

THE MODERN WORLD
A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Volume VI: TURKEY

THE MODERN WORLD

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TURKEY

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Professor of International History in the University of London and Director of Studies in the British Institute of International Affairs (both on the Sir Daniel Stevenson Foundation)

AND

KENNETH P. KIRKWOOD

Formerly Lecturer in History on the Staff of International College, Smyrna

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I shall be satisfied if my narrative is favourably received by readers whose object is exact knowledge of facts which have not only actually occurred, but which are destined approximately to repeat themselves in all human probability.

Thucydides : I. xxii.

PREFACE

THE original suggestion that I should write this book was made by the Editor of the Series in the Summer of 1923. At that time I had just returned from a visit to Angora, and before that I had spent the greater part of the year 1921 in studying the Græco-Turkish War, first from one side and then from the other. I was also giving the best part of my time and energy, while at home, to the study and teaching of Near Eastern history.

Before I had set pen to paper or even planned the book in outline, I was unexpectedly called to other work of an exacting nature; and, in view of this, the Publishers and the Editor of this Series—with a consideration which I gratefully acknowledge—allowed me to postpone my date of delivery. Meanwhile, I had not had an opportunity to visit Turkey again, and—knowing from my own recent, first-hand experience what rapid changes were taking place in every department of Turkish life—I felt that, if I was to take up the task at this interval of time, I must secure the help of somebody who had been observing events in Turkey at first hand more recently.

At this point, I found that my friend Mr. Kenneth P. Kirkwood, who had been teaching history in the International College at Smyrna, was returning to England with material which he proposed to use in writing a book on Turkey since the War. With the consent of Messrs. Ernest Benn and the Warden of New College, I approached Mr. Kirkwood with a view to joining forces, and the present book is the outcome of that proposal.

Although the book is the work of two hands, every effort has been made to secure unity of treatment. The joint authors first worked out the plan together in detail, and

afterwards submitted to one another, for the freest criticism and suggestion, the drafts of the chapters which they had undertaken respectively.

As regards the spelling of Turkish personal names, an attempt has been made to represent every letter that appears in the original Arabic script, but not necessarily to provide each separate Arabic letter with a separate sign. On this principle, the Arabic long vowels are represented by marks of quantity (ā, ī, ū), and, among the Arabic consonants, Khi is represented by Kh, Ghain by Gh, 'Ain by ', Hemzeh by '. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to distinguish from one another the four Arabic letters which in Turkish are alike pronounced as our Z, or to differentiate between the hard and the soft H, S and T. The chief ambiguities in this system are the failure to distinguish between the aspirate and the vowel Heh at the end of a word (an ambiguity which also exists in the Turkish orthography), and the use of the sign ' to denote not only the consonant Hemzeh but the pre-elision of the vowel augment to the Arabic definite article. This system does not pretend to be scientific. It is an attempt to attain reasonable accuracy without offending the reader's eye by introducing too many orthographical peculiarities.

In conclusion, the joint authors acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of the New York Academy of Political Science, the Editor of *The Political Science Quarterly*, and Professor Edward M. Earle, of Columbia University, in permitting them to reprint as an appendix the English text of the Turkish Constitution of 20 April, 1924, as originally published in *The Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. XL, No. 1, March, 1925) by Professor Earle and Houloussi Y. Hussein Bey. They also acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of Messrs. Constable and Company in placing at their disposal the block of a map

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of the Græco-Turkish War Zone (1919-22), which was originally made for *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, published by Messrs. Constable in 1922; and the courtesy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in placing at their disposal the block of a map of the Near East, which is being published in the new supplementary volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to illustrate an article on Asia Minor.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

June, 1926.

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- } Folding out at the end of the volume.

APPENDIX

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

(20 April, 1924)

SECTION I

Fundamental Provisions

ARTICLE 1.—The Turkish State is a Republic.

ARTICLE 2.—The religion of the Turkish State is Islam ; the official language is Turkish ; the seat of government is Angora.

ARTICLE 3.—Sovereignty belongs without restriction to the nation.

ARTICLE 4.—The Grand National Assembly of Turkey is the sole lawful representative of the nation, and exercises sovereignty in the name of the nation.

ARTICLE 5.—The legislative and executive powers are vested and centered in the Grand National Assembly which concentrates these two powers in itself.

ARTICLE 6.—The Grand National Assembly of Turkey exercises the legislative power directly.

ARTICLE 7.—The Assembly exercises the executive power through the intermediary of the President of the Republic, whom it elects, and through a Cabinet chosen by him. The Assembly controls the acts of the government and may at any time withdraw power from it.

ARTICLE 8.—The judicial power is exercised in the name of the Assembly by independent tribunals constituted in accordance with the law.

SECTION II

The Legislative Power

ARTICLE 9.—The Grand National Assembly is composed of members elected by the nation in conformity with the electoral law.

ARTICLE 10.—Every Turkish citizen over the age of eighteen possesses the right to vote at legislative elections.

ARTICLE 11.—Every citizen over the age of thirty is eligible to election to the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 12.—The following are ineligible to be deputies : those in the service of a foreign power, persons condemned to penal servitude, persons acknowledging foreign nationality, persons condemned for fraudulent bankruptcy, persons who have been deprived of their civil rights, and citizens who cannot read and write the Turkish language.

ARTICLE 13.—Legislative elections take place every four years. Members whose terms have expired are eligible for re-election. The Assembly which has reached the end of its term continues to sit until the meeting of the new Assembly.

In case it is impossible to proceed to legislative elections, the session of the legislature may be prolonged one year.

Each deputy represents not only the constituency which has elected him, but the whole nation.

ARTICLE 14.—The Grand National Assembly shall meet every year on the first day of November, without the necessity of convocation. The Assembly may not be in recess more than six months a year; such recesses are considered necessary for the purpose of permitting the deputies to visit and inspect their constituencies, of re-uniting the elements of control [of the executive power], and of rest and recreation.

ARTICLE 15.—Initiation of legislation rests with the members of the Assembly and the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 16.—On the day of their admission to the Assembly, the deputies take the following oath:

“I swear before God that I will have no other aim but the happiness and safety of the fatherland and the absolutely unrestricted sovereignty of the nation and that I will never forsake republican principles.”

ARTICLE 17.—The immunities of a member of the Grand National Assembly in the Chamber or elsewhere may not be challenged. A deputy who is accused of an infraction of the law, whether committed before or after his election to the Assembly, and whose interrogation or arrest is demanded by the responsible authorities, may be surrendered only by vote of the Assembly in case of flagrant crime. The execution of any judgment pronounced against a deputy before or after his election shall be suspended until the expiration of his legislative term. The statute of limitations, however, shall not be considered to operate during this term.

ARTICLE 18.—The annual salaries of deputies shall be fixed by special law.

ARTICLE 19.—If the Assembly is in recess, the President of the Republic or the President of the Council may convoke the Assembly in special session.

Likewise, if one-fifth of the number of deputies should demand the convocation of the Chamber in special session, the Chamber must re-convene.

ARTICLE 20.—The debates of the Grand National Assembly are held publicly and the reports of its debates are published without any modification of the text.

However, in conformity with its own rules of procedure, the Assembly may also meet in secret session. In such cases, it is for the Chamber to decide whether it is proper to publish the text of the discussions.

ARTICLE 21.—The debates of the Chamber are governed by its own rules of procedure, adopted in the same manner as ordinary legislation.

ARTICLE 22.—The Grand National Assembly includes among its powers the right of interpellation and of conducting investigations and parliamentary inquiries.

The method of transaction of such proceedings is governed by the regulations of the Assembly.

ARTICLE 23.—No person may hold simultaneously the office of deputy and any other public office.

ARTICLE 24.—The Grand National Assembly at the beginning of November in each year shall elect its president and three vice-presidents for the duration of one year.

ARTICLE 25.—When the Assembly by absolute majority votes to dissolve before the expiration of its term, the session of the new Assembly must begin the first of November following. A session held before that date is considered as an extraordinary session.

ARTICLE 26.—The Grand National Assembly itself executes the holy law; makes, amends, interprets and abrogates laws; concludes conventions and treaties of peace with other states; declares war; examines and ratifies laws drafted by the Commission on the Budget; coins money; accepts or rejects all contracts or concessions involving financial responsibility; decrees partial or general amnesty; mitigates sentences and grants pardons; expedites judicial investigations and penalties; executes definitive sentences of capital punishment handed down by the courts.

ARTICLE 27.—Only by a vote of two-thirds of the deputies may the Assembly impeach one of its members for high treason or for other crimes committed in the course of his legislative term.

If a deputy is liable to one of the penalties mentioned in Article 12 and if he is condemned by a court, he loses his seat as deputy.

ARTICLE 28.—Every deputy loses his office if he resigns, if as a result of unavoidable circumstances he is unable to attend the sessions, or if for two months he absents himself from the sessions without valid excuse or without permission, or if he accepts public office.

ARTICLE 29.—A deputy shall be elected to replace one who has lost his seat for the reasons enumerated in the preceding Articles or who is deceased.

ARTICLE 30.—The Assembly assures discipline and regulates its administration by its own rules of procedure, which are enforced by the President of the Assembly.

SECTION III

The Executive Power

ARTICLE 31.—The President of the Republic is elected by the Assembly from among its members for a period equivalent to that of the parliamentary term. The President exercises his functions until the election of a new President of the Republic. He is eligible for re-election.

ARTICLE 32.—The President of the Republic is the head of the State; in this capacity he presides over the Assembly on ceremonial occasions and in case of necessity over the Council of Commissioners.

During his entire term of office the President of the Republic may

not take part in the discussions or in the deliberations of the Assembly and may not vote

ARTICLE 33 —If the President of the Republic, by reason of illness, or travel outside the country, or for any other cause, cannot perform his duties or if as a result of his death, his resignation, or any other cause, the Presidency of the Republic is vacant, the President of the Assembly takes up his duties in the interim.

ARTICLE 34.—If, while the Assembly is in session the Presidency of the Republic becomes vacant, a new President is elected immediately

If the Assembly is not in session, it must be convoked at once by its President to elect the new President of the Republic

If the vacancy occurs at the end of the legislative term or if a new election has been ordered, the new Assembly shall elect the new President of the Republic

ARTICLE 35 —The President of the Republic shall promulgate in ten days of its enactment any law voted by the Assembly

The President of the Republic must return within ten days any law which he does not consider worthy of promulgation, together with a statement of his reasons, for consideration by the Assembly; amendments to the constitution and legislation concerning the Budget are not subject to the President's suspensive veto

The President is obliged to promulgate any law which is enacted by majority vote of the Assembly after reconsideration.

ARTICLE 36 —In November of each year, the President of the Republic delivers, or causes to be read by the President of the Council, an address concerning the activities of the government during the past year and the recommendations of the government for the year to come

ARTICLE 37 —The President of the Republic designates the diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Turkey in foreign countries and receives those from foreign states

ARTICLE 38 —After his election and in presence of the Assembly, the President of the Republic shall take the following oath

" As President of the Republic I swear to dedicate myself exclusively to the respect, defence and execution of the laws of the Republic and of the principles of national sovereignty, to devote all my efforts loyally to assure the happiness of the Turkish nation, to contend with all my strength against every danger which may menace the Turkish state, to cherish and defend the glory and honour of Turkey, and in general to conduct myself so that I may never fail in the performance of the duties with which I am entrusted "

ARTICLE 39 —All decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic shall be signed by the President of the Council and by the Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the measure lies

ARTICLE 40 —Supreme command of the army is vested in the Grand National Assembly, which is represented by the President of the Republic

The command of the military forces in time of peace shall be entrusted, according to special law, to the Chief of Staff, and in time of war to the person designated by the President of the Republic with the advice of the Cabinet and the approval of the Grand National Assembly

ARTICLE 41—The President of the Republic is responsible to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey only in case of high treason. The responsibility for all decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic, according to Article 39, devolves upon the head of the Cabinet and the responsible ministers whose signatures are affixed to the decrees. In case charges other than high treason are preferred against the President of the Republic, Article 17 of the Constitution, concerning legislative immunities, shall be applied.

ARTICLE 42—The President of the Republic, on the recommendation of the Government, may annul or commute the sentences of persons on account of long-continued illness or of old age. Nevertheless the President is not authorized to use this right in the case of members of the Council of Commissioners who may have been convicted by the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 43—The salary of the President of the Republic shall be fixed by special law.

ARTICLE 44—The President of the Council [of Commissioners] is designated by the President of the Republic from among the deputies. The other commissioners [members of the Cabinet] are likewise chosen from among the deputies by the President of the Council who, after obtaining the approval of the President of the Republic, presents the list of the members of the Council to the Grand National Assembly. The Government must within a week present its programme to the Assembly and request a vote of confidence. If the Assembly is not in session, this is postponed until the new session.

ARTICLE 45—The commissioners, headed by their president constitute the "Council of Executive Commissioners."

ARTICLE 46—The members of the Council of Executive Commissioners are collectively responsible for the general policies of the government. Each member, individually, is likewise responsible within the scope of his authority for the general character of his policy and for the actions of his subordinates.

ARTICLE 47—The functions and responsibilities of the commissioners shall be defined by special law.

ARTICLE 48—The number of the commissioners shall be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 49—In case of leave of absence or for any other valid reason necessitating the absence of a commissioner, another member of the Council may be named to replace him temporarily but no commissioner may be charged with the duties of more than two departments at any one time.

ARTICLE 50 —A motion of the Grand National Assembly summoning a commissioner before the High Court entails the commissioner's removal from office

ARTICLE 51 —There shall be established a Council of State which shall be called upon to decide administrative controversies and to give its advice on contracts, concessions and proposed laws drafted and presented by the Government, and to perform specific duties which may be determined by law

The Council of State shall be composed of persons chosen by the Grand National Assembly, from among those who have held important posts who possess great experience, who are specialists, or who are otherwise qualified

ARTICLE 52 —With the advice of the Council of State, the Council of Commissioners shall promulgate regulations for the administration and execution of the law, provided that such regulations shall not contain new clauses. When the regulations are alleged to be contradictory to the law, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is empowered to adjudicate the matter

SECTION IV

The Judicial Power

ARTICLE 53 —The organization, the jurisdiction, and the functions of the courts shall be determined by law

ARTICLE 54 —Judges are independent in the conduct of trials and in the rendering of their judgments. They shall be protected from any sort of intervention and are subject only to the law. Neither the legislative nor executive power may modify, alter, or delay execution of decisions of the courts

ARTICLE 55 —Judges may be recalled only in conformity with the procedure determined by law

ARTICLE 56 —The qualifications of magistrates, their rights and duties, as well as their salaries and the manner of their nomination and of their dismissal, shall be determined by special law

ARTICLE 57 —Judges may not assume any public or private office outside of that entrusted to them by law

ARTICLE 58 —Court trials are public. Nevertheless, a court may order a secret trial, in cases specified by the code of procedure

ARTICLE 59 —Every person is free to use all the legal means which he deems necessary to the defence of his rights before the courts of justice

ARTICLE 60 —No court may refuse to examine and pass judgment upon cases which are submitted to it and which fall within its jurisdiction. Cases which are outside its competency may be rejected only by a decision of the court itself

ARTICLE 61 —A High Court shall be constituted, the jurisdiction of

which shall include the trial of members of the Cabinet, members of the Council of State, the Attorney General, and members of the Court of Appeals in all questions pertaining to the performance of their duties

ARTICLE 62—The High Court shall be composed of twenty-one members, eleven of whom are chosen from among the members of the Court of Appeals and ten from among the members of the Council of State. The said members are elected by secret ballot by the plenary assemblies of each of these bodies. The members of the High Court elect by the same procedure a president and a vice-president.

ARTICLE 63—Trials shall be conducted by fourteen members and the president of the High Court, which shall reach its decision by majority vote. The remaining six members shall be considered as alternates, to be chosen by ballot, three from the Court of Appeals and three from the Council of State. The president and vice-president may not be chosen as alternates.

ARTICLE 64—The office of prosecutor-general of the High Court is filled by the Attorney General of the Republic.

ARTICLE 65—The decisions of the High Court are subject neither to appeal nor to annulment.

ARTICLE 66—The High Court shall apply only the provisions of existing laws in the examination of cases which are pleaded before it and in the judgments which it pronounces.

ARTICLE 67.—The High Court is constituted when necessary by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

SECTION V

Public Law of the Turks

ARTICLE 68—All citizens of Turkey are endowed at birth with liberty and full right to the enjoyment thereof. Liberty consists in the right to live and enjoy life without offence or injury to others. The only limitations on liberty—which is one of the natural rights of all—are those imposed in the interest of the rights and liberties of others. Such limitations on personal liberty shall be defined only in strict accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 69—All Turks are equal before the law and are obliged to respect the law. All privileges of whatever description claimed by groups, classes, families and individuals are abolished and forbidden.

ARTICLE 70—Inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, of thought, of speech, of press, freedom of travel and of contract, freedom of labour, freedom of private property, of assembly of association, freedom of incorporation, are among the natural rights of Turks.

ARTICLE 71—The life, the property, the honour, and the home of each and all are inviolable.

ARTICLE 72—Personal liberty shall not be restricted or interfered with except as provided by law.

ARTICLE 73—Torture, corporal punishment, confiscation and extortion are prohibited

ARTICLE 74—No one may be dispossessed of his property or deprived of the possession of his property except in the public interest In such cases the actual value of the expropriated property must previously have been paid No one shall be constrained to make any sort of sacrifice, other than such as may be imposed in extraordinary circumstances and in conformity with the law

ARTICLE 75—No one may be molested on account of his religion his sect, his ritual, or his philosophic convictions All religious observances shall be free on condition that they do not disturb the public peace, or shock public decency or exist in violation of social conventions or the law

ARTICLE 76—Except in specified cases and according to the form of procedure prescribed by law, the persons and the property of citizens shall be immune from search and molestation

ARTICLE 77—The press is free within the limits of the law and shall not be submitted to any censorship previous to publication

ARTICLE 78—The government shall not restrain the freedom of travel except during general mobilization or a state of siege, or following the declaration of an epidemic in the country

ARTICLE 79—Limitations upon freedom of contract, labour property, assembly, association and incorporation shall be determined by law

ARTICLE 80—Subject to the supervision and control of the State, education in all its forms is free on condition that it conforms to the law

ARTICLE 81—Letters, documents and packages transmitted through the mails may not be opened without an order from the Attorney General of the Republic and a decision of the competent court

The secrecy of telephone and telegraphic communications likewise is inviolable

ARTICLE 82—Any Turk, acting on his own behalf or on behalf of others may address petitions and make complaints either to the competent authority or to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey concerning acts and circumstances which he considers contradictory to the law Complaints or petitions may be offered by separate individuals or by several persons at the same time The reply to an individual complaint must be given in writing to the person concerned

ARTICLE 83—No one may be forced to appear before a court other than that to which he is subject by law

ARTICLE 84.—Taxes are the contribution of the people toward the general expenses of the State Any levy which does not contribute to the general expenses of the State, or any tax, tithe or contribution of any other nature imposed by individuals or by corporations other than the government or in the name of the government, is illegal.

ARTICLE 85—Taxes are levied in conformity with the law Taxes and contributions received in conformity with usage, either by the State

or by the local administration of the vilayets or municipalities, may continue to be collected until they have been regulated by law

ARTICLE 86—When the Council of Commissioners takes cognizance of the danger or imminence of war, or of internal sedition or conspiracy or intrigues directed against the nation or against the Republic, it may decree martial law, which shall not exceed the duration of one month, in all or part of the Turkish territory. This measure shall then be submitted to the Assembly for its approval as soon as possible. The Assembly may prolong or diminish the duration of martial law. In case the Assembly be not in session, it shall be convened immediately in special session. Martial law consists of the suspension or temporary restriction of the inviolability of the person, the home, freedom of the press, correspondence, association and incorporation. The zone placed under martial law, as well as the provisions to be applied and the procedure to be followed in this zone, shall be determined by special law. The suspension or restriction of personal liberty and personal inviolability in time of war likewise shall be regulated by law.

ARTICLE 87—Primary education is obligatory for all Turks and shall be gratuitous in the government schools.

ARTICLE 88—The name Turk, as a political term, shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or reference to, race or religion. Every child born in Turkey, or in a foreign land of a Turkish father, any person whose father is a foreigner established in Turkey, who resides in Turkey, and who chooses upon attaining the age of twenty to become a Turkish subject, and any individual who acquires Turkish nationality by naturalization in conformity with the law, is a Turk. Turkish citizenship may be forfeited or lost in certain circumstances specified by law.

SECTION VI

Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 89—Turkey is divided into vilayets, based upon geographic situation and economic relationship. The vilayets [provinces or administrative districts] are subdivided into kazas [counties], the kazas into nahiyes [townships], the nahiyes into kassabas and villages.

ARTICLE 90—Each vilayet, together with its subdivisions, enjoys a separate entity.

ARTICLE 91—The affairs of the vilayets are administered and governed by law, in accordance with the principles of local autonomy and the separation of functions.

Government Officials and Employees

ARTICLE 92—Any duly qualified citizen of Turkey, in full possession of his rights of citizenship, is eligible to appointment as an official or employee of the government.

ARTICLE 93—The duties and privileges of government officials, including the procedure in their nomination and dismissal, shall be determined by special law

ARTICLE 94—In cases of violation of the law the obedience of a subordinate to the orders of his superiors does not diminish the responsibility of the subordinate.

Finance

ARTICLE 95—The proposed Budget (budgetary balance law) shall be placed before the Assembly at the opening of the session, that is, no later than the first of November

ARTICLE 96—No expenditure of public funds may be made except as provided for in the Budget or authorized by special law

ARTICLE 97—The Budget shall be adopted for one year only

ARTICLE 98—The statement of final accounting shall give in detail the amounts of the receipts and expenditures during the fiscal year

ARTICLE 99—The statement of final accounting must be placed before the Assembly without fail not later than the first of November of the second year following the end of the fiscal year which the report covers

ARTICLE 100—A Special Court of Accounts shall be established to control the revenues and expenditures of the State on behalf of the National Assembly and in accordance with the law

ARTICLE 101—The Court of Accounts shall present a statement of audit and verification within six months after the Commissioner of Finance shall have submitted to the Assembly his statement of final accounting

Amendments to the Constitution

ARTICLE 102—Amendments to or modifications of this Constitution may be made only upon the following conditions The proposal to amend must be signed by at least one-third of the total number of deputies The proposed amendment must be thereafter discussed by the Assembly and adopted by vote of two-thirds of the total number of deputies

No proposal to alter or amend Article 1 of this Constitution specifying that the form of government is a Republic, shall be entertained

ARTICLE 103—None of the provisions of this Constitution may be arbitrarily modified on any pretext, neither may the enforcement of any provision be suspended

No law shall be in contradiction to the Constitution

ARTICLE 104—The Constitutional Law of 1878 (1293) together with its amendments and the Organic Law of January 30, 1921 (1337), and the amendments thereto are hereby annulled

ARTICLE 105—The present Constitution shall be considered in force immediately upon publication.

Provisional Article

The sections of the law of December 19, 1923, regulating the status of military officials who have been elected or are eligible to election to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall remain temporarily in force.

Voted and published 20 April, 1924 (1340)

NOTE ON BOOKS

The best recent comprehensive work on the subject of the present volume is *Modern Turkey, a politico-economic interpretation, 1908-1923 inclusive, with selected chapters by representative authorities*, edited by E G MEARS—(Macmillan Company, New York, 1924) This book contains a chronology, texts of select documents, and an ample bibliography—to which the reader may be referred.

The following books may be mentioned here by way of illustration For the institutions of the old Ottoman Empire see LYBYER, A. H., *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*—(Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1913), for the political and economic rivalry of the European Great Powers in the Near East during the generation preceding the wars of 1911-22, see EARLE, E. M., *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*—(Macmillan Company, New York, 1923), for the Revolution of 1919-22 see PRICER, C., *The Revivh of Turkey*—(Seltzer, New York, 1923) and TOYNBEE, A. J., *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey, a Study in the Contact of Civilizations*—(Constable London, 1922), for the Lausanne Conference see British Blue Book Cmd. 1814 of 1923 (Records of Proceedings [during the first part of the Conference] and draft terms of peace) and *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, edited by H W V TEMPERLEY and published under the auspices of the British Institute of International Affairs—(Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1924) vol. vi and *A Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923*, written by A. J TOYNBEE and published under the auspices of the British Institute of International Affairs—(Oxford University Press, London, 1925), for the text (French and English) of the Lausanne Treaty see British Blue Book Cmd 1929 of 1923 The history of the Mosul Question since the coming into force of the Lausanne Treaty can be followed in the Official Publications of the League of Nations

The reader who wishes to explore the historical background more thoroughly may be referred to the following select bibliography

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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CHRONOLOGY

(Dates according to the Christian Era, not the Hijrah)

<i>Centuries and Years</i>	
VII c.-X c. X c.-XIV c	RISE OF BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION in the Near East BREAKDOWN OF BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION (965-1019, catastrophic war between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, eleventh century, first wave of alien invaders (Normans and Saljūq Turks), thirteenth century, second wave of alien invaders (Crusaders and Ottoman Turks))
XIII c - circa 1373	RISE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (circa 1230-40, Arrival of Ertogrūl and his band from Central Asia and their settlement in north-western Anatolia, 1289-1326 reign of Ertogrūl's son 'Osman ('Uthmān), from whom the Osmanli took their name, 1326 conquest of Brusa 1354 conquest of Gallipoli, 1360-1 conquest of Thrace from the Aegean to the Black Sea, 1361-2 the Byzantine Government of Constantinople bound itself to furnish a contingent to the Ottoman Army, 1369 Bulgaria accepted Ottoman suzerainty, 1371-2 conquest of Macedonia, 1373 Constantinople definitively accepted Ottoman suzerainty)
Circa 1373-1774	THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FLOURISH (1389 victory over the Serbs at Kosovo, 1391 siege laid to Constantinople, 1402 defeat of Sultan Bāyazīd at Angora by Timūr postponed the completion of the Ottoman conquest of the Near East, reign of Mehmed II (1451-81), 1430-75 conquests rounded off by annexation of Salonica (1430) Constantinople (1453), Trebizond (1461), Qaraman (1465) and Kaffa and Tana (1475), sixteenth century Ottoman bid for world-power (1514 defeat of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī and annexation of Mosul, A.D 1516-17 conquest of Syria, Egypt, the Hijāz and the Yaman, 1520-66 reign of Suleiman the Magnificent; 1521 conquest of Belgrade, 1526 victory over the Hungarians at Mohacz, 1529 first siege of Vienna, 1534 first conquest of Baghdad, 1639 second conquest of Baghdad, 1683 second siege of Vienna, 1683-99 first disastrous war against a coalition headed by the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1768-74 disastrous war against Russia, ending in the Peace Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarja)

Circa 1774-1919

BREAK-UP OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1783 Russia annexed the Crimea and established her suzerainty south of the Caucasus, over Georgia, 1789-1807 reign of Selim III, 1792 Russia conquered Oczakov and thereby alarmed William Pitt, 1798-1801 French occupation of Egypt, 1805 Mehmed 'Ali made himself master of Egypt, 1804-17 Serbian War of Independence, 1808-39 reign of Mahmüd II, 1821-29 Greek War of Independence, 1831-33 conquest of Syria and invasion of Anatolia by Mehmed 'Ali, 1839-41 settlement between the Ottoman Government and Mehmed 'Ali through the intervention of the European Great Powers, 1854-6 Crimean War ending in the Peace Treaty of Paris, 1875-8 Herzegovinian revolt and Russo-Turkish War ending in the Treaty of Berlin 1876 Midhat Pasha's parliamentary constitution introduced and overthrown, 1878 autonomy of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia and Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1881 French protectorate established over Tunis Council of the Ottoman Public Debt created, 1882 British occupation of Egypt, 1876-1909 reign of 'Abdu l-Hamid II, 1908 "Young Turk" Revolution carried out by the Committee of Union and Progress at Salonica, 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria declared her independence 1909 attempted counter-revolution and deposition of Abdu l-Hamid, 1911-12 Turco-Italian War and Turkish cession of Tripoli-Benghazi, 1912-13 the Balkan Wars and loss of all Ottoman territory west of Adrianople, 1914-18 the Great War, in which Turkey intervened on 28 October 1914, 30 October, 1918, the Armistice of Mudros, 15 May, 1919, landing of Greek troops at Smyrna

NB—From the Spring of 1919 onwards, the course of events in Turkey is dealt with in detail in the main body of the book Any reader who wishes to see these most recent events set out in tabular form may be referred to the Chronology (1908 to 1923 inclusive) in E G Mears *Modern Turkey*, pp 584-607 and the table of dates (1914 to 1922 inclusive) in A J Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, second edition

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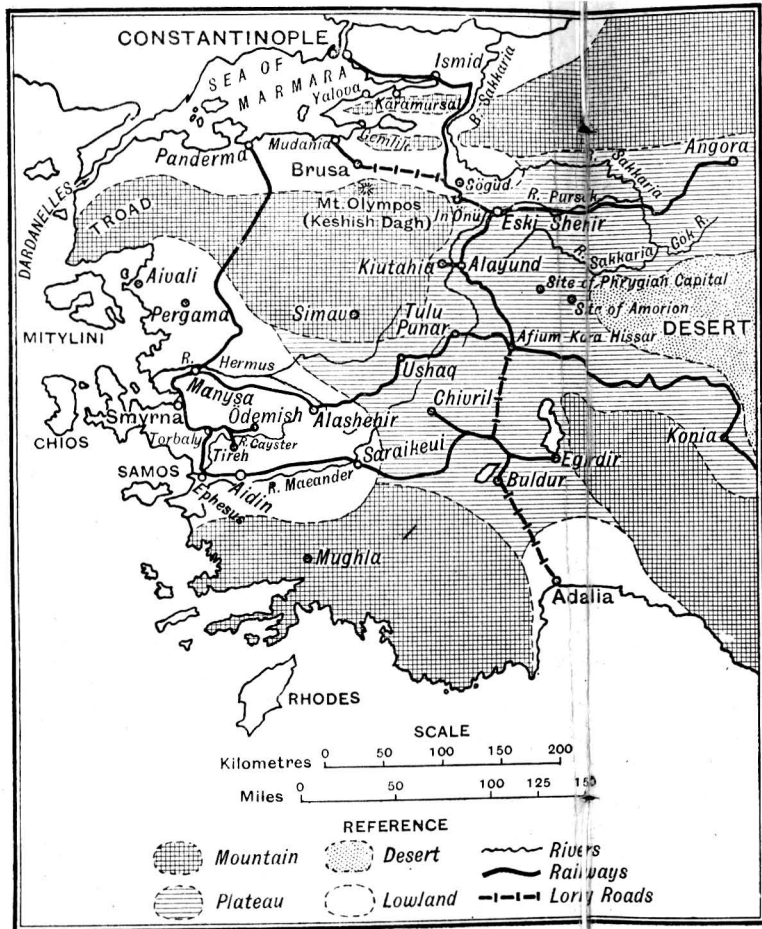
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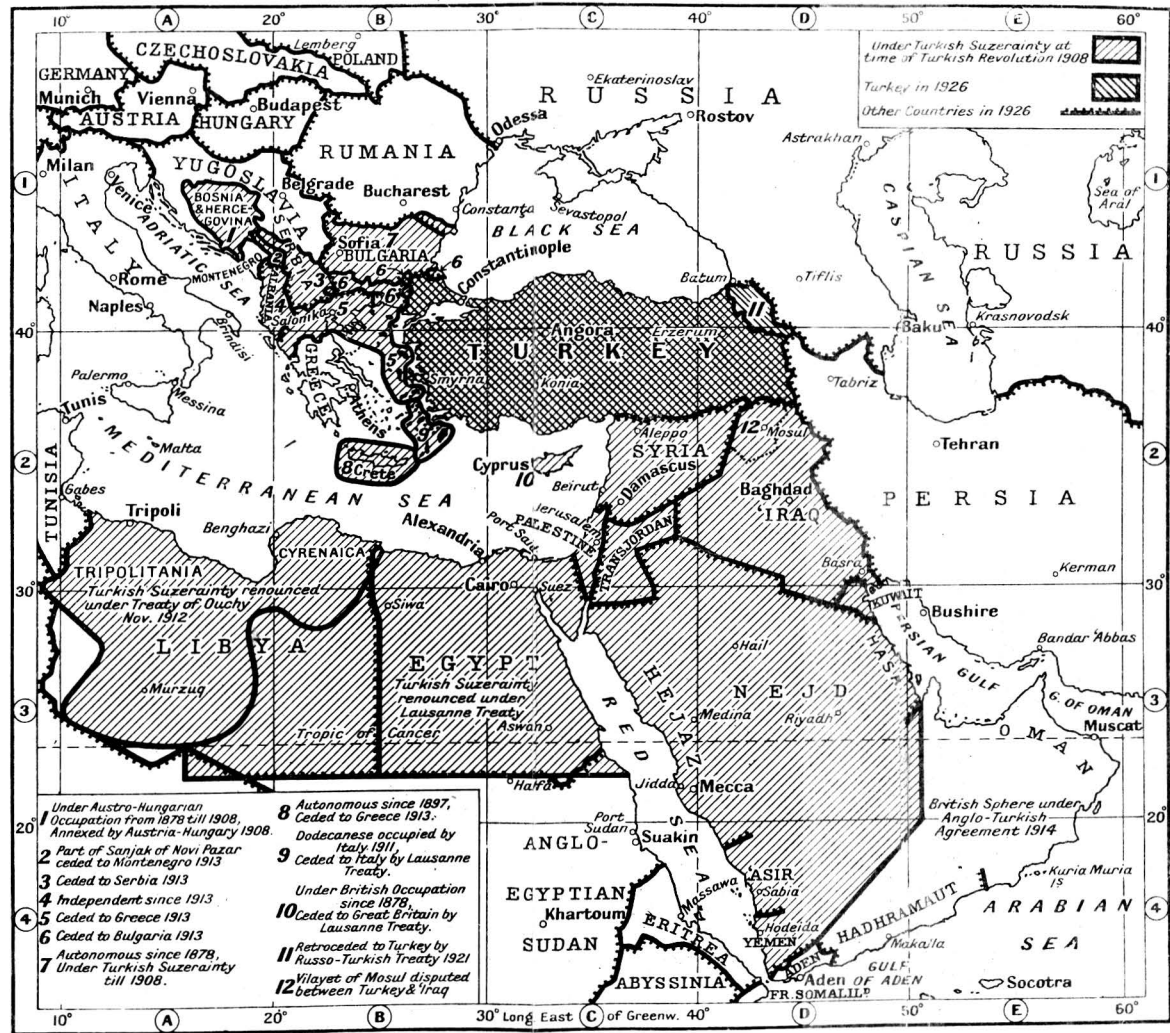
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