Turkey" or such similar definitions are used to define the same group.

In order to fulfill the aim of this study, the research tries to make use of diverse sources as much as possible. First of all, many history books related with the Ottoman and Turkish history are used in this study. Beside the argumentative sources, which were written as a reflection of state discourse, such as Turkish History Thesis, many explanatory history analyses, such as some history critics of Salih Özbaran or Halil İnalcık, are also used during the research. Still, they are read with a critical eye and the possibilities of the underlying meanings, which aim to define the very Turkish national identity, are tried to be surfaced. Upon this historical base, the state discourse is tried to be understood by reading the some important details about application of nationalist policies in the country by the state elites, decision makers or bureaucrats of the late term Ottoman Empire and Turkey. The state discourse related with defining the Turkish history and identity *vis a vis* the Greek "other" is going to be discussed within this context. Thus, the argumentative discourses will be analyzed in order to understand the complex symbolic construction. Generally, the official rhetoric has been discussed according to the

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[2] Herkül Millas, *Geçmişten Bugüne Yunanlılar: Dil, Din ve Kimlikleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003, p. 163

official texts and speeches in the dissertation. The literature is chosen mainly according to the aim of the study and the sources which are reflecting the transformation of the Turkish identity, nationalist rising and the Greek other are specifically preferred to this end. In this respect, the vision of this study is enriched via using some remarkable literary sources which can be seen as extensions of the official rhetoric. In short, the biased and ideologically charged view of the historical construction of the Turkish national identity is revisited in the Turkish history textbooks, important literary works and state policies. Moreover, this dissertation can be seen as an attempt to contribute the historical analysis of the Turkish nation-state, which is an actor in International Relations literature, from a mostly neglected aspect of otherizing another nation, the Greeks.

In order to realize this purpose, the thesis centers on the following points:

- Relations of the Turks and Greeks during the Ottoman Empire and the changing attitude of the Turks against the Greek minority with their lately adopted national identity

- Transformation of Turkish identity as a detachment process from the imperial background and the contributing affect of Greek otherization

- Evolution of Turkish nationalism within a self identification practice and perception of the Greek "other"

- Practices of Greek otherization in Turkish domestic and foreign affairs

The thesis composed of four main chapters, in addition to the introduction and the conclusion chapters. After this introductory chapter, in the second chapter, which is titled as "National Identity", the main theoretical debates on the topic of the thesis will be briefed. The concepts such as nation, state, identity, self and other are going to be discussed according to their historical developments and conceptual

transformation in time. The chapter will attempt to clarify several difficulties about these terms in order to prevent some possible misunderstandings in the following chapters. In this chapter, the constructivist approach of this thesis which tries to bring history and identity politics into the IR will be discussed. Since self conception and identity literally defines the state interests in foreign affairs, the necessary link between the foreign and domestic in IR will be explained in line with this approach.

After this theoretical prologue, the historical background of the Turkish national identity will be the topic of the third chapter named "the Ottoman Empire". It will be discussed why especially the last decades of the Ottoman Empire was the main period of the Turkish national identity formation. This chapter analyzes the Ottoman history from its early years to the last period. However, it should be noted, that more than an ordinary historical analysis, this chapter will be a revisit to the Ottoman history keeping in mind the place of Greeks. Some important developments of the Ottoman era which influenced the rise of nationalist ideas will be the case of the chapter. In addition, the Ottoman identity and its Turkish and Greek ingredients will be discussed in this chapter, too. The historical background of the paradoxical otherization among these identities will be defined within their diachronic evolution from harmonical combination to "revengeful" separation. In fact, the *Rumi* identity will be given as an important attempt of creating a common identity during the Ottoman times. It would be interesting to see how the Ottoman dynasty internalized the hegemonic and multi-cultural structure of the Eastern Roman Empire in itself long before the otherization of the Greeks in Turkish identity. Hence, the transformation of the identity definition becomes clearer as the glorious days of the earlier period of the Ottoman Empire have passed away to be replaced by reform attempts and separatist movements in last century.

The fourth chapter will link the identity politics of the Ottoman period to the modern Turkey, which is also hinted in the name of the chapter: "From Ottoman Identity to Turkish Identity." In this chapter, the transformation and the demolition of

the Ottoman identity, which also contributed to the creation of a separate Turkish national identity, will be discussed in the framework of some theoretical debates among the Turkish intellectuals of that period. The backbone of the debate about the Turkish national identity was religion, ethnicity and culture. Hence, the chapter will analyze this traumatic period. In fact, it will be examined how the changing image of the Greeks made them the significant other of Turkishness primarily as a result of their role in the separatist movements. Furthermore, the policies of the hesitant Turkish ruling class and the intelligentsia that used the Greek otherization as a way of identity marker will be depicted in this chapter. Different practices of the Turkish state against the Greeks will be explained according to the dual character of Turkish nationalism swinging like a pendulum between ethnic and civic formulations.

In the last chapter of this thesis, titled "Modern Turkish Republic", historical developments from the First World War, which resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, to the present time, will be discussed The triggering role of the Greek other during the Turkish War of Independence will be given as an important example in explaining the otherization process. Moreover, the problematical definition of the new Turkish citizen and the official rhetoric about the Turkish history will be mentioned in this chapter as well. The state-directed narration of the Turkish history which became an important part of Greek otherization during the modern times will be discussed. How the Greeks were ignored as a nation-state and excluded from the Turkish history will be given with some interesting examples from some history textbooks. The vague place of the Greek minority between being the other of the Turkish society and being a part of that society will be explained in accordance with some discriminatory experiences. In the last part of the chapter, the Turkish-Greek relations will be evaluated according to several important cases, such as the Aegean Sea, Cyprus and the European Union. These cases were revisited according to the underlying influence of the Greek otherization. Moreover, the relationship between state interests and national identity perceptions will be

examined within these cases. In the last part of the chapter, there will be an ascription of the European identity as possible ground of coexistence of the Turkish and Greek identities, which would contain self and other in the same vein. In the conclusion of the chapter, the questions of how and why the Greeks have been otherized in Turkish national identity will be briefly given as an outline of the thesis and the points will be clarified as the hypothesis of this dissertation. The thesis will end with some proposals about the progress from negative to positive perception of the "Greek other" and the possibility of a collective identity including the Turks and the Greeks.

# CHAPTER 2

# THEORIES OF NATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In this chapter the theoretical background of the thesis will be drawn within the framework of constructivism, which poses a critical outlook to the mainstream approach of the IR theory. The challenging endeavor to apply a historical outlook and the incorporation of the so far neglected influence of national identity on state behavior will be analyzed in line with this approach. Thereafter, the aimed contribution of this dissertation to the IR discipline will be clarified after this theoretical debate. Both constructivism and historical sociology, which include many critics of mainstream theories, will benefit in from this debate. Upon this critical background, the concepts of nation, nation-state, identity and national identity will be discussed in general. Since these concepts are linked with many socio-economic dynamics, the transformation of these concepts in the course of history will be integrated in the analysis. After discussing the social, economic and intellectual background of the emergence of nation and national identity, in this chapter, a number of difficulties about defining these concepts will be mentioned in order to clarify several ambiguities. Then, the historical development of nation as a social concept will be focused. Social dynamics and necessities which prepare conditions for large acceptance of national identity will be another discussion related with the concept of nation. Afterward, theories of nationalism will be discussed before ending the chapter. In order to build a concrete picture, the development of literature and the bases of current debates about nationalism will be given briefly. In the last part of this chapter, the relation of identity and nation will be unlocked within the

framework of "self and other" duality. Identity politics within international relations will be best understood when the linkage among human psychology, social consciousness and state motivations is established. The place of "other nations" in front of the "national self" which is very related with the state ideology and social structure will be theoretically evaluated.

The mainstream theories of IR should be briefly underlined here before focusing on the critical emphasis of constructivism. Generally, the main debate between (neo)realism and (neo)liberalism has been centered around whether the structure (anarchy and distribution of power) or process (interaction and learning) is more affective on state behavior. Although they have been suggesting different explanations to the structure of the system and the behavior of the actors, "rationalism" is the shared commitment by both sides of this debate. According to rational choice, identities and interests of states are exogenously given and the behaviors of the agents generate outcomes. Yet, only the behaviors can change within this system, not identities or interests.[1]

Moreover, both neorealism and neoliberalism assume similarities about the main agent of the system. Built on Waltz's arguments that anarchy would highlight the importance of the distribution of material capabilities in international behaviors of states and that this system would lead states to pursue their survival as the main aim, structural realist accounts are not seemed to be optimistic about cooperation among states.[2] According to neo-realist perspective the units of the international system have only one meaningful identity which is being a self-interested state. To

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[1] Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics", *International Organization,* Vol.46, No.2, 1992, pp.391-392

[2] H. Tarık Oğuzlu, *The Role of International Institutions in Identity Transformation: The Case of Turkish-Greek Conflict within the European Union and NATO Frameworks*, Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to Bilkent University, Department of International Relations, September 2003, p.18

stay alive within the anarchical structure of the global system across time and space, every state has a single eternal purpose: to survive at any cost. So, the interests of states are a priori within the context of the mainstream understanding of the IR theory. Each state wants to maximize its power and protect its security as long as they can within this self-help system. Variety in the behaviors of the states is not expected, while at the same time, any individual state does not presume different course of conduct to the others. In the end, every state is a self-interested actor within the system, seeking to reach the same goal. Hence, according to neorealists, states as the constant and exogenously-given actors are hardly close to any cooperation because of their innate egoism, if it is not convenient for its interests from a rational point of view.[3] Neoliberalism is, on the other hand, critical of the assumption of pure egoism of states. Based on materialistic and rationalistic view of anarchy, neoliberal institutionalism endeavors to explain how to overcome the conflictual structure of anarchy through creation of international institutions.[4] According to this approach, cooperation is possible in the system of anarchy. The absolute gains of the states are more important than the relative gains, which mean states can choose to compromise as long as this alliance serves for the absolute gains of the state. Cooperation can emerge within the system of anarchy through the development of norms, institutions and regimes.[5] Although neorealist and neoliberals disagree about the relative and absolute gains of the states, both have systemic arguments and focus on states as the interest maximizing actors in power politics. Except for a limited interest by the neo-liberal theoreticians into the domestic base of state interests, neither approach has

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[3] For Neorealism , see: Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics,* Reading-Mass: Addison Wesley Publication Company, 1979; Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1976 or John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: Norton, 2001

[4] Oğuzlu, 2003, p.21

[5] For Neoliberal Institutionalism , see: Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Glenview: Scott, Foresman, 1977 or Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Integration: A Rejoinder", *Journal of Common Market Studies,* No. 33, 2001

enough interest in the formation of different state interests upon different identities. Hence, according to social constructivist Alexander Wendt, a student of IR who follows the path of these mainstream rationalist approaches does not need to ask questions about interest or identity formation, since both are "given" in the beginning.[6]

On the other hand, social practices and interactions of the actors are the main determinants of the international system for the constructivists. There is no "given" structure or "equally rational" actors of the system, the social and historical practices of states create the system as the way it is. More than an endless game of power maximizing or hegemony, world politics is more likely a social construct. Common to almost all variants of constructivism are that domestic and international structures consist of social and material aspects and those structures do not only restrain and shape states' behaviors but also constitute their identities and interest.[7] Hence, according to social constructivist view, those states of having identities and interests are not predictable actors with the imperatives of self-help system; but they are social constructs on their own. Their identities and interests are always in a process of making during the interaction. The interests of states are formed around the perception of "self". Wendt argues that how a state defines its interests depends on "how it defines the self in relation to the other, which is a function of social identities at both domestic and systemic levels of analysis…*Socia*l identities are sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking perspective of others, that is, as a social objective."[8] This approach moves beyond the idea that each state is an

[6] Wendt, 1992, p. 392

[7] Oğuzlu, 2003, p.28

[8] Alexander Wendt, " Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.88, No.2, June 1994, p.385

independent actor. In this formulation, the social interaction of the actors and their self / other perceptions are determining their interests.

Moreover, the transformation of these identities and interests is a never-ending process. The positions of self and other are not given facts of the system; in fact, they evolve in time depending on the social interaction of the actors, which means that the actors create their others in accordance with their interests within the system. In this sense, a state's conception of "self" is basically a meaning emerged during the activity of viewing itself reflexively.[9] In other words, interests presuppose the other. In order to differentiate oneself in terms of a unique definition of the self, the actor has to create its others and attribute several features to them.

> A world without identities is a world of chaos, a world of pervasive and irremediable uncertainty, a world much more dangerous than anarchy. Identities perform three necessary functions in a society: they tell you and others who you are and they tell you who others are. In telling you who you are, identities strongly imply a particular set of interests or preferences with respect to choices of action in particular domains, and with respect to particular actors… A state understands others according to the identity it attributes to them, while simultaneously reproducing its own identity through daily social practice.[10]

In this sense, selves and others vary in time and space, or in other words historical, social, cultural, and political developments influence the perceptions of identities. The other cannot be seen as a constant figure of the self. Ted Hopf elaborates a critical constructivist assumption here and contends that states need the existence of other in world politics in order to justify its domestic sovereignty.

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[9] Collin H. Kahl, "Constructing a Separate Peace: Constructivism, Collective Liberal Identity, and Democratic Peace", *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1998, p. 105

[10] Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theories", *International Security*, Vol.23, No. 1, Summer 1998, pp.174-175

Moreover, the state identity is the product of the social practices that constitute that identity at home and therefore "identity politics enable state identity, interests, and actions abroad."[11]

The relationship between self and other, in this sense, is interdependent and everlasting. So, the definition of the other never becomes complete, because the self interests are time bound. As the conditions in the system vary, the approach to the other may vary, as well. Furthermore, the relation between the self and the other cannot be seen from a pure Hobbesian perspective in which the self interests of states clash in an endless war system and mutual threat perception is the structural given fact. However, the interdependence of the self and the other has a complex meaning. The other cannot be labeled only with antagonism, clash or threat. The states that are in a continuous social interaction process need the other to sustain their differences and interests. Hence, Wendt rightly asserts the identification as "a continuum from negative to positive – from conceiving the other as the anathema to the self to conceiving it as an extension of the self."[12] The possibility to enhance mutual interests may shift the perception of the other from negative to positive, in terms of sharing common interests. In contrast to neorealists, constructivists do not view negative behaviors between different identities as an inevitable outgrowth of anarchical international system or the structure of the relations.[13] Rather, constructivists contend that cooperation and collectivity should be seen as a plausible way for states in their self-other perceptions as long as they realize the benefits of collective identity or coexistence.

In sum, constructivism offers an extensive account of identity politics to understand the background of world politics. The construction of state's and nation's

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[11] Ibid., pp.195-196

[12] Wendt, 1994, p.386

[13] Kahl, 1998, p. 95

identities, their reproduction through social practices and their perception of each other from the lenses of self are the important elements of a constructivist vision of IR. Within this context, the acknowledgement of differences and their ongoing practices can be helpful to understand, evaluate and sometimes predict the developments in international relations. The conflict between two states cannot be argued as the inevitable outcome of endless antagonism or otherization. Instead, the conflicts between the self and other are more likely to be the part of their practices. State relations, in this sense, reflect the logic of reciprocity since what states do to each other affects the social structure in which they are embedded.[14] In other words, thanks to the inspiring article of Wendt[15], the conflict between two identities is what these states make of it. Upon this constructivist idea, the conflicts between Turkey and Greece can be defined as the signs of state practices to legitimize themselves at home and abroad. They cannot be explained with "given" antagonism or eternal otherization. They do have some geographical and historical reasons which sometimes carry them to the edge of war, but the same geography and history also generate a connection between them. The constructed perceptions between them mostly emanate from their national interests and the need for legitimization of domestic and external policies. Moreover, the social construct of Turkish and Greek identities deeply influence the state activities and interests, which in turn shapes the nature of their relationship. To put it in another way, the domestic composition of these states, which largely encompasses their identities, should be taken into consideration in evaluating bilateral relations. In this sense, one's domestic perception about the other which has consequently been affected by its national identity poses an important motivation for any attempt in international arena. Since Turkish national identity is taken as the case of this study, it will be apparent in the following chapters how the Turkish state's behavior towards the Greeks has been

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[14] Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics", *International Security,* Vol.20, No.1, Summer 1995, p. 77

[15] Wendt, 1992

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influenced by its domestic structure most of the time. Beyond a pure state egoism or a self-seeking conduct, as a neorealist would claim, the changing nature of the relations in time can be better understood by the meanings, perceptions and values attributed to the other.

In this dissertation, nearby the connection between state behaviors and national identity, being aware of possible defects in analyzing the past would be another important point while evaluating the background of national identity. For example, reading the Ottoman imperial structure with some contemporary nation-based world view would be one of the important errors of this study, which should be bewared. Hence, some critics of historical sociology will be used in the analysis to reveal certain shortcomings of mainstream IR theories. In these theories' "instrumentalism", history has been used as a means, not to rethink, but to a quarry to be mined in order to confirm theories of the present. However, the historical sociologist John M. Hobson argues for the handling of history as a means "to *rethink* theories and *problematise* the analysis of the present, and thereby to *reconfigure* the IR research agenda. Ignoring history does not simply do an injustice to the *history* of the international system. Most significantly, it leads to a problematic view of *present*."[16] Hobson criticizes ahistoricism and asociologism of the mainstream theories and uses the terms of chronofetishism and tempocentrism to define them. By chronofetishism he means the assumption that present can solely be explained by understanding the present, while ignoring the past. Hence, the present is effectively "sealed off" from the past which makes the present as a static, self constituting, autonomous and reified entity. Moreover, present is eternalized because it is deemed to be resistant to any change in its structure. Tempocentrism is another feature of the mainstream approaches which is a mode of ahistoricism that conveys the illusion that

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[16] John M. Hobson, "What's at Stake in 'Bringing Historical Sociology *Back* into International Relations'? Transcending 'Chronofetishism' and 'Tempocentrism' in International Relations", in *Historical Sociology of International Relations*, S. Hobden and J. M. Hobson (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 5. Some words are written in italic by Hobson.

all systems are equal to and have been marked by the constant present, which paradoxically obscures some of the most fundamental constitutive features of the present system. In short, tempocentrism suggests a repetition in time and systems and nothing ever changes because of this timelessness.[17]

This study rejects the ahistoricism in IR, since the Turkish nation-state is not taken as a constant actor but a changing subject partly because of the ongoing process within its national identity. Identities are not static although some ideologies would have us believes;[18] they change and evolve in time. The Turkish figure in the 18th century Ottoman Empire cannot be seen as the same of the modern Turkish nation-state. This kind of assessment would be both a reductionism and a tempocentrism, because the change within the system and the actors are disregarded and two different periods are equated as a false implication. Moreover, the role of the Greeks in Turkish national identity is not accepted as the same and the changing nature of the Turkish perception of the Greek other is searched all through the thesis. The Greek subject of the Ottoman identity and the Greek minority of the Turkish nation-state are not two identical others for the Turkish national identity. In fact, the change in the otherization of the Greeks and the structure of the Turkish identity are overlapping to some extent, because of the role of the otherization in constructing national identities. Besides, there is a tendency to explain the past relations between the Turks and the Greeks according to the current debates. The present is glorified as the final structure of the relations and the whole historical background is interpreted around the present values and dynamics, which could be a clear example of chronofetishism. This type of attempt is visible in official history textbooks of nation-states which generally rewrites history according to the current interests of the states. For example, there is a hidden message in many Turkish history school

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[17] Ibid., pp. 6-12

[18] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "We and Us: Two Modes of Group Identification", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 32, No.4, November 1995, p. 435

textbooks that what had been experienced and done in Turkish history, from the ancient times to modern, were all seemed to be for a good reason: Republican Turkey. Several examples from these textbooks can be seen in the second part of the last chapter, which is about the Turkish history writing. This study poses a critical stand to this false or biased exploitation of history in order to reproduce the past for the sake of the present. Hence, in this dissertation, the Greeks are not presented as the "everlasting enemy" of the Turks. In fact, the changing role of the Greeks in Turkish perception in reference to the national unification of the Turks is evaluated in a time flow. Moreover, the historical events such as the predicament of the Ottoman social system or the separation of the Greeks from the Empire are not viewed from the lenses of the modern debates between Turkey and Greece. Evaluating the past with not-yet-happened things of the present would be misleading for historical analysis.

## 2.1. Nation and Nationalism

So far, how the thesis poses a constructivist outlook and from which perspective the questions will be analyzed have been briefly outlined. Now, the main concepts of the thesis will be defined within this theoretical background of the study. Before getting into the details of the definitions, reasons that make difficult to propose clear definitions of nation, nationalism and identity would be identified first. The concept of nation will be the first one to deal with. As Benedict Anderson admits, "Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyze."[19] Similarly, Hugh Seton-Watson acknowledges "Thus I am driven to the conclusion that no 'scientific definition' of the nation can be

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[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, London: Verso, 1991, p.3

devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists."[20] Even if it may be improper to give up looking for a way to define the concept of nation, it should be admitted that there are numerous ways to define it. While some stress culture and history, others mostly deal with language and education, or state bureaucracy and territory. Hence, it seems very tough for a student of nationalism to configure a clear-cut definition about the concept, but it would be helpful to present a brief summary of the debate on this topic.

In general, nation can be defined as a group of people who live on the same territory, sharing similar social, historical and cultural features and believe in the idea of being a nation. Yet, nation is a kind of identity which is both similar but at the same time different from other identities, like class membership, being a countryman, an association affiliate or coherence to a religious community. It is similar, because all of them are examples of collective identities connected to each other with an inner communication system. On the other hand, it is different from these identities because its vision encloses a large spectrum, it involves unification within a given territory, and it idealizes eternity from past to future and most of contemporary world politics has turned into the politics among nations.

Because of the belief in eternity, nation can be confused with religious communities. Actually, religions have been the most effective cement for many people for long centuries. With their prehistoric past they are more ancient then the idea of nation. The eternity idea is the main argument of them, which makes them as the precious way of the people to give the chance to get over the mortality of this world. The eternity proposition has two phases. First of all, a religious doctrine, especially the Semitic ones, accepts itself as the one and only way of understanding the world and the universe; from the beginning of the time to the infinity. Thus, the

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[20] Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*, Boulder (Colo.): Westview Press, 1977, p. 5

eternity of religion turns into "timelessness". The second phase of eternity argument of religion is its very proposition for its believers. Nearly all religions suggest eternal life for the "mortal" humans. Thus, it is assumed that a "good behaving" believer would live happily ever after in his/her mystic eternal life after the end of the mortal life.

Although nations and religions suggest different identities for their members, the commonality about the belief in their eternal existence is visible. Anderson deals with the eternity argument of religions and its continuation in nationalisms. He defines nationalism as a fraternity feeling, which is different from political ideologies. According to Anderson, in the 18th century, nationalism was born into large scale cultural systems, which were great empires and religions. These were the biggest systems of mankind for the time being, but for several reasons, these two systems deteriorated in the 17th century. At this point of history, nation supplies the "place" to take shelter for the people during the deterioration of the old belief systems, as well as the empires and religions. It is a kind of substitute, in the absence of great system affiliations. Anderson focuses on religious structures and their connection with national affiliations. As religions lose their reliability in time, nation replaces religion according to him. As the world had been evolving into modern and secular form, the eternity search of people and fear of death remained in the new way of life. At this juncture, nationalism has reared up as a solution for the infinite search of people about meaning of their lives. Hence, nationalism has sprung from these previous systems and made them mostly invalid.[21] Anderson clearly puts "... I am suggesting that somehow nationalism historically 'supersedes' religion".[22]

Anderson's argument seems to be plausible about the rise of nationalism as a new form of identity, but it may be a little early to announce its "victory" over

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[21] Anderson, 1991, pp. 9-19

[22] Ibid., p.19

religion. Nation borrows many characteristics from religion and there are even some nations which give importance to their religious unification under their national identity. Although modern nation-states generally are seen as secular actors within international relations, the linkage between religion and nation is still a matter of discussion. Moreover, the current political developments all around the world, such as the Balkans, the Middle East or Africa, indicate that religion can still motivate and even provoke people against each other. Yet, in most of the cases, religion is used as the camouflage for national interests. As a possible question about whether religion is the predecessor of nations or whether it is now one of the factors within nationalism, can rise in this sense, but no satisfactory answer for everybody would seem to come in a short time. Yet, we have to keep in mind that nation is a relatively new concept which stands on modernity but its history can be understood with an extensive search about the history of thoughts, state and humanity. During its history, the concept of nation incorporated new ideas and approaches, and then changed with them. There can be many similar points between the development and modernization of societies and nations. Hence, the influence of previous systems, thoughts or states cannot be excluded from the structure of the nation.

Nation has some peculiar characteristics which separate it from not only the religions but also from the other social identities. The definition which unrolls the objective and subjective elements of nation can be a good way to understand these characteristics. The objective elements of nation are territorial boundaries, linguistic commonality, and ethnic homogeneity and being subjects of the same political and economic system. Some or all of them can be found in any nationalist idea. In fact, the objective elements' existence is much related with the subjective ones, which shape the approach of citizens towards the commonalities. The subjective elements are mainly psychological and abstract. Belief in common culture, myths, historical background and communal memory are some of the subjective elements. In fact, subjective elements are hard to count because of the vague structure of human

psychology. The objective and subjective elements clearly complement each other. For example, while a national flag seems to be an objective element by itself, its value can be measured by the meaning attributed to it. By the same token, ethnicity can be attractive for many people as the purest and easiest way of defining a national identity. However, the anthropological studies demonstrate for a long time that there is no such thing as a pure ethnic nation. As long as people communicate with each other, it is impossible to set barriers around an "ethnic" group. They keep on mixing and amalgamating with each other. Hence, it is obvious that the objective element of ethnicity is interwoven with the subjectivity of the people. Hitherto, there can be a conclusion about the definition of the nation that although it is possible to mention several objective elements, such as a given territory, systemic economy or central administration, in defining a nation, what really matters is something subjective: the belief of the people about the reality of the nation.

To sum up, although it has various components, the nation includes a complex and rarely constant mixture of geography, language, custom, law, religion, economy, race and collective will.[23] Obviously, it is a social amalgam. In some examples, territorial entity could be more important, like in Switzerland or, as it was explained above, religious commonality could be seen as the cement of the people as in Israel. The process of the idea of nation depends on different historical experiences of peoples. Therefore, each amalgamation or each social construction around the objective and subjective elements, which means nation, has its own features and they are *sui generis*, in other words, unique.

Originally, the word nation comes from the Latin, *natio*, which means birth, tribe or people of common origin and territory.[24] As seen in the definition, there is a

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[23] Vincent P. Pecora, "Introduction", *Nations and Identities: Classical Readings*, V. P. Pecora (ed.), Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2001, p.2

[24] Ibid., p.16

belief about common origin which in turn makes *natio* a natural and God-given structure. The commonality depending on birth or any other feature, which can not be acquired consciously, makes the nation as a part of an organic entity. On the other hand, the Oxford English Dictionary defines nation as "a large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people." After this definition of nation, which can be accepted as an early assessment of the term, the Oxford Dictionary adds "In early examples notions of race and common descent predominate. In later use notions of territory, political unity, and independence are more prominent, although some writers still make a pointed distinction between *nation* and *state*." [25] Obviously, in the second part, the Oxford dictionary points out the evolution in the character of nation, from an idea of fraternity to a political structure.

Upon the above mentioned points about nation, the term can be defined as a social construct, a given group of people who live on the same territory, who have similar socio-political and cultural features and who believe in their membership of that society. Above any other physical factors, people's belief in its existence and necessity is the most important factor which reproduces the idea of nation. The social vacuum, which is created during the modernization of economic systems, demolishing political structures or weakening local relations, is filled with a new kind of identity; nation. Nation supplies the trustful and "eternal home" for the people during this deterioration. Feeling to be one of the residents of this "home" generates a collective identity for the people. More than any other collective identity, nation has a large vision of history and territories. Possible or impossible, real or fake, or rational or irrational, every nation has its own mythical history from eternal past to infinity and convinces its members about how they sacredly deserve the

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[25] The definition was taken from Oxford Dictionary, E-source is available at: http://www.oed.com/ (accessed 02 July 2008)

territory. Almost all nations have this mysticism and to interrogate them would be accepted as a betrayal for any of its members. Therefore national identity has been more extended, permanent and dominant compared with all other identities.

In practice, national identities generally combine with an administrative unit, the state. The economic mechanisms, political organizations, educational system and securing the nation from other national threats are the duties of the state. By democratic or non-democratic ways, the state has the right to define national interests and regulate the national systems. The development of state is a complicated case which has been one of the most important topics of political science. A wide search of the development of state might be an over introduction here, but its leading role in national identity cannot be ignored. In fact, state's existence is the main reason of the power of national identity against any other identities today. The modern world's nation-states became the main actors of international relations, although there is some attempt to highlight the non-state actors in politics as well. The non-governmental organizations, inter-governmental organizations, multinational corporations or even the political individual would be other actors in international system. However, the dominant role of the state is hard to be ignored. Interest groups, governmental or non-governmental actors are all related, by approval or criticism, with the decision mechanism of states in international arena. For this reason, it can be said that nation-state is a powerful actor and it is a unit of analysis in IR.

Indeed, the social, cultural and certainly mythical apprehension of nation has changed in time. Nationalism turned into a motive for independence movements and the motto of political parties. Moreover, to have a state of its nation became the most important aim of a national unification movement during the modern times. The processes of state formation and nation building then got interwoven with each other, especially after the rise of the modern state system with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The administrative body within a given territory became the complementary

feature of the states all of which claimed a distinct national identity. Hence, nation became more like a state. In fact, there can be another argument which grounds on the idea that it was always the state which created its nation. In other words, state can be seen as the pioneering factor of nations, because of the need of a new direction for people's loyalty. However, there is no formula which can mention the chronological order of the rise of nation and state. Probably, the "real" answer will never be found since the histories of nations have continued to be written by the nation-states. Nation-states keep on constructing their national histories from a national perspective. Moreover, one can criticize the modern world history approach which almost pretends that human history has always been grounded on national differences and there was not much before nations. In this uncertainty of history, it would be better to analyze the processes of nation and state from a theoretical perspective.

To understand nationalism can be helpful in comprehending the dynamics of nation and state, in this sense. The well-known theorist of nationalism Michael Billig believes that daily rituals or banal activities are the engine power of nationalism. Greeting for the national flags every morning, reading news about "us" and "them" in the daily newspapers or celebrating the special "national days" as a citizen can be indicators of a continuous cycle of nationalism which includes the individual day by day. Billig, then, indicates the two different usages of nation, first of which is the nation as the "nation-state" and the other is the nation as the "people" living within the state.[26] According to him, the linkage of these two meanings is the outcome of the general ideology of nationalism. Therefore, the state and the people are linked to each other with the national identity aspect, which reconstructs and feeds itself everyday. Besides, Ernest Gellner, who is one of the scholars pointing out the constructed nature of nation, describes nationalism as a principle which assumes that

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[26] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, California: SAGE, 1995, p.24

a nation (meaning people) should have its nation (meaning state).[27] In other words, according to Gellner, nationalism is the power engine of the states in order to construct their socio-political structure upon the idea of a nation. Thus the concept of nation is the product of the state during the modern times within nationalist movements. Obviously this principle of nationalism is proposing the belief that there should be political entities as national peoples in the world. Therefore nationalism consequently declares and legitimizes the right of the nation to construct its own national identity and nation-state.[28]

Development of nation-state can be evaluated within the modernization adventure of humanity. Although it is not possible to say exactly when the concept of "nation" emerged, nation-state is much more tangible in this way. It became a kind of social title within the developing modernization project after the Enlightenment. 18th century was the century of its transformation in many ways. In general, national construct was emerged or imagined during the transformation of social relations from rural to industrial economy within capitalist development. The local connections and dependency of people were diminished during this transformation. The alienated and mobile person of the capitalist system needed a new type of attachment and a secured place to live.[29] Over the social or cultural bonds of a nation, there is a state within the picture which makes the conditions different for the people. Citizenship emerged and its duties and rights are defined according to this construct of nation-state.

One of the most problematical and tricky issues in this thesis emerges here: to differentiate nation and nation-state. While the latter is more likely to be a territorial

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[27] Ernest Gellner, *Encounters with Nationalism*, Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994

[28] Ibid., pp.24-25

[29] İlhan Tekeli, *Birlikte Yazılan ve Öğrenilen Bir Tarihe Doğru*, İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserleri I, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul, 2007, pp.137-139

and governmental entity having an economic and judicial unity; the former is more complicated that it depends on some social, cultural and even emotional factors. They have many intersections and essential differences. Basically, the states often seek to enlarge its territories, but on the other hand nationalism, coveting a homogenous community, does not get along with imperialism.[30] Besides, the state is a political and physical organization, which makes it an entity, while the nation seems like an abstract feeling which may mean different things to different people. A nation-state is a territorially and governmentally unified form of a national identity. It has a bounded territory, a national flag, a common governmental body, economic, fiscal and educational centrality and a mass approval for the very existence of its national identity. In fact, the recognition of other nation-states makes the nation as a nation-state actor in IR.

Hence, nation-state is a combination of both nation and state. More than a combination of them, nation-state is something beyond them. It has been the dominant international actor in the modern era. It has its international sovereignty within a system of similar states; control over its territory; a central administrative apparatus; a distinct legal code, economy and educational system; a culture, defined by language, arts, customs, religion and/or race, that may depend on religion and ethnicity but also has a hegemonic strain adopted by elites and interest groups.[31] Apparently, nation-state with its modern nature has a limited, formal and internationally recognized character. In most of the historical cases, nation-state answers a human need for freedom and independence of peoples or nations from control of the conqueror. The control power is shifted to the modern nation-state in this sense.

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[30] Robert H. Wiebe, *Who We Are : A History Of Popular Nationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 7

[31] Pecora, 2001, p.2

Cogitation on control and modern state carries us to Weberian approach towards modern state. Max Weber actually did not specifically deal with nationalism or nation, but he defined the state as a "human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."[32] The territory and power are the two important factors in defining a modern state, according to Weber. His illuminating studies about bureaucracy and state as a political association influenced many scholars for long years. In fact, Weberian understanding of state as the monopoly of power makes us closer to the controlling and ruling role of the state. But still, it does not seem to be right to reduce nation-state to state. It has something more abstract, or at least the discourse about it suggests in this way. Moreover, nationalism is something different from statism. While nationalism elevates the nation, statism renders a high value to the state. According to Anthony Smith this over-valuation of the state can bring on the rise of Nazism and Fascism.[33] In fact, in Hitler and Mussolini cases, racism stands next to statism. George Mosse, the author of several books on Germany and Hitler, defines racism as a heightened nationalism.[34] In the discourse of Nazis an exaggerated form of nationalism, which idealized a pure and homogenous ethnic unity is apparent in their definition of a superior Aryan race. A utopian and impossible nation-state model was aimed. A nation which ethnically, culturally and linguistically fit into its state was the main argument of these ideologies during the gloomy years before the Second World War in Germany and Italy.

Overall, it is possible to say that a nation-state does not necessarily mean homogeneity, but it is the harmony of differences which makes a nation-state

[32] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 78

[33] Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2nd Edition, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1983, pp.4-5

[34] George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*, New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980

practical. The will of the people is the catalyst of the nation-state, which requires a civic nationalism. Legitimacy and hegemony of state structure depend on active representation and ratification of its citizens. In this sense, nationalism is "the desire among people who believe they share a common ancestry and a common destiny to live under their own government on land sacred to their history."[35] Obviously, there is a difference between ethnic and civic nationalism. While the former elevates the ethnic commonality, the latter grounds on state-society relations. Above all their differences about the emergence of the nation, it should be noted that every theory of nation develops itself on social alliance and cohesion. Without any alliance it would be meaningless to talk about a nation or national identity. It is the people and their belief which makes nations as living organisms.

These theories differ on how and on which basis nations emerged. On the one hand, ethnic based theories point out the organic character of nation by focusing on ethnicity or fraternity. According to this theory grounded on primordial idea, nations have always been there since the beginning of history under different social unifications. For this reason, the emergence of nation is something sacred and sublime within this theory. Similarly but not the same, another group of theorists, perennialists, ethno-symbolists or some modernists believe in the continuation of pre-modern unifications which awakened during modern times within nations. The link between old and new was never detached which makes modern nations as the new form of old societies. How much of the emergence of nations is made up and how much of it is natural has been a matter of discussion among these theories. On the other hand, most of the modern and post-modern theories see the emergence of nation as a human product of modern times in order to find a new way of social binding. It is a new type of social organization based on some written myths and stories about a "national" history. There are many theories which can fit into one or

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[35]Robert H. Wiebe, *Who We Are : A History Of Popular Nationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 6

two of these approaches, but the point is that these theories can be evaluated with their perception about the emergence of nations.

There is no strict separation between these approaches. Yet, any nationalist idea can include some parts of both, which contributes dramatically to the terminological chaos dramatically. As the focal point shifts from one pole to another, the definitions for nation, state or nation-state change, too. The variety on the estimations of the numbers of nation-states demonstrates how significant the selected criteria are. Estimates generally disclose too many nations but few states and even fewer nation-states in the end. The distinguished nationalism writer Walker Connor believed in the input of behavioralism and made a quantitative study about the nations. He does not have a primordial ethnic view in defining nation-states, but he still believes in the importance of ethnicity as a bond and defines himself an ethno-nationalist. Within this ethno-nationalist worldview he made a research about the number of existing homogenous states or in other words nation-states. According to Connor, among the 132 entities recognized as states in 1978, only 12 of them can be defined as essentially homogenous from an ethnic viewpoint. 25 states have major ethnic group as more than 90 percent of population and 25 states have the largest ethnic segment between 75 and 89 percent of the population. The rest of the states represent 74 and less population.[36] Connor, by reducing the number of the nation-states among the existing recognized states, points out that few examples of state formations include a national unification, at the same time. He, therefore, criticizes the international authorities' general attitude towards every nation-state and says "We have noted that, technically speaking, less than 10 percent of all states would qualify as essentially homogenous. But authorities nevertheless tend to refer to all states as nation-states."[37] Obviously, Connor's quantitative study is contradictory

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[36] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994, p.29

[37] Ibid., p.40

with the general approach about the number of the contemporary nation-states in the world. However, it may be a futile attempt to look for a widely accepted answer for this question. As mentioned above, problems in the terminology of nation and state hinder any certain definitions for these concepts.

Still, the important features of these concepts can be underlined in order to clarify their usages in this study. Nation is a typical social group which is united by cultural heritage, historical background, linguistic commonality and most of all the belief in being the members of this community. Next to these features, some nations may include religious, ethnic and territorial structure as well. Despite nation's mostly subjective definition, state suggests a more tangible one. The administrative body which is sovereign and has the right to use physical power within its territories can be named as state. State is not a sole body of government; it needs a group of people. The approval of the people, which refers to system of election and representative democracies, is what differentiates the modern state from the old monarchies or dictatorships. Nation-state, on the other hand, is an independent political unit on a given territory with an internally and externally sovereign state. Economy, judiciary and education are centrally managed in nation-state. People are linked to nation-state with rights and duties of citizenship. Moreover, nation-state demarcates a national identity based on cultural, historical, ethnical, religious or linguistic grounds. To some extent, nation-state is the politically organized version of nation depending on the approval of people.

After these conceptual discussions, the applications and debates of nationalism should be the next topic of this chapter, in order to clarify the pendulum of Turkish nationalism swinging between the poles of ethnic and civic arguments of nationalism. In fact, the debates about the Turkish nation, such as its construction process or the duality within itself would be grounded on this theoretical foundation. When the main arguments or the rhetorical background of Turkish nationalism is examined, the duality between these two poles or the traditions of nationalism

becomes clear. On the one hand, the ethnic focus of nationalism which glorifies the homogeneity of people on the same territories is apparent especially during the initial applications of the "national project" of Turkish state; on the other hand the civic nationalist idea grounded on conscious approval of the citizens and unification of people around the state apparatus has been an important basis of the ideology of the state elites. In fact, the debate between being a "Turk" or "Türkiyeli" (From Turkey) can be analyzed according to this duality. While the former may have an ethnic reference, the latter ignores any kind of ethnic or religious bonds and underlines the common meaning of being a citizen of Turkey. Actually, the place of the non-Muslim and non-Turkish Greek citizens of Turkey is related with this nuance. Thus, in this study, these different practices and discourses will be mentioned according to their different attributions to the Greek "other" in Turkish national identity.

It is widely accepted in nationalism literature that the different practices of European states about the relationship of state and nation caused this kind of a duality in theory. While the West European nationalism, the British and French, was mostly dealing with the role of the state and citizenship, the German Romantics were much eager about the existence of an organic nation.[38] This differentiation between these two parts of Europe can be explained with many socio-cultural or economic data. While the German Romantics, such as Fichte or Herder, were certain about the integrity of nation within history and the priority of nation over individual; the intellectuals from Western Europe, such as Rousseau or Locke, were taking the individual as the source of sovereignty and, indirectly, nation. Ironically, this divergence in scope of studies has been one of the most essential differences between the German Romantic nationalists and the Anglo-French nationalisms for centuries. A nationalism in which the state takes its sovereignty from its people's will, is

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[38] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 32, no. 2, April 1996, p.139

different from any other nationalism, which sees the state's sovereignty as a natural right coming from history.

This difference can be evaluated from another perspective upon the modernization of societies. In the western part of Europe, particularly in France and Britain, a route "from state to nation" was followed as a matter of development of territorial, constitutional and rational states. During the revolutionary years of the continent in the 18th century, the powerful state tradition of Britain and France did not decline; rather, it was culminated in the national frame. The constitutional state was crowned with citizenry. In this model of national development which is called as civic, citizenship in a territorial and sovereign nation-state is the cement of nation-state. With the nationalist transformation in the 18th century, the power of the state was centered on the voluntary participation and representation of its citizens, which had changed the political picture of dynastic hegemonies.

On the other hand, other parts of Europe were experiencing a different process. In Italy and Germany, the development was mostly "from nation to state". Although there had been some dynastic rules, there had never been a total national unification under a central state. The general idea among the German nationalist idealists was that they already had a nation and only the hegemonic state would fulfill the nation. National unification in Italy and Germany was provided with the inspirations of Romantic ideas, which demarcated the elements of culture and history. Unlike the voluntary citizenship in Britain or France, the organic and natural membership to a nation was the essential part of German and Italian nationalisms.

Everlasting search of the Romantic writers for their organic nation was mostly adopted by many German and Italian politicians in principle. Especially the Italian and German Romanticism were seeking to explain the *glorious* nation and their political unifications owed much to these Romantic intellectuals. During the turmoil about the national unifications in Central Europe between 1830 and 1848,

many well known philosophers motivated the masses and contributed to the process. Directly or indirectly, they were inspired from a primitive meaning of the nation which means birth, tribe or people, and raised a theory on fraternity, territory or blood. The spiritual character of nation was taken for granted in these texts and mostly a "nationalist" point of view was effective on the writers' interpretations. These types of theories and approaches found place in German Romantic idea of nation as an organic family, under a powerful state and with an inherited cultural history. Mostly, they generated the organic idea of nation and emphasized the traditions, kinship or land. For example, Vico claimed a mythical scenario for nations, which showed a three-age progress from gods to heroes and then to men. Within this recurring cycle of three ages, which were the divine, the heroic and the human, nation stands in the last run as a part of the most "civilized" and "developed" form of society. [39] According to Herder common language in a common territory was the backbone of a nation. He asserted the power of climate to affect ethnic identities and uses physico-geographical history of nations as the determinant in world history. As a German nationalist, he strictly defended the *Volk* (or Meinecke later called the *Kulturnation*)[40] as an extended organic family with a unique character.[41] Like Herder, Fichte concentrated on the fatherland of the German nation and its language, customs and racial descent. His stress on education, which he saw as the precondition of transformation of the individual into a citizen, would be central to many subsequent independence movements of nationalist idea, next to modern

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[39] Giambattista Vico, *The new Science of Giambattista Vico*, rev. trans. of third edition (1744), trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968, pp.425-426

[40] Vincent P. Pecora, *Nations and Identities: Classical Readings*, ed. V. P. Pecora, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2001, p. 87

[41] *Johann Gottfried von Herder on Social and Political Culture*, F. M. Barnard (trans. and ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 299-301, 323-326

Germany. [42] In his "Address to the German Nation" (1808), Fichte described nation as creation of people according to a "spiritual law of nature" and a "natural law of divine development".[43] Thus, he asserted that nations were eternal and their continuity depended on the national will connected with the spirit of nature. The nation has been preserved in the biological descent, traditions, language and the "whole common fatherland", with which he openly signified the German nation.

These arguments found echo among the Ottoman Turkish intellectuals who inspired the founders of the Turkish nation-state. When it became clear that the separatist movements were out of control and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was inevitable, the formulation of the new nation carried many Romantic aspects, like the patriotic nationalism in the Balkans. In fact, the process was more likely to be a construction of a nation of this state. The Turkishness, which had never been mentioned as a known ethnic or national group before, became the focal point of the Ottoman Turkish elites. The Turkishness had grounded on some organic bonds, such as ethnicity or religion, which made the Greeks as an outer subject of this definition in turn. The formulation of the Young Turks centered on the motherland-blood-religion triplet[44] was deeply connected with the German nationalism. The population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1924 can be seen as a relevant example of the homogenization of the Turkish nation according to ethnic and religious criteria, as well. The Turkish Sun Language Theory of the 1930s explained the Turkish nation as a continuum of its ancient civilizations and it had believed to protect its unique character since the beginning. This theory can be seen another attempt of the

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[42] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (trans.), Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979, pp. 130-151

[43] Ibid., pp. 134-135

[44] See, Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962 and Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 32, no. 2, April 1996

state to define Turkishness with a belief in the organic development of the Turkish nation.

Another theory about the formation of nation comes from the Geneva-born French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau against the above mentioned mythical scenarios of nation as an organic institution and a natural outcome of the divine rationality of world history. He was a well-known Enlightenment thinker and his ideas about republicanism and "social contract" influenced the French Revolution. He stressed the notion of popular sovereignty based on collective will, not on common history of people. In his popular work "The Social Contract", he claimed that law and morality were needed in order to hinder the degeneration phase of the state of nature. According to Rousseau, the unification around the social contract preserved the participants' rights and freedom. He named this system of joining as the "general will", which also generates the nation. Thus, the sovereignty of the nation is in the hands of its people, which actually mean republicanism in modern times.[45] In Rousseau, an appreciation towards the individual and his own will are noticed. It is for sure that a "social contract" would balance the relationship among people and bring a harmony to society. Seemingly, the new state of men in a "contract society" would both limit but at the same time protect the freedom of men.

The civic nationalism owes much to the "social construct" approach that the "will" of the people and the binding power of the state were underlined. The nation was not accepted as an inherent, natural, necessary and even divine route of history, but it was seen as a function of alteration in power, institutions and will, without any metaphysical soul. In this sense, Ernest Renan was the main figure who was path breaking with his criticism of the German nationalist Fichte about the reason of existence or "raison d'état" of nation. Against Fichte's natural and immutable nation,

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[45] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, C. D. H. Cole (trans.), London: J. M. Dent, 1993, pp. 190-193, 102-103

Renan made his famous speech "What is a Nation" in 1882, and the speech was accepted as a milestone in nationalism literature thereafter. He criticized Fichte's and many other theorists' ideas in this speech. According to this famous French historian, there is no such thing as organic nations in antiquity. They were historically constrained political forms which were born out of uprisings against dynastic conquest or migration. Renan explicitly questioned the primary grounds of national identity in Romanticism, from race to religion, language and geography. Eventually he denoted two important factors: the collective memory of past and present will. Although he still left room for the "spiritual" existence of nation, he insisted that nation was not an eternal reality but it depended on popular affirmation and re-affirmation that he called "daily plebiscite".[46]

This scholarly debate about the mentality under the concept of belonging to one nation opened an intellectual path in nationalism studies. Renan questioned not just the "naturalness" of a nation, but he also interrogated the stimulating factors of nation building and the tools, which were not "spiritually" organized by a divine power, as Fichte argued, but totally depended on human mind. Renan, in his article of his speech, tried to analyze the "dangerous misunderstanding" about the nation and clarified the confusing situation between "race and nation". He was sure that belonging to a nation was not about racial or ethnic bonds, but was related with feelings and desires. Therefore he rejected the notion of the antiquity and eternity of nations and entitled them "something new in history". According to him, what characterized these nations was the combination of the populations. He defined this combination via "large-scale solidarity" which was "constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in

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[46] For details of the debate between Fichte and Renan see: Vincent P. Pecora, *Nations and Identities: Classical Readings*, ed. V. P. Pecora, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2001, pp. 22-25, sources: Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Address to the German Nation*, trans. R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979, pp. 134-135, 146-147 and Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Eley, Geoff and Suny, Ronald Grigor (eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader,* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 41-55

the future." This idea of nationalism presumed a past and its main principle in the present was namely, consent, "the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life". [47] The desire of common life, indeed, became a motto for Kemalist nationalism. Under the framework of the Turkish state, everybody has been accepted as the Turkish citizen, regardless of their ethnic, religious or racial bonds. In fact, the definition of the Turk has been made according to this inclusive outlook in the Turkish constitutions since the formation. This inclusion, which has to be stimulated for a democratic and civic structure, encompasses the Greek minority, as well. However, as it will be discussed in the fifth chapter, there has been a dilemma between the civic and ethnic characters of Turkish nationalism, although the Turkish citizenship has been officially defined with civic terms.

Moreover, Renan was a leading intellectual because he pointed out not only the importance of remembering the past sacrifices in national unifications, but also the contribution of "forgetting" some parts of history. "For, the essential element of a nation is that all its individuals must have many things in common but it must also have forgotten many things. Every French citizen must have forgotten the night of St. Barthélemy and the massacres in the thirteenth century in the South." According to Benedict Anderson, who is a modernist and a constructivist, Renan wanted to make us aware of a "systemic historiographical campaign, deployed by the state mainly through the state's school system". Anderson added that, Renan was not talking about a need to remember the forgotten things. He used "*doit avoir oublié*" (must have forgotten) instead of "doit oublier" (must forget), which meant, by implication that any given nation has already forgotten the unwanted part of its own history, such as the old failures or tragedies.[48] Obviously, the rewritten history of the Turks has "forgotten" many things while the centuries long history of the Turks has

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[47] Renan, 1996, pp. 41-55

[48] Anderson, 1991, pp.199-200

been "remembered". The Greek and Byzantine influence in Turkish social, cultural and administrative systems has been systemically "forgotten" in the school textbooks. The common Ottoman Empire background of the Turks and the Greeks has been carefully redefined and the Ottoman identity, which appreciated the *Rumi* culture, could not find a room within the mainstream Turkish history books.

Modernization opened a new era in nationalism studies. Although the classical debate about the nature of the nations has still been the main theme of modern nationalism writers, their existence as a natural outcome of human history was no more taken for granted. The late 20th century has witnessed an uncontrollable resurgence of ethnic clashes and nationalism has turned back with a more powerful potential. The World Wars, uprisings in the colonies and minority issues carried the social problems to a more complicated epoch. Many new questions arose: Why did people deeply attach to their ethnic ties or nations? Why were so many people still prepared to make dramatic sacrifices for their nations? Were the modern nations the continuation of the previous ones? Were there real nations or did we imagine them?

There can be many different standpoints in answering these questions about nation. Although there are numerous numbers of approaches, most of them have centered into two main categories of explanations: the primordialist (including perennials) and the modernist (including ethno-symbolist). This categorization has a lot in common with the classical debate between the German Romantics and the civic nationalists of the Anglo-French. However, different from the classical debates, the sequence of nation and nationalism in history is one of the well known debates of the modern approaches. The question of which one is derived from the other or in other words "nations before nationalism or nationalism before nations debate"[49] is

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[49] The separation has inspired from Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Palgrave, 2000

very popular. This question, which reminds the puzzle of "chicken and egg", has concerned a great deal of nationalism writers.

The argument of "nations have predated nationalism" asserts that nation is a form of cultural, linguistic, religious and territorial unity and therefore is the basis of nationalism -the ideological movement that aims the attainment or maintenance of autonomy or unity of a nation.[50] There are different reactions to this argument in a broad range, from primordial to ethno-symbolists, from organicist to perennialists. Perhaps this argument finds its roots in the German Romanticism, which has glorified the nation as an organic and eternal identity of people. According to primordialists[51] "nations were seen as the natural and primordial divisions of humanity, and nationalism was thought to be ubiquitous and universal."[52] They escape to cut the links with the past and claim that a nation is both a cultural and legal-territorial unit of society sharing a common history, culture, economy and legal rights/duties.[53] Moreover, kinship, ethnicity and the genetic bases of human existence are the roots of nation according to Primordialism.[54] British historian Edward Shils was the first to use the term Primordialism in 1957. He explained the family ties with kinship and stressed the importance of organic link between the

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[50] Anthony D. Smith, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures, *Historical Society of Israel, The Nation in History: Historical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism,* Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 2000, p. 3

[51] The term Primordial means "Of, relating to, or existing from the very beginning of time; earliest in time; primeval, primitive; (more generally) ancient, distant in time" according to the Oxford Dictionary. E-source is available at: http://www.oed.com/ (accessed 12 July 2008)

[52] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.3-4

[53] Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnic Election and Cultural Identity", *Ethnic Studies*, 1993, Vol. 10, p. 11

[54] Smith, 1999, p.4

members, which he called primordial.[55] Clifford Geertz was another figure in Primordialism who put the strong primordial ties of the *givens*, such as blood, culture, religion and territory, as the most important threats against the civil sentiments of modern state. He claimed that primordial ties are powerful than the civic ties.[56]

Perennialists are the second group who has many common points with Primordialists. Unlike the Primordialists, they do not believe in the nation as the natural and organic outcome of human progress and besides, they are careful in discussing the continuation of the same ethnicity from old times to modern. The Perennialists believe that every nation has a link to the previous societies. They believed that every nation comes from the Ancient or Middle Ages, but had changed in time. But their national essence is always the same; only their structural forms, territories or leaders can be different. As an example, Hans Kohn defined nationalism as the state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of men was to the nation-state. However, before ethnicity, religion or language, he stressed the deep attachment of individual to his nation. The most important element of nationalism was the living and active corporate will, according to Kohn. Besides, he has believed that most of the modern nationalist movements were the awakenings of the old ones. The Greek and Hebrew nationalisms were, according to Kohn, the continuation of the ancient experiences. In fact, the "new" nationalisms, such as the American nationalist movement, were affected by the consciousness rooted in history.[57] As can be seen, the perennialists give importance to the link between the modern and the old, which means that if nationalism was strong enough in the past, it can live long. Still, it is

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[55] Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties", *British Journal of Sociology*, No: 8, Vol:2, 1957, p.142

[56] Clifford Geertz, *Old Societies and New States*, New York: Free Press, 1963

[57] Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*, Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1955

questionable at what point of history did these nationalisms arise and when will they end.

On the other hand, "nationalism before nations" argument is much more a modernist and constructivist perspective regarding to its idea of nationalism as a way of constructing its own nation. Although it seems easier to define nation before nationalism because of the fact that the terms of nationalism was produced from nation, the supporters of this argument see the transformation process of traditional societies from empires, clans or feudal principals to modern nations as the outcome of nationalism. Modernization, capitalism, industrialization and development were the reasons of great transformations in societies, and these transformations calls for nationalism. According to them, nationalism had appeared first and later constructed its nation. Thus, it was the nationalist idea which reproduced nation as social melting pot.

In short, these thinkers are the keen supporters of the idea that nationalism is a phenomenon of modernity and it turned the world order into a new way of existence as separate and hegemonic nations. Taking the risk of oversimplification, these writers are generally called as "modernists", since they consider nationalism as a derivative of modernization. In this sense, nationalism is the conductor of nation and they explain the historical evaluation of nation as a transformation of people from traditional structures to modern world. In this regard, national identity is a man-made construct, which derived from the belief of nations as imagined[58] or invented[59] in character. This study, generally, depends on these modernist theories of

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[58] Benedict Anderson prefers this term in order to describe the created structure of nation. This does not refer nation as an illusion or a fabrication, but a created phenomenon. For details about the concept, see: Anderson, 1991

[59] Eric Hobsbawm takes the attention to the role of inventing the traditions and composing national foci. For details about the concept, see: Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality,* Cambridge University Press*:* Cambridge, 1993

nationalism in the sense that Turkish nation is constructed as a modern project, notwithstanding its social and historical background, and the Greek otherization has been used as part of this construction.

While some of the modernists prefer to use economic progress, some focus on socio-political ties. Still, they all agree on the fact that modernization is the real cause of nationalism in human history. According to the modernist view, nation is a recent phenomenon and the outcome of modernization and it consisted of an alternative source of political authority. French Revolution was a turning point for them, during which nationalism was expanded to the rest of the world as a movement. From those times, the ideal of sovereignty and self-determination of nations has been reshaping the world order. Therefore, without any doubt, nationalism has no link with the past, but it is a modern ideology.

The 1950s were the years of the modernist turn in nationalism literature. While the social sciences, especially sociology, was begun to be redefined with constructivist methodology, nationalism studies became the subject of constructivism, too. Many modernist formulations appeared during these years. A socio-demographic approach towards nation was put by Karl Deutsch, who pointed out communication as the most important factor in popular harmony with national symbols and norms. Language, standardized system of symbols (language) and auxiliary codes such as alphabets and writing systems were the communicative facilities of a society. [60] Max Weber had a more subjectivist definition of nationalism and told that nation was a sentiment of solidarity and a sphere of values has been path-breaking in social sciences. He emphasized rationalization and the role of

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[60] Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communicatio: An inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, New York: (Cambridge) Published jointly by the Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Wiley, 1953

subjective elements, such as culture, which could sometimes be more important than religion or language.[61]

Up to the 1960s there had been a debate in nationalism literature about the definition and the dynamics of nations. Implicitly or explicitly, the nation had been taken as a given unit of analysis. Then, the nationalism literature was shaken with a British historian, Elie Kedourie. He defined nationalism as an invented ideological doctrine and gave the primary role to unsatisfied intellectuals who created nationalism through language, folklore and the rediscovery of cultural heritage in their pursuit of Enlightenment meliorism or positiveness.[62] In fact, the Turkish elite's attempts to (re)discover the Turkish cultural heritage, language and state tradition in the ancient times is relevant with Kedourie's approach. Besides, the glorification of the shift from the Ottoman plural imperial identity to Turkish homogeneous nation-state construct has been a kind of meliorism in Turkish nationalism.

In nationalist literature, the invented nature of nationalism and the instrumentalist role of intellectuals influenced the modernist views in many ways. With 1980s the modernist view flourished with secular and Marxist theoreticians, as well. Ernest Gellner proposed that nation formation had been largely based on the role of culture in human societies and the transformation of culture as a result of modernization. Gellner destroyed the "sanctity" of nation and said: "Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is a reality, for better or worse, in general an inescapable

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[61] Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958

[62] Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1960

one."[63] He admitted that "what has really happened in the modern world was that the role of culture in human life was totally transformed by the cluster of economic and scientific changes which have transformed the world since the seventeenth century."[64] According to his functionalist hypotheses, modernization eroded traditional societies and cultures; economic processes had changed and the new system dismantled masses. Proletarianizaton of the people in anonymous modern cities was the later phase. Especially the state-run educational system helped to expand language and shared culture during this period. Hence, the professional, educated and state-supported cultural homogeneity or *high culture* could be built as a condition of modernity. Gellner was well aware of the uneven waves of modernization which could cause conflicts over resources between remnants of the old system and the newly urbanized ex-peasants. These types of conflict could be under the framework of race, religion or language according to him. Tom Nairn and Michael Hechter were the other Marxists who explained the dynamics of nationalism mostly with economic processes. According to Nairn, nationalism was an outcome of uneven development of capitalist economy and the reaction of the poor, periphery countries to this unevenness was nationalism.[65] While Nairn defined nationalism as a process within international imperialism, Hechter grounded his model on internal colonialism. Industrialization would cause inequalities within people because of the internal colonial system. Some people would be more advantageous during the industrialization and got richer and stronger. They could have a common ethnic, cultural or political commonality and they could "otherize" the rest of the people. The cultural differences would unite with the economic inequality. Since the advantageous group members protected their relatives, friends or group members, who shared the common culture, they continued to be the hegemonic power in

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[63] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.49

[64] Ibid., pp.9-10

[65] Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up Of Britain : Crisis And Neo-Nationalism*, Altona Vic.: Common ground Publications, 2003

country. The cultural differences meant economic inequality in the long run, according to Hechter. The oppressed people developed solidarity among them and rebelled against the uneven economic conditions. This solidarity was nationalism in Hechter's formulation.[66]

The economic process has been accompanied by a political process. Nationalism was a modern phenomenon and more than an identity, it was a political movement. Moreover, it could serve for different political aims of sub-elites who seek the control of power through the modern state.[67] In this sense, there can be many different types of elite constructions and nationalist movements. John Breuilly investigated nationalist movements according to their activity against a state or against political organizations. They can have separatist, reformist or unification aims. He, then, put Turkish nationalism as a reformist activity against a political organization which was not a state.[68] The Turkish nationalism was a form of reproducing the old system after a reformation process which was implemented by the political elites.

The role of the elites and their construction of the nation as a modern phenomenon were underlined by several modernist writers, too. Paul R. Brass claimed that nationalism was a tool of the elites to capture or protect political power. The ethnic identities were neither constant nor given, and they could be constructed through the interests of political groups.[69] The renowned historian Eric Hobsbawm claimed that nation belongs exclusively to a particular and historically recent

[66] Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford university Press, 2000

[67] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, vol. 2, 1993

[68] Ibid., p.9

[69] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, New Delhi, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1991

period.[70] He saw nationalism as a kind of social engineering, which constructed a new social system appropriate to the changes and modernity. During rapid social changes, in order to keep stability and security, some traditions were invented as a part of this social engineering. National consciousness was the best way of cohesion. Therefore during the turmoil, many nations were invented in Europe and America, especially between 1870 and 1914, according to Hobsbawm. Nationalism was an invented tradition itself, which in turn created nations. The energy of masses, which emerged during wide social transformations, could be canalized through national cohesion. There were several ways to control these masses and integrate them into the system. Establishing new social rituals, creating new statute arrangements, disposing national education system or inventing new national symbols were some these ways of inventing a nation. Applying these traditions repeatedly eased to internalize the national identity and consciousness.[71] Thus, nationalism was given as a way of bypassing the big social chaos in Hobsbawm's theory. Some traditions were invented by the political elites in order to hinder the masses' any attempt to interfere into administration. Nation, therefore, was appeared as the most comprehensive invented tradition, in this assertively constructivist approach. The formation of Turkish national identity fits into the grand picture of Hobsbawm to a large extent. The elites had to deal with the social trauma of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and construct a new social structure instead of the old one, which would be a nation. Besides, it would be a reductionism to ignore the historical background of this construction or the public belief about the reality of the nation.

As an attempt to reply this call, Benedict Anderson claimed that nations are imagined but not fake, although nation and nationalism is a special cultural artifact. The bounded and sovereign nations are imagined at a point of time with some social

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[70] Hobsbawm, 1993, pp. 9-10

[71] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp.1-14

bonds. They filled the vacuum in the minds of people after religion and empires began to be erased. The national education in vernacular languages and print capitalism are the two contributing factors which makes any national identity permanent.[72] While nation is explained as a modern phenomenon, it is not reduced into a product of modernization. The social narration, belief in its reality and its role among societies make nation as a dynamic social conduct. Accordingly, Miroslav Hroch defines nation as a product of a complicated process of historical development, which makes it a construction not an eternal category. It is social group integration and a collective consciousness. He counts the most important ties of this collectivity idea. The first one is the memory of a common past which is treated as the "destiny" of the group. The second one is the destiny of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of social communication. The last one is the civil society genesis via the equality of the members.[73] Obviously, the writing of this common past would be very important in determine the "destiny" of the social group, which would be the anticipated nation in the future. Moreover, like Anderson, Hroch was very clear about the importance of common language and historical past in creating a nation. In fact, he put "the development of a national culture based on the local language and its normal use in education, administration and economic life"[74] among the goals of a national movement.

According to Hroch, nationalism was a way of national consciousness coming after the success of the national movement and it elevated nation over all other things and it would be wrong to accept all the national movements as

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[72] Anderson, 1991

[73] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe", *New Left Review*, vol.198, 1993, pp.4-6

[74] Ibid., p.6

nationalist. Nationalism is only a type of these nationalist movements.[75] In this sense, Hroch explained nationalist movements in three phases. In the first phase the intellectual activists deal with discovering the linguistic, cultural and social features. They have to expand this common ground to the whole. To discover the language of the given ethnic group and spread it to the people is the first phase of a national identification. The national consciousness and the active patriotic agitation would be the later phases in this process. In the second phase, another activist group rises and supports the project of a new nation. It is the phase of awakening a national consciousness. When a mass movement is achieved, it is the beginning of the third phase, in which a social structure can be established.[76] These phases of national movement are coherent with the Turkish nationalism, with several reservations. Primarily, the intellectuals who deal with finding a common ground during the first phase and the other activist group who supports the nation project were deeply intermingled in Turkish nationalism. Most of the Turkism thinkers were from the state bureaucracy and took important roles in active politics.

The constructivist-modernist approach which defines nationalism as a tool of the state elite to construct nation enlighten the functional duty of nationalism. However, one might criticize the ahistoricism of the process. In this respect, the ethno-symbolists critic to modernist-constructivist theory would be useful to fill the gap. Anthony Smith, John Hutchinson and John Armstrong are the important writers in this approach. Although this approach has very similar propositions as the modernists, the ethnic histories are accepted as one of the important factors in modern nations. Contemporary nations are seen as the continuation of the pre-modern societies. They are mostly outcomes of modern systems, but the cultural,

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[75] Miroslav Hroch, "National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective" in Sukumar Periwal (ed.), *Notions of Nationalism*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995, p.65

[76] Miroslav Hroch, Comparative Studies in Modern European History: Nation, Nationalism, Social Change, Aldershot, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2007

ethnic and historical bonds and continuation make them real. At least, nations believe in this continuation and that matters for nationalism. Instead of ethnicity, which may contain some racist implications, Smith prefers the concept of *ethnie* to mention the narration of common past, historical myths, common cultural and linguistic base and connection to a given territory.[77] His definition of nation is meaningful when we consider his stress on *ethnie*. Nation is "a named social group, with common historical memories and mass culture, occupying an historic territory or homeland, possessing a single division of labor and common legal rights and duties for all members".[78] Territorial unity, economic system and law are some important parts of Smith's definition and he does not detach nation from its history, even going back to pre-modern times. Hence, the ethno symbolists claim that they overcome the modernist shortcomings in explaining the psychological and social reality of nations. The historical background of nations is not forgotten during explaining the modern nationalist process. Despite their functional explanations about myths, history, ethnicity and language, they are still modernists, because, they do not believe in naturalness or organicism of nations. Thus, nation has to be constructed, imagined or created at some point of history, either in the pre-modern or modern times.

To this extent, Turkish nationalism can be explained with many of the above theories. The 19th century was a turning point for the Ottoman Empire. Nationalist idea influenced the Ottoman Empire, especially the non-Muslims and the Ottoman identity was no longer valid for them. The search for a new national identity had socio-economic and political reasons, but in the end the Ottoman framework lost its meaning as a desirable upper identity. Nationalism became the basis of changing social identities. During this change, a new bureaucratic class was rising who were in need of new social bond. Greeks were the forerunner nationalists in the Ottoman Empire, because of their already-composed intellectual and socio-economic power.

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[77] Smith, 1986, p.21

[78] Smith, 1999, p.189

On the other hand, Turks were the last in the Ottoman history to seek for a national identity, because of their continuing solidarity with the state mechanism. However, a new intellectual and bureaucratic class, the Young Ottomans, later Young Turks, were the social engineers of the Turkish nationalism. Nationalism was an instrument for them to create a common base for the people. Some ethnic, religious or cultural features were manipulated by these intellectuals in order to adopt the new system. Turcology and linguistics became the vivid studies during the last century of the Ottoman Empire. The awakening of Turkish nation was made by these researches, as indicated in one of the phases of Miroslav Hroch. Moreover, Anderson's vacuum theory can be applicable to the Ottoman case, too. Instead of elapsing Islamic and Ottoman identity during the modernization era, nationalisms rouse as a new adherence for people. National languages, myths and symbols substituted the imperial ones. Besides, most of them were constructed or written to consolidate the nationalist basis. Turkish history writing and national education became the tools of nationalization of the Turks. The Greek otherization has been an important tool to nationalize the Turks. The Ottoman intellectuals carved out a Turkish nation from the Ottoman identity. This period focused on not "who are the Turks", but "who are not the Turks?", since it was made out of the large Ottoman identity. In other words, Turkishness was not out there to believe, it had to be discovered and decomposed from large imperial vision. Finding out Non-Muslim and non-Turkish elements within the imperial total seemed to be the easiest way to construct Turkish nation. To this end, the Greek otherization contributed much to draw the lines around Turkish nationalism.

So far, the concepts of nation and nationalism were discussed according to their definitions and the conflictual interpretations of these definitions. Since this study starts from the point of identification of nations and perceiving the other national identities, there will be another conceptual discussion part which will focus on national identity and self-other relations. The aim of that part is to read the in-

between-lines of the rhetoric of Turkish national identity and its stand in front of the Greek factor.

## 2.2. Identity, National Identity and "Other"

Considering the variety among the approaches, it is obvious that the term "nation" means different things to people. It sometimes means a community, sometimes a nation-state or even, sometimes the state.[79] Pecora identifies *natio* as birth, tribe or people by looking to its Latin original root.[80] According to Oxford English Dictionary it is "(the) people or group of peoples; a political state". Certainly it is the "identity" which arouses the feeling of belonging and unity among these people. There are two basic dimensions of "identity" originated from its Latin root of *identitas*, from *idem*, which means "the same". While the first one is the absolute sameness, the other points out distinctiveness which supposes consistency or continuity over time. Thus the idea of sameness and identity simultaneously establishes two possible relations of comparison between things or peoples: *similarity*, on the one hand, and *difference*, on the other.[81] Moreover, "identity is not "just there"' it must always be established." This means that an identity has to associate it*self* with something or someone else, in other words with an*other,* since it is like a coin with double faces. Taken together, similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identity rising on the exclusion of the "un-identical". As Richard Jenkins puts "Social identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)." [82] Hence, one could understand the role of the "other" in the formation of the "self" from the above mentioned similarity versus difference

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[79] Billig, 1995, p.24

[80] Pecora, 2001, p.16

[81] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, Routledge: New York, 1996, pp.3-4

[82] Ibid. , p.4

perception. It can be called as "otherization" which is a term pointing out the aim of using the other in order to crystallize the self.

The issue can be developed by looking into the reasons and ways of creating the other in any collective identity. It is important to understand the main motivation beyond this self-other duality and to reveal the primary psychology in explaining this social process. Defining the other, which is generally charged with negative attributions, is a case of social communication system and development of the collective judgment. It is very hard to imagine a society without any other. The need to demonstrate the difference of its unity among all other identities seemed to be an understandable way of self-justification. Having the other or otherization gives rise to creativity. Envy mechanism, competing sides and collective collaboration against the other increase the strength of the self. The superiority claim towards the other can motivate people to work for the right purpose and to be on the right side. However, more than putting aside the different identities, having the other restricts the self. The given role-models and morality get rigid and become impossible to change the balance within this world of identities.

Fredrik Barth, an anthropologist and sociologist who is renowned for his theory of "ethnic boundaries", explains the process of identification via inter-ethnic contact and interdependence, which create ethnic groups. The boundary maintenance, which separates peoples, each with their culture, is the main tenet of identity formation. He argues that shared culture is not the main basis of ethnic grouping, but rather cultural differences among the ethnic groups is the key factor. Hence, the boundaries are not the product of pre-existing identities, but rather as a consequent of contacting with "other" boundaries create identities.[83] In other words,

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[83] Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, Bergen, Oslo: Universitets Forlaget, 1969

"self" can more easily be constructed within "what is not it"[84] Namely the national self or national identity can be defined not only from within, but also from out, which means distinguishing and differentiating the nation from other nations or ethnic groups. Facing this double-edged character of national identity, we have to ask to which extent it is a form of inward-looking self-consciousness of a given people or the extent to which the self-conception of the nation is conditioned from outside, namely through classifying who is *not* a national and differentiating the group from others. Under this presupposition of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, it is possible to see that some "others" or say "significant others", namely the other nations in our case, could be perceived as a threat to the given nation's distinctiveness, authenticity and/or independence.[85] The threat perception is useful to strengthen the identities. Beside its defining role, the "other" turns into the ground of "selfness".

It is crucial to evaluate the process that transforms the perception of the "other" as a "threat" for the self being. The rationalization of seeing the other as a threat is mostly based on the problematic correlation between perception, image, thought, belief and knowledge. Although these terms seem to be different in many ways, some long-lasting traditions or rituals can make them interchangeable. Since the study focuses on perception of the other, the confusion about this term is going to be discussed. The biggest problem here is that it is very hard to separate two similar terms, *perception* and *belief*, from each other. While the former is an image*,* which is not an exact perception of truth, the latter is believed to be emanated from observation and reality. A person is used to accept the world in which s/he lives and

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[84] Jacques Derrida*, Of Grammatology,* New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976, p.47

[85] Anna Triandafyllidou, "National Identity and the "Other", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 21, No.4, July 1998, pp. 593-594

his/her beliefs as right and natural. In fact, popular judgments and images can possibly turn into a kind of "knowledge" for that society.[86]

This social attitude, certainly, finds its ground in human psychology. Science of psychology is interested in this human attitude, especially after Sigmund Freud's theory about humanitarian need to create an enemy in order to maintain its existence in a healthy way. Individual directs his/her anger and hate to this enemy, or, namely, the other. The well-known psychologist Gordon W. Allport explains prejudices with the hate from him/herself. He attracts attention to the narrow minded people who actually hates him/herself but canalizes this hatred to the other and accuses that person with something which is, in reality, a deficiency of him/her.[87] Allport defines the key term prejudice as a "feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience".[88] More than positive judgments, prejudices are shaped around negative approaches. Besides, these judgments probably follow a deductive way and develop preconceived opinions of the other people, assuming that all of the members of the other identity are the same.

Certainly, the threat perception against the other is a useful agenda for the states, the elites or the decision makers. It would be a strong legitimacy of any policy. Ethnic homogenization and constructing a unitary state is a well-known policy of some states and it is heavily supported by the "ghost" of the threat of the other, in or outside of the country. Moreover, any economic or political situation or problem can be concealed with the "other" rhetoric. Economic stagnation, social discomfort or political failure can be the underlining reasons of why the governing

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[86] Herkül Millas, *Türk Romanı ve "Öteki": Ulusal Kimlikte Yunan İmajı"*, İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000, p.2

[87] İlhan Tekeli, *Birlikte Yazılan ve Öğrenilen Bir Tarihe Doğru*, İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserleri I, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul, 2007, p.162

[88] Gordon Willard Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 25th anniversary ed., Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 1979, p.6

group accuses the other as the threatening factor. Wartimes are distinct with states' heated propagandas against any nation, people or religion. The people are made to believe that not the state or the citizens, but the others are responsible for the turmoil in the country. With this dimension, the other has been a life saver of the states during difficult times. On the other hand, this study does not aim to come up with a conclusion that only the states are capable or responsible of creating the other. Although the state is very important catalyst in this process, there are many variables in collective identities which direct people's acts. Historical experiences, identity differences or some clashing interests can be the grounding factors of the tension between the peoples. The problem is that how much of these factors are reasonable cannot be understood well because of the distorted picture of the relations, which has been abused for a period of time.

After this information, any reader of this dissertation would think how biased, meaningless and nonscientific otherization is. Although it is possible for everybody to see the irrationality of discussing superiority of a group over any other group, the official or illusive ways of this kind of otherization can be unseen and hidden. Educational system, history books, political rhetoric, common expressions and even some children's plays can have some hidden propaganda of otherization. The process can continue without any obvious clues. Communication tools can normalize any thought or expression which includes otherization. In such a case the society might not be aware of this otherization, or worse, they may be aware but not interested in any change about it. Every individual is born into a social system which has its own dynamics and culture. Consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, every individual is imposed with the judgments and morality of his/her society. Beginning from the parental education, the individual is thought to be an ideal citizen of the society. Everyday language, newspapers, schools, books and any social conversation trains people according to a role model. Taking the pride of being a member of that community and being ready to protect it whenever needed is what national identity

expects from its citizens. The practices and intensity can vary among them, but every national identity suggests its own excellence and naturalness, clearly or ambiguously. Defining itself contains defining its other at the same time and otherization has different methods. Criticizing the other nation, making fun of them or accusing them about some "historical facts" can sneak into the "normal" lives and settle into minds of people. A child can read stories about its nation's success over the others who are generally cruel and bad. Boys can fight with their toy swords in their war plays against the enemy which has some familiar signals of the other nation. Any football match with another national football team can turn into a clash of rescuing the national honor. History school books, national newspapers or news on TV can be other examples of the same process. What is common for all of them is that they are parts of daily social lives and people set their minds with these judgments or prejudices. Hence, the stereotypes about the other become the normal perception of the social culture of that nation. It is very hard for anybody to be aware of or be critical of this pattern.

Except for some possible peak points, most of the time, otherization shows itself as common prejudices or opinions in social psychology. Generally some branches of science are abused for this aim. Biology, anthropology and history have become popular areas for researches in order to reach the "expected" and "wanted" outcomes about the superiority of the national identity over the others. The unconditioned trust to scientific thought, which was developed with the rise of positive sciences and rationality, has been abused by the biased approaches.

The term of race was developed in 18th century as a naïve expression to point out the allocation of peoples as geographical groups. Some well known naturalist and biologists, such as Blumenbach (1752-1840), Buffon (1707-1788) and Linnaeus (1707-1778), used this term not with a pure nationalist or racist idea, but because of necessities to name the geographical groups. However, within decades, this unclear term was transformed into a tool of a deliberate racism. Many researches were done

on human skeleton, skull, blood or complexion; and many fake data were published. Seeking of an Arian race became the main obsession of many scientists. In the meantime, these researches proved to be wrong and, in fact, the analysis that not purity but plurality is the virtue of human race became widespread. It is proved that biological diversity provides more success in adjustment to environmental conditions and illness more than biological purity. Moreover, it might be plausible to think that differences among people are based on cultural grounds, rather than race or nation. There is no mental difference among groups of peoples from different nations, languages, geographies or religions.[89]

However, using scientific researches for the benefit of national identities can still be seen. History writing has been one of the most important tools for many nations to highlight their privileged position and make their citizens believe in this vision. Official histories are sometimes very biased about their histories. While the successes and victories are exaggerated and put into the center of everything, the defeats or failures are ignored or misnarrated. The significant others are vital parts of the national history. Others' victories are explained by their cheating or injustice, while their victories over the others are narrated as justice and prosperity. From time to time, some official history writings might exaggerate the national emphasis and identity connotations turn into xenophobia.

These types of approaches limit the opportunities in IR and peaceful collaborations. Nations affected with negative feelings to each other would lose their bona fide and every problem between them can turn into a crisis. Moreover, if there is a minority group in the country who are somehow related to "the other" they are mostly disturbed by discriminative rhetoric and policies. National harmony may be dissolved by clashes among majority and minority groups. Not only the international, but also the domestic atmosphere deteriorates under these circumstances.

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[89] Tekeli, 2007, p.161

On this theoretical base of identity and other perceptions, the case of Turkish national identity and the role of the Greek other will be searched. The historical ground of the prejudices between two nations will be discussed in order to understand the underlying reasons of the Greek otherization in Turkish national identity formation process. Many negative features attributed to the Greeks during the formation of a new Turkish nation-state, in order to prove the positive aspects of the Turks. Perhaps we can assert with courage that, more than any other "other"s, i.e. the Russians, the Armenians, the Arabs or the Kurds, the Greeks are the number one "other" for the Turkish nationalism. This is not only because Turks and Greeks' most of national interests are clashing with each other, but because they have really similar characteristics: historical backgrounds, people's social lives, family structures or kitchens. In spite of these similarities, "otherization" and exclusion do not work in an objective way of looking. Cambodian people, with a totally different culture, religion or mentality, are not mentioned as the "other", but the Greeks are. Since the "other" is the mirror image of yours, you have to pick the closer.

The Turkish national identity can be investigated within the context of the problematic relation between Islam and Europe. Islam was the threatening other of Europe which helped to make it as the European identity. The sectarian clashes among Christian Europeans could be passed by a common Islamic threat, until the rise of nation-states in Europe in 18th century. Since the Turks or the Ottomans were seen as the representatives of Islam and threat to Europe, Turkish identity turned into a direct subject of European "otherization". Hence, modern Turkish national identity has been dealing with this "otherization" prejudice for a long time and ironically Turkey set its projection on being a European while it "otherized" its Ottoman past.[90] This process is another example for normalization of "otherization" perception. Neither side is a "threat" to the other anymore. Differences and commonalities are

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[90] Nuri Yurdusev, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", in *Türkiye ve Avrupa*, A. Eralp (ed.), İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, 1997

discussed and relations aim to meet at the same communication level. The otherization process became the colorful composition of varieties.

According to Niyazi Berkes, a Turkish sociologist and a historian, Turkey is neither a Western nor an Eastern nation, neither European nor Asian. Yet, it was not a member of any Christian, capitalist or socialist society. He, moreover, said that although the Ottoman state had a dominant inclination towards the West more than the East, it still had an Eastern culture, which is frequently referred a barrier between the EU and Turkey, today.[91]

In this dissertation, otherization of the Greeks in negative terms is not seen as a "taken for granted fact" of the Turkish national identity. It is natural that there are self and other perceptions in any society, but the prejudices or animosity are not natural, they are constructed. As long as any identity defines itself with "superiority", the "other" means the "inferiority" within this picture. Therefore, awareness about the prosperity of differences would be helpful to go beyond the boundaries in the mindsets. Differences are based on culture and there are no humanitarian, intelligence or moral differences between civilizations, nations or religions. Relations cannot be seen as a zero sum game, in which only one side can win.[92] National identities or stereotypes about the "others" are not easy to eliminate, but the chance to criticize them should be benefited. Living with the other in peace can be learned by the society as long as the prejudices are no more taken for granted.

To sum up, so far, this chapter was a terminological introduction to the main topic of the thesis. The underlying key concepts, nation, nationalism and identity

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[91] Quoted from Niyazi Berkes quoted in Scott L. Malcomson, *Borderlands: Nation and Empire,* Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1994, p.116

[92] İlhan Tekeli, "Tarih Yazıcılığı ve Öteki Kavramı Üzerine Düşünceler", in *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte 'Öteki' Sorunu*, 2. International History Congress, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007 (1998), pp.3-5

were reviewed. The definitions of the terms were uplifted with a certain literature survey. The literature was evaluated in a two stages. The first one focused on the differentiation between the German Romantics and the Anglo-French civicness. The second one was mostly dealt with the modern time questions discussed among primordial, perennial and modernist approaches. The rise of the nation before nationalism or its reproduction within nationalism was the main point on which they did not agree. The important intellectuals of nationalism were discussed one by one because it was believed that every theory has a unity within itself and more than pieces of conceptual analysis, these approaches can be helpful to see the main picture of Turkish nationalism from a wide perspective. In sum, it was argued that Turkish national identity was mainly a construct of the late Ottoman elites in the $20^{th}$ century. Its structure was mostly shaped during the last era of the Empire, but it was not meant that the cultural, historical or social bonds of the society were all invented. The modern national identity raised on the classical features of the society which can be traced back to centuries ago. It was this modern nationalist impulse which defines the Muslim-Turkish identity as a new Turkish nation. The transformation within this identity can be understood in the following chapter which will be about the Ottoman Empire.

# CHAPTER 3

# THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE


Since the aim of this dissertation is to discuss the process of Turkish national identity formation, the dynamics of this process have to be understood through a comprehensive outlook primarily to the historical background. Contemporary problems cannot be understood by just looking into present. Therefore, this chapter is going to evaluate the background of the "Turkish nation". The term of Turkishness can be traced back to the 8th century Göktürk tablets which were found in the valleys of Central Asia and deciphered in the 19th century. However, modern Turkish national identity is mainly linked to the developments during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Several cultural characteristics of present-day Turkish identity may certainly be identified as inherited from the previous Turkish states. Nevertheless the principal subject matter of this study is chiefly to deal with the modern building-stones of Turkishness as a nation and such an endeavor can fairly be conducted by putting the Ottoman experience in the very core of the research. Especially the last period of the Ottoman Empire provides rich material for the purposes of this study.

This chapter attempts to review the historical background of Turkish national identity formation and rethink the role of the Greeks in it. Hence, some important aspects of the Ottoman history are going to be magnified and examined more than others, such as the *Millet* system, role of the non-Muslims and the significant developments in the Balkans. The chapter will begin with the rise of the Ottoman Empire and focus on the general picture of the social system prevalent in the Empire.

The Ottoman identity that has been at the hearth of legitimacy of the sultan in the eyes of the subjects of the Empire is going to be examined. The journey of Turkishness from its multi-national imperial character to modern nationality and the thin line between the Ottoman and *Rumi* identities throughout this process constitutes the most bulk of the analysis. Then, the decline of the Ottoman state and some unsuccessful reform attempts will be discussed. In the last part of the chapter, the separation of Greeks and the rise of a new Turkish identity during this period are going to be portrayed in the same framework.

## 3.1. Rise of the Ottoman Empire in History

Before getting into the Ottoman history, some important points about reading the Ottoman history in Turkey have to be underlined. It is a common knowledge for any Turkish high school student that the Turks emigrated from the Central Asian steppes to Anatolia and defeated the Byzantine Empire. Obviously, the Anatolian Turkishness and the Central Asian ancients are linked with this emigration. Then in most Turkish history textbooks, the root of the Turks is hunted away from Anatolia and Byzantine Empire and consequently the Hellenic culture is seen as something alien. As it will be seen in the fifth chapter, Turks are depicted as one of the native peoples of Central Asia, who had migrated out of Asian steppes and settled in Anatolia after the Battle of *Malazgirt* in 1071. The Byzantium Anatolia is never given as a part of the Turkish history. Instead, the Greeks, the Romans and Byzantium are systematically isolated from the history of Turkish identity. This approach indirectly implies natural boundaries between the Greeks and the Turks, which means that they did not live together, rather the latter was taking the place of the former. Similar to ancient Anatolian civilizations, Byzantine Empire is never accepted among cultural predecessors of the Turks. As a part of "releasing" the Turkish identity from its *Rumi* bonds, the Hellenic Empire, the Byzantium and the Orthodox Church are totally omitted from Turkish history. While the Neolithic

people of Anatolia or 3500 years-old Hittites are given in details, there is a hidden reluctance in Turkish historiography about discussing the Byzantine Empire and its influence on the Ottoman period.

The story about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire is another remarkable point here to be mentioned. After the collapse of the Seljuks of Anatolia (or *Rum)* around the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Anatolia became the home of several principalities.[1] When Byzantine Empire withdrew from its Anatolian provinces, the *Gazi* principalities or *Beyliks* began to grow. One of the *Beys* (leaders) of these principalities was Osman *Gazi*, who will give his name to the Empire. It was a common myth that Osman *Gazi*'s father Ertuğrul immigrated to Anatolia with several hundreds of horsemen. Then they witnessed a battle between two armies. The myth suggests that because of their justice and mercy, Ertuğrul's forces chose to help the losing side and the faith of the battle was reversed. It is not a surprise to see that the troops they supported were of Seljuk State and the other side was the Byzantium troops. The Sultan rewarded them with a piece of territory in Eskişehir. This story of Ertuğrul Gazi's choosing the side of the Seljuks against the Byzantine has been a cliché for the Turkish history textbooks and lectures. The first physical meeting of the Ottomans and the Greeks is represented with this epic story. The message is clear: Like the "sword of Damocles" Osman Gazi's *Beylik* began to stand as a permanent threat across the borders of the Byzantine Empire.

It is possible to see many historical stories about the Ottoman defeat of the Byzantine Empire in most of the Turkish history textbooks. In this sense, the conquest of İstanbul in 1453 is the peak point of the success of the Ottoman state. The history of the Ottoman Empire is mainly told as an epic heroism of rescuing the oppressed people from the atrocity of the Byzantium and bringing peace to Anatolia.

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[1] "Halil İnalcık ile Söyleşi: Osmanlı Tarihi En Çok Saptırılmış, Tek Yanlı Yorumlanmış Tarihtir", *Cogito*, No: 19, Summer 1999, p.25

Certainly there were many other countries around the Ottoman Empire: such as the Habsburg Dynasty, the Persians, the Venetians or other Anatolian *Beyliks*. However the significant enemy of the Ottoman state was apparent from the beginning: the Byzantium. Many factors can be thought in order to explain this conscious selection of the Byzantium as the most important enemy of the Ottoman state. One of them is the Islamic mission of the Turks; the *gaza* heritage. Turks became the warrior power of the Islamic world since they converted to Islam in $10^{th}$ century. Obviously, capturing of the *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate in İstanbul and hindering the expansion of Orthodox sphere of influence was of vital importance for this Islamic mission. Settlements of the other Muslim or Turkish Beyliks in Anatolia are not mentioned in the textbooks as much as the wars with the Byzantium. Instead of proper battles, they are presented as disagreements. Another factor about the significance of Byzantium is the nationalist claim about the possession of the land of Anatolia. *Vatan* (homeland) has a deep meaning in Turkish nationalism and there has been a serious effort to identify the Turks with Anatolia. Therefore, no other alternative power on these territories can be tolerated as another owner of Anatolia, although they were the previous inhabitants.

Thus, if a comprehensive historical analysis of Turkishness is aimed, then, it is obvious that the place of the Byzantium, who lived in Anatolia for more than a thousand years before the Ottoman Empire, should not be detached from this analysis. Although this claim can be seen over-assertive or groundless at first, the details will become clear with these discussions about the Turkish identity formation in modern times and Turkish historical writings. This thesis aims to present an alternative history of Turkish national identity formation from this perspective.

As told earlier, the concept of Turkishness is an unclear term to make concrete historical deductions, but the idea of Turkish nation is relatively new. The Ottoman Empire is the catalyst of the Turkish national identity and therefore, the Republic of Turkey. Hence, the most important denominator of Turkish national

existence is the Ottoman Empire. The dynamics and variables during the Ottoman era which enabled the transformation of a dynastic and multi-national state into a republican nation should be analyzed. The Ottoman Empire had constructed long-lasting institutions and systems that can be seen as inspiration for contemporary state institutions in modern Turkey. However, the *Redd-i Miras* (denial of the Ottoman heritage) has been the policy of Turkey for a long time, because of some nationalistic interests. This kind of historical denial can distort any analysis about Turkish society, but on the other hand, an over-valuing of the impact of Ottoman Empire can be harmful for the analysis, too. Instead, the mechanism of the Ottoman structure which was largely the origin of Turkish national identity has to be evaluated in all its dimensions. After these remarks about the biased perception of historical background of Turkey, the next step of this analysis will be the milestone of Turkish national identity: the Ottoman Empire.

According to official record, Osman declared himself as a sovereign leader or *Bey* in 1299. He extended the borders to the edge of the Byzantine Empire and moved the capital from Söğüt to Bursa. He was brave and successful enough that he was serving as the "edge" leader who was also called as the *gaza (holy war)* leader in Islamic terminology. In fact, the previous Ottoman leaders were all called with the name of "*gazi*" which means the fighter of *gaza*. The Crusade of the Christian Europe, which lasted for two centuries, encouraged Osman and his fellows to fight in the name of Islam. However, there were some non-Muslim soldier fellows of Osman such as *Köse* (without beard) Mihail, who converted to Islam. Besides, Osman was in good relations with the Byzantium feudal lords (*tekfur*). He undertook the protection of the Byzantium Christian residents against the attacks of *Germiyanoğulları* principality.[2] The relationship between the Christians and the soldiers of Osman were not conflictual as long as he could gain property and the locals accept to live under the hegemony of Islam or *Dar-ül Islam* (rule of Islam). In other words, the initial

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[2] Ibid., pp. 28-30

wars of the Ottoman state were not generally against the Byzantium but against other Anatolian principalities. Good relations between the Ottomans and Byzantine also continued in the reign of Orhan, the son of Osman. The Byzantine emperor Ioannes Kantakuzenos, facing an internal insurrection and also several foreign threats, obtained support from the Ottomans, which in turn gave a piece of land in Gallipoli as a reward to the Ottoman state in 1352.[3] However, the emperor would soon find out how much trouble he caused by letting the Ottomans into the European territories. As the fast enlargement of the Ottoman territories became a threat for the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman-Byzantium relations tensed in time.

In this first decade of the Ottoman state, the policy of toleration (*istimalet*) to the Christian locals of the conquered territories was implemented, which eased the expansion to the West. The lives, property and religious beliefs of non-Muslims, which were mostly the Orthodox Christians, were taken under the protection of the Ottomans in return for their full acceptance of the authority of the state.[4] This attitude turned out to be the *millet* system in the following years and this system will be the backbone of the Ottoman Empire.

In the 14th century, the Ottoman rule extended over the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, which had to be stopped by the Western neighbors. The great powers of Europe united against their common enemy and attacked the Ottoman Empire in 1396. According to some sources, this was the last large-scale Crusade of history namely the Battle of Nicopolis (*Niğbolu*) and failed to defeat the Ottomans. After this victory the Ottoman state became a significant power in the Balkans and Byzantium turned into an enclave of the Ottoman Empire within the land of Constantinopolis.

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[3] Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14.-17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004, p.32

[4] Halil İnalcık ile Söyleşi, 1999, p.28

The strategic importance of the city of Constantinopolis, where many Orthodox Greeks were living, was obvious. The city was settled in the conjunction of the European and Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire. It commanded the best transport routes between the two. Moreover, although the Byzantium was weaker than ever, it still had the potential to agitate the anti-Ottoman forces in Europe. Besides its strategic necessity, the city has an economic value. It was one of the best-situated ports in the world. Much of the trade between Asia and the Mediterranean was passing from the Black Sea or the Aegean Sea to Constantinopolis, then onwards. Hence, in 15th century, there was a rich class of Greek middlemen in trade who made the real profits from Constantinopolis trade. The city was the middlemen city *par excellence*.[5] Thus, when Mehmet II came to power he was eager enough to invade the city. The city was conquered in 1453 which was also the official date of the Byzantium Empire's fall. The name of the city was changed from the Greek Constantinopolis to İstanbul, which is an easier form of the word in Turkish, and became the capital of the Empire. The Ottoman Empire turned into a worldwide empire after the capture of İstanbul. Its territories were stretching from the Atlantic shore of the North Africa to the borders of Iran, Austria, Poland and Russia.[6]

Mehmet II took the title of "the Conqueror" (*Fatih*), or *Sultanü'l Berreyn* and *Hakanü'l Bahreyn* (authority of two continents and two seas)[7]. Moreover, after the capture of Constantinopolis he preferred to use the title of *Kayser-i Rûm* (Roman Emperor). Obviously it was a declaration of Ottoman Sultan's seizure on the heritage of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire). Although this title was recognized neither by the Greeks nor the Europeans, the Ottoman dynasty defined

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[5] Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923*, New York: Longman Limited, 1997, p.69

[6] Ibid., p.67

[7] Özbaran, 2004, p.17

themselves as the successor of the same territories on which the Byzantium had ruled for more than a millennium.

Mehmet II or Fatih Sultan Mehmet did not see the Byzantine as the "other" to the Ottomans. Rather, he was interested in many of Byzantine scientific or artistic studies. He assembled many Greek courtiers, historians and scientists around him during his reign.[8] In this sense, this era was one of the most fruitful periods for philosophical and geometrical studies in the Ottoman Empire. Fatih Sultan Mehmet wanted the Greek scientists to write many books about ancient Greek philosophers and continue their researches under the Ottoman rule. Hence, Fatih Sultan Mehmet did not want to limit philosophy with spirituality. He saw the Greek literature and philosophy as a potential source for the Ottoman scientific studies.[9] In fact he had a unique place among all Ottoman sultans because of his tolerance and respect to the Greek scholars and artists.

After the troops had pillaged what remained in the city, Mehmet set upon a policy of conciliation and rebuilding. The city was rebuilt by workmen brought from various districts of the Ottoman Empire. Populations of Muslims were transported to live in and rebuild the new Ottoman capital. Following the tradition of toleration (*istimalet)* he allowed the continuation of the Greek Orthodox Church, under the authority of a new Patriarchate in İstanbul.[10] Many churches and visible Christian signs of the city converted to Islamic versions. Mehmet II did not, however, act against the Church and considerable respect for the religious rights of Christians was executed.

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[8] Ibid., p.99

[9] Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, "Osmanlılarda Felsefe", *Mülkiye Dergisi*, Vol. XXII, No.218, 1999, pp. 21-45

[10] McCarthy, 1997, p.70

There were some practical reasons for this toleration. First of all, the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate gave a chance to the Ottoman state to control the Orthodox world. Mehmet II tactically employed a respectful policy to the authority of the Orthodox Patriarch, which was in fact more than the Byzantium times. However this privilege was conditional and the church should accept the upper authority of the Ottoman state. In fact, the Ottoman state benefited from the Patriarchate as a means to exercise the power of the sultan.[11] Another reason of this toleration was because of the fact that the Orthodox people became one of the numerous groups in the Empire and toleration was needed for peace inside. As it will be seen in the next part, the Ottoman state applied a system which was based on religious affiliations and their limited autonomy. In fact, the long-lasting rule of the Ottoman Empire can be explained by its well rationalized and systematized structure in relation with different peoples. Tolerance and limited-autonomy convinced many non-Muslims in the newly conquered lands not to resist the authority of the Ottoman state. Paying the taxes and obeying the rules of the centre were the most important requirements of this system, which will take the name of the *millet* system.

## 3.2. The Structure of a Multi-Faceted Empire: *Millet* System

Although the word *millet* means "nation" in Turkish, it was used as the synonym of the term *cemaat* (religious community) in the Ottoman Empire.[12] İlber Ortaylı points out the difference between *millet* and nation:

> *Millet* does not denote a nation, (not an ethnicity) but a forms of social organization, based on religion, a state of mind and the subjects' mutual consideration of one another. The term *ekalliyet* (minority) was introduced into the life of our state and society in the

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[11] Ibid., pp.73-74

[12] Cevdet Küçük, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 'Millet Sistemi' ve Tanzimat", in H. İnalcık and M. Seyitdanlıoğlu (eds.), *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 2nd ed., Ankara: Phoenix, 2006, p.394

last decades of the Empire…It was a form of organization and legal status arising from the submission of followers of monotheistic religions (*ehl-i zimmet*) to the authority of Islam after the annexation of a religion to the Empire, under an *ahidname* or treaty granting protection. [13]

Besides it cannot be compared with the minority system in any colonial empire or federalism. In *millet* system the religious, if not cultural, identities, which can be limited in a defined area or scattered across several areas, were protected. It was so effective that there were several instances of reciprocal conversion and some groups assimilated other identities within their religious community. Hellenization of some Christian Bulgarians or Albanians, shift of the Turkish origin and Turkish speaking *Karamanlı*s into Greek identity, or Turkification and Islamisation of several Pomaks were the examples of this assimilation. [14]

In order to clarify the issue, the term of *ethnie*, which is created by a nationalism scholar Anthony Smith, can be more appropriate to classify these communities. According to Smith, an *ethnie* has a collective suitable name, a myth of common past, shared historical memoirs, elements of common culture such as language and religion, a connection to a homeland and a sense of solidarity. [15] These *ethnies* are much more like the pre-modern social formations without common economy, legitimacy of the territories and common culture. Membership in this kind of communities is not strictly related with ethnic differences. In this sense, Ottoman *millets* can be thought as a kind of *ethnies* which shared some cultural or ethnic elements on the ground of religion.

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[13] İlber Ortaylı, *Ottoman Studies*, İstanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2004, pp. 18-19

[14] Ibid., pp.21-22

[15] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986, p.21

Since every financial issue, ecclesiastical operations or judicial functioning were organized around it, the *Millet* System was Ottoman Empire's main vein of social, economical and political construction. The Muslims were the majority and the main *millet* of the Empire who were named as *millet-i hakime* (sovereign nation). The other *millets* were the Greek Orthodox, Jewish and Armenians. The number of these *millets* increased in time and next to religions, some sects began to be called as distinct *millets.* Obviously, the Muslims kept their privileged places in the system. People were bound to their *millets* by religious affiliations rather than their ethnic origin. The head of a *millet*, who was generally a religious leader as well, was directly responsible to the Sultan. The only way to change one's *millet* was to convert to Islam. It was not allowed for non-Muslims to convert a religion other than Islam, nor the conversion of Jews to Christianity or from Christianity to Judaism. Sometimes, Christians shifted their denomination within their community.[16] Besides, a person who converted from another religion to Islam was not expected to give up his/her ethnic and cultural character or traditions,[17] which means that nobody was expecting them to forget their past social environment or rituals. Hence, when the 19th century national awakening in the Balkans and the Middle East considered, the significance of this toleration policy towards different cultures and traditions can be understood. Instead of assimilating different identities of Greek, Serbian or Arab, they were let to live in their own social surroundings. All these *millets* had a great deal of power, which means that they could set their laws and collect and distribute taxes. Besides, they were allowed to practice their religious worship and could apply their law courts. In exchange, they pledged loyalty to the center and swore to fight in the name of the Empire in case of any attack.

The Ottoman state defined itself as the home of Islam (*Dar-ül Islam*) in which non-Muslims would live under the Islamic rule. Everybody, except for the

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[16] Ortaylı, 2004, p. 18

[17] Özbaran, 2004, pp.38-39

Muslim upper class, had to pay tax to the state, but the non-Muslim subjects of monotheistic religions had to pay extra dues and taxes (*haraç* in agriculture) and a poll tax (*cizye*). In the 15th and 16th centuries, the revenue from the non-Muslims dropped, because non-Muslim subjects chose to convert to Islam instead of paying the *haraç*. After a while, a new approach was developed and the tax was not levied on the taxpayers themselves, but on their land. Thereafter, the tax was classified as a land of *arazi-i haraciyye*. During the 19th century, the term *haraç* disappeared, but the tax continued to be collected from the non-Muslims under the name of *bedel-i askeri* (military exemption tax).[18]

Obviously these *Millets* were the identifier the Ottoman state system. More than ethnic origin or linguistic differences, religion was taken as the ground of identification. However, some scholars claim that there was also an ethnic identification in the Ottoman Empire. Victor Roudometof believes in the existence of ethnic differences in the Ottoman Empire. He linked the social mobilization and the division of labor with the ethnic identification in the Balkans. Social mobility often mean acculturation into an *ethnie* associated with a particular role in the social division of labor. He gave the examples of the terms the "Bulgar" or the "Serb" as signifying the peasantry in Macedonia. Since most peasants were Slavs and most Slavs were peasants, this type of stress on class identities mostly overlap, more or less, with ethnic differences, according to him.[19]

On the other hand, if there was something more important than this religious separation, it was the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, or in other words between the state and the people. This duality has indicated a kind of class stratification. To this context, Halil İnalcık attracts attention to the class and ethnicity

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[18] Ortaylı, 2004, pp. 15-16

[19] Victor Roudometof, "From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821", *Journal of Greek Studies*, Vol.16, 1998, pp.12-13

relations. This type of relationship can be explained with İnalcık's formulation of the Ottoman society that divides it into two major classes: the first one was the ruling class that consisted of *askeri* and *ulema*, which had the religious, executive and administrative power originated from the Sultan's sacredness. This class included those whom the Sultan had delegated religious or executive power through imperial diploma. Officers of the court and the army, civil servants and *ulema* were the main *askeri* class members. The second and in fact the lower class was the ruled subjects of the Sultan, the *reaya*, comprising all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects who were paying taxes and were responsible for production and agriculture, but have no part in governance. İnalcık puts that for the sake of social peace and order the state should keep everybody in their appropriate social positions.[20] İnalcık examines the instrument of this social order with the two aspects of possessing the statecraft: the authority and power of the ruler and the divine reason or *shariat*. The Sultan had the absolute power to determine the place of each man in the scheme. In order to protect this absolutism, the Ottoman sultans eliminated all kinds of aristocracies in the conquered lands, by entrusting executive functions only to slaves trained in the court (*kul*) and by enlisting the *ulema* in their service. The slaves were entrusted with several executive power and the *ulema* with the application of Islamic law. All of them were attached to the central government but each was independent of the other, which meant that a governor had no authority to give orders to a local judge (*kadı*) appointed by the Sultan.[21] To protect the bi-class structure of the ruling and the ruled and to eliminate any type of challenge towards the center were the main objectives of the system.

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[20] Halil İnalcık, "The Nature of Traditional Society. Turkey", in R. Ward and D. Rustow (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton: UK, 1964, p.44; and Halil İnalcık, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1995, p.143

[21] İnalcık, 1995, p.142

The difference between the ruling and the ruled classes was too rigid in the Empire enough to camouflage the ethnic differences among the peoples. The *reaya* in the Balkans and Anatolia were nearly living in the same life conditions and paying taxes. This type of labor division rising on inequality was the main panorama of economy. Social status of people meant a lot to them, such as their living standards, duties and taxes, more than their ethnic origin. Their ethnic origin only made them a subgroup of Muslim or non-Muslim, which can be Slav or Turk, Arab or Rum, but in all of the people were the *subjects* of the Sultan.

İlber Ortaylı follows this path and challenges the belief that ethnicity has mattered in the Ottoman Empire. He similarly classified the Ottomans into two: *askeri* (military) and *reaya*. Anyone, regardless of ethnicity or religion, could be in *askeri* group. An *askeri* person had some privileges, such as exemption from tax and right to arm. A Muslim *mufti* or *müderris* (teacher), a Greek Orthodox metropolitan or archbishop, a Bulgarian *voinuq* (warrior *sipahi*), a Jewish chief rabbi and a Greek Phanariot at the Sublime Porte were all in the same *askeri* status. But a Muslim peasant and a Greek peasant or a craftsman from any religion all had *reaya* status. On the other hand, a Muslim and a non-Muslim *reaya* were obliged to pay different taxes; they lived in different provinces and wore different clothes. In fact, everybody observed these differences with great care.[22]

Therefore, it is obvious that neither religion nor ethnicity was more important than the high authority of the state. The *askeri* people, who were only the 10 percent of the whole, had the right to rule the rest of country. Moreover, the unattainable character of the *askeri* created invisible walls between these people and the administrators. The legislative act strictly prevented transition from *reaya* to *askeri*.

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[22] Ortaylı, 2004, p. 17

The article of "*Reaya ata binüb kılıç kuşanmak yoktur*" which means "*Reaya* cannot horse or gird sword" proves the austerity of the laws about the shifts.[23]

Metin Kunt confirms that for the Sultan there was no difference between the Turks, Arabs, Serbian and *Rum*, or between Muslims and non-Muslims, except for the higher taxes (*cizye*) that were paid by non-Muslims. All of them were the *reaya* in the sight of the Sultan. Kunt, then, continues that the Ottoman was a Turkish state because of its Turkish language.[24] Although this definition is not wrong, it is not very right in the proper sense. It is hard to depict a clear-cut definition about the identity of the Ottoman Empire. The situation was very similar with the case of the Islamic identity of the Ottoman state. Yet, a "pure" Islamic or Turkish identification could not fit into the sophisticated structure of the Ottoman Empire. Its plural structure next to its Islamic tradition, its Turkish heritage on the ex-Byzantium lands created a synthesis of many religions, cultures, states or ethnicities. So, the constituent parts of the Ottoman identity should be analyzed in detail.

## 3.3. The Ottoman Identity: Was it Ottoman, Turkish, Muslim or *Rum*?

Despite labeling the Ottoman Empire as a Muslim and/or a Turkish Empire is widespread in most history books, a cautious approach should be pursued in the matter. First of all, to accept each period and part of the Ottoman Empire unique, constant or monolithic could be misleading. It lasted for more than 600 years and spread three continents at the height of its power, controlling Anatolia, the Middle East, Southeastern Europe and North Africa. As seen in the previous part, assimilation of differences was not adopted as an official policy. All religions

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[23] Özbaran, 2004, p.39

[24] Metin Kunt, "Siyasal Tarih (1300-1600)", *Türkiye Tarihi 2: Osmanlı Devleti 1300-1600*, (ed.) Sina Akşin, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988, p. 103

(Semitic ones) were given the right to live in their own social and cultural systems, just on condition of their loyalty to the sultan. In fact, it is a belief for many people that there might have not been a 600 years-old Empire, if the Ottoman state had applied a strict religious assimilation. Either it was because of tolerance or a way to preserve the territories; it is obvious that this system allowed large space for different religions, cultures or ethnicities under the authority of the Ottoman state that turned the Ottoman identity into a colorful synthesis. Islam and Turkishness were the two main colors within this synthesis, but the other colors, especially the *Rumi*, were much effective on the Ottoman identity more than it was expected. In order to understand this colorful picture of the Ottoman identity, it has to be deconstructed. Islam and Turkishness will be the starting point here up to the way of the place of the *Rumi* culture.

At the outset, Islam was the predominant element of the Ottoman structure. As mentioned above, the *gaza* tradition (war in the name of Islam) of the Ottoman *Beylik* in 13<sup>th</sup> century encouraged them to span into Christian lands. While it conquered these lands, it met with different religions, cultures and ethnicities. Although the Islamic character of the state was out of discussion, there was not an open pressure on the non-Muslims to convert to Islam, if the higher taxes of the non-Muslims were put aside. The Ottoman Empire was neither a secular state. Islam had always been the reference point in any judicial, administrative or social issue. Although non-Muslims were free to practice their religious duties and they were exempt from Islamic code, the Muslim community was, on the other hand, entirely subject to it. Every kind of social, economic or political issue was done within the limits of Islamic law.

Islam had always been an important defining character for the Empire since its formation. The name of the dynasty is "Ottoman" (*Osmanlı*) originated from a Turkish-Islamic name *Osman*, coming from the name of the founder of the Empire. However, the Turkish essence fell behind the Islamic character in time. The tradition

of giving Turkish names or titles to the dynastic family was abandoned during the later periods. For instance, the earlier Turkish-Islamic names of some sultans, like Orhan and Beyazıt, were not used after the takeover of Caliphate from the Mamluks in 1517 with *Ridaniye* War. Yet, until the era of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the victor of *Ridaniye* War, the alternative title of *Bey*, which means "the hegemonic" in Turkish tradition, was used as one of the delineation of the sultans. The Turkish appellation *Bey* and Islamic title *Sultan* were being used interchangeably until the era of Yavuz Sultan Selim. However, he chose to abandon the Turkish name *Bey* and preferred the Islamic name *Sultan* in such manners: "*Sultanu'l-Mu'azzam*", "*Sultanu's-Selatin*" or "*Sultanu'l-Arab vel-Acem*".[25] Increasingly, Arabic-origin names of the sultans became widespread, like Abdülaziz, Abdülmecit or Abdülhamit.[26] Turkishness was never forgotten, but it was concealed with an Islamic cover, with an upward slope in 19th century. The caliphate became the suit of the Islamic character of the Ottoman Empire. Halil İnalcık grounds the absolute power of the Sultan to Caliphate and *Shariat.* This was the base of political and social superstructure of the Empire and this politico-religious structure culminated in the office of sultan-caliph, according to İnalcık.[27] However, the Ottoman caliphate system had its unique features. It was not the Caliphate but the Sultanate that was cared most in the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan was the supreme authority. In fact, when a sultan acceded to the throne, he was offered the *biat* (fealty) to the position of his sultanate, not to his caliphate.[28] In

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[25] Halil İnalcık explained this attitude with the Islamic *Gaza* tendency of the Ottoman. According to İnalcık, the conquest of the lands in the name of God, had been the motivation of the Ottoman since its formation. For his interpretation of the *Gaza* idea in the Ottoman see, İnalcık ile Söyleşi, 1999, pp.25-41

[26] Needless to say, this hypothesis about the Ottoman sultans' names' origin has to be well analyzed by the etymologists and linguists, in order to be purified from any misconceptions. However, this type of linguistic study would be out of the limits and ability of this dissertation.

[27] İnalcık, 1995, pp.141-143

[28] Kemal Karpat, "Tarihsel Süreklilik, Kimlik Değişimi ya da Yenilikçi, Müslüman, Osmanlı ve Türk Olmak", *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiyesi*, K. Karpat (ed.), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2005, p. 35

other words, the authority of the Ottoman dynasty had always kept its superiority over the institute of the caliphate.

Besides, the application of Islam had its unique character in the Ottoman Empire, which was different from other Islamic states. The Ottoman historian François Georgeon named this uniqueness with the name of "Ottoman Islam". Georgeon explained this term by an irony in the application of Islam in the Empire. In fact, Ottoman Islam had applied *Hanafi* School of law which is grounded on the jurisprudence of Abu Hanafi. Although Hanafi School does not develop a comprehensive system about the Islamic codes, any possibility about change or reinterpretation of the text is not accepted according to this school. *Ictihat* (interpretation of Koran) is prohibited because *Koran* is believed to be perfect. Therefore, neither *Kelam* (Islamic theology) nor *Fıkıh* (canon law) are welcomed. Georgeon points out that the 16th and 17th centuries were distinct for the Ottoman Islam because of the conservative orthodoxy during these centuries. On the other hand, state had never lost its control over religion and religious institutions. The traditional (*örfi*) law which was developed according to the cultural and social heritage of the Ottoman state had been an inseparable part of Islam. To this end, the Ottoman Empire was not a *Shariat* according to Georgeon.[29] In fact, when the Ottoman state's superiority over Islamic codes is taken into account, it is clear that the Islamic system of the Ottoman Empire was away from conventional *Shariat*. Moreover, there had been a deep heterodox Islamic culture in Anatolia which can be traced back to the years even before the foundation of the Ottoman state. There were many respected dervishes and a Sufi belief among the Anatolian people which presented a different picture from the Hanafi School. However, it is clear that Islam had an important impact on the Ottoman state and the Ottoman people, either as orthodox *Hanafi* Shariat or as heterodox Sufism.

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[29] François Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi (1900-1930)*, trans. by. Ali Berktay, Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2006, p.12

The Islamic system and the Ottoman state were in harmony. To this extent, İlber Ortaylı does not hesitate to say that Ottoman state was "Muslim state".[30] In fact, being a Muslim was the first condition of being a statesman in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, Özbaran defines *sine qua non* conditions of being a good "Ottoman" who would be a member of the upper class. In order to be an "Ottoman", one should work in military or any other service of the state, should be a good Muslim who was obeying the Islamic doctrine and should know the Ottoman way of life which absorbed the high Islamic traditions. There was a whole *Sunni* attitude which entailed a class-based social structure and accordance with Muslim features and traditions. Moreover, language skill in the Ottoman language, which was originally Turkish but enriched with Arabic and Persian elements, was a pre-condition of attaining upper-class. A person good enough to internalize these requirements was accepted as a good Ottoman. In other words, the *askeri* people could come from different ethnic origins but they met at the common identity of being a Muslim Ottoman. Although they were expected to be a Muslim at birth or converted to it, there was no need to forget their ethnic, cultural or social differences. There were no ethnic classifications between these Muslim class members, at least until the last century of the Empire.[31]    A non-Muslim born child could rise in military or diplomacy up to the highest positions as long as he converted to Islam. There were many Albanian, Arab, Armenian or Rum *vezir-i azams* (grand vizier) or *pashas* (general) in Ottoman history. They were not expected to get away from their culture or traditions, but they had to express their belief in Islam and live within the Islamic code, then, no matter what their ethnicity was.

Within this flexible understanding of ethnicity, the Turkishness, for a long time, was one of the ethnic identities within the Empire, neither a superior one nor an inferior one. Turkish identity had to wait until the nationalist turn of the 19th century

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[30] Ortaylı, 2004, p.15

[31] Özbaran, 2004, pp.38-39

for its new definition in terms of a national identity. However, as it was mentioned in the first part of this chapter, there are some nationalist historical analyses of Turkishness which declare that the Turkish nation had been living for long centuries since its Central Asian ancients had expanded to the world. The Turkish History Thesis of 1930s was one of the important representatives of this argument. In the well-known book of this Thesis, the history of the Turks was given as a chain in history which did not cease. The long history of the Turks had begun with the Huns, continued with some Asian and Anatolian states, the Seljuks, the Ottomans and lastly, it was ended with the modern Turkish state.[32] As can be seen in the below, the presidential seal of the Republic of Turkey can be a current example which represents this argument. It consists of 16 stars around a sun, each representing a Turkish state in history. The message was clear: The Turks had been living under their own states since the 3rd century BC. Certainly, it was the Turkish nation lived under its Turkish state.



**Figure 1**

**Presidential Seal of the Republic of Turkey**

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[32] *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları: Kemalist Yönetimin Resmi Tarih Tezi,* İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999 (1930), similar argument can be found in Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyet Mefkuresi Tarihi,* vol 1 and 2, İstanbul: Nakışlar Yayınevi, 1979

Thus, this argument, which can be named as "state fetishism"[33], clearly defines the Ottoman Empire as a Turkish state. Turkishness was the main ethnic character of the Ottoman Empire, like the previous 16 states and Turkey, and the Turkish national identity had never been ceased throughout the Ottoman history according to this nationalist approach. However, the trip of Turkishness was not that simple. It was the last era of the Ottoman Empire, that the Turkishness was attributed a national definition, not before that. Hence, the trip of the name of Turk during the Ottoman Empire era should be discussed.

When the Ottoman documents are analyzed, it can be noticed that the term of Turk was a well known term among the Ottoman people and the state. However, there was not a clear definition. It had different meanings in different times of the Empire. Only the existence of the Turk is apparent and clear, not its meaning. But still, the Turkish heritage in the Ottoman state cannot be ignored. In fact, the official language of the Ottoman bureaucracy had been Turkish, although many Arabic or Persian words were adapted to it. Moreover, the *millet* system created an appropriate atmosphere for the ethnic and cultural differences to survive. Since every national construction need social, historical and cultural grounds, it is possible to think that this system indirectly contributed to the national uprisings in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. Certainly, Turkishness was not an exception. However, it had never become the major ethnic identity of the Ottoman state or people. In fact, the Ottoman state constructed its own state identity, based on the concept of *Devlet-i Aliye* (the Sublime State) and the Ottoman people lived, for a long time, away from any ethnic awareness.

Hence, the identity of the Ottoman Empire became problematic and there are various definitions and approaches to the Ottoman identity. One of the most

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[33] Christoph K. Neumann, "Devletin Adı Yok – Bir Amblemin Okunması", *Cogito*, No.19, Summer 1999, pp.269-283

plausible answers comes from Halil İnalcık. He defines the identity of the Ottoman Empire, which was established on the Balkan and Arab lands, as a plural identity and adds that "the Ottoman Empire was not a Turkish Empire."[34] Its imperial construct over many different ethnicities, peoples, religions and territories made it impossible to easily define the Empire as a Turkish state. Probably because of this uncertainty about the Ottoman identity, Selim Deringil was careful about the title that he used for the Ottoman Empire and preferred the name of his book as "The Well-Protected Domains".[35]

In this plural identity there was an ambiguity about who the "Turk" was. Sina Akşin discusses this problem via looking at the family roots of the Ottoman dynasty. He, then, attracts the attention to the established prejudices of the Ottoman elites about the emigrant "Turkmen" in Anatolia. Akşin says that the Ottoman dynasty was ethnically Turk in the first hand, yet, they spoke in Turkish. However, their ethnic origin coming from the Turkish Beylik of the Ottoman was not enough to solve the issue of Ottoman identity. Although their ethnic origin was Turk, the Ottoman Sultans had chosen their wives mostly from the *cariyes* (women slave or concubine) who were non-Turks, the wives or mothers of the Sultans were never Turkish. Hence, concludes Akşin, the "Turkish blood" of the dynasty had diminished in time. Above its ethnic notion, usually, the term "Turk" was used synonymous to "boorishness, roughness" among the statesmen, because Turkishness was thought equivalent of being a Turkmen who were generally nomadic.[36] In this sense, the expression of *etrak-ı bi idrak* (dump Turks or the Turks who were unable to

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[34] Halil İnalcık, "The Meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case", *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, L.C. Brown (ed.), New York: Columbia United Press, 1996, p.19

[35] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998

[36] Sina Akşin, "Osmanlı Devleti Üzerine" *Atatürkçü Partiyi Kurmanın Sırası Geldi*, (ed.) S.Akşin, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2002, p.152

understand anything) was a common saying among the Ottoman elites. However, the mentioned Turks in this expression would be probably the Turkmens who were nomadic or farmers in Anatolia. The background of this approach has to be searched not in the ethnic identities but in the class stratification. The rigid boundaries between the elites and the people or between *askeri* and *reaya* should not be ignored. The high officials of the Ottoman state saw themselves above these types of ethnic identities, including Turkishness.

Ulrich Haarmann, a renowned historian famous with his works on Mamluks, gives a remarkable feature of the term *etrak* from out of the Ottoman territories. He says that the 16th and 17th century Arab world used the term *etrak* (the plural of Turk) to mention the uneducated and uncultured Turks. On the other hand, the term *Rumi* was used for the cultural elite and ruling class of the Ottoman state. Hence, adds Haarmann, every Turkish speaking people, regardless of their ethnic or geographical origins and including the Muslims in the Balkans, were named as Turks in the Arab world. The upper class of the central Ottoman state was not the Turks but the *Rumi* minority according to them. However, Haarmann puts that the Arabs were mostly aware of this division between the people and the center of the Ottoman Empire but not very much interested.[37]

This duality, which was ignored many times by the Arabs, was fitting into the self assessment of the Ottomans. The İstanbul centered ruling class, the artists or the educated people were not seeing their cultural and social statute equal with the rest of the Empire, neither with a Turkish farmer, nor an Albanian peasant. The *Rumi* identity, in fact, carried the privileged position of the people close to the Sultan, or *Kayser-i Rum.* Hence, the expression of *Rum* mainly related with the geography

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[37] Quoted from Ulrich Haarmann, "Ideology and History, ıdentity and Alterrity: The Arab Image of the Turks from the Abbasids to Modern Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20, 1988, pp: 177 and 191 quoted in Özbaran, 2004, p.51 and 60-61

around İstanbul. *Etrak* (the Turks) were one of the subject groups in Anatolia who had to be organized and taken under discipline by the Ottoman administrators.

Thus the structure of the center-periphery relationship gets into the center of the analysis of the Ottoman identity. Before jumping to the concept of *Rum,* it can be useful to enlighten center-periphery relations first. According to Şerif Mardin, let alone ethnicity, the Ottoman periphery did not differentiate the Muslims from the non-Muslims or a particular central geography from the rest of the Empire; on the other hand, it differentiated the Porte from the *reaya* who had different religious beliefs.[38] In this differentiation, it is obvious that the non-Muslim *reaya* was not in an equal statute like the Muslims. However, the differentiation based on the central powers and the ordinary people duality was more effective that the religious differences. The imperial structure made the center-focused perspective as the main element within the Ottoman system. The periphery peoples, such as Turks (*etrak*), were seen as different and distant from the Ottoman state. The intellectual and urbanized people had prejudice about the countrymen who were mainly dealing with agriculture and the Turks were among all other countrymen of Anatolia. An original example about this prejudice came from a 16th century Ottoman poet Güvahi. In his advisory *Nasihatname* (book of proverbs), he explained how the "unconcerned" Turks could not get along with the other urbanized people:

> *Şehirde rustay-i bi-gam olmaz* (The peasants of the village cannot stay in the city)
>
> *Hakikatdür bu söz Türk adem olmaz* (It is a fact that a Turk cannot be a [neat] man)
>
> *Dedüğin anlamaz söylerse sözi* (He cannot understand what you say)
>
> *Bir olur Türk'e sözün ardi yüzi* (The front or behind of a word means the same for a Turk)

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[38] Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics", *Daedalus*, No.1, Vol.102, 1973, pp.169-190

…

*Acayib taifedir kavm-ı etrak* (The people of Turks is an interesting [weird] group)

*Eyü tatlı nedür itmezler idrak* (They cannot understand what a good desert [good and nice] is)

*Ne bilür anların ağızları tad* (Their mouths don't know any taste)

*Ne söz var dillerinde idecek yad* (They don't have any word to mention).[39]

With these words, Güvahi reflected how an educated city settler of İstanbul saw the Turks of the rural areas as ignorant and tasteless. He was not happy to see the peasant Turks around him in the city. This attitude was widespread among the Ottoman intellectuals of the big cities, mainly in İstanbul. Besides, it is noteworthy to mention that the term of *Etrak* in the Ottoman Empire and the modern Turks should not be seen as similar. There may have found some common grounds between them, but the fulfilled Turkish national identity did not emerge before the 19th century.[40] The Turkishness did not mean ethnic identity for a long time in the Ottoman. In fact, there is not a harmony in the Ottoman writers about it. While some of them preferred to use Turkishness as a name to mention Sunni/Islamic culture, some others chose to mention Turkish as a mere socio-economic level. Above all, the root of the Ottoman dynasty depending on the Central Asian *Kayı Boyu* (clan) was well-known information for everybody and the Turkish background was obvious. In this sense, sometimes the Turkishness was mentioned as an inherited success of warriorship like the Central Asian ancestors. The *gaza* mission of the Ottoman state, which means to fight in the name of Allah, was never given up and it was always awarded in the

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[39] The text was translated into English from Turkish and some explanations or hidden meanings were added within square brackets in order to give the original meaning. Quoted from Güvahi (ed.M. Hengrimen) *Pend-name,* Ankara, 1981, p.165 quoted in Hakan Erdem, "Osmanlı Kaynaklarından Yansıyan Türk İmaj(lar)I",in *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, Ö. Kumrular (ed.)İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005, pp.24-25

[40] Karpat, 2005, pp.42-44

Ottoman history. Hence, the Turk was honored in some documents in the name of the *gazi* (war veteran) who is a courageous and heroic warrior.[41] Obviously, there were many different understandings of Turk in the Ottoman Empire, none of which fully encompassed ethnic or national components, because the conditions of those times should not be considered from a modern perspective. Ethnic identities were not case for any Ottoman intellectual during the centuries from 13th to 19th.

By the way of discussing the Turk in the Ottoman Empire, the disputable case about the *etrak* and the *Kızılbaş* (Red Heads) should be cited. Obviously, *Kızılbaş* was an important "other" figure for the Ottoman Empire. They were Turkish-speaking, mostly Turkmen and Shiite militant groups settled in the central and eastern parts of Anatolia. Their alarming sympathy to the Safavids was irritating the Ottomans. In fact, when Yavuz Sultan Selim won the Battle of *Chaldran* in 1514 against the Shia Safavids, he executed about 40.000 *Kızılbaş* in Anatolia on the way he was turning back to İstanbul. In fact, the *Kızılbaş* had an important role in the Ottoman-Iran relations. Their possible separatist attitude in favor of re-establishing the Safavids was seen as a threat for the territorial integrity and stability of the Ottoman Empire. It was not only the *Kızılbaş* who were excluded from the Ottoman identity. *Tat* (Iranian originated), Arab and *Çepni* (Turkmen) were among the other races which were excluded as well. As an example for this exclusion, it was written in some Sultanate decrees that these groups around the district Tokat spoiled the Ottoman soldiers in the region with "*idlal*" (misleading) and "iğva" (seduction).[42]

Among all these groups, the *Kızılbaş was* the most ironic exclusion because of its both Muslim and Turkish character. In fact, the Islamic identity of the Ottoman state and the place of the Caliphate can explain this irony. The *Kızılbaş* people did not belong to *Hanafi* sect, while the Ottoman Sultan was the Caliphate of the *Sunni*

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[41] Erdem, 2005, pp.19-25

[42] Özbaran, 2004, p.107

Muslims to which the Hanafi sect belongs to. They were mostly Shiite and *Alawi*. Their heterodox belief system was deeply challenging the Ottoman Islam. Non-Muslims were accepted as regular minority groups of the Empire which were living under the rule of Islam, but the stand towards the Muslim *Alawis* was a great uncertainty for the state. On the other hand, their close relations with the Shiite world had never been approved by the Ottoman state. Their exclusion from the Ottoman identity was because of their different religious identity which was difficult to define for the Ottoman state and their potential collaboration with Iran. Hence, it may be plausible to think that the insulted *etrak* figure of the Ottoman elites was also representing the *Kızılbaş* in Anatolia, since they were the "other" within the Muslim and Turkish identity. However, to equate the *etrak* and *Kızılbaş* can be wrong because of the broader meaning of the *etrak*. The Ottoman state saw the *etrak* as the insignificant farmers of Anatolia who had nothing with education and culture, which could include many ethnic or cultural differences. The *Hanafi* Muslim and Turkmen farmers of Anatolia did not escape of being labeled as *etrak* according to the urban and educated Ottoman intellectuals. However, the *Kızılbaş* meant a more serious threat which linked with the fear about an eastern civil disobedience. In short, these two concepts might sometimes intersect with each other because of the systematic exclusion, but they were not exactly the same group because of their different meanings. Today, the *Kızılbaş* name is seen as an insulting title in secular Turkey and was abandoned as a matter of courtesy. Anatolian *Alawi* is now preferred instead of *Kızılbaş*.

The well-known writer and sociologist of pan-Turkism, Ziya Gökalp will be an interesting example here to mention, because of his assertion about the Ottoman identity, the difference of the state from its people and the *Kızılbaş*. In his book "Türkçülüğün Esasları" (The Principles of Turkism) which was published in 1923, he drew an apparent line between Ottomanism and Turkism, and showed how each side did not like each other, at all.

In fact, while the Ottoman Empire was expanding and including hundreds of nations into its political sphere; the ruling and the ruled became two distinct classes. All the ruling cosmopolitan constructed the Ottoman class; the ruled Turkish people constructed the Turkish class. These two classes did not like each other. The Ottoman class saw itself as the "sovereign nation" (*millet-i hakime*) and accepted the Turks, whom they govern, as the "inferior nation" (*millet-i mahkure).* The Ottoman always called the Turk as "Donkey Turk"; when an official person came to any town everybody was escaping because the Ottoman came. Even, the emergence of *Kızılbaş* among the Turks can be explained via this distinction.[43]

Gökalp was very keen to separate the Ottoman identity from the Turkish identity, mostly as a part of the project of creating a new national identity. After he put the Turks into the oppressed class or the ruled class, he said that being a *Kızılbaş* was because of the very distinction between the Ottoman and Turkish classes. As a note, Gökalp, interestingly defined being *Kızılbaş* with the sympathy to Iran which was emerged because of nothing but an illusion of some of the naïve Turkmens who believed in the stories of the Sheikh Cüneyd, the first sheikh of the Safavids.[44] Obviously, Gökalp saw the *Kızılbaş* as a type of misrepresentation and differentiated the *Kızılbaş* from the Turks, as the Ottoman statesmen did before. This debate has a large literature and to discuss all of them can be an over-information for this study. What matters is that Gökalp emphasized the dual-class structure of the Ottoman Empire and separated the ruled from the ruling elites. He put the Turks as the ruled and oppressed class of the Ottoman Empire, while he pointed out in disgust that the Ottoman ruling elite as the powerful people of the Empire. With this distinction, he probably included the noble Greek diplomats, Phanariote families or tradesmen in the Ottoman ruling elite, since they were rich and close to the Ottoman state. The negative image about the *Rum* can be seen in this assertion, as well.

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[43] The text was translated from Turkish to English by the author of this thesis, Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Bordo Siyah Türk Klasikleri İnceleme, prepared by: Kemal Bek, İstanbul: Trend Yayın Basın, 2006 (1923), pp.68-69

[44] Gökalp, 2006 (1923), p.69

Gökalp was mainly right about the place of the Turks among the ruled class. He pointed out the Ottoman identity as the identity of the ruling elites. In fact, the term of *Rum* can be more enlightening to understand the identity of these elites. How the Ottoman state benefited from the term *Rum* in the Ottoman identity in order to clarify their social strata is the milestone of this study. Actually, the background of the Greek other within the Turkish identity cannot be understood without understanding who the *Rum* is.

Clearly, with inclusion of the term *Rum* into the Ottoman identity, the research about the Turkish national identity turned into a conceptual confusion. The Ottoman identity was complicated enough with its ethnic and religious plurality; and the term *Rum* may be seemed to be a reason of confusion. However, the intersection of the *Rum* and Ottoman is highly important to understand the common ground of Turkishness and Greekness. In other words, a room can be found for the *Rumi* within the Turkish identity, which can be originated back to the Ottoman past. The reasons of why the Ottoman state tried to qualify itself with the *Rumi* identity more than the Turkish identity, except for the last years of the Empire, have significance in understanding the irony in Turkish identity and the otherization process. To explore the *Rum* and *Rumi* identity turned out to be one of the key concepts in both exploring the Ottoman social structure and defining the past experiences of Turkish national identity.

There are several questions to ask about the *Rumi* character of the Ottoman identity. Why did the Ottomans use the *Rumi dirhem* (unit of weight) or the *Rumi* calendar? Why was Mevlânâ Celaleddin-i Rumi (1207-1273) named as *Rumi* although he lived in Anatolia? Why did some Ottoman sultans prefer the title of *Kayser-i Rum*? In answering these questions, to translate the *Rum* as "Greek" in modern sense may clearly carry us to wrong conclusions. There is something beyond ethnicity which will be discussed below.

For a long time, the term *Rum* disregarded or deemphasized in contemporary literature, as the name of one of the non-Muslim Ottoman *millets*. Merely, the Orthodoxy and the Greek ethnicity have been seen as the two components of being *Rum*. These definitions became *galat-ı meşhur* (widespread misconception)[45] and the reductionism within the definition became widespread. In fact, it can be seen in many translations of the old Ottoman history books or Sultan's *fermans* (imperial decree) that the term *Rum*, which meant the Ottoman upper class or the statesmen, translated into the term *Turk*. For example, Özbaran points out the mistranslation of Mustafa Akdağ, who is one of the important Turkish historians, of the term *Rum Yiğitleri* (heroes) as "Anatolian Turks" in several historical documents about the battles. By using Anatolia instead of *Rum* and Turks instead of heroes, he ignores the plurality within the Ottoman identity. Moreover, Akdağ claims that the Janissaries and other kinds of *erens* (saint or *dervish*) who were sent to distant places were "pure Turks".[46] However, the Janissary corps included the war prisoners, slaves and Christian-born recruits which were collected from the rural areas of the Balkans.[47] Although they were trained and converted into Islam, they were not Turkish in origin. Akdağ's preference of the Turk instead of *Rum* may be an outcome of simplification or nationalization of history, which is a widespread action. It is the part of the national history writing in Turkey, which may canalize and even shape the history of a nation into an epic story appropriate to the contemporary interests of that nation. The Turkish national history writing and some examples from the history text book will be discussed in the following parts.

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[45] This term is the shorter version of the idiom *Galat-ı Meşhur Lugat-ı Fasihadan Evladır* which means that a common misusage of a concept may legalize this usage, although it is defined in the dictionary in another way. Salih Özbaran used the expression of *galat-ı meşhur* to mention the wrong conceptualization of *Rum;* Özbaran, 2004, p. 89

[46] Quoted from Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi*, vol.1, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1971, pp.107-109 quoted in Özbaran, 2004, p. 89

[47] McCarthy, 1997, pp.124-125 or for a more detailed analysis, see: Goodfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, London, San Francisco, Beirut: Saqi Books, 2006

In the Ottoman Empire, the term *Rum* is linked with not only the Orthodoxy or Greek ethnicity, but also with the Roman and Byzantine Empires. Certainly, next to the *Rumi* title of the Ottoman upper class, the Orthodox Greek subjects were named as the *Rum Millet.* However, limiting the term as the Orthodox misses some important dynamics in the Ottoman and Turkish identity. Besides, in some Ottoman documents the people who were living at the center of *Rumeli* and Anatolia were defined as the *Rum.* This definition is related with the cultural boundaries within the Ottoman Empire, between the unknown or distant peoples like Arabs and the ordinary Ottomans. Moreover, *Rum* was also used as a declaration of the possession of the lands of the Eastern Roman Empire.[48] The Ottoman state neither aimed at exclusion of the Turks or inclusion of the Greeks, while it added the term *Rum* among its other labels. In fact, it had nothing to do with the *banal* ethnic identities of the subjects. It was the declaration of the greatness of the Empire, as well as the Eastern Roman Empire, and taking possession of the history of these lands from its Roman times. To evaluate these identifications with a modern sense of nationalism would weaken any analysis of the Ottoman history.

In fact, one of the first attempts to analyze the *Rumi* aspect of the Ottomans has come from an Austrian historian Paul Wittek in 1930s. He offered the term "Rumi Turks" instead of the Ottoman. He explained how this new term was more useful in explaining the facts from history and said that it included the nomadic and settled Turks, Turkified subjects, the *gaza* culture of the Ottoman. Moreover, by using the term *Rum*, the large contribution of the Roman heritage over the Turkish colorfulness could be mentioned according to Wittek.[49] However, he articulated this historical proposition during the heydays of the nationalist project of Turkey and his thesis did not create a sizable echo among either Turkish or Greek historians. His

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[48] Özbaran, 2004, pp.90-91

[49] Quoted from Paul Wittek, "Rum Sultanı", *Batı Dillerinde Osmanlı Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, pp.95-99, quoted in Özbaran, 2004, p.49

theory that the *Rumi* was not necessarily meaning an Orthodox Greek, but a Turkish civilization on the Roman heritage was not appreciated enough. A *Rumi* background cannot be acceptable during those days of Turkish History Thesis. He was accused of insulting the Ottomans and the Turks by saying that they were not capable of constructing a civilization alone.

Fuat Köprülü was one of the Turkish historians who firstly mentioned the *Rum* in the Ottoman identity and the Turkish history. He joined the debates of Turkish History Thesis in the 1st Turkish Congress of History as an important Ottoman historian. Because of his proficiency in Ottoman history, he did not fully depend on the researches about Turkish history which were done in a hurry in the early Republican era and advised to wait for more detailed analysis before writing a fully-fledged history. Moreover, he warned everybody about the confusion of the terms *Rum* and Turk. According to him, the importance of the *Rum* within the Ottoman history should not been neglected. He advised more research in the documents on the Turk, Mongol, Tatar or *Rum* components within the Ottoman identity.[50] However, his views which may "blur" the Turkish identity were not welcomed. In the Congress, where the nationalist history writing might seem to be the dominant aim of the participants, he compulsorily turned to an apologic attitude and declared that his ideas had changed.[51] Obviously, he might have been one of the few historians who tried to analyze the Ottoman history with Ottoman lenses, not behind a Turkish one. Neither Wittek nor Köprülü was successful enough about their warnings on the wide range of the Ottoman identity. Salih Özbaran re-introduced Paul Wittek to the Turkish historians and released hidden parts about Turkish history benefiting from his writings. Although, before Özbaran, the *Rumi* identity of the

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[50] Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar,* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976, 3rd ed., p.257; Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, İstanbul: AFA Yayınları, 1992, pp.109-110

[51] For these discussions of the 1st Turkish Congress of History, see: Ersanlı Behar, 1992, pp.119-160

Ottomans had been referred in many books frequently, a detailed archive research had not been made.

Obviously the Ottoman Empire was encompassing a large territory and some parts on the frontier provinces, such as the Arabs or some northern Balkan peoples, were excluded from the central identity of the state. The territories within Anatolia and Rumelia, or in other words the *Rumi* territories, were accepted as the center on which the state had an authoritarian hegemony. Although *Rum* and *Rumeli* seemed to be overlapping; the former as the name of the people and the other as their lands, there is much to pay attention other than the homophony between the words. *Rumeli* or *Rum-ili* was both the name of the Balkan Peninsula given by the Ottoman state and it was, at the same time, the administrative unit representing this territory, which means the *Romania* of the Greeks. As Halil İnalcık, the student of Fuat Köprülü, explains, the term *Rumeli* was used by the Ottoman state in the same context like the term Anatolia and it referred to the lands seized from the Byzantium. On the other hand, the name of *Rum* had been keeping its older meaning and continued to be the geographical name pointing out the territories on which the Seljuks had ruled in Asia Minor.[52] According to İnalcık, the Ottoman *Rum* can be defined as the "melting pot" which was an amalgam of the people and culture, either Christian *Rum* or Muslim Turk.[53]

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[52] Halil İnalcık, "*Rumeli*" article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1988

[53] Halil İnalcık, "Kültür Etkileşimi, Küreselleşme", *Doğu Batı*, *Dünya neyi Tartışıyor: Küreselleşme 1*, no.18, 2002, pp.97-98

**Map 1**

**The Map of Rumelia in 1801**

**Source:** William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*: *1801-1913*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1913

The *Rumeli Beylerbeyliği* (General Governorate of Rumelia) and *Anadolu Beylerbeyliği* (General Governorate of Anatolia) were considered by the Ottoman as the administrative units which were the nucleus of the state. In practice, *Rumeli Beylerbeyi* was a higher position than the *Anadolu Beylerbeyi* because of the strategic importance of *Rumeli*. When an *Anadolu Beylerbeyi* promoted he became the *Rumeli Beylerbeyi*. The historian Paul Wittek points out that the Ottoman *Rumeli* was very much alike the Byzantium period regarding the territory; *Disis-Batı*. The Ottomans did not ignore this historical geography which had a rich ancient culture. The boundaries of the *Rumeli* were from Albania to İstanbul on the north and Morea on the south. With the expansion in the Balkans the boundaries were extended along the Danube to the Black Sea shores. It included a geography including today's Bulgaria, south Serbia, Macedonia and Greece. The Orthodox Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, like the Bosnian or Austrian principalities, were seen as the exterior parts of the Ottoman system living on the distant places of the *Rumeli* unit.[54]

Another confusing point about the term *Rum* became visible with this information: although the Orthodox Greek *Millet* was named as the *Rums*, they were still not the central figure of the *Devlet-i Rum*. This definition of *Devlet-i Rum* was embracing the multi-cultural amalgam of the Ottoman state under the control of the Sultan. As discussed above, it had an implication about the gap between the rulers and the ruled. Neither the Turks, nor the Orthodox Greeks were able to dominate alone within the plurality of the Ottomans. It was the Sultan and the *askeri* group who were dominating. The concept of *Rum* was the reflection of self-identification of the Ottoman rulers and the nobles.

Their self-identification was accepted in many countries which were in relation with the Ottoman Empire. Before the Ottoman Empire took the control of

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[54] Quoted from Paul Wittek, "Rum Sultanı", *Batı Dillerinde Osmanlı Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Tğrkiye Yayınevi, 1971, p.89 quoted in Özbaran, 2004, p. 49

Yemen in 1517, there were many Ottoman soldiers, mariners, artillery or gunmen in Yemen and India. The locals named these people as *Rumi or Rumlu*. Hence, outside of the Ottoman territories such as the Arab lands, Iran, Central Asia or Indonesia, the title of *Rum* meant the "Ottoman". In fact, these *Rumi* people were not only consisted of the people who were sent by Bayezid II to Mamluks until 1509, but also the adventurers from the Western Anatolia or Karaman were accepted as *Rumi*.[55] Although the West was mentioning the Ottomans as the "Turks" since 11th century; the Eastern people generally saw the Ottomans as *Rum*, which was generally used for the Ottomans in Anatolia and *Rumeli*.

The eminent Western historian, Bernard Lewis, who is known for his works on Turks, wrote this confusion:

> The name of Turkey has been given to Turkish-speaking Anatolia almost since its first conquest by the Turks in the eleventh century – given, that is, by Europeans. But the Turks themselves did not adopt it as the official name of their country until 1923… [I]n the Imperial society of the Ottomans the ethnic term Turk was little used, and then chiefly in a rather derogatory sense, to designate the Turcoman nomads or, rather, the ignorant and uncouth Turkish peasants of the Anatolian villages. To apply it to an Ottoman gentle man of Constantinopolis would have been an insult.[56]

Although Lewis stated the fact that the term "Turk" was not used in the Ottoman understanding within the same meaning as the Europeans did, ironically he did not hesitate to use the "Turk" as the general name of the Ottoman Empire or in

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[55] Halil İnalcık, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-arms in the Middle East", in *War, Technology and Society and Society in the Middle East*, V.J. Parry and M. E. Yapp (eds.), London: Oxford Uni. Press, 1975, p.204

[56] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey,* 3rd Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, (1961) 2002, pp. 1-2

fact the previous civilizations of Anatolia, in other parts of his book.[57]  In another book Lewis felt the necessity to mention that when the Ottomans talk about themselves they used different names for different functions. When they wanted to mention their religious authority they used *Memalik-i Islam*; when they wanted to denote the Ottoman dynasty they chose *Al-i Osman* or if it was needed to define the state with geographical terms, they signified the territories they inherited from the Romans and said *Memleket-i Rum*.[58]

Obviously, the *Rumi* identity of the Ottomans did not have an ethnic or national boundary inside it. The possession of the Roman territories and the mixture of the cultures on these territories were the main components of this identity. The large Ottoman picture has to be remembered without getting stuck into the prejudices about the Turkishness of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, İlber Ortaylı, adopts a challenging definition and describes the Ottoman Empire as "the Muslim Rome". He asserts that the Ottoman Empire was the only state in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region which resembled to the classical Roman Empire. He says that, the Ottoman state was strict about its Turkish language but most of its bureaucrats were the Greeks or the Armenians, especially in the 19th century. However, the organizational culture and the social amalgamation were designed like in the Roman Empire. Therefore, he defines the Ottoman Empire as the "3rd Roman Empire" which was the Muslim version of the last one.[59] It may seem to be too radical to assess the Ottoman Empire as the 3rd Roman Empire, but this approach is useful to crack the prejudices about the different dimensions of the Ottoman structure.

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[57] Lewis went beyond the Ottoman and put a question mark about the Hittite-Turk relationship and said "The survival of Anatolian elements in modern Turkey is now beyond dispute. There is no need to assert that Turks are Hittites or that the Hittites were Turks – but it is clear that there was a large measure of continuity.", in *The Emergence of Modern Turkey,* 3rd Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, (1961) 2002, p.4

[58] Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998, p.11

[59] İlber Ortaylı, "Üçüncü Roma İmparatorluğu", *Hürriyet*, 18 October 1999

Thus, among the Seljuk, Sassanid, Russia or the Persian, it was the Byzantine Empire (Eastern Roman) that had an important place for the Ottoman imperial heritage.[60] Upon the above mentioned definitions of *Rum* there can be made some interpretations here. It seems that the ruling of the large territories which were captured from the "huge" Eastern Roman Empire was turned into a matter of pride for the state and this geography was defined as the lands of the *Rum*. Moreover, the people close to the Sultan (*askeri*) felt themselves different from the rest of the "ordinary" people (*reaya*), no matter from which *Millet* they were. In order to specify their high culture and upper social status, they preferred the term *Rum*, instead of any ethnic identity. The boundaries of the *Rum* were not around the Empire, it was inside of it. It was around the Ottoman imperial culture within the Empire, which did not cover the distant lands to which the authority of the state could not reach well. Besides, there was not enough data for an ethnic identity feeling in the Ottoman, at least in terms of modern conception. Although, as a part of the system, an Orthodox Greek or a Muslim Turk was aware of his/her religious and linguistic difference, being the subjects of the Ottoman Sultan became the main commonality or a kind of identity.

Up to here, different usages of the *Rum* were summarized shortly. For the sake of simplicity, the different usages of the term and their importance can briefly be explained upon three points. Firstly, there was a difference between the Greek-cultured Orthodox *Rum millet* and the Muslim Ottoman *Rumi* identity. While the former was a definition of the Orthodox people, the latter was a preferred identity of the administrators, poets or artists in the Ottoman state. The second point was the importance of *Rumeli* as an area which has been the central territory of the Empire

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[60] İsmail Tokalak underlines the similarities between the Ottoman and Byzantium cultures and organizations. He claims that the Turks had undergone a change with the influence of the Byzantium with which they lived for 400 years, since they came to Anatolia in 11th century. Not only the Turkish culture, social structure or political organizations changed, but also the racial appearance of the Turks had changed during the mixture with Byzantium. İsmail Tokalak, *Bizans-Osmanlı Sentezi: Bizans Kültür ve Kurumlarının Osmanlı Üzerinde Etkisi,*İstanbul: Güler Boy Yayıncılık, 2006

with Anatolia. The Ottoman system was not based on strict central administration. North African territories, the European territories beyond Bulgaria or the Middle Eastern territories were mostly of secondary concern for the Ottoman state; and it was only Anatolia and *Rumeli* where the heart of the state beats. The third important point about the concept is the appreciation of the size of the Roman Empire. To use the title of *Kayzer-i Rum* became an open declaration of the magnitude of the Ottoman Sultans, who was able to govern the whole Roman lands.

Obviously, this type of comprehensive and also flexible definition about the Ottoman identity may be helpful to understand how the Turkish identity internalized many identities via the imperial construct. In fact, any otherization needs to be understood from the point where these identities stood under the same frame. Internalizing many differences within the Ottoman identity established a broad platform for the modern Turkish identity. However, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the modern Republic of Turkey was founded another epoch had begun. Othering this broad spectrum, in this context, became the national project of the Republican Turkey in order to draw the lines of who the Turkish citizen was and who was not. The *Rum* identity, which was mixed up with the Ottoman, the Greek, the Turkish, Rumelia and Anatolia, was seen an anti-thesis of a unitary nation-state model during the establishment of the new Turkey. The otherization of the Greeks became the other side of the coin with otherization of the Ottoman past. The multi-faceted Ottoman's most favored identity of *Rum*, the Ottoman *askeri,* the Roman heritage and, also, the Greeks were all excluded from the new self identity.

In fact, this exclusion was not something peculiar to the modern Turkey. The process of the exclusion of the Greeks had begun with the change within the Ottoman identity. Actually, this change was not because of the conscious selections or ideas of the Ottoman state. The rise of nationalism in the Balkan lands, among the Arabs and in Anatolia made the Ottoman statesmen redraw the picture of being an

Ottoman. Ironically, the rise of separate national identities in the Ottoman Empire was the signal of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand.

## 3.4. Collapse of the Ottoman Empire and Rise of the Greek Nation

At the turn of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire came to an end of its advance after a series of military defeats against the European powers. Carrying out the mission of *gaza* (faith) and the victories of the Ottoman army were the *raison d'étre* of the Ottoman state.[61] When territorial conquests came to an end, it set the limits to the social, economic and cultural enrichment of the Empire. The stagnation of the Ottoman Empire was deeply felt especially in the economic and social fields. The land tenure system was mostly corrupted and, either the *Rum Millet* or the Armenians, all of the ruled subjects were discontented with the increasing economic pressure. There was a growing unrest among the people. The domestic unrest combined with the rising foreign debts.

The general intellectual portrait of the regular Ottoman was not positive, as well. The education system was mostly based on puritan and religious knowledge. Very few people, such as the rich or nobles, were literate and had a chance to get acquainted with something new from a printed book. In fact, most of the Ottoman Muslims had to wait for the year 1726 for the printing technology. However, the level of literacy among the Muslims was very low, which made printing many books unnecessary. Consequently, the printing house was closed, at least for the Muslims.

On the other hand, the inner picture of the non-Muslims about using the print technology was highly different from the Muslim Ottomans. While the printing

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[61] David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908*, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1977, p.1

technology was not welcomed among the Muslims for a long time, the non-Muslim *millet*s, especially the Greeks were already using the printing technology since 15<sup>th</sup> century. There were Greek printing machines in Venice, which means that they were not completely separated from the Western cultural life and were able to follow the modern knowledge.[62] Hence, with the spread of printing technology, the level of literacy among the Greeks and Armenians, who were the most energetic, intellectual, liberal elements,[63] was raised. The tradesmen or the sailors of the non-Muslim Ottomans were the engine force in this process. They introduced European ideas and carried European books to their relatives, friends and the neighbors. The children of the rich non-Muslim families were sent to Europe for education and they returned to their people as a "Europeanized" individual. Hence, with the help of these strong links with Europe, these non-Muslims were more akin to the newly developing nationalism idea in the West[64], which was going to be a major problem for the Ottoman Empire within a century time.

The connection between the printing technology and national identity can be established here. The development of the print technology in modern European nation-state histories was of great importance. Educating the people in a national language, with a determined ideology, in line with national interests can be accepted as the most effective way of creating the citizen and national identity. Many nationalism writers give great importance to printing technology and educating the people in a vernacular language during the construction of their national identities. Benedict Anderson's emphasis on the "print capitalism" would be a great example.

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[62] Digital based lecture of Steven W. Sowards for the class of "The Balkans in the Age of Nationalism". E-source is available at: http://www.lib.msu.edu/sowards/balkan/lecture6.html (accessed 17 November 2007)

[63] Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *Turkey: A past and a Future*, Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006, p.7

[64] Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık and Yıldız Deveci, "The Pontus Question: An Overview", Center for Eurasian Strategic Research Institute for Armenian Studies, Unpublished paper, 2008

According to him, to heighten national consciousness, the modern nation-states preferred to use the print-languages which were different from the older administrative vernaculars. He says that "…the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation."[65] However, when the case of the Ottoman Empire is analyzed it becomes obvious that there wasn't a mono-linguistic structure. Every *millet* had its own language, own religion and education policy, which separated the people into groups. The government had not enough tools to impose its ideology, neither by publishing nor by teaching them in schools. The Turkish speaking Anatolians had barely understood the Turkish of the bureaucrats, because of many Persian and Arabic words in it. There was not a qualified communication between the state and the people. In fact, this communication gap between the rulers and the ruled turned into a disability of the state to reach its people and create a common ground for everybody.

While the social, political and economic conditions of the Ottomans were at the edge of doom, the Euro-centric nationalist ideologies, which encouraged separate nation-states, were threatening the imperial integrity of the Empire. Especially non-Muslims were very excited with these new thoughts, since their information channels and their linguistic abilities made them more adoptable to European ideas. Instead of a "blurred" and "out-of-date" Ottoman identity, new and up-to-date nation-states seemed to be the ideal form of state for these *Millets.* The rich and intellectual non-Muslims were playing the mediator role between Europe and them. On the other hand, the Muslims who were the majority in the Ottoman Empire had a very narrow access to the modern developments and information.

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[65] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, London: Verso, 1991, pp. 44-46

The initial reaction of the Ottoman state to the French Revolution was really farcical. It was regarded as a purely internal affair of no great consequence. Even when the Revolution spread to the other countries of Western Europe, the Ottoman decision makers still regarded it as an internal affair of Christianity. There was a misconception that these incidents had no relevance to the Ottoman Empire, which was immune from the "disease" as a Muslim state. The words of Ahmed Efendi, the Private Secretary of Selim III, were meaningful. He said in his journal in 1792: "May God cause the upheaval in France to spread like syphilis to the enemies of the Empire, hurl them into prolonged conflict with one another, and thus accomplish results beneficial to the Empire, amen".[66] But, the French Revolution meant more than "syphilis" to the people of the old systems and the Ottoman state could not escape from this "disease".

French Revolution had a different place in the Ottoman history, because it was no longer possible for the Sublime Porte in 18$^{th}$ century to be immune from the turmoil in Europe. There emerged a huge curiosity among the Ottoman intellectuals, which, in time, turned into an admiration to the Europeans. The intellectual world of the Europeans began to be attractive in the Ottoman Empire and it gained a bulk of audience among the Muslims, although the terminology was unknown.

The 19$^{th}$ century was a turning point for the philosophy, too. Münif Paşa, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, Ali Bey, Ebuzziya Tevfik, Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Ziya Gökalp and Beşir Fuat were some of the researchers who dedicated themselves to understand the European thinkers, such as Voltaire, Comte, Schopenhauer or Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The seeds of positivist and materialist science were planted with these

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[66] Quoted from Tahsin Öz (ed.), "Selim III'ün Sırkatibi tarafından tutulan Ruzsnam", *Tar. Ves*., iii, May 1949, 184. cf Cevdet, *Tarih*, vi. 130 quoted in Lewis, 1961, p.65

writers, although a bitter inconsistency about the supremacy of mind against dogma, or science against religion could be observed in their books.[67]

The 19th century European influence was not limited with the writers or the philosophers. The wide sweep of change that was taking place in European societies as a whole at the same time was to find its parallel movement in the Ottoman society.[68] The new ideas of freedom, nationalism and independence found numerous audiences in the Empire, from non-Muslims to Muslims. In this sense, the years of 19th century were very tough for the Ottoman government. They had to modernize the social, military and economic systems, while there was a rising nationalist quest within the Empire, especially in the Balkans.

The rise of nationalism in Europe spread to the Empire during the 19th century. Although, nationalism was a new idea in the Empire in the 19th century, the Ottomans were not unfamiliar with the notion of distinct "identities". According to the *Millet* system Muslims and non-Muslims experienced belonging to different religious communities under the surveillance of their own religious leader, with a relative economic autonomy. They had to pay different amounts of taxes; their social, political and economic rules were arranged according to different religious codes and they wore different clothes. In fact, everybody was aware of these differences and showed great care.[69] Therefore, as a catastrophe for the Ottoman Empire, the religious identities had combined with the ethnic differentiation trend of the 19th century nationalism movements. Hence, *Millet* identity in a sense constructed the base of the modern national identities.

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[67] For details of Ottoman philosophy, plese see: Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, "Osmanlılarda Felsefe", *Mülkiye Dergisi*, Vol. XXII, No.218, 1999, pp. 21-45

[68] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998, p.8

[69] Ortaylı, 2004, p. 17

Although the exact reference points were not clear -whether mentioning religion, ethnicity or language-, the independence calls became widespread among the non-Muslim Ottomans. The Serbians were the first to rebel against the Ottoman state in 1804 as a reaction against the Ottoman governor of Belgrade because of some oppressive rules. It was launched by the Serbs of Vojvodina and later supported by Russia and then, Austria.[70] In fact, more than a nationalist call, this was a kind of chaotic uprising. Yet, comparing with the Greeks, the Serbs were not that critical for the Ottoman state, because of their cultural and territorial distance to the center. However, when the Greeks rose in rebellion in 1821 its echo was far more effective on the Ottoman state and on other Balkan nations. Its difference from the Serbians can be found in its more sophisticated independence rhetoric, which was representing the romantic ideals of the Western European philosophy. Besides, since some European writers announced the ancient Greeks as the roots of the European modernization, there was a growing sympathy in Europe for the Greeks. Obviously, the Greeks were very important for the Ottoman state, too. They were the majority of *Rumelia*, which was one of the two central parts of the Empire, with Anatolia.

Moreover, as analyzed in the previous parts, the invasions and especially military advances into west was the raison d'être of the Ottoman Empire. The basic ideology of the Ottoman state, since its establishment, was the *gaza* ideology and the advance to the non-Muslim lands was the imperial dream of the Empire for a long time. In this sense the Orthodox Greeks' lands which were within the *Dar-ul Islam* (house of Islam) were important. To show the Islamic world about how successful was the Ottoman state in creating the *Dar-ul Sulh* (house of peace) for both the Muslims and non-Muslims was a significant mark of prestige. Moreover, the *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate was in İstanbul. It was given an ecumenical status, which it had long lost before the Ottoman period, a unified political space all to itself,

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[70] Stefanos Yerasimos, *Milliyetler ve Sınırlar: Balkanlar, Kafkasya ve Ortadoğu*, Ş. Tekeli (trans.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994, p. 55

insulated from any competition by the Latin Catholic Church.[71] Since the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate was under the rule of the Ottoman government and the imperial hegemony was felt over the whole Orthodox world. Although the religion of the state was Islam, the ruling elite did not hesitate to mention themselves as the successors of the Roman Empire. The Ottoman identity of the state was linked with the *Rumi* identity. The Ottoman hegemony over the territories of the previous Roman Empire was the source of pride. The Orthodox Greeks were the *Rum millet*, but the geographical expression of the *Rumi* identification of the state was centered in İstanbul, where the Sultan or the *Kayser-i Rum* was living. They were the Turkish speaking Muslims who were living on the lands of the Roman Empire and synthesized many cultures in its cosmopolite construct. The separation of the *Rum millet*, who was the direct heirs of the Roman Empire, would make the Ottoman identity groundless.

Beside, the Greeks had a large economic power. In the Balkans, Greeks started as early as the 16th century to move to the cities and these cities had begun to display a vibrant economic life. They focused on trade, merchandise and shipping. According to Greek political scientist, Thanos Veremis, the Greeks were choosing trade and finance, because of the oppressive economic policies of the Ottoman Empire.

> The constraints that ruled the agricultural life of the infidels were such as to push them towards less oppressively regulated activities, such as trade and finance. The impact that the Greeks had in those sectors is not due to any inherent talent, but to the fact that such professional options were used to escape from the oppressive regime regulating any agricultural activity…Until the 18th century, the

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[71] Thanos M. Veremis, *Greeks and Turks in War and Peace*, Athens: Athens News, 2007, p. 28

Ottoman state's interventionism continued to drain the productive classes instead of protecting them and stimulating their productivity[72]

Certainly, the land tenure system (*tımar sistemi*) began to be corrupted during the last centuries and the tax duties of the *reaya* were raised which put Greeks in more harsh economic conditions. When Mehmet II captured Constantinopolis in 1453, the city was economically developed. It was situated on a strategic point in the world. Many trade routes went through Constantinopolis from Asia to Europe and from Mediterranean to the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea or vice versa. Hence, in 15th century, there were already rich Greek middlemen in trade who made the real profits of the city, which was the middlemen city *par excellence*.[73] With the Ottoman rule, the city was named as İstanbul and most of the tradesmen continued to live. Thus, although the Ottoman tax system oriented the Greeks to trade, it was a fact that the Greeks interest in trades and finance went back before the Ottoman period.

Most of the import and export were done by the Ottoman Greeks, but their role was not limited with economy. Their ongoing linkage with Europe made them educated and bilingual, which were indispensable in foreign affairs of the Ottoman state. The Muslim Ottomans who had enough knowledge of a European language were very few. Most of this few people were died during the massacre of 1807, which was done by the conservatives against the modernization attempts of Selim III.[74] Obviously, while there were many European technicians, army officers and advisers in the country, who were able to speak foreign languages; entrusting the whole official translation to the Europeans had some drawbacks. The translations in a "foreign" accent were not fruitful for anybody, who had to understand the details about the new techniques.

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[72] Veremis, 2007, pp. 35 and 37

[73] McCarthy, 1997, p.69

[74] Lewis, 1961, p.80

Knowledge of foreign language was also necessary in politics and diplomacy. During the glamorous previous days, as we mentioned above, the ministers or the diplomats had felt no need to learn different languages of the "barbarian" countries in Europe.[75] Such necessary contacts were maintained through the embassies in İstanbul. The conversations were held through the medium of dragomans, who were local Christians. Every embassy employed one of them and the Ottoman state maintained a functionary known as the Dragoman of the Sublime Porte, who conducted its correspondence. This service, which lasted for over three centuries, usually held by Christians and in the 18th century a small group of noble Greek families, who were close to Phanariots in Istanbul. Obviously, they had a considerable influence in foreign policy of the empire.

In short, the Greeks were very important for the Ottoman state, either as a part of the Ottoman identity, the catalyst of the economy, the dragoman of foreign affairs or as the medium with the modern world. Obviously, these factors that made the Greeks indispensable for the Ottoman state, ironically gave them huge power within the empire. In the end, this power did no longer want an imperial authority above it.

Imperial authority was indeed a barrier between the capitalist class of the Greeks and the modern world. According to this class, the nation-state ideal was not only the way of independence; it was also the door to the modern capitalist system. Hence, the most ardent Greek nationalist had been the Greek tradesmen and ship-owners in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, nationalistic thought was first called out aloud by them. Next to their rising economic power, the Greeks traders were in a close relationship with the Europeans since they acted as the mediator between the Ottoman Balkans and Europe. They were the dominant group among all the

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[75] Lewis, 1961, p. 85. It was ironic that the Ottomans were thinking the Europeans as the barbarians, while the Europeans thought vice versa. Hence, it would be possible to claim that this dual negative estimation of both sides made them isolated from each other.

Christian traders in imperial trade. These merchants were exporting the raw materials to the European countries and importing manufactured goods from them.[76] They were early than the Ottomans in adapting to the world capitalist system. Thanos Veremis explained the success of the Greek trade with the chance of the Greeks to replace some important traders of the region. The Venetians and the Genovese disappeared from the Aegean Sea and the Jewish population of the Balkans moved to Europe. Moreover, the treaties that Ottoman Empire signed with the Austrians, such as Karlowitz 1699 and Pasarovitz 1719, and with the Russians, such as *Küçük Kaynarca* 1774 and the convention of 1783, allowed the Greeks traders, especially the shipping sector, to develop under privileged conditions in the Aegean. Moreover, the Russian treaties, which aimed at winning over the Orthodox population, made it possible for Greek ship-owners to travel under the Russian flag. Hence, the Greeks benefited from important duty exemption in the Ottoman ports.[77] Obviously, capital accumulation of the Greeks was an important reason of the nationalist rise. The rich Greek merchants were the pioneering force in the process of independence.

In the first years of 19th century, some sporadic revolts among the Greeks began against the Ottoman rule. There were pre-nationalist armed resistance of *klephts*[78] and *armatolois*[79] for who were actually employed by the Ottoman state for the maintenance of local order. Although a member of *armatoloi* was an armed-force of the Sultan, he might easily slip into banditry when his fee was not adequate.[80] So with the economic decline of the Empire and the diminishing payments to the

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[76] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge: UK, 1992, p.23

[77] Veremis, 2007, p.39

[78] Klephts were essentially the bandits taken to the mountains to avoid the payment of taxes

[79] Armatolois were bodies of irregular groups

[80] Richard Clogg, "Aspects of Movement for Greek Independence", in *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War for Independence*, in (ed. ) Richard Clogg, The Macmillan Press: UK, 1973, pp.8- 9

*Armatoloi,* they began to cooperate with the other bandits in organizing revolts against the Ottoman state. There were many uprisings on the mainland and some islands. Hence, the Greeks were eager enough for independence and they were already used to fight against the Ottoman because of this irregular warfare for decades.[81] When the *Philiki Etairia* established by three Greek merchants in Odessa in 1814, the ideas of secular, free, independent and unique Greek nation, depending on its ancient *Hellenic* past, expanded among the Greeks. These ideas were mainly anti-Ottoman, anti-religious and anti-Byzantium.[82]

However, the previous reaction of the Ottoman state to the Greek rebellion was ironic. Nobody wanted to believe that the *Rums* wanted to separate from the Ottoman Empire. The state did not seem to recognize the seriousness of the developments. It is hard to say that the Ottoman state could evaluate the essence of nationalism and the aim of the Greeks. The Greek nationalist movements and the activity of bands were usually cited as *eşkiya* (bandit) or *eterya eşkiyası* (Eterya bandit). Since the Ottoman state was not giving enough importance to the Greek rebellion and the other Balkan nationalist movements, the official documents contained little information about the political background and character of this movement and their contacts or position towards other Balkan nationalism there.[83]

Actually, the Greek rebellion had an internal and external influence. They were backed up by the big powers of Europe. However, the Ottoman state was not powerful enough to hinder the developments. Hence, The Battle of Navarino in 1827, which was an open declaration of the Greek independence, was a total disaster for the Ottoman Empire. Russian, French and British navies burned the Ottoman navy in the Harbor of Navarino in the Morea. This ending of the battle was

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[81] Clogg, 1992, pp.15-17
[82] Roudometof, 1998, p.30

[83] Ortaylı, 2004, p. 43

devastating: the navy was heavily damaged, the prestige of the Empire was lost and the other Balkan nations were encouraged.

Certainly, the situation of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire had changed after the Greek Independence. Their service in diplomatic translation, economy and bureaucracy was no more welcomed. Previously, Next to their linguistic abilities and modern educations, the powerful Patriarchate and the Phanariot families in the capital of the Ottoman state made them close to the Sublime Porte. However, with the new circumstances the general attitude of the state towards the *Rum ekalliyet* (Orthodox-Greek minority) had changed dramatically. In other words, the importance of the Greeks had turned into an "otherization".

The Greek Rebellion changed the attitude to the Greeks in a negative manner. There began suspicion about the trustworthiness of the Greek officers, merchants, diplomats and dragomans. For example, in 1821, the well known Greek dragoman, Stavraki Aristarchi, was dismissed.[84] Immediately, the service of translation was entrusted to the Muslim. They were the first link within the chain of distrust against the non-Muslims in the state. There were many examples of how the Ottoman state began to eliminate Greeks from important positions in bureaucratic and social structure bureaucrats. The Greek Phanariot dragomans in Istanbul were replaced by converted Christians who were originally Bulgarian or Armenian. The Bulgarian Bulgarzade Yahya Efendi and the Armenian Sahak Abro Efendi were among the substitutes of the Phanariots. Some of the Phanariots however, were believed to remain faithful to the Sultan and continued to be the favored subjects (with exceptions like Mavrokordatos and Ypsilanti). For example Mushurus Pasha was an Ottoman Greek and sent to Athens as the first ambassador, in 1840, but hated by the Greeks. His successor, Photiadi Pasha was too an ambassador to Athens. Kalimaki Bey who was the ambassador to Vienna and Sava Pasha, who formed a still favored

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[84] Lewis, 1961, p.86

manual of Islamic law, were other significant figures in the Ottoman bureaucracy. However, these were the exceptions. In fact, the Greeks' supremacy in the state bureaucracy was in decay.

Samos Island was a remarkable case for these counter-measures in order to prevent a nationalist revolt there. Autonomy was granted to this island in 1832 with a special concessional decree (*imtiyaz fermanı*) named "*Sisam Emareti*". With this decree the islanders almost gained a constitutional structure. The Ottoman government had to create such a concessional status because of the waves of the revolt in Samos. A Greek Orthodox subject of the Sublime Porte was appointed as the governor of the island and a parliament was formed among the notables of the locals. In return of a certain amount of tax to the Sublime Porte, Samos was given autonomy in navigation, tax collection, construction and religious affairs. However, the constitutional status of Samos was challenged, like many others, with the halt of the Ottoman Constitution in 1878.[85]

When we turn back to the changing role of the Greeks in the country, we might see another important area to search: education. With the general education law, Greek schools, like others, were taken under the control of the Ministry of Education. A strict scrutiny began to be applied to the Greek books of these schools.[86] The expressions of Greekness were eliminated from the books. However, the state was too late to add "Ottomanism" into the Greek school textbooks, which had been under the control of the religious leaders of the *Rum millet*. The number of Greek students in the extinguished Ottoman schools is another highlighting example how the Greeks were affected by the general trend in the *Tanzimat* Period and lost their privileged position among other non-Muslims. The newly founded Ottoman high schools (like *Mekteb*-i *Tıbbiye*, Medical School, *Mülkiye Mektebi*, Imperial

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[85] Ortaylı, 2004, pp.37-39

[86] Ibid., p. 40

school of Administration, Veterinary school, etc.) granted a quota of 33 % to non-Muslim students. This quota caused a struggle between the Greek and Armenian communities. In 1857, the number of Greek candidates was reduced to 50 from 55, to the benefit of Armenian candidates.[87]

During this period of distrust, relations between the Orthodox and the Muslim were tense. In fact, it would be meaningful to point out an example of a well-known Greek historian, Richard Clogg. He explains in his book that there had never been a true confidence between the Turks and the Greeks. The Greeks monopoly of the Western languages and intellectual accumulation made them as an imperative part within the state affairs. Still, this mandatory collaboration did not hinder the Turks to name the Greeks as the *Şeytanoğlu* (the son of the devil), which means unfaithful and cheater, after the Greek Independence.[88]

On the other hand, not all the Greeks had clear ideas about separation. While the Ottoman state was irritated and confused about the Greek independence, the Ottoman Greeks, too, were in a dilemma: continue to live as an Ottoman or transform into a Greek nationalist. An independent Greek nation-state was out there, but they were used to live in the Ottoman Empire for a long time. In fact, some Greeks were not seeking a Greek nation-state because of their privileged status in the Empire. Although their comfort was disturbed with the above mentioned negative attitudes within the Ottoman Empire, they did not trust to the new state in the Balkans. They were evaluating the Greek nation-state as a temporary attempt and sure that the "nationalism" fashion would soon disappear in short.

The Phanariot families of İstanbul, the oligarchic landlords of Morea and the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate were the examples to these Greeks who were

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[87] Ibid., p. 41

[88] Clogg, 1992, p.15

distasteful about the Greek national rise. Their reaction to the incidents was different from the avant-garde Greek nationalists. The Phanariot families were believed to be the nobles of the Byzantium Constantinopolis, which continued to live in the Ottoman İstanbul. Some of these families were Ghika, Mavrokordatos, Ypsilantis, Racovitza, Soutsos, Rosetti, Karatzas, Mavroyenis ve Khatzeris.[89] These families were close to the Sultan and the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate. They had enormous power on financial and political issues. Their cultural and linguistic abilities made them useful for the state.[90] However, with the Greek independence, their prestige and credibility were spoiled. Some of the Phanariots tried to impose a confederative administrative structure, for the sake of both the Empire and the Greek Orthodox community. This "Helenotomanist" idea combined the Ottoman and Greek cultures in a cosmopolitan empire. In fact, they believed that the Greek culture would naturally overcome the others, in time.[91] For example, the Phanariote André Coroméles proposed a Turco-Greek Empire and suggested that the Ottoman sultan should have the title of "Sultan of the Turks and King of Greeks". Another example, Stefanos Xenos emphasized the common interests of the Ottomans and the Greeks living under the structure of the Empire, during the days of Bulgarian Revolt. Strikingly, another Ottoman Greek, Pitzipios Bey wrote in his book, the adaptation

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[89] Cyril Mango claimed that these families were originated not in Byzantium nobles but in the 16th century emigrants of Europe. He made a lexicological analysis and told that most of the Phanariot families names are not in Greek, but in different languages of Europe. Cyril Mango, "The Phanariots and the Byzantine Tradition", in *The Struggle for Greek independence; essays to mark the 150th anniversary of the Greek War of Independence*, R. Clogg (ed.), Hamden Conn: Archon Books, 1973, p.43

[90] Clogg, 1992, p. 21

[91] Haris Eksertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati: Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi*, (trans. by) F. Benlisoy and S. Benlisoy, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p.13

of Byzantine institutions, equality of Christianity and Islam, and citing Sultan Abdülmecid as the Emperor of the Byzantines.[92]

On the other hand, the affairs of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate became a quite controversial issue. While the Ottoman state was suspecting from it because of its potential stimulation of the Greeks as a spiritual and national center, the Greeks in the Kingdom saw it too conservative and close to the Ottoman state.[93] To move the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate to Greece was out of question. İstanbul, or Constantinopolis in the Orthodox belief, is home of the Patriarchate. Therefore the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate did not want to lose its Orthodox Greek people. They had been the leader of the whole Orthodox world for centuries. However, with the new developments in the Balkans this Orthodox group divided which meant a division in the Orthodox Church.

Next to the Phanariots and the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate, there was another Greek group in the Ottoman Empire who were not sympathetic to an independent Greek nation-state. The oligarchic class of the Greeks, the *kocabaşıs* (big heads), was the tax collectors of the Ottoman state and their power was even increased with the corrupted land system during the last decades. The system was not different in Anatolia or *Rumeli*. The only difference was the names of the land lords: in Anatolia they were the *Agas*, in *Rumeli* they were the *kocabaşıs*. In fact, the Greeks name these oligarchic people as the "Christian Turks"[94] because of their close relations with the Ottoman state and their same harsh attitude towards the peasants.

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[92] Quoted from André Coroméles, *Réforme Practicable en Turquie*, Athens, 1853, p.30 and Stefanos Xenos, *Union or Dismemberment of Turkey*, London, 1876, p.11 and J. G. Pitzipios Bey, *L'Orient, les Réformes de l'Empire Byzantin*, Aris, 1858 quoted in Ortaylı, 2004, p. 41

[93] Ibid., p. 39

[94] Clogg, 1992, p.41

All these powerful classes of the Greeks had been the most powerful groups of the *Rum millet* for a long time. Their power was directly linked to the continuation of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, their reaction to the independent Greek nation-state was not positive at first. They were not ready to give up being the "powerful" Ottomans. However, the conditions will never be the same for the Greeks or the Ottomans. They could stand apart from the otherization process of the Greeks.

The Empire was at the doom of its collapse. Something had to be done. Therefore, the Ottoman state declared some reforms, which can be seen radical for an imperial system. In 1839 the *Tanzimat* Charter and in 1856 the *Islahat* Charter were introduced. Obviously, these reforms were prepared to strengthen the loose social bond of the Ottoman Empire. Under the pressure of the European states, it was tried to construct an undivided empire in which the Muslim and non-Muslim *millets* can live together. However, 1839 *Tanzimat* Firman was away from this kind of totality. It was neither a constitution nor a law. The Sultan accepted several limitations in his authority. He announced that the safety of life, property and integrity of the whole *reaya* were no more under his rule but left to the law of *mevadd-ı esasiye* or the *Sharia*. The Islamic code of *Sharia* was to be applied for both the Muslims and the non-Muslims. Several temporary legislative assemblies were foreseen but there was not a public representation. In fact, the members of these assemblies were appointed by the Sultan. Moreover, they were limited with the Islamic code, in practice. To this end, these regulations were not new for the Muslims, who had been living under the same conditions for a long time. There were, on the other hand, several uncertainties about the equality of the non-Muslims. Although, it was announced in the Firman, neither a practical regulation nor a desire of the state about it was seen.[95]

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[95] Küçük, 2006, pp.397-398

"Centralization was the fundamental aspect of the *Tanzimat* in administration, determined not only by the world-view, objectives and achievements of bureaucracy but also technological progress."[96] While the foreign powers demanded a decentralized status of autonomy for national minorities and subject peoples in the Balkans, the *Tanzimat* elites' reaction was to impose a centralized model of provincial administration. One of the important figures of *Tanzimat*, Ali Pasha, in fact had a centralist inclination.[97] The other intellectual bureaucrats, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, Fuat Pasha or Midhat Pasha saw the new arrangements as a way of cautious steps in protecting the state. Hence, the main preoccupation, not to say obsession, of the late term Ottoman statesmen was saving the state.[98]

The Western States, especially Britain, were not happy with these reforms that were obviously not enough for any representation or liberation within the Ottoman community, especially within the non-Muslims. It was seeking to get more influence on the *ekalliyets* (minority) of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Russia put into practice its protectorate rights over the Orthodox *Millet* that it gained with 1774 *Küçük Kaynarca* Agreement. Within this tensioned climate, the Crimean War broke out in 1853. To stop the Russian troops could not be achieved without the military support of the Western Powers. With the 1856 Paris Conference, the Ottoman Empire was given support by the European great powers, but it was this conference that these states became the protectors of the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire and were able to interfere into the domestic issues.

Although the Ottoman state resisted against the idea of Europeans being the common guarantors of the non-Muslims in its territories, it could no longer postpone this process. To escalate the relations with the Allies was not an option for the *Bab-ı*

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[96] Ortaylı, 2004, p. 48

[97] Ortaylı, 2004, pp.48-49

[98] Deringil, 1998, p.20

*Ali*, especially at those times continuing threat of Russia. Hence, the state accepted to abolish the non-Muslim taxes of *cizye* and *haraç*. With these new regulations, the *Islahat* Firman, in 1856 everybody, including the non-Muslims, began to be eligible for the military and administrative positions. The non-Muslims can be recruited in the Ottoman army and were able to rise to the highest positions of *miralay* (colonel) in the army or first degree employee. Moreover, they no more needed a special permission to construct or restore a church. This decree was the larger form of the previous, *Tanzimat*, because it repeated several points about citizenship and equality. Besides, the administrative and legislative roles of the non-Muslims were expanded. In addition, some structural reforms about the state system; such as reforming the state budget, establishing a bank and organizing mixed courts were carried out. The "humiliating" words against the non-Muslims were prohibited and they were accepted as equal witnesses in the courts. As one of the significant developments, the *Sharia* was not even mentioned in the *Islahat*.[99]

With *Islahat* the non-Muslim *reaya* was given three stages of reforms according to constitutional development. First one was the existence of a "reasonable" number of non-Muslims in the provincial and municipality assemblies. The second was the entrance of the non-Muslims into the *Meclis-i Ahkam-ı Adliye* (Assembly of Judiciary Stipulations). The last one was a kind of secularizing the *millet* system; next to the clergy, ordinary people were included into the parliaments of their *millets*. Hence, if the 1839 *Tanzimat* reforms are accepted mostly as arrangements about the Muslims then it may be claimed that 1856 *Islahat Fermanı* was mainly regularizing the issues about the non-Muslims in the Ottoman system. However, although 1839 arrangements did not give a constitution to the Muslims, the

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[99] Küçük, 2006, pp.398-399

1856 reform had launched the constitutional development of the non-Muslim *millets* and turned to be a manifest of their independence ideas.[100]

Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha were the important figures of the *Islahat*. To hold the Empire together was the main aim of them. Some writers, however, erroneously saw these reforms as the first step of nation-state construction. Mesami Arai says "Ottoman reforms seem to have intended, consciously or unconsciously, to construct a nation state from the various subjects of their empire." Selim Deringil criticizes Arai in his book and says that "how one sets about constructing a nation state unconsciously remains a mystery."[101] In fact, the national awakening was not the aim but the unexpected side effects of the reforms. The Ottoman statesmen were even surprised by the reactions and outcomes to these reforms. On the other hand, neither internal nor external actors were satisfied with the new arrangements. Mustafa Reşit Pasha accused Ali and Fuad Pashas being betrayers to the Ottoman state. He made a warning about the upcoming clashes between the Muslim and non-Muslims, let alone holding them together. He defined *Islahat* as a vehicle to destroy the state (*vasıta-i tahrib-i memleket*) which was given to Europe by the betrayers.[102] The reaction of the Muslims was not positive, in general. The equality of the Muslim and non-Muslim was very surprise for everybody, who had been living under the Islamic code and used to the superiority of the Muslim over the non-Muslim. There were many protests all over the Empire.

Another interesting protest of equality came from some non-Muslims. Since, there was a hierarchy in the classical Ottoman system, from Muslim to *Rum* (Greek

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[100] Quoted from Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 1978, p.213 quoted in Küçük, 2006, p.399

[101] Quoted from Mesami Arai quoted in Deringil, 1998, p.7

[102] Quoted from Cevdet Pasha, *Tezakir*, (ed.) Cavid Baysun, Ankara, 1953, part 1-12, p.75 quoted in Küçük, 2006, p.399

Orthodox) and to Armenians and Jews; some *Rum*s did not want to lose their second rank. Equality among all the Ottomans meant the elimination of their privileged position in the Ottoman high offices. On the other hand, the non-Muslim clergy did not welcome the inclusion of the civil people into their administrative organizations. This was a restriction to the religious structure of the non-Muslim *Millets*, which in turn contributed the secularization of these *millets*. Besides, the new system made them to participate in the army service and this was not something they were looking for. Next to these internal reactions, the Europeans were still not acclaiming the reforms. The freedom to speech and missionary activities was at their agenda and they were not satisfied with the limited secularized structure of the state.[103]

Probably, one of the most important contributions of these reforms was in local governance as an early step in representation, nationalization and liberalization. The local governance attempts had different influences on peoples. There was not a rich tradition of representation in the Ottoman history. The autonomy of the rural and urban communities undertaking action and setting up their organs of government was a relatively recent phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire.[104] It is worth noting that the self-enclosed religious communities of the Ottoman Empire, *millets*, were saddled with certain legal, financial, educational and administrative responsibilities. Consequently, this system, too, has been regarded as constitutive of a tradition of local governance, with attention centering on the autonomy of the Armenian or the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchates. As it can be largely accepted, the local government is a society of free citizens in embryonic form, however the model of the *millets* was offering something different. The system represented no more than an organizational structure of compartmentalization engendered through the overwhelmingly religious definition of social identity. No Christian ethnicity or a region enjoyed any financial-administrative or cultural autonomy. The İstanbul *Rum*

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[103] Ibid., pp.398-400

[104] Ortaylı, 2004, p.45

Orthodox Patriarchate itself was the only Christian community that was recognized as a community for the Ottoman state, and therefore it enjoyed a relative autonomy. Subordinate groups did not possess any secular organizations other than the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate.[105]

After the *Islahat* and the new arrangements about the civilians' inclusion in their local assemblies, the conjuncture was very supportive for the non-Muslims. These communities were given the chance to practice the civil representation and secular administration. This was a huge opportunity for them to realize their national identity in the long run. While there was a constant flow of nationalism idea from Europe, these semi-nationalized structures eased their identifications.

In cosmopolitan provinces, the local assemblies began to be stages of several problems among the different *millets*. Moreover, with the *Islahat* arrangements in local governance, the relations between the members of various congregations were deteriorated, because of the various Christian *millets* struggling for priority with one another. On the other hand, the Muslim members of the local councils began to behave in an insulting manner toward their non-Muslim counterparts, because of which the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate officially complained.[106] The equality of the citizens, either a Muslim or a non-Muslim, was not easy to accept for the Muslims, who were used to be the superior over the "infidels".

The fundamental reforms of the *Islahat* carried some other socio-political rights for everybody, but it was especially the non-Muslims who were adapted to the new developments more than the Muslims. The Greeks were already active in intellectual life and political discussions. As it was mentioned before, their literacy level and familiarity with the modern thoughts made them ready to benefit from

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[105] Ibid., p. 46

[106] Ibid., pp.49-50

these reforms in social ways. Hence, the 1860s became the period in which many social and political Greek founded in the country. In fact, because of their educational and cultural background they were close to this kind of activities. The Greek newspaper *Neologos,* which was printed in İstanbul in Greek, wrote in 1873 that almost everyday another Greek association was established in the Empire.[107] These associations were helping to construct the national identity feeling of the *Rum* Orthodox middle class in the Empire. The Greeks were politically and economically on their ways to create a firm Greek national identity.

Beside the political and social contributions of these reforms, the non-Muslims got use of these new conditions in economic sense. They found great economic support from the Europeans while the Muslims were falling into financial crisis. The capitulations, from which the non-Muslim traders made use of, caused bankruptcy of many Muslim traders, especially the handicraftsmen who could not compete with the modern technology. On the other hand, the economic conditions were getting better of for the Greek financial class. The downwards slope of the Empire turned into an opportunity for them. They had strong links with the financial sectors of Greece and Europe. Most of the Greek banker families transferred from trade sector to banking. When the Ottoman state was struggling with the foreign debts, the Greek bankers, such as Zarifis, Evgenidis, Mavrokordatos, Iliaskos or Kazanovas, were living their golden years. Galata bankers of Greek origin were the most important credit loaners of the Ottoman state in 1870s. Their short-term loans with high interests brought them big amounts of money. Although their dominance was diminished with the pay off plan of the European states for the Ottomans in 1881, the well-known Greek bankers continued to be the collectors of capital. *Şirket-i Umumi, Esham, Kambiyo Şirketi* and *Dersaadet Bankası* were some of the biggest

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[107] Quoted from Neologos, 3 April 1873 quoted in Eksertzoglou, 1999, p.1

banks with Greek capital.[108] More than a Greek nationalist or an adherent Ottoman, the Greek bankers were dealing with earning money. They were skeptical about the longevity of the Greek nation-state, but on the other hand, they were not distant from the modern trend of nationalism.

It is noteworthy to add that the economic arrangements were done both under the foreign powers' pressure and with an economic provision. However it would be wrong to see the whole reformation as the demands of the Western Powers. In fact, the aims of the Ottoman reformers were very similar to those of the French physiocrats (economists who believe in free trade and the importance of agriculture): a contended society engaged in peaceful pursuits which would allow them and the Ottoman state, wealth.[109] Nevertheless, the outcomes of the new economic conditions were devastating for most of the Muslim traders or artisans.

On the other hand, the *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* Reforms involved social matters and claimed to renovate the civil and political institutions of the Empire. They guaranteed the rights and equality of the non-Muslims. Nevertheless, these reforms were aesthetic Westernization attempts and were adopted by the top of the state. In this sense, they were not widespread and constant, which we can name them only skin-deep and delicate.[110] The failure of these reforms among the non-Muslim *tebaa* (subjects) began to be apparent with the explosion of the independence movements in the Balkans. Yet, the new liberties of the people in their local areas stimulated their national identities. Moreover, the reforms were late. The technological and intellectual gap between the Ottomans and the modern world was huge. Besides, the already tried and wasted Ottoman identity was not charming for the non-Muslim

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[108] İbid., pp. 13-14 and 24-25

[109] Deringil, 1998, p.20

[110] Ayse Kadioglu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 32, no. 2, April 1996

citizens, when they compare it with the independent state promises of nationalism movement. Hence, the dissolution of the Empire could not be stopped with these late reformation attempts. Yet, the limited freedom of speech and press indirectly accelerated the collapse.[111]

The psychology of the Ottoman state during these developments was worth mentioning. It seems that the process of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire was very contradictory. The Ottomans tried to westernize, not because they admired the West, but because they had to catch up with the West. Hence, the feelings of both envy and hate became the two inseparable components of the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire (of which remains can be found in the rhetoric of some fundamental political movements today). When this emotional mixture combined with the centuries-long communication gap, an unhealthy relationship between the Empire and the Westerners was apparent.

Yet, the despair within the Ottoman system revised the meaning of "foreigners" and at the same time it enlarged the gap and the tension among the communities (*millet*s) within the borders. Next to the outside enemies of the Ottoman, a new group of enemy was defined in the Empire: the non-Muslim citizens. While there was a harsh Balkanization process in *Rumeli*, the Anatolian non-Muslims were begun to be seen as their supporters. Almost a clear segregation was applied against the non-Muslim community, in especially economic and political areas (i.e. real estate possession or education). "The enemy inside us"[112] was a common motto among the Muslim elites. Naturally, the first independent non-Muslim *Millet* of the Empire, the Greeks, was seen as the pioneering force in the region and therefore, they were the mostly accused community among all.

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[111] Murat Belge, "Türkiyede Zenofobi ve Milliyetçilik", in *ModernTürkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, Vol. 4, ed. by: Tanıl Bora, İletişim: İstanbul, 2003, p.183

[112] Ibid. p.181

Tanıl Bora attracts the attention to the emotional reaction of the Ottoman state towards the Balkans. In fact, the Balkans was the first land from which the Empire began to lost territories. This lost created a trauma and a feeling of anger among the ruling bureaucracy. An anxiety and worry about the *bekaa* (continuation) of the state became one of the most important problems to be solved among them. According Bora, the general reaction against this trauma was creating an official tendency to forget the Balkans. Within this process, Anatolia was raised as the motherland for the newly rising Turkish identity and dealing with the Balkans turned into an unnecessary effort which removed the Turks' "precious" attention away from the pure Turkishness in Anatolia.[113]

Naturally, the Ottoman bureaucracy was in a trauma about their Ottoman identity. They were sadly monitoring the crack of the Ottoman Empire. Many scenarios or rescue plans were prepared by the bureaucracy to maintain the Empire and the Ottoman citizenship. However, none of them were even close to its target. Obviously, rescuing the Empire was about to doom. It was understood that the cosmopolitan imperial identity was no longer valid for most of the people in the Empire. The Ottoman identity was on its way to transform into a national identity: the modern Turkish national identity.

Before heading to the next chapter about the transformation of Turkish identity from imperial to national structure, it would be useful to rethink about what was discussed in this chapter. The Ottoman history was surveyed generally according to the situation of the non-Muslims, especially the Greek Orthodox, in the former parts. When the backbone of the Ottoman state, the *Millet* system, was searched, the importance of the Greeks was understood in a better way. The historical facts demonstrated that let alone being the other of the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks were,

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[113] Tanıl Bora, "Turkish National ıdentity, Turkish Nationalsim and the Balkan Problem", in *Balkans: A Mirror of the New Internatinal Order*, G. G. Özdoğan and K. Saybaşılı (eds.), İstanbul: EREN, 1995, pp.110-113

in fact, standing at the heart of the Ottoman Empire. The discussions on Empire's identity synthesis have clarified how the *Rumi* identity was related with the Ottoman state. However, when the Ottoman Empire began to deal with many domestic and external problems, this harmony came to the edge of break up. During these socio-economic and political failures of the Ottoman state, the Greeks were enriching themselves in economic, social and political aspects. This period was a milestone for the otherization of the Greeks. The powerful Greek factor in the Empire turned into the pioneering force of separation of the Ottoman state. The independence of the Greek state was a total trauma for the state and made them to rethink about the Greek elements in the country. Mixed feelings of envy and jealousy, admire and hate about the Greeks were together influencing the Ottoman intelligentsia, who were at the turn of a Turkish identity. The anger and mistrust towards the rebellious Greeks then covered the Greeks who were still living in the Empire. They were systematically eliminated from bureaucratic duties. Hence, the Greeks, who were once among the significant factors of the Ottoman identity, became the significant other of the new approach. The *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* reforms were done within this psychology, but they were away from success. There seemed to be no solution to rescue the Ottoman state, but to find out a new identity. Turkish nationalism emerged and developed during this hopelessness. The otherization of the Greeks and rising Turkishness evolved among the Ottoman elites at the same time. As it will be seen in the next chapters, the otherization of the Greeks contributed to find the new baseline of the new identity of the state and the people.

# CHAPTER 4

# FROM OTTOMAN IDENTITY TO TURKISH IDENTITY

In the previous chapter, the Ottoman history was analyzed and the problem about how did the Ottoman identity become a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic synthesis was scrutinized. The developments during the collapse of the Ottoman identity and the precautions of the statesmen were main topics of the chapter. Hence, after the analysis of the collapse of the Empire, the process through which Turkish national identity was formed from this ruin will be discussed in this chapter.

The process of this nation-building was mainly carried out by the intellectual class and the elites. The Young Turk movement will be taken as the crucial factor facilitating the national identification of the "reaya" and their intellectual debates will be a significant part of this chapter. In this context, the debates around Islam, which were mainly about the transformation of the religious Ottoman identity, will be discussed. In fact, the place of the Orthodox Greeks was mostly formulated through these debates. Alongside the debates on the interpretation of Islam, the Turkish nationalism will be evaluated according to the nationalism theories in order to determine whether it is ethnic or civic. The topic of the last part will be the population movements in the Ottoman Empire. The chapter will end with the analysis of this very last policy of the Ottoman state and its impact on contemporary relations of the Turks and the Greeks. In short, this chapter mainly aims to explain the crisis of identity during the last days of the Ottoman Empire and deconstruct the

theoretical and practical foundation of the Turkish national identity. The otherization of the Greeks in Turkish national identity can only be formulated upon this ground.

Because of Ottoman Empire's everlasting struggle against deep socio-economic problems, its decline in international arena and failure of reforms, Empire's collapse was not unexpected for anybody. The 19th century nationalist movements spread all over the Empire and the common Ottoman identity was no more valid. In fact, the Ottoman identity had never been that widespread in any time of the Empire. The ruling elite did never care about a common identity with the people, which became then a big trouble for the state. The only identity which had been supported by the elites was the Ottoman identity. However, let alone being a common ground for everybody, the Ottoman identity had a discriminatory idea inside it. The superiority of the ruling elite and the Ottoman dynasty was the main argument of this identification. The *Rumi* identity, which declared the Ottoman hegemony over the Roman lands, had been the favorite title of the elites for centuries; until the *Rum millet's* revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 19th century. Although the Ottoman state's *Rumi* identity was even beyond the identity of the *Rum millet*, their secession made the Ottoman *Rumi* identity meaningless. A new and a large-scale identity had to be formulated in order to prevent the loss of Anatolia and the state.

The Turkish identity had been always known in the Ottoman Empire; even among the people or the state, but being a Turk did never get ahead as an ethnic or national identity. The social and cultural background of Turkishness was not clear. However, in the end, it became the most reliable identity for the statesmen and the elites around which the Anatolian people could unite. Thus, a decisive project of constructing a nation upon the modern ideas was put into action, theoretically and practically. On the other hand the boundaries of the Turkish identity were not clear. The questions were confusing: What were the boundaries of this identity? Was it a Muslim identity or non-Muslims can be a part of it? If it was a Muslim identity, as

before, then how the separation of the Arabs might be explained? If it was plural and the non-Muslims were part of it, then what was the difference of this formula from the Ottoman experience? It is not easy to answer these questions neither today nor yesterday. These questions were asked while the Ottoman Empire was at its last gasp in the last quarter of the 19th century. The conditions which took the Ottomans to that point should be understood before a plausible suggestion about Turkish national identity was proposed. The intellectual atmosphere of the debates about this identity is of great importance.

The 19th century was a turning point for the intellectual debates, since a new educated class joined into the political decisions and the people were excited about the new ideas of freedom and equality. These new ideas were the triggers of the new ideals and separatism in the Ottoman Empire, too. The non-Muslims, especially the Greeks, were the first rebellious *millet* of the Empire. The Muslims and therefore the Turks were the late-comers to meet the nationalism idea. The effort to protect the state at any price became the main target of the bureaucrats, which in turn postponed Turkism practically. The declining trust to the non-Muslims within the bureaucracy made the Ottoman intellectuals to seek for the difference between the trustable citizens and the others. The Orthodox Greeks were suspected because of their potential sympathy to the Greek nation-state in the Balkans. The positions, which were evacuated from the Greeks, were filled with Muslims or the converted Muslims. Besides, the new educated class of the Ottoman capital began to focus on politics, foreign languages and new ideas of Europe.

With the relatively free conjuncture of the *Tanzimat,* the Ottoman elites began to discuss the identity issue and to make some differentiations between the Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans and in the end, the Turk and non-Turks. In this sense, this period was the milestone of the Turkish identity formation. The imperial Ottoman identity was seen no more valid. The conjuncture obliged these intellectuals to look for a new national identity that can protect the center of the Ottoman

structure, Anatolia, within uniformity. There was an ardent debate among the intellectuals about what to do. If the non-Muslims had been out of the definition, the state had to continue its way without them. However, the process was very problematic. Some crucial economic and bureaucratic functions, such as finance, diplomatic translations or trade, were bound to the non-Muslims. Besides, there were still some loyal non-Muslims in the Ottoman territories. Any total exclusion of the non-Muslims from the Ottoman identity could outrage these loyal non-Muslim Ottomans who had been serving the Empire for years.

The first debates about the Ottoman identity, the Ottoman citizen and the non-Muslims were carried out by the young Ottoman bureaucrats during 19th century. These intellectuals were influenced by liberalism, freedom and nationalism ideas of the Europeans, as the Balkan nationalists were. However, instead of designing a new national state, continuation of the old one was the ultimate aim of their discussions. They were searching for new solutions to re-unify the people under Ottomanism or Islamism. In fact, when the Greek nationalists and then the other Balkan nations revolted against the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman liberals and after them the constitutionalists' first plan was to replace the loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty by a new Ottoman patriotism.[1] The Ottoman intellectuals agreed on the need of a common identity, but they were not certain about its content.

The minds of the Ottoman intellectuals who were going to discuss the Ottoman identity and later the Turkish identity were mostly affected by the non-Muslim separatist movements and their nationalist ideology. This dilemma was an outcome of the reaction of Ottoman state to the non-Muslims. The first reaction of the Ottoman state to the non-Muslims, which meant the Greeks, has come in the second quarter of the 19th century. As mentioned in the previous chapter, after the

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[1] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press: London, New York, 1961, p.333

Rebellion of Greeks in 1821, the translation post was mostly taken from the Greeks and given to the Muslims. However, absence of enough number of dragomans was a severe problem for the Ottoman diplomacy. In 1833, the Sultan took the problem of translation more seriously and created a "translation chamber" (*tercüme odası*) at the Sublime Porte. In 1834 he reopened the Ottoman Embassies in the major European capitals, which were lapsed after the deposition of Selim III.[2]

The young diplomats and dragomans who worked in these missions thus had an opportunity to learn more about Western languages, culture and ideology. It would be no surprise to see that almost every reforming leader and statesman of the next half-century had served in these embassies. Of the three architects of the *Tanzimat*, Mustafa Reşid Paşa went to Paris Embassy in 1834; Ali Paşa went to Vienna Embassy in 1836; Fuad Paşa went to London Embassy in 1840; İbrahim Sarim Paşa was sent to London as a diplomat in 1834; Sadık Rıfat Paşa served as a minister in Vienna in 1837 and Mehmet Şekip was in Vienna in 1841. Besides, there were many other diplomats and state officers who later contributed to the reform attempts in the Empire. They served in these embassies of Europe and later inspired the Ottoman intellectuals. Even the sons of these first diplomats, profiting from the opportunity of living in Europe during their childhood or youth, were going to be the next generation of the high officers.[3]

In the second half of the 19th century, this next generation, the sons and grandsons of the diplomats or the bureaucrats, left their mark on the reforms and nationalism. Almost all of them served within the state affairs and many of them were children of diplomats or bureaucrats. They knew one or more European

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[2] Lewis, 1961, p.87. The embassies were in charge to a large extent during the reign of Mahmut II. However, after the 1821 Greek Rebellion, the ambassadors were withdrawn and the relations were taken back to the level of *charge d'affairs*. The support from the "romantic" Europeans to the Greek nationalists and the rebels made the Ottoman government to slow down relations for a while.

[3] Ibid., p.87

languages, passed through a Western type education, were inspired by the French revolutionary ideas and nationalism. They linked the western intellectual capital with the Ottoman cultural life and became the pioneers of the new elites. Their common opinions which could easily distinguish them from the Turkish nationalists were accurate belief in the Sultan and dedication to the unity of the Ottoman state.

Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi and Şinasi were some of these intellectuals, who were named as the Young (or New) Ottomans in literature. The name of the Young Ottomans came from the Association of the Young Ottomans formed in 1865. The term of "Young Ottoman" became a common expression indicating a critical attitude towards an established system, but it was mainly used for a particular group which fought for restoration of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th century. Although the Association lived for a short time, the members of it were going to be remembered with this name. These Ottoman nationalists were influenced by some Western philosophers like Montesquieu, Rousseau and the thoughts of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. They focused on creating a constitutional Ottoman system which could be a modern identification for the people, either for Muslims or non-Muslims. They were not full-fledged politicians or economists, but they had a social and cultural perspective about the reforms and westernizing the system. Journalism and literature were the two important areas of them in enlightening the people and simplifying the language.

Although they had a statist point of view, they did not refrain to criticize the government politics and insufficient reforms, during the *Tanzimat* period. Their newspaper articles or theatre dramas excited the people with their patriotic and nationalist rhetoric, which frightened the state about another uprising within the state. Hence, the Ottoman state took several cautions against these types of critics and many Young Ottoman activists were exiled abroad. With the announcement of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876, *Kanun-i Esasi*, these intellectuals were called back to Istanbul.

The system of *Kanun-i Esasi* was not a proper representative democracy but at least the power of the Sultan was limited with the parliament. However, the Sultan had the authority to close down the Parliament (*Meclis-i Umumi*). Obviously, the parliamentary system was a new mechanism for the Ottomans and the *Kanun-i Esasi* was an earlier form of a constitution. The rights of people and independence of the courts were under the spotlights for the first time in the Ottoman history.

The constitution was applied only for five months. Abdülhamid II offered the excuse of internal disorder and the war with Russia, and suspended the *Meclis-i Umumi* in 1878. Although the suspension was declared as a provisional arrangement it lasted for 30 years. During this period of absolute power of Abdülhamid, which was known as *İstibdad* (despotism) period, the criticisms arouse and developed in secret. The intellectuals were seeking the restoration of constitution and a well-working parliamentary system.

In fact, the constitutional system was suggested by the Young Ottoman bureaucrats as a solution to rescue the Ottoman state, not to abolish it. Although, the Balkan patriotic nationalists were following the path towards separate and independence nation-states, the Turkish nationalism, which was based on Young Ottoman movement, start off from the belief in the continuation of the old system with new formulas. In the centennial celebration of the French Revolution in 1889, a group of young students (İbrahim Cevdet, Abdullah Cevdet, Hüseyinzade Ali and İshak Sükuti) of army medical school (*Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) founded a secret community with the name *İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti* (Committee of Ottoman Union). It was not a coincidence that this kind of committee was formed within the only medical school of the Empire, where biological materialism and aim of "ideal community" were popular.[4] In their publications, the group expressed their goal as

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[4] The political appearance of the Committee of Ottoman Union and the Young Ottomans began on October 30, 1895 after an uprising of the Armenian Hunchakian Organization in İstanbul. They

restoring the constitution and parliament. They were irritated by the possibility of the break up of the Empire by "centrifugal forces of separatist minority nationalism." They were thinking that these movements derived encouragement from foreign powers and these alien powers were using these minority people in order to gain lands from Ottoman territory. Hence, the very ideal of them was the *İttihadi Anasır*, which means unity of the ethnic and religious elements within the Empire. Ensuring an opportunity of speech for all communities in the Empire through parliamentary representation was the key solution according to them in rescuing the Ottoman state.[5]

In the Ottoman Empire, the state apparatus, *Devlet-i Ali Osmaniyye* (the Sublime Ottoman State) was the common denominator of all identities in this sense. The adherence to central authority, the Ottoman state, was the main duty of the Ottomans. Hence, Ottoman identity was not an identity in modern sense, but it was the name of the "estate" of the sultan and the people were seen as the subjects of him. With the 19th century reforms of the Empire, which were actually efforts of becoming a modern and westernized country, the Ottoman identity began to be defined with a new idea: Ottomanism. It was a later step in the conception of being the subjects of the sultan. As a way to convince the people, who were under the influence of European nationalism, this ideology brought the concept of citizenship instead of being a subject. Beyond the religious or ethnic identities, as declared in the *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* Charters, all the Ottomans became equal "citizens" of the Empire. The people would collaborate around this new type of identity. The ruled people of the Sultan were welcomed as the new citizens of the Ottoman Empire. This

announced a declaration namely "Homeland in Danger" (*Vatan Tehlikede).* In the same year, the journal of the Committee *Meşveret* began to be published in Paris by Ahmet Rıza. In two years they expanded their boundaries and gained many members in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008, pp.52-53

[5] Erik-Jan Zürcher, "The Young Turks: Children of Borderlands?" in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, K. Karpat and R. Zens (eds.), Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003, p. 276

approach was actually bringing a new idealization to the Empire: Ottomanism. Proponents of Ottomanism believed in the chance to solve the social problems of the Empire. There was not a suggestion to take apart the *millet* system; but some secular organizations and a limited political freedom were among the proclamations of Ottomanism. The citizenship idea irrespective of religion or ethnicity would be a salvation of the Empire.[6]

However, the success of the "citizenship" regulation was doubtful. Although Ottoman equal citizenship concept was a big change for the Empire, it was far from success. Citizenship rhetoric was too late to convince the non-Turkish and non-Muslim people of the Empire. Not only the non-Muslims, but also the Muslim Arabs were influenced by nationalism. Nevertheless, according to Kemal Karpat, the Turks were the only group who could identify themselves with both Ottomanism and Islamism from a historical perspective. Therefore, they were the only heirs of the Ottoman state who edited the Ottomanism and Islamism, in order to refresh, modernize and perpetuate themselves. Although the government expected the contrary, these ideologies were able to influence the Turks, more than any other groups.[7] Actually, there were many non-Muslim or non-Turkish bureaucrats and army officers in the state mechanism, who dedicated themselves to the Ottoman state or Ottomanism; in the end it was mainly the Turks who internalized these endeavors to protect the state.

Related to the loyalty of the Ottoman Turks to their state, a proposition of Anthony Smith fits into this situation. Smith suggests that while some nations which

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[6] Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808*-1975, vol. 2,  US: Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 126-133

[7] Kemal Karpat, "Tarihsel Süreklilik, Kimlik Değişimi ya da Yenilikçi, Müslüman, Osmanlı ve Türk Olmak", in Karpat, K. (ed), *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2nd edition, 2005, pp. 40-41

were once living under the yoke of great empires generally slip towards ethno-centric, diffusionist and pan movement nationalism, as a reaction. In this vein, some other nations who were possessing strong state tradition, develop reformist and state-centric nationalism rapprochement.[8] In this sense, the secessionist nationalist movements of the Ottoman Balkan *millets* can be analyzed in the former grouping of Smith; pan movements. On the other hand the Turkish nationalism's endeavor for reforms, collaborating with Ottomanism to rebuild the state authority can be explained with the powerful state tradition of the Turks. Certainly, the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey are not two equivalent models, but it is clear that most of the state mechanism of Turkey is a later version of the Ottoman bureaucracy. For this reason the state centric nation-state model of Smith can be applicable to Turkey. The strong state mechanism has been the dynamo of Turkish nationalism more than its Balkan neighbors. The important role of the state in Turkish nationalist construction has been obvious.

In this sense, the Balkan historian Maria Todorova points out this aspect of nationalism among the Ottoman Turks as an irony in nationalism. She was surprised to see, while the hegemonic nations in Austrian and Russian Empires had the most sophisticated nationalist feelings, the Ottoman hegemonic Turks were in a quite contrary tendency. In other words, the Austrian and Russian Empires' dominant ethnic groups had never given up their identities and therefore they became the ardent nationalists when their empires were close to collapse. However, the Ottoman Turks were the latest among all nations to call for an independent nation-state.[9] Obviously, Todorova, like many other Europeans do, fell into an error of accepting the Ottoman Empire as a "Turkish Empire" and the Turks as the dominant figure within the Empire. However, as it was mentioned before, it was not the Turks, but

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[8] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, New York: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 161

[9] Maria Todorova, *Balkanlar'ı Tahayyül Etmek*, D. Şendil (trans.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003, p.350

the "Ottoman dynasty" who owned the state and the Turks were only one of the ethnic groups among all others. Neither the Turkish ancestry of the dynasty nor the official Turkish language was enough to make the Turks privileged people of the Empire. Being a faithful Ottoman and a Muslim were seen as the two necessary parts of the Ottoman identity. The Turks had never been a separate group in the state bureaucracy or among the elites. The individual success and personal ability were the most important criteria to rise to a higher position in the Ottoman state.

In fact, in order to hinder the rise of landed gentry in the Empire, no specific ethnicity was privileged in state bureaucracy. There was not an aristocratic class in the Ottoman Empire that can be an alternative to the power of the state. Existence of aristocracy would have been highly contradictory with the superiority of the Ottoman Dynasty. The elites or the bureaucrats were, more or less, integrated to the state mechanism. On the other hand, the medieval western European political system had evolved in a different manner. Unlike the Ottoman system, there was aristocracy in Europe who were properly the ruling elite. Instead of centrality, local lords were in charge with certain powers in their regions and had the possession of the lands. The aristocrats were born into this class and no individual success of the vassals was enough to be an aristocrat, for a long time. Between 14th and 17th century the feudal mode of production faced a crisis about capital accumulation which turned the picture in advantage of the bourgeoisie class. The merchants of the system collected a great amount of capital with trade, industrial manufacturing and banking. Prosperity of bourgeoisie surmounted in parallel with their class consciousness. With the help of the intellectuals, the bourgeoisie became the main critic of the system and the forerunners of modernity, change and nationalism. In French Revolution of 1789, they overthrew the old autocratic system and served as the representatives of modernization and nationalism.[10] In the Ottoman Empire, however, there was neither a bourgeois class nor an aristocracy. The only bourgeois segment could be found

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[10] Paul Sweezey and et.al, *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, London: Verso, 1978

among the non-Muslim traders, merchants or bankers, but they were not large or rich enough to be an alternative to the state bureaucracy. Contrary to the European modernization, the modernization attempts of the Ottoman Empire were formulated and designed by the attempts of the state mechanism. In other words, the movement was from top to down. Although, some of the intellectuals were occasionally exiled because of their harsh criticisms of the Ottoman state, the clash between them was not deep and they always reconciled eventually. The vacuum of the intellectuals was filled with the sons and grandsons of the 1840s Ottoman diplomats. These well-educated and Europeanized people were not in a rejection of the state; rather reconstructing the system became primary ideal among them.

The Greek nation-state, founded in 1828, was present next to the Ottoman state as a threat. It had a great support from the western powers and by their help, the territories of Greece was doubled in a short period of time. Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by Britain and Thessaly with a part of Epirus was lost to Greece by the Ottoman state. The Ottoman state was spending too much effort and money to control the Greek revolts on its territories. Despite this entire endeavor, instead of reacquisition of the Morea and other newly independent lands, the Ottoman state faced new possibilities of losing lands. This regression in foreign affairs, against a state which was once a *millet* of the Empire, demoralized the statesmen and reduced the trust of the people to the state. Hence, the Ottoman state declared war on Greece in 1897, both because of the Greek brigandage across its boundaries and provocation of the Orthodox *millet* in Crete and Epirus by Greece. Greece was not able to get the support from the western states as expected, since because the western states did not agree upon the intervention. The war ended with a total victory of the Ottoman army over the Greek army. The inexperienced Greece was not yet organized and developed as a military power. In the end, the Ottoman army walked through Athens. However, after a diplomatic traffic between the Ottoman state and the western states,

especially Russia, Abdülhamid II was convinced to withdraw from Greece.[11] This victory over the Greeks changed the atmosphere in the Empire and hopeful plans about the Ottoman victory in the Balkans were heard. Moreover, keeping Crete within the Empire was important for the expansion of Ottomanism. The Grand Vizier Ali Paşa went himself and announced the *Islahat* reforms to the locals of the Crete. According to the new regulations the taxes of the Greeks were reduced; a Muslim and a non-Muslim were appointed as consultants of the governor; local and general assemblies were formed representing the Muslims and non-Muslims equally; both Turkish and Greek could be used as official writing language. These regulations can be seen as a giant step in the Ottoman policy towards the non-Muslims and the state was expecting too much. These hopeful thoughts ended up with Crete ceded to Greece in 1908 (officially in 1913). The Ottoman state rejected the situation in international arena, but after a period of five years Crete officially became a part of Greece.[12] Loss of Crete was a psychological turn for the Ottoman Empire, because it was the most enthusiastic attempt of the Ottoman state to construct Ottoman citizenship among the non-Muslims. Greece was again discouraged the Ottoman Turks.

The last hopes about reconstructing the Empire were lost by most of its adherents during the 1st Balkan War of 1912-1913. It was becoming harder to maintain stability in the Balkans. Ottoman identity or equal citizenship seemed not to be working on the Balkan nations. The Ottomanism was an earlier practice for liberalism, equality and national identity, but it certainly was outdated after the Balkan Wars. On the other hand, Ottomanism was not the only formulation to rebuild the system. There were some faithful Ottomans who also believe in the power of Islam as a tool to form a common ground for all the Muslims in the

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[11] Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, *The Origins of the 1897 Ottoman-Greek War: A Diplomatic History,* MA Thesis, Bilkent University, Department of History, Ankara, 2006

[12] Avni Özgürel, "Osmanlı Çözülmesi nasıl Başladı?", *Radikal*, 18 November 2007

Ottoman Empire. Within this idealization that we call Islamism, the Islamic identity was suggested as a new type of identity. Although it seemed different in details, Islamism was very similar with Ottomanism. Both of them aimed to rescue the Ottoman Empire with new alternatives other than ethnic nationalism. In fact, the emergence of Islamism was related with the foreseen failure of Ottomanism. It was a signal of the Ottoman state and intellectuals give up on turning back the non-Muslims to the Ottoman citizenship. Islam had already been an important part of the Ottoman identity and the Islamists only job was to reformulate this identity. Unlike the multi-religious structure of the *millet* system, Islamism imagined an Islamic state around the Caliphate. The most prominent attempt of Islamism was during the First World War that Sultan Mehmet Reşad called *cihad* (holy war) against the non-Muslims in 1914. There was an increased Islamic symbolism and reliance on the Caliphate as the exemplary centre bridging the earthly and celestial hierarchies. Hence, Abdülhamid II commanded a new basis of solidarity among his Islamic subjects. The Islamism was applied as a form of Ottomanization of the *Shariat*.[13] However, the outcome was no success.

The rebellions of some of the Muslim Arabs and then the Albanians proved the deficiency of Islamism. The Balkan nations were already lost. It was useless to declare an Ottoman identity or Islamic unification for all. Nationalism was getting stronger and it was impossible to stop its influence. In addition, the wave of nationalism excited the Ottoman intellectuals, as well. The idea of Turkish nation started to influence more and more Ottoman intellectuals. They began to underline their ethnic identity as Ottoman Turks. There had always been some ethnic nationalist voices among the Young Ottomans, but it was the first time that they began to dominate these debates. The Ottomanism calls disappeared in time.

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[13] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998, pp.43-52

However, the modernization and westernization ideal of Ottomanism was not given up, they were taken over by the new elite.

The rise of Turkism can be evaluated within the same context of modernization with Ottomanism, and to some extent with Islamism. The western type of citizenship was applied with the Ottomanist efforts. The people of the Sultan were said to be the citizens of the Ottoman state according to Ottomanism. On the other hand, Islamism was a weak effort by a renewed version of Ottomanism. Instead of Ottoman citizenship, the Islamic identity was suggested as the commonality among the people of the Empire. It was the first time in the Ottoman history that Islam was used as a way of political identification. There were structural contradictions between Islamism and modernization. Since modern nationalist ideology necessitated a secular word view Islamism would experience the inconvenience of an Islamic solution for the Empire. In short, Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism were sub-ideologies of the same goal: to rescue the state via modernization. These three ideologies raised and developed together; moreover they were intermingled and overlapped with each other at some points.[14] Creating an Ottoman citizenship and suggesting an Islamic identity were standing at the same mentality with Turkism. They all aimed to rescue the state, but in different rhetoric. In this context, John Breuilly has come with a right claim that Turkish nationalism was a reformist activity. According to him, Turkish nationalism did not begin as an anti-state movement; rather it was attached to the state in deep.[15] Actually, modernization of the state according to westernized organizations and system became the general character of the Ottoman Turks. To catch up with the European states and to reorganize the old system were the engine force of the Ottoman intellectual life for a long time. Together with rationalism, contemporaneity became

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[14] Karpat, 2005, pp. 23-24

[15] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, vol. 2, 1993, p.9

144

an inspiration for the devoted bureaucrats of *Tanzimat* Reforms. In order to denote a modern and westernized civilization, the Turkish word *medeniyyet* was created by the 19th century Ottoman Turks to mean civilization. The word came from Arabic root *Madina* (the city).[16] They used this word to mean the manner of courtesy, civility, consideration or respect to the rules. It is meaningful to mention that almost all political writings during the last century of the Ottoman Empire referred to *medeniyyet*[17] in their formulations.

The Greeks' early steps in modernization were an irony for the Ottoman elites. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the Greek *millet* had never lost its communication with the Europeans, via printing technology and the help of the Greek merchants. Their social, economic and intellectual links with Europe had been a reason to envy for them in the Ottoman Empire. Modernization attempt increased this envy among the intellectuals. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ottoman Empire was engaged with getting closer to Europe. However the Greeks did not have to do much about it, because of the westerners' admire to the Hellenic culture. 18th century was the reemergence of classical antiquity in the discourse of Western Enlightenment. During the Enlightenment era, the Western philosophers saw history as a human progress within time. The Ancient Greeks were the "fathers" of civilization in this framework. The travelers from France, Britain and Germany came to the lands of the Greeks to honor the sons of the ancient *Hellen*s. In fact, the Greeks were seen as the oppressed people of the Ottoman Empire.[18] Actually, the

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[16] Karpat, 2005, p. 23

[17] Although it has an Arabic root, *medeniyet* is a Turkish word. Besides, there is no such word as *medeniyet* in Arabic. The reference point of the *medeniyet* is the city of *Madina*. Probably, it was chosen as an example of big city to point out urban. However, in the end the reproduced version of *Madina* has a lot more sophisticated meaning in Turkish. *Medeniyet* represents the modern, ideal and western type of life and mentality.

[18] Victor Roudometof, "From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821", Journal of Greek Studies, Vol.16, 1998, p.24

definition of "freedom" in the west included a meaning to rescue the Greeks from the Turks, during these times.[19] Even after the independence of the Greeks, the negative image of the Ottomans had not disappeared yet. Apparently, the Ottoman became the "other" of both the Greeks and the Western civilization in this way of understanding. According to Yurdusev, Islam was the other of Europe during the medieval and from 15th century to 18th century Turks or in specific the Ottoman Empire became the other of Europe within the context of Islam.[20] Moreover, the Ottoman Empire had been ruling and even "oppressing" the Greeks and that was not helpful to create a positive image among the European intellectuals. Above the Europeans' negativity, the Greeks were not very helpful in fixing the image of the Ottomans in Europe. The negative attribution to the Turks was one of the motivating factors of national identity formation of the Greeks. According to the Greeks, "The Turks have many negative characteristics: they are barbarians, bellicose, with wild instincts, arrogant, maniacs, they commit despicable crimes, they are a race incompatible with Europe's humanism, they are ethnically and religiously fanaticized, especially against the Greeks, they try to exterminate *Hellenism* with every possible means, they are the source of the misfortunes of the Greek people, they are aggressive and expansionist, they violate international and bilateral agreements, they are devious, dishonest, repressive, autarchic and so on."[21] Obviously, these sentences show the Greeks' otherization of the Turks. They have not seceded from the Ottoman with good memories and they still had an irredentist idea over the territories of the Ottoman

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[19] İdris Küçükömer, *Cuntacılıktan Sivil Topluma: Yön ve Ant Yazıları,* İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994, p. 38

[20] Nuri Yurdusev, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", in *Türkiye ve Avrupa*, ed. Atila Eralp, İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, 1997 , p.46

[21] Melina Skouroliakou, "The Theory That Never Turned into Practice: Case Study from Eastern Mediterranean", *Paper for Presentation at the International Studies Association-South Conference,* 3-5 November 2005, Miami, p.6, These sentences are not the writer's own sentences. She summarized the Greek opinion before the Independence movement.  E-source is available at: http://www.isa-south.org/2005%20Miami%20Papers_files/Skouroliakou.pdf (accessed 12 March 2008)

Empire, which was accepted as the natural inheritance of Greece from its Hellene and Roman ancestors. This ideal was structured in *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), which was given its name in 1844 Greek Parliament. According to this ideal, Greeks aim to establish a Greek state that would contain all Greeks, including the Ottomans. This state would extend west from Sicily, to Anatolia and Black Sea to the east, and from Macedonia and Epirus, to the north, to Crete and Cyprus to the south. The center of this state would be Constantinopolis (İstanbul)[22]. This ideological construction, going back to the Byzantine Empire, aimed at liberation of the "unredeemed" Hellenes, by expanding the recently born Greek Kingdom over all the Hellene inhabited regions. For almost one century Megali Idea provided the lodestar of Greek domestic and modus operandi in foreign relations. Venizelos has become the main exponent of this idea.[23] The *Megali Idea* became the most important expression of the New Greek identity with its irredentism. The Ottoman state's *Rumi* identity, which has grounded on the idea of ruling the territories of the Roman Empire, was clashing with the *Megali Idea.* However, those territories which were mentioned in *Megali Idea* were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and this kind of territorial desire would mean a *casus belli*. Thus, both states stayed at the edge of the war for a century. This struggle over the same territories has been one of the reasons of a mutual otherization. However, no European would be on the side of the Ottomans about its rights on these territories, while the Ottoman Empire was still seen as the other of Europe. The Ottoman intellectuals were reading the books of the Europeans and influenced by their nationalism ideas, but in the end, the European intellectuals were under the influence of the Greek ancient history and therefore saw the Ottomans as the despotic rulers of the Greeks. This image was not helpful for the

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[22] Jerry Agustinos, "The Dynamics of Modern Greek Nationalism: 'The Great Idea' and the Macedonian Problem", *East European Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4, January 1973, pp.544-545

[23] Anna Vakali, *Agreements and Friendship Between Greece and Turkey in 1930: Contesting Nationaist Discourses and Press Reactions*, MA Thesis Submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi University, 2007, p.28

modernization attempt in the Empire, but in spite of everything the Ottoman modernization was carried on.

Certainly, modernization was not welcomed in the Ottoman Empire at first. The structural differences between Europe and the Ottoman Empire were in the agenda of some. The Ottoman intellectuals were aware of the importance of the modernization. Besides, there was confusion about whether modernization was the synonym of westernization, or not. The 19th century modernization was regarded by some of the Ottoman thinkers as westernization, which would be cultural erosion or deformation of the value-system. In this sense, the journalist-intellectuals Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa were some of the figures in the country from the emerging Turkish press of the 1860s who complained about the destroying effects of westernization and open-trade policies on the Ottoman economy and culture.[24] The criticism towards westernization is felt among the Ottoman authors, as well. The famous Ottoman writer, Ahmet Midhat wrote *Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi* in 1875, which made a comparison between *Felatun Bey*'s snob, artificial and extreme westernized attitudes with *Rakım Efendi'*s modest, hard-working and rational westernization.[25] Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem Bey, on the other hand, wrote the first realist novel of Turkish, *Araba Sevdası* (Passion in Car) in 1896. Like Felatun Bey, the character of this novel *Bihruz Bey* was acting like a modern and well-educated person, but in reality he was neither western nor Ottoman.[26] Recaizade Mahmut and

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[24] Halil İnalcık, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1995, p.28

[25] While *Felatun* is labeled as "*Bey*" which is equal to "Mr.", to symbolize his absolute westernization, *Rakım* is mentioned as "*Efendi*" which is a Turkish appellation. The differentiation represents their roles. Midhat covertly stands beside *Rakım Efendi* in this comparison and criticizes the wrong admiration of *Felatun Bey* to the western traditions. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, İstanbul: Antik Yayınları, 2007 (1875)

[26] The main character *Bihruz Bey* is a rich man who inherited fortune from his father. Although he is acting as if he was a well-educated bilingual, he is not capable enough to talk French and not a well educated person. He is not enough Europeanized but on the other hand, he has lost his Ottoman culture. Recaizade Mahnut Ekrem Bey, *Araba Sevdası*, İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1985 (1896)

Ahmet Midhat were only two of the others: such as Samipaşazade Sezai, Hüseyin Rahmi, Nabizade Nazım and Yakup Kadri. The novels of Recaizade and Mithat were warning the people about the wrong westernization in the country. The writers were not sympathetic change because of possible degeneration of the authentic culture of the Ottomans. They usually underlined the damages of uncontrolled modernization.

In fact, they were right about their warnings to the society not to forget their cultural background during a measureless westernization. The developing westernization desire of the educated and urban Ottomans made them to fall apart from the culture of the people. Admire to the western countries was more than enough among some urbanized and educated people of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman young bureaucrats and writers got into feverish discussions about civilization, which was acknowledged as the best way to modernize the Empire. The value of the culture of the Anatolian peasants was generally underestimated by these elites. This attitude became a distinctive feature of the last term Ottoman modernization. Accordingly, Toynbee defined the westernization as a "shadow" over the Turks, and also the Greeks, which would cause destruction of those societies.[27] Seemingly, one of the most important problems of Turkish nationalism was seeded during these years of the Ottoman modernization quest. In fact, the gap between the elites and the people made the Turkish nationalism as a movement from top to down. The nationalization process was mostly fed with the tendency towards the western modernity more than the mass culture, at least in the beginning.

The long-term Ottoman system upon the ruled people and the ruling state might have been effective in this problematic process of westernization. As it was mentioned within the discussions about the Ottoman identity, the people were

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[27] Quoted from Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A study in the Contract of Civilisations*, London: Constable, 1922 quoted in A. Nuri Yurdusev, "From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking the Contribution of Toynbee", *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.14, no.3, Fall 2005, p. 329

isolated from the identity of the elites. İstanbul was accepted as the main source of identity and modernization. There was even a word for the separation between this limited area and the rest. The word of *taşra*[28] has been used to mention the places in Anatolia excluding İstanbul. The people from the provinces of Anatolia and even from other cities except for İstanbul were nearly insulted with the term *taşralı* (from *taşra*) by the elites of İstanbul. This word has still being used in contemporary Turkish, with a little change. In addition to İstanbul, all the big cities are now excluded from *taşra.* In this respect, the problematic of Turkish nationalism about the gap between the people and the state can be understood upon this inherited perception of the Ottoman elites.

Ayşe Kadıoğlu mentions this issue as the dilemma of Turkish nationalism: between culture (*hars*) and civilization. It is because of the chaotic westernization process of the Turks.[29] While culture represents the ordinary people's culture, civilization means modernization. The division between culture and civilization was mentioned by Ziya Gökalp, as well. In his book he said: *Medeniyet, beynelmilel yazılacak bir kitap: Her faslını bir milletin harsı teşkil edecek* (Civilization is an international book to write: Each part constituted from the cultures of the nations.)[30] Gökalp used culture (*hars*) and civilization together. He believed in the applicability of the Western modernization to the established culture of the Ottomans and later the Turks. The formula was clear: to take the good aspects of the West (material) and to keep away from the bad aspects of the west (moral). In other words, while the science and technology of the west was imitated, the genuine cultural values would

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[28] According to Turkish Language Institution, *taşra* means : *Bir ülkenin başkenti veya en önemli şehirleri dışındaki yerlerin hepsi, dışarlık* (All of the places of a country excluding the capital city and most important cities, the provinces ) E-source is available at: www.tdk.org.tr (accessed 11 January 2009)

[29] Quoted from Ziya Gökalp quoted in Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Milletini Arayan Devlet: Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Açmazları", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, No: 75, 2003, p.139

[30] Ibid., p.140

be protected. A synthesis of east and west was anticipated. Hence, Ziya Gökalp's approach was a kind of answer to the critics about modernization.

The last epoch of the Ottoman modernization was the Turkish nationalism, which would eventually create its nation-state. Turkish nationalism was evolved among the Young Ottomans. Its idealization of Turkism had gone through several phases including and also starting with Ottomanism. Instead of an Ottoman citizen, Turkism suggests a Turkish citizen. In fact, with the 19th century onwards, there had been a prevailing opinion among the Ottoman statesmen and elites that the Ottoman Turks were at the base of the Ottoman Empire and Anatolia was the "mainland" of the Turks.[31] The founders of Turkism were generally from the Ottoman bureaucrats and army officers, who were once defending the idea of Ottomanism. The changing conditions of the Empire, inside and outside, obliged these people to reconsider the identity from a different perspective. It was only the Turkish national identity left as a solution for the salvation of the state for the Turkish nationalists.

Young Ottoman movement existing for several decades gradually transformed into a Turkish movement, for this reason using the name of Young Turk for them would not be false. At first, the Turkish nationalism was accepted as another separatist movement in the Empire which could be harmful for the state. It was just seen one of the alternatives among the others. There were ardent debates between the important figures of the movement. While Ahmed Rıza Bey and his friends expressing Turkishness and an authoritarian centrality, Prens Sabahattin and his friends were close to decentralization and multi-ethnicity. In other words, the former claimed an ethnic centrality around Turkishness; the latter Prens Sabahattin had a more flexible argument including the non-Muslims. The Turkish identity was still in question as one of the alternatives. However, ethnic nationalism was very

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[31] Selim Deringil, *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, pp. 94-99

popular among the Ottoman elites and the world. Thus, the rise of the Turkish conception was irresistible. Within an interwoven transformation process, which is impossible to separate the periods, the Young Ottoman movement turned out to be the Young Turk movement. In fact, in some researches about this period, only the Young Turks were mentioned as the actors of this process.[32]

In 1906 the O*smanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Freedom Committee) was established in Thessalonica, Macedonia, on the territories which was about to be lost. Although, its name was Ottoman, the Turks were the majority of the whole members.[33] In 1906, a secret Central Committee, *Heyet-i Merkeziye,* which will be more effective in the following years, founded in Thessalonica and it was a more sophisticated organization then the previous émigré movement. In few years, *İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti* (Committee of Ottoman Union) and O*smanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Freedom Committee) were united officially under the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress), hereafter the C.U.P.

The Young Turk opposition continued abroad through secret meetings and new activists joined into it. With the new cell-type structure and communication system, the C.U.P became an important power among the Ottoman garrisons in the Balkans. There were still various fractions within the movement. Within decades, many different nationalist approaches appeared among the Young Turks. While some of them wanted to re-build the Ottoman state, the others articulated their ideals on the Turkish homeland, either from the Central Asia to the Balkans or just for the

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[32] Such as Zürcher, "The Young Turks: Children of Borderlands?", K. Karpat and R. Zens (ed.), *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003

[33] Dündar, 2008, pp.52-53

Anatolia. In fact, the clash among the different factions distracted their attention to internal politics of the Committee for some years.[34]

While there was a flourishing Turkish movement mainly in the Balkan territories, in İstanbul, Abdülhamid II gave up the idea of the restoration of the non-Muslim loyalty in the Balkans. He was playing his last card of Islamism. As the Caliphate of Islam he began frequently to express his authority on the Muslims. The Turkish nationalism has been a separatist movement, just like the others in the Balkans and was strictly forbidden by Abdülhamid II. However, the well-educated young bureaucrats, army officers and the intellectuals were not on his side. The Young Turk movement had developed swiftly and in July 1908, military troops led by some officers and formed under the orders of the Central Committee were deployed to the mountains. They announced their desire about turning back to parliamentary system and constitution. The decreasing support to the Sultan and the threatening size of the troops made Abdülhamid II to accept their request. Although the Palace attempted to suppress the revolt, the atmosphere and the advantage were on the side of the Young Turks. The Sultan had not any other option but to reopen the parliament.

On 24 July 1908, the constitution was introduced again and soon, an election was held. This was the beginning of the 2nd *Meşrutiyet* (Constitutional Monarchy) in the Ottoman Empire. Beginning with this new era, the newly developed idea of "Turkism" found a place to grow. The first organizational establishment inspired by Turkish ideology, *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association) was formed by some civilians: Yusuf Akçura, Necip Asım, Veled Çelebi and Ahmed Mithad.[35] Few years later, in 1911, Akçura and his friends who were natives of foreign countries, Ahmet

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[34] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu analyzes this factions in his book *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

[35] Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, İstanbul: AFA Yayınları, 1992, p. 79

Ağaoğlu and Hüseyinzade Ali gathered under a new association, *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland). This association published magazines generally about the Turkish nation and Ottoman citizenship. It was during these years that Akçura began to criticize the double form of identity including Ottomanism and Turkism together. He wrote about the "infertile" nature of Ottomanism and made the readers to rethink about the new Turkish nationalism.[36] Especially Yusuf Akçura was going to be one of the most important figures in Turkish nationalism. Akçura was one of the Russian Turks, who was not a fully-fledged Ottoman patriot, like the C.U.P was. Like Akçura, Hüzeyinzade Ali, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul were the other important figures in Turkish nationalism movement who were born in the Russian Empire within a Turkish minority. Their ideas about Turkism were constituted as an ideology since its very beginning. Neither religion nor Ottoman citizenship had been emphasized in their nationalistic worldviews, but ethnic unity of the Turks.

In fact, these previous years of 2nd *Meşrutiyet* provided a proper environment for introducing Turkishness. In less than a decade "Turkishness" evolved into "Turkism" and the C.U.P. came closer with these ideologues of Turkishness. However, between 1908 and 1913, the C.U.P.'s principal struggle was against power centers inside the Empire. Up to the new political environment, the C.U.P. became a political organization, but the Central Committee remained as the central organization, which kept the real power.

In April 1909, there has been a counter-revolution, "31 March Incident", in Istanbul, which shook the authority of the Central Committee. There were several stories about the supporters of this uprising. Abdülhamid II, foreign states, conservatives and even the C.U.P itself were all blamed for their hidden support to

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[36] Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği*, Tansel Demirel (trans. by), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994, pp.92-93

the incidents. The details about the 31 March Incident are still a mystery today, which would exceed the scope of this study. What is certain about the incident is that it proved that the C.U.P. was not strong enough to manage the whole country. In fact, in the following three years, the C.U.P. became weaker and lost their support. But when the defeat in the Balkan War of 1912 shocked everybody, the C.U.P. arranged a *coup d'etat* in 1913. It was after this event the C.U.P. turned into a monopolistic political organization, which carried out a one-party dictatorship in the country. With the decreasing effect of the sultanate, the C.U.P. became the owner of the authority. The Committee executed a large-scale modernization reform to rescue the state.[37]

The policy of the C.U.P. has been subject to many debates. In fact, the backbone of Turkish nationalism's "otherization" of the Greeks lies at this debate. The character of Turkish national identity was deeply affected from the practices of the C.U.P. during the first quarter of the 20th century. The period of the Young Turk may be seen as an acceleration of the process of "conversion" to Turkism and prepared the conditions for Kemalism in Turkey.[38] Since the policy of the C.U.P was oriented by its members' ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds; we should evaluate these features of the members and try to find out "who is a Young Turk?"

The ethnic origin of the Young Turks was one of the most intriguing, but cloudy areas of Turkish history. As Erik-Jan Zürcher draws our attention, there were many different and sometimes clashing approaches towards the structure of the Young Turks in literature.[39] Some historians pointed out their military background, while some others focus on their role in intelligence and bureaucracy. For example, Bernard Lewis defines them as "Muslim Turks, mostly soldiers" and "members of

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[37] Zürcher, 2003, p. 277

[38] David Kushner, "Self-Perception and Identity in Contemporary Turley", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1997, p. 221

[39] Zürcher, 2003, p. 277

the ruling elite"[40]; on the other hand Stanford Shaw put the Young Turks into "lower class" and even "subject class".[41] Feroz Ahmad calls them as "lower middle class"[42] and "newly emerging professional classes"[43]. The anthropologist Richard Robinson describes them as "new technicians, newly awakened intelligentsia, western-oriented army officers",[44] and by doing this, he emphasizes their role in new intelligentsia and youngness. In fact, Henry Elisha Allen was sure that, they were "young officers". [45] Sina Akşin has summed up the whole and calls them "Turks, youngsters, members of the ruling class, western-educated with a bourgeois mentality".[46] As designated above, the well known authors of Turkish history do not agree upon the character of the Young Turks. They were mentioned as either professionals or soldiers, ruling elite or subject class.

After the C.U.P.'s strengthening mainly after 1913, thousands of people joined it. However, the "headquarters" or the Central Committee kept its leadership, which was formed by a relatively few, not more than a hundred people. Hence, despite it had large popular support and many members among people, the C.U.P continued to be under the running of a limited number of decision makers. Within this leadership cadre, we can denote four different groups.

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[40] Lewis, 1961, pp.201, 208

[41] Shaw and Shaw, 1977, pp. 263-264

[42] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London, 1993, p.34

[43] Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, Oxford, 1969, p.16

[44] Richard D. Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development*, MA: Cambridge, 1963, p.5

[45] Henry Elisha Allen, *The Turkish Transformation: A Study in Social and Religious Development*, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1935, p.6

[46] Sina Akşin*, Jön Türkler ve İttihad ve Terakki*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1987, p.78

The first group consisted of the opposition leaders, who engaged in certain political activities against the Sultan Abdülhamid between 1889 and 1908. They were generally from the Military Medical School. The early members of the Young Turks could be counted in this group, who kept up the publicity campaign against the regime from Geneva, Cairo and Paris. The second group included the members of the Central Committee of the C.U.P., which was the most powerful organization in the Ottoman Empire from 1908, the declaration of the constitution for the second time, until the end of World War 1 in 1918. Some, but not all, of the first leading group's members re-emerged in the second group, the Central Committee. A third group is the administrators or party bosses, who were governors, inspectors, party secretaries or in terminology of the C.U.P, "responsible secretaries". These were entrusted by the leadership with the control over local areas of cities and provinces. Finally, there were the activist, politicized army officers, who were the main source of power of the C.U.P. Their influence in the army was added to the capability of the C.U.P. and sometimes, they came to rescue the C.U.P whenever their governance was threatened by the counter groups. Some of these army officers had formal positions in the Committee and even served on the Central Committee, but most of them did not enter at all. The Turkish resistance (1919-1922) was also completely dominated by the former C.U.P members and led by Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Atatürk), which will be discussed in the next chapter. Moreover, the "Representative Committee" and the commissars of the first Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) in Ankara could be included into the leading cadres because of their roles in the independence movement.

These different groups within the Young Turks and the C.U.P., as the organizational form of this movement, demonstrate that they were a mixed group consisting of military officers and civilians. Medical doctors, educators and administrators could be counted as the civilians. Thus, defining the Young Turks as a military officer movement could be an oversimplification. In fact, before 1906,

during the initial formation of the movement, the civilians dominated the Young Turks. It was only between 1906 and 1908, when there were several C.U.P. cells established in the second and third armies that the military officers became important leaders of the organization. Yet the civilian leaders formed a significantly older group than the military officers in 1908. While their ages were around 38, the military men were about 29 years old. Hence, the older civilians might have been superior in dignity and degree than the younger military men.[47]

During this period, the C.U.P. was heavily supported by the army and many army officers became formal members of the C.U.P. However, the Central Committee or *Heyet-i Merkeziye* was still under the leadership of the civilian bureaucrats, especially the doctors, who were elder than the young army officers.[48]

On the other hand, there were some reasons of this widespread belief that the Young Turk movement was completely a military attempt. Besides ignoring the civilian bureaucrat members of the C.U.P., accepting the title of *paşa*[49] (pasha or general) only as a military degree was very common. However, *paşa* was a non-hereditary title granted to both civilian governors and army generals. Both Muslims and non-Muslims could have this title. In fact, many non-Muslim or non-Turk converts were awarded with the title *paşa* because of their solidarity to the Sultan. The degree of *paşa* can only be given by the Sultan. *Beylerbeyi* (general governor), *Vezir-i Azam* (grand vizier) or *Vali* (governor of a province) may be called as pasha in the Ottoman Empire. Such as (Mehmet Emin) Ali Paşa (1815-1871) was a statesman who had worked only in diplomacy and made grand viziership. Fuat Paşa

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[47] Zürcher, 2003, p. 278-280

[48] Dündar, 2008, p.52

[49] According to the Turkish Language Institution, *paşa* has different meanings. Firstly, it is mentioned as the Ottoman times high rank civilian officers and military officers above colonel. Second meaning is military general which is mentioned as a term from the Republican era. E-source is available at: www.tdk.gov.tr (accessed 16 June 2008)

(1815-1869) was another civilian pasha, who was educated in medical school. He served as a diplomat in several Turkish embassies and was the Ottoman delegate at the Paris Conference (1856). The creator of *Tanzimat* Charter, Mustafa Reşit Paşa was another civilian bureaucrat. (Mehmet) Talat Paşa (1874-1921), one of the important figures of the C.U.P., was not an army officer too, but a teacher and a postman before his Young Turk career. He then became the deputy of Edirne, Minister of Interior Affairs and joined into most important activities of the C.U.P. The examples to civilian *paşas* could be increased. The point is that the confusion about the military post of *paşa* may leave wrong impression about the Young Turks.

In modern Turkey, the usage of *paşa* was banned with the Law of Abolishment of the Appellation and Titles (*Lakap ve Ünvanların Kaldırılması*) in 1934 under the social revolution, which prohibited the Ottoman titles.[50] However, it is a widespread misconception or *galat-ı meşhur* in Turkey to use *paşa* instead of generals. This misconception has echoed in reading the Ottoman history and the reader accepts all the Ottoman *paşas* as the military generals. The civilians' role was neglected within this picture. Nuri Yurdusev indicates an important point about the role of intellectual civilians in modernizing the empire to a modern republic. According to Yurdusev, more than the military officials, the diplomats and the civil servants of the state most of the time led the transformation in many countries. The modernization period of the Turks was generally attributed to the activities of the army officers. Even though the army officers were such important figures in the process and the system, westernization and modernization were generally carried out by the civilians, the diplomats, *paşas* or civil servants. Thanks to the army's support

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[50] The then Turkish Chief of the General Staff, İlker Başbuğ made a speech on September 17, 2008 and wanted everybody not to mention him as "İlker Paşa", but "Orgeneral Bağbuğ". This account can be thought within this law.

behind them, the intellectual knowledge of the diplomats and civil service bureaucracy was the dynamo of this modernization. [51]

In sum, the Young Turk movement cannot be seen as a totally military organization. The civilians had important ranks within the movement especially during its first years. In this respect, their decisions affected the foundation of the Turkish nationalism. Although military officers dominated the movement in later years, the role of the civilians did never disappear. The reason of this debate about the ignored civilian aspect of the Young Turks is to eliminate some prejudices about Turkish nationalism. As will be discussed in the next part of this chapter, there is also a prejudice that Turkish nationalism has been solely constructed upon ethnic ideas, which made it unfamiliar with civic character. However, this debate about the civilian role proves that the intellectual input of the founding civilian members contributed a lot to Turkish nationalism. Next to the addition of civilian aspect, both French and German nationalistic ideas were able to be discussed within this plurality. Obviously, the identification process of the Turks owed much to this process, which would influence the Greek-Turkish perception soon.

Next to the civilian aspect of the Young Turk movement, their "youngness" can be another feature to be mentioned. Most of the members were included after the strengthening of the C.U.P. in 1908. The age differentiations among the members were small. Most of them were an identifiable generation, born around 1880.[52] Obviously, the Young Turks were "young" enough to prove the accuracy of their name. Very few of them were over 40 years old. Moreover, they also *wanted to be* young. The dynamism, activity and progressiveness of youth were seen as positive characteristics of their movement and they named themselves as the voice of

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[51] Private interview with Nuri Yurdusev, February 2008.

[52] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leading figure of the Turkish Independence War, was once a member of the C.U.P. and as correcting the above thesis about the generation of the officers, he was born in 1881

modernity.[53] Youngness became the indicator of their ability of change and development. At the same time, to be physically and mentally young designated a criticism against the older system of Ottoman Empire and a new step towards new Turkish nation-state.[54]

Beside their typical "youngness", the other characteristics of the Young Turks were being male and Muslim.[55] When the Central Committee was founded in Salonika in 1906, it accepted the Ottoman Muslims as members without any question, but non-Muslims only accepted after screening and search. The Young Turks developed an Ottoman-Muslim nationalism idea, which defined the "other" in religious terms. In the following years, especially between the Balkan War in 1912 and the end of the War of Independence in 1922, the Muslim – non-Muslim division was strongly felt in politics.[56]

Their ethnic background was various: Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, Albanian or Circassian. It is ironic for the pioneer organization of Turkish nationalism that most of its founders were not even Turkish. The below tables showing the birthplaces of the previous C.U.P. members' in three phases will be clarifying. The geographical origins of the members or their families will be the distinguishing mark to show ethnic variety in the Committee.[57]

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[53] Zürcher, 2003, p. 278-280

[54] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's address to the Turkish Youth, in this sense, has an important place in Modern Turkish nationalism. For the text of this address, please see Appendix A

[55] The only exception was Cavit Bey, the finance minister of the young Turks. He was a *dönme* (convert) who was Sabbatic Jew. The converts lived outwardly as Muslims but preserved their religious traditions. Zürcher, 2003, p.279

[56] Ibid., p. 284

[57] The birthplaces were taken as one of the criteria of determining the ethnic origins of the Young Turks. It should be noted that it is possible to study ethnicity with another variable, other than birthplace. Moreover, anyone can claim that there is no such thing as "ethnicity". However, for the

**Table 1**

**First Group (Founders of the Young Turks, 1889-1896)**

| | |
|---|---|
| İstanbul | 2 |
| Balkans | 7 (this includes 2 from provinces lost in 1878) |
| Aegean | 3 (Rhodes, İzmir, Crete) |
| Arab Provinces | 2 |
| Kurdish Provinces | 2 |
| Caucasus | 4 (all from Russian Empire) |
| Anatolia | 0 |

**Table 2**

**Second Group (Central Committee, 1908-1918)**

| | |
|---|---|
| İstanbul | 4 |
| Balkans | 11 |
| Aegean | 4 (Lesbos, Crete, İzmir, Milas) |
| Arab Provinces | 0 |
| Kurdish Provinces | 1 |
| Caucasus | 1 |
| Anatolia | 4 (excluding Aegean coast and Kurdistan) |
| Unknown | 6 |

sake and simplicity of this research, we continue our analysis with the given data, keeping these reservations for our theoretical discussions.

## Table 3

## Third Group (Politically Active Officers, post-1918)

| | |
|---|---|
| Istanbul | 8 |
| Balkans | 11 |
| Aegean | 1 (İzmir) |
| Arab Provinces | 0 |
| Kurdish Provinces | 0 |
| Caucasus | 0 |
| Anatolia | 1 |
| Unknown | 5 |

**Source:** Erik-Jan Zürcher, "The Young Turks: Children of Borderlands?", K. Karpat and R. Zens (ed.), *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003, pp. 280-281

These tables are meaningful since it shows how significant the Balkan migrants were in the Young Turk movement. Of the 66 founders of the Young Turk movement 29 persons, meaning 44 %, came from the Balkans. The predominance of the southern Balkans as origin of the post-1908 leaders, civilian or military, is obvious. Nearly half of them came from this relatively small part of the Empire. Within the category of Balkans, Salonika, the area from Monastir to Ohrid and the area around Pirishtine were noticeable. That is why Erik-Jan Zürcher has named them as the "children of the borderlands".[58]

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[58] Ibid.

During the Balkan Wars, all of the Young Turk officers and civil servants who had their origin in the Balkan provinces lost their ancestral homes. They became *muhacir*s (refugees) with their families. The nationalist homogenization in the Balkans forced them to leave their homelands. It is, however, interesting that they did not carry irredentist tendencies towards the Balkans. Beside, Anatolia was accepted as the fatherland, which should not be lost for a fantasy of taking the Balkans back. The Turkish people of the Balkans were very successful in turning and adapting to Anatolia as a homeland, the "last stand of the Turks". In fact, they would soon play very important roles in the Independence War and formation of a Republican nation-state.

According to the tables, 14 were from Istanbul. 8 of them hailed from the coastal regions and Aegean islands. The other Asiatic parts of the Empire, which together constituted the majority of the Ottoman lands, contributed no more than 15 percent of the Young Turk leadership. On the other hand, the Russian Caucasus origin people contributed 5 persons, but primarily to the first generation of Young Turks leaders.[59] Obviously, during its formation, the children of the borderlands of the empire contributed to the Turkish nationalism, more than the Anatolian part of the Ottoman Empire. This irony is related with the structure of the intellectual background of the nationalists and the elite groups. The people of these groups, educated in western type schools, were living mostly in big cities and centers. The modern schools, cultural activities, relatively advanced press and critical atmosphere could be felt in these developed provinces of the Empire, more than the rural lands. Since these urban areas were settled mostly in the western parts of the territories, the modern thoughts of liberalism, equality and nationalism were sprouted there. Hence, the dense participation of many Balkan émigré to the Young Turk movement can be explained with their urban and literate background, although their social backgrounds varied. Some of them were sons of landowners, while the others'

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[59] Ibid., pp. 281-282

fathers were senior military officers or civil servants. The common point among them was that most of their fathers were in service of the Ottoman state. In fact, almost without any exception, all of them were graduated from modern schools, which were founded in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.[60] They did also go to the modern Balkan schools with Greeks, Bulgarians or Serbians. They felt those territories as their homes and these non-Muslims as neighbors or friends. It was ironic that, in few decades the people who set on the same desks encountered each other at wars. The Balkan experience, therefore, was traumatic for the Young Turks and their perceptions about the non-Muslim Greeks.

The typical Young Turk mentality took on its shape within their social and intellectual background, as mentioned above. Their diversity in ethnic or geographical origin fell behind of the intellectual affinity. Zürcher sums up Young Turks' background and worldview in these words: "Their western orientation, secularism, materialism and the elitist and authoritarian outlook they derived from popularized positivism have their origins in their education in the modern schools of the empire, in their extra-curricular reading and, especially among the first generation Young Turks, in their experience during their stay in Europe". Living in the urban centers of the southern Balkans made this generation aware of the increasing gap between the non-Muslim bourgeoisie and the Muslim middle class. The difference was obvious in the superior schools of non-Muslim communities and the European missionaries. Next to its non-Muslim students, these schools were also attractive for the Muslims, because of their quality of education. For the economic gap, non-Muslims' eminent hegemony, with the help of Europeans, over modern sectors, with its factories, banks, insurance, companies or investment was

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[60] Ibid., p. 283

unquestionable.[61] Hence, non-Muslims had chances to have better education skills and employ profitable jobs.

The children of the middle class Muslim families, some of whom were among the founders of the Young Turks, got hold of places in the state bureaucracy and army. Although they were representing the sublime authority and prestige of the state, their wages were not as good as the non-Muslim traders' income. They witnessed the impotence of the state, to which they were thought to be respectful.[62] The erosion of Ottoman Muslim's power *vis a vis* the representatives of foreign powers and of the Ottoman Christians became an *idée fixe* among these middle-class children since their childhood. Under these circumstances, the "other" of the Young Turks arose: the rich and ungrateful non-Muslims. The Balkan War in 1912 was a milestone in Young Turks' "other" definitions. Many Young Turk officers served in the Balkans, under the Third Army in the west or the Second Army in the east. They fought against Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek soldiers or guerillas. The Muslim and non-Muslim division dominated the internal politics of the Ottoman state between the Balkan War and the end of the Turkish War of Independence in 1922. In fact, the expulsion of the Muslims from the Balkans and Greek Orthodox from Anatolia can be seen within this perspective.[63]

These "children of the borderlands" or the Young Turks were mainly the "exiled" people of the Balkans and they had fought against non-Muslims for years. Thus, their negative implications about the Balkan peoples have to be analyzed according to this psychology. Especially the Balkan Wars extinguished their last hopes about rebuilding the Empire. The projection of a nation-state was generally rooted upon this change in the future plans of the Young Turks. The Balkan states'

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[61] Ibid., p. 283

[62] Ibid., p. 283

[63] Ibid., pp. 283-284

coalition against the Ottoman Empire and the unavoidable defeat opened a new era in Turkish national identity. The uncertain "otherization" of the non-Muslims turned into an apparent policy of the C.U.P. However, to name this policy as a religious animosity or conservatism would be erroneous, the developments should be interpreted within its conjuncture. The future Young Turks of the Balkans were exiled from their homelands by the non-Muslims and this trauma had an impact on their assessments about the non-Muslims. Moreover, most of them fought against the Balkan states for years. Especially the Greeks had been the oldest nation which had been in a clash with the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the rising otherization against the Greeks was not because of an Islamic tendency, but because of the conditions and differentiating identities. They were acting not as a devoted Muslim, but as a Muslim Turk. In other words, Islam gave them an identity and common ground, while the Turkishness was still under construction.

## 4.1. Islam and the Turkish Identity

The place of Islam in Turkish national identity has to be discussed before making any conclusions. It can be said that Islam has been one of the important dynamos in Turkish identity. Although Republican Turkey raised secularism in theoretical and practical spheres, the Ottoman heritage, upon which Turkish nationalism grew, should not be forgotten. In fact, it borrowed many from the Ottoman *Millet* system which was depending on religious affiliations. It was impossible to separate the similar people of the same regions according to some ethnic identities, but only the different religious beliefs could be used as the determining criteria to draw the boundaries. Hence, Islam had been used as the significant marker of the Anatolian Turks while their non-Muslim neighbors were named with another title. There were mental boundaries among these religions. The mindset of being a member of the Muslim *Millet* in Ottoman Empire had affected the Turkish national identity formation. The modern Republican era was not able to

completely erase the general estimation about the Muslim – non-Muslim separation from the ideology of Turkishness.

The politicization of Islam is not a new concept specific to modern Turkey. It was the later phase of the Ottomanism to hold the Empire together. The *Tanzimat* period came into prominence by its endeavor to create an official "Ottoman citizen". Ottomanism, thus, was the prior model of all three ideologies in order to create cement for the people. On the other hand, the Islamist rising was meaningful that it represented the hopeless acceptance about the non-Muslims separation from the Empire. Besides, it was the previous step in the Muslims' identity perception. Although, it was mostly a state sponsored ideology, especially by Abdülhamid II, its nuance was important in understanding the diverging ways of the Muslims and the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

The first echo of Islam among the Young Ottomans was visible. The Young Ottomans were the next generation of the high-rank Ottoman bureaucrats and were well-educated in the European universities. Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi and Şinasi were some of these Young Ottomans. Their common point was their stress on Islam as one of the basic binding forces of the society. The adaptation of Islam to the modern world, but without any exaggeration in westernization, was their dictum. The survival of the Empire could be achieved through preserving some notions of identity, such as the *millet* system and religious affiliations. After the increase in non-Muslims' independence movements, their emphasis narrowed and they changed their mind about protecting all *millets* within the system. Non-Muslims were excluded from the scope of identity.

Some intellectuals were very eager about the modernization of Islam as a recipe for the collapsing system. There were several Islamist groups gathered during the heavy days of the Empire. When the Young Turks began to emphasize Turkish nationalism after the 1908 revolution, the Islamists were still seeking for Islam,

rather than Ottomanism or Turkism. They had never get repercussions, mostly because of the absence of an effective leadership.[64] First World War was a dramatic experience and a lesson for the Islamists. They witnessed the futility of the declaration of *Cihad* (holy war) among the Muslims. Let alone the unification after this declaration, even the Arabs allied with Britain against the Ottoman Empire during the War, in order to establish their national Arab state. Hence, the Islamists' ideal of modern and liberal Islamic state proved to be useless.

The Young Turks, under the influence of westernization and modernity, believed in positivism and were defending the necessity of science instead of a conservative religious doctrine. Although most of them were not really devout Muslims, they agreed in the value of Islam as an instrument of solidarity. Actually, Islam was the particular asset of the Turkish identity against the danger of any cultural and political erosion. However, there were some voices among the Young Turks who believed Islam as a political way of legitimization, not only an asset. In fact, some of these nationalists tried to prove the alliance of religion and nationalism with some commentary attempts and asserted that Islam is not against any

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[64] The major Islamist group, the Society for Islamic Unity, had come to a sudden end following the failure of counterrevolution attempt in 1909. Another influential Islamist group was the Society of Islamic Learning (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye*), which published its ideas in periodical *Beyan-ul hak* (Presentation of the Truth). This group, which was headed by Mustafa Sabri, felt that Islam could become the principle vehicle for modernization. Muslims had to get together to reformulate their religion on its own terms as well as to deter the attacks by non-Muslims. The most intellectual Islamist group was led by Mehmet Akif, who is known writing the lyrics of the National Anthem of Turkish Republic, was a member of this pro-Islamic approach. He wanted to go through with the card of Islam against the separatist movements. The Islamic reformism, which was born in Egypt in the 19th century and then spread out to the rest of the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, inspired him pretty much. In the following years of his life, Mehmet Akif tried to keep up with Mustafa Kemal's secular reformism to some extent; however he could not escape from being exiled because of his religious approach. After the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, some writers and intellectuals got together around the journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (The Straight Path), later called *Sebil ur-Reşad* (Fountain of Orthodoxy). They believed that Abdulhamid's autocracy and Young Turks secularism had violated Islamic solution. Although they suggested a reformation through the state system, they were against the Young Turks' egalitarian approach towards the non-Muslims. Shaw and Shaw, 1977, pp.304-305

nationalism movement, in substance.[65] Especially the Russian Turk intellectuals were pursuing a modernized Islam for a modern and developed nation. They were already titled as Muslim in their homeland country Russia and experienced hostile policies of pan-Slavism. However, Islam had been an identity for them as an ethnic or cultural name and they benefited from Islam as a way of cooperation. So these Russian intellectuals dedicated themselves to convince the Turkish nationalists about using Islam as an asset or commonality of identity, not a way of life.

It is remarkable to add that, although at first glance this rapprochement seemed to be an attempt to decant Turkish identity from Islam, in reality Turkishness has never been a non-religious identity. The focus of identity shifted from religious patterns to ethnicity and being a Turk began to be more important than being a Muslim; but that does not mean to ignore the role of religion. In fact, it was impossible to declare an ethnically defined identity to the Ottoman people, who were still experiencing the *Millet* system and its religious titles. While the ethnic dimension of the new identification gained a marginal interest, its place within the already-known Islamic character was not forgotten. Then, the concept of "Muslim Turks" or "Turkish speaking Muslims" became common among the Young Turks.

During the last years of the Ottoman Empire, being a Muslim and speaking in Turkish became the two important criteria of Turkishness. There were different thought about how to use these criteria in identity. Some of the intellectuals were akin to the expression of a linguistic Turkish nationalism[66], while some others claimed the necessity of an amalgamation of Islam and Turkish language. Ömer Seyfettin could be accepted a representative of the latter, while İsmail Gaspıralı's

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[65] François Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi (1900-1930)*, A. Berktay (trans.), İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006, p.15

[66] The importance of language in Turkish nationalism will be discussed in a more detailed way in the next part of this chapter. It was mentioned here to show the then coalition between Islam and Turkish language in Turkish nationalism.

ideas were closer to the former one. Both of them left several literary and political works behind which directed the later debate. Gaspıralı was a relatively earlier name in Turkism compared to Seyfettin. He was a Crimean Turk who was a passionate advocate of a modernist nationalism. His main idea was to locate *usul-ü cedid* (new method) which was showing the appropriate way of educating the Turks with European science. Without regarding the geographical differences, he proposed the Turks to speak in Turkish. "Unity in language, thought and work" motto was summarizing how Gaspıralı attached great importance to linguistic harmony.[67] It is one of the distinctive points between the Russian Turks and the Ottoman Turks that while the former were akin to a cultural and linguistic nationalism, the Ottoman, or Anatolian, intellectuals were still in favor of the Islamic aspect of identification partly because of their close relationships with the Ottoman government and state system. This could be explained with either their different educational and cultural backgrounds. In this sense, Ömer Seyfettin built his thesis upon the synthesis of language and religion. He confined the Turkishness within the Turkish and Islam. In his book, he said: "There is no difference between nation and language. They cannot be separated. There is neither a language without a nation, nor a nation without a language. All of the Turks are Muslim. All of the Turkish speaking Muslims are Turks…"[68] In fact, Seyfettin came into prominence with simplifying the Turkish from the Arab and Persian words or phrases that were very common at the time. Actually, both Gaspıralı and Seyfettin were very ardent about the purification of the language; however Seyfettin's *Türklük Mefkuresi* (Turkishness Ideal) was articulating Islam as a complementary element of linguistic association.

By the way of discussion, it would be meaningful to mention some expressions of Ömer Seyfettin, which are standing out with their emphasis on

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[67] Oğuz, 2006, pp.118-119

[68] Ömer Seyfettin, *Türklük Üzerine Yazılar: Bütün Eserleri*, no. 16, ed. by Muzaffer Uyguner, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2002, p.90

Turkishness and the *Rum* (Greek) people. In his book published in 1912, he discussed the uneasy relationship of the Turks with the other minorities, as well as *Tanzimat* and the situation of Turkishness within the Ottoman Empire. Obviously, Seyfettin was not happy to highlight the Ottoman identity in front of Turkishness and moreover, he was suspicious about the hidden ideals under the hide of the Ottoman identity in the *Meclis-i Mebusan* (deputy parliament) during the constitutionalist period, *Tanzimat*. "Under the name of the constitutional monarchy many tragic dramas were being played. But the *Rum*s, Bulgarians, Serbians, Armenians, Albanians had their own national ideals, national literature, national language, national aims, and national organizations. And these *millet*s were very clever. They were inducing the Turks by saying 'We are sincere Ottomans…' they made the Turks to spoil their language, literature and even the scientific books, moreover they made them to erase the words of 'Turk and Turkey' from the geography and history books. While the Turks were indulging in the ideal of Ottomanism, especially these Christian subjects gathered around their İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate with a unique solidity and patriotism and they put eminent emphasis on their national unity."[69] He, even, set off "the Christian subjects" by pointing out two Greek Committee members, Boşo and Kozmopolidi. He was criticizing the "poor" Turks' unaware appreciation of them in the Parliament. Moreover he described these Greeks as the "religious and blood enemies" of the Turks. More than other minorities, such as the Armenians or the Arabs, Seyfettin highlighted the *Rum* as the most dangerous one because of their endless belief in the "Great Byzantium Empire" and their deep adherence to the Greek nation. On the other hand, he grinded out that the Armenians were more amalgamated with the Turks. He even referred to Moltke's travel book: "Turks can be prescribed in two groups of Islam and Christian. They name the Christian Turks 'Armenian'" and he was so hopeful about the Armenians' to be ultimately integrated into the Turks in the future. Seyfettin, portrayed the Arabs as fellow Muslims and naturally fellow of the Turks, and he was so sure that their

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[69] Ibid. p. 38. The text was translated from Turkish to English by the author of this thesis

interests would never clash. Like the above statements, in his political writings or literary books and stories, we can find many clues of his lack of confidence in the *Rum*s and his emphasis on being a Turk. Against the "hazard of the *Megali Idea* of the Greeks on the lands of the Turks", Seyfettin suggested to catch on a linguistic unification within the framework of Islam. In sum, "the Turkish speaking Muslims" are the "Turks" according to this most widely-known writer. [70]

Next to this kind of Islamic tendencies and prejudices, there was a prominent secularization in Turkish nationalism. The transformation was noticeable and it can be read in the writings of Ziya Gökalp during the period of his life time. As a sociologist admired to Comte and Durkheim's methodological individualism, Gökalp suggested a sociological cure depending on renewal of the existing social solidarity in order to hinder the collapse of Empire. During his first years in the Committee of Union and Progress, as parallel to the early enthusiasm of the Committee, he had a deep belief in the Ottoman "nation" with its own social, religious and cultural structure. Following the ideological path of Hüzeyinzade Ali, he developed the ideal territories of an alternative empire, *Turan*, which was reaching out to the steps of Central Asia. In fact, his theorization was Turkist; however his stress on Islam was obvious. Religion was the expression of social cohesion and it supplemented the national culture (*hars*), according to Gökalp. However, the paradox between the desire to protect the Ottoman territories and the search for a new Turkish nation was obvious between his earlier and later articles. With the marked loss of non-Muslim territories and with the constant ambitions of the Balkan countries and Russia, Ottoman public opinion and the bureaucrats were in the attempt of abandoning Ottomanism and Islamism in favor of Turkism. Ziya Gökalp, too, had to revise his theory about the formula of *Turan* against European imperialism. From then on, he separated Turkism and *Turanism*; and although he did never give up the ideal of

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[70] Ibid., pp.39, 42-45, 47

*Turan* as the final fantasy of the Turks, he shifted his scope from the whole Ottomans or Muslims to the Anatolian Turks.[71]

Another secularist turn can be seen in Yusuf Akçura. He was a Russian Turk who was very effective with his writings on political history of the Ottomans and the Turks. In fact, his ideology was more akin to the Republican ideology than Gökalp.[72] He focused on ethnicity of the Turks more than its religious identity. In his famous *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,* in which he compared Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism, he clearly claims that a Turkish nation constructed on ethnicity would be the key to the success. Islam was offered as a secondary tool to unify the Turks. His words about the role of religion on nations were meaningful:

> The religion of Islam would be an important factor in Turkish national formation…In our time of history the races were the common idea…religions can only protect their political and internal importance when they help the races by combining with them and even be the servants of them.[73]

This approach became famous in a short time period among the Young Turks. However, the ordinary Anatolian people were not aware of this secularization and even if they were, it would be very tough for them to understand it. Islam was still a reference point for the Anatolian people, while the seeds of the Turkish state, the intellectuals, directed to a secular nation-state and evaluated Islam as a cultural part of this construct.

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[71]Ziya Gökalp separated Turkism  and *Turanism* in his well-known work *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Bordo Siyah Türk Klasikleri İnceleme, hazırlayan: Kemal Bek, İstanbul: Trend Yayın Basın, 2006, pp.51.57

[72] Suavi Aydın, *Modernleşme veMilliyetçilik*, Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları: 1993, p.210

[73] In its original Turkish version: "*Islam dini, büyük Türk milletinin teşekkülünde mühim bir unsur olabilir…Zamanımız tarihinde görülen umumi cereyan ırklardır…dinler ancak ırklarla birleşerek ırklara yardımcı ve hatta hizmet edici olarak, siyasi ve içtimai ehemmiyetlerini muhafaza edebiliyorlar*" Text was translated from Turkish to English by the author of this thesis. Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2005, p.60

In fact, one of the most important reasons of the Mustafa Kemal's success in stimulating the Anatolian people was his attitude about the role of Islam on people. His previous rhetoric was more religious than his subsequent secularism. The difference between the pre-Independence War period and the post-war was noteworthy. The eclectic structure of Turkish nationalism can explain this duality to some extent. Mustafa Kemal's addresses with religious connotations, prohibition of alcohol (*Men-i Muskirat*), the obstructive arrangements to block the non-Muslims attending the elections, the declaration to rescue the Sultan-Caliph from being the prisoner of the enemy and the connections with the local clerics during the First National Assembly (*Meclis-i Mebusan)* were the contradictory steps of the Mustafa Kemal, which did not fit into the later secular and even anti-religious attitude.[74] Many explanations can be asserted for this transformation. This attitude may be seen as a populist trick of the C.U.P. or it can be seen as a parallel development according to the changing world. The conclusion is still the same: Turkish nationalism has always been in a problematic relation with Islam. Moreover, this problem increased the vulnerability of the relation between the secular state and the Muslim Anatolians. In this sense, the center-periphery, urban-rural or state-society gap in Turkey have its roots in these years of nationalization.

A complicated question arises here whether the modern Turkey, the assumed successor of the Ottoman Empire, has a religious formulation of citizenship coming from *Millet* system tradition. In fact, the answer to this question is clear: Turkey is a secular country and its nationality perception is different from Ottoman *Millet*. However, it is essential to widen our vision to scrutinize the whole picture. Mentioning some evaluations about the character of Turkish citizenship would be useful. In Turkey a non-ethnic nationality description has been institutionalized. This description of non-ethnicity has inherited some dimensions of *Millet* system, which

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[74]Mehmet Karakaş, "Türkçülük ve Türk Milliyetçiliği", *Doğu Batı*, Milliyetçilik I, Vol. 38, , Aug-Sep-Oct 2006, p.68

grounds on religious communities. In Turkey, there is no official "ethnic" minorities, but there are *Rum* (Greek), Armenian and Jewish communities, who are demarcated with their non-Muslim identity. This is the reason of confusion in the evaluations of the current approach as a continuation of the previous classification. There are no ethnic categorizations among the Muslims in Turkey, at least on official ground.[75] The founding agreement of Turkey, the Lausanne Treaty, is an interesting document to bring in. The criterion of the Turkishness was defined in religious terms and all the Muslims in Turkey were accepted as Turk, and the population exchange with Greece was arranged with this mentality. The Turkish delegate at the Lausanne negotiations, Rıza Nur, classified four minority groups in Europe: Religious, linguistic, sectarian and racial. He suggested the religious minority approach as the most convenient policy of Turkey to determine who is Turk and who is not.[76] This approach can be seen as a natural outcome of their actual conditions, which dictated a temporary policy. Both the Greek and Turkish nation-states benefited from religious identities in order to define the other. However these states, by no means, could be defined with religious governmental system or religious citizenship. Religion was politicized in those years as a remnant of the Ottoman Empire. The religious identities of *millet* had to be used by Greece and Turkey in order to "arrange" their demographic structure. The otherization of the Greeks within Turkish national identity cannot be set upon the cleavage between Orthodoxy and Islam. This kind of approach might turn into a clash of Islam and Christianity, and Turkish national identity had never been sympathetic to *cihad* (holy war). Even the contemporary religious problems between Greece and Turkey were negotiated on political platforms.

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[75] Şener Aktürk classifies the nations into three: Uni-ethnic, multi-ethnic and non-ethnic. He puts Turkey into the third category, but he expressed the influence of the Ottoman *Millet* idea, in his article "Etnik Kategori ve Milliyetçilik: Tek-Etnili, Çok-Etnili ve Gayri-Etnik Rejimler", *Doğu Batı*, Milliyetçilik I, Vol. 38, , Aug-Sep-Oct 2006

[76] Quoted from Dr. Rıza Nur, *Hayat ve Hatıratım*, Vol 3, İstanbul: Altındağ Yayınevi, 1968 quoted in Aktürk, 2006, p.51. For a detailed analysis of the minority concept in Turkey, see: Baskın Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar. Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2004

Obviously, Turkish citizenship approach changed and advanced in time. There has been great endeavor to include the non-Muslims into Turkish identity. Secularization included into the Turkish constitution in 1937. Religion was officially abandoned as the criterion for Turkish national identity. The idea of unification of the society within political, civic and linguistic framework, which was imported from the Western Europe, has been the motto of the governments for decades.

## 4.2. Turkish Nationalism: Ethnic or Civic?

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey says in its 3<sup>rd</sup> article that "Turkish state is an indivisible whole with its territory and nation. Its language is Turkish." This article means a lot than it seems. The whole nationalist story of Turkey can be summarized within these two sentences. The sublimation of the state is noticeable. Yet, it is articulated that the main objective is the Turkish state and its indivisible totality. Territory and nation are the two complementary elements of the state. In other words, the continuation of the state and its indivisible whole is still important, like the *beka* of the Ottoman state.

In this context, there may be some similar points with the German *staatnation*, which highlights the political construct, citizenship and territory, and *kulturnation,* which highlights linguistic, traditional, cultural or religious features, within this article of the Constitution. However, the encompassing tradition of Turkish identity should be remembered before getting to early prejudices. The multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural background of Turkey makes it a melting pot. It is not very easy for a "young" republic to solve all of its socio-political dilemmas within a few decades. The development of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman period gives some clues about its modern picture. The previous studies in Turkism were mostly ethnic, but the modern Republican Turkey constructed a civic framework for its nation, which means dual character of Turkish national identity. The place of the non-Muslim and non-Turk Greeks should be evaluated within this

duality. Turkish nationalism is neither a pure ethnic oriented search, nor a total liberal civic ideology. Both German and French influences can be found. In this sense, the C.U.P. imitated the patriotic and utilitarian nationalism in the West and the Balkans. Generally their nationalism can be conceptualized on a double-faceted formulation. On the one hand there was liberal and secular French nationalism which constructed the official argumentation. It was the territorial or civic model which grounded nation on a bounded territorial state with its political institutions. On the other hand, German Romanticism was attractive with its ethnic and cultural based nationalism. People linked with language, ethno-religious sentiment and collective solidarity. The formulation was centered on the motherland-blood-religion triplet. Historical experiences of Turkish nationalism shows how Turkish nationalism carries the features of both the German nationalism on the one hand, and the French nationalism, on the other. The French nationalism with civilizing idea and German nationalism upon cultural development are both effective on Turkish nationalism. The modernization, civilization and progress were the general aims of French nationalism, which were the ideological inputs of Enlightenment, too. The German Romantics saw the civilization as a synthetic concept which was alien to the German identity. The moral revolution based on cultural authenticity was the most important approach of them. In order to hinder the alienation from the community, the German nationalists proposed the unconditional acceptance of culture and denial of civilization. Turkish nationalism has the principles from both approaches. While it has a civilizational (*medeniyetçi*) perspective, it is also culturist. Ziya Gökalp's duplication of civilization and culture would be an enlightening example here.[77] In fact, how did the Ottoman intellectuals read and apply nationalism designates the differentiation between the civic and ethnic approaches in Turkish identity.

Turcology and linguistics were the two important academic areas which shaped the nature of Turkish nationalism. In point of fact, these academic efforts

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[77] Kadıoğlu, 2003, p.139

sometimes turned into searching for ethnic identity. The aim to find out who the Turk was became an important question among the Ottoman Turks. In order to construct a new national identity other than the Ottoman, these intellectuals carved under the Ottoman identity up to the Central Asian traditions and pre-Islamic times. The primary trump of these intellectuals was mostly the Turkish language which has been living for a long time. In other words, Turkish had been the official language of the Ottoman state since the beginning and it was the most important base of the Turcology studies in claiming a distinct Turkish identity within the Ottoman system. Hence, the linguistic studies became widespread in the 19th century. These studies were influenced by the general trend in Europe.

Linguistics has always been an important part of any nationalist movement or a nation-state formation. Language is both a way of creating a common ground among the people and transfers the mentality of the state to the people. To reach the people via national education is the key of any national identity. The practices vary from one to another, but the German Romantics stand on the most apparent corner of this discussion. In fact, they see it as a prerequisite for the national unification. Herder claims that language is the tool to create human beings as a society. He links language, human, thoughts and community as a whole. The system works as such: every human has some thoughts, thought has to be expressed in a language and these humans would form the nation of this language. In fact, every language has its own mindset, which means that a given society with a given language has to think in their peculiar way, apart from the other language groups.[78] This chain, extending from language to nation, ascribes too much meaning on language and the naturalness of this language's nation. In other words, it is natural that every language has its own nation.

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[78] For the details about Herder's approach of language, see: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Johan Gottfried Herder, *On the Origin of Language*, trans. by Moran, J. H. and Gode, A., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986

The concepts of "natural" and "organic" were highlighted by another German Romantic thinker, Fichte. According to him, nation is the organic whole in which an individual can find his/her absolute freedom.[79] Obviously he is glorifying the state as the only place for freedom. In his thirteenth address to the German nation, he stated the important linkage between language and nation with these words: "The first, original, and truly natural boundaries of states are beyond doubt their internal boundaries. Those who speak the same language are joined together by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole."[80] Decisively, language is more than a tool of communication. It is the identity of the people in Herder and Fichte's words. They lead these ideas even to racism in explaining the nativity and purity of national identities. German nationalist decisions took its roots from these ideas.[81] It was no surprising to see some undesirable racist exercises in Germany's history, while these ideas are sharpening the borders between the "self" (German nation) and the "other" (non-Germans).

Besides, it would be a misconception and a naiveté that only the German Romantics were keen to these ideals. The British philosopher Herbert Spencer's racist-evolution perspective[82], the French historian Hippolyte A. Taine's studies on

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[79] For details if Fichte's ideas please see the third and fourth parts of Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994

[80] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Thirteenth Address, Addresses to the German Nation*, ed. George A. Kelly, New York: Harper Torch Books, 1968, pp.190-191

[81] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism-Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992

[82] Herbert Spencer, *The Evolution of Society; Selections from Herbert Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, R. L. Carneiro (ed.), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967

"*race, milieu, et* moment"[83] (race, medium and moment) or the French Social Psychologist Gustave Le Bon's "racial superiority" theory[84] are some of the non-German examples to the, more or less, racist mentalities arrived into the last years of the 19th century, when there were feverish debates of nationalism. These writers' works were translated into many languages, and therefore, they became the ideological source of many national movements all around the world. The leading, elite classes of national movements were generally from educated people and they were akin to these writers' ideas. Although the movie was shot differently in various countries, the scenario was more or less the same: Discovering an identity and uniting a nation.

Ottoman Empire's intellectual class was aware of these western ideas. Most of them were educated in European universities and were carrying these concepts to the Ottoman bureaucrats and the state. Obviously, the non-Muslim Balkan *millets* were already familiar with these academic studies before the Turks found out. The Turks were a little bit late in analyzing and adopting these nationalist ideas because of their relative closeness to the state. While the Greeks, the Serbians, the Arabs or the Albanians were uprising for a separation, the Turks saw themselves as the security guards of the *Devlet-i Ali Osmaniyye* (the Sublime Ottoman State). This is the reason why they first chose to centralize the state with some overall ideas, Ottomanism and Islamism. More than discovering a new identity, these ideas were serving to keep the previous ones with some little masking outs. However, the Ottoman defeats (i.e. the Balkan Wars 1912-13) in its own territories in the new era of 20th century, proved the futility of these holding attempts. Within this clumsy atmosphere, there was an increasing interest in the archeology of the Turks or

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[83]Ludwig Freund, "The New American Conservatism and European Conservatism," *Ethics*, Vol. 66, No. 1, 1955

[84] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, New York: Dover Publications, 2002

Turcology. The educated class started to think about the details of their ethnic origin and language, for the first time.

The first academic studies about language and ethnicity in the Ottoman Empire began before 19th century. In Europe, the discipline namely Orientalism[85] was popular as a way of studying the eastern societies, cultures and languages. In general, it had some negative implications in analyzing the East and the Islamic societies. The studies were mainly built upon the prejudice of the superiority of the West over the East. It is interesting that the development of the national consciousness in the last period of the Ottoman Empire was under the influence of Turcology, which arouse as a branch of Orientalism. Besides, Sinology, the study of China by non-Chinese, which began in the 17th century, provided the first knowledge to Turcology. While there was a growing literature about Chinese history, the Central Asian Turks and their history became visible. The first work about the ancient Turks was written in 18th century by De Guignes[86], who was, in fact, a Sinolog. He gave a brief history of the Turks, who were defined as "cruel and hard-hearted" in De Guignes' book. Moreover, he explained the first Chinese version of the Epic of *Ergenekon*, which will be a conspicuous rhetoric in Turkish nationalism. However, these types of works did not attract the Ottomans' attentions more than a century.[87]

There were many disputes about the origin of the Turks in 19th century. There was an inconsistency among the writers: while some of them, especially the Russian writers specified the Turks as Tatars, some writers saw them as Mongols. It was a fact that as the interest in races and peoples arouse in Europe, the researches about

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[85] For a detailed analysis of Orientalism in politics, history, art and culture, see: Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Penguin, 1995

[86] Quoted from De Guignes, *Mémoire Historique sur l'Origine des Huns et des Turks*, Paris: without date, p. 4 quoted in Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4. ed., Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000, p.155

[87] Ibid.

the origins in Central Asia, China and eventually in Ottoman, increased, too. At this point, the most influential work about the birth of Turkism in the Ottoman Empire was written, not by a Turkish or Ottoman, but by a French Orientalist, Leon Cahun in 1896. Probably, the timing in edition of the book and its language were the important reasons of its fame, more than its originality as a historical research. When the book was published, there was a growing Young Turk movement, which was interested in biological materialism.[88] The book draws the borders of the Turkish identity which the Young Turks were looking for their political expansion. It is for sure that the end of 19th century was the turning point in Turkish nationalism, from a cultural plan to a politically motivated movement.

Ziya Gökalp, in his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principals of Turkism), pointed out Cahun's book as the most important book in the second epoch of Turkish nationalism, before mentioning De Guignes' historical research's leading role in the primary awakening of Turkism. He mentioned Cahun's book as an encouragement for Pan Turkism.[89] It is interesting that Cahun became such a character among the Turkism thinkers, since he was neither a Turcologist nor had unbiased feelings about the Turks. The book starts with these words: "Turks and Mongols were agents between Persian and Chinese civilizations. They did not deduce anything permanent from their essential beings."[90] Like these, Cahun attributes several negative characteristics to Turks, ranging from physical to spiritual ones. Moreover, he defines the Turks as scary and clumsy dwarfs with bony and chubby face, short legs, brown-like skin and although he points out the irrationality of using "race" in terms of Turks. According to him, the svelte Europeans, who are thin and tall, should have

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[88] Dündar, 2008, p.52

[89] Gökalp, 2006, p.32

[90] Leon Cahun, *Asya Tarihine Giriş: Kökenlerden 1405'e, Türkler ve Moğollar*, S. İ. Kaya (trans.), İstanbul: Seç Yayın Dağıtım, 2006 (1896), p.5

probably been amazed when they saw these people of Asia.[91] Actually, Cahun reflects the European "otherization" of the Turks in its most primitive version. Generally, we can explain this biased point of view within the field of Orientalism. As we mentioned earlier, studies about Turkishness ironically came out of this domain. However, we should keep in mind that the lack of original intellectual sources in the Ottoman Empire made the thinkers to use the European sources.

Certainly, these negative suggestions of Cahun were delicately ignored by the Turkish writers. The stress was on the deification of the "warrior, honest and fearless" nature of the Turks. Their success in war and defense made them the agent of the Islamic Asia against the Christian Europe. The point was that, their courage and strength were wasted for the strangers (the Persians).In other words, this "army" nation lost its energy and originality under the influence of Islam, which does not fit into action.[92]

This approach includes two important assessments in itself. Firstly, there is a clear divergence from the Ottoman and Islamic history. The pre-Islamic Central Asian culture was offered as the source of Turkism. As a matter of fact, the interest and appreciation of pre-Islamic era in Turkism found its basis in these words. Thereby, this approach was not only a pursuit for a separate and, relatively, new "Turkish" identity, but also a rejection of the Islamic –at least for the first years of Turkism– and Ottoman identity. To some extent, the roots of exclusion of the Ottoman past from the Turkish history (*redd-i miras*), which was passionately applied during the initial years of Modern Turkish Republic, can be found in this deep interest in the pre-Islamic history of the Turks. Besides, the Ottoman intellectuals' seek for the pre-Islamic history of the Turks united with their secularist

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[91] Ibid., p.30

[92] Ibid., p.80

ideas which in turn caused a gap between the ordinary Anatolian people and the Young Turks, as we mentioned above.

Second assessment is the emphasis on the "army nation". This has been an important rhetoric in Turkish national identification. It was the warrior nature that made the Turks fight against the Roman Empire and opened the doors of Anatolia to the Turks. Moreover, army nation idea may link the Turks to the pre-Islamic and therefore pre-Ottoman history, which open the doors of a new identity. Interestingly, we can see the concept of "soldier nation" in Goltz Pasha's writings. He first came only for two years with the order of Abdülhamid II in 1883 to teach the Ottoman army officers, and then stayed for fifteen years, because of the sympathy of the Young Turks. He was a German army officer who was attracted by the Romantic ideas of homeland, ethnicity and culture and educated thousands of army officers in the Ottoman Empire, who will be the members of the C.U.P. Hence, he was an important figure for the Young Turks. He defined the Turkish nation as the "soldier nation" or *Das Volk in Waffen*. This idea influenced many of his students, the Young Turk officers, and contributed to the militarization of the Turkish nationalist movement. Moreover, his frequent reference to Anatolia as the homeland of the Turks was a motive for the Young Turks. [93] His influence was not limited with the army; some civil Young Turks were also influenced by his "soldier nation" idea. Ahmet Rıza, one of the founders of the C.U.P., wrote a booklet named *Vazife ve Mesuliyet'ler: Asker* (Duties and Responsibilities: Soldier). Rıza called every Turk to fight against the enemies, which would be inside or outside the country. He defined the inside enemies as the "non-Ottomanized Christians" or the "secret enemies". According to him, these Christian secret enemies in the Ottoman Empire were limiting the ability of the army during wars.[94] Obviously the "army" Turkish nation

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[93] Dündar, 2008, pp. 64-70

[94] Quoted from Ahmet Rıza, *Vazife ve Mesuliyet İkinci Cüz: Asker,* Mısır, 1907 (Hicri 13023) quoted in Ibid., pp. 70-72

was very careful about the security of the territories and the possible enemies on it. The diminishing trust to the non-Muslims can be understood in Ahmet Rıza's booklet.

At the other end of the spectrum of Young Turks theoretical basis, there is territorial/civic model of nationalism, mainly constructed on British and French idealization of the nation as a bounded and contractual political community that abides by laws and legal institutions. However, the civic community idea did not fare much better for the Turkish people, maybe because of the inadequate intellectual tradition, but the political basis of the nation-state was arranged upon these civic codes. Hence, the hybrid character of the Turkish nationalism, emerged in the 19th century, followed a path of constructing the nation of a Turkish state on the homeland-blood-religion triplet, which proposed unitary nation-state.[95]

Next to these debates, there was a noteworthy mismatch between demographic and territorial determinants of the status quo at the turn of the twentieth century. Ironically, this mismatch constructed the political basis of the Republican nationalist formulation. At the time of the establishment after the Independence War, a significant portion of the Greek Orthodox community, around 750.000, was uprooted. The remaining of them has forced to move with the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey under the principles of the Lausanne Treaty (1923). The 1923 settlement at Lausanne was the outcome of the call for a homogeneous nation-state formulation "untroubled" by minority communities holding the promise of conflict. In spatial terms, these are the groups once demanded exclusive territories in place of a cosmopolitan imperial system which had invested its Greek Orthodox and other religious minorities with some particular rights. Therefore, the Lausanne settlement was a response to territorial conflict which was established a linear

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[95]Nergis Canefe, "Turkish Nationalism and Ethno-Symbolic Analysis: The Rules of Exception", *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol.8, No.2, 2002, pp. 135-138

interface between two states in the form of a boundary, promising the stability deriving from the agreement between Greece and Turkey, and because minorities were largely cleared from the territories which it separated. İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate is one of the institutions, which were not moved totally but reformulated according to the settlement. [96]

Thus, in Republican terms, the framework of Turkish nationalism is defined as the Turkish speaking Anatolian Muslims. To this end, more than a civic model, ethnic nationalism was applied by the state. According to Şerif Mardin from 1908 onwards, if not before, the identification of an ethnically distinct Turkish nation based on a combination of older cultural traditions and current Western influences was in progress. He clearly defines the Young Turk formulation of Turkish nationhood centered on the motherland-blood-religion triplet.[97] This nationhood, however, was not processed within a pure ethnic nationalism. The multi-national history and plural culture of the Turks cannot be ignored. A pure perennial or primordial approach does not fit into the imperial background of the Turks. Turkish nationalism is a combination of both civic and ethnic features. It benefited from this duality for achieving popular acceptance and guaranteeing a legitimate base for the new Republican nation-state. At the institutional front, the leading class of the new nation-state adopted a territorial and civic nationalism. Following the state-centric approach of French Revolution which was based upon national sovereignty, Republican elites promised Equality, Fraternity and Liberty. "Equality" means equal citizenship rights for all ethnic groups and religious minorities; "Fraternity" contains all ethnic groups and religions based on the premise of popular sovereignty; and "Liberty" promised victory against Western invaders and the Greek army through

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[96] Brian W. Beeley, "The Greek-Turkish Boundary: Conflict at the Interface", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol. 3, No. 3, Settlement and Conflict in the Mediterranean World, 1978, p.351

[97] Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962

modernization, secularization and economic reforms.[98] These promises make the Turkish nationalism as a blend of many variables, from liberal to statist and from ethnic to cultural. While a Muslim Turkish citizen was projected by the Turkish nationalist thinkers and by the C.U.P. members after the Balkan Wars, the state's official construction was settled upon liberal and collaborative political institutions. This dilemma should not be analyzed by our contemporary lenses. The developments should be thought in a comparative and objective scope. When the Young Turks faced with the question of the definition of the Turks after the First World War, the unitary nation-state project seemed to be the only valid choice among the Balkan states. Naturally, the C.U.P. had to benefit from this approach to protect the core of the state and keep the Turks as an independent people in Anatolia. However, Turkish nationalism reached to a more liberated and civic point than it was, especially than the last years of the Ottoman Empire full of battles and wars.

Turkish nationalist movement can be defined as a latecomer patriotic national awakening among the Balkan nationalist movements or a predecessor of the Turkish Resistance Movement or a great modernization project of the late Ottoman bureaucrats. To sum up, Turkish nationalism is the amalgam of several socio-political processes of different fractions and it includes both ethnic and civic approaches in it. It may be possible to claim that it evolved into a more civic form in time, but its ethnic expressions can not be totally ignored. In fact, during the heydays of the Balkan Wars the ethnic side of Turkish nationalism was felt with certain population movements in Anatolia. Thus, in the next part of this chapter, these movements, especially the ones about the Greeks, will be discussed.

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[98] Canefe, 2002, pp.136-137

## 4.3. Population Movements and the Greeks in Anatolia

When the initial examples of Turkish nationalism during the Balkan Wars, it can be mentioned that it has a more civic and liberal form, than these previous examples. In fact, the post-Balkan War experiences can be assessed as a part of a more ethnic and religious based identity formation. As a parallel policy of the Balkan states, the C.U.P. followed a policy of restructuring demography. Population movement is the tool of this policy and it changed a lot in the region. The period of 1912-1918 will be remembered with the continuous population movement among the states of Balkans. In fact, many nation-states apply this policy in the first years of formation. The last years of the Ottoman Empire, which are considered to be the first years of Turkish nationalism, are very popular with population movements. These population movements were done under the name of national defense, ethnic rearrangement or reciprocity principle. It took few years to change the demographic vision of Anatolia, but its consequences have been felt in domestic and international politics of the region, even now.

Although the years during the Balkan Wars and the First World War were seemed to be the well-known period of population movements, it is fact that the Ottoman history is full of population movements. During the first centuries of expansion, newly conquered territories brought more than just soil or economic gains; different peoples became Ottoman citizen. Certainly, this process was not that easy. Although there wasn't an organized or a definite assimilation in the Ottoman system, there always had been intervention into the population of the non-Muslim - even Muslim- territories because of the legacy of the Ottoman Empire deriving from *Gaza* (to fight in the name of Allah in order to expand the borders of Islam.).[99] The ethnic and religious construction of the new territories was re-built to a certain

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[99] "Halil İnalcık ile Söyleşi: Osmanlı Tarihi En Çok Saptırılmış, Tek Yanlı Yorumlanmış Tarihtir", *Cogito*, No: 19, Summer 1999, pp.25-41

extent. This interventionist policy was used not only on the non-Muslim lands of the Balkans, but also on the other Muslim *Beylik*s of Anatolia. In fact every *fetih* was followed by a systematical expedition and settlement. Part of the Muslim Anatolian population was transferred into the new territories. Next to the voluntary settlement of the *evlad-ı fatihan* (the soldier who attend the *fetih*), larger masses of people were needed to move in and re-build the population character of these new lands. This moving in of the Anatolian people was named as *şenlendirme*, jollify. There were several encouragements, such as free lands, exemption from military service and tax. In fact, sometimes people were forced to move in these territories when enough demand cannot be achieved. Obviously, this policy of exile was a demonstration of absolute Ottoman authority over its people. According to this method, any unit of settlement in Anatolia had to allow % 10 of their household number to the government's relocation of them into the newly conquered territories. The most important motive of this settlement policy was to hinder ethnic, religious or political population intensity.[100] Mixing people with each other seemed to be the best way to take the large territories under control. The movement during the expansion was, therefore, more like from inside to the outside, or from Anatolia to the Balkans. However, this settlement policy had dramatically changed after the defeats in the Balkans.

Every loss of territory during the decline period of the Empire created new problems about emigration. The Muslim and Turkish population was taken back from the ceded territories. The direction of migration had reverted: from outside to the inside. While the Muslim and the Turkish people had been sent to the new territories on the borders during the earlier successful years, with the setback of the Ottoman state in the 18th century, the route of the emigrants turned back to Anatolia. In fact, emigration and population transfers constituted the backbone of wars between Russia and Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Every defeat against Russia

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[100] Dündar, 2008, pp. 41-42

increased the number of the refugee Muslims running away from Russian army. Although the Ottoman government was reluctant about these emigrants at first, the harsh wartime situation changed the official approach to these emigrants. They were seen as potential soldiers and therefore they were implicitly or explicitly invited by the government. Especially the warrior Caucasians would be useful on the borderline of Russia. The Islamist policy of Abdülhamid was another reason of the increasing number of the Muslim migrants. He ordered to form a commission in 1897 to organize and encourage the Muslim migration to Anatolia from the Caucasians.[101] As a matter of fact, these Muslims became the last minute supporter of the Ottoman state who postponed the defeat of the Ottoman Empire to the powerful Russian army. They ran away from the Russian atrocity and were eager to fight against them. Although their national feelings were not dominant, a common Muslim identity was able to mobilize them.

The Muslim population was dramatically increased after these emigrants of Caucasian in 19th century. According to the Ottoman official archives, while the Muslims were 60 % of the whole in 1820, in 1890 their ratio was 76 %. The numbers of the emigrants are very high: 1.8 million Tatars between 1783 and 1922, 1.5 million Caucasian migrants between 1859 and 1879, and 2.1 million Balkan migrants between 1912 and 1914.[102] The accuracy of these numbers is arguable because of the lack of objective data, but they are enlightening for us to see how much the Ottoman population increased. Naturally, the new comers had to be settled. As the unoccupied lands reduced, the government turned to the lands of the non-Muslim people, who were seen as the betrayers. The Muslim migration from abroad began to push out the non-Muslim Ottomans. Population and settlement policies were of top priority. The

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[101] Ibid., pp.44-45

[102] Ibid., p.48. For the statistical picture of the emigrants, see: İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No.50, İstanbul, 1990, p.51 and Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914 )*:  Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikler,trans. by Bahar Tırnakçı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2003, p. 115

Empire had to deal with two things at the same time: the compelling wars outside and the oncoming population crisis inside. Within this conjuncture, at the turn of 20th century, the rising power of the state, the C.U.P. was going to determine the destiny of the Ottoman Empire with its population policy.

The population movements during the C.U.P. government can be seen as a part of "Turkification" which is a nation building project in the multiethnic Ottoman Empire. In fact Turkification was not a new concept for the C.U.P. governance after 1908. The education system and administration began to be Turkified during the period of Abdülhamid II, especially after 1895.[103] After the reformulation of the constitution in 1908, the representatives of the non-Muslim communities expressed their grievances about the pressures on them because of the "Turkification" in the Parliament.[104] Although the Young Turks were in pursuit of an Ottomanization policy during the years of the 2nd *Meşrutiyet*, it became a widespread idea that Turks were the dominant nation in the Ottoman Empire and the other nationalities should join into this dominant Turkish nation. Hence, between the 1908 and 1913 there was a centralization policy of the C.U.P. in which Ottomanism and Turkism walked hand in hand.

Turkification has two dimensions: First one is the geographical nationalization of particular areas in Anatolia to turn them into a basis where the nation-building project can be applied. In fact, this process distinguishes the center of the Ottoman from its peripheries. The second dimension deals with the question of which peoples and communities of the Ottoman Empire are to be included in this new nation-state.[105] This second process was a social engineering implemented by

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[103] Erol Ülker, "Contextualising 'Turkification' nation-building in the late Ottoman Empire: 1908-18", *Nations and Nationalism,* Vol. 11, No.4, 2005, p.614

[104] Ibid., pp.616-617

[105] Ibid., p.615

the state elites in Turkey. In fact, rather than a question of "who are the Turks?" the question was asked as "who should be the Turks?". This was an offset of the social engineering mission of the intellectuals and the bureaucrats which they undertook with the westernization and modernization period of the Ottoman Empire.[106] It was a reinterpretation of the Ottoman identity under the dominance of Turkishness. When the C.U.P. attacked *Bab-ı Ali* and got the whole administrative power in 1913 during last the days of the Balkan War, their Turkification policy had changed dramatically. Turkification became physically a policy to nationalize Anatolia as the base of a Turkish national core.[107]

Balkan Wars, which included Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro as a coalition, were the reason of the biggest loss of the territories in the Ottoman history. Only in few weeks, 83 % of the European territories and 69% of the European population were lost; and in return 300 thousands emigrant came to Anatolia.[108] There was a growing numbers of Turkish emigrants coming to Anatolia and narrowing territories centered in Anatolia. Conditions were no longer available for Ottomanism. Anatolia should be protected in order to continue the existence of the Turks. Islamisation and Turkification of the Anatolian territories were used by the C.U.P. to take a further step in a national construction.

Ethno-statistics, ethnographic maps and ethnographic researches were the instruments for Turkification of Anatolia. In fact, these activities were the most operative applications of the state on its nation during its nation-state construction.[109] These kinds of data about ethnography are very useful in determining a state's

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[106] Kadıoğlu, 2003, p.137

[107] Ülker, 2005, pp.616-617

[108] Dündar, 2008, p.61

[109] Ibid., p.85

national policy about regional or ethnic issues. The population movements were based on these data, too. This information about the Ottoman population was begun to be written for a long time. In order to arrange the taxes, there were *Tahrir* books in the Ottoman state until 1831. The only criterion was the religious differences, as a parallel idea to the *millet* system. Between 1831 and 1906 there were three census of population, which were because of the modernization and centralization efforts of the state. Although the 1831 census used only three religions to name the people, in the 1844 census there are 4 religious and 14 ethnic categories: Muslim, *Rum* Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish as religious categories and Turkish-Ottoman, Arab, Armenian, Albanian, Druze, *Rum*, Jewish, Kurdish, Romanian, Slav, Syrian-Keldani, Tatar, Turkmen and Gypsy. These censuses were not applied at one place at a certain time and therefore they were away from being trustable, but they reflect the changing approach of the state. The 1881-1893 census was the first modern one in which the women were counted as citizens. In this census there were 12 ethno-religious categories: Muslim, *Rum* Orthodox, Armenian, Bulgarian, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Latin, Monofizit, non-Muslim Gypsy, foreigner and others.[110] This census was interesting with its religious emphasis. We may analyze this categorization under the framework of the Islamist policy of Abdülhamid II. Instead of ethnicities, such as Turkish, Arab or Albanian, the Muslims were all unified under the Muslim class in the 1881-1893 census.

In the last census of 1906-1907 eight more groups were added: Kazak, Ulah, Maroni, Syrian, Samiriyeli, Yakubi, Yezidi, and Armenian Catholic.[111] These data had been an important tool of the C.U.P. to arrange the population movement in Anatolia. In fact, the representation ratios in the Ottoman Parliament were organized according to the numbers of the population. The first parliament had a 48 to 115 ratio of non-Muslims to the Muslims. As an ironic sign of ethnic nationalization of the

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[110] Ibid., pp.86-90

[111] Ibid., p.88

Ottomans, it is seen that after 1908 the non-Muslim deputies were no longer accepted as the representatives of the whole Ottoman society, but only their religious community.[112]

Although the Ottoman state stated the number of the *Rums* less than a million, between 1910 and 1912 the *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate made their own census and came up with different numbers. The announced population of the *Rums* population was 2.008.000.[113] It was 133 % of the official data of the Ottoman state. Obviously, both sides were aware of the power of demography in the region and tried to be the advantageous group. It is still impossible to know which one of the censuses was correct, but it can be estimated that the *Rum* population in 1913 would be probably around 1.5 million.

In 1913, when the C.U.P. came to power with an unlimited power, the Turkification of Anatolia began to accelerate by the population movements. To raise the Muslim population on the regions where the non-Muslims were the majority became the main aim of the state. The main aim of this strategy was to uphold the *Rums'* assimilation in to Turkish culture on the one hand and not to allow gathering of the same ethnic group in a region, on the other.[114] The ethnographic pictures of villages, cities or provinces were drastically changed by the army and the state. In fact, the 2nd Balkan War was stimulated by these population policies of the Ottoman state and they responded in a similar way.

During those clumsy days of the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman state was in a pursuit of nationalizing Anatolia in order to construct a home for the Ottoman Turks.

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[112] Ibid., pp.94-96

[113] Quoted from Alexis Alexandris, "The Greek Census of Anatolia and Thrace (1910-1912): A Contribution to Ottoman Historical Demography", in D. Gondicas and C. Issawi (eds.), New Jersey: Darwin Press Princeton University, pp.45-76 quoted in Ibid., p.108

[114] Ülker, 2005, p.627

Enver Paşa, Talat Paşa and Cemal Paşa were the three important leaders of the C.U.P. who shaped the policies of the Ottoman state. Talat Paşa, who was used to be a postman, became the Minister of Internal Affairs, was well remembered with his several dramatic decisions about population movements.

In the 1913 Parliament, it was decided to form the General Emigrant Commission Administration (*İdari-i Umumiyye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu*) to deal with the migration issues. The coming Muslim population and the going non-Muslims were mentioned as this Commission's responsibility. The flow was in two folds: The *muhacirs* (emigrants), the non-Muslim Greeks and Bulgarians, were migrating to the west and the *göçebeler* (refugees), the Muslims of the Balkans, were migrating from the west to east. The C.U.P. was seeking to settle the Muslims into the places of the non-Muslim emigrants. Therefore, "hardworking and Turkish" people were asked from the Balkans. At the same time, the *Rum* population was forced to move from the seaside to the inner places of Anatolia. [115] In fact, to enclose the Greek population inside Anatolia and cut their links with Greece became the part of a strategic plan of the C.U.P. The most powerful neighboring nation-state was Greece, which was announcing its irredentist ideals about uniting the territories and the peoples of the Roman Empire.

In 1913, only few months before the Ottoman inclusion into the World War I, the city of Edirne was taken from Bulgaria. Taking Edirne was strategically important for the C.U.P. in order to protect İstanbul. The capital city should not be on the borderlines because of some security issues. The agreement with Bulgaria mostly shaped the picture of the Balkan boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Neither Thessalonica nor Macedonia was any more at the agenda of the C.U.P. Thereafter,

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[115] Dündar, 2008, pp.178-179

whole attention can be given to Anatolia, the cradle of the Ottoman state and the homeland of its Turkish stock.[116]

The first population exchange was done with Bulgaria according to the protocol in 1913. The mixed commission decided to exchange 48.570 Muslims from Bulgaria with 46.764 Bulgarians from Anatolia. Although the numbers were pretty close to each other, the outcomes were different for each country. While the Bulgarian existence in Anatolia was almost diminished, the Muslim population in Bulgaria was not influenced much. Moreover, these Muslims were settled in Edirne to increase the Muslim population in the region to protect İstanbul. The Bulgarian population was sent to Bulgaria and it was a successful step for the C.U.P in Turkification of Anatolia. Hence, as the head of the Parliament Halil Menteşe put, now it was the turn of the *Rum*'s.[117]

1913 was important for the C.U.P. for another reason, too. The Committee moved from Macedonia to İstanbul. *Heyet-i Merkeziye,* whole members, armed bands, army officers, statesmen, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* and nearly 270 thousands of emigrants came to İstanbul and Anatolia. They were pulled off from their homes and experienced the Greek coercion. Their anti-Greek feelings fed with Turkification project and the movement turned its route to the *Rums* in Anatolia and the Greeks on the Aegean islands. Greece turned into great threat for the Ottoman state when they began to invade these islands since 1912. Hundreds miles away Greece came close; only 21 miles to Anatolia. Moreover, although the Ottoman Empire lost 80 % of its European territories and 16 % of its population, Greece doubled its territories and population. In 1907, Greece was a 2.103.038 populated country on 63.211 km

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[116] Ülker, 2005, p.624

[117] Dündar, 2008, pp.190-191

squares, but in 1913, it became a 4.734.990 populated country with a 121.794 km squares.[118]

The expansion of Greece and their irredentism was threatening Anatolia. There were many non-Muslims on the Ottoman territories, but only the *Rum* community had a separate nation-state out there. Moreover, the *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate was in İstanbul which can be the head of an Orthodox uprising in the Ottoman Empire. Although the power of the Patriarchate was limited, its spiritual prestige was widespread among the Orthodox community on the Ottoman territories and in the other Orthodox countries of the Balkans. Thus, Greeks became political and social threats according to the C.U.P. Besides, the Greeks had an economic power because of their trade, finance and merchandise capability. They were privileged by the capitulations and were supported by the great powers of Europe. The Galata bankers were mainly from the *Rum millet* and financing credits to the Ottoman state to pay the external debts. The idea of the Young Turks was clear: the national economy was to be led by a Turkish bourgeoisie that would replace the Greek and Armenian commercial classes that had long dominated the Ottoman economy.[119] Next to their political potential, the economic power of the Greeks made the Ottoman bureaucracy to rethink about the sudden rise of the *Rums* in the country and the Greeks in the Greek Kingdom. Anatolia should be isolated from these kinds of threats and while the clashing interests were escalating tension in Europe, the Ottoman statesmen had to construct a secured shelter for the Muslim Turks in Anatolia. The secured Anatolia means Turkified territories, in terms of demography, politics and economy.

The first *Rum* populations' movement began in Thrace. The territories between the capital and the boundaries in Thrace should be filled with "loyal"

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[118] Ibid., p.192

[119] Ülker, 2005, p.622

citizens. This was a military strategy during the wartime. By Turkification of the Ottoman Thrace, the Balkan states' territory requests depending on ethnic excuses could be hindered. The scope of the demographic engineering was shifted to the rest of the Ottoman territories, when the World War began in 1914. According to the İstanbul consul of Greece, in the first three weeks of 1914, nearly 30.000 *Rum* emigrated from Anatolia. The *Rums* left their villages because of intimidation or coercion. Many *Rum* villages were accused to support *Rum* bandits or not sending their children to army service. Either these accusations were true of false, the outcome was the same: they had to leave their homes and properties in order to save their lives. Another way to get rid of the *Rums* was to settle the Muslim Balkan refugees to the *Rum* areas. These Muslims were already negative to the Greeks because of their previous experiences in Macedonia and they automatically began to push out the *Rums* from these villages. In fact, the C.U.P. used the Muslim refugees as an excuse during diplomatic negotiations with foreign states and the responsibility was charged to them. The C.U.P. claimed that these expulsions were not organized by the state but they were separate activities of the Muslim refugees.[120]

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[120] Dündar, 2008, pp.195-196, 207-210

DH.ŞFR 46.57

Bab-ı Âli
Dahiliye Nezareti
Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti
Numro 50
Şifre

Edirne Vilayeti'ne
Rum muhecaratı Yunanistan'a karşı bir vesile-i tehdit olarak isti'mal
[kullanma] edildiğine bu hususda tebligat-ı mahsuse vukuna kadar vila-
yet dahilindeki Rumların muhaceretine katiyen müsaade olunmaması. Fi
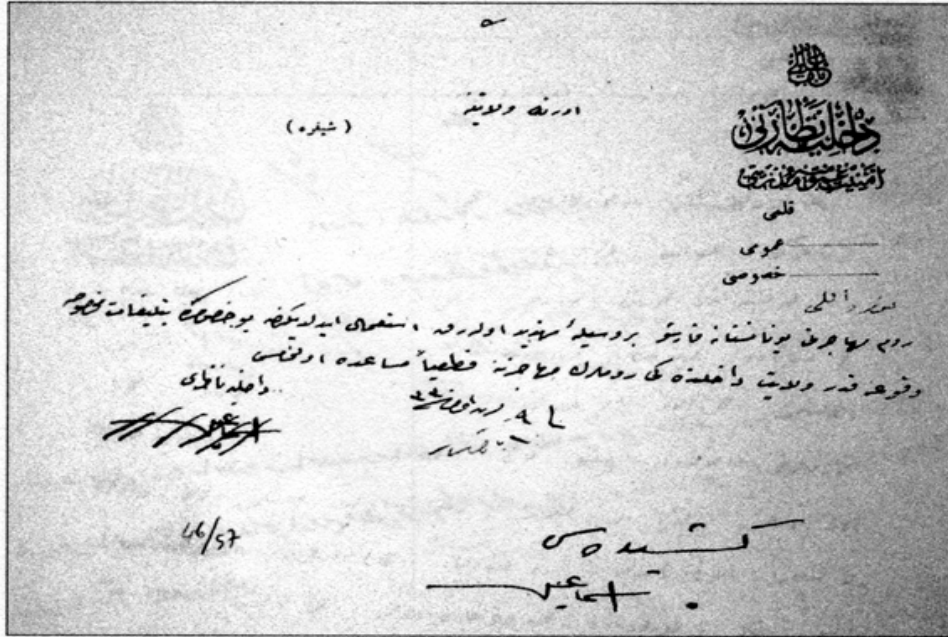9 Teşrin-i evvel sene 330 [22 Ekim 1914].
Dahiliye Nazırı



**Figure 2**

**Talat Paşa's Telegram on October 22, 1914**

**(In Turkish)**

DH.ŞFR 46.57

The Sublime Port

Ministry of Internal Affairs

Directorate of General Security

No 50

Cryptic

To Edirne Province

Since Greek emigration is used as a cause of threat against Greece, unless a special official notification issued on the matter, the Greek population resident in the province should not be allowed to migrate by no means. 9 Teşrin-i evvel year 330 (22 October 1914).

Minister of Internal Affairs

**Figure 2 continued**

**(In English)**

**Source:** Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008, p.283, The original and Turkish version of the telegram was taken from Dündar, translation in English was made by the author of the thesis.

In few months, the Turkification of Anatolia turned into organized activities. The *Rum* villages are the number one target for the Turkification.[121] With the order of Talat and Enver Paşas an ethnic report of Anatolia was prepared by Eşref Kuşçubaşı, an important member of *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*. In this report, the methods of "nationalization" of these *gavur* (infidel) areas of the *Rums* were explained. The numbers of the *Rums* in Ayvalık, Çanakkale, İzmir, Urla and Aydın were given and they were designated as "the biggest threat" for the Turks in the region during the war. The previous target was put as to wipe out the *Rums* from the railway of İstanbul-Milas.[122] However, when the World War was on heat, these *Rum* citizens turned into another strategic tool. These non-Muslims which the Ottoman state was trying to get rid of for several years, now became the trump card of the Turks in front of Greece. The bilateral bargaining between the Ottoman state and Greece was centered on demographic issues. As can be seen in the above telegram, which were sent by Talat Paşa to Edirne in 1914, the *Rum* population was defined as *vesile-tehdit* (tool of threat) against Greece.

According to Stephen Ladas, in 1914, 115.000 *Rums* were driven out of the Ottoman Thrace to Greece. 85.000 *Rum* had to move in to the interior of Anatolia and 150.000 of them were expelled from the coastal line of western Anatolia and ran away to the shores of Greece.[123]

Turkification of Anatolia was not limited with population movements. The economy should be nationalized. One of the classical means of the C.U.P. was boycott. After the Greek invasion of the Aegean islands, both the Greeks of Greece and the *Rums* were boycotted. According to a 1914 report this boycott contained both

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[121] Ülker, 2005, p.625

[122] Dündar, 2008, pp.197-199

[123] Stephen Ladas, *The Balkan Exchanges of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, New York: Macmillan, 1932, p.16

a reaction against the Greek or *Rum* goods and refusal of *Rum* employees. This boycott began in İzmir in 1914 and expanded to the interior places of Anatolia. The General Consul of Britain, H.D. Bernham informed London about the boycott and said: "This boycott was a direct outcome of the C.U.P. policies. The Committee members were agitating people everywhere."[124]

When the World War began, the Ottoman state had to divide some of the central responsibilities because of technical deficiency. On September 15, 1915 *Meclis-i Mebusan* accepted the Ottoman army as an authorized organ to evacuate any settlement, Muslim or non-Muslim.[125] Hence, the local army officers were free to decide the population movements. The population movements rose with this new arrangement. The local statesmen and the soldiers were able to decide any evacuation in the region.

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[124] Quoted from Foreign Office, 195/2458, p.212 quoted in Dündar, 2008, p.205

[125] Quoted from Y.H. Bayur, *Türk Inklap Tarihi*, vol.3, Ankara, 1957, pp.40-42 quoted in Ibid., pp.190

DH.ŞFR 54.118

Bab-ı Âli
Dahiliye Nezareti
Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti
Şifre

Edirne (55), Hüdavendigar (41) Vilayetleriyle Karesi (32) ve Çanakkale (20) Mutasarrıflıklarına

Marmara havzasında sahilden 1 saat mesafede bulunan köylerde sakin Rum ahalinin dahile celbine Başkumandanlık vekalet-i celilesince lüzum-u kati gösterilmekte bulunmasına binaen liva/vilayet sahillerindeki köyler hakkında olvechle muamele ifa ve inbası Fî 10 Haziran sene 331 [23 Haziran 1915].
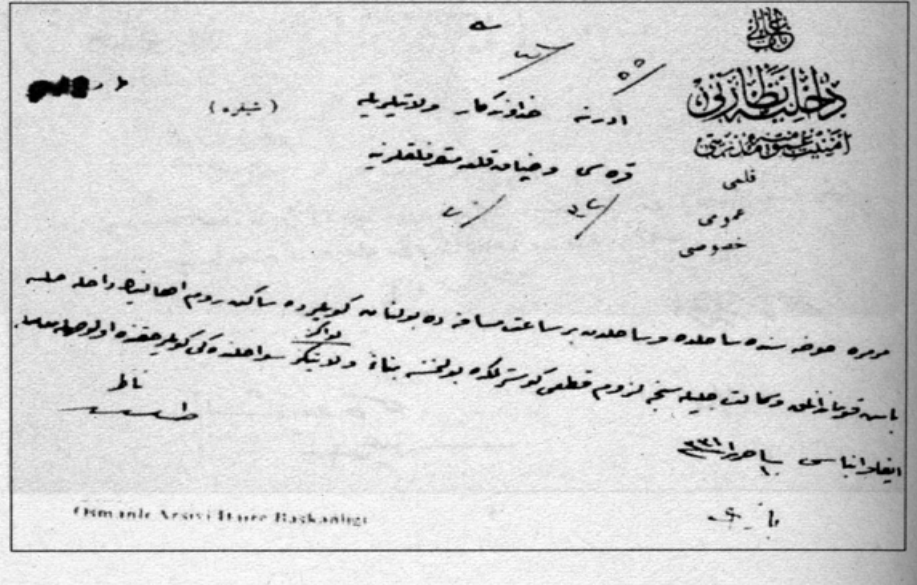
Nazır
Talat [Paşa]



**Figure 3**

**Talat Paşa's Telegram on June 23, 1913**

**(In Turkish)**

DH.ŞFR 54.118

The Sublime Port

Ministry of Internal Affairs

Directorate of General Security

Cryptic


To the directors of the provinces of Edirne (55), Hüdavendigar (41) and the districts of Karesi (32) and Çanakkale (20)

Since it was a definitive necessity by decree of the high authority of the Supreme Command to transfer the Greek people resident in the villages that are one hour far from the coast in the Marmara basin, into the inland regions; procedure on all coastal villages in the aforementioned provinces and districts should be taken accordingly. 10 June 331 (June 23 1915).


Minister

Talat (Paşa)

**Figure 3 Continued**

**(In English)**

**Source**: Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008, p.284, Translation in English was made by the author of the thesis. The original and Turkish version of the telegram was taken from Dündar; translation in English was made by the author of the thesis.

As can be seen from the above telegram, on June 1915, Talat Paşa ordered to move all of the *Rum* populations who were living on the area one hour away from the Marmara sea line and settle them to the inner places of Anatolia. The reason was simple: to hinder any support from the sea to the enemies (Greeks). Moreover, Anatolia could be surrounded by "loyal" Muslim-Turks, instead of "betrayer" *Rums*.

The population movements affected thousands of people in the Balkans and Anatolia. The numbers were varied for each source, but the point is that demographic composition of Anatolia was dramatically changed with these ethnic purification policies. Besides, the demographic measures were united with some linguistic ones. With an order of Enver Paşa on January 5, 1916, all the non-Turkish names of the villages, cities, mountains, rivers or any other geographical locations were changed into Turkish.[126] To change the non-Turkish names into Turkish was an important step in nationalization of the symbols. As many nationalism writer emphasized, these names are the symbolizing the culture of the society. The C.U.P. was no more tolerating the non-Muslim cultural symbols in Anatolia. To construct the necessary nation of the state, all the conditions should be arranged according to nationalist terms. The most institutionalized, prospered and powerful non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, *Rums* were the main target of this arrangement. Hence, the population growth of İzmir between 1914 and 1917 is remarkable. While the Turks were increased about 9.5 % and the other subjects (Catholics, Protestants, Latins, Assyrians and Bulgarians) 6.9 %, the population of the Orthodox *Rums* was decreased 34.2 %, when the First World War was about to end.[127]

Turkification policy of the C.U.P. affected the Armenians, too. Many of them were exiled from their places to the southern Anatolia and Syria. Most of them were

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[126] Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları: 1919-1938*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. pp.82-83

[127] Engin Berber, *Sancılı Yıllar: İzmir 1918-1922, Mütareke ve Yunan İşgali Döneminde İzmir Sancağı*, Ankara: Ayraç Kitabevi, 1997, pp.61-62

dead during the transportation. In fact, this issue was very controversial and there is huge literature about it. Obviously, those years were not easy for millions of Armenians. They were the victims of ethnic purification. The Armenians movement was ended with a disaster and many people were dead. Obviously, thousands of Armenians suffered from the state policy. Because of this and many others, the Armenian exile has been a more popular topic in international relations and domestic politics. However, it is a fact that the C.U.P. was more careful about the population movements of the Greeks, their role in diplomatic negotiations and their economic power. The most distinctive feature of the Greeks for the Ottoman state was the existence of a Greek state, which was once a *Millet* of the Empire. Hence, the Turkish national identification was attentively focused on the Orthodox Greeks in the Ottoman and in Greece. As long as the Greek state was strengthening its national identity, the C.U.P. was "Othering" the Greeks inside. Moreover, Greece had been using "otherization" of the Turks for years. The Ottoman statesmen did not want these Greeks in Anatolia, since their being would be a trump for Greece and a challenge for the national unification.

The population movements and Turkification were mixed with the war conjuncture. It would be hard to find reliable data about those days. But it is clear that the ethnocentric vision of the C.U.P. changed a lot in Anatolia. The Muslim Turkish subjects had been gathered within a demographic strategy and civic nationalism was visible only in official documents. The documents of the evidences of Turkification were limited with several speculations and oral historiography. The cryptical telegrams of Talat Paşa, which includes some orders about population movements or Turkification, had been strictly hidden in state archives for a long time. Recently, some historians or journalists were able to reach some of the documents and the misty years of the C.U.P. were enlightened a little bit. When Murat Bardakçı began to publish "Talat Paşa'nın Kara Kaplı Defteri" (Talat Paşa's Black Covered Book) in 2006 in the newspaper *Hürriyet,* the debates gained

different character.[128] Many interpretations were made about the documents in it. Some claimed the book as the proof of "massacres" or "forced emigration", while others saw it as the temporary plans of population movements. In either way, it is obvious that the C.U.P. had a great interest in demographic data, the places of the non-Muslims and the ethnic ratios in Anatolia. With a good intend, because of despair or conscious assimilation policy; there had been population movements in Anatolia and thousand of people were influenced.

The reasons of the ethnic arrangements of the C.U.P. can be explained by several points. One of them is that the Turkish decision makers were still under the influence of the European thinkers and leaders, and their nationalism ideas. The civic nationalism could still find room in political rhetoric but there was a growing influence of the Germans in the country. The influence was not limited with military, powerful state over an invulnerable nation idea became an ideal for the C.U.P. Moreover, newly founding nation-states were all in hurry to homogenize their ethnic structures. Yet, the Ottoman heritage full of plurality was threatening the unique structure of the state. Ethnic or religious plurality could make the situation hard for the state to control the people. Beside this domestic threat, these minorities can turn into a trump card of the enemies in diplomatic arena under the rhetoric of protecting the minority rights. Especially the Greeks fit into this scenario because of the existence of a strengthening Greek nation-state next to the country. The Balkans became an area of an ethnic chaos and the states were looking for of ethnic purification. These factors cannot be forgotten in an analysis about the ethnic policy of the C.U.P...

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[128] This book was written by Ayşegül Bafralı, the grand daughter of Hayriye Talat, who was the wife of Talat Paşa, and was given to Bardakçı. The documentary online series of Murat Bardakçı in Hürriyet newspaper, E-source is available at:
http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=4306451&yazarid=28 (accessed 22 April 2007)

The population movements were one of the last activities of the C.U.P. and the new Republican Turkey had to deal with the outcomes of this activity. In fact, the modern Turkish national identity has been trying to solve these problems inherited from the last term of the Ottoman identity. Its life had started even with a population exchange with Greece, according to the Treaty of Lausanne. Some discriminatory events were experienced in Turkey against the Greek population, such as the 6-7 September or the Wealth Tax. In this sense, it is possible to say that the distrust to the non-Muslim Greeks which arouse during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire still has an echo in modern Turkey; moreover, Islam became a useful tool for some economic or political policies of the state. However, Turkey is not an Islamic state or a Shariat, at all. Discrimination is strictly forbidden officially, but it is not easy to erase the mindsets of the people.

This chapter was constructed upon the survey of understanding the transformation of the Ottoman identity to the Turkish identity. The process was tough. The shift from a multi-religious and multi-ethnic structure of the 600-years old Ottoman Empire to a secular Turkish nation-state was not easy case for the Ottoman Turks. Many issues had been discusses and many things had done during the identification of Turkishness. This chapter gave an overall picture of the whole process. Three ideologies; Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism were discussed according to their modernization aims and how the Turkism appeared as the most appropriate choice for the Ottoman Turks was scrutinized. Within this perspective, the intellectual background of the process and the fruitful debates about the definition of Turkishness was discussed according to ethnic and religious stand of the Young Turks and the C.U.P. To this end, the exclusion of the Greeks from state bureaucracy and rising prejudices about them were described as one of the dynamics of Turkish national identity formation. In the last part of the chapter, how did constructing a national state upon Turkish ideal influence the Greek minority during the period of Balkan Wars, was examined via looking into the population movement

policy of the C.U.P. Although the last part, underlines this movement as an ethnic and religious policy, the Turkish nationalists' civilizational and modern approach was emphasized, as well. Turkish nationalism was drawn as a pendulum swinging between ethnic and civic tendencies. After underlining the causes of this duality in this chapter, the modern Turkish Republic is going to be the topic of the next chapter and the evolution of Turkish nationalism and recent developments about the Greek otherization will be discussed.

# CHAPTER 5

# TURKISH REPUBLIC

The early formation of Turkish national identity was summarized and analyses of its theoretical and practical dimensions were provided in the previous chapter. In this chapter nation building process of the Republican Turkey will be analyzed. The World War I and the developments after it will be discussed within this chapter, since its consequences have deeply influenced the Republican Turkey. Furthermore the pre-war alliances and the post-war treaties had significant role in the foundation of Republican Turkey. Within this context, the Turkish War of Independence will be reread along with the provocative impact of the Greeks on Anatolian people. It will be stated as the conclusion of the chapter that the Greek invasion of Western Anatolia became the boiling point of the Greek otherization for the Turks. As a consequence of this war, Greeks were seen as a possible threat for territorial unity. The systematic erasing of the Greek past from Turkish history and formulation of Turkish citizenship in line with this perception will be the next topic of the chapter. Upon this basis, the domestic issues about the Greek minority in Turkey and some discriminatory events will be scrutinized as well. Then, in the last part of the chapter selected issues in Turkish-Greek relations will be examined in order to illuminate the otherization perception of Turkey regarding its foreign affairs interests. The domestic and foreign affairs of Turkey will be grounded on the hitherto analysis of Turkish national identity formation and contemporary problems will be analyzed according to this background.

Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire has spread to a lengthy period. Throughout this long process projects to rescue the Ottoman state and also creating a new one instead of it went hand in hand. Nobody was certain about the outcomes, but everybody was aware of the ongoing transformation on social, political and economic structures in and outside the Empire. The multi-faceted transformation of these years laid the roots of the Turkish Republic. It was not only an intellectual project, but also a socio-economic project of restructuring. There was a radical disorder in the country that blockaded the process to found a new order. Next to the internal troubles, the partition plans of the Ottoman territories by several states were the other side of the problems to be solved. However, the partition plans about the "sick man" had to wait for few years because of another threat: the Germans.

The C.U.P. was dealing with these problems when the world was standing on the edge of the First World War. Germany was challenging the hegemony of the great powers; Britain, France and Russia. One of the bloodiest wars of the history found its reason to break out when the archduke of Austria was assassinated by a Serbian nationalist on June 28, 1914. The major great powers of the world entered into the war around two military alliances: the Entente powers, or Allies, and the Central Powers. France, Russia and the United Kingdom formed the Triple Entente alliance. Many other countries, such as Canada, Australia, Italy, Japan, Portugal and the US later joined the Entente side as the war went on. The German Empire, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire were the four participants of the Central Powers.

In fact, there was an ambiguity among the Ottoman statesmen about the choice between the Allies or the Central Powers. Historically and ideologically, Britain and France were closer to the Ottoman intellectuals, but the strategic estimations of the C.U.P. leaders directed the Ottoman Empire to Germany. After the secret agreement, which was signed on August 2, 1914, between the German military

delegation and some of the Ottoman statesmen (Enver, Talat, Sait Halim and Halil Menteşe),[1] the Ottoman Empire suddenly found itself in the world war.

The war had a dramatic impact on the Empire. The C.U.P. became the only power in the country because there were no longer appropriate conditions for any type of criticisms. Hence, the C.U.P. was able to apply its program about modernization or *muasırlaşma* in the war years. Secularization was one an important part of this program. Although the Islamic identity was a common criterion to define the Turkishness during ethnic purification in Anatolia, there was a rising inclination towards secularization. Actually, the ongoing nationalization process had a deep secular inclination. Yet, the uprising of the Arabs against the Empire under the leadership of Sheriff Hussein erased the last hopes about the power of Islam and the Ottoman Caliphate over the Muslim world. The most important attempt of secularization has come in 1916. All the *Shariat* courts were separated from the Sheikh-ul Islam and attached to the Ministry of Law. In 1917 the 13-day difference between the *Rumi*[2] and *Miladi*[3] calendars was removed and therefore, while another sign of the Islamic culture was eliminated, it became easier to catch up with the western calendar. Another secular reform was made with a new legislation of *Medaris-i İlmiye Hakkında Kanun* (Law about the Religious Schools) in 1917 which ordered these schools to turn into modern education systems. Positive sciences were included into the curriculum. Further reforms were also in the agenda. For example,

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[1] Sina Akşin, *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007, p.94

[2] *Rumi* calander was began to be used by the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanzimat* reforms. The calendar based on the Julian calendar, but it accepts the year 622, the emigration of Muhammed, as the starting point. Republican Turkey replaced this calendar by the *Miladi* calendar in 1925.

[3] *Miladi* or Gregorian calender is the internationally accepted calender, which modified the leap year problems of the Julian calender.

the change of the alphabet of Turkish would be the next step in the secularization of the system, however, this reform and the others had to wait for more years.[4]

Next to these domestic issues, the C.U.P. had more vital problems to deal with. The Ottoman army was about to lose on each front line, except for the successful defense in Çanakkale. On September 19, 1918 British forces had launched a large scale attack against Ottoman troops in Palestine. The south front line of the Ottoman army was shattered and the front line commander Liman von Sanders ordered to withdraw back to the south of Damascus. However, the commander of the 7th army corps, Mustafa Kemal who was under von Sanders' command withdrew up to the northern part of Syria. He had grounded his excuse on the fact that the priority was not to defend the Arabs but to defend the Turkish Anatolia.[5] Obviously, the Arabs were charged off in the eyes of the Turks. The Ottomanism or protecting the Ottoman boundaries was no longer functional. Anatolia became the most important asset of the state to protect. This approach could be associated with the rise of Turkish nationalism among the statesmen. Mustafa Kemal unconsciously drew the lines of the Turkish nation-state's boundaries with his disobedience to von Sanders. Moreover, it was one of the milestone in his career after which he became the front-line commander in the place of von Sanders, who quit from his duty because of his descending reliability.

After the inclusion of the USA in the war next to the Allies, the war ended in approximately a year. The Central Powers were ready to sign cease-fire agreements. The USA president Wilson was announced as the mediator between two sides during the process of the agreements. He declared that he would be happy to be on the side of the defeated countries of the war as long as they were represented by democratic governments instead of the authoritarian regimes. This speech changed the whole

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[4] Akşin, 2007, pp.107-108

[5] Ibid., p.113

atmosphere in the Central Powers. Their citizens, who had suffered from the long and devastating days of war, began to protest the dynastic regimes of their countries. The Bulgarian king and German and Austrian-Hungarian emperors were all made resigned. The imperial systems of Europe were abandoned or, at least, the emperors had to leave their thrones in some countries.[6] Not only the governments, but also the overall panorama of Europe was changing dramatically. The old imperial systems were no longer welcomed in the modern world. The bells were ringing for the Ottoman Empire. Even the alliance history of the Ottoman state with the western European powers was not enough for Britain or France to give up their plans about the partition of the Ottoman Empire.

The Allies and the Ottoman Empire signed Mondros Armistice (Moudros) on October 30, 1918. After the Armistice, İstanbul, East Thrace, Mosul, Hatay, Antalya, Çukurova and some other important places were invaded by the Allied armies. Moreover British, French and Italian invasions had begun in many parts of Anatolia. Apart from some insignificant reactions against these occupations, people were generally seemed to be inert and non-reacting. However, this relative quietness had overtly changed with the occupation of İzmir by the Greeks.

The triumphant leaders of the World War I have met at the Paris Peace Conference on January 18, 1919. They came up with a series of treaties with the defeated states of the war. Treaty of Sévres, through which the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire would be expired, was prepared during this conference. The plans of the Allies about the "sick man" were devastating for the Ottoman Empire. Yet, the Ottoman state and the people were expecting a broad intervention of the Great Powers. Even though how insulting it was, the Europeans' invasion and even colonization were not seen totally fatal by the Anatolian people. It was somehow

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[6] Ibid., pp.114-115

accepted as a progressive step of civilization. Moreover, there were some intellectuals who were crying out the advantages of being a colony of a great power.

However, everybody was shocked with a surprising decision taken at the Paris Peace Conference. There were rumors at the Conference about the Ottoman Turkification policy over the Greek people of Anatolia which made the attendants believe in the thesis of the Greeks. Moreover, the Italians who had similar aspirations as the Greeks to invade İzmir did not attend the Conference. Hence, the Greeks convinced the Great Powers to give permission for their invasion of the city of İzmir in the name of the Allies. Although there were British, Italian and French troops all over Anatolia, the Greek existence in İzmir has different connotations for the Anatolian people. They were not seen as a "modern" civilization which was able to be the masters of Anatolian peninsula. The *millet* system was not totally forgotten. The Muslims could not digest the idea of the Greek colonization especially because the Orthodox Greek community had lived under the rule of the Ottoman state for centuries. Moreover, the World War was lost to the Great Powers, not to Greece.

Hence, it is not wrong to say that when the Greek troops landed in İzmir on May 15, 1919, they triggered a nationwide resistance in Anatolia. Put it differently, the Turkish War of Independence started on the very day of the Greek invasion of İzmir. Most of the Greek people in İzmir were seemed to be enthusiastic about the developments. They met the Greek soldiers with applauses and greetings. Their partiality was not unexpected for the Anatolian people. It became clear that the Greek citizens were ready to be on the other side. Thereafter, the Greek people of Anatolia became the number one "enemy inside us" for the Turkish independence movement.[7] On the other hand, Turks were confused about the Greek soldiers' existence in İzmir. The Ottoman state or local governors were not doing anything,

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[7] M. Çağatay Okutan, *Tek Parti Döneminde Azınlık Politikaları*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004, p.66

except just waiting. But this quietness did not last very long. Hasan Tahsin (1888-1919), who was a journalist and a member of *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, was the first to open fire on the Greek soldier who was carrying the Greek flag. Tahsin was shot by the Greek soldiers immediately. The protests increased in few days and therefore, the safety measures of the Greeks have become firmer. It is significant to remember that although the Allies have suggested the Greeks to move slowly and to calm down, the Greek statesmen's excited announcements about the accomplishment of Pan-Hellenism and their territorial expansion irritated the people of Anatolia. Consequently, the Greek invasion turned into a national war.

Obviously, the main reason of the Turkish War of Independence was the deep trauma and the psychological breakdown of the "Dominant *Millet*" (*Millet-i Hakime*) after the unexpected occupation of the old "Loyal *Millets*" (*Millet-i Sadıka*), the Greeks and the Armenians, while there was an implicit acceptance of the hegemony of the Great Powers (*Düvel-i Muazzama*) in Anatolia.[8] There might have been another type of an Independence War in Anatolia but probably it would take a long time to organize a national resistance. The Greek invasion of İzmir and later some parts of the Aegean region was the inflammatory reason of an abrupt organization in Anatolia. In order to reject the occupation of the Greeks on an intellectual basis, *Redd-i İlhak Cemiyeti* (Rejection of the Occupation Association) was founded and expanded all around the Aegean region. The protest meetings were organized in İzmir, İstanbul and other cities. The notables financially supported to form a civil army, *Kuvay-ı Milliye* (National Forces) and this army would play an important role in the Turkish War of Independence.[9]

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[8] Şaban Çalış, *Hayaletbilimi ve Hayali Kimlikler: Neo-Osmanlıcılık, Özal ve Balkanlar*, Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2001, p.62

[9] Akşin, 2007, p.125

This reaction of the Anatolian people against the Greek invasion, while there were other Allied powers in Anatolia, has showed the psychology of the Turks towards the Greeks. In other words, the Greeks' being the "significant other" of the Turks reached to its peak point when the Greek military troops landed in İzmir. Hence, it can be said that the Turkish War of Independence was waged because of the reaction to the Greeks, not to the other powers, the British, the French or the Italians. Although this argument is a verifying data for the main argument of this study, ignoring the diplomatic battle between the Great Powers and the İstanbul and later Ankara would be a mistake. Turkish political leaders, on the one hand, resisted the partition plans of the Great Powers while a war had been continuing between the Greek and the Turkish armies.

The debate about the structure of the War is important to mention at this point. On the one side of the debate, there were some intellectuals who have argued that the Turkish War of Independence was actually a war between the Greeks and the Turks, which could not be defined as a war against the imperial powers. İdris Küçükömer, Kemal Tahir, Sevan Nişanyan and Mehmet Altan are the well-known defenders of this argument. The novelist and political writer Kemal Tahir's imagined character of Doctor Münir was the voice of Tahir's ideas in his novel, *Yol Ayrımı*. Doctor Münir told to the journalist Murat that the war was not a national independence war, which has been a cliché used by the dominant ideology of the Republic, but rather, it was an Anatolian-Greek War as one of those thousands of war between the East and West. According to Doctor Münir, it would be incorrect to name this war as a national war because the national unity of Anatolia had never been lost.[10] İdris Küçükömer carried the debate to a more political arena and said that the Turkish War of Independence was neither an anti-imperialist nor an anti-

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[10] Kemal Tahir, *Yol Ayrımı*, İstanbul: Sander Yayınları, 1971, pp. 437-438

capitalist conflict; it was a Turkish-Greek war.[11] Although Küçükömer's argument has pointed out the importance of the clash between the Turkish and Greek sides, its main aim was to revisit the ideological and political structure of the War of Independence. Beside these Turkish writers, Herkül Millas underlined the fact that Turkish and Greek nations were both fought against each other in their national wars and they turned into mutual "national enemies".[12]

The nationalist faction that sees the War of Independence as a conflict between the Turks and the imperial great powers exists on the other side of this debate. For instance, Turkish historian, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir did believe in the anti-imperial character of the War as one of the other anti-imperialist fights of the East against the imperial states. He attempted to verify his thesis through a glimpse to the signatories of the Lausanne Treaty which was signed after the Turkish War of Independence. Instead of the Greek government, especially the British and French governments were the main addresses of the Turkish government during the negotiations of the Lausanne Treaty.[13] According to this argument, which has also been part of the official history of modern Turkey, the victory of the Turks could not be reduced to a regional war between the Turks and Greeks.

Consequently, this argument is very practical for this dissertation to show the significant place of the Greeks in the Turkish War of Independence. The otherization of the Greeks during this war was obvious that even some men of thought claimed to

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[11] İdris Küçükömer had opened a new debate in Turkish political terminology about the "left" and "right". His argument about the Independence War was a part of this debate. He explained his thoughts about the War of Independence in the Milliyet Newspaper on 28 October 1973 in a discussion article of "Düşünenlerin Forumu" (Forum of the Thinkers). For a more detailed analysis see: İdris Küçükömer, *Düzenin Yabancılaşması Batılılaşma*, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınlar, 2007 and İdris Küçükömer, *Sivil Toplum Yazıları*, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994

[12] Herkül Millas, *Türk Yunan İlişkilerine Bir Önsöz: Tencere Dibin Kara...*, İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, 1989, p.21

[13] Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993 (1932), esp. chp.7

change the name of the Turkish War of Independence to the Turkish-Greek War. However, such kind of demands could be radical facing the power of the dominant ideology in Turkey. Main objective of this dissertation is solely to underline the importance of the Greek "otherization" in Anatolia which fired the flame of the national resistance.

Turning back to the details of the Turkish national resistance in Anatolia, we see that it was led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later named Atatürk), who had been distinguished with his military skills, especially at the Battle of Çanakkale. The national resistance became slowly gathered around this relatively young army officer. When he stepped ashore in Samsun on May 19, 1919, only four days after the Greek invasion, he was acting as the army inspector of the Ottoman government. However, in few days his position had shifted dramatically. From being a soldier of the Ottoman state, he turned into a Turkish leader who would lead the establishment of a new state.

On April 23, 1920, *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (Turkish Grand National Assembly) was founded and Mustafa Kemal was chosen as its first chairman. With the formation of TBMM a two-headed state structure has automatically emerged. However, İstanbul was still seen as the counterpart by the invaders. Thus, the peace agreement to be signed with the Ottoman state has been prepared by the Allies and was delivered to the representatives of the İstanbul government on May 11, 1920. The agreement would be named as the Treaty of Sévres, which would also represent an important landmark in Turkish Independence because of its severe conditions. Although the İstanbul government and the Allies had signed the Treaty on August 10, 1920, its conditions were never applied and then the Treaty of Sévres was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Apart from its heavy financial and military clauses, conditions of Sévres Treaty were generally about the partitioning of the Ottoman territories. In short, except for some central and northern parts, Anatolia was partitioned among the Allies. Beside the Great Powers, Greece was the other

participant of the Treaty who seemed to be very advantageous in the partitioning. East Thrace, up to the Çatalca, was ceded to Greece with islands of Imbros and Tenedos, and the islands of Marmara. Moreover, after a five-year preparation period the western part of Anatolia, İzmir, Manisa and Ayvalık, would be given to Greece. The tension which surmounted after the invasion of İzmir by the Greeks now turned into a total despair. The hope of international support was disappeared with Treaty of Sévres.

It would be enlightening to mention the influence of the Treaty of Sévres on the formation of Turkish national identity. In Turkey, the perception of threat has been one of the significant factors for political decisions. The Treaty of Sévres, which made the Turkish people to face with the idea of losing their lands to other countries, deeply influenced the threat perception in Turkey. This case was defined with term "the Sévres Syndrome" in political science literature.[14] This syndrome can be observed either in the everyday conversation of the people or the speeches of the political leaders in Turkey. The respectable political scientist Hakan Yılmaz has showed the suspicions against the EU as the contemporary version of the Sévres syndrome. Yılmaz explained this situation basically on a survey that he and his assistants made in 2004. The anxiety or seeing some countries as the potential dividers are the outcomes of engaging into a political ideology or motivations of the political leaders, or in other words this psychology is nothing but the politicization of the individual. Hence, the critical role of the political leaders and intellectuals can not be forgotten in this analysis.[15] According to another striking survey about the

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[14] Philip Robbins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War*, London: C. Hurst & Co, 2003, pp.161-180, and William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000*, London: Frank Cass, 2000, p.225

[15] Hakan Yılmaz mentioned this survey in his speech at Voyvoda Caddesi Toplantıları, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 1 March 2006, İstanbul. Hakan Yılmaz, *Euroskepticism in Turkey: Manifestations at the Elite and Popular Levels*, Research project supported by the Open Society Institute Assistance Fund and Boğaziçi University Research Fund, July 2004. E-source is

continuation of the Sévres syndrome in the Turkish public opinion was made around the questions about the EU, in 2006. The survey showed that 72 % of the Turkish people believe that there are some countries who want to divide Turkey.[16]

The contemporary political developments confirm us that although the Treaty of Sévres was not ratified or applied officially, its remnants in the minds of people are still fresh to frustrate the Turkish people about the security of the territories. As will be seen in the following parts, the protective attitude and anxiety about the territories is very decisive in Turkish foreign policy. Hence, ceding the western part of Anatolia to Greece, which could be seen as an important territorial lost in the Treaty of Sévres, has played a leading role in the creation of the Sévres syndrome. The irredentist desires of the Greeks were not totally forgotten in the minds of the Turkish people. In fact, the historical developments showed that the main battles in Anatolia were between the Greek and Turkish armies.

There had been short-lived uprisings against the French and Italian forces on the south and east Anatolia and some regional clashes were seen between the Turkish and Armenian residents. However, the War of Independence was generally structured around the fight with the Greek army in western Anatolia. Mustafa Kemal appointed his most trustworthy army officer, İsmet İnönü, as the commander of the western front and then he personally went there, too. The war between the Turkish and Greek armies lasted for two years. Not only the regular Turkish army but also the civil army, *Kuvay-ı Milliye*, fought against the invaders. After 1st İnönü Battle (January 1921) and 2nd İnönü Battle (March 1921), the expansion of the Greek troops in Anatolia was stopped. After the Sakarya Battle on August 23 – September 13 1921, they had to get back to the coastal region in the Aegean region. The last and

available at: http://www.obarsiv.com/e_voyvoda_toplantilari_0001.html (accessed 18 December 2008)

[16] "Türkiye'de AB'ye Destek Azalıyor" (Support for the EU has diminished in Turkey), E-source is available at: http://www.trt.com.tr/wwwtrt/hdevam.aspx?hid=139389&k=1/ (accessed 13 July, 2007)

the deadly blow on the Greeks came with the Dumlupınar Battle (*Başkomutanlık Meydan Savaşı*) on August 30, 1922. The Greek existence in Anatolia ceased to exist after this war. The day of August 30 was an important milestone in Turkish national history, since it represents the independence (from the Greeks). 9th of September symbolizes the "*Yunanlıların denize dökülmesi*" (expulsion of the Greeks into the sea) and the total end of the Greek occupation in Anatolia. This day has been celebrated as the salvation day of İzmir and therefore, Turkey. Hence, in practice, the War of Independence had started with the Greek invasion and ended with their leaving. 750.000 Orthodox Greeks, which were the two-thirds of all Greek population residing in Anatolia had departed after the defeat of the Greek army in the period between the arrival of the Turkish army to İzmir in September 1922 to the ceasefire in October.[17]

In place of the Treaty of Sévres, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed between Turkey and the Allied Powers on July 24, 1923. This Treaty is accepted as the founding international document of the new nation-state by Turkey. In fact, although there were some setbacks about the *Misak-ı Milli* boundaries on the eastern part of Turkey, this treaty could be seen as a diplomatic achievement of the young Turkish state. The article which was published in a well-known American news magazine, Time, on 14 April 1924, was significant. It has mainly dealt with the Treaty of Lausanne and the failure of the British foreign policy in signing it. The article stated:

> The Labor Government submitted to the House of Commons a bill for the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne, which established peace between Greece and Turkey, revised the terms of the Treaty of Sévres (1920) between the Allies and the then Ottoman Empire, and adjusted generally relations between Mustafa Kemal's new nationalist Turkish state and the western world…The Treaty of Lausanne was the first conspicuous failure of British diplomacy in more than a century.

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[17] Anna Vakali, *Agreements and Friendship Between Greece and Turkey in 1930: Contesting Nationalist Discourses and Press Reactions*, MA Thesis Submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi University, 2007, pp.30-31

Greek troops had been permitted to occupy Smyrna and Anatolia in 1919 and 1920. The Treaty of Sévres imposed terms so severe that British policy seemed to have succeeded in strangling the sick man of Europe in his sick-bed in Asia Minor…After two years of guerilla warfare, Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his lieutenant, İsmet Pasha, drove the Greeks into the sea at Smyrna after a thunderbolt campaign in August, 1922… (T)he Lausanne Settlement turned Europe bag and baggage out of Turkey instead of turning Turkey bag and baggage out of Europe. It signified the complete shipwreck of Lloyd George's five years' nursing of Greek ambitions.[18]

This article is thought provoking with some of its points. Firstly, it mentioned the Treaty of Lausanne as the peace agreement between Greece and Turkey. Therefore, this article has indirectly approved the idea that Turkey's driving the Greeks out of Anatolia and signing a treaty with them were the most important developments in its independence history. At least, the western media published it in this way. Moreover, it was clearly written in the article that this treaty was a disappointment for the British foreign affairs. The article pointed out Lloyd George's 5-year long diplomatic support to the Greeks in order to settle down in the Western Anatolia has beared no fruit. In short, the article has judged the Treaty of Lausanne as an unexpected achievement of Turkey.

Whether this treaty could be defined as an achievement or not was contestable but is the important point was that Turkish national movement has owed much to this Treaty, because of the international recognition of Turkey as a sovereign nation-state. Alongside Turkey, Greece was the second most influenced country from this Treaty because of the population exchanges and minority issues.

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on 23 July 1923 after a long period of negotiations. In the Treaty the capitulations were abolished, the Ottoman debts were arranged with an installment plan and an international convention was founded to

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[18] "Lausanne Treaty", *Time*, Monday 14 April 1924

control the Straits.[19] Apart from the northeastern and Syrian boundaries which were already determined, rest of the boundaries was redrawn according to the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey's demands over Mosul, Eastern Thrace and the Dodecanese Islands were not accepted. On the other hand, Turkish hegemony in Anatolia was accepted, which closed the doors of Anatolia to the Greeks. Except for Imbros, Bozcaada and Tavşan Adaları, rest of the Aegean islands were ceded to Italy and Greece.

Other important articles of the Treaty of Lausanne have dealt with the Turkish-Greek relations. The reparation demand of Turkey from the Greeks was not totally accepted but Karaağaç district of Edirne was given to Turkey instead of reparation. One of the major problems between Turkey and Greece was the existence of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate. The Patriarch had been accepted as the spiritual and secular leader of the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire, often acting as "the archons of the Ecumenical". The ecumenical statute of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate was implying both the household of the Roman Empire and Christian unity which were highly clashing with the sovereignty of Turkish state. Therefore, Turkish state demanded the removal of the Patriarchate out of its territories. As an example, the deputy of Burdur, İsmail Suphi Bey was strictly against the existence of the Patriarchate in İstanbul, since it was the "fesat ocağı" (center of malice) according to him.[20] However, the hand of the Greeks was stronger than the Turkish delegates. According to their point of view the location of Phanariot *Rum* Patriarchate was a part of Orthodox belief and removal of it out of the sacred city, İstanbul, could not be acceptable. Hence, the Turkish side could not be successful to convince the participants that the Patriarchate to be discarded out of

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[19] This International Convention on the Straits was not last long and was replaced with the Montreux Convention in 1936. It gives the Turkish state control over the Bosporus Straits and the Dardanelles.

[20] Quoted from Fahri Çoker, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi*, vol 1, Ankara: TBMM Vakfı Yayınları, 1194, pp.6-7, quoted in Okutan, 2004, p.70

Turkey and it was allowed to continue to function in İstanbul with the Treaty of Lausanne.

On the other hand, the ecumenical status of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate was not clarified precisely in the Treaty which lies at the roots of current controversy. There was neither a new regulation in the Treaty on the removal of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate, nor any guideline addressing the ecumenical status of it. The articles were drawing the framework of the relations between the Turkish government and the non-Muslims. As can be seen in the Appendix E, the most related article about this issue affirmed that "The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and other religious establishments."

Obviously, contemporary debates are not only religious or spiritual based. Political intentions and clashing national interests constitute the grounds of these debates. Turkey has been anxious about the status of ecumenism because of its statute would be in contrast with sovereignty and secular structure of Turkish state. In fact, the problems regarding with this issue are still valid in contemporary Turkish-Greek relations. The problem is apparent: within the territories of Turkey, there is an Ecumenical Phanariote *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate in İstanbul which is accepted as the center of the Orthodox world. The possibility that the Church would be "threatening" the unitary structure of the Turkish state and would create opportunities for the Greek government to intervene into the domestic affairs of Turkey has disconcerted Turkish elites. Turkish courts, political bodies or leaders frequently remind the statute of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate being just a minority church which is allowed to stay on Turkish territories.[21]

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[21] As an example see the decision of the 4th Penalty Chamber of the Turkish Supreme Court of Appeals (Yargıtay 4. Ceza Dairesi) on June 2007. E-source is available http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/412277.asp (accessed 21 February 2009)

Another clause of the Treaty of Lausanne was about the minorities. The articles between 37 and 45 have dealt with the minority issue and obliged Turkish state in certain aspects. In fact, debate on the status of minorities in the modern Turkish state had begun during the days of the War of Independence. Some provisions about the equality of the non-Muslims with the Muslim population were included in the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses. The first debates about the minorities in the Parliament took place in 1922. In his November 3, 1922 speech addressing to the parliament, the deputy of Kırşehir, Müfid Efendi underlined the criteria of religion in determining who would be the minority group in Turkey.[22] While the debates were going on in Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne set the religious identity as the criteria in defining the minority in Turkey and approved several rules about its status. Moreover, it would not be wrong to claim that the Treaty not only included arrangements on territorial issues, but also provisions on the rights of the minorities. The arrangements on the minorities were included under the 3rd section of the 1st Part (the Political Clauses) in nine articles, from 37 to 45. Only non-Muslims were mentioned as the minorities in Turkey and, more than defining the minority rights as a distinct legal concept, it was stated that they would have same rights just like any other citizen of Turkey. The article 39 clearly illustrated this approach: "The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion." Article 39 redesigned this idea in a different wording: "Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems. All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law." Obviously, the equality principle between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens were repeatedly defined in the Treaty of Lausanne. However, the details about defining a minority group were not clearly explained. The difference between a Turkish speaking non-Muslim and a Greek speaking Muslim was not

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[22] Quoted from Fahri Çoker, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi*, vol 1, Ankara: TBMM Vakfı Yayınları, 1194, pp.11-20, quoted in Okutan, 2004, p.67

clarified. Religious difference was the main criteria to become minority in Turkey. Hence, when Greece and Turkey signed an additional protocol on the population exchange in 1923, neither the Karamanlıs who were culturally and linguistically Turkish people with Orthodox belief, nor the Cretans who were Muslims but speaking a dialect of Greek were exempted from the population exchange.

Actually, the population exchange was a great step forward to the unitary nation-state via excluding the non-Muslims inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The Orthodox people of Turkey, except for the *Rum* settlers of İstanbul, and the Muslim people of Greece, except for Muslim settlers of West Thrace, were included in the population exchange. More than a million Orthodox people, who were mainly Greeks, were obliged to move to Greece, while about half a million of Muslims were sent to Turkey. The outcomes were devastating for both states, either in economic, social or political aspects. Not only the demographic picture but also the national identity of the countries had evolved into a different manner.

The population exchange was a part of nation-building process for Turkey. The state was stuck between the challenging Ottoman legacy and the new nation-state ideology. Let alone the people who were from a nationalist identity, even some of the state bureaucrats were still in favor of rebuilding an Ottoman state model. However, in order to be a part of the modern world the new trend of it should be followed: a unitary and indeed a capitalist nation-state model. The modernization quest of the Turks, which had been ongoing since the Ottoman period, came to its last phase with the formation of a national identity. As it used to be an elitist or a from top to bottom movement during the days of the Ottoman Empire, modernization of the new Turkish Republic was a part of this approach. The Turkish state had no time to wait for a democratic or a natural evolution of a Turkish national identity (if there is this kind any nationalistic evolution in history). With a demographic restructuring of the population, the country could have a homogeneous unity. To get rid of non-Muslim and non-Turkic elements could ease many problems

sprang from the plurality and the legacy of Ottomanism. It would be a tough case for the new Turkish government to keep the Ottoman multi-religious and multi-ethnic structure under the framework of the targeted nation-state model.

Moreover, the Balkan states were already in pursuit of creating their homogenous nations. They did not want to give any interference opportunity to any other country in the region under the name of the protector of a given ethnic group. The nation-state building process of those times indirectly implied to act in this way. Moreover, the homogenous nation meant a lot more to the Turkish state. Not only the homogeneity of the Turkish nation was built, but also the disconnection from the old Ottoman imperial system was demonstrated via these population exchanges.

There might be several reasons why only the Greeks were exposed to the population exchange, and therefore otherized by the Turkish state. Firstly, there was a distinct and recognized Greece nation-state in the region. Both states were seeking homogeneity to "get rid of" any future diplomatic problems with each other. Moreover, the Greeks were very crowded in Anatolia who can be a potential threat for the state. They were seen as the betrayers who were in dreams of uniting with Greece. The 19th century Greek uprising against the Ottoman state and their role in stimulating the other Balkan nations to do the same was not forgotten by the Turkish bureaucrats. Any type of uprising possibility among the Greek minority in Anatolia should be avoided. In fact, it was obvious that Greece had an open support of the western great states and any dispute regarding the Greeks in Anatolia may end with the diplomatic failure of the Turkish government. Beside these socio-political reasons, the economic restructuring of the country was the other factor in the population exchange. The rich and powerful Greek banking, trading and finance sector would be contradictory for the Turkish national economy. A new Turkish artisan and trade group had to be formed and the capital should be national. Hence, after the emigration of the Greeks from Anatolia, their gap was filled with Turkish entrepreneurs. There are more examples of nationalizing the capital in Turkish

history. The law of wealth tax in 1942 and the incidents of 6-7 September 1955 can be evaluated within this approach, as it can be seen in the following part of this chapter.

In order to clearly understand the underlying reasons of the Turkish attitude towards the Greeks and what lies beneath their otherization, the formation of the "new" Turkish citizenship has to be examined. The definitions of citizenship and minority have big importance in this context. The changing approaches about the role of religion, language and ethnicity in defining Turkishness can clarify the otherization of the Greeks. Therefore, in the following part, the conceptual debates and the practices about the classification of the Turkishness will be analyzed. The change in the approaches of the Turkish statesmen and the intellectuals, the role of official history writing in creating the Turkish identity and the place of the Greek minority within this identity will be the discussed.

## 5.1. Definition of Turkishness

Nationalist ideologies are reproduced in a semi-fictitious world which is somewhere between the real and the artificial. The "eternity" of their nation, from past to future, is out of question for the nationalists. The claim is that their national identity, somehow, has been living under different names or different states; but in the end it is not a new identity of the present at all. It is the originality, heroism and eternity of their national identities that all nationalists are proud of. Hence, historical narration of any nationalism mentions the emergence of its nation-state as a natural outcome of history. Therefore, the nation-state becomes a natural continuation of national development in the history. However, when most of the historical backgrounds of the nationalisms are investigated, more than a continuation, an abrupt breaking within their history happens to be more visible. In this context, previous imperial experiences are probably excluded from the national identity on the argument that they are only the temporary or preventive experiences before their

nationalist ideas. So constructing a national identity is related with "forgetting" more than "remembering". In other words, nationalism necessitates being selective in reading history.

In general, Turkish national identity completely fits into this picture. The exclusion or otherization of the Ottoman past became an important argument for Turkism, especially during the first years of the nationalist rise. For example, one of the renowned nationalist thinkers, Ziya Gökalp, has attempted to explain the Turkism from the contrast between the Turkish and the Ottoman. In his well-known book, "Türkçülüğün Esasları" (The Principles of the Turkism) he asked the question: "Why everything about Turkish style is very beautiful; everything about the Ottoman style very ugly?" and then he answered: "Because, the Ottoman style has become to behave as the imperialists of the West, which was harmful for Turkish culture and life, (the Ottoman) became cosmopolitan; it saw the class interest above the national interest."[23] Through this argument, Gökalp established a categorical differentiation between the Ottoman and Turkish styles at the expense of exclusion of the Ottoman past from the Turkish history. It was a clear otherization of the Ottoman identity in order to construct a new one. Two prevalent approaches of the pioneering ideologues of Turkism were to point out the imperial and consequently non-national character of the Ottoman style and an accusation of the Ottoman state of its ignorance of the national interests. These two attitudes of the Ottoman state caused that the Turkish national identity had been concealed under the cosmopolitan Ottoman framework. Like the Greeks, the Serbians or the Arabs, who had revolted against the Ottoman Empire in order to have their nation-states, the Turkish nation was also portrayed as an "oppressed" nation in nationalist accounts of the Ottoman history. Creation of a new type of identity based on Turkish ethnie which can be shaped according to their desires would be easier for the Turkish elite, instead of an attempt to transform the

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[23] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Bordo Siyah Türk Klasikleri İnceleme, hazırlayan: Kemal Bek, İstanbul: Trend Yayın Basın, 2006, p.68. The text was translated from Turkish to English by the author of this thesis.

whole Ottoman heritage. Therefore, they had to prove that they were not the inheritors of the Ottoman Empire, but they were the rebels within the Empire, like the Balkan nations or the Arabs. Moreover, the new elite had to convince not only its people but also the world that the newly founded Turkish state was not the smaller version or the heir of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish nationalism could not be constructed upon a failure like the fall of the Ottoman Empire and it should have been isolated from its Ottoman identity. Turkishness needed a glorious nationalist past which could be used as the basis of national identity. Hence, although its development was very much intermingled with the Ottoman culture and background, Turkishness had to separate itself from its old-fashioned imperial heritage. As it was clear in the words of Gökalp, Turkishness was described as a "hidden" national identity which had been living in the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of the Empire, it could eventually find an opportunity to be an independent nation-state. To this end, otherization of the Ottoman identity became the primary foundation of the Turkishness among the Turkish intellectuals and the governing elite.

However, othering the Ottoman heritage has been a problematic process for the Turkish national identity. The modern Turkish national identity is neither a total imitation of its Ottoman past nor an independent construct alone. It was both. This in-between situation about its past has clearly made the Turkish nationalism more fragile and ambivalent in dealing its social and cultural problems. Moreover, the "ghost" of its Ottoman past has still been preoccupying the minds of the people.[24] In fact, the relations of the Muslims and non-Muslims, state and society or civilians and military owed many things to its Ottoman times.

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[24] Şaban Çalış explains this situation with his theory that the "ghost" or "spectre" of the Ottoman past has still been existing as a problematic in modern Turkish identity. He adapted the metaphors of "spectre" and "hauntology" of Jacques Derrida (from Jacques Derrida , *Specters of Marx:The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. by S. Kamuf, New York and London: Routledge, 1994) to Turkish natinal identity. According to Çalış an abrupt splitting up from the Ottoman past via an unnatural way, made the Ottoman as a "thing" which has been living as a phenomenon within the Turkish identity. Çalış, 2001, especially pp.18-20

This uncertainty about the inclusion of the Ottoman past becomes more confusing when the Ottoman history is being discussed. While the glorious days of rise of the Ottoman Empire are welcomed as a part of Turkish history, the fall of the Empire are reflected as something separate from the Turkish experience. The otherization of the Ottoman past is more apparent when it is the last period of the Empire under debate. Certainly, there is a difference between being the "honorable descendant" of the great world empire of the 15$^{th}$ and 16$^{th}$ centuries' Ottoman Empire and being the "unlucky descendant" of the 18$^{th}$ or 19$^{th}$ centuries' "sick man". The selective memory of Turkishness stands at this juncture.

Moreover, the otherization of the Ottomans can be seen as an important part of otherization of the Greeks. One of the most important *millets* of the Ottoman Empire, from which the state elite had been influenced in many ways, has been obviously excluded from the Turkish identity within the process of the otherization of the Ottoman past. At this point, the Greek other was "scratching" the uncertainty within the Turkish national identity. It reminded both the glorious days of the Ottoman past when the Greeks had been one of the *millets* under the Ottoman state and the dark days of the Empire when the *millets* were separating from the Ottoman Empire. Although the Greeks had significant role in the success of the Ottoman state, economy and culture, their pioneering role in the Balkan uprising for independence has still been remembered with condemnation. Yet, an irony was apparent: while the construction of the Turkish nation-state was portrayed as a great success of Anatolian people, it was not easy to explain the separation of Greeks and the foundation of Greek nation-state as a story of success. While the fall of the Ottoman Empire was accepted as an opportunity of the Turkishness to come to surface, on the other hand the Greek "betrayal" in the fall of the Empire has not been forgotten yet.

Besides, to criticize the Greek nationalist uprising seems to be inconsistent with the main attitude of the Turkish nationalists to highlight the virtue of nation-states over imperial system. Besides, the Turkish nation-state theoretically drew the

sample of the western nation-state model and practically imitated the Balkan nationalists, at least during the first years of its existence. However, it is not easy for Turkish nationalism to admit that the Greek nationalism had been an apparent role model for the leading intellectuals and the statesmen of the Turkism, as long as the Greeks have been accused of being responsible for the separation of the Balkans from the Ottoman Empire. This irony brought the Turkish nationalists to a deadlock. Obviously, instead of appreciation of the Greeks for their nationalist "entrepreneurship", the Turkish national identity chose to otherize the Greeks as a part of its Ottoman "other". In fact, otherization of the Greeks proved that the Ottoman experiences were still influential on the memory of the Turkish national identity. Although it separated itself from the Ottoman heritage, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was still remembered with sorrow. In addition, the skepticism about the Greeks, which can be named as otherization as well, had its roots in the Ottoman experiences.

On the other hand, as it was mentioned before, the Ottoman experience about the non-Muslims was full of uncertainties and contradictions. Therefore, the Turkish identity founded on this experience was not suggesting a clear attitude towards the non-Muslims, too. The shift from Ottomanism to Turkism during the last years of the Ottoman Empire was felt as unrest during the initial years of the Republic within the discussions about the Turkish citizenship. The comprehensiveness of Turkish citizenship was frequently underlined during the very first year of the Republic. In fact, Mustafa Kemal preferred to use "Nation of Turkey" (*Türkiye Milleti*) instead of "Turks" during the War of Independence. This preference can be seen as an extension of the Ottomanist idea. Non-Muslims and non-Turks were included within this definition. However, this rhetoric was disappeared in the discourse of Mustafa Kemal and from the official statements after 1923.[25] Thereafter, while the mission of

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[25] Baskın Oran, *Atatürk Milliyetçiliği: Resm İdeoloji Dışı bir İnceleme*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1993, p.208

the governing elite was crystallized within the endeavor of creating the category of a nation upon the political adherence, the remnants of the Ottoman Empire were not welcomed anymore. Yet, the multi-ethnic and multi-religious social structure of the Ottoman Empire was rejected by the founders of the Republic.[26] Even, the Islamic bond was abandoned during the first years of the Republic. The Kemalists (followers of Mustafa Kemal's reforms) were no more enthusiastic about Islam as a ground on which the solidarity among people to be established, contrary to the argument once presented by Gökalp arguing Islam as an important part of *hars* (culture).[27]

Turkish nationalism got into the period of promoting Turkism over Islam. The previous definition of "Turkish speaking Muslims" was evolving into a different manner. As a part of both secular nationalism ideology and refusal of the Ottoman Muslim *millet* mentality, the Turkish national identity focused on linguistic and, to some extent, ethnic criteria. In fact, the eminent Turkish nation was embodied in the Turkish state which was said to emerge before being Muslim. Mustafa Kemal's favorite historian Afet İnan has criticized people who asserted religion as an essence of national construction. She indicated that Turkish nation was already a "great" nation before accepting Islam. In fact, religious affiliation slowed down the nationalization of the Turks and froze their national energy, according to İnan. She especially underlined that this religion did not help neither to Arabs nor Persians and Turks to form their own national unities.[28] Obviously, this mental break away from Islam was a sign of break away from the Arabs, as well. The new Republic was creating itself against all of its others: non-Muslim Balkan nations and the Arabs.

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[26] Mesut Yeğen, "Turkish Nationalism and the Kurdish Question", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.30, No. 1, January 2007, p.126

[27] Ayhan Aktar, "Türkleştirme Politikaları", *Tarih ve Toplum,* No.156, Deecember 1996, p.5 Note: *Hars* and civilization were the two pillars of Turkish modernization according to Ziya Gökalp.

[28] Afet İnan, *Medeni Bilgiler ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988 (1931), p.21

The political context of Islam was put aside in order to found a Turkish nation depending on nationalist premises.

Despite this radical conversion about the role of Islam in Turkishness in the official rhetoric, the mentality bound with Islamic terms was not that easy to erase. Some leading figures of Turkish nationalism continued to use Islam as a reference point of Turkishness for more years.[29] It was the non-Muslims who left the Ottoman Muslims first and the War of Independence was mostly carried out through use of widespread religious feelings. Moreover, people were still prejudiced about the non-Muslims and to include them into the Turkish nation was out of question during the first years of the Republic. Although Islam was not given as the status of the primary soul of the Turkish national identity, other religious communities were evaluated absolutely not from the Turkish nation, as well. In other words, Islam was not an internal feature of Turkishness, but, still could draw a line around the Turkishness. This irony can be explained with the historical transformation of Turkishness. When the non-Muslims were the first to revolt against the Ottoman state for their independencies, the Ottoman Turks had to take a stand against this movement. They applied their attachment to the Ottoman Muslim *millet* until it became problematical with some of the Arabs separatist movements in the First World War. Afterwards they were not certain about Islam as a national backbone of Turkishness. Although Islam was no more a binding force among this nation, it was certain that non-Muslims did not belong to this nation, at all. The Muslim elements living on the Ottoman territories were seen as brothers that could live together with respect to each other. The period of the Republic elaborated a similar formula as the previous perception. According to the new rhetoric, the ethnic, social and cultural differences

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[29] Such as, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, emphasized Turkish language and Islam as the two important bonds of Turkishness which cannot be given up. Their history went back to ancient times and Turkishness could stand on these feet. Ahmet Ağaoğlu, "Milli Şuur", in ed. Kaplan Mehmet et.al., *Atatürk Devri Fikir Hayatı*, Vol 1, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981, p.97 For other examples, see: Okutan, 2004

among these Muslim peoples of Turks, Kurds, Circassians, or Lazs could be melted within the same pot of interest upon the Turkish nation. Hence the ethnic differences among the Muslim were expected to be vanished. "All the 'now-citizens' of the Turkish Republic…were invited to become Turks". However, "non-Muslims of Anatolia…from the perspective of Turkish nationalism never had any intention of *becoming* Turkish."[30]

Hence, the Turkish nation was formulated as a supra-identity that was over the ethnic identities. Being above different ethnicities did not mean a flexible or non-ethnic tendency; instead, everybody was accepted as Turk. At least, it was expected from the non-Turks of Anatolia to be convinced about it. The non-Muslims, on the other hand, were not even included into the framework. Although they were not openly excluded from Turkish citizenship, the debates about their citizenship before the acceptance of the first constitution showed the ongoing reluctance among the elites. During the negotiations on the constitution, which was known as *Teşkilat-ı Esasiye*, in 1924, the situation of the non-Turk Muslims were almost not discussed, but non-Muslims in the Turkish state provoked feverish debates among the delegates. According to the initial wording of the article 88 "the people of Turkey were called Turk without regarding religious or racial differences". (*Türkiye ahâlisine din ve ırk farkı olmaksızın (Türk) ıtlak olunur*). However, Hamdullah Suphi and several people were strictly against this generalization. Suphi told that his mind was unable to believe that the people from different religion, language or sect, in short from a different *hars*, were actual Turks. On the other hand, Celal Nuri Bey defended the wording and said that not all the people in Turkey were Muslim or Turk, and there had to be an arrangement about these people, who were living in Turkey. The mentality of discriminating the non-Muslims from Turkishness has won in the end. After these debates, the phrase of "from the point of view of citizenship" was added to the article: "The people of Turkey are called Turk, from the point of view of

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[30] Yeğen, 2007, p.126 and quotations from p.127 and 143

citizenship, without regarding religious or racial differences." (*Türkiye ahâlisine din ve ırk farkı olmaksızın vatandaşlık itibâriyle (Türk) ıtlak olunur*).[31] Although this expression granted the name of Turk everybody without regarding and religious or racial differences, the expression about the citizenship proved the reservation about the difference between Turkishness and Turkish citizenship. According to Ergun Özbudun, this difference in the article meant that the non-Muslims will have the equal citizenship rights with the Muslims but they were not accepted as Turks sociologically.[32] Thus, while the official rhetoric accepted the equality among all Turkish citizens disregarding ethnic and religious differences, Turkishness kept its sociological boundary within the minds as something intermingled with Islamic culture.

These debates were indeed carried out during period when Anatolian Greeks were being sent out of the territories according to the agreement with Greece which was signed in 1924. Thousands of Orthodox Greeks were now out of Turkey or at their ways to Greece. Homogenous nation-state ideal was living its heydays. Especially the Orthodox Greek "problem" was preferred to be solved in a practical exclusion, not only sociologically but also physically. Therefore, the main subjects of the citizenship debates during the formation of the first proper constitution of the Republican Turkey were the Greeks. They were sent with the excuse of religious difference. However, there were still some other Greeks in İstanbul and at some islands. Not only these Greeks, there were other non-Muslim groups in Anatolia, as well. Armenians were another non-Muslim group who were forced to emigrate to the south during the governance of the C.U.P.

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[31] Okutan, 2004, pp.116-117

[32] Quoted from Ergun Özbudun, "Mili Mücadele ve Cumhuriyetin Resmi Belgelerinde Yurttaşlık ve Kimlik Sorunu", in (prepared by) Nuri Bilgin, *Cumhuriyet, Demokrasi ve Kimlik*, İstanbul: Bağlam yayınları, 1997, p.67 quoted in Ibid., p.117

There were several differences between the Armenians and the Greeks in the minds of the Turks. Armenians' existence was not accepted as a real threat for the new republic. Unlike the Greeks' who were majority groups on the shores of Anatolia, the Armenians were already spread many places in small numbers. Moreover, Armenians were for a long time seen by the Ottoman state as the most loyal *millet* (*millet-i sadıka*) and their national affiliation was not seen as a rival to the Turkish nationalism. In fact, Ömer Seyfettin was once hopeful about the combination of the Armenians with the Turks, instead of any Armenian nation.[33] Because of both the milder rhetoric towards Armenians in the Ottoman period and also later weakening of the Armenian existence in Anatolia during the First World War, the debates of including the non-Muslims into the Turkish citizenship focused on the Greeks in Anatolia. The independent Greek state was escalating the tension among the disputants about the possibility of a new uprising. When the population exchange between Turkey and Greece was mostly completed, the threat of the Greeks was diminished. In fact, their number was very small to become a threat to the Turkish nationality. However, they still did not escape from being the "other" of Turkish nation identity.

Although the sociological conditions and some historical experiences made it though to include the non-Muslim and non-Turkish Greeks into the Turkish citizenship, it should be mentioned that Mustafa Kemal emphasized the "territorial, linguistic, historical and ideal solidarity" as the most important signifiers of the Turkish nation.[34] This definition has long been taught to the Turkish students at school. Nation is defined as a conscious people who live on the same territory, who speak the same language, who share the same historical background and who have the same ideal of staying together. Obviously, this definition was connected with the

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[33] Ömer Seyfettin, *Türklük Üzerine Yazılar: Bütün Eserleri*, no. 16, ed. by Muzaffer Uyguner, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2002, p.45

[34] Tezer Taşkıran, *Yurt Bilgisi 1,* Ortaokul Kitapları, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1939, p.7

civic nationalist ideals. The subjective elements were uplifted above anything else in defining the Turkish nation and therefore the access to Turkish nationality was opened for the non-Muslim and non-Turkish people.

However, another definition of Mustafa Kemal was confusing. He has put the criterion of "racial origin" among other features of Turkish nation. Although, he then explained that non-Muslim citizens who deliberately affiliated with the Turkish nationality should not be assumed as foreigners,[35] the expression of race and origin brought the ethnic nationalism to mind. Another interesting expression of Mustafa Kemal in his address to the youth "You will find the strength you need in your noble blood" was again confusing because of its emphasis on Turkish blood. In fact, this confusion was nothing but another duality about the Turkish nationalism. On the one side, the Turkish nationalism has never been ethnicist or racist in any official text, on the other side, the political elites sometimes did not hesitate to point out ethnic solidarity of the Turks. Certainly, the Orthodox Greeks, who are both not among the Islamic brotherhood and not ethnically Turk, had often excluded from the Turkish nation according to this ethnic argument.

The citizenship versus ethnicity debate in Turkishness has been a popular topic for many writers. Sometimes, the ethnic tendency was interpreted as racism in various studies. For example, Nazan Maksudyan explained this duality of Turkish nationalism with the distinction between "the official mentality which is written" and "the reality which is experienced", in her book about the "science-fictional anthropology of Turkish nationalism". The territorial solidarity lost its importance in short and Turkish race and language became the two factors that solidify Turkish national identity according to Maksudyan.[36] The rise of racism in Turkishness could

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[35] İnan, 1988 (1931), pp.22-23

[36] Nazan Maksudyan, *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçliğinin Irkçı Cephesi 1925-1939*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2005, p.1

be seen in the "scientific" researches about the Turkish skull or race, published in the Periodical of Turkish Anthropology (*Türk Antropoloji Mecmuası*) (1925-1930). Although it was a İstanbul University publication, it had several organic links with the political elites and the government.[37] In general, Maksudyan believed that Turkish nationalism was developed upon the positive racist discrimination of the "pure Turkish blood". To prove the eminency of the Turkish race would be useful for internal and external issues of the new republic. To claim the kinship of the Turks with the Europeans or at least the *mütekamil* (mature) nature of the Turks as the Europeans was a critical step of overcoming the insulted position of the new republic, which was originally aiming to become a part of *muasır medeniyet* (contemporary civilization). Moreover, this argument was useful to legitimize the Turkish authority over the non-Muslim and non-Turkish minorities. Besides, said Maksudyan, it proved that there would be no plausible base of these groups' intention of founding another state separate from Republican Turkey.[38]

Although this study of Maksudyan has several shortcomings[39], it highlights some hidden points of Turkish nationalism during the single-party era of Turkish politics, as well. The argument about the superiority of the Turkish race over the others must have been a useful approach for the state. As long as the Turkishness was given as the best option within the territories of Turkey, it was hoped that the potential separatist movements could be hindered. Today, most probably, the Kurdish issue comes to our minds as a potential threat of separation from Turkey. However, during those years, the closest threat was the Greeks who did support the

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[37] Fuat Köprülü, Hamdullah Suphi, Şemseddin Günaltay and Refik Saydam were some of the important names among the editorial cadre of the periodical. Ibid., pp.104-113

[38] Ibid., pp.9-10 and 53

[39] First of all, the research mostly depends on the 22 issues of the Periodical of Turkish Anthropology (*Türk Antropoloji Mecmuası*), which could be seen insufficient to evaluate the whole process of Turkish nationalism. Moreover, the usage of the term "Turkish race" can be an overestimation of the ethnic tendency in Turkish nationalism. "Race" implicitly reminds "racist" practices in history, which could put the Turkish nationalism and Hitler's Arian nationalism on the same scale.

occupation of Western Anatolia only few years earlier. The new republic accepted the Treaty of Lausanne as its founding agreement and that agreement was signed after its triumph in its War of Independence over Greece. All the Allies were on the other side of the table in Lausanne, but it was only Greece which was still remembered with anger. In fact, instead of remembering these powerful western states as the enemies of the Turkish War of Independence, the state elites chose to get back to the westernization project which had been ongoing for many decades. There was an attempt to prove the equality of the Turks and the western people in cultural, linguistic and racial terms, while the Greeks were systematically put outside of the western civilization.

The book of the official history thesis of the Kemalist administration, "*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*" (The Outline of Turkish History), was a good example. Although it will be discussed in the later part about history writing, some important arguments from the book may be mentioned here according to some expressions about Turkish race and the Greek race. The skull of the Turkish race was mentioned as a brachycephalic[40], which is closer to the European race, while the Greeks were defined "mostly" as brunette dolichocephalic.[41] Moreover, the Turkish race was one of the best protected races on the world. Although there were several mixtures with other peoples, Turkish race did never lose its uniqueness because of its cultural heritage coming from its mental capability.[42] On the other hand, the Greeks were explained as a mixed group of people, in which the characteristics of the Greek nation disappeared. Hence, it was claimed in the book that the Greek "horde" (*kavim*) was not even a nation since because the Greek civilization did not include

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[40] *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları: Kemalist Yönetimin Resmi Tarih Tezi,* İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999 (1930), p.47

[41] Ibid., p.251

[42] Ibid., p.50

any national affiliations.[43] In general, the book was a part of an anthropological analysis of the Turkish race which was defined within its linguistic and racial links with the western civilizations. The Turkish race protected its characteristics because of its common language and mental abilities according to this thesis.[44] By asserting this argument, the Turkish national identity was given as a natural outcome of history, while the Greek civilization was explained as a mixture of peoples and away from any nationalist construct. This well known-book can be seen as a part of Greek otherization in terms of its obvious separation of the Greeks from the Turks. Let alone, the difference from the Turks, the Greeks was mentioned as neither a part of *Sami*s (the so called ancients of the Semitic people and probably the Europeans) nor the Indo-Europeans.[45] Moreover, the ancient people of contemporary Greece, who were frequently referred by the westerners as the ancient civilization of Europeans, were claimed as Asiatic Aegeans, not the *Greeks*.[46] It is doubtful that this argument about the Greeks' dissimilarity with the western civilization did find any echo among the westerners, but it certainly contributed to the mental otherization of the Greeks from the Turkish national identity. The Greeks were otherized not only from the Turkish identity, but also from the western civilization.

*Türk Tarihinin Anahatları* was an important reference point of Greek otherization. However, the quest of the Turkish race was done in a naïve and barely scientific ways. In the book, the historical explanations of the nations and civilizations went back to the ancient times of B.C. and all claims were in full certainty. There may be found many other misperceptions or misconclusions in the book. The reader of the book is confused with anthropological terms and modern

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[43] Ibid., p.246

[44] Ibid., pp.48-50

[45] Ibid., p.226

[46] Ibid., p.230

identities. In fact, it is obvious that not only the reader, the writers were also confused about many points; that is why this book was not fully approved by Mustafa Kemal after it was prepared[47]. Moreover, it cannot be accepted as the one and only representation of the Kemalist nationalist argument. To call the Turkish nationalism "racist" would be a reductionism. The very first steps of a new republic cannot be generalized to the whole character of Turkish national identity. Yet, the popular fascist regimes of Europe during those years should be taken into consideration. The favorite terms of these regimes such as ethnicity, race and language found a space to live in Turkey, too.

Some political figures contributed the ethnic emphasis in Turkish nationalism. Recep Peker underlined the "superiority of the Turkish blood"[48], while Şükrü Saraçoğlu said that Turkism is something related with blood.[49] Rıza Nur who has been active in politics for a long time has also explained nationality with race and blood. Moreover, he criticized the Turkish nationalists who preferred culturist nationalism instead of race and blood based Turkism.[50] These political leaders were noteworthy because of their enthusiasm about Turkish ethnicity. The impact of the German nationalism was felt in their words.

The racist definitions of Turkishness, which were sharing certain elements with German understanding of nationalism, found echo in Turkey during the 1940s. Mustafa Kemal was dead and Turkey began to experience a new term, when the world was repairing its wounds from the 2nd World War. İsmet İnönü declared

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[47] Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, İstanbul: AFA Yayınları, 1992, p.103

[48] Recep Peker, *İnkılap Dersleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984, p.16

[49] Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları,*İstanbul: İletşim Kitabevi, 2006, pp.142-143

[50] Rıza Nur, "Türk Nasyonalizmi", *Tanrıdağ*, no.1, May 1942, p.4-5

Mustafa Kemal as the *ebedi şef* (eternal chief) and himself as the *milli şef* (national chief). Within this chaos internally and externally, not only politics but also nationalist writings had changed to a more radical form. Nihal Atsız was a well-known example who published some periodicals, *Atsız, Orhun and Orkun.* The names of these periodicals were significant with their reference to Turkish inheritance. Reha Oğuz Türkkan was another important figure of those years, who also published similar periodicals like Atsız, such as *Bozkurt* and *Gökbörü.* They defined Turkishness within a Turkish nationalism and Racism.[51] The Greeks were not mentioned as Turks according to these definitions of Turkishness. The Turkish state cut the links with these radical nationalist thoughts in 1944 and these writers were arrested because of their radical nationalist thoughts. İsmet İnönü expressed that he was a Turkish nationalist, but not a racist.[52]

The examples of Turkish nationalism which explained Turkishness on ethnic terms were in several forms. There are some writers who saw the influence of these ethnicist arguments on Turkish nationalism as an important reflection of official ideology. Taha Parla demonstrates in his book how Turkish nationalism became an ethnic-racist ideology under the cover of modest citizenship.[53] The Turkish race and Turkish language became more important than sharing the same territory, in explaining Turkish national identity according to Baskın Oran.[54] Both writers point out the hidden ethnic emphasis of Turkishness behind the civic definition of Turkish citizenship. In fact, according to Oran the Turkish state chose to assimilate the

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[51] For their definitions of Turkishness, see: Nihal Atsız, "Türkçülük", *Orhun,* No.1, Birinciteşrin 1943, p.1 and Reha Oğuz Türkkan, "Türkçülüğe Bakışlar", *Gök Börü*, No.1, Sonteşrin 1942, p.5

[52] Quoted from *Cumhuriyet*, 20 May 1944 quoted in Ayşe Azman and Nalan Yetim, "1940lı Yıllarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Farklı Görünümü", *Tarih ve Milliyetçilik 1. Ulusal Tarih Kongresi,* Mersin Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, 30 April – 2 May 1997, p.398

[53] Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün resmi Kaynakları: Kemalist Tek Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Oku*, vol.3, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001

[54] Oran, 1990

different elements in Turkey, either non-Muslims or non-Turks, in order to create a unified nation-state.[55]

The discussion about the ethnic interpretation of Turkishness can be extended. What is important for this thesis is that there has been a strong ethnicist tradition in Turkish nationalism, which has defined Turkishness with blood, race and language. In fact, the significance of language should be mentioned again. If there is a Turkish race or ethnicity, it has never been thought separate from Turkish language by any of these nationalists. Ethnic Turkism is very much intermingled with language. Some contemporary political and social debates about speaking or educating in native languages, other than Turkish, can be evaluated within the context of the sensitivity of Turkish state and people about Turkish language.

In short, either with reference to race, ethnicity, culture or language, Republican Turkey had experienced a homogenization process during its first decades, which had begun with the Turkish-Greek population movement. According to Habermas, homogenization was a pre-condition of being a nation-state and it was done at the cost of exclusion of the ethnic minorities.[56] The Greek minority was first physically excluded from the territories of Turkey and then their historical and cultural assets were systematically excluded from the Turkish history books and Turkish mindsets. Although they were the equal citizens of the state, the hopeful expectations about the Greeks to become natural members of Turkish nation who have different religious beliefs, have not been realized, yet.[57]

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[55] Baskın Oran, "Küreselleşme Ortamında Türkiye'de 'Birlik ve Beraberlik', Kürt Kimliği ve Gelecek Üzerine Düşünceler", *Tarih ve Milliyetçilik 1. Ulusal Tarih Kongresi,* Mersin Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, 30 April – 2 May 1997, pp.22-24

[56] Jürgen Habermas, "Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future Europe", *Praxis International*, vol.12, no.1, April 1992, p.2

[57] Aktar, 2006, pp.65-66

The boundary between citizenship of Turkish state and membership of Turkish nation indeed reflects the duality between the civic and ethnic structure of Turkish nationalism. The Greek otherization lies in-between. On one hand, the scope of Turkish citizenship includes the Greeks who have been living on the same territories for centuries, who have lot in common in history, who can speak Turkish, who have similar culture and who do not have any plan to leave Turkey. These features might have turned the Greeks into a Turkish, according to the constitution. In fact, according to the 1982 Constitution of Turkey, "Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk." What is derived from this article is that everybody in Turkey is a Turk regardless of his/her ethnic, religious identity. However, it is very well-known that the ethnic and religious difference of the Greeks is not easily forgotten with this citizenship bond.

## 5.2. Re-Writing Turkish History: Problematic of the Greek Past

National identities are mostly grounded on people's belief in the existence of that identity. People's beliefs are not shaped in short periods of time. In fact, these beliefs are the outcomes of a continuous process of life-long learning, social exchange and empathy between people. Nearby an organized state apparatus, a nation-state also needs the people who learned and approved to become members of this unit. In fact, the degree of approval by its people determines the success of that national identity. The level of people's approval or the tools used by states to increase the approval level may vary among nation-states; however, belief in the existence of a common national past constitutes a large part of the legitimacy of the nation-states in the eyes of their people. Hence, writing national history and teaching it to the members of that community has been an important part of national identity formation. In fact, teaching history to the students and the material that they are reading is very important because of many reasons. Firstly, these materials are read

by nearly everybody in the country and these books are not just read, they are learned by everybody. Moreover, the readers of these history textbooks would be generally the children and their age is very convenient for imposing such ideas or perceptions. The last reason of the importance of history textbooks is that it is "official" which makes them more legitimate and trustable in the eyes of many people.[58]

The complex connection of national identity and national history is one of the chief causes of otherization in national identities. National identity is a temporal construction which creates a new perception of time; the present and the past. This perception of nationality is known as national narrative which is formulated within national history in which the nations are the main actors. It also consolidates national identities within the domains of given symbols, institutions and dynamics. Obviously, this new perception brings a new sequence of time according to the national interests. In this sense, history-writing forms a codified version of past events which are revived through present action with the aim of reaching an expected future. The problem about this process is that each nation reads "their" histories and learns "their" time sequence.

In other words, nationalist discourse sees the world as a product of the interplay between communities, each with its unique character and historical background, and each formed as the outcome of specific developments. Genealogical reading of nations is a necessity of modern nations. "That is why", according to Smith "nationalism is so often considered an 'historical movement' *par excellence*".[59] In this sense, nations are the modern products of the ideas and historical narrations of nationalists. The past to which nationalists aspire is generally established upon myths and stories. Collective memory as the most powerful engine

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[58] Herkül Millas, *Türk Yunan İlişkilerine Bir Önsöz: Tencere Dibin Kara...*, İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, 1989, p. 47

[59] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.29

of nationalism was constructed with the new version of nationalist histories. Thus, the historians are the modern breeders of national identity. The historical facts are often enriched by these historians with national heroisms. "Reminding" these victories becomes the duty of them. Anderson adds the importance of "forgetting" or "to have already forgotten" the ancient tragedies as a significant part of national identities.[60]

Writing and teaching national history, in parallel to the envisaged "remembering" and "forgetting" is, then, assumed as the main process in which communities imagine their territorial, cultural and historical nationalities. This process may have different phases. According to Miroslav Hroch there are three phases of a turn from national movements to fully-formed nations: first, awakening language, culture and history of a given society; then, second, awakening the national conscious; and lastly turning this consciousness into a mass movement.[61] The idea is clear, a new elite group awakens national identity with linguistic, cultural and historical studies and they expand this identity to people. The mass movement comes after this awakening. It is doubtful that these phases were experienced within this rank in Turkish nationalism, but it is certain that historical studies have been a great contributor to the collective identity of the Turks. While the Turkish ethnicity and the ancient Turkish states were "remembered" with a great pride, many details about the Greek past were "forgotten". The historical narration of Turkish national identity was largely produced by this approach of separating the "good memories" from the "bad ones" within its past.

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[60] *Doit avoir oublié* or "already having forgotten" is originally used by Renan to point out forgetting as a "prime contemporary civic duty". Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, London: Verso, 1991, pp.200-201

[61] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe", *New Left Review*, vol.198, 1993, pp.4-6

Nationalist history-writing had started to influence the Turkish national identity before the 20th century. The Ottoman historiography and its transformation had a great impact on imagining of a new nation. Before it gained a nationalist perspective, the standard Ottoman history had used to be written by historians officially employed by the Palace. The history was written around the Sultans, the dynasty, internal and external relations of the Ottoman state. It was a state-centered political history. Historical documents were written in order to write the history of the Sultans. Furthermore, explaining real events via an Islamic and sanctified outlook was widespread; therefore everything was elucidated with *takdir-i ilahi* (God's will or destiny).[62] There was no idea to incorporate a united Ottoman history into the curriculum of the education system. After 1839, *Tanzimat* reforms influenced the history teaching in the Empire. The multi-religious and multi-ethnic students in *Sultani* (Sultan's) schools started recurrently facing the expression of the "Ottoman citizen". Since the aim of the *Tanzimat* reformers was to raise the number of patriotic and loyal Ottomans, they focused on school textbooks. *Telif ve Tercüme Nizamnamesi* (Composition and Translation Code) was announced and all school books were rearranged according to this code.[63]

As the Ottomanism lost its reality and separatist nationalist movements were rampant, the history books were changed, too. In 1911, Midhad Sadullah officially wrote the Turks as the ancestor of the Ottomans in his school history text book of *Mücmel Tarih-i Umumi Dersleri* (Concise General History Lessons).[64] Both of the Islamic and Turkish tendencies were apparent in the first quarter of the 20th century.

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[62] Ersanlı Behar, 1992, p.43

[63] Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim", in *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si*, K. Karpat (ed.), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2005, pp.107-108

[64] Quoted from Midhad Sadullah, *Mücmel Tarih-i Umumi Dersleri Son programa Tevfikan Yedi senelik İdadilerin Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Sınıflarıyla Mekatib-i Rüşdiyenin Müntehi Sınıflarında Tedris Edilmek Üzere Tertib Olunmuştur*, İstanbul, 1329 (1911), pp.257-281 quoted in Ibid., p.221

Greeks, Bulgarians or the Serbians were described as the betrayers and the occupiers during the Balkan Wars. The students were taught to be aware of these peoples' betrayal and the importance of Anatolia. First time in Ottoman history, the Ottoman history was separated from the Balkan nations. The distinction between "we, the Ottomans" and "they, the Balkan people" developed in these days.[65] Ironically, these "betrayers" had not been mentioned as nations along the long 19th century. They were referred as *eşkiya, haydut* which means bandit or were named with Greek words of *martolos* or *armatoloi*.[66] Moreover, the Ottoman historians did not recognize the Balkans as a distinct unit. The rioting Balkan states were defined as "little" states which were the satellites of the Great Powers.[67]

The Turkish historiography inherited much from its Ottoman past. Ahmed Cevdet, Ahmed Mithad, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, Şemseddin Sami and Abdurrahman Şeref were some of the well-known late Ottoman historians who consequently influenced the Turkish historiography. Interestingly, as the reflection of emerging Turkish nationalism's dilemma about the ethnic and civic poles, these historians also oscillated between the German and French approaches: German Romantism and Idealism, and French Positivism. The German passion to the past, the nature and the ideal has been clashing with French positivist scientific history in their writings, as could be seen later Republican historians. The most obvious inherited feature of the Republican history from the late Ottoman historians was that history has been written in order to legitimize politics. Moreover, the Ottoman presentism, to interpret historical events with contemporary facts, influenced the young Republican

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[65] Ibid., pp.228-229

[66] Fikret Adanır, "İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Balkan Tarih Yazınında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu", in *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si*, ed. by Kemal Karpat, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi yayınları: İstanbul, 2005, p.359

[67] Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, New York: Tauris, 2007, p. 79

historiography.[68] The nationalist worldview was applied to history, either to the medieval age or the ancient times. Turkishness was seen as an eternal identity which had never ceased in the reign of any state in Central Asia or Anatolia.

The first studies on Turkish historiography started under some associations and organizations, which aimed to research Turkish history and language. *Türk Derneği* (1908-1911)*, Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* (1910-1928)*, Asar-ı İslamiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni* (1915) and *Türk Ocakları* (1912-1931) were the organizations which were established in the last years of the Ottoman Empire nevertheless they influenced the Turkish history writing directly. Ethnic and cultural emphasis was common among all of them. Especially the last one, *Türk Ocakları* explained its aim as researching the Turkish roots; developing national education, heightening the Turkish culture and history. In 1931, it became a part of the ruling CHP (Republic People Party).[69] In fact, most of the historians worked in line with the official ideology whether formally or informally linked to the state in the first years of the Republic. History had for a long time been envisaged as a tool to create an ideal Turkish citizen. In fact, it was not particular to the Turkish historiography. For instance French Ernest Lavisse's books, which took the science of history as a means to strengthen citizenship, were taught to the French students for 60 years in order to create patriotic French citizens.[70]

During the 1920s and 1930s, Turkish history textbooks reflected an open attempt to eliminate the Ottoman heritage and create a Turkish nationalist generation. In that era national identity was explained with race and language. Instead of plural identities within Turkish national identity, a unique and homogeneous identity was sought. Any heterogeneity could hamper elite's efforts of nationalization,

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[68] Ersanlı Behar, 1992, pp.50-59

[69] Ibid., pp.79-85

[70] Ibid., p.158

modernization and westernization. Therefore, history-writing developed within this political tendency. Moreover, most of the leading figures of Turkish historians such as Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Fuat Köprülü were also active political figures of Turkish nationalism.

Turkish History Thesis was the well-known product of the first term modern Turkish historians, who had worked with the state elite. Indeed most of the historians were actually collaborating with state elites in order to realize their political projects. According to proponents of the Turkish History Thesis, which was partly mentioned in the previous part on Turkishness, the race of the Turks has the ability to form and govern states. They expanded from Central Asia to the other parts of the world and they carried their civilization to the other parts of the world, to China, Egypt, Mesopotamia or Anatolia.[71] In a history book published in 1936 to be taught in the secondary schools, even the Hittites were defined as the ancient Turks of *Hata.*[72]

1932 and 1937 Turkish Congresses of History were two important landmarks of the nationalist history writing. Mustafa Kemal was personally interested in history writing and he supported to gather the historians together. However, more than an academic debate, the congresses seemed to be organized in order to reach a "collective approval" of the nationalist Turkish history. Several academic attempts to criticize the irrationalities or inconsistencies of the Turkish History Thesis were strictly condemned.[73] The historians were faced a choice of being a state historian or a betrayer. The young historian Afet İnan became an apparent figure of this period,

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[71] *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları*, 1999 (1930), pp.59-65

[72] Quoted from *Ortamektep için Tarih*, vol.3, İstanbul, 1936, p. 112, quoted in Ersanlı Behar, 1992, p.110

[73] For the critics of Fuat Köprülü during the 1st Turkish Congress of History, see: Ersanlı Behar, 1992, pp.130-137

with strong backing from Mustafa Kemal; which also clarifies why she could talk in the congresses as if she were an authority in the Turkish history.

It is noteworthy to mention that linguistic studies similarly excited government's interests to the highest pitch. Followingly the First Congress on Turkish Language was gathered in 1932. The official programme emphasized the relationship between Turkish and Indo-European languages. It was during these years that the general theme of the Turkish nationalism claimed a Central Asian origin for the Sumerians and therefore, the Mesopotamian people. Ahmet Cevat Emre, Saim Emre, Mehmet Saffet Bey, Hakkı Nezihi Bey and Agop Martayan who were largely influenced by the ideas of late Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha on the racial similarity of Turks and Europeans, were among the linguistic scholars of this period, who came up with theories claiming Turkish as a member of or even the source of the Indo-European languages. However, the most daring attempt came from Samih Rıfat in 1935. With his theory of Sun-Language, which had suggestions beyond language, he wanted to prove that Turks are the oldest race in the world who had established an illustrious civilization in Central Asia and with climatic changes they had to move to the other places of the world, but they expanded their language and civilization to other peoples. In fact, Turkish language and civilization were portrayed as the "sun" of all nations and peoples.[74] Some pseudo-scientific data distorted from findings of genetics and archeology were claimed to be the proofs of the pure Turkish race and language in the Sun-Language Theory. This theory intermingled with the Turkish History Thesis and influenced the official history writing for few decades. This theory faded away as the domestic and external scholars lacked their sympathy for it and it was doomed to failure.[75] Looking for new fountains and new explanations for Turkish distracted the linguists for a long time.

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[74] İlker Aytürk, "Turkish Linguists against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.40, No.6, November 2004, pp.11-18

[75] Ibid., p.18

Instead of searching about "what had happened", academics focused on proving "what is expected".

In general this understanding of historiography brought in a "degree of amnesia institutionalized by the Turkish nation-state regarding both the origins of Turkish nationalism and the history of Turkish people in Asia Minor." Forgetfulness was officialised and there was a clear break between Turkish and Ottoman histories.[76] Contradictory with the continuous progress of mankind in history, which can be found in positivism and historiography, the Ottoman past was mentioned as the dark days of Turkish history and left aside. The official forgetfulness of Turkish nationalism has included the Byzantine and Greek past, as well. The Byzantine Empire, which had lived on the territories of Anatolia more than a millennium was neglected in Turkish history books. Its influence on the Seljuks and the Ottoman Empire[77] was ignored and the links with the Byzantium past cut in many textbooks. While the Neolithic ages of Anatolia or ancient Hittites were given in a detailed analysis for pages long, the reluctance about inclusion of the Byzantine or the Greeks is notable. According to Etienne Copeaux, three different rhetorics of narration can be found in Turkish history writing, which are pointing out the Asiatic, Anatolian and Islamic background of the Turks. Copeaux says that the ignorance of the period of the 1000 years long Byzantine Empire has been the common point of all types of narrations.[78] Turkish students are generally unable to talk about the Byzantine Empire, which had lived just before and also during the Ottoman Empire. Despite

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[76] Nergis Canefe, "Turkish Nationalism and Ethno-Symbolic Analysis: The Rules of Exception", *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol.8, No.2, 2002, p.139

[77] İsmail Tokalak believes that the Ottoman organizational and cultural structure resembles the previous Byzantine Empire, see: İsmail Tokalak, *Bizans-Osmanlı Sentezi: Bizans Kültür ve Kurumlarının Osmanlı Üzerinde Etkisi,*İstanbul: Güler Boy Yayıncılık, 2006

[78] Etienne Copeaux, "Türkiye'de 1931-1993 Arasında Tarih Ders Kitapları", in *Tarih Eğitimine Eleştirel Yaklaşımlar*, O. Köymen (ed.), Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 2003, p.110

this unawareness about the Byzantine Empire, ironically the same students are more familiar with the civic code of the ancient Mesopotamia, the Code of Hammurabi created in 1760 BC.

It is possible to see some descriptions in some Turkish history books which define the Greek civilization as a primitive culture in which it was generally developed by the Turkish contribution. In fact, some writers were keen to prove that the roots of the Greek culture depended on Central Asia and evolved only in "Anatolian filter".[79] Moreover, the situation of Anatolia during the ancient Greek civilization was not explained with positive words. According to Remzi Oğuz Arık the "our" homeland has never been as monolithic as it was under the rule of the Turks. The previous possessors had just exploited the lands of Anatolia and the stroke (*darbe*) of the Byzantine Empire on civilization had to be remembered with hatred according to him.[80] Osman Turan explained that many Christian people, who were oppressed by the coercion and cruelty of the Byzantine Empire, preferred the Turkish hegemony and he then underlined that "the Turkish history is only full of justice, humanity, freedom to other peoples and religions and eventually the idea of order".[81]

Alternatively, Afet İnan claimed that the ancient occupiers of the "continent Greece" were the *Akeen* or *Akas* and therefore the contemporary Greek territories were originally *Akai* or *Aka eli*. According to İnan, *Aka* came from the Turkish word *ağa* (brother) and *Ege* (Aegean) came from the Turkish word *eke* (big brother or sister). The Greek civilization was made a part of Turkish civilization with these

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[79] Quoted from Arif Müfid Mansel quoted in Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, İstanbul: AFA Yayınları, 1992, p.187

[80] Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Milliyetçiliği*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1992 (1974), p. 18 and 35

[81] Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkuresi Tarihi,* vol 1, İstanbul: Nakışlar Yayınevi, 1979, pp.39-40

words. Let alone the Greeks, the Latin civilization was also established by the *Etrüsk* who were originally Turks.[82] This approach was indeed a different stage in otherization of the Greeks. The Greeks were not only excluded from the Turkish history as a distinct ethnic group, but also from the world history via an ethnic linkage established with Turkish ancestors of *Etrüsks*. In this sense, this argument represents the most notable example of ignoring the Greeks and Greek culture in Turkish historiography.

In 1940s there had been a scientific turn in Turkish historiography, as well as in Turkish socio-political arena. The desperateness of the attempt to write the Turkish history according to some epic sagas or mythical stories was understood, or at least accepted, by the state elites and the academicians. The break between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey was gradually abandoned. The interest in the Ottoman history flourished in time. Alongside Sultans' personal lives or wars, different aspects of the Ottoman history became an interesting area for the intellectuals in Turkey, when the economic policies were in question during the 1930s world economic crisis. Ottoman social-structure was seen as the origin of Republican Turkey's problems. The Ottoman Empire was put in a cross examination.[83] Besides,

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[82] Afet Hanım'ın Konuşması, *Türk Tarihi Hakkında Mütalaalar*, Türk Ocakları Neşriyatı, İstanbul: Türk Ocağı Matbaası, 1930

[83] A new research era had begun with a new and keen approach towards the Ottoman historical and socio-economic structure, which was named as the *Kadro* movement. On the one hand, a serious empirical research was started by several intellectuals such as Fuat Köprülü and Lütfi Barkan. They focused on the Ottoman Islamic era's social and economic institutions. On the other hand, a group of intellectuals, namely Şevket Süreyya Aydemir or Ömer İsmail Hüsrev adhering to Marxist theory applied for the first time modes of production and social formation theory to the problems of Ottoman-Turkish society, which can be seen as an encouraging project for the completion of the "socio-economic phase of Atatürk revolution". Ottoman social structure was characterized as a stagnant village economy dependent on ruling class' exploiting the people. İsmail Hüsrev was the first Turkish writer who emphasized the need to rescue the Ottoman history from mere stories of the "sultans' adventures". He offered to investigate the social aspect of the Ottoman history independently and within its own special conditions. Hüsrev wrote that there was a ruling class in the Ottoman state which appropriated the "surplus product" by force. Within this class it was *sipahis* with *timars*, the men of religion with *wakfs* and the Sultan and his men that appropriated the peasants' surplus. The scope of study, which fit into the Marxist theory, developed in time and "feudal exploitation" and

the strict racist theories was started to be cleaned up from the history textbooks. However, the heroic and epic narration of Turkish history has not been erased yet.

In fact, in a more recent history textbook, the Turks were again presented as the source of civilization and they carried their civilization to Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia, Syria and around the Aegean Sea.[84] The Greeks, on the other hand, were separated from ancient times and civilizations. According to this problematical argument, Ionians, *Akas* or Cretans were all different peoples from the Greeks. When the *Akas* were living in Greece, they had to leave their lands after the attacks of the barbarians. They went to the western part of Anatolia. This nameless people were the children of the barbarians and known as the Greeks by the Romans. However, they preferred the name of *Ions* for themselves, but they were not *Ionian* actually.[85] The explanation about the origin of the Greeks was hard to understand, but the message is clear: the Greeks did not have "precious roots".

As a complementary argument about the insufficiency of the Greeks about creating a civilization, in another history book, which was published for high schools, Anatolian heritage was given as the source of the Greek civilization. Because of some sentimental reasons, the Europeans forgot the Anatolian civilization

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"Asiatic mode of production" models were applied to the studies. Ironically, this methodology so well fit into the Balkan nationalist history tradition. Halil İnalcık, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1995, pp.28-29

[84] Niyazi Akşit, *Milli Tarih Ana Ders Kitabı,* Secondary School 1, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1992, p.25

[85] Quoted from F. Sanır, T. Asal, N. Akşit, *Sosyal Bilgiler 4*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1989, p.191 quoted in Herkül Millas, "Tük Ders Kitaplarında 'Yunanlılar': Bütünleştirici bir Yaklaşım", in *Tarih Eğitimi Ve Tarihte 'Öteki' Sorunu*, 2. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi, A. Berktay and H. C. Tuncer (eds.), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p.256

and began to name it as the Greek civilization. However, when Anatolia was living its brilliant days of science and freedom, the women were being insulted in Morea.[86]

The representation of the modern relations between the Turks and the Greeks is another remarkable issue for the Turkish history textbooks. The Greeks were mostly told under the titles of the Greek Rebellion and the Turkish War of Independence, which reminds the past of "hostility" between two nations. The expression of "Greek Cruelty (*Yunan Mezalimi*) is a common definition within the texts.[87] In a high school book published in 1995, the activities of Greeks were told in a very emotional way that the Greek soldiers made a massacre over the defenseless people, the civil servants and the army officers who were told not to react against them. "They killed over 2000 innocent Turkish citizen in 48 hours."[88] The events are given as a highly dramatic picture and in an elementary school book, the feelings of the children in case of a foreigner's breaking into their house are asked,[89] which would be expected to be answered with hatred. As Reşat Kasaba once argued "To the Turks, 9 September 1922 was liberation day for Izmir, the crowning event in their successful war of deliverance from the occupying Greek and Allied Forces. School children in Turkey learn nothing of the forced migration of millions of people;

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[86] Quoted from Ahmet Mumcu, İhsan Güneş, Cahit Bilim, *Kredili Sisteme Göre Liseler için Tarih 2,* İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1992, p.56 quoted in Ibid., p.257

[87] For example: Zafer Çakmak, *İzmir ve Çevresinde Yunan İşgali ve Rum Mezalimi (1919-1922)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2007

[88] Ahmet Bekir Palazoğlu and Osman Bircan, *Ders Geçme ve Kredili Sisteme Göre Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük 1*, Ankara: Koza, 1995, p. 35

[89] Meltem Tekerek, Niyazi Kaya, Melek Derya Alıç, Bekir Yılbat, Tuğrul Yıldırım, Miyase Koyuncu, Kadir Ulusoy, *Sosyal Bilgiler Ders Kitabı,* Elementary 4, 2nd ed., İstanbul: MEB Devlet Kitapları, 2006, p.54

instead they read the celebratory accounts of how "the enemy" was "dumped into the sea".[90]

Moreover, these events were explained with the irredentist ideals of Greece or *Megali Idea.* The fear to lose the territories to Greece, which can be seen as a part of the Sévres paranoia has been the remarkable viewpoint of the history writers for a long time in Turkey. There are still a significant number of people in Turkey who believes that the *Megali Idea* is the hidden idea of Greek politics. They interpret the Greek and Turkish relations from the perspective of the ideal of the Greeks to invade the territories of Turkey.[91] To see any controversy between two states upon *Megali Idea* automatically makes the Turkish people to think that they have to protect their territories. The threat perception influenced the general attitude of the Turks. Obviously, the historical texts telling the Greek-Turkish relations mostly within a clash history has been the underlying reason of this attitude.

To explain any kind of development or success in Greek history with the western support is another way of othering the Greeks. The separation of the Greeks from the Ottoman Empire is explained only with the help of the western states. According to this approach, since the west believes that their civilization was based on the ancient Greek culture, they always back the Greeks in every arena. On the other hand, the lasting hostility of Europe against the Muslim Turks is frequently

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[90] Reşat Kasaba, "Greek and Turkish Nationalism in Formation: Western Anatolia 1919-1922", Mediterranean Programme Series, *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies*, European University Institute, no.17, 2002, p.3

[91] Herkül Millas, *Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999, pp.211-215 Actually Greek nation-state mostly abandoned the *Megali Idea* during the interwar years, when it felt the threat of Italy, and mainly Bulgaria. The conditions were no longer convenient to continue this expansionist idea as the country lacked resources and international support. Hence, safeguarding of its security and the territorial integrity of the country became the main targets of foreign affairs. Anna Vakali, *Agreements and Friendship Between Greece and Turkey in 1930: Contesting Nationaist Discourses and Press Reactions*, MA Thesis Submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi University, 2007, p.21

highlighted.[92] The invasion of Anatolia by Greeks in 1919 is explained with the provocation of the Allies, in order to use the Greeks to realize the Treaty of Sévres, which was blockaded because of the civil resistance.[93] Moreover, the interpretation about the support of Britain to Greece goes further in some books and Greece is named as the "puppet state" serving to the national interests of Britain in the region.[94]

It is not only Greece which is taught with a kind of ignorance or insulting in the history books; the Greek minority is mostly referred with negative words in explaining the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the invasion of Anatolia after the First World War, as well. They are labeled as betrayers who benefited from the terrible situation of the Ottoman Empire and cooperated with the invading forces in order to share the territories although they had been living in peace and benefited from the advantages of the state for a long time. They are accused of being a supporter of the Treaty of Sévres.[95]

Apparently, the rewritten national history of the Turks reflects the otherization process. The Greeks have been mentioned with several stereotypes in these texts. Initially, they were ignored and not even seen as a distinct nation during the first years of the Republic.[96] In the following years, the ignorance turned into a

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[92] Quoted from Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, Abdurrahman Mercanlı, *Meslek Liseleri için Tarih*, İstanbul, 1991, especially p.145, quoted in Millas, 1998, p.263

[93] Rifat Turgut, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük 8,* Elementary Schools, Ankara: Pasifik Yayınları, 2003, p. 85

[94] Ahmet Bekir Palazoğlu and Osman Bircan, *Ders Geçme ve Kredili Sisteme Göre Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük 1*, Ankara: Koza, 1995, pp. 33-34

[95] Ibid., p. 35, 40 and 140

[96] Tanıl Bora asks why the "Greek animosity" had not been used in the first years of formation of the national identity. He explained this ignorance about the Greeks with the direction of the animosity mostly to the Ottoman past, Tanıl Bora, "Milli Kimliğin Kuruluş Döneminde Resmi Metinlerde 'Yunan Düşmanlığı' Neden Eksikti, Nereye Gitmişti?", *Defter,* no.32, Winter 1998

negative perspective and the Greeks began to be mentioned only through wars, rebellions or threats. "We" versus "them" has been the main message in any of these narrations.

## 5.3. Domestic Affairs: The Greek Minority as the "Other"

The notion of minority is not a novel concept as in the modern times, but its structure has been redefined according to its position vis-à-vis citizenship. Modern nation-states convert peoples and their roles consistent with a new formulation within the nationalist framework. They can be all citizens, but their level of capability to access to the power and be included by the ruling elite determines their category of majority or minority. Religious, linguistic, ethnic or cultural differences existing within the nation may lie at the roots of being minorities. Certain civil rights and voices in decision making process of the minority groups may be limited compared to the majority group. In fact, nation-states are generally constructed upon the choices and interests of the majority groups. Except for few examples[97], the state apparatus are owned by the majority of the community and mostly the rights of minorities are arranged according to their loyalty to sovereignty of the majority.

While almost no nation-states inherit homogenous populations, they project a unitary state once established their states on a certain territory. According to Partha Chatterjee "the territorial sovereignty and undivided national unity always produce and reproduce national minorities in the state"[98]. In modern sense, there are four internationally accepted criteria of being a minority: to be a citizen, to be less in number, not to be dominant and to be different. Above these objective criteria, a

[97] In Syria, the Alawite minority is the governing class of the country which has a Sunni majority. For the social and political reasons of this exceptional case, see: Daniel Pipes, "The Alawi Capture of Power in Syria", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 25, Issue 4, October 1989 , pp. 429-450

[98] Partha Chatterjee, "Nationalism: General", International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Oxford: Elsevier, 2001, p.10338

community can be accepted as minority if they are aware of their difference.[99] Hence, national minority can be defined as a group of people who observe themselves different from the majority and also have a desire to preserve or protect their ethnic, cultural or linguistic identity in the nation-state. Will Kymlicka suggests that the values of majority may not fit into the values of minorities. Thus, the reluctance of minorities to being a part of linguistic or cultural structure of the dominant nationality may be the reasons of separatist movements. The only way to solve this problem is to give equal rights to minorities and create a flexible atmosphere for the social, economic, ethnic or linguistic differences. As a solution, liberal multiculturalism can ease the integration of minorities to the national culture.[100] However, the domination of majority over minority continues to be one of the major problems of contemporary world politics. Democratization of societies necessitates the protection of minority rights and to preserve the plurality.

As it was seen in the previous analysis, the multiculturalism of Turkey inherited from the Ottoman system makes the Turkish state fragile in the minority issue. The transformation from the Ottoman *millets* to fit into a unitary nation-state model was not an easy step for the Turkish Republic. The Empire depended on the rule of the Muslim dynasty and the Muslim majority was accepted as *millet-i hakime* (sovereign nation) whereas the non-Muslims were given the protected status within the *Dar-ul Islam*. In this system, distinct religious groups, regardless of their ethnic identities, co-existed together but they have indeed had the feeling of belonging to their own *millet* identity. When this system has come to an end with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, its mentality continued to survive. The division among the

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[99] Baskın Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar, Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2004, p.26

[100] Will Kmylicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford: Calerendon Press, 1995

distinct *millet* identities was inherited by the modern Turkish Republic within the form of majority and minorities.

According to the different Turkish constitutions Turkish citizenship has been declared to embrace all people who live in Turkey regardless of their ethnic or religious identities. While the all-encompassing ideology of Turkish nationalism defines everybody "Turk" and claims equality for everyone, according to the Treaty of Lausanne the non-Muslims are accepted in the status of minority groups. With the acceptance of the minority status of the non-Muslim groups, the Muslims were declared as the majority of Turkey by implication. Hence, despite there is no constitutional disparity among the status of minorities in various constitutions, non-Muslims were recognized as the official minorities of Turkey by the founding Treaty of Lausanne.

The official principle of equality for all Muslim, non-Muslim, Turkish or non-Turkish citizens is of great justice and tolerance. However, the sociological exclusion of the minorities from Turkishness is a substantial problem of modern Turkish society. In fact, exclusion from the scope of Turkishness does not only aim at non-Muslims; Turkishness can also be used as the basis of exclusion of some other minorities. Kurdish case of contemporary Turkey is one of these cases. Although the Muslim Kurds are included in the scope of Turkishness through a sort of "religious brotherhood", the ethnic tendency in Turkish citizenship labels the Kurds as a separate class in several occasions. Obviously, despite the "all-inclusive" definition of Turkish citizenship, the experiences of exclusion blur the whole picture of "who the Turk is". In the same vein, Mesut Yeğen points out the duality in the definition of the Turkish citizenship. The constitutional texts manifest that Turkish citizenship follows the French model of expansionism and territorial community. Therefore, Turkishness is a political and legal status which is given to every Turkish citizen regardless of their ethnic or religious origins. However, says Yeğen, "Turkishness signified by Turkish citizenship sometimes goes beyond the political/territorial

definition of citizenship." The German understanding of citizenship based on the uniformity of the ethnic descent, which turns into ethnicism, finds echo in defining Turkishness, as well. At this point, the ethnic and exclusivist content discords with the political and inclusive definition of Turkish citizenship, which may also be described the discord between the practice and theory.[101]

In short, it can be argued that what is said and what is done are not always the same in Turkey. Contrary to the declared equality of all citizens, belonging to a minority group may sometimes result to face discrimination in Turkey. Baskın Oran says that the term of minority means "inferior" in Turkey because of the ongoing affect of the Ottoman *millet* system and reflects the mentality about these peoples' secondary positions in citizenship.[102] In fact, several attempts to homogenize the nation (such as population exchange or enforcing the minorities to migrate) or undermine the social and economic power of the minorities (such as 1936 declaration, 6-7 September events or Wealth Tax) were the traumatic experiences in which the minorities suffered a lot. Not only the minorities, but also the general credibility of the system was shaken, too. There are certainly many religious ethnic and cultural minorities in Turkey, but in this part discriminatory events faced by the Greek minority will be analyzed for the sake of the dissertation.

The interwar years of 1919-1939 are economically tough years for Turkey. At first, there was a huge loss of traders, manufacturers, merchants and entrepreneurs after the emigration of the Greek minority from Anatolia. The population exchange damaged the exchange and communication channels between the world economy and the Turkish economy. The connections with the world had to be reconstructed immediately, but the "domestic" capitalist class should take the place of the

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[101] Mesut Yeğen, "Citizenship and Ethnicity in Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.40, No.6, November 2004, pp.54-55

[102] Oran, 2004, p.179

"foreign" in short. For this reason, the National Turkish Trade Association was formed in 1923 so as to Turkify the industry and bureaucracy. All of its members were at the same time deputies of the new parliament. Turkish businessmen were supported to become the leading actors in finance and banking sectors. The conditions for the Greek minority, who were previously dominant at these sectors, were getting worse day by day. Together with hundreds of small size Greek enterprises, 110 large scale Greek companies were closed down between November 1922 and March 1923. Most of their owners escaped out of Turkey. According to the official data of the British Consulate, 188.681 Greeks and 150.075 other non-Muslims left the country between 1922 and 1923. The Turkification was not limited with trade companies. In 1923, employment of non-Muslims by the companies owned by non-Muslim businessmen was made difficult, through a regulation. All the non-Muslim companies were forced to replace their non-Muslim employees with the Muslim Turks. The alternative was not preferable for these companies. They could keep the non-Muslims as long as they employ a great number of Muslim workers together with them. Certainly, every company chose the way of firing the non-Muslims and get along with the new state. Until 1926, about 5000 workers from Greek minority were dismissed from their jobs.[103]

It was not only the workers, but some other professionals from the non-Muslim minority faced difficulties during these years. The language of correspondence in trade was limited with Turkish which caused dismissal of many non-Muslims who were not fluent in Turkish. In 1924, many lawyers were interrogated whether they had "good moral standards" and one third of the Greek lawyers were found "immoral".[104] In 1925, a widespread state propaganda of using domestic products had been initiated. People were invited to use Turkish products,

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[103] Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları ve Stratejileri Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, pp.109-110

[104] Ibid., p.111

wear Turkish clothes and shop only from the Turkish speaking salesmen.[105] The non-Turkish and non-Muslim Greek community was suffering from the developments and it became nearly impossible for them to make money in Turkey.

The non-Muslims were excluded from the business sectors with above-mentioned legal arrangements and practices. Perhaps, the most effectual among these policies was the law on the civil service post in Turkey. Although there was an open exclusion of the non-Muslims from bureaucracy during the first years of the Republic, it was in 1924 that the non-Muslims were officially put out of the civil service. According to the 4th article of the Rule of *Memurin* (civil service), the applicant should be a "Turk". The 1924 constitution referred the non-Muslims as "Turks", but they were assessed as "Turks" in the wording of Rule of *Memurin*. It was in 1965 that this condition was changed to being a "Turkish citizen".[106]

In 1934, many professions were forbidden to the non-Muslims with the "Law about Arts and Services Assigned to the Turkish citizens".[107] 15.000 İstanbul Greeks, who were mostly artisan and craftsmen, were dismissed. The migration seemed to be inevitable. In 1934, 2000 Greeks left Turkey. In the census of 1935 the number of the Greek citizens was given 17.642, which was 9000 less than the 1927 census.[108]

The training of the non-Muslims during the military service was different from that of the Muslims. They were not given the training of using gun and they only served as the assistants of the military officers. In fact, for a long time, the non-

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[105] Rıfat N. Bali, *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri: Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni 1923-1945*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999, p.224

[106] Güven, 2006, pp.112-113

[107] Ibid., p.112

[108] Aktar, 2006, p. 126

Muslim soldiers wore different clothes than the Muslims.[109] There was distrust to the non-Muslims and the state was reluctant to make them soldiers. As it was mentioned in the book of 1937, *Yurt Bilgisi* (Information of Homeland) "The Turk is the best soldier in the world because of his God-given ability. His ancestors have been soldiers for long centuries. There is no one nation who is better than the Turk in being a soldier."[110]

In May 1941, all of the non-Muslim men between the ages of 25-45 were gathered from their houses, streets or schools without any former information and taken into the military service via the excuse of a "new" military service regulation. These non-Muslims were settled into the working camps in several places of Anatolia. Then in 27 July 1942 these camps were closed. The main reason to establish such working camps can be understood within the world politics of that period. There was a possibility of Turkish involvement in the 2nd World War and the potential threat of the non-Muslims against the Turkish state should be taken under control. Moreover, the labor scarcity caused by the departure of the non-Muslim workers, tradesmen and bankers could be filled by the Muslim Turks, which would be another step of creating the Muslim bourgeoisie.[111]

The biggest step in eliminating the non-Muslim bourgeoisie was the Wealth Tax implemented between October 11, 1942 and March 15, 1944. Either it was a needed policy for the Muslim entrepreneurs or not, the main outcome of the implementation of this tax was a great evacuation of the non-Muslims bourgeoisie. Together with the idea of replacement of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie with the Muslim bourgeoisie, there might be some other explanations for the reasons of this tax. The neutrality during the 2nd World War has cost too much to Turkey. Facing the

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[109] Güven, 2006, p.133

[110] Okutan, 2004, pp.130-131

[111] Güven, 2006, pp.133-135

threat of a German attack, the Turkish army declared a general mobilization and over a million of men were taken under military service. These people had to give up their jobs and there was a sharp decrease in production. Moreover, mobilization was a costly activity and the state had to allocate a great deal of money for the defense budget. The inflation rates were devastating for the economy and the state was in need of new sources.

On November 1, 1942, president İnönü made a speech at TBMM about the Turkish economy and he accused the merchants and the farm-owners of being greedy and profiting from the uncertainty of the war days. They would try to turn the air they were breathing into a commodity, according to İnönü, if they could. Moreover, he underlined that there were several politicians in Turkey who were working for the sake of the foreign nations.[112] The president warned the people about the greedy merchants of Turkey who were in fact the agents of the foreign nations. This warning of the president rapidly echoed among the people who were facing with unemployment and inflation. Actually, there were two big groups which benefited from the conditions of the war: a group of Muslim owners of large scale farms and the non-Muslim merchants and commissioners of İstanbul. They made a great deal of money from the import of necessary goods.[113] In the end, however, it was the Greek, Armenian and Jewish those were influenced most by the implementations of the state.

While the state bureaucrats implicitly pointed out the non-Muslims as the supporters of the foreign national interests and cheating the people, the media was motivated by the state to make the anti-propaganda about the non-Muslims. The newspapers began to publish articles and caricatures which were mentioning the

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[112] Ayhan Aktar, "Varlık Vergisi'nin Hikayesi", *Toplumsal Tarih,* Vol.20, No.121, January 2004, p.83

[113] Nuran Savaşkan Durak, *Non - Muslım Minorities and Turkish National Identity: A Research Through Armenian and Greek Literary Works,* Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science and Pıblic Administration, Middle East Technical University, July 2004, p.218

greediness of the non-Muslim merchants.[114] The agitation was successful and the conditions for the Wealth Tax were appropriate.

On 11 November 1942, prime minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu explained the reasons of the Wealth Tax. Imposing a tax onto the speculative earnings during the 2nd World War and to decrease the amount of money in circulation were the underlying reasons of this new tax according to Saraçoğlu. However, just two days ago, in the closed meeting of the CHP he asserted the draft of the Wealth Tax as a way to eliminate the powerful foreign elements in the market and give over the market to the hands of the Turks.[115] In fact, it was not a surprise to hear this kind of discriminatory expression from Saraçoğlu. In his August 5, 1942 speech, he said "We are Turks, Turkists and always be Turkists. Turkism is about the blood for us, as well as about conscious and culture…We want neither the hegemony of the palace, nor the capital nor the classes. We just want the sovereignty of the Turkish nation."[116]

When the Wealth Tax was officially declared, non-Muslims realized that it was worse than they expected. On the other hand, there were many journalists who were highly pleased with the tax. In the December 18, 1942 issue of *Tan*, Zekeriya Sertel told that the Wealth Tax will end the injustice in society and give the money back to the people, who were the real owners of it. The tax was a cure for the sickness of non-citizenship (*gayri tabiilik*).[117] According to the rules of law, the tax had to be paid within 15 days and the non-Muslims were assigned to pay large amounts of money. 1% interest rate for the first week and 2% for the second week

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[114] Several examples can be find in the book of Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları,* İstanbul: İletşim Kitabevi, 2006

[115] Faik Ahmet Barutçu, *Siyasi Anılar 1939-1954*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınevi, 1977, p.263

[116] Aktar, 2006, pp.142-143

[117] Ibid., p.187

was charged in case of any delay in payments. The property of people who could not pay their taxes was sold in order to compensate the payment. The payments were arranged in the lists, which were generally separated into two: Muslims and non-Muslims. In fact, the converted Muslims were added to the non-Muslim category. These converted people had to pay the double of the Muslim taxes and the non-Muslims or "Foreigners" had to pay ten times of it.[118] It was believed that non-Muslims tried to hide their wealth in order to escape from paying tax to the state, since they never saw Turkey as their homeland. Therefore, the tax of the non-Muslims was determined higher than the Muslims.[119]

Of the all tax payers, the non-Muslims constituted the 87%, while the Muslims were only the 7%.[120] Most of the time, non-Muslims had to pay six or seven times more than the nominal capital they owned.[121] The non-Muslims who could not pay their taxes within 15 days (which was later extended to one month) were sent to the Erzurum, Aşkale working camp in order to pay their debts by physical working for the state. 1400 non-Muslim people were sent to Aşkale and 1229 of them were from İstanbul. 21 of them died at the working camp.[122]

When the Wealth Tax was annulled on 17 September 1943, the non-Muslim workers were released, the collection of the tax was ended and every practice about the taxation was stopped. Within the process of the implementation of this tax, 315.000.000 TL was gathered from the tax payers and 280.000.000 TL of it was

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[118] Güven, 2006, p.139

[119] Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye: Reform, Devrim ve Cumhuriyet, Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu 1805 - 1975, vol. 2, M. Harmancı (trans.), İstanbul: E Yayınları, 1983, p.471

[120] Aktar, 2006, p.154

[121] Güven, 2006, p.140

[122] Erol Anar, *Öte Kıyıda Yaşananlar: Azınlıklar Yerli Halklar ve Türkiye*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1997, p.90

from the non-Muslims.[123] The number of Orthodox Greeks, who were 125.046 in 1935, decreased to 103.839 in the 1945 annual statistics of Turkey.[124] The implementations of the Wealth Tax were harsh, but the western states hesitated to criticize the Turkish government in order not to hamper their relationships. The non-Muslims were disappointed by insufficient reaction both domestically and externally. Non-Muslims realized that, as the citizens of Turkey they would always be the "other" within the Turkish community from now on. The number of the non-Muslim communities decreased considerably after the Wealth Tax.

When the Democrat Party (DP) won the elections in May 1950, the relations of the non-Muslim community with the state turned into a new era of tolerance. The official speeches about the religious rights of the minorities signaled positive attitudes towards these groups by the political elites. In fact, the mild relations with Greece during the first years of 1950s and the cooperation of the two states in NATO and Balkan Pact were the reasons of the compromise given to the non-Muslims, especially to the Greek minority. An exchange between the teachers of Greece and Turkey was done in order to educate the Turkish minority in Greece and Greek minority in Turkey. Moreover, both states took a decision to provide financial support the Greek and Turkish minorities in their territories. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch and the Turkish president and prime minister were gathered in Ankara as a demonstration of good relations between the Greeks of Turkey and the Turkish state. There were some non-Muslim deputies of DP elected in 1950 elections from the region of İstanbul. In fact, almost all the non-Muslim community gave their votes for the DP in 1950 and 1954 elections.

The developments in Cyprus issue changed the domestic environment. As the controversy between Turkey and Greece about the status of the island escalated, the

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[123] Güven, 2006, p.145

[124] The Yearbook of State Statistical Institute (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), 1959

tolerance of the Turkish state to the Greek minority diminished. Turkish media was again turned in the line of the state policy. In the newspapers, the Greek minority in Turkey was begun to be compared with the Turkish minority in Greece. On July 1, 1955, the daily *Cumhuriyet* wrote that although the Greek minority in İstanbul had been living under good conditions without any risk of exiling, the Turks in Greece was forced to leave the country. İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate's silence about the developments in Cyprus and not criticizing the Cyprus Archbishop's "tricks" became one of the hot topics in some national newspapers (*Hürriyet, Yeni Sabah,* and *Tercüman*). The Greek press in İstanbul was accused because of their silence, as well.[125] The İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate and the Greeks were also accused of supporting Greece and their loyalty to Turkey was highly questioned. There was no concrete evidence of any support, but the antipathy to the Greeks and the other non-Muslim communities was resurrected.[126]

The Turkishness of Cyprus began to be cried everywhere in Turkey and the anti-Greek demonstrations began in September 1955. The announcements such as "The Greek rowdy, we are coming!" were broadcasted in radios.[127] On September 6, there was an article in *Yeni Sabah Postası* titled "These Shameless Spoiled Acts Must Be Stopped From Now On". *Gece Postası* published an article of "The Flag of the Greek Rowdies [*palikarya*] Can Not Sway in Konak Square Any More!".[128]

While there was a conference in London about Cyprus, the events were growing in İstanbul and İzmir. The participants of the conference were Turkey,

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[125] For the Greek press in İstanbul, see: Orhan Türker, "6/7 Eylül 1955 Olaylarının İstanbul Rum Basınındaki Yankıları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.177, 1998

[126] For the developments before 6-7 September 1955, see: Rıdvan Akar, "İki Yıllık Gecikme: 6-7 Eylül 1955", *Toplumsal Tarih,* no.117, September 2003,pp. 86-93 and  Güven, 2006, pp.163-166

[127] Quoted from Sarkiz Çerkezyan, *The World is Enough for All,* Belge-MareNostrum, May 2003, p.189 quoted in Savaşkan Durak, 2004, p.229

[128] Ibid, pp.229-230

Greece and the United Kingdom. The Greek representative was defending the self-determination of Cyprus, while he was planning to carry the issue to an international platform that was the UN. However, Britain did not want to carry the Cyprus issue to the UN. For them the case was not between Britain and Greece, but it was a bilateral disagreement between Turkey and Greece. A popular call from Turkey about Cyprus would be useful to convince everybody about the Turkish bonds of the island. After all, Britain has reached its goal and the US was convinced that the problem was between two NATO countries and had to be solved between them, not in the UN.[129]

The details of the developments are still not clear yet. The international or national motivating actors of the events are still unknown, but it was a fact that the Conference had to be suspended because of the events in Turkey. In fact, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, was not satisfied the progress and he chose to leave the conference with this excuse.

According to the script telegraph of Zorlu sent to the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, they should have complaints about the Greeks which they could use during the negotiations in the Conference. In the telegram Zorlu told that they should be able to say that they could not control the public opinion about Cyprus in Turkey. Moreover, he asked the government to be more active on the issue.[130] On the other hand, there was an interesting speech of the British Embassy of Athens about how a possible damage of Atatürk's house in Thessalonica would have shaken the relations between Turkey and Greece.[131] These kinds of telegrams created a suspicion about the roles of the Turkish and British governments in the 6-7 September events. Even if they had, it is for sure that nobody was expecting this kind of devastation or vandalism during the events.

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[129] Dilek Güven, "6-7 Eylül Olayları (2), *Radikal*, 7 September 2005

[130] Savaşkan Durak, 2004, p.231

[131] Güven, 2005

In the morning of September 6, a bomb exploded near the house of Atatürk in Thessalonica. Interestingly, thousands of copies of The Night Post (*Gece Postası*) announcing the bombing were hurriedly distributed in İstanbul and the mob were organized by the Association of Cyprus is Turkish (*Kıbrıs Türktür Cemiyeti*) in the very same morning. People were agitated by these groups and they began to march from the square of *Taksim*. Firstly, the printing houses of the Greeks were set on fire. Then the events expanded and houses, churches, schools and cemeteries of the Greeks were destructed. Although the aggression first aimed only at the Greek minority, it didn't take too long to direct upon the Armenians and Jews. More than 4 thousands shops, 73 churches, 110 hotels, 27 drugstores, 20 factories, about 2 thousand 600 houses, 52 Greek and 8 Armenian schools were burned, destroyed and pillaged; 3 people were murdered and there was 30 injured. The security forces had almost not interfered in the events until the midnight. After the events of September 6 and 7, the martial law was declared in İstanbul and İzmir. The official declarations were blaming the "communists" as the real actors of this provocation and some of the leftist writers were arrested. 45 people were arrested including Aziz Nesin, Kemal Tahir, Asım Bezirci, Hasan İzzetin Dinamo. During the Yassıada Courts it was revealed that the 6-7 September events were among the hidden operations of the Turkish Secret Service. Turkish Consul in Thessalonica, M. Ali Balin tried to persuade Hasan Uçar to commit the bombing in the city, but he was not successful. Then, Oktay Engin who was a law student in Thessalonica and getting financial scholarship from the Turkish government was used instead of him.[132]

In 1960, the then vice Prime Minister Fuat Köprülü gave an interview to *Yeni Sabah* and told that the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and the Minister of Interior Namık Gedik organized the events of September 6-7 with the motivation of Fatin Rüştü Zorlu. The real purpose of was to menace the Greek minority in Turkey and to obtain an advantageous position during the negotiations of Cyprus. When the events

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[132] Murat Çelikkan, "Hukukun Üstünlüğü", *Radikal*, 7 September 2002

got out of their control, they decided to explain the events with the provocation of the communists.[133]

The responsible of the September 6-7 are still unclear. In the end, the non-Muslims and especially the Greek minority of Turkey were suffered from the events physically and psychologically. There may have been different reasons and explanations for these events. According to one explanation, the events were designed to delay the negotiation process in London, which was initially planned as a small size disorder. Some people referred to the ethnic rhetoric behind the events and evaluated them as an ethnic movement against the non-Turkish and non-Muslim citizens of Turkey. On the other hand, the economic shift of capital from the rich minorities to the newly developing Turkish bourgeoisie was the underlying motive of the incidents according to another explanation, which emphasized the nationalization of the capital in country. Most probably, all of these explanations were right.

The emigration of the Greeks from Turkey was great in numbers after the events. In five years the number of the Greek minority decreased from 79.691 to 65.139.[134] The trust of the Greek minority to the state had fallen and they realized once more the crude facts in the definition of the Turkish citizenship. Although they were equal citizens in theory, the dramatic practices showed that their status as the "other" of the Turk was very firm to change.

When the Cyprus issue became a major problem for Turkey in 1964 after the murder of some Turkish Cypriots, the first reaction of the Turkish state was once again directed against the Greek minority. 12.592 Greeks were exiled from Turkey, most of who were middle-aged businessmen in İstanbul. All their properties and their

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[133] Şemsi Kuseyri's interview with Fuat Köprülü, "Fuat Köprülü 6-7 Eylül Olaylarını Açıkladı", *Yeni Sabah,* 5 June 1960

[134] Güven, 2006, p.178

money in the banks were blockaded by the Turkish state. They were permitted only to take cargo of 20 kilos and 200 TL with themselves. Most of these businessmen were married to the Greeks of Turkey and had children. Therefore the number of the exiled Greeks was increased up to approximately 40.000.[135] Today there are only few thousands of Greeks in Turkey, mostly living in İstanbul, specifically in the district of Balat, Fener where the *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate is settled. The ecumenical status of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate is not recognized by the Turkish state, because of its contradictory position with the Turkish state's sovereignty.

The above mentioned examples of some discriminatory events in which the Greek minority was affected were useful to enlighten the domestic development of the term of "other" according to Turkish national identity. The discord between theory and practice in the definition of Turkish citizenship, violation of the property rights of the minorities, hostile attitude of Turkish people towards minorities raised by the propaganda of the state and the abuse of the minorities by the Turkish government during any foreign affairs were the points have been briefed in this part. In the next part of the chapter, which will also be the last before the concluding remarks of the thesis, the issue of Greek otherization will be discussed within the context of Turkish foreign affairs and then, relations of both countries will be analyzed according to their national identity perceptions.

## 5.4. Perception of the "Other" in Turkish Foreign Affairs: Relations with Greece

So far the historical analysis of Turkish national identity formation was analyzed. The identity issue was discussed according to nationalist discourse and otherization process in the previous parts. These issues were highlighted in order to

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[135] Hülya Demir and Rıdvan Akar, *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünler: 1964'te Rumların Sınırdışı Edilmesi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004

understand the perception of the Greek from the Turkish national perspective. Here, the foreign affairs of Turkey will be depicted upon this process of otherization, which can be explained with a constructivist perspective. The historical, cultural and social background of the Turkish national identity will be used as the background of the foreign policy of Turkey towards Greece. The uniqueness of Greece for Turkey will be grounded on this very interaction of the identity construction and national interest of Turkey. This study has obviously been an attempt to criticize the isolation of the domestic from the international in foreign policy making, therefore the connection between the construction of national identities and state policies in international arena should not be ignored during the analysis of Turkish foreign affairs.

Upon the constructivist idea, the conflicts between Turkey and Greece can be defined as the signs of state practices to legitimize themselves at home and abroad. They cannot be explained with "given" antagonism or eternal otherization. They do have some geographical and historical reasons which sometimes carry them to the edge of war, but the same geography and history also generate a connection between them. In fact, their common history brings in opportunities of cooperation through some examples, especially from the Ottoman times. The appreciation of the *Rumi* culture in the Ottoman identity, the important role of the Greeks in socio-economic processes of the Empire and the intellectual linkage between two cultures are significant because it demonstrates the possibility of a positive context in the interaction of both identities. The modern states, however, make use of the "other" perception as something "given" while ignoring the past collective identity with a pure presentism.

It is mentioned that the conflictual "other" is a product of modern times in Turkey and Greece. The constructed perceptions between them mostly emanate from their national interests and the need for legitimization of domestic and external policies. In this sense, the assumption of security of the nation and the threat

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perception are the most common explanations for the problematic history of Turkish-Greek conflicts. Contemporary foreign affairs of Turkey should be understood with its reference to security and the place of the Greek other, but within its historical background before the modern times. The Turkish rhetoric of the "enemy around us" is not an exogenous feature of the Turkish foreign policy; in fact, it is endogenous because of the conditions of the modern nation-state construct. This study aims to bring in a wider scope instead of a presentist perception of the Greeks as the "forever" other or the "enemy" of Turkish national identity. The propositions on Turkish identity, security of Turkey and the enemy of Turkey should be understood here in order to place the Greek other within the Turkish foreign policy.

According to Huysman, the assumption that an enemy "unites the functionally fragmented society of the …state" would make politics to identify the community on the basis of the expectations of hostility.[136] The existing or constructed enemy, outside the society, which would threat the secured conditions of the people, would be helpful to unite them around the belief of having a common identity against the enemy. Mathias Albert defines this relation between identity and security as follows "If security is about identity, then one could think that it is those communications that became "securitized" upon observation by a social system that relate to expectations that refer to an identity."[137] Hence, it can be derived that an identity is an outcome of the expectations of a community demanding security against an enemy, which can be called the "other". Obviously, otherization sometimes includes the feelings of hostility, fear or antagonism.

State as the legitimate power of nation, is the securitizing mechanism of the political issues and turns them from normal politics to "security" politics. This can be

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[136] Jef Huysman, "The Question of the Limit: Desecuritization and the Aesthetics of Horror in Political Realism", *Millennium,* Vol. 27, No.3, p. 576

[137] Mathias Albert, "Security as Boundary Function: Changing Idenities and 'Securitization' in World Politics", *The International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol 3, n 1, January 1998

understood in terms of the direct relationship between securitization and bureaucratization. One can say that securitization as a conscious political choice of the bureaucratic ruling elite 'marks a decision', a 'breaking free of rules' and the suspension of normal politics.[138] In this kind of security estimation, securitization is something atypical or unordinary, which is announced by the bureaucracy with rhetoric of securing the citizens from the threat of existing or created outer forces.

Within this framework, Turkish foreign policy can be re-interpreted. Throughout the Republican era, Turkish foreign policy has been the special sphere of the state elites and there is an esoteric public acceptance of an idea that Turkey's national interest and security goals are pursued by these elites. The structural problem of Turkish foreign policy here can be understood as the lack of critical public debate about the means of foreign policy. The constructed other figures is very hard to criticize or reform according to this understanding of Turkish foreign policy, which has been given into the hands of the bureaucratic elite. Pınar Bilgin states that "traditional discourse on security in Turkey has been that of the civilian-bureaucratic elite since the foundation of the republic". She asserts two major components of this discourse: namely, a fear of abandonment and fear of loss of territory and an assumption of geographical determinism. The former discourse of "fear of loss of territory" was arguably originated in Ottoman history and Sévres Treaty. The 19th century patriotic nationalist movements of minorities, coupled with the economic and military decline of the Ottoman Empire, has meant a threat to both the integrity and security of the empire. The rise of self-determination idea among the Ottoman *ekalliyet* (minority) left a negative imprint on the mind of many in contemporary Turkey. The discourse of "Turkey's internal and external enemies still

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[138] Michael Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quarterly,* vol. 47, no.4, 2003, p.518

want to partition our country" has been a motto in Turkey.[139] This nervous approach was always influencing the foreign policy perception of Turkey. Although, it would not be wise to ground the whole political behaviors of Turkish state on this discourse, this psychology has a place at least in the mind of the public opinion.

Hence, it is no surprise to see most of the relations with Greece in terms of the security under the conceptualization of obsession about abandonment and fear of loss of territory. In fact, there is a tendency in Turkish media and therefore in the public opinion to link any problem with the Greeks, inside or outside, to their irredentism or (*Megali Idea*). In fact, the Greek designs on Turkish territory, as exemplified by the Greek invasion of Western Anatolia after the First World War, made an indelible mark on Turkish collective memory. Although there has never been a serious Greek threat to Turkey since 1923, a deep-seated suspicion of Greek motives has continued to be effective on Turkish perceptions.[140] Ordinary people have the prejudice on Greeks, such that the "tricky and self-seeking" Greeks are taken for granted in rendering all issues. Consequently, this formulation makes all events a part of security politics, which means securitization, and a defensive action against the "other".

Geographical determinism is another part of security which shapes the Turkish foreign policy with the ultimate target of protecting the boundaries. One of the ex-ministers of National Defense explains the importance of geographical importance by noting that "Turkey is located in the center of a region full of instabilities and uncertainties, such as Middle East, Caucasus and the Balkans, where the balances are in a process of change…unsuitable situation in … our neighbors'

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[139] Pinar Bilgin, "Turkey's Changing Security Discourse: The Challenge of Globalisation", *European Journal of Political Research,* vol.44, no.1, 2005, p. 183

[140] Ahmet O. Evin, "Changing Greek Perspectives on Turkey: An Assesment of the post-Earthquake Rapproachment", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, eds. By Çarkoğlu, A. And Rubin, B., New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 6

policy toward Turkey and our 8,300 kilometers long costs (sic) entail us to develop our national security policy in this way"[141], which is a declaration of a cautious security politics. Ironically then Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit response to some calls for democratization and says that "Turkey's special geographical conditions require a special type of democracy."[142] This assessment can be interpreted that Turkey's policy-makers make reference to the geographical location in order to justify the practices necessitated by their policy preferences.[143] Hence, the vulnerable position of Turkey can be seen as an excuse of the governments' behaviors, from time to time. In fact, the outer threatening figure can ease any kind of dramatic scenarios in the foreign policy which can be turned into a security crisis of the country.

Greece has a special place in the potential security crisis expected by Turkish policy makers. Tensions about Cyprus, the Aegean Sea, islands and minorities are some of the problematical areas between two states. In fact, the hitherto experiences with Greece created a negative image in the eyes of the Turkish public opinion. In a 2003 public survey, as can be seen in Figure 4 and 5, the answer given to the question of "Which country is Turkey's worst friend in the international arena?" was context dependent. 36.1 % of the respondents said Greece as the worst friend of Turkey. In consequence, to the question of "If there were to be a military attack, which country do you think it is most likely to come from?" 29 % gave the name of Greece as a potential attacker to Turkey in the first rank.

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[141] Sabahattin Çakmakoğlu, BBC Monitoring International Reports. E-source is available at: http://www.business.reuters.com (accessed 25 July 2002)

[142] From E. Aydınlı and D. Waxman, "A Dream Become Nightmare? Turkey's Entry into the European Union", Current History, Vol. 100, Issue. 649, November 2001, p.385
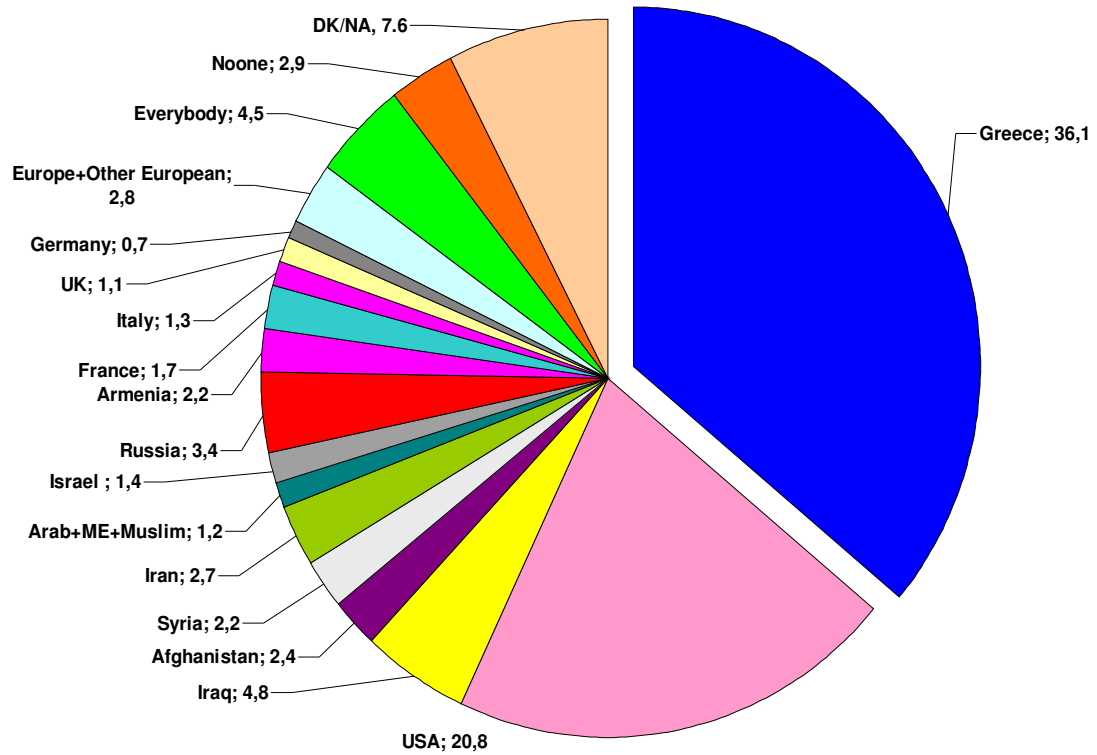
[143] Bilgin, 2005, p. 187

**Figure 4**

**Which country is Turkey's worst friend in the international arena?**

**Source:** Ali Çarkoğlu and Kemal Kirişçi, "The View from Turkey: Perceptions of Greeks and Greek-Turkish Rapproachment by the Turkish Public", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 126
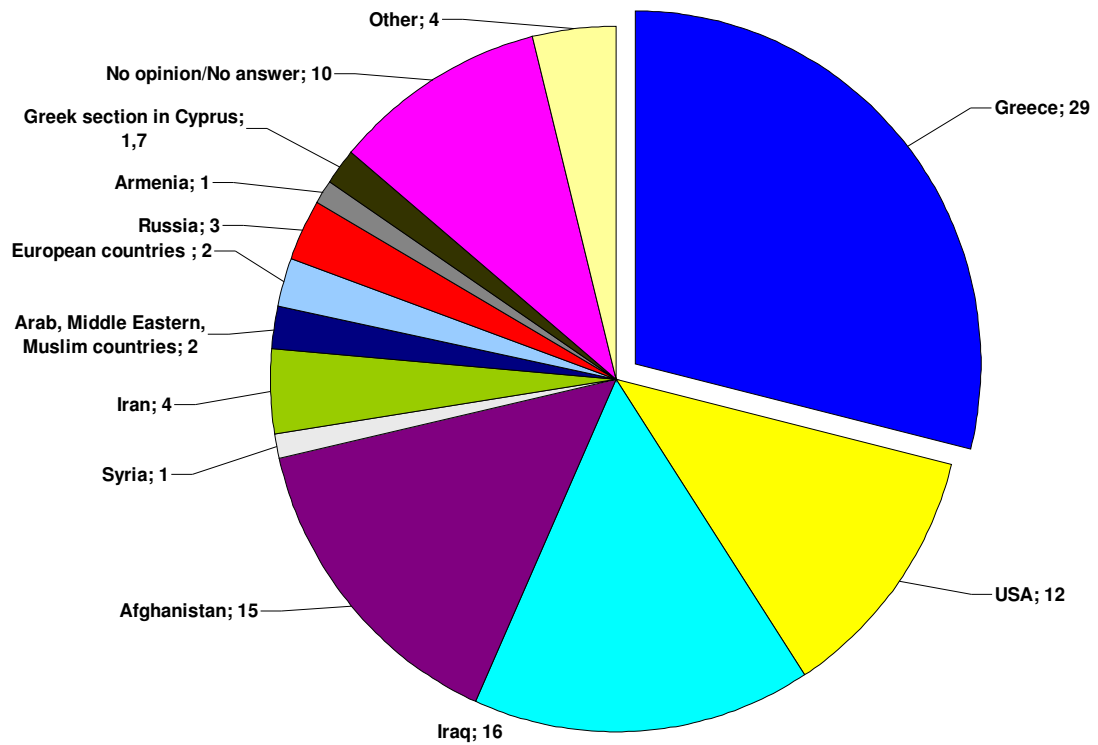
**Figure 5**

**If there were to be a military attack, which country do you think it is most likely to come from?**

Greece seemed to have bad connotations in Turkish public opinion. Herkül Millas says that the term *Rum* or Greek reminds Turkish people "enemy".[144] The long-lasting problems between two states naturally influenced the people. As long as the environment of Turkey is seen as an arena of clash and the Greeks are reflected as the enemy, the domestic public opinion will continue to be influenced by the negative interpretations. Most of the people with a negative impression about the Greeks have never been to Greece or even met a Greek in their lives, but the constructed image of the Greeks as the other is a taken for granted knowledge in their minds.

Turkish and Greek nations have been sharing the same geographical area for a millennium, during which several conflicts have naturally arisen between these two neighbors. The structures of the conflicts have been shaped during the long history of the two sides of the Aegean Sea; however the shift of these issues into a form of international conflict happened with the nation-state experience. Therefore, the conflictual experiences between Turkey and Greece should not be taken as the essential and given part of the relations. Obviously, there had been some bitter memories of the Ottoman period that haunt the imagination of decision-makers and public opinion in Turkey and Greece. However, Turkey and Greece have had periods of cooperation, such as the inter-war period. Therefore, it remains a question that why people prefer to invoke the antagonistic parts of their common history.[145]

First diplomatic relations between two states were set up after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Population exchange agreement was accepted after the Treaty and it took years to fulfill the process. In 1930, the relations improved and the leaders of

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[144] Herkül Millas, *Daha İyi Türk Yunan İlişkileri İçin Yap Yapma Kılavuzu*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2002, p.6

[145] Bahar Rumelili, "Liminality and Perpetuation of Conflicts: Turkish–Greek Relations in the Context of Community-Building by the EU", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 9, no.2, 2003, p. 214

two states decided to solve the last points about population exchange. With a new agreement, all the İstanbul Greeks and Western Thrace Turks were accepted as settlers and each state accepted to arrange the best possible socio-economic situation for these minorities. This agreement was followed by the Balkan Conferences between 1930 and 1933, with the participation of Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania and Bulgaria. Actually, it was against oncoming danger of Italian and German foreign policies which made these states closer to each other. After the conferences, Turkey and Greece signed the Treaty of Friendship in 1933, which was followed by several bilateral treaties between the Balkan countries. Bulgaria developed a revisionist vision and separated from the cooperation. On the other hand, Turkey, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia signed the Balkan Pact on February 9, 1934. The parties agreed on securing each others boundaries and accepted to act together against any threat from other states.[146] While the Pact aimed at non-aggression and security of the boundaries, it was at the same time a bolstering of inter-Balkan trade via customs union and an agreement recognizing the rights of the Balkan citizens' free movement, work and establishment. However, the Balkan Pact lasted only for three years. It was both because of some special clauses added by the members of the Pact and also the German economic penetration into the Balkan zone.[147] The pact lasted only for three years. 2nd World War had changed much in domestic and external relations. After the war the security and stability in the Balkan countries became significant for the USA against the threat of the Soviet Union. The USA began to be more active and effective in the region and it motivated two states and Yugoslavia to sign another Balkan Pact in 1954. However, this attempt was not successful since two new regions of conflict were emerging: Cyprus and the Aegean Sea. As the relations tensed in due time, some other problems had risen between two countries, which have been still unsolved today.

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[146] Tahir Kodal, "Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası (1923-1938), in *Yakın Dönem Türk Politik Tarihi*, eds. By İnan, S. and Haytoğlu, E., Ankara: Anı Yayınclık, 2006, pp.204-205 and 216-217

[147] Vakali, 2007, p.15

When the British colonial rule over Cyprus had been close to an end, the debates over the future political form of the island became the major subject of Turkey, Greece and Britain. As it was mentioned in the previous part, in 1955 a conference was held in London in order to solve the status of the island. However, it was ceased with the 6-7 September events. There were several rumors about a British designed diplomatic strategy to take Turkey into the Cyprus issue as a partner.[148] The diplomatic negotiations got harsh with the ethnic clashes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The independence call of the Greeks, who were the 77 % of the population in the island,[149] turned into a nationalist upheaval under the influence of the Greek leader Makarios. The accession of the island to Greece which means *enosis* was not acceptable for Turkey. In fact, Turkey was seeking a continuation of the British protectorate on the island. The Republic of Cyprus was created after dense negotiations in 1959 Zurich and London Agreements signed among the three guarantors of the island: Turkey, Greece and Britain.

The political system of the Republic of Cyprus has generated a power sharing between the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus. The ethnic clashes, however, did not end in this system. These ethnic based clashes erupted frequently, with major flare ups in 1963 and 1967, and finally in 1974.[150] When the military *coup d'etat*, which was organized by the then military regime of Greece and the radical nationalist Cypriot organization EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston), was failed, the Cyprus diplomacy has changed forever.[151] Turkey landed soldiers on the island on

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[148] Güven, 2005

[149] Robert Macdonald, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization,* D. Keridis. and D. Triantaphyllou (eds.), Virginia: Brassey's, 2001, p.118

[150] Ahmet Sözen, "A Model of Power-Sharing in Cyprus: From the 1959 London-Zurich Agreements to the Annan Plan", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 62

[151] Macdonald, 2001, p.118

the basis of its right as the guarantor of Cyprus political regime and took 40 % of the island under its control. After 1974 de facto there are two different political entities: separate Turkish and Greek Cypriot administrations. As of 2010 only the Greek administration is recognized as the *de jure* state of the whole Cyprus. They claim sovereignty over the entire island, but the Greeks have *de facto* sovereignty over two-thirds of it, the southern Cyprus. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which was announced officially in 1983, is not recognized internationally. It has *de facto* sovereignty over the Turkish side of the island on the north. Yet it is recognized internationally only by Turkey.[152]

The situation of Cyprus highly blurred since then. While the Turkish side demanded the two-part status of the island and self-determination of the Turks, the Greeks were akin to reconstruction of the Republic of Cyprus There had been several attempts to solve the problems between the Turks and the Greeks. Not only the Cypriots and the Turkish and Greek states, but also international organizations have been included into the processes. However, these attempts were either short-lived or ineffective, or both of them. The 2002 Annan Plan was the most well-known one which had offered a balanced solution through power sharing among the two ethnic communities. It was a multi-ethnic governance model between federation and confederation. However, the plan could not be realized, despite the approval of the Turkish side. Soon, the negotiations were deadlocked. Few days after the Greek Cypriots rejection of the Annan Plan with a high proportion in the referendum, the EU accepted Cyprus as a member. Greece advocated early membership of the Greek-controlled Cyprus as an important benefit for its Greek counterparts in the island and as a way of putting additional pressure on Turkey to agree on a solution.[153] Although Turkey has been protesting the membership of Cyprus, its ability was limited

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[152] Sözen, 2005, pp.62-63

[153] Barry Rubin, "Introduction" in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, A. Çarkoğlu and B.Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, p.1

because of its own accession process to the EU. In fact, the membership of Turkey seems to be bound to the solution of Cyprus problem between Greece and Turkey.

Actually, more than a partition of the lands in Cyprus, the problem has a psychological background for both nation-states. They both have been claiming their ethnic and cultural ties with Cyprus. Turkey acclaims the Turks in the island who had suffered from discriminatory politics of the Greek Cypriots and under a united Cyprus state these discriminations would continue according to Turkey. Moreover, emotional importance is attributed to Cyprus as if it were a castle of the Turks in front of the Greeks and the Europeans. Turkish Republic of North Cyprus is defined as the *yavru vatan* (infant homeland) in Turkey, which sticks the Turkish national identity to Cyprus. Hence, the sovereignty problem of Cyprus turned into the sovereignty problem of Turkey according to this approach. Obviously, the protection of northern Cyprus under Turkey's sphere influence mean lot to Turkey. The strategic importance of the island gave the island a key position in Mediterranean. Turkish public opinion has long been indoctrinated about the protection of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus and any turning back from this idea would not be approved domestically. Moreover, Cyprus is an important card of Turkey in international relations and in relations with Greece. Although, there has been some critics lately in Turkey about the Cyprus diplomacy which mention the solution instead of deadlocks, the problem seems hardly to be solved within a short period of time. The issue has its place in the center of national identities and diplomatic success which makes a mutual solution impossible. It encapsulates all the social, historical and political elements that have influenced the Turkish-Greek affairs.

Next to this large island in the Mediterranean, the other smaller islands in the Aegean Sea also constitute a problem between two states. According to the Treaty of Lausanne all the islands except for some little ones too close to Turkey and *Gökçeada* and *Bozcaada,* were given to Greece. However, the Treaty was not clear enough about many points and some strategic details have been unsolved. As the

relations tensed with the Turkish soldiers landing in Cyprus in 1974, the territorial waters issue became a problem between two countries. Greece claims a right to expansion to 12 nautical miles from 6, based on the International Law of the Sea. If this kind of change had applied to all the Aegean Sea, the sea area of Turkey would have narrowed too much, since the islands are very close to the territories of Turkey. Hence, Turkey claims that the Aegean Sea is *sui generis* and the International Law cannot be applicable because of the possible injustice. Moreover, according to this argument, Greece has been arguing the expansion of national airspace up to 10 miles from 6. Another, related issue is the rights of the states on their continental shelf, which includes the quest for virgin oil on the seabed. According to Greece, the continent and islands of Greece construct a sovereign totality in which the existence of another state cannot be acceptable. Turkey again demands a special decision for the continental shelf of the Aegean Sea. Mustafa Aydın points out that there is a belief in Turkish public opinion that these types of arguments of Greece are the presentation of the actual mentality of the Greeks in turning the Aegean Sea into a "Greek lake".[154]

The paranoia about the threat from the other side of the Aegean is common both in Turkey and Greece. Turkey has been accusing the Greeks to militarize the Aegean islands, while Greece has been indicating the deployment of military troops in İzmir under the name of *Ege Ordu Komutanlığı* (Aegean Army Headquarters). Both states claim the militarization as a threat to their security. An analysis of both countries defense expenditures reveals that there is a correlation between the emergence of Turkish-Greek conflicts and the rise of defense expenditures.[155]

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[154] Mustafa Aydın, "Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities", in *Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean*, M. Aydın and K. Ifantis (eds.), London ve New York: Routledge, 2004, p.27

[155] Gülay Günlük – Şenesen, "An Analysis of the Action-Reaction Behaviour in the Defense Expenditures of Turkey and Greece", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, pp.78-98 and Christos Kollias, "The Greek-Turkish

Regarding with this tension between Turkey and Greece, Kostas Ifantis rightly asserts, "Since 1980 Greece and Turkey have been in a relationship of low intensity conflict 'disrupted' by shorter or longer détentes."[156] There have been several incidents which carried both states near the edge of military conflict. The December 26, 1995 *Kardak* (Imia) Crisis precipitated a sudden conflict. The islet of *Kardak* on which only the goats have been living suddenly became the major security issue in the Aegean Sea when a Turkish cargo ship ran ashore on the islet. The captain refused assistance from the Greek authorities arguing that the accident had happened within the Turkish territories. The dispute was carried between two states ministries and Turkey and Greece declared that *Kardak* was the integral part of their territories. Soon, the issue was publicized in Turkish and Greek media. A "game" of placing the flag on the islet began between two sides while each attempt was shown as a great victory by the newspapers. The warships began to cruise around *Kardak* on January 28. The crisis reached its climax when Turkey sent naval forces to *Kardak* area and Greece responded by directing its part of fleet to the same area.[157] Because of a little rock in the Aegean, two states were ready to get into a full-fledged war. To diminish the escalation, the USA intervened and after some diplomatic negotiations the crisis was ridden out.[158] However, this crisis has showed that how Turkish and Greek foreign affairs are driven by security priorities and public opinions. Moreover,

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Rapproachement, the Underlying Military Tension and Greek Defense Spending", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, , A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, pp.99-116

[156] Quoted from Kostas Ifantis, "Power Politics, Security Dilemma, and Crisis Behaviour: The Case of Imia", *Hellenic Studies,* Vol.9, No.2, Autumn 2001, pp.29-48 quoted in Gülay Günlük – Şenesen, "An Analysis of the Action-Reaction Behaviour in the Defense Expenditures of Turkey and Greece", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente*, , A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, p.80

[157] Evangelos Raftopoulos, "The Crisis over the Imia Rocks and the Aegean Sea Regime: International Law as a Language of Common Interest", *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law*, Vol.12, No.14, 1997, pp.429-431

[158] F. Stephen Larrabee, "Security in the eastern Mediterranean: Transatlantic Challenges and Perspectives", in *Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization,* ed. by Keridis, D., and Triantaphyllou, D., Virginia: Brassey's, 2001, p.224

*Kardak* demonstrates how Turkish and Greek states and media have the potential to create a conflict between them. In other words, there could have never been a problem of *Kardak* unless both sides reproduce it from a perspective of threat to its national identity.

In addition to these bilateral issues, the EU process of Turkey can be seen as another problematic area between Turkey and Greece, which supposed to be a history of cooperation. In the recent past, Turkey has suspected that Greece had intentions to constrain and isolate Turkey internationally. Indeed, this suspicion had a factual base. Throughout most of the 1990s, after a brief period of détente, Greek policy towards Turkey was around containment which included keeping Turkey out of the EU.[159] Greece did not hesitate to use its veto power against the membership of the EU. Hence, "What Greece did have", according to Barry Rubin, "was its position as the gatekeeper that could keep Turkey out of the European Union."[160] Obviously, the EU became an arena for the clash of two national identities and their interests. The ultimate westernization project of Turkey that is now focused on the EU has been ongoing for over two centuries and the Greek barrier before this ideal would have been too annoying for Turkey. Integration to the EU is a Turkish state project and attributed much importance by many Turks. On the other hand, most of the time Greece, or the conflicts with Greece, stand in front of Turkey on its way to Europeanization.

The idea of coexistence within the same European identity is a tricky conceptualization. Europe indicates a constitutive and reproductive effect over the Turkish and Greek identities. In Greece, Turkey is represented as a "non-European" and some Orientalist metaphors attributed to it. In fact, understanding of Turkey as

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[159] Evin, 2005, p. 7

[160] Barry Rubin, "Introduction" in Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente, , A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2005, p.1

"non-European" affirms the Greeks as the "Europeans". On the other hand, the dominant representation of Greece in Turkey shows the same attitude of otherization and Greece is constructed as a "fake-European". The immature and incompetent Greece is named as "the spoiled kid of Europe". This approach enables Turkey a superior position within its European identity.[161] The negative representation of the other with reference to the European identity is ironically visible in both Turkish and Greek national identities. These definitions are mostly because of the conflictual history and the clashing interests between Turkish and Greek states. Moreover, national identities are constructed upon a selective memory and use of the other as a way of determining its "self", which means new developments and new identifications may shift perspectives about the other. Any further step in creating a coexistence within the same identity or at least accept what are in common would bring in a peaceful environment to the region, as well. Wendt truly asserts, "Collective identity creates a basis for states to redefine their identities in terms of a broadened notion of 'self' that includes the co-identifying states"[162] This collective identity of Turkey and Greece seem to be possible on a common European identity. Any redefinition of the Turkish and Greek national identities on collective identity would prove that the "negative other" in foreign affairs can only be the construction of the states; what really matters is the coexistence of the differences.

This chapter concerned with the modern nation formation of the Republican Turkey. The end of the World War 1, the Turkish War of Independence and the international agreements signed after these wars were discussed with respect to the Turkey's relations with Greece. How the invasion of the western Anatolia by the Greeks became a motivation for the struggle in the Turkish independence was depicted within this context. Moreover, the Greek and Turkish population exchange agreement which was signed according to the Treaty of Lausanne was examined

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[161] Rumelili, 2003, p. 225

[162] Wendt, 1994, p.386

through the homogenization policy of the new Republic. In consequence, the ethnic tendency of Turkishness and the civic perspective of the Turkish citizenship were analyzed according to some conflictual approaches towards the Greek minority in Turkey. The otherization of the Greek citizens of Turkey was reviewed within the context of the existing prejudices of the public inherited from the Ottoman past and the socio-economic interests of the Turkish state. In the last section of the chapter, the foreign affairs of Turkey were discussed within the conceptual background of othering the Greek state. Instead of a mainstream tendency of explaining the "conflictual" relationship with Greece in terms of threat perception or security analysis, the social, historical and economic background of these relations was integrated as a way of analysis in a constructivist perspective. In this sense, this chapter was built upon the aim of connecting the modern sequence of the Turkish Republic with the pre-modern characteristics.

# CHAPTER 6

# CONCLUSION

The Turkish nation was "awakened" with a puzzle in front of it. There was the difficult social task of combining certain differences and detaching some similarities. The Ottoman society was not encompassing distinct and specific elements, exclusively defining the essence of the Ottoman identity; rather there were many overlapping and interacting identities. An Orthodox might be a Turkish speaking person, a Greek might be a converted Muslim or an Armenian might be a Catholic Christian. The ethnicities, religions and cultures were mixed with each other which made difficult to come out with a specific national identity. Thus, these "in-between" categories were either ignored or "nationally" categorized by the elites when all the nationalist discourse began to break down the Ottoman Empire. As nationalism deeply shattered the societies in the Balkans, the newly formed category of "Turkish speaking Muslims" of the Ottoman bureaucracy, who had just given up the dream of rescuing the Empire because of the recurrent nationalist uprisings, attempted to formulate Turkish national identity. Subsequently, the Turkishness had been redefined as an ethnic and linguistic identity in which Islam had been used as a signifier of difference from the non-Muslim nations hitherto sharing a common social belonging with the Muslims.

The redefinition of Turkishness was in fact a construction of a new national unit: the Turkish nation. The process of construction has included many dynamics to transform the society. Many "pseudo-scientific" studies were done in ethnic,

295

linguistic and cultural areas which were devoted to prove the ever-lasting existence and precise extent of the Turkish nation. In fact, narrating the national history was one of the most important efforts among all. The narration of the Turkish nation was nothing but an attempt to adjust the temporal units into a timeless scheme. In other words, the modern concept of Turkish national identity was assumed to be an everlasting identity which had been alive since the time of its archaic Central Asian ancestors. This formulation certainly had many dilemmas in itself. Although Turkishness had been a known concept for centuries, its ethnic or religious dimensions had never been determined as a specific category. Moreover, the Ottoman dynasty, elites and bureaucrats hesitated to define themselves within the same category of the "peasant" Turks of Anatolia. They preferred the *Rumi* identity which mentioned the Ottoman hegemony over the territories of the Roman Empire. Instead of any stress on the ethnic connection with the *Rum millet* or admiration to the Roman Empire, the *Rumi* identity was seen as the Ottoman identity specific to the ruling elites and it evolved around the Ottoman state sovereignty in the very centre of the power. Therefore, when the Turkish nation was taken as a project by the well-educated and urbanized intellectuals and bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire, they had to redefine Turkishness with the national input instead of the state-centered and imperial Ottoman identity. Moreover, the plurality within the social structure regarding with ethnic, religious and cultural bonds had to be abandoned by the Turkish state elites in order to underline the modern national structure of the new construction.

As the ethnic and religious distinctiveness of the Turkish nation was highlighted, the non-Muslim and non-Turkish elements were otherized as a part of the Turkish national identity. The process had started during the era of the Ottoman Empire grounding on the disloyalty and traitorousness of the Greeks against the Ottoman sultan and in the end, against the very Ottoman citizenship. Seemingly, the Greeks were otherized and excluded from the Ottoman identity. Hence, the process

was mostly prevailed "within" the self. With the rise of the Turkish national identity, the new nation-state continued to keep the Greeks as an outsider who represented the old "glorious" days of the imperial background. It was not only the Greeks, but also the Ottoman background which were basically on the other side of the Turkish national self construct. What is significant for the Greeks is that they were the one of the most otherized parts of this background since they remind plurality idea under the framework of *Rumi* identity and their socio-economic dynamism in the Ottoman Empire.

It would be easier to briefly mention grounds of this otherization process of the Orthodox Greeks within data analysis, as a concluding summary of the thesis. What triggers the otherization of the Greeks might be searched within the psychology of the Ottoman bureaucracy which was inherited by the modern national identity that suggests the Greeks "betrayed" to the state by their revolt for independence although they had been treated well in the Empire. Their national independence was not only signified the separation of a single *millet*, but also stimulated other *millets* in the Empire to follow the same path. In effect, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was accelerated with these separatist movements in the 19th century.

The modern Turkish nation-state inherited this prejudice about the Greeks, although there has been a dilemma about the possession of the Ottoman past, which was once solidified with the expression of *redd-i miras*. In turn, the initial attitude of the Turkish state to exclude the Ottoman past from its Turkish background constituted another reason of why the Turkish national identity otherized the Greeks, as well. The Greeks were otherized as a part of the plural Ottoman system. The strong role of the İstanbul *Rum* Orthodox Patriarchate, Phanariote families and the Greek merchants of the imperial times was rejected in the modern nation-state identity of Turkey. The privileged position of the Greek financial and trade sector that were fostered with capitulations and western support was contradictory for the

sovereignty of the new state. In consequence, the Greek minority some of whom became the powerful bourgeoisie of Turkey was economically demolished with extra tax implementation (wealth tax of 1955) or social vandalism (6-7 September events). Instead of the untrustworthy Greek capital in the country, the Muslim and Turkish bourgeoisie was supported with these indirect interventions. By all accounts, the Greek minority in Turkey was seen as the "agents" of the Greek state and although they were defined as the equal citizens of the Turkish Republic, they could not escape from being the subjects of economical and social otherization in Turkey.

The other reason of Greek otherization in Turkish national identity formation should be chased within the westernization project of the Turkish state, which was inherited directly from the Ottoman reforms dated back to the 18th and 19th centuries. Modernization (*muasırlaşma*) was seen as the only way of rescuing the Ottoman Empire and the western states were appreciated because of their economic, military, social and intellectual capabilities. The modernization and, thereby, westernization became an effort of the elites to get closer to the western countries. In fact, the Turkish nationalism was mainly based upon the European nationalist literature and political experiences. The Greek nationalism, which was one century earlier than the Turkish nationalism, represented a confusing case for the Turkish nationalist elites. The Greek nationalism became the closest role model for the Turkish nationalists in terms of its western patterns and transformation of the society. However, with the rise of the population struggles between the C.U.P. government and the Greek state during the Balkan Wars, the attitude towards the Greek nation-state totally reversed.

Moreover, the idea that the Greeks were the "fake Europeans" was seeded in the minds of the Turks during these times. This suggestion has a twofold otherization in itself. On the one hand, the Greeks were undervalued because of their pretending as they were Europeans. It was a refusal of the projection that finds the roots of the Europeans within the ancient Greek civilization. As can be seen from the Turkish history textbooks, the connection of the modern Greeks and the ancient Greeks is

mostly ignored. They are defined as a mixture of different peoples and cultures, which automatically brought into question of their uniqueness as a nation. On the other hand, a widespread presupposition in the Turkish public is remarkable that the Greeks are ignored and assessed as untrustworthy as a nation who is always acting according to the interests of the Europeans. This suggestion is mainly grounded on the history of the struggle between the Greeks and the Turks. The support of the great states to the Greek independence, the Treaty of Sévres and the Greek invasion of the Western Anatolia after the victory of the Allies in the First World War were all evaluated as the indications of the Greeks being the agents or the tools of the European interests.

It is noteworthy to add that the historical idealizations of both nations' homelands are overlapping at some points which had created some problems between Greece and Turkey. The Greek irredentism over İstanbul, İzmir and some parts of Anatolia which is named as *Megali Idea* is still accepted as the main motivation of the Greeks according to some Turks. The Greeks construct a threat for the territorial unity of Turkey to this paranoia, which is an apparent negative otherization of the Greeks. In fact, most of the conflicts between Turkey and Greece were interpreted by many Turks as demonstrations of the Greek ideals over the Turkish lands. These types of thoughts have been reproduced and recreated through the daily rituals, national history education or speeches of some politicians. It is not a surprise to see that this kind of negative attributions to the Greek other, in turn, contributed to the Turkish state's rhetoric of "firmness" against the outside threats. By doing so, the foreign affairs issues have transformed into the tools of legitimization of domestic policies in Turkey. Some practices of the Turkish state which constitute economic or social burdens on people can be linked to the "necessities" of the state because of the "outside enemy". Thus, the Turkish state is able to isolate itself from the responsibility of the outcomes of its domestic policies with the help of the "other" perception. Ironically, it is not directly the "other", but

the "negative image of the other" which is used to legitimate the state practices in the eyes of people from who the state has to get approval.

In short, there is always a potential risk of (ab)using the other in terms of state interest. This otherization sometimes directs at an internal group of people, such as the Greek minority, or an external power, such as the Greek nation-state; but what really matters is that the connection between the domestic and foreign affairs grounded upon the identity politics should always be taken into consideration as an important factor in analysis of the international relations. In effect, the Turkish-Greek relations have to be refigured according to this analysis of the correlation between identity and state politics. Moreover, the Turkish nation-state as an actor in IR should not be seen as pure political construct which develops foreign affairs' policies according to its external vision. It should be put at first hand that the Turkish nation-state, like any other nation-state, is a social construct which has been reproduced through the interaction of social, economic, political, cultural and historical dynamics at home and abroad.

Furthermore, the Turkish national identity cannot be accepted as a "completed" identity which has reached now its final shape. Quite the opposite, the Turkish national identity is a dynamic construction which will keep its progress in time. In other words, the Turkish self is still under construction, which in turn makes irrational to accept the other as "given" within this process. Hence, the image of the Greek other is a dynamic process within the Turkish national identity, as well. There are no endless antagonisms between nations but there can be clashes between states. These clashes should not be explained with "given" antagonisms between two national identities.

The Greeks may have been otherized within the Turkish national identity as a way of constructing a new national identity, restructuring the socio-economy in the country or legitimization of domestic policies upon the excuse of the external

vulnerabilities. This perception may either have a contribution to draw the national and mental boundaries of Turkish nation or legitimize some policies of the Turkish state, but in the end it brings in many problems to Turkish national identification. One would argue that the missing, or deliberately terminated, links between the unitary nation-state model of Turkish identity and the plural Ottoman heritage would be harmful in the long run. In fact, the Greek otherization was a construct of the modern Turkish state which reformulates the history from a nationalist aspect. The differences between two nations are intentionally underlined, while the commonalities are systematically ignored or underestimated in the official rhetoric for a long time. On the other hand, there were some positive attempts in the meantime, to rewrite the biased history textbooks, constructing cultural bridges or exchanging students. In this sense, the "precious" European identity may be used as a tool to highlight the commonalities of both national identities and construct a mutual positive discourse.

The basic conclusion, and thus the main argument of this thesis is that the Greek "other" has been used by the Turkish state elites to fulfill the evolution of the Turkish identity formation from Ottoman imperial plurality into unitary national model. The construction of this new identity necessitated otherizing and forgetting the imperial background and all the extensions of it. While the new formulation of Turkish national identity would attempt to forget its Ottoman past; the Greek *millet*, which had been the foremost socio-economic dynamic of the Ottoman structure and the *Rumi* identity, constituting the core Ottoman identity for centuries would also be forgotten in this national consolidation process. In other words, both the Ottoman Empire and the Greeks became the subjects of the same otherization process which aimed to overcome the inherited multi-national construct by turning it into national. As the paradox in otherizing the Ottoman background of the Turks became visible in time, the Greek minority of Turkey and the neglected Byzantine history would soon appear as the defining and welcomed other of Turkish national identity, like the other side of coin. In this respect, the whole picture of Turkish national identity is believed

to be understood by analyzing the process of constructed self perception of Turkishness vis-à-vis the otherized Ottoman imperial past and the role of the Greek other in this past, and besides, contemporary relations between Turkey and Greece were analyzed through the lenses of identity politics.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A
# MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK'S ADDRESS TO YOUTH

## (In English)

Turkish Youth! Your first duty is to preserve and to defend Turkish Independence and the Turkish Republic forever.

This is the very foundation of your existence and your future. This foundation is your most precious treasure. In the future, too, there may be malevolent people at home and abroad, who will wish to deprive you of this treasure. If someday you are compelled to defend your independence and your Republic, you must not hesitate to weigh the possibilities and circumstances of the situation before doing your duty. These possibilities and circumstances may turn out to be extremely unfavorable. The enemies conspiring against your independence and your Republic may have behind them a victory unprecedented in the annals of the world. It may be that, by violence and trickery, all the fortresses of your beloved fatherland may be captured, all its shipyards occupied, all its armies dispersed and every corner of the country invaded. And sadder and graver than all these circumstances, those who hold power within the country may be in error, misguided and may even be traitors. Furthermore, they may identify personal interests with the political designs of the invaders. The country may be impoverished, ruined and exhausted.

Youth of Turkey's future, even in such circumstances it is your duty to save Turkish Independence and the Republic. You will find the strength you need in your noble blood.

## MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK'ÜN GENÇLİĞE HİTABESİ

## (In Turkish)

Ey Türk gençliği ! Birinci vazifen, Türk istiklâlini, Türk Cumhuriyeti'ni, ilelebet muhafaza ve müdafaa etmektir.

Mevcudiyetinin ve istikbalinin yegâne temeli budur. Bu temel, senin en kıymetli hazinendir. İstikbalde dahi, seni bu hazineden mahrum etmek isteyecek dahilî ve harici bedhahların olacaktır. Bir gün, istiklâl ve Cumhuriyet'i müdafaa mecburiyetine düşersen, vazifeye atılmak için, içinde bulunacağın vaziyetin imkân ve şerâitini düşünmeyeceksin! Bu imkân ve şerâit, çok namüsait bir mahiyette tezahür edebilir. İstiklâl ve Cumhuriyetine kastedecek düşmanlar, bütün dünyada emsali görülmemiş bir galibiyetin mümessili olabilirler. Cebren ve hile ile aziz vatanın bütün kaleleri zaptedilmiş, bütün tersanelerine girilmiş, bütün orduları dağıtılmış ve memleketin her köşesi bilfiil işgal edilmiş olabilir. Bütün bu şerâitten daha elîm ve daha vahim olmak üzere, memleketin dahilinde, iktidara sahip olanlar gaflet ve dalâlet ve hattâ hıyanet içinde bulunabilirler. Hattâ bu iktidar sahipleri, şahsî menfaatlerini, müstevlîlerin siyasi emelleriyle tevhid edebilirler. Millet, fakr ü zaruret içinde harap ve bîtap düşmüş olabilir.

Ey Türk istikbalinin evlâdı! İşte, bu ahval ve şerâit içinde dahi vazifen, Türk istiklâl ve Cumhuriyetini kurtarmaktır! Muhtaç olduğun kudret, damarlarındaki asil kanda mevcuttur!

# APPENDIX B

## *TANZIMAT (GÜLHANE)* AND *ISLAHAT* FIRMANS

Gülhane Hattı

*Gülhanede kıraat olunan Hattı Hümayun'un suretidir* [1]

*26 Şaban 1255 (3 Kasım 1839)*

Cümleye malûm olduğu üzere Devleti aliyemizin bidayeti zuhurundan beru ahkamı celîlei kura'niye ve kavaninî şer'iyeye kemalîyle riayet olunduğundan saltanatı seniyyemizin kuvvet ve miknet ve bilcümle tebaasının refah ve mamuriyeti rütbei gayete vasıl olmuş iken yüzelli sene vardır ki gavaili müteakibe ve esbabı mütenevviaya mebni ne şer'i şerife ve ne kavanini münifeye inkiyat ve imtisal olunmamak hasebiyle evvelki kuvvet ve mamuriyet bilâkis zaaf ve fakre mubeddel olmuş ve halbuki kavanini şer'iyye tahtında idare olunmıyan memalikin payidar olamıyacağı vazıhattan bulunmuş olup cülusu humayunumuz ruzu firuzundan beru efkârı hayriyet âsârı mülûkanemiz dahi mücerret imarı memalik ve enha ve terfihi ahali ve fukara kaziyyei nâfiasına münhasır ve memaliki devleti aliyemizin mevkii cografisine ve arazii münbitesine ve halkın kabiliyet ve istidatlarına nazaran esbabı lâzimesine teşebbüs olunduğu halde beş on sene zarfında bitevfikihi taâlâ suveri matluba hasıl olacağı zahir olmağla avnü inayeti hazreti bâriye itimat ve imdadı ruhaniyyeti cenabı peygamberiye tevessül ve istinat birle bundan böyle Devleti aliye ve memaliki mahrusamızın hüsnü idaresi zımmında bazı kavanini cedide vaz ve tesisi lazım ve mühim görünerek işbu kavanini mukteziyenin mevaddı esasiyesi dahi emniyeti can ve mahfuziyeti ırz venamus ve mal

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[1] I. Tertip *Düstur*, Cilt I, s.4-7.
Ahmet Rasim, *İstibdattan Hakimiyeti Milliyeye*, Cilt: 1, s.233-237. İstanbul 1924
Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Cilt V, s.263. Ankara 1947,
Maarif Vekâleti, *Tanzimat*, s.48, İstanbul 1940.
Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, Cilt: 1, s.257-261. Paris 1884,

tayini vergi ve asakiri mukteziyenin sureti celp ve müddeti istihdamı kaziyelerinden ibaret olup şöyle ki dünyada candan ve ırzu namustan eazz bir şey olmadığından bir âdem anları tehlikede gördükçe hilkati zatiye ve cibiliyeti fıtriyesinde hiyanete meyil olmasa bile muhafazai can ve namusu için elbette bazı suretlere teşebbüs edeceği ve bu dahi devlet ve memlekete muzır olageldiği müsellem olduğu misillû bilakis can ve namusundan emin olduğu halde dahi sıdku istikametten ayrılmıyacağı ve işi ve gücü hemen devlet ve milletine hüsni hizmetten ibaret olacağı dahi bedihi ve zahirdir ve emniyeti mal kaziyesinin fıkdanı halinde ise herkes ne devlet ve ne milletine ısınamayıp ve ne imarı mülke bakamayıp daima endişe ve iztıraptan hâli olmadığı misullû aksi takdirinde yeni emval ve emlakinden emniyeti kâmilesi olduğu halde dahi hemen kendü işi ile ve tevsii dairei taayyüşiyle uğraşıp ve kendüsinde günbegün devlet ve millet gayreti ve vatan muhabbeti artıp ana göre hüsni harekete çalışacağı şüpheden azadedir. Ve tayini vergi maddesi dahi çünkü bir devlet muhafazai memaliki için elbette asker ve leşkere vesair masarifi muktaziyeye muhtaç olarak bu ise akçe ile idare olunacağına ve akçe dahi tebaanın vergisiyle hasıl olacağına binaen bunun dahi bir hüsni suretine bakılmak ehem olup eğerçi mukaddemlerde varidat zannolunmuş olan yedi vahit beliyyesinden lehülhamd memaliki mahrusamız ahalisi bundan evvelce kurtulmuş ise de âlâtı tahribiyeden olup hiçbir vakitte semerei nafiası görülmeyen iltizamat usulü muzırrası elyevm cari olarak bu ise bir memleketin mesalihi siyasiye ve umuru maliyesini bir âdemin yedi ihtiyarına ve belki pençei cebrü kahrına teslim demek olarak oldahi eğer zaten bir iyice âdem değilse hemen kendi çıkarına bakıp cemi harekât ve sekenatı gadir ve zulümden ibaret olmasıyle bâdezin ahalii memalikten her ferdin emlâk ve kudretine göre bir vergii münasip tâyin olunarak kimseden ziyade şey alınamaması ve Devleti aliyemizin berren ve bahren masarifi askeriye vesairesi dahi kavanini icabiye ile tahdit ve tebyin olunup ana göre icra olunması lazimedendir ve asker maddesi dahi ber minvali muharrer mevaddı mühimmeden olarak eğerçi muhafazai vatan için asker vermek ahalinin farizei zimmeti ise de şimdiye kadar cari olduğu veçhile bir memleketin adedi nüfusu mevcudesine bakılmıyarak kiminden rütbei tahammülünden ziyade ve kiminden noksan asker istenilmek hem nizamsızlığı ve hem ziraat ve ticaret mevaddı nafiasının ihlâlini mucip olduğu misullû askerliğe gelenlerin ilanihayetül ömür istihdamları dahi füturu ve katı tenasülü müstelzim olmakta olmasıyle her memleketten lüzumu takdirinde talep olunacak neferatı askeriye için bazı usuli hasene ve dört veyahut beş sene müddet istihdam zımmında dahi bir tariki münavebe vaz ve tesis olunması icabı haldendir.

Velhasıl bu kavanini nizamiye hasıl olmadıkça tahsili kuvvet ve mamuriyet ve asayiş ve istirahat mümkün olmayup cümlesinin esası dahi mevaddı meşruhadan ibaret olduğundan fimabad eshabı cünhanın davaları kavanini şer'iye iktizasınca alenen berveçhi tetkik görülüp hükmolunmadıkça hiç kimse hakkında hafi ve celi idam ve tesmim muamelesi icrası caiz olmamak ve hiç kimse tarafından diğerinin ırz ve namusuna tasallut vuku bulmamak ve herkes emval ve emlâkine kemali serbestiyetle malik ve mutasarrıf olarak ana bir taraftan müdahale olunmamak ve firarda birinin töhmet ve kabahati vukuunda anın veresesi ol töhmet ve kabahatten beriüzimme olacakların-

dan anın malını müsaadere ile veresesi hukuku irsiyyelerinden mahrum kılınmamak ve tebaayı saltanatı seniyyemizden olan ehli islam ve mileli saire bu müsaadatı şahanemize bilâistisna mazhar olmak üzere can ve ırz ve namus ve mal maddelerinden hükmi şer'i iktizasınca kâffei memaliki mahrusamız ahalisine tarafı şahanemizden emniyeti kâmile verilmiş ve diğer hususlara dahi ittifakı arâ ile karar verilmesi lâzım gelmiş olmakla Meclisi Ahkâmı Adliye âzası dahil lüzumu mertebe tekris olunarak ve vükela ve ricali devleti aliyemiz dahi bazı tayin olunacak eyyamda orada içtima ederek ve cümlesi efkâr ve mütaleatını hiç çekinmeyip serbestçe söyliyerek işbu emniyeti can ve mal ve taylni vergi hususlarına dair kavanini mukteziye bir taraftan kararlaştırılıp ve tanzimatı askeriye maddesi dahi Babı Seraskeri Darı Şurasında söyleşilip herbir kanun karargir oldukça ilâ maşallahu taalâ düsturul amel tutulmak üzere bâlası hattı hümayunumuz ile tastik ve tevşih olunmak için tarafı humayunumuza arzolunsun ve işbu kavanini şeriyye mücerret din ve devlet ve milleti ihya için vaz olunacak olduğundan canibi hümayunumuzdan hilâfına hareket vuku bulmayacağına ahdü misak olunup Hırkai Şerife odasında cemi ülema ve vükelâ hazır oldukları halde kasemi billah dahi olunarak ulema ve vükelâ dahil tahlif olunacağından ana göre ulema ve vüzeradan velhasıl her kim olur ise olsun kavanini şeriyeye muhalif hareket edenlerin kabahati sabitelerine göre tedibatı lâyıklarının hiç rütbeye ve hatır ve gönüle bakılmıyarak icrası zımnında mahsusen ceza kanunnamesi dahi tanzim ettirilsin ve cümle memurinin elhaletühazihi miktarı vafi maaşları olarak şayet henüz olmıyanları var ise onlar dahi tanzim olunacağından şer'an menfur olup harabiyeti mülkün sebebi azamı olan rüşvet maddei kerihasının fimabad ademi vukuu maddesinin dahi bir kanunı kavi ile tekidine bakılsın.

Ve keyfiyatı meşruha usuli atikayı bütün bütün tagyir ve tecdit demek olacağından işbu iradei şahanemiz Dersaadet ve bilcümle memaliki mahrusamız ahalisine ilân ve işae olunacağı misillû düveli mütehabbe dahi bu usulün inşallâhı Taâlâ ilelebed bekasına şahit olmak üzere Dersaadetimizde mukim bilcümle süferaya dahi resmen bildirilsin.

Hemen Rabbimiz Taâlâ Hazretleri cümlemizi muvaffak buyursun ve bu kavanini müessesenin hilâfına hareket edenler Allahı Taâlâ Hazretlerinin lânetine mazhar olsunlar ve ilelebed felah bulmasınlar amin,

Fi 26 Şaban, sene 1255, yevm pazar

# Islâhat Fermanı

*Islahata dair tarafı vekâleti mutlakaya hitaben balâsı*
*hattı hümayun ile muvaşşah şeref sadır olan fermanı âlinin suretidir.[2]*

11 Cemaziyülahir 1272 (28 Şubat 1856)

Badel elkab,

Malûm olaki yedi müeyyedi mülûkâneme vediai cenabı bârî olan kâffei sunufı tebeai şahanemin her cihetle temamii husuli saadeti hâli akdemi efkârı hayriyet disarı padişahanem olarak cülusi meymenet men'usı hümayunum gününden beri bu babda zuhura gelen himemi mahsusai şahanemin hamdolsun pek çok semeri nafiası meşhur olup mülkü milletimizin mamuriyet ve serveti anbean tezayüt etmekte ise de Devleti aliyemizin şanına muvafık ve mileli mütemeddine arasında bihakkın haiz olduğu mevkii âli ve mühimme lâyık olan halin kemale isali için şimdiye kadar vaz ve tesisine muvaffak olduğum nizamatı cedidei hayriyenin ez seri nev tekit ve tevsii matlubı madelet mahsubı padişahanem olduğu halde umum tebai şahanemizin mesaiyi cemilei hamiyet kâraneleri ve müttefiki hassı bahirül ihlasımız olan düveli mufahhamanın himmetü muaveneti hayrhahaneleri eseri olmak üzere Devleti aliyemizin bu kerre biinayetullahi taâlâ haricen hukuki seniyesi bir kat daha teekküt eylediğine ve bu cihetle şu asr devleti aliyemiz için bir zamanı hayriyet iktiranın mebdei olacağından dahilen dahi saltanatı seniyyemizin tezyidi kuvvet ve miknetini ve revabıtı kalbiyeyi vatandaşî ile birbirine merbut olan ve nazarı madalet eseri müşfikânem de müsavi bulunan kaffei sunufı tebeai şahanemin her yüzden husuli temamii saadeti hal ve memaliki şahanemizin

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[2] I. Tertip *Düstur,* Cilt I. s.7.

Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* Cilt: V, s. 266. Ankara 1947,

Maarif Vekâleti, *Tanzimat,* s.56, İstanbul 1940.

Engelhardt, La Turquie et le Tanzimat, Cilt: I, s. 263-270. Paris 1884,

mamuriyetini müstelzim olacak esbab ve vesailin anbean ilerlemesi muradı merhamet itiyadı mülukânem iktizasından bulunduğuna binaen hususatı âtiyetüzzikrin icrasına iradei madelet ifadei padişahanem şerefsadır olmuştur.

Şöyleki: Gülhane'de kıraat olunan hattı hümayunum ile ve Tanzimatı Hayriyem mucibince her din ve mezhepte bulunan kaffei tebeai şahanem hakkında bilaistisna emniyeti can ve mal ve mahfuziyeti namus için tarafı eşrefi padişahanemden va'd ve ihsan olunmuş olan teminat bu kerre dahi tekit ve teyit kılındığından bunun kâmilen fiile çıkarılması için tedabiri müessirenin ittihaz olunması ve ziri cenahı atıfet seniyyei padişahanemde olarak memaliki mahrusai şahanemde bulunan hıristiyan ve sair tebeai gayri müslime cemaatlerine ecdadı izamım taraflarından verilmiş ve sinini ahirede ita ve ihsan kılınmış olan bilcümle imtiyazat ve muafiyatı ruhaniye bu kere dahi takrir ve ibka kılınıp fakat hıristiyan ve tebeai gayri müslimei sairenin her bir cemaati bir mehli muayyen içinde imtiyazat ve muafiyatı hazıralarının rüyet ve muayenesine ibtidar ile olbabda vaktin ve gerek asarı medeniyet ve malumatı müktesibenin icap ettirdiği ıslahatı irade ve tensibi şahanem ile ve Babı âlimizin nezareti tahtında olarak mahsusan patrikhanelerde teşkil olunacak meclisler marifetiyle bilmüzakere canibi Babı âlimize arz ve ifade eylemeğe mecbur olarak cennetmekân Ebülfeth Sultan Mehmet Hanı sani hazretleri ve gerek ahlâfı izamları taraflarından patrikler ile hıristiyan piskoposlarına ita buyrulmuş olan ruhsat ve iktidar niyatı fütüvvetkâranei padişahhanemden naşi işbu cemaatlere temin olunmuş olan hal ve mevkii cedit ile tevfik olunup ve patriklerin elhaletü hazihi cari olan usulü intihabiyeleri ıslâh olunduktan sonra patriklik beratı âlisinin ahkamına tatkiben kaydı hayat ile nasb ve tayin olunmaları usulünün tamamen ve sahihen icra ve Babı âlimizle cematı muhtelifenin rüesayı ruhaniyesi beyninde karargir olacak bir surette tatbikan patrik ve metrepolit ve murahhasa ve piskopos ve hahamların hini nasbında usuli tahlifiyenin ifa kılınması ve her ne suret ve nam ile olursa olsun rahiplere verilmekte olan cevaiz ve avaidat cümleten menolunarak yerine patriklere ve cemaatbaşılarına varidatı muayyene tahsis ve rühbanı sairenin dahi rütbe ve mansıblarının ehemmiyetlerine ve bundan sonra verilecek karara göre kendilerine berveçhi hakkaniyet maaşlar tayin olunup, fakat hıristiyan rahiplerinin emvali menkule ve gayrimenkulelerine bir gûna sekte iras olunmıyarak hıristiyan vesair tebeai gayri müslime cemaatlerinin milletçe olan maslahatlarının idaresi her bir cemaatin rühban ve avamı beyninde müntehip azadan mürekkep bir meclisin hüsni muhafazasına havale kılınması ve ehalisi cümleten bir meshebde bulunan şehir ve kasaba ve karyelerde icrai ayine mahsus olan ebniyenin ve gerek mektep ve hastahane ve mezarlık misillü sair mahallerin hey'eti asliyeleri üzere tamir ve termimlerine bir gûna mevani ika olunmayıp böyle mahallerin müceddeten inşası lâzım geldikte patrik veya rüesayı milletin tasvibi halinde bunların resm ve sureti inşası bir kerre canibi Babı âlimize arzolunmak iktiza edeceğinden ya suveri maruza kabul ile müteallik olacak iradei seniyyei mülûkânem mucibince iktizası icra veya bir müddeti muayyene zarfında olbabda olan itirazat beyan olunup bir meshebin cemaati yalnız olarak sairiyle karışık olmıyarak bir mahalde bulunur ise o yerde ayine müteallik hususatı zahiren ve alenen icrada bir türlü kuyuda düçar olmayıp ahalisi edyanı muhtelifede bulunan cemaatler-

den mürekkep olan şehir ve kasaba ve karyelerde ise her bir cemaatin takımı sakin olduğu ayrıca mahalde bâlâda bastü beyan olunan usule ittibaen kendi kilise ve hastahane ve mektep ve mezarlıklarını tamir ve termime muktedir olabilmesi ve müceddeden inşa olunması iktiza eyliyen ebniyeye gelince bunlar için ruhsatı lazimeyi patrikler veyahut cemaat metropolitleri canibi Babı âlimizden istida edüp Devleti âliyemizce bunda bir gûna mevanii mülkiye olmadığı halde ruhsatı seniyyem erzan kılınması ve bu makule işlerde hükümet tarafından vuku bulacak muamelat külliyen hasbi olması ve bir mezhebe tabi olanların adedi ne miktar olursa olsun ol mezhebin kemali serbesti ile icra olunmasını temin için tedabiri lazime ve kaviyyenin ittihaz kılınması ve mezheb ve lisan veyahut cinsiyet cihetleriyle sünufı tebaai saltanatı seniyyemden bir sınıfın aher sınıfından aşağı tutulmasını mutazammın olan kaffei ta'birat ve elfaz ve temyizat muharreratı divaniyyeden ilelebet mahvü izale kılınması ve ahadı nas beyninde veyahut memurin taraflarından dahi mucibi şin ve ar olacak veya namusa dokunacak her türlü tarif ve tavsifin istimali kanunen menolunması ve çünkü memaliki mahrusamda bulunan her din ve mezhebin ayini berveçhi serbesti icra olunduğundan tebaai şahanemden hiçbir kimesne bulunduğu dinin ayinini icradan menolunmaması ve bundan dolayı çevrü eza görmemesi ve tebdili din ve mezhep etmek üzere kimse icbar olunmaması ve saltanatı seniyyemizin memurin ve hademesinin intihap ve nasbı tensip ve iradei şahaneme menut olarak tebeai Devleti aliyyemin cümlesi her hangi milletten olursa olsun devletin hizmet ve memuriyetlerine kabul olunacaklarından bunlar ehliyet ve kabiliyetlerine göre umum hakkında meriyyül icra olacak nizamata imtisalen memuriyetlerde istihdam olunmaları ve saltanatı saniyyem tebaasından bulunanlar mekatibi şahanemin nizamatı mevzualarında gerek since ve gerek imtihanca mukarrer olan şeraiti ifa eyledikleri takdirde cümlesi bilâfark ve temyiz Devleti aliyyemin mekabiti askeriye ve mülkiyesine kabul olunması ve bundan başka her bir cemaati maarif ve hiref ve sanayie dair milletçe mektepler yapmağa mezun olup, fakat bu makule mekatibi umumiyenin usuli tedrisi ve muallimlerinin intihabı azası tarafı şahanemden mansub muhtelit bir meclisi maarifin nezaret ve teftişi tahdında olması ve ehli islâm ile hıristiyan vesair tebaai gayri müslime meyanesinde veyahut tebaai iseviyye vesair tebaai gayri müslimeden mezahibi muhtelifeye tabi olanların birbiri beyninde ticaret veyahut cinayata müteallik zuhura gelecek cemi deavi muhtelit divanlara havale olunup istimai dava için işbu divanlar tarafından akdolunacak meclisler aleni olacağından müddei ile müddeialeyh muvacehe olunarak bunların ikame edecek leri şahitler tekariri vakialarını daima kendi ayin ve mezhepleri üzere icra edeceklerini[3] birer yemin ile tasdik eylemeleri ve hukuku adiyeye ait olan deavi dahi eyalât ve elviye muhtelif meclislerinde vali ve kadıi memleket hazır oldukları halde şeran veya nizamen rüyet olunup işbu mehakim ve mecaliste muhakematı vakıa aleni icra olunması ve hıristiyan vesair tebaai gayri müslimeden iki kimse beyninde hukuki irsiyye gibi deavii mahsusa sahibi dava olanlar istedikleri halde patrik veya rüesa ve mecalis marifetiyle rüyet olunmak üzere havale kılınması ve mücazat ve ticaret kanunlariyle muhtelif divanlarda icra olunacak usul ve nizamatı mürafaat mümkün mertebe süratle ikmal

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[3] "Edecekleri" olmak gerekir.

olunarak ve zabtü tedvin kılınarak memaliki mahrusai şahanemde müstamel olan elsinei muhtelifeye tercüme ile neşrü ilan olunması ve hukuku insaniyyeyi hukuku adalet ile tevfik etmek için mazannei sui olanların veyahut tedibatı cezaiyyeye müstahak bulunanların haps ve tevkiflarına mahsus olan kaffei mahbes ve mahalli sairede usulü hapsiyenin mümkün mertebe müddeti kalile zarfınta ıslahına mübaşeret olunması ve herhalde hapishanelerde bile canibi saltanatı seniyyemden vazı kılanan nizamatı inzibatiyeye muvafık olan muamelatten maada hiçbir gûna mücazatı cismaniye ve eziyet ve işkenceye müşabih kaffei muamele dahi kâmilen lağv ve iptal kılınması ve bunun hilafında vuku bulacak hareket şediden men ve zecrolunacağından maada bunun icrasını emreden memurin ile bilfiil icra eyliyen kesanın dahi ceza kanunnamesi iktizasınca tekdir ve tedip olunması ve Darüssaltanatı seniyyem ve eyalat ve bilâd ve kurada umuru zaptiyenin tanzimi maddesi asudei hal olan kaffei tebaai mülukaneme kendi mal ve canlarının muhafazasına sahihen ve kaviyyen emniyet verecek surette tanzim kılınması ve verginin müsavatı tekalifi sairenin müsavatını mucip olduğu misillu hukukça olan müsavat dahi vezaifçe olan müsavatı müstelzim olduğundan hırıstiyan vasir tebaai gayri müslime dahi ehalii islâm misillû hıssei askeriye itası hakkında muahharan verilen karara inkiyat mecburiyetinde bulunması ve bu hususta bedel vermek veya nakten akçe itasiyle hizmeti fi'liyeden muaf olmak usulünün icra olunması ve islâmdan maada tebaanın sunufı askeriye içinde sureti istihdamları hakkında nizamatı lâzime yapılıp müddeti kalilei mümkine zarfında neşrü ilan kılınması ve eyalat ve elviye meclislerinde tebaai müslime ve isaviyye vesaireden bulunan âzanın emri intihaplarını bir sureti sahihaya koymak ve ârânın doğruca zuhurunu temin eylemek için işbu meclislerin sureti tertip ve teşkilleri hakkında olan nizamatın ıslâhına teşebbüs ile Devleti âliyyem neticei ârâyı ve verilen hüküm ve kararı sahihen bilmek ve buna nezaret etmek esbab ve vesaili muessiresinin istihsalini mütalea eylemesi ve çünkü bey ve furuht ve tasarrufu emlâk ve akar maddeleri hakkında olan kavanin kâffei tebaai mülükanem hakkında müsavi olduğundan kavanini devleti âliyyeme ve nizamatı zabıtai belediyeye ittiba ve imtisal eylemek ve asıl yerli ehalinin verdikleri tekalifi vermek üzere saltanatı seniyyem ile düveli ecnebiye beyninde yapılacak suveri tanzimiyeden sonra ecnebiyeye dahi tasarrufu emlâk müsaadesinin ita olunması ve tebaai saltanatı seniyyemin kâffesi üzerinde tarh olunacak vergi ve tekalif sınıf ve mezheplerine bakılmıyarak bir surette ahzolunmakta idiğünden işbu tekâlifin ve alelhusus aşarın ahzu istifasında vuku bulmakta olan sui istimalatın ıslahı tedabiri seriası mütalea ve müzakere olunup doğrudan doğruya ahzi vergi etmek usulünün peyderpey icrası kabil oldukça varidatı devleti âliyyemin ilzam olunması usulünün yerine bu suret ittihaz kılınıp usuli haliye cari oldukça memurini Devleti âliyyem ile mecalis azalarının müzayedeleri alenen icra olunacak olan iltizamattan birini deruhte ettirmeleri veya bir gûna hisse almaları mücazatı şedide ile men kılınması ve tekâlifi mahalliye dahi mehmaemken mahsulâta halel vermiyecek ve ticareti dahiliyeye mani olmıyacâk surette vaz ve tayin olunması ve umuru nafia için tayin ve tahsis olunacak mebaliği münasibeye berren ve bahren inşa ve ihdas olunacak turuk ve mesalikten istifade edecek olan eyalat ve sancaklarda vaz ve tesis kılınacak vergiyi mahsuslar dahi ilâve edilmesi ve saltanatı seniyyemin beher sene için varidat ve masarifat defterinin tanzim ve iraesi hakkında

muahharen bir nizamı mahsus yapılmış olduğundan bunun temamii icrayı ahkâmına itina olunması ve her bir memurine tahsis kılınmış olan maaşların hüsni teviyesine mübaşeret kılınması ve her bir cemaatin rüesasiyle tarafı eşrefî şahanemden tayin olunacak birer memurları tebaai saltanatı seniyyemin umumuna ait ve raci olan maddelerin müzakeratına Meclisi vâlâda bulunmak üzere makamı celili vekaleti mutlakamdan mahsusen celp olunup ve işbu memurlar birer sene için tâyin kılınıp bunlar memuriyetlerine başladıkları gibi tahlif olunmaları ve Meclisi vâlânın azası gerek adi ve gerek fevkalâde vuku bulan içtimalarında rey ve mütalaalarını doğruca beyan ve ifade etmeleri ve bundan dolayı asla rencide olunmamaları ve ifsad ve irtikap ve itisafa dair olan kavaninin ahkâmı kaffei tebaai saltanatı seniyyem haklarında herhangı sınıfta ve ne türlü memuriyette bulunurlarsa bulunsunlar usulü meşruasına tevfikan icra olunması ve Devleti aliyyemin tashihi usulü sikke ile umuru maliyesine itibar verecek banka misillü şeyler yapılıp memaliki mahrusai şahanemin menbaı serveti maddiyesi olan hususata iktiza eden sermayelerin tayiniyle ve mahsulâtı memaliki şahanemin nakli için icap eden turuk ve cedavilin küşadiyle ve emri ziraat ve ticaretin tevessüüne hail olan esbabın meniyle teshilatı sahihanın icra olunması ve bunun için maarif ve ulûm ve sermayei avrupadan istifadeye bakılması esbabının biletraf mutaleasiyle peyderpey mevkii icraya konulması maddelerinden ibaret olmakla sizki sadrıazamı sütude şiyemi müşarünileyhsiz işbu fermanı celilül ünvanı mülukanemi usulü üzere gerek Dersaadetimde ve gerek memaliki şahanemin her bir tarafından ilân ve işaatle hususatı meşruhanın balâda beyan olunduğu vêçhile icrayı iktizalarına ve bundan böyle ahkamı celilesinin daima ve müstemiren meriyülicra tutulması esbabı lazime ve vesaili kaviyyesinin istihsal ve istikmali hususuna hezli celli himmet eyliyesiz şöyle bilesiz alâmeti şerifeme itimat kılasız tahriren fi evaili şehri cemaziyel uhra sene isna ve sebîn mieteyn ve elf.
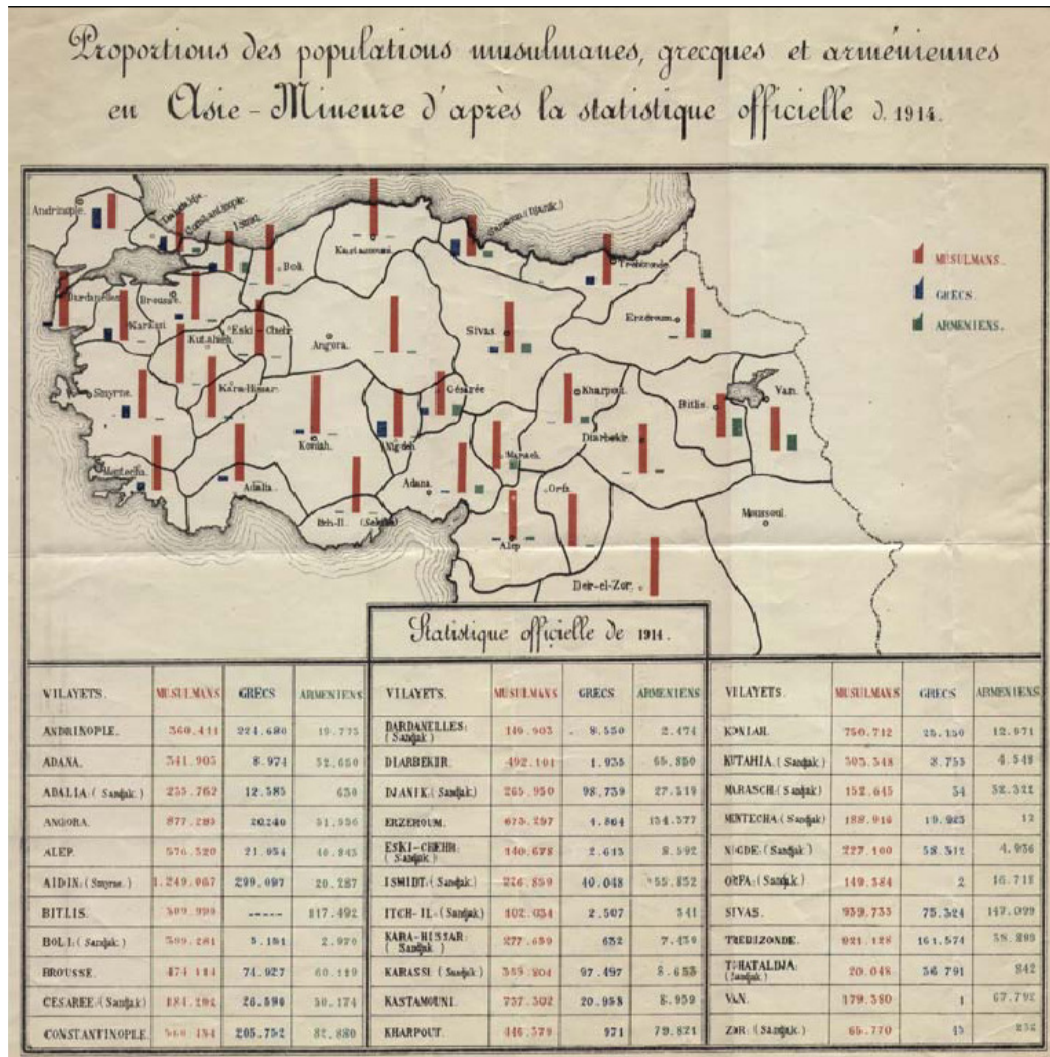
**Source:** TBMM's online archives, E-source is available at:
http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kultur_sanat/yayinlar/yayin001/001_00_005.pdf
(accessed 21 June 2008)

# APPENDIX C

# THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE OFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1914



**Source:** Armenian Documents in the Archive Documents 1914-1918, Vol. 1, Turkish General Staff Publication, Ankara: General Staff Press, 2005, p.629

# APPENDIX D

# MUSLIM, GREEK AND ARMENIAN POPULATIONS IN

# ANATOLIA IN 1914 OTTOMAN STATISTICS

| 1914 Senesi Resmî İstatistiği / 1914 Official Statistics | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VİLAYETLER | MÜSLÜMANLAR | RUMLAR | ERMENİLER | VİLAYETLER | MÜSLÜMANLAR | RUMLAR | ERMENİLER |
| EDİRNE | 360.411 | 224.680 | 19.773 | İÇEL (Sancak) | 102.034 | 2.507 | 341 |
| ADANA | 341.903 | 8.974 | 52.650 | KARAHİSAR (Sancak) | 277.659 | 632 | 7.439 |
| ANTALYA (Sancak) | 235.762 | 12.385 | 630 | KARESİ (Sancak) | 359.804 | 97.497 | 8.653 |
| ANKARA | 877.285 | 20.240 | 51.556 | KASTAMONU | 737.302 | 20.958 | 8.959 |
| HALEP | 576.320 | 21.954 | 40.843 | HARPUT | 446.379 | 971 | 79.821 |
| AYDIN (İZMİR) | 1.249.067 | 299.097 | 20.287 | KONYA | 750.712 | 25.150 | 12.971 |
| BİTLİS | 309.999 | ---- | 117.492 | KÜTAHYA (Sancak) | 303.348 | 8.755 | 4.548 |
| BOLU (Sancak) | 399.281 | 5.151 | 2.970 | MARAŞ | 152.645 | 34 | 32.322 |
| BURSA | 474.114 | 74.927 | 60.119 | MENTEŞE (Sancak) | 188.916 | 19.923 | 12 |
| KAYSERİ (Sancak) | 184.292 | 26.590 | 50.174 | NİĞDE (Sancak) | 227.100 | 58.312 | 4.936 |
| İSTANBUL | 560.434 | 205.752 | 82.880 | URFA (Sancak) | 149.384 | 2 | 16.718 |
| ÇANAKKALE (Sancak) | 149.903 | 8.550 | 2.474 | SİVAS | 939.735 | 75.324 | 147.099 |
| DİYARBEKIR | 492.101 | 1.935 | 65.850 | TRABZON | 921.128 | 161.574 | 38.899 |
| SAMSUN (Sancak) | 265.950 | 98.739 | 27.319 | ÇATALCA (Sancak) | 20.048 | 36.791 | 842 |
| ERZURUM | 673.297 | 4.864 | 134.377 | VAN | 179.380 | 1 | 67.792 |
| ESKİŞEHİR (Sancak) | 140.678 | 2.613 | 8.592 | ZOR (Sancak) | 65.770 | 45 | 232 |
| İZMİT (Sancak) | 226.859 | 40.048 | 55.852 | | | | |

**Source:** Armenian Documents in the Archive Documents 1914-1918, Vol. 1, Turkish General Staff Publication, Ankara: General Staff Press, 2005, p.600

# APPENDIX E

# ARTICLES ABOUT MINORITY ISSUES

# IN THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE

## SECTION III
### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

ARTICLE 37

Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 38

The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to All inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defense, or for the maintenance of public order.

ARTICLE 39

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.

ARTICLE 40

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense,

any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 41

As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.

ARTICLE 42

The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities.

These measures will be elaborated by special Commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government and of representatives of each of the

minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers.

The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and other religious establishments of the above-mentioned minorities. All facilities and authorization will be granted to the pious foundations, and to the religious and charitable institutions of the said minorities at present existing in Turkey, and the Turkish Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious and charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which are guaranteed to other private institutions of that nature.

ARTICLE 43

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend Courts of Law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest.

This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

ARTICLE 44

Turkey agrees that, in so far as the preceding Articles of this Section affect non-Moslem nationals of Turkey, these provisions constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold

their assent to any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Turkey agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these Articles between the Turkish Government and any one of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

ARTICLE 45

The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey will be similarly conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory.

# APPENDIX F
# TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, Türk milli kimliğinin oluşumunda Yunan "ötekisi"nin rolünü incelemektedir. Tezin iddiası daha geniş olarak şöyle ifade edilebilir: Türk milli kimliğinin, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok etnisiteli, çok kültürlü ve çok dinli yapısından üniter ve homojen ulus-devlet modeline geçiş sürecinde, Yunan kimliği, hem Osmanlı geçmişini hatırlatması hem de üniter yapının önünde engel olarak görülmesi sebebi ile devlet seçkinleri tarafından en çok kullanılan ötekilerden biri olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, Yunanlıların, Türk milli kimliğinin ötekisi haline gelmesinin ardında kimlik inşa sürecine destek unsuru olarak görülmesi ve bunun aydınlar, yöneticiler veya bürokratlar gibi karar alıcı mekanizmalar tarafından desteklenmesi yatmaktadır. Yani Türk kimliğinin modern benliğinin bulunmasında ya da kurgulanmasında Yunan ötekisi bir araç olarak kullanılmıştır denilebilir.

Geçmişin hatırlanması kadar unutulması da demek olan milli kimliklerin oluşumu süreci Türkler için de farklı olmamış ve ulusal Türk varlığının altını çizen tarihi unsurlar ön plana çıkarılmış ama modern ulusal kimlik ile çelişkili görülen unsurlar göz ardı edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok etnisiteli geçmişini hatırlatan birçok öğe bu süreçten nasibini alarak ya unutulmuş ya da farklı kalıplar içerisinde topluma sunulmuştur. Türk kimliğinin millileşmesi sürecinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çoğulcu yapısını ve Bizans geçmişini hatırlatan Yunan milleti ve Rumi kimlik, çokça unutulmaya çalışılmış veya değişik kalıplar içine sokularak Türk kimliğinin uzağında bırakılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, birbirinin içine geçmiş ve birbirini etkileyen iki benzer süreç olarak Türk milli

kimliğinin inşası ve Yunan ötekileştirmesi, zaman içinde birçok farklı aşamadan geçmiş ve koşullar ile birlikte değişikliğe uğramıştır. Türk kimliğini, tarihi, sosyal yapısı ve dinamikleri içinde daha iyi anlayabilmek, geçmişinden koparmadan analiz edebilmek ve aynanın biraz da arka tarafını görebilmek adına Yunan ötekileştirmesinin nasıl ortaya çıkmış olabileceğini ve Türk siyasi hayatındaki yansımalarını görmeye çalışmak, faydalı olabilir. Bu girişim aynı zamanda, uluslararası ilişkiler disiplinin aktörlerinden biri olan Türk ulus-devletinin daha anlaşılır bir analiz birimi olarak kullanılmasını da kolaylaştıracaktır.

Yeri gelmişken belirtilmelidir ki, ulus-devletlerin sadece çıkarlarının peşinde koşan ve sistemdeki bütün aktörler için belirli bir rasyonaliteye sahip olarak düşünüldüğü neo-Realist ve neo-Liberal yaklaşım yerine, bu tezde sosyal inşacı (constructivist) ve tarihsel sosyoloji gibi yaklaşımlardan faydalanılmıştır. Ulus devletlerin anarşik yapının dışarıdan öngördüğü kalıplar yerine içeriden belirlenen dinamiklerle hareket etmesinin daha muhtemel olduğu düşünülmektedir. Yani, bu çalışmada, aktörlerin her birinin kendi kimlik ve çıkarları olduğu ve uluslararası ilişkiler alanında da bunlara uygun davrandığı savı hakimdir. Kimlik ve çıkarların anlaşılması için de tarihsel araştırmaların daha derinlemesine yapılarak aktörlerin günümüz siyasetinde takındıkları tavırlar bu temelde ele alınmalıdır. Böylece geçmiş ile bugün arasındaki bağlar sağlamlaştırılacak ve daha sağlıklı analizler yapılabilecektir. Tarihsel sosyolojinin de ilgi alanı olan geçmiş ile bugün bağının koparılmaması anlayışı bu tezin de bütüne hakimdir. Tarih dışılık olarak tanımlanabilecek bu düşünce sistemlerinde bugünkü olaylar geçmişten soyutlanarak anlatılmaya çalışılır ve sanki şu an için geçerli olan değerler bütünün geçmişte de hakim anlayıştı yanılsaması yaşanır.

Yukarıda belirtilen teorik çerçeve içerisinde bu tez, Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinin sadece bugün yaşanan olaylarla anlatılması ve genellikle yakın dönemde gelişmiş olduğu varsayılabilecek çatışma kültürü içerisinde ele alınması sorunsalına eğilmektedir. Aynı toprak parçaları üzerinde yaşanan sahiplenme mücadeleleri, Ege

Denizi'nin kullanımı veya Kıbrıs meselelerine farklı yaklaşımlar gibi konular, iki ülke ilişkilerini anlatırken çokça atıfta bulunulan meseleler arasındadır. Her ne kadar iki ülke yüzyıllara dayanan bir ortak geçmişi, ortak kültürü ve hatta ortak kimliği paylaşmış olsa da, yakın dönemde yaşanmış olan anlaşmazlıkların iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin bütününü temsil ettiği gibi yanlış bir algı söz konusudur. Bu devletlerin günümüzdeki dış politik hedefleri ile doğrudan bağlantılı olan bu anlaşmazlıkların bundan birkaç yüzyıl önce aynı sosyal sistem içerisinde birlikte yaşayan Türkler veya Yunanlılar için pek birşey ifade etmeyeceği söylenebilir. Kıbrıs Adasının durumu için sanki yüzyıllardır süren bir mücadele varmış veya adadaki Rumlar ve Türkler aslında en başından beri anlaşamıyorlarmış gibi düşünmek, önyargılar ile hareket ederek çatışma kültürüne katkıda bulunmak olur ki, bu, aynı zamanda tarihe karşı da yapılmış bir haksızlıktır. Bu tezde iki halkın ilişkileri, tarih içinde karşılaşmanın ilk yaşandığı dönemlerden yani Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminden itibaren ele alınmış. Bizans geçmişi üzerine kurulan ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu çatısı altında geliştirilmiş olan ortak kimlik irdelenmiş ve iki halkın da uluslaşma sürecine girmesi ile körüklenen kopuş süreci Türk kimliği açısından bu yaklaşım içerisinde tartışılmıştır.

Her ne kadar bu tezde Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinin ele alınması hususunda yaşanabilecek tarihten kopuk anlatımın yaratacağı tehlikeler belirtilmiş olsa da, tezin asıl amacının bu ilişkilerin Türk tarafından nasıl algılandığı ve nasıl bir kimlik temeline oturttuğunun anlaşılması olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Özellikle vurgulanması gereken bir diğer husus ise, "öteki" ve "ötekileştirme" kavramlarının tek başına düşmanca bir algı değil, aynı zamanda kimliklerin kendilerini tanımlamalarında ihtiyaç duyulan ve tanımlayıcı bir karşıt olarak ayna konumunda olmasıdır. "Ben" ve "öteki" arasındaki ilişki karmaşık, anlaşılmaz veya çok yönlü olabilir, ancak önemli olan bu ilişkinin aslında özünde karşılıklı bir çekime dayandığı gerçeğidir. En temel ve basit anlatımıyla, "öteki"nin olmadığı bir dünyada var olamayacak olan "ben", çevresinde kendisi gibi başka kimlikler arayışındadır. Bu bağlamda  hatırlanması gereken ise kimliklerin oluşumunda belki de en çok ötekileştirilenin en yakındaki

olduğudur. Yani ötekileştirme süreci aslında farklılıklardan çok benzerliklerden kaynaklanarak ortaya çıkar denilebilir.

Bu kavramsal tespiti tezin konusu olan Türk ve Yunan kimliklerinin ilişkisi ile daha anlaşılır hale getirmek mümkün. 19. yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde henüz milli kimlik olma yolunda yeni ilerlemekte olan Türklük kavramı için, kendinen yüzyıl önce bu işe başlamış ve benzer kimlikten türemiş Yunan milli kimliği en çarpıcı ötekilerden biri halini almıştır. Aynı ortak geçmişten gelen ve benzer tarihsel süreçlerden geçmiş Yunan ulusu Türkler için hem geleceğe dair ulus olma umutlarını yeşerten bir referans hem de batılılaşma yolunda örnek alınabilecek bir modern ulus kimlik modeliydi. Türk milliyetçiliğinin kanaat önderlerinin söylem içerikleri ve ardından devlet politikaları olarak Yunanistan'a benzer bir çizgide hareket etmesi bu savı kanıtlar niteliktedir. Özellikle Batılı olma ve modernleşme konusunda benzer yapısal dönüşümler içine girmiş olan iki ulusun, aslında birbirlerinin farklı ve uzak ötekisi olmaktan ziyade, benzer ve karşılaştırmalı ötekisi olma durumundan bahsetmemiz daha yerinde bir olabilir. Yunanlılar doğulu geçmişlerinden kurtulmak için Avrupalılara Türklerden farklı taraflarını kanıtlamaya çalışırken veya Türklerin Batılı görünebilmek için Yunanlılar ile tarihsel ortaklıklardan dem vurulması bu tarz bir benzerlik ve karşılaştırma içermektedir.

Ötekileştirme sürecinin Türk ve Yunan kimlikleri için nasıl yaşandığı ayrı ayrı incelenebilir. Aslında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na karşı savaşarak ulus kimlik mücadelesini kazanmış olan Yunanlılar için Türklerin ötekileştirmesi çok daha kabul gören ve yaygın olarak çalışılan bir konudur. Ancak, bu tezde Yunan milli kimliğinde Türk ötekisi kavramı araştırma alanına girmemektedir. Meselenin Türkler açısından değerlendirilmesi ve Yunanlılara karşı takınılan tutum ve davranış kalıplarının Türk siyasi ve sosyal hayatına etkilerine bakılması, tezin üzerinde durduğu konulardandır.

Tezin içerdiği konuların yanında sonra neleri içermediği konusunda da bazı noktaların altı çizilebilir. Açıktır ki, Türk ve Osmanlı tarihi ile ilgili literatür

tamamen ele alınamayacak kadar kapsamlı ve geniştir. Bu durumda, özellikle Türk kimliğinde Yunan vurgusunu ön plana çıkarak eserler tezde daha çok kullanılmıştır. Yine yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, bu tezi Türk ve Yunan ilişkileri ile ilgili bir çalışma olarak görmemek gerekir. Nitekim, iki ülke ilişkilerinde günümüzde önemli görülen birçok konudan ziyade tarihsel süreçte yaşanmış olan kimlik temelli gelişmeler tez içerisinde daha çok incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, bu tarihsel süreç, bütün tarihsel ayrıntılarıyla anlatılmamış, Türk kimliği ve öteki çerçevesinde yararlı olabilecek şekilde değerlendirilmiştir. Bu konuda unutulmaması gereken bir diğer husus ise Türk kimliği ile ilgili yapılan tarihsel analizin Orta Asya veya Selçuklu Devleti gibi daha eski çağlar yerine, asıl ortaya çıkış dönemi olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yüzyılına odaklanılmış olmasıdır. Çünkü, Türklük kavramının eski çağlara kadar uzanmasına rağmen, günümüz ulusal kimliği haline gelişi 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşanan gelişmeler ile ortaya çıkmıştır.

Tezin kapsamı içine girmeyen konulardan bir diğeri de Türk ve Yunanlıların kimler olduğu, kimleri kapsadığı veya kimlerin bu kimliklerin dışında kaldığı tartışmalarıdır. Bu tezde, Türk milli kimliğinin Yunan olgusunu nasıl gördüğü asıl tartışılan konudur. Türk ve Yunan kavramları ile ilgili ontolojik tartışmalara çok girilmemiştir. Nitekim, tez boyunca bahsedilen "Yunanlılar" genel olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve ardından Türkiye topraklarında yaşayan, Ortodoks Hıristiyan bir dini görüşe sahip, Yunanca konuşan ve Yunan menşeili halktır. Tabi ki bu tanım kendi içinde çeşitli sorunsalları barındırmaktadır. Katolik olan Yunanlılar olduğu gibi, Türkçe konuşan ama Ortodoks olduğu için Yunanlı muamelesi gören insanlar da sözkonusudur. Aynı şekilde, Türklük konusu da derinlemesine incelendiğinde, farklı birçok tanımın yapılabileceği görülür. Ancak, tezdeki tartışmaların daha kolay yapılabilmesi ve kavramlardaki karışıklığın bu tartışmalara yansımaması için bu tarz etimolojik tartışmalardan uzak durulması tercih edilmiştir. Kısaca ifade etmek gerekirse; "Yunanlı kimdir?" sorusunun cevabı yerine "Bir Türk için Yunanlı kimdir?"e verilecek cevap bu tezin konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

Tez boyunca Yunanlı kavramı ile birlikte Rum kavramı da sıkça kullanılmaktadır. Rum kavramının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde farklı şekillerde nasıl kullanıldığı konusu tezde geniş olarak ele alınmıştır. Romalı geçmişten geldiği vurgusu ile bu kelimeden türetilen Rum kelimesi ile kastedilen birkaç kavram vardır. Bunlardan ilki Osmanlı unsurları arasındaki Rum Ortodoks tebaadır. Bunun yanında, bu tezde de ilgiyle analiz edilen diğer bir kavram ise Osmanlı kimliğinin seçkinlerce kullanılan ve ayrıcalıklı bir durumu ifade eden kimliktir. İlk kullanımda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde yer alan ve uzun süre Müslümanlardan sonra en ayrıcalıklı millet kabul edilen Yunan kökenli halktan bahsedilirken, ikinci kullanımda Osmanlı devletinin otoritesinin altını çizmek için kullanmayı uygun bulduğu bir sıfat olma durumu söz konusudur. Özellikle ikinci kullanımdaki Rumi kimlik, tezde üzerinde en çok durulan noktalardan biri olmuştur. Kendilerini yönetilen halktan üstün konumda gören padişaha yakın yönetici zümrenin, İstanbul'un fethinden sonra Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nun sahip olduğu toprakların ve geliştirdiği kozmopolit kültürün yeni sahibi olarak Osmanlılık kimliğini Rumi kimlik temelinde tanımladıklarını görmekteyiz. Nitekim, Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve Kanuni Sultan Süleyman gibi birçok padişah sahip oldukları kudret ve topraklarının genişliğinin vurgulanması için "Kayzer-i Rum" lakabını kullanmışlardır. Burada kastedilen Ortodoks Rum milletin sultanı olmak değil, bir zamanlar Roma İmparatorluğunun yönettiği geniş toprakları yönetme kudreti ve egemenliğine sahip çok kimlikli Osmanlı padişahı olmaktır

Bağımsızlık ve milli devlet kurma mücadelesi içine giren Rumların, Yunan Krallığını kuararak 1829'da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan ayrılması, Osmanlılar için ciddi bir darbe olmuştu. İmparatorluğun çözülme sürecini de başlatan Yunan bağımsızlığı ile birlikte Ortodoks halka karşı Osmanlı devletinin farklı bir tavır içine girdiği farkedilir. Yunan devleti altındaki vatandaşlar için İyonya kelime kökünden türetilmiş olan Yunanlı kelimesi kullanılmaya başlanmış, diğer yandan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde kalmış olan diğer Yunanlılara Rum denilmeye devam edilmiştir. Burada amaç belki de Yunan yayılmacılığının önüne geçmek ve Osmanlı vatandaşı olan Rumların bağımsızlık isteyenlerden farklılığını vurgulamak olabilir.

343

Bu durumun aslında Yunanlıların ötekileştirilmeye başlanmasının ilk aşamalarından biri olduğu düşünülebilir. Böylece, bir zamanlar aynı isim altında kimliğin ifade edildiği Rum halk artık değişik bir isim ile farklılaştırılarak Osmanlı kimliğinden uzaklaştırılmıştır. Bu uzaklaştırma zaman içinde hızını ve kapsamını artırarak devam etmiştir. Bürokratlar arasında Yunan asıllı olanlar hain damgası yiyerek azledilmeye başlanmış uzun süredir Osmanlı diplomasisini sürdüren Fener Rum ailelerinin etkinliği azaltılmış ve hatta Rum öğrencilerin okullara alım sayısı bile düşürülmüştür. Bu tutumun altında yatan psikolojik sebep ise şöyle özetlenebilir: "İmparatorluğun değer verdiği Rum millet hainlik yapmış ve isyan etmiştir. İçeride kalan diğerleri de en kısa zamanda onlara katılmak isteyecektir veya onları desteklemektedir." Bu şekilde biraz paranoyak bir bakış açısının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde baskın olduğu görülmektedir. Devlet-i Ali Osmaniye'yi korumaya çalışan aydınlar, devlet adamları ve seçkinler, arkası kesilmeyen bağımsızlık talepleri ile çöküşe sürüklenen imparatorluğun sonunun geldiğini farketmek zorunda kalmışlardır ama bu süreci başlatanın Yunan bağımsızlığı olduğu gerçeği hiç unutulmamıştır. Son bir çaba olarak, ayaklanan gayri-Müslim halkların ikna edilmesi ve milliyetçi taleplere uygun şekilde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yeniden yapılanması için Tanzimat (1839) ve Islahat (1856) Fermanları ilan edilmiştir. Osmanlı vatandaşlığı ile çeşitli özgürlükler verilmiş, vatandaşlar arasında eşitlik öngörülmüş ve bu yolla bağımsızlık ayaklanmalarının önünün alınması hedeflenmiştir. Ancak sonuç beklenenin tam tersi şekilde gerçekleşmiş, nisbi olarak artan özgürlük ortamında bağımsızlık kıpırdanışları daha güçlü hareketlere dönüşmüştür. 19. yüzyıl biterken Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisindeki gayri-Müslimlerin hemen hepsi ve Arapların da bir kısmı ayrılık taleplerini dillendirmeye başlamıştır. Böylece, Osmanlıcılık ve İslamcılık gibi İmparatorluğu bir arada tutmak için kurgulanmış girişimler batının milliyetçi akımları karşısında hezimete uğramıştır.

Bu akımlardan tek etkilenen Balkan halkları veya Araplar değildi elbette. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun batılı şehirlerde eğitim almış zengin aile çocukları veya

yurt dışında görevlendirilenler de bu düşünce sisteminden etkilenmeye başlamışlardır. Giderek artan Osmanlı Türklüğü anlayışı kendini hissettirmeye başlamış ve zaman içinde etnik birlik, ulusal bağımsızlık, özgürlük gibi kavramlar Türk kimliği ile bir araya gelmeye başlamıştır. Önceleri Osmanlı vatandaşlığının bir parçası olarak süren bu durum, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun elindeki topraklarının büyük bir kısmını kaybetmesi ile Anadolu odaklı bir Türkçülüğe doğru evrilmiştir. Batının milliyetçi görüşlerinin bir sentezi olarak ortaya çıkan Türk milliyetçiliği bu noktadan sonra imparatorluğun kurtarılması amacını terkederek Türk ulus-kimliğini oluşturma mücadelesine girişmiştir.

Bu süreçte, imparatorluk mirası olan çok kimlikli yapı ve geçmişin parlak zaferlerinin bir uzantısı olarak hala ülke toprakları üzerinde yaşamakta olan farklı unsurların temizlenmesi girişimleri hız kazanmıştır. Özellikle Yunanlılar, dağılmanın önünü açan "hainlikleri" ve ayrıca Batılı ülkelerin onlara olan romantik ilgisi sebebiyle nüfus mübadeleleri ile Osmanlı topraklarından ilk gönderilen halklardan olmuşlardır. Hatta Talat Paşa'nın telgraflarına ve benzer resmi dökümanlara balılırsa Yunanlıların mübadele ile gönderilmesi veya yaşadıkları yerde çoğunluk olmayacak şekilde yerlerinin değiştirilmesi üzerine Osmanlı devlet adamları, veya o dönemdeki şekliyle, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti liderleri, oldukça uğraş vermişlerdir. Bu durumun sebepleri arasında Fener Rum Patrikhanesi'nin İstanbul sınırları içinde yer alması da sayılabilir. Patrikhane'nin ekümeniklik iddialarının ayrı bir devlet olma talebini içerdiği düşünülüyor, ayrıca dini liderlerin Yunan bağımsız devletine destek vererek ülke içindeki diğer Rum unsurları da ayaklandırmasından korkuluyordu. Roma İmparatorluğu zamanından kalan ve geniş bir kitleye sahip Patrikhane'nin İstanbul'daki varlığı tehdit olarak algılanıyordu. Fener Rum Patrikhanesi'nin İstanbul'dan gönderilmesi için o dönemde uzun diplomatik uğraşlar verilmiştir.

Türk Bağımsızlık mücadelesi yıllarında belki de Yunanlıların ötekileştirilmesinin en belirgin örneklerinden biri yaşanmıştır. Bir zamanlar yönetilen sınıfa dahil olan ve "millet-i mahkure" (aşağıdaki millet) olarak

adlandırılan Yunanlıların, "millet-i hakime" (yöneten millet) olan Türklerin topraklarını işgal etmesi kabul edilebilir değildi. Medeni seviyeleri ve entellektüel söylemleri ile Osmanlı içerisinde hatırı sayılır miktarda hayran toplayan İngiltere ve Fransa gibi büyük devletlerin Anadolu'yu ve İstanbul'u yönetmeleri düşüncesi karşısında daha ılımlı olan halk, Yunanlıların 1919'da İzmir'e asker çıkarması ile büyük bir şok yaşamıştır. Bu nedenledir ki, Bağımsızlık Savaşı büyük oranda Yunanlılara karşı yapılmıştır. Böylece hem Yunan hem de Türk bağımsızlığı birbirlerine karşı savaşılarak kazanılmıştır. Hatta denilebilir ki Türk milli kimliğinin bağımsızlık mücadelesine girişmesinin en önemli sebebi büyük batılı devletlerin 1. Dünya Savaşı sonrası Anadolu'ya girişlerinden çok Yunanlıların İzmir'e girmesi ve ardından ilerlemeye devam etmesidir. Türkük kimliği ile henüz biraraya gelinmemiş olsa bile müslümanlık zemininden hareket ederek karşıda tetikleyici bir rol oynayan Yunanlılara toplumsal bir mücadele başlatılmıştır. İsam ile başlayan tutunum noktasının Türk milli kimliğine dönüşmesi çok zaman almamıştır.

1923 yılında Lozan Anlaşması ile uluslararası arenada resmen tanınan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, savaşın ardından Yunanistan ile nüfus mübadelesi yapmış ve milyonlarca insan bu anlaşma ile karşılıklı olarak yer değiştirmiştir. İstanbul'dakiler hariç Ortodoks olan herkes bu değişime tabi tutularak Yunanistan'a gönderilmiştir. Böyle bir değişime her iki ülke de gönüllü olmuşlardır. Bu durum her iki ülkenin de de farklılıkların azaldığı, homojen, üniter bir ulus devlet arzusu ile açıklanabilir. Mübadele sonrası Anadolu'nun nüfus yapısı ciddi anlamda değişmiş ve Türkiye sınırları içindeki Yunanlılar tam olarak azınlık haline gelmiştir. Böylece, "çoğunluğu" ve dolayısıyla "gücü" elinde bulunduran Türk milletinin egemenliğini sorgulayabilecek olan en önemli tehlikelerden biri yani Yunanlılar bertaraf edilmiştir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti içindeki Yunan azınlıkların durumu hukuksal ve sosyolojik birçok çerçeve içinde ele alınabilir. Özellikle, Türk milli kimliğinin etnik ve yurttaş (civic) milliyetçi düşünceler arasında gidip gelen yapısından kaynaklanan

bazı paradoxları, Yunan azınlığın Türk milli kimliği içindeki yeri ile birlikte irdeleyebiliriz. Resmi olarak tamamen gönüllülük ilkesi üzerine inşa edilmiş ve din, etnisite veya dil gibi farklılıkları göz ardı ederek geniş çerçeveli bir Türk vatandaşlığı tanımının karşısına uygulamada karşılaşılan ayrımcı tutumlar ve azınlıkların Türk sayılmadığı hususundaki çarpıcı örnekler tezde işlenmiştir. Bunlar arasında en çok göze çarpanlar, 1944 Varlık Vergisi uygulaması veya 6-7 Eylül 1955'te İstanbul'da yaşanan olaylardır. Bu olaylarda sonra Yunan azınlıkların sayısında ciddi azalmalar yaşanmıştır. Ayrıca eklenmesi gereken bir diğer husus da, bunların iç politikada yaşanılan olaylar olmasına rağmen dış politika aracı olarak siyasetçiler tarafından kullanılmasıdır. Aynı şekilde, Yunanistan ile ilişkilerde ortaya çıkan herhangi bir gerginliğin tüm topluma karşı bir tehditmiş gibi lanse edilmesi ile bazen iç politik kararların haklı gösterilmesi durumu ile karşılaşıldığı olmuştur. Ayrıca Türkiye'deki Yunan azınlık ile Yunanistan'daki Türk azınlığın durumu, iki ülke ilişkilerinin gündeminden hiç düşmeyen bir başlık olarak yerini korurken, bu durumun karşılıklı koz olarak kullanılması da söz konusudur.

Politik manevralar ile farkedilebilecek kimlik siyasetinin yanında, Türk milli kimliğinin Yunan ötekileştirmesini biraz daha teorik ama daha açık bir şekilde ortaya koyduğu diğer bir alan resmi Türk tarih yazımıdır. Özünde kimlik inşasının bir uzantısı olarak misyon yüklenmiş olan ulusal tarih yazımı, satır araları iyi okunduğunda o kimlikte dışlanan ve ötekileştiren unsurları da açıklıkla ortaya serer. Türk tarih yazımında da bu anlamda Yunan ötekileştirmesi ve hatta Türk tarihinin imparatorluk sürecinin ötekileştirmesi ile ilgili örnekler mevcuttur. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında başlayan Türk Tarih Tezi veya Güneş-Dil Teorisi gibi düşünce kalıplarının etkisi ile kurgulanmış Türklük kavramının, Yunanlıları dışlayan veya aşağıda gören bir zihniyeti de beraberinde getirdiği görülebilir. Özellikle Türklüğün aslında antik çağlardan beri var olduğu ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun da gerçekte bir Türk imparatorluğu olduğu iddialarının sıkça rastlandığı bu tarz Türk tarih yazımında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu öncesi Bizans döneminden hemen hemen hiç bahsedilmemesi ilgi çekicidir. Türklerin atalarını Orta Asya steplerinde veya

Sümerlerde arayan bu yaklaşımda Bizans İmparatorluğunun yani Doğu Roma'nın hemen ardından onun toprakları kurulan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasında bağ kurulmaktan kaçınıldığı farkedilir. Anlatılan hikaye genellikle bozulmuş ve yıkılmak üzre olan Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun yerine hakkaniyet sahibi ve medeni açıdan gelişmiş olan Türklerin bir devlet kurmaları şeklindedir. Okul tarih kitaplarında rahatça gözlemlenebilecek resmi tarih anlatımında Yunanlılar ile ilgili olumlu bir bilgiye pek rastlanmaması ve Yunanlıların genellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dağılması sebepleri ile ilişkilendirilerek veya Anadolu'yu işgalleri ile birlikte anlatılması düşündürücüdür. Böyle bir yaklaşım Yunanlılar ile ilintilendirilebilecek herhangi bir ortak tarihi veya iki ulusun uzun süre aynı kimliği paylaştıkları ve aynı topraklar üzerinde sürekli etkileşim halinde bulundukları gibi söylemlere sıcak bakmaz. Bu şekilde tasarlanmış bir tarih yazımında Türk ulus kimliğinin Yunanlılar gibi etkili olmuş bütün diğer unsurlardan arındırılması ve üniter ulus-devlet modeline uygun bir geçmişin oluşturulması hedeflenmiştir.

Bu tarih yazımının sadece diğer ulusları değil aynı zamanda üniter yapı ile uyumsuz olan geçmişi de bugünden koparttığı görülmektedir. Yani Osmanlı geçmişinin çoğul kimliğin ifadesi olan çok etnisiteli, çok dinli ve çok dilli yapısı modern Türk kimliğinin üniter baskınlığından kurtulamamış ve dışlanmıştır. Böylece Türk-İslam öğeleri ile zaferlerle dolu yükseliş dönemi sahiplenilen Osmanlı geçmişinin resmi tarih tezi tarafından büyük oranda reddedilmesi durumu ortaya çıkmıştır. Daha çok cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında kullanılan bu tarz düşünce sistemlerinin etkilerinin günümüzde tamamen kaybolduğu söylenemez.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, Türk milli kimliğinin Osmanlı emperyal sisteminin çoğul yapısından, üniter ve homojen bir ulus devlet modeline geçiş sırasında, unutulmaya veya değiştirilmeye çalışılan bu geçmişin önemli parçalarından biri olarak Yunanlıların ötekileştirildiğini iddia etmektedir.Yani hem Yunanlılar hem de Osmanlı geçmişi aynı ötekileştirme sürecinin parçası olarak Türk milli kimliğinin yeni formülasyonunda yer bulamamışlardır. Geçmiş ile bugünün birbirinden

kopmayacak bir döngünün parçaları olduğu tezinden hareketle, Türk kimliğinin daha önce Osmanlı İmparatorluğu çatısı altında birarada yaşadığı bütün farklı kültürler, dinler ve ırkları bünyesinde barındıran bir mozaik olduğu söylenebilir. Günümüzde Türkiye'nin iç veya dış siyasetinde yaşanan kimlik temelli bazı sorunların analizinin, tek bir üniter kimlik yerine tarihinden gelen çok kimlikli yapı ile ilintilendirilerek yapılması belki de resmi daha geniş görebilmemize yardımcı olur.

# APPENDIX G

# CURRICULUM VITAE

**PERSONAL INFORMATION**

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**EDUCATION**

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|--------|-------------|--------------------|
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**WORK EXPERIENCE**

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|------|-------|------------|
| 2002- Present | METU, International Relations | Research Assistant |
| 2001-2002 | Ege University, International Relations | Research Assistant |
| 1998 | Turkish Daily News | Intern Journalist |

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Advanced English, Intermediate Spanish

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Jogging, fitness, movies, science-fiction