



**T.C
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND BRITAIN AND ITS
EFFECT ON THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN IRAQ: A HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE**

FATİH TUNA

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY – ISTANBUL

2013



**T.C
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND BRITAIN AND ITS
EFFECT ON THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN IRAQ: A HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE**

By

FATİH TUNA

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Mesut Hakkı Caşın

**Submitted to the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctorate of
Political Science and International Relations**

ISTANBUL, 2013

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND BRITAIN AND ITS
EFFECT ON THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN IRAQ: A HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE**

by

FATİH TUNA

Approved by;

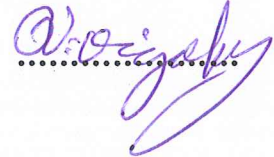
Committee member Prof. Dr. Mesut Hakkı Caşın
(Supervisor)



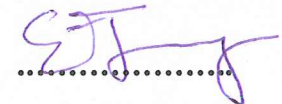
Committee member Assistant Prof. Dr. Deniz Tansı



Committee member Assoc. Prof. Dr. Uğur Özgöker



Committee member Prof. Dr. Ercüment Tezcan



Committee member Prof. Dr. Cemil Oktay



Date Approval by the Administrative Council of the Institute

22./01./2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
ABSTRACT	x
ÖZET	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
AIM and SCOPE of the THESIS	3
THEORETICAL APPROACH	6
GENERAL VIEW	21
CHAPTER 1. IRAQ in the AGENDA of the EUROPE's OTTOMANS and BRITAIN	
I. I. IRAQ's MEANING FOR the TURKISH HISTORY: OTTOMAN'S FALL in MUSLIM WORLD	33
I. II. IRAQ's MEANING FOR the BRITISH HISTORY	39
I. III. THE BRITISH RISE OVER the EUROPE	
I. III. I. EUROPE's NIGHTMARE: NAPOLEON COMES OUT	43

I. III. II. NEW FORMATION of the EUROPE AFTER NAPOLEON: CONGRESS of VIENNA	46
I. IV. THE BRITISH RISE OVER the EUROPE	48
I. IV. I. BRITISH COLONIALISM and SHARING the EASTERN WORLD	52
I. V. THE SITUATION of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE and the FIRST CONTACT with the BRITAIN	61
I. VI. A TURNING POINT in the RELATIONS of TURKISH-BRITISH SIDES: THE CRIMEAN WAR	69
I. VI. I. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE'S SITUATION BEFORE THE CRIMEAN WAR	71
I. VI. II. THE BRITISH REACTION to THAT PERIOD	72
I. VI. III. THE END of the CRIMEAN WAR and the GENERAL VIEW AFTER the WAR	74
 CHAPTER 2. THE SITUATION of the CENTRAL STATES of the FIRST WORLD WAR BEFOR the WAR and TURKEY and Britain: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE in the PRE-MODERN PERIOD	
II. I. THE SEARCH FOR BALANCE ELSEWHERE in the WEST	76
II. II. GENERAL VIEW	81

II. III. ROAD to FIRST WORLD WAR	97
II. IV. THE FIRST WORLD WAR	107
II. IV. I. PRELUDE to WAR	108
II. IV. II. THE ORDEAL of BATTLE	111
II. IV. III. REVOLUTION in the MIDST of WAR in RUSSIA	119
II. IV. IV. ARMISTICE and PEACE	126
II. V. THE SITUATION of the RELATIONS in the PRE-MODERN PERIOD	135
II. VI. THE FIRST WORLD WAR and AFTERWARDS	139
II. VI. I. THE TURKISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, THE LAUSANNE and MUSOUL- KIRKUK PROBLEM	149
II. VI. II. THE LAUSANNE	154
II. VI. III. THE MUSOUL-KIRKUK PROBLEM in LAUSANNE	170
II. VI. IV. MOSUL and PETROLEUM MATTER BETWEEN TURKEY and BRITAIN	179
II. VII. WHAT WAS the CONNECTION BETWEEN the OTTOMAN EMPIRE and IRAQ for the BRITAIN	181
II. VIII. IRAQ'S OWN POLITICS: TREATY of SAADABAD	188
CHAPTER 3. COLD WAR PERIOD AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR	

III. I. IRAQ AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR and BRITAIN'S IRAQ POLICY	190
III. I. I. PETROLEUM	192
III. I. II. ROLE of the MILITARY COUPS in IRAQ	195
III. II. BAAS MOVEMENT and SADDAM HUSSEIN's LEADERSHIP	198
III. II. I. BRITAIN's VIEWPOINT on BAAS MOVEMENT	201
III. III. SOVIET POLICY on IRAQ and MILITARIST AID	202
III. IV. IRAM ISLAM REVOLUTION and ROAD to IRAQ-IRAN WAR: THE BRITISH EFFECT	205
III. IV. I. IRAN ISLAM REVOLUTION in a COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE	205
III. IV. II. FRANCE-IRAQ COOPERATION in NUCLEAR ISSUES and ISRAEL's REACTION	209
III. IV. III. ROAD to IRAQ-IRAN WAR: THE BRITISH EFFECT	212
CHAPTER 4. NEW ERA: DEVELOPMENTS in the MODERN PERIOD	
IV. I. DEVELOPMENTS in the 1990s	215
IV. II. INVASION of KUWAIT and ROAD to GULF WAR	218
IV. II. I. IRAQ-KUWAIT RELATIONS and INVASION of KUWAIT	218
IV. II. II. FIRST GULF WAR and THE POLICY of BRITAIN on IRAQ	222

IV. II. III. THE ROLE of the UN AFTER the WAR	225
IV. III. BRITAIN's POLICY on IRAQ AFTER the GULF WAR PERIOD	227
IV. IV. DEVELOPMENTS in the 2000s and the SECOND GULF WAR	231
IV. V. TONY BLAIR's ROLE on INVASION of IRAQ	235
V. GENERAL ASSESSMENT	
V. I. HISTORICAL EVALUTION of TURKEY-BRITAIN RELATIONS	237
V. II. IRAQ MATTER for BRITAIN: FAILURE or SUCCESS?	249
V. III. CURRENT SITUATION and POSSIBLE SCENARIOS for the FUTURE	250
V. III. I. FEDERAL STATE PROBLEM and CIVIL WAR	254
REFERENCES	257

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EC	European Community
EU	European Union
FMI	Freedom Movement of Iran
JDP	Justice and Development Party
IRR	Islamic Republic Party
LON	League of Nations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WP	Welfare Party

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Founder and first leader of the First French Republic Napoleon Bonaparte	55
Figure 2: A view from Waterloo: The war had changed the political situation of the Europe	57
Figure 3: Napoleonic Europe	60
Figure 4: An illustration from a British newspaper, which shows the hegemony of Britain from <i>Cape to Cairo</i>	66
Figure 5: The colonial separation of Africa between the sides of the European powers	68
Figure 6: Map of Crimean War: Situation of Ottoman Empire and Russia	86
Figure 7: Numbers of death civilian and the soldiers of the sides during Crimean War	87
Figure 8: Ottoman Empire before the First World War	105
Figure 9: One of the most important European politicians, German leader Otto von Bismarck	115
Figure 10: European Alliances and Battlefronts during the First World War (1914-1917)	122
Figure 11: British naval troops leave England for the battle	125
Figure 12: German troops on the Northern Africa frontline	126

Figure 13: The US had sent its troops to the European continent after the German attacks on the Pacific	129
Figure 14: One of the most important leaders of Bolshevik Revolution Vladimir Lenin	133
Figure 15: Revolutionist army of Bolsheviks	134
Figure 16: Casualties, which declared after the First World War	139
Figure 17: Versailles Treaty and afterwards	142
Figure 18: Treaty of Saint-Germain - Treaty of Trianon and afterwards	145
Figure 19: Treaty of Sevres and afterwards	146
Figure 20: Turkish delegation in Lausanne Conference, 1923	167
Figure 21: Head of Turkish delegation in Lausanne, Ismet Inonu	177
Figure 22: Head of British delegation in Lausanne Lord Curzon (a photo from his first years as a bureaucrat)	179
Figure 23: Turkish and the British thesis for Musoul and Kirkuk population	183
Figure 24: Map and borders of Turkish Republic after Treaty of Lausanne	191
Figure 25: Founder and the first king of Iraq, Faysal bin Huseyin	198

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor Prof.Dr. Mesut Hakkı Caşın for his invaluable comments, his advice and help throughout my study. His knowledge and guiding insights into strategic studies have provided me a new sound perspective. Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee; Prof. Dr. Cemil Oktay, Associated Prof.Dr.Deniz Tansi for their encouragement and insightful comments.

Also, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Haluk Ülman, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Yücekök, Associated Prof. Dr. Ebru İlter Akarçay, Associated Prof. Dr. Dinç Yaylalier for their help during my study.

I would like to thank to my wife and my two girls for their understanding, patience , tolerance and constant support. Finally, I offer my regards and blessings to all of those who supported me in any respect during the completion of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Basically, this thesis explains the role of Iraq in the European and Middle Eastern politics in historical process. In this process, the roles of Turkey and Britain, which ruled and had effect Iraq for years, are so important. That is why; Iraq's situation was handled under the circumstances of Turkey and Britain's effectiveness on Iraq. On the other hand, the effects of the Ottoman Empire and Britain on Iraq in historical process were handled. On the road, which comes to the present of Iraq, the level of Turkey and Britain's relations increased in the 20th century and created the current situation of Iraq. So, thesis concerns the previous history of the First World War, war years, the Cold War after the Second War and period, which comes to present. At the same time, the domestic political struggles in Iraq after the First and Second World War are also in the scope of this thesis. In all these terms, thesis tried to explain Turkey's domestic political situation, Britain's viewpoints on the Europe, Turkey and Iraq with the end of this process. Except Iraq, Britain and Turkey, the situations of the European states, which assumed important roles and the US, were tried to be explained. In the issue that was related Iraq, especially Musoul-Kirkuk matter and Lozan Peace Treaty are extremely important; the struggle of Turkey and Britain on Musoul-Kirkuk matter is concerned in this thesis. In the scope of thesis, historical viewpoints of Turkey and Britain on Iraq and their claims on Musoul-Kirkuk matter represent an important part of this thesis. Finally, Iraq's situation after the American intervention in 2003 and its today and future are in this working as a discussing issue.

Keywords; Iraq, Turkey, Britain, politics, struggle.

ÖZET

Bu tez, temel olarak Irak'ın tarihsel süreçte Ortadoğu ve Avrupa politikalarındaki rolünü ortaya koymaktadır. Bu süreçte, Irak'ı uzun yıllar yönetmiş ve üzerinde etkileri olan Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin rolü de son derece önemlidir. Bu sebepten ötürü, Irak'ın durumu, Türkiye ve İngiltere'nin etkinliği bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Öte yandan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İngiltere'nin tarihsel süreçte Irak üzerindeki etkileri de ele alınmıştır. Irak'ın bugününe giden yolda, Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin ilişkileri 20. yüzyılın başlarında artan bir ivme kazanmış ve Irak'ın bugünü yaratmıştır. Bu nedenle tez, Birinci Dünya Savaşı öncesi dönemi, savaş yıllarını, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Soğuk Savaş yıllarını ve günümüze kadar gelen bir süreci kapsamaktadır. Aynı zamanda Birinci ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Irak'ın yaşadığı iç politika mücadeleleri de tezin kapsamındadır. Tüm bu süreçte, Türkiye'nin kendi iç politika durumu, İngiltere'nin Avrupa'ya, Türkiye'ye ve Irak'a bakış açısı ile sonuçta geline noktalarla değinilmeye çalışılmıştır. Türkiye, İngiltere ve Irak dışında, uluslararası politikada önemli rol üstlenen Avrupalı devletlerin ve ABD'nin de durumu ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Irak ile ilgili konuda, bilhassa Musul-Kerkük sorunu ve Lozan Barış Antlaşması süreci son derece önemlidir; Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin Musul-Kerkük sorunu üzerindeki mücadelesi de bu çalışma içerisinde yer almıştır. Çalışmanın içeriğinde, hem Türkiye hem İngiltere'nin Irak'a dair tarihsel bakışı açısı ile Musul-Kerkük sorununa dair öne sürdükleri iddialar da bu tezin önemli bir parçasını temsil etmektedir. Son olarak da Irak'ın 2003 yılındaki Amerikan müdahalesi sonrası durumu, bugünü ve geleceği de tartışma konusu olarak bu çalışmanın içerisinde yer almaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler; Irak, İngiltere, Türkiye, politika, mücadele.

The Relations between Turkey and Britain and its Effect on the Emergence of Modern Iraq: A Historical Perspective

INTRODUCTION

Turkey's relations with Britain have been of vital importance particularly during the turbulent era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Britain was one of the first countries that had a diplomatic representative in the Ottoman Empire. The first ambassador appointed to Istanbul in 1583¹. However, the diplomatic representation had remained unilateral for a quite long period since the first Turkish ambassador to London, Yusuf Agah Efendi, appointed as late as 1793. This appointment is considered as the beginning of the diplomatic relations between two countries². This diplomatic tie established with Britain had been decisive in the years of decline and dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

Beginning with the establishment of diplomatic ties to the end of the Second World War Britain has been the major foreign power that Turkey took its policies into consideration and accepted as a determining factor while developing its own foreign policy. After the war, particularly following the Suez Crisis the British Empire, world's hegemonic power for centuries, entered into a period of decline³. The erosion in the hegemonic role of the Empire did also affect the relations of both countries. As we know, the US would fill in the power vacuum occurred with the decline of the British hegemony and undertake the role of the British Empire. The early steps toward establishing a Turkish-American alliance after the war

¹ The first ambassador William Harebrowne was a merchant. See. Skilliter, Susan. William Harborne, "The First English Ambassador 1583-1588", William Hale and Ali İhsan Bağış (eds.) *Four Centuries of Turco-British Relations*, Walkington: Eothen Press, 1984, pp. 10-25. This appointment was consistent with the aggressive economic policy of the mercantilist Britain, that assessed the Ottoman trade of critical importance for its strategic needs.

² http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-the-united-kingdom.en.mfa, visited on October 24, 2009.

³ Adamthwaite, A., "Suez Revisited", *International Affairs* Vol. 64, No.3, Summer 1988, p. 45.

had also repercussions vis-à-vis Turkey's relations with Britain. The new era in the relations between Turkey and Britain has entailed taking the American factor into account.

Another important aspect of the relations that I should point out before explaining the content of this thesis is the multidimensional character of bilateral relations. Britain and Turkey has important political, economic and military relations. They are both partners of NATO. Furthermore, most of the key issues of Turkey's foreign policy have had aspects related to the historical and current role of Britain. The Musoul-Kirkuk issue, Cyprus should be noted being the most important ones in this regard. In a less direct but still important manner Palestinian issue (in the occurrence of which Britain had an important role) has been shaping the agenda of the Middle East during and after the Cold War. I should also point out relatively new issues such as Turkey's membership to the EU, international struggle against terrorism and the current situation in Iraq and Afghanistan⁴.

Today, Turkey's relations with Britain can be considered as a derivative of joint membership to international organizations, NATO being the most important one, or as dependent to the Turkish-American and British-American relations⁵. Although the British policies are not directly affective on Turkey when compared to the influence that Britain enjoyed during the Ottoman Empire, Britain is still a major partner of Turkey in most issues. It is important to note that unlike other European powers, the military power of Britain is decisive in shaping strategic interests of this country. This distinctive character of Britain, especially when one considers that Britain deployed troops abroad more than any other European nation, is an important common point of both countries⁶. That is why Turkey and

⁴ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 78.

⁵ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 59.

⁶ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 22.

Britain apart from their bilateral relations have been partners in numerous international operations conducted for security and stability.

After summarizing some key points and crucial aspects of the Turkey's relations with Britain, I can briefly put forward the aim of this thesis as to analyze the recent dynamics of this historical relation. This thesis is focusing on the relations in post-Iraqi war context. However, it is argued that it is not possible to fully comprehend the present relations without tracing the historical path of Turk-British relations. In this sense, I suggest that we can mention a historical aggregation that now meets with current state of relations, which is determined by also the international environment.

AIM and SCOPE of the THESIS

In this regard, this thesis is designed under the effects of Iraq and the Middle East on the Turkey-Britain relations. That is why, after the introduction the first part will focus on the historical legacy of Iraq and its mean for both sides. In this part the first chapter will expose the development of the relations including the Iraq issue and its connection with the relations of Turkey-Britain. In this chapter I will suggest that we can indicate two turning points: the first is the beginning of the reign of the Ottoman authorities whose pan-Islamist policies were perceived as a threat to the Muslim colonies of the British colonial empire, India being the most important one. The foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire marked the foundation of a strong alliance with a new European power, Germany⁷. This is also the period when Britain changed its strategy from keeping the "sick man" alive to divide the Empire according to its strategic needs. The second turning point came with the Lausanne Treaty and the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The British Empire of that time had made all its plans regarding

⁷ Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996). *Ottoman diplomacy: Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul: Isis Press, p. 110.

Anatolia on partitioning these lands and controlling strategically the most important territories including Istanbul⁸. The Kemalist revolution drove back the invaders and defeated the expansionist aims of the British Empire. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, tension rose between two countries around the Musoul-Kirkuk issue and Kurdish upheavals that were said to be backed by the British⁹. However by the end of 1920s the relations were stood on a friendly and peaceful basis. The foundation of Treary of Sadabad even showed that past conflicts were replaced by steps taken toward cooperation¹⁰.

In a basic sphere, Turkey-Britain relations depend on a historical struggle; perhaps, there was not any direct relation between the sides for a long time, but 20th century made them close to each other. However, any issue except Iraq did not made them closer to each other than the others. So, this thesis will provide a different viewpoint for the relations of the sides in a different sphere. Iraq, surely, an important point for the Middle Eastern politics; today, it is still the same. But, the country has a past and their history includes important clashes between the countries, which wanted to have the authority on Iraq. it is important to understand Iraq to understand the relations of Turkey and Britain¹¹. That is why I suggest a different angle for Turkey and Britain, which depends on Iraq's role until the end of the First World War; after that period, Iraq became a serious actor for the regional politics.

So, after the introduction, this thesis starts with a brief explanation of Iraq's meaning for Turkey and Britain as differently. it is valuable to see this difference, because this difference is a portrait of Turkey and Britain's viewpoints and aims for the region at the same time. In a simple historical working, perhaps, Iraq cannot have a serious and important place

⁸ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 68.

⁹ Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, London: C. Hurst&Co., 2003, p. 43.

¹⁰ Soysal, I., "1937 Sadabad Pact", *Studies on Turkish-Arab Relations*, Annual 3, 1988, p. 132.

¹¹ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 48.

for an explanation about the relations of two countries like Turkey and Britain. But I suggest that understanding Iraq is as valuable as understanding the relations of Turkey and Britain. Iraq was a turning point for Turkey and Britain between 1900 and 1927¹². Around 30-year period, Iraq located in the center of the regional policies of two countries; Turkey or the Ottoman Empire had tried to handle the region to keep the unity of the Empire alive. On the other side of the issue, Britain was looking for permanent hegemony on the regional and Iraq because of the petroleum issue. These different aims had encouraged the sides to struggle for the region and for Iraq at the same time. That is why it is seriously important to start this thesis with a general looking at the aims of the countries on Iraq.

In the following lines of this thesis, there will be a general evolution of the Europe right before the First World War. Both countries, Turkey and Britain were the most important sides of the war in the east and in the west. Moreover, it was uncertain to know that these countries would be in the war or not, because there was pressure on both countries. This shows that these countries were very important for their allies for the war. So, this situation makes the relations of Turkey and Britain more precious for the destiny of the war. In the preparation process of the war, two countries were on completely contrast sides¹³. The Ottoman Empire was close to the downfall; Britain was on the top of the world politics and economics at the same time. So, their struggle on the eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire was determinative for the destiny of the war and the destiny of Iraq at the same time. That is why this thesis sees Iraq an indispensable part of the relations. With a detailed evolution of the Europe before the First World War, this thesis suggests a good understanding for the aims of

¹² Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 68.

¹³ Aykan, M. B., "The Palestinian Question in Turkish Foreign Policy from 1950s to the 1990s", *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, Vol.25, No.1. (Feb., 1993), p. 93.

Turkey and Britain on their region and on Iraq¹⁴. Iraq is still an intersection point. On the other hand, France had become a “side” of Iraq matter because of its interests on the region. No doubt, Iraq was important for attention of France. European evolution part of the issue tries to explain and to show the general frame and detailed situation Turkey-Britain relations right before the First World War.

In the 4th and 5th parts of the thesis, the most important things are about the situation of the Ottoman Empire and the new Turkish Republic. Here is the most important thing about the relations of Turkey and Britain. The end of the First World War, Turkish National Campaign and Lausanne period were the highest attention years of the relations. No doubt, Iraq matter or Iraq issue was the vital part of the issue during the world war afterward¹⁵. So, the First World War years and afterward is important process for Turkey and Britain at the same time. In this process, Iraq found chance to show itself as a independent country. With all these historical elements, this thesis tries to explain the relations’ history with another country’s attendance to the issue; perhaps, it is more valuable than to investigate and to understand the history of the relations one by one¹⁶.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Truly, Realism is the dominant factor of international relations. Each and new paradigm originates from Realist viewpoint and Realist philosophers¹⁷. Even Idealism was

¹⁴ Yığitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf 54.

¹⁵ Çaşın, M. H. (2008). *Uluslararası Terörizm*, Ankara: Nobel, p. 356.

¹⁶ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgelerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 124.

¹⁷ Griffiths, M. (1995). *Realism, Idealism, and International Politics*. London: Routledge, p. 63.

created by Realist paradigm, too. And the arguments of the Realism were the determinative factors of the political relations and each wave from 1918 to 1990¹⁸.

Today, we are in a problematic world about political, social and economic issues. First of all, political wars all over the world are effective to give shape governments' political moves. After World War I, the Realism's arguments' effect was very important to understand, commentate and to something new. Those arguments were accepted that the founder of International Relations. Along the years, all the new kind of paradigm found their way under the light of the Realism's approaches, although some of them deny its force. But, during the years Idealism and Realism have forgotten. At truth, the Realism was almost scientific¹⁹. According to the Realists' viewpoints, the international relations were connected to the human nature's badness directly. This is the milestone for describing the International Relations discipline. This approach of the Realism makes it valuable for the process of political and scientific ideas for the world politics. The other side of the issue, the Realism's dominance during the years between 1914 and 1945 was not only limited with a mission to understand the nature of the International Relations; at the same time, the Realism is an idea form about the administrations styles of the states²⁰.

In 1918, when the World War I was over, there was a concerted effort between the nations to generate a lasting peace such that another world war like that would never occur again. The right way of doing this was consideration to be through international organizations like the League of Nations that would provide as a forum for negotiation of international differences, proceed to avoid the escalation of disagreement to violence and even approve aggression. Democracies also believed that an importance on international law and especially

¹⁸ Williams, M. C. (2005). *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations: No. 100, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 112.

¹⁹ Waltz, K. N., (1994). *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill Higher Education, p. 39.

²⁰ Booth, K. (2011). *Realism and World Politics*. London: Routledge, p. 77.

disarmament treaties would also help to create a peaceful area. It all failed; because all these pressure caused an explosion in Europe and a new war had started²¹.

After the World War II was over, all of the injured nations created the United Nations in a way they believed avoided the mistakes of the before one, and underlined collective security. However, a new wave of thought came out among students of international relations in foreign relations, which still survive today about national security and peace. And that is, peace is best pledged by a balancing of power between real and potential opponents and good diplomacy. It was called “realpolitik” and today it is strong in political ideas. And the political wave is called “Realism”. Otherwise, “Idealism” is a production of Realist paradigm. After the World War I, the peaceful viewpoint to the world crisis tried to solve those problems. But they were not strong and effective. When the World War II started Realism was on top and they put the blame on the Idealists who were created by Realists²².

Presence of Realism depends on absence of the security, trust and stability feelings on the world politics. Because of this situation Idealism could not survive for long time. Between 1918 and 1930, Idealism was powerful and effective on the politics. However, it did not take so long and Realism made feel its presence and efficiency in a short period. After twelve years period, Realist viewpoint took the leadership of the scientific side of the international relations and the world politics²³. It is extremely necessary to see that Realism was not a belief or a viewpoint. At the same time, it is a starting point for a discipline and its facts. For another viewpoint, it is already a discipline on its own.

²¹ Williams, M. C. (2005). *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations: No. 100, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 148.

²² Booth, K. (2011). *Realism and World Politics*. London: Routledge, p. 78.

²³ Griffiths, M. (1995). *Realism, Idealism, and International Politics*. London: Routledge, p. 41.

In the middle terms of the 1900s, the scientists supposed that Realism was lost and its period was over; because, the new kinds of international relations and political science paradigm were different about their names and beliefs. But, it did not mean that Realism was not real or it was really over. We have to be sure that Realism was lost or not: The main idea of this research paper is to explain the posture of Realism in this debate environment about political disciplines²⁴. And the basic question of the general research workings is that did the new paradigms destroy the presence and power of the Realism? On the other hand, the other important question did Realism lose its efficiency on the discipline or is it still alive? Knowing this situation well is important to understand the current situations of the new approaches. Maybe, it is easy to forget old approaches and the roots of the discipline.

On the other hand, the reasons of the wars and the clashes were the human nature in the Realism. And, according to the Realist approach, the human nature was depending on the clashes. So, the wars and the struggles would not end. In contrast, the Neo-Realist asked the question which was why they're not clashing is anytime anywhere if we are talking about the human. According to the Realists' approach, if the human nature is the determinative factor, there had to be wars in every period of the history. So, that question was the most important criticizing material of the Realism's basic human nature idea²⁵.

Britain's realist approaches had come out right after the Industrial Revolution's beginning. Directly, increasing power of Britain had provided a serious hegemony to Britain for managing the world politics and economics at the same time²⁶. That is why British authorities had used industrial development of the states as a serious weapon to make

²⁴ Williams, M. C. (2005). *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations: No. 100, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 89.

²⁵ Lieber, K. A. (2009). *War, Peace, and International Political Realism: Perspectives from the Review of Politics*. Paris: University of Notre Dame Press, p. 138.

²⁶ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 168.

frightened their opponents and rival on their region and on Africa. So, Britain had chosen to be an aggressive state in Africa. Its basic reason was about to change the rule for the benefit of the country; because, there were two important rivals of Britain like France and Germany. Maybe, Britain was there, Africa, before France and Germany comes; however, British authorities had wanted to guarantee their role and their sources with the imperialist views. During that process, the British realism provided a serious strength to the state for forcing the rules in the imperial lands of the country. For this reason, British forces landed around African states and a serious part of the Eastern British forces were located in the British hegemony's lands and around the lands of Britain's rivals in Africa. With that way, Britain had sent an indirect message to France and Germany to let them know about its powerful military capacity and it would protect Africa's lands, which had rich natural sources, even there could be a war on the African lands. That situation was an intimidation against France and Germany. Britain was ready for the war to protect its imperial lands²⁷.

The Mercantilism had opened a new road, which created British dominance all over the world for hundred years. Britain grew up economically and that growth rebounded to the political area. Mercantilism created a domination chance for Britain; they developed their economy with trade, the export values decreased and the over sea power of the country reached the highest level. So, Britain could go beyond the seas and investigated some natural resources, which were the first condition to complete Mercantilist plans. After all, Britain transformed a colonialist power all over the world²⁸.

When we talked about the presence of the Industrial Revolution's effect on British rising, it was the reality. In those years, Britain had stayed to the center of the world

²⁷ Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York, p. 122.

²⁸ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 92.

economics and the politics. Their colonization power gave them chances to create their own power before the Industrial Revolution. And that revolution was the last point of British expansion. In the end of the 19th century, Britain had completed its developing process and it reached the leadership of the world. Particularly, the role of Britain, which was about being stabilizer of the power of balance, was the most important place for the state. On the other hand, the British Empire had reached to the last borders all over the world and in political and economical meaning, Britain was in safe. So, it is understandable that Britain's wishes about to be isolated from the regional politics after many years in today. In the existing time, Britain's plan was about to be alone with its current social system and to defense itself until the end of the world. The two great world wars left most of the painful memories and the economical depressions to Britain in the middle of the 20th century²⁹.

Those two facts power were reliable for the period just before the Industrial Revolution: The colonialism and the capitalism. These two facts cannot separate from each other. The colonialism created great money and golden stock for the powerful Western countries; these stocks increased the money circulation between them. After a period, they decided to spend their stock to the new technological workings for economy³⁰. The most valuable thing was that all these counted things were just before the last period of the 18th century. The thing we have to understand that if these developments could not come to the reality alternately, maybe, the Industrial Revolution would not find a suitable area to come out fast. The other thing, at truth, the most reliable thing of the steam machine created in the latest period of the 18th century. This machine was not only about the steam: It was the father of all

²⁹ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 93.

³⁰ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 245.

daily machines of today. It was the real revolutionary face of the Industrial Revolution. The lateness of the machine technology decelerated the coming out of the revolution³¹.

It is necessary too that we have to check out the political background of the Industrial Revolution: The British effect or power and the French Revolution were important for the timing of the Industrial Revolution. Britain was the most powerful country of the world in those days. And the British companies had a great worker power. So, they did not need any change about the production stage on the factories or in the fields. However, when they decided to pass to the machinery structure in the production progress, it accelerated forming of the Industrial Revolution³². Britain's situation had almost separated the Western countries the two parts: The biggest producers and the smallest producers. With its great population and the new machinery system Britain was a great power. So, they were in the biggest trade areas. The other countries, which knew that they could not reach it, determined their roles own their own. They choose the little sectors; because they knew that Britain was playing for the bit parts and it did not care about the other simple sectors. However, they would know that Britain needed it one day and Britain was awake about. So, Britain did not direct to the little industrial areas. They left the production process to the other countries. It was necessary to keep the power balance on the continent³³.

In basic of the British foreign policy, the aggressive approaches had started playing important role after the increasing power of the British Naval after the 17th period. The Industrial Revolution was the last ring of increasing British power. When Britain had reached sufficient potential for the imperial politics, the realism had become the vital part of British

³¹ Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West, Volume II: Since 1555*. London: Addison-Wesley, p. 541.

³² Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 213.

³³ Harley, K. (1993). *Reassessing the Industrial Revolution: A Macro View*, in Joel M. (ed.), *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Assessment*. London: Westview Press, p. 117.

foreign policy. Britain was ready for the war to protect its imperial lands. So, it is easy to understand the realist viewpoint of Britain. Actually, the British foreign policy until the end of the 18th century was depending on the dignified policies against the regional rival of the country like France, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Portugal and the Ottoman Empire. But, the rise of British imperial empire encouraged the state to be aggressive against its opponents.

In contrast, the Ottoman Empire was too shy to join the international politics and too optimistic to understand the dimensions of the developing European conflict between the sides. That is why the Ottoman Empire had stay away to understand the situation of the danger right before the First World War³⁴. At the same time, the Empire could not understand that it was losing the Arabian Peninsula and the support of the Muslim countries by the increasing effect of the British politics. In those years, Britain was too effective on the Muslim subjects to warn them about their freedom and to encourage them for a resistance against the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman authorities did not pay enough attention to evaluate coming threat through the Anatolian lands. Before the administration of Ittihat and Terraki Party on the Ottoman politics, the Ottoman authorities were idealist to recover the hurts of the Empire and they had planned to develop their politic and economic situation in the future. For this reason, the Ottoman authorities tried to make agreements with the regional states like Russia and the powerful European states like Britain and France³⁵. Those attempts were the results of the idealist expectations of the Ottoman during the last period of the Empire. On the other hand, that solution had been seemed like the best way to protect the state from serious clashes against the regional opponents, especially Russia.

³⁴ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 146.

³⁵ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 79.

Even in this process, the Ottoman authorities did not have enough consciousness to see the incoming danger from the Balkans; a possible war was coming soon. Although there was a clear sign for the war, the Ottoman Empire had preferred to be in an idealist and optimist view for the current situation in the European politics. Sultan Abdulhamid II was the only person who had seen the danger's dimensions, but it was too late to evaluate it in any mean. Until Ittihat and Terraki Party handled the administration, the Empire continued to protect its positive relations with the European and especially the Balkan countries. However, these countries would be the basic reason of incoming First World War³⁶.

But the Ottoman politics lived a serious change after Ittihat and Terraki Party's handling the administration in the country. Firstly, Ittihat and Terraki changed the political skin of the Empire; they left idealist and optimist viewpoint of former administration. In contrast, they accepted nationalist and fascist ideas against the regional opponents and the minorities on the Anatolian lands. They accepted "Turkism" as the light of their road. Secondly, Ittihat and Terraki saw Germany as the best cooperate for the future; because, Germany had the same ideas like nationalism, fascism and opponent stand against the Western European countries. At the same time, German authorities and Ittihat and Terraki authorities were on the same side against Russia. Lastly, Ittihat and Terraki authorities, especially Enver Pasha were great idealist for founding the great Turkish country under the rules of Turkism; that is why they had focused on reaching the older potential of the country³⁷.

During the short Ittihat and Terraki Party period (between the years 1903-1915), the Ottoman Empire had accepted an aggressive political consciousness and the nationalism had

³⁶ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 80.

³⁷ Ortaylı, İ. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 26.

surrounded the state. The idealist approaches of the former administration had been left and the new realist and aggressive attitude of the new administration had been accepted as the priority of the country. Perhaps, it was the end of the Empire; but the most important part of the issue was about sudden change of the Ottoman foreign policy. Before the 20th century's beginning, the Ottoman authorities were aware of the capacity of the Empire and they had tried to protect the Empire from the possible threats in the region. Especially the Russian danger in the East of the Empire was a great threat and the decreasing power of the Empire was a serious handicap for the Ottoman authorities³⁸. That is why they had to stay in peace with the others. However, Ittihat and Terakki Party changed the identity of the Empire and their realist approaches had pushed the Empire a hard clash, which ended with the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

Between 13th and 17th century, Ottoman culture and power had a great effect on Western and Eastern civilization. After the Ottoman became an empire, there was no limit for Ottoman forces and policies on the earth. With this strength empire was transformed into unstoppable fact in the world politics, because Ottoman's administration style and strategy were about Realist line of sight³⁹. In fact, when Niccolo Machiavelli wrote the "Prince", his starting point, basic idea and advices to his prince were about Ottoman Empire; because they were strong and effective against their allies and a prince had to like that.

But, the situation was not like Machiavelli saw. With the 17th century empire walked into discontinuation period and it was just the beginning. Realism predicts the force and the dominance. The other developments and the facts do not care Realism. So, while Ottoman Empire was walking in this way, they could not see the developing Western civilization; there

³⁸ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 288.

³⁹ Karaosmanoglu, A.L., *The Evolution of the National Security and the Military in Turkey*, Journal of International Affairs, Vol.54, No:1, p. 199, Fall 2000.

was a resurrection⁴⁰. When the empire became aware of that situation, it was too late and there was not an empire for Ottoman civilization. They have lost their important lands and in the last period of 19th century they had a little land, Anatolia. Ottoman society tried to join and catch Western development but Ottoman was just a subject for Western countries. Realist viewpoint did not give anything to Ottoman Empire after 17th century⁴¹.

With the beginning of the 20th century Ottoman side choose to be a peaceful and a political country, which did not try until that date and it was failure. There were already an independence struggle for Turkish people and they have won this clash. After three years war period, the founder of new Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk saw the truth and left Realist belief. He believed that Turkey had to keep it own position and they had not to make same mistake like their predecessor Ottoman Empire.

In the basis of British politics, the Industrial Revolution plays an important role. It was the key reason of British rising over the Europe and over the world at the same time. However, in those years British authorities were separated two sides for British politics. These sides were the determinative factors for British politics on the European and the colonial regions in Africa, Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East⁴².

The imperialist side of British politics had focused on the economic interests of Britain. According to their approaches, if Britain had a powerful economic structure, first, the Europe, after that the world state had to be in peace with Britain⁴³. At the same time, in their opinion, Britain was already managing the world trade and the economic process with its

⁴⁰ Ortaylı, İ. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 41.

⁴¹ Karaosmanoglu, A.L., *The Evolution of the National Security and the Military in Turkey*, Journal of International Affairs, Vol.54, No:1, p. 203, Fall 2000.

⁴² Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 77-78.

⁴³ Williams, P., "Who is Making UK Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 923.

colonial areas. It was giving a serious chance to say the right word for the world politics and the economics. In other mean, Britain was the holder of the decision-making process. So, there was no need to enlarge the colonial areas and there was no need to send the forces through the other side of the European continent; the colonialists were on the side of the economic interests of Britain. So, colonialist were against the aggressive policies of British authorities. They had offered to wait for the next steps of the other countries; in particular, they wanted France and Germany to see their next moves on the Europe and the colonial lands. This waiting was a chance to stay away from the clashes and the wars on the European lands and the colonial lands. In other words, the colonialists were on the side of the isolationist policies⁴⁴. It was a normal wish for the colonialist during those years; because, the beginning of the 20th century was a serious warning for the Europe and the world at the same time. In those years, Britain was in a progress and there was great chance for Britain to get the world leadership and to continue that. So, the colonialist had wanted British politics to stay away from the one-on-one clashes against the rivals of the country.

On the other side, the hegemonic members of British politics, the expansionists were more aggressive and more effective than the colonialists. According to the expansionists, Britain had completed its economic growth and there was nothing to do more. That is why Britain had to continue for its enlargement on the African and Arabian lands. In particular, African lands had to be the basic target of British politics⁴⁵; because, the African lands had the natural sources and it was worth to fight for that. The most important one, the European neighbors of Britain, France, Germany and Holland were on Africa. Maybe, they did not have the great areas, but they were there and their alliance against Britain could be a serious threat for the future plans of the state. That is why Britain had to be more powerful and the British

⁴⁴ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 148.

⁴⁵ Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York, p. 71.

forces had to progress in the African and Eastern lands⁴⁶. The expansionists had drawn a future for Britain under the rules of the military operations and the power of the British army; this situation would be effective at the outside of the country. The power of the British forces at the outside of the country would be the guarantee of the British enlargement on the earth.

On the other side of the issue, the expansionists were aware of the increasing importance of the Middle East's natural sources including petroleum and India. So, they had offered the Lord House and Common House to direct the British forces through these areas. At first, they had met a resistance because of a war threat; however, after the war's end decided in 1917, the British forces were directed through this region after the pressure of the expansionists. They had done their job. After that period, the rise of the expansionists had begun. For a long time period, the expansionists had directed the British foreign policy until the end of the British colonial empire's end after the Second World War slowly. After that time, the British foreign policy's decision-making process lived a serious change and the expansionists lost their importance⁴⁷.

In this thesis the current foreign policies of Britain and Turkey are analyzed as a byproduct of international system. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the bipolar system has been evaded and replaced by a unipolar one. In this system there is now a superpower, the US attended by its allies⁴⁸. Each actor by taking into account the central role of the US and its own structural constraints is acting to realize its interests in the world scene. I suggest that this fact is also relevant for bilateral relations, which can be seen as subsystems under the conditions of the unipolarity. The bilateral relations are also been practiced in an environment surrounded by the power balance of the system and the pressure of the superpower at total. To

⁴⁶ Williams, P., "Who is Making UK Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 915.

⁴⁷ Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York, p. 74.

⁴⁸ Krauthammer, C., "The Unipolar Moment", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1990/1991, p. 26.

put it in another way, the balance of power of the system not only determines the nation's behavior but also its bilateral relations⁴⁹.

The relations between Turkey and Britain cannot be assessed as an exception to these general conditions. In last decades, the relations have been shaped by the nature of unipolarity. In other words, the targets or policy priorities of hegemonic power of the system, the US, inevitably penetrate into the bilateral relations between Turkey and Britain. This is so not just because of the features of the system but also because both Turkey and Britain are close allies of the US. On the other hand, it should be noted that this affiliation with the US, especially for Britain, has been gaining ground with the new agenda of international terrorism. International terrorism presents a new context for common action between the US and its close ally in Europe⁵⁰.

Considering the cases of cooperation between Turkey and Britain in last years, it is seen that almost in all cases the US has a role of leadership. For instance, in operations conducted for peacekeeping and peace making or in the wars going on in Afghanistan and Iraq, the participation of two countries cannot be examined without taking the leadership of the superpower into account. This is also to a wide extend valid for the historical issues of the bilateral relations. I suggest that we cannot analyze the Cyprus policies of both countries within the boundaries of bilateral relations. The same comes true for the developments in the Northern part of Iraq, particularly regarding the Musoul-Kirkuk issue. The American factor has the primary role in shaping the developments in that region of Iraq. Besides, Britain's attitude toward Turkey's EU candidacy is closely related with the clear support of the US for Turkey's full membership. We can even say that the parallel views of Britain with US on

⁴⁹ Arı, Tayyar. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2004, p. 201.

⁵⁰ Williams, P., "Who is Making UK Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 917.

Turkey's membership bring out an exceptional position for Britain when compared to the other European powers such as Germany and France, which are more reluctant to see Turkey as a full member. I suggest that these examples are clear indicators of the fact that the bilateral relations are subjected to the nature of the system at the total⁵¹.

On the other hand, it is also important to emphasize that since Britain was once a hegemonic power, her foreign policy is still affected from this identity although she lacks the means to challenge the superpower and rise as a great power. In this thesis this tradition of being a great power is not neglected since it is still a factor in shaping Britain's perception of the national and international politics. That is why while dealing with some issues concerning both countries, this identity of Britain should be paid enough attention. For instance, particularly in case of Cyprus Britain still tries to protect the military concessions she gained during the colonial rule since the military power is seen crucial for security⁵². Under these conditions it is not fully true to say that Cyprus is a multilateral issue and multilateralism dominates the policies of countries. The issue has a multilateral dimension however that does not mean that the traditional perspectives and priorities of the countries do play no role⁵³. In brief, the policies of Britain can be regarded as shaped by the identity of being an ex-hegemonic power and by the constraints she faces in front of gaining the same pivotal role in the international system⁵⁴.

GENERAL VIEW

⁵¹ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 91.

⁵² Rogers, Paul. "Reviewing Britain's Security", *International Affairs*, Vol.73, No.4, (October 1997), pp. 656-657.

⁵³ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgelerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 83.

⁵⁴ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 411.

Despite the long history of bilateral relations Turkey and Britain are adapting their foreign policies according to their interests, the threats they perceive and sources of instability they are facing at domestic, regional and international level. In this regard, in the post-Cold War era two developments has gained primary importance. One is the rise of international terrorism that necessitates international measures and the other one is the invasion of Iraq that has changed the regional balances in the Middle East. There is a need for evaluating the current state of the relations in this new context⁵⁵.

Especially the invasion of Iraq, being one of the most dramatic events in last decades, has aroused new debates at the national and international level. For instance, there were strong criticisms against the invasion of Iraq since it is thought that the invasion has made the world more vulnerable to threat from terrorism. The criticism in Britain is so harsh to compare the invasion of Iraq with the Suez and define it as the biggest blunder since the Suez Crisis⁵⁶. Of course, all this needs a strategic evaluation. However, those show us that we are not living in the world we were living just a few decades ago. States have to take into account this new atmosphere and international environment. This thesis is an attempt to make this evaluation in the case of bilateral relations between Turkey and Britain. In this manner, this thesis is designed to understand the current dynamics of a relation that has a long history.

No doubt that Turkish Republic's past is full of the historical important events, names and incidents; at the same time, the roots of the Turkish society depend on the glorious day of their fathers. With that way, the Turkish society had found chance to face a lot of different civilizations and countries. During the Ottoman Empire terms, the Turkish community was the ruler of the world and its power was enough to beat all the civilizations

⁵⁵ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 64.

⁵⁶ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 67.

and countries easily. The older Turkish states had achieved that; but, the importance of the Ottoman Empire was different than the others. However, Turkish states had never met the British community in the history; they were away from each other to meet and to fight. Until the day they met, the Turks were not aware of the presence of the British society. But, the most problematic side of their relations about that when they faced both sides were living the most extreme years of their history. Such that one of them was on the top of the world and the other one was leaving its leader role. Maybe, the beginning of the relations between the Turks and British was for the badness of the Turkish side. The Ottoman Empire was the long time leader of the world until the end of the 18th century. The Ottoman civilization had decided the destiny of the West and East at the same time. But, when the Ottoman Empire had met Britain, the Eastern side, own area of the Ottoman Empire had decided its destiny⁵⁷. In actually, meeting of the Turks and British was under the positive conditions. But, the time had changed the conditions for the profit of the British side⁵⁸.

On the other side, Britain had followed the world and European continental politics from its island, at the outside of the Europe. It was an isolated policy and comfortable situation for the development of Britain as independent from the environmental pressure. Until the day that British sea power developed, Britain had preferred to stay away from the pressure of the continental matters in the Europe. During the domestic clashes and struggle in the Europe, Britain had achieved to be away from those matters and Britain had saved itself from the clashes with the minimum harm. That is why Britain had seen less rebellions, revolutions and civil war on the island. After the oversea discoveries, Britain had reached its potential normally. Such that Britain had become a serious world power through the end of

⁵⁷ Viorst, M. (2007). *Storm from the East: The Struggle Between the Arab World and the Christian West*. Modern Library, p. 45.

⁵⁸ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 69.

the 19th century; however, Britain had never faced the Ottoman threat in the Europe; maybe, it was the basic reason of that they advanced fast and strongly. The Ottoman Empire had not become an obstacle in front of increasing British power all over the Europe. In actually, Britain was aware of the Ottoman danger and with that reason; they had preferred to stay away from the Ottoman influence area for a long time period⁵⁹. When the Ottoman threat reduced on the Europe, with its increasing power, Britain had challenged the Turks; but it was just secretly and quite. The glory of the Ottoman Empire was still making Britain frighten. That is why Britain had chosen a different way to beat the Ottoman Empire. In this situation, it is easy to understand that the Turks and British had stayed away from each other for hundred years; because, they were aware of their potentials to be dangerous against each other. Moreover, British side had known that the Ottoman Empire's power was on the top and Britain's power was not enough to beat the Ottomans with the weapons. So, their meeting had taken so long time period because of their mutual drawback⁶⁰.

In general mean, the relations of the Turks and British had become late because of their political and military powers' development in the historical process. On the other hand, the distance between their locations had obstructed their meeting. But, it is fair to say that the Turks had ruled a big part of the Europe for hundred years and their hegemony had feared the environmental powers like Britain.

The environmental effects were valuable to be directed the relations of two sides. For years, Britain had stayed away from the Ottoman threat. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire had protected its influence area to continue its hegemony on the Europe and the Eastern world. However, the environmental effects around the Empire had weakened the

⁵⁹ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 181.

⁶⁰ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgelerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 72.

systematic and the power of the Ottoman hegemony in time. In other mean, Britain had beaten the Ottoman Empire without any clash. Firstly, the Balkan matter in the Ottoman lands, the Russian pressure on the Eastern Anatolia lands and the Eastern rebellions on the Empire lands had already weakened the Ottoman system. Although Britain had watched that period from behind the historical screen, the effective colonial policies had not allowed Britain to attack the Ottoman Empire⁶¹. However, in the bureaucracy area, Britain had achieved to surround the Ottoman lands. The diplomacy had provided that achievement of Britain at the same time. In other mean, the environmental effects on the Ottoman Empire had made the things easy for Britain. At the same time, the struggle of the major European states against the Ottoman Empire had made them weak like Russia and that situation was a chance for Britain on the road goes to the world leadership. The regional states around the Ottoman Empire had provided a comfortable area for Britain⁶².

Under these conditions, it was hard for the Ottoman Empire to defense itself against the different enemies. That is why the basis of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain had been developed under the unbalanced conditions. The Turkish side had fought against the entire negative situation in the diplomatic issues on its own. While we describe the meaning of the relations between Turks and British, it is valuable to understand that there was no chance for the Turkish side; so, it means that there was an unequal situation in the relations. With that way, it is impossible to talk about a relation-process from the first time of the relations to the last meeting in Lausanne. All along that period, the Turkish and British communication was broken and far away from the solution on the matters.

⁶¹Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 65.

⁶²Pearton, M. (1984). *Diplomacy, War, and Technology Since 1830*. University Press of Kansas, p. 82.

In actually, the relations of the Turks and British are extremely valuable issues to touch upon for the world political history; because, these two sides have the heritages of the last two empires in the world, the Ottoman Empire and British Colonial Empire. That is why their historical backgrounds and the identities are similar. Perhaps, their clash and their contest are related that. The hegemony contest had always been lived on the earth⁶³. The Turks had lived that hegemonic terms by the Ottoman Empire and British had lived that by the colonial enlargement of the country. However, British colonial consciousness was hungrier than Ottoman consciousness and it was an oppressive and an imperialist attitude on the minor and weak countries. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire was more peaceful and more moderate than British enlargement policies. With that way, the Ottoman Empire had lived longer than British Colonial Empire in peace. But, the enlargement idea of Britain had broken the peace area on the Ottoman lands, at the same time⁶⁴. That situation was a turning point in the relations of the sides and the direction of the relations had changed to the negative side after the Middle East policies of Britain.

It is clear to understand that Britain had become the side to break the silence. But, its secret plans on the Eastern lands of the Ottoman lands would affect the future of the relations negatively and the countries would be the enemies until the end of British colonial system. Turks had replied the interventions and secret plans of British with the Turkish National Campaign; because, the achievement of the campaign had affected the nationalist and liberty ideas of the British colonies⁶⁵. The Turkish resistance and victory were the priority supports of the colonies to resist against the oppressive British administrations on their lands. The Turks had answered British side indirectly by its victory during and after the war of

⁶³ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 72.

⁶⁴ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 226.

⁶⁵ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 91.

independence. The Ottoman Empire could not achieve the same thing because of the surrounded situation of it, but the heritage of the Ottoman had warned the Turks for the future against British.

Britain had always become the director of the relations with Turkish side. But, the most determinative issue between two sides was Britain's presence in Iraq region and afterwards. Britain was in the Middle East region to direct the process in the region and it was a last impact to the Ottoman Empire during its downfall process. The most strategic move of Britain was about the secret aims of Britain in the Eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire and the Arabian Peninsula was the main target of the British authorities with the Muslim nations. During the last period of the Ottoman Empire, Britain had gained a serious profit from the problematic situation of the Empire on the Muslim subjects in the Middle East region. In those years, Britain had used the Muslim subjects for its interests and its purpose was about to direct the process against the Ottoman's unity. The weak situation of the Ottoman Empire had made easier the situation for Britain⁶⁶. For the luck of Britain, during the First World War, that situation had provided a possible area to fight against the Ottoman Empire and the Middle Eastern region had become a frontline against the Ottoman Empire on the own lands of the Empire.

During that complicated process for the Ottoman Empire, Iraq had a great importance for the continuity of the Empire, the achievement of the Ottoman forces during the First World War and the relations between the Empire and Britain. According to that Iraq was used a headquarters, a starting point and a provocation center on the Arabian nations against the Ottoman Empire. Iraq's importance is hidden in its historical background in the Middle East region and its vital role had come out during the last days of the Ottoman Empire and the

⁶⁶ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgelerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 110.

First World War process. The factors like the effect of the petroleum, approximation of the Iraq's lands to the Anatolian lands, Muslim subjects' rebellion against the Ottoman Empire had made Iraq a precious part of British aims on the region⁶⁷. With the presence of Iraq, Britain had threatened the Ottoman authorities secretly, but effectively⁶⁸. So, Iraq has a great importance during the last one-on-one connection between the Ottoman Empire and Britain. So, understanding Iraq is an important part of the issue to understand the modern period Turkish-British relations at the same time.

Iraq has a great importance for the British colonial empire at the same time. Firstly, Iraq was close to the Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East region and the Asian lands at the same time. On the other hand, Iraq was a transition point for Britain through the African colonies. In those years, African colony system was the basic support of the British economy and military structure. That is why Britain had paid attention to protect those areas and every easy transition point to the African continent was the priority protection areas of Britain. So, Iraq was one of them. Focusing Iraq was too hard for Britain in actually, because, the area of Iraq had belonged to the Ottoman authorities and it was a Muslim area. Britain had conquered a lot of different colonies with the different methods, but a Muslim area had seemed like hard to get. However, the British diplomacy had affected the Muslim subjects there easily and turned into a weapon against the Ottoman Empire.

In contrast, the Ottoman Empire had been aware of the situation at the end of the process because of the domestic conflicts on the Anatolian lands and the alliance of the Empire with the Germany had put the Empire into an irreversible road. In this period, the Ottoman authorities were away from a good understanding about the danger in the Muslim

⁶⁷ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 230.

⁶⁸ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 183.

society of the Arabian lands. In other mean, the Empire had lost its authority on them and the Iraq matter had created one of parts of the Ottoman's downfall. At first, the Iraq issue was not like a serious matter, but when Britain used the existing situation well for its interests; the Ottoman authorities had understood the dimensions of the issue better than before⁶⁹. The Ottoman Empire had fought against a lot rebellions and socio-political matters in the last years of the Empire; that is why the enemies of the Empire had found great chances to direct these facts for their interests easily. The weakness and the regression of the Empire had removed its influence on the Muslim subjects and Iraq had become an example for the Arabian states for the other Muslim subjects⁷⁰.

As one of the sub factors in the relations between the Turks and British, the Iraq matter has a priority. That is why this thesis tries to focus on the Iraq issue between the sides, while it covers the general frame of the issue from all the angles. No doubt, the relations of these countries had been developed lately according to their power capacity on the Europe. Both sides had ruled a part of the Europe for a long time period, but they could not find a chance meet each other well until the last period of the 19th century. The 19th century is an interesting point in the histories' of both sides. According to that, the 19th century is the beginning point of the British industrial and colonial system. In those years, Britain was preparing itself for the Europe and the world leadership. On the other side, the leader of the three continents, the Ottoman Empire was living the worst years of the Empire and those years were the preparation years for the downfall process of the Empire⁷¹. There was a serious regression in any mean of the Empire's system and the sub-cultures and the non-Muslim

⁶⁹ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble, p. 110.

⁷⁰ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 39.

⁷¹ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 96.

subjects of the Empire were in rebellion against the Ottoman authority. It was a sign of the Ottoman authority and power on its subjects.

While one of the sides was living the “golden age”, the other one was in a serious trouble and there was no option to lose everything. That is why the Turkish-British relations were the most unbalanced and unequal relations in the European politics. The Ottoman Empire had lost its efficiency, but, the most important part of this lose was about the British pressure in the Eastern side; because, Britain had obstructed the Muslim movement of the Arabian nations and the Jihad call of the Ottoman Empire until the beginning of the First World War⁷². The basic aim of Britain to reduce the Ottoman influence on the region and to provoke the Muslim subjects against their master⁷³. But, the First World War had shortened that process for Britain.

So, this is important to understand for this thesis, in the basis of the Iraq conflict between the sides, the relations between Turkish and British sides were late understand each other and to provide the same benefit at the same time. Perhaps Britain had waited for this period to realize its aims and had worked to make the sphere ready for its plans on the regions and the Ottoman lands at the same time; because, the rebellion process in Iraq had enlarged through all the Anatolia in a short time period after 1908. So, Iraq’s presence had provided a negative support for the downfall period of the Ottoman Empire⁷⁴.

According to these conditions, this thesis aims to explain the deficiencies and the failure in the Turkish-British relations. At the same time, it will be hard to separate the regional states’ presence, their moves and their attendance to the process that are important to

⁷² Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 77.

⁷³ Viorst, M. (2007). *Storm from the East: The Struggle Between the Arab World and the Christian West*. Modern Library, p. 93.

⁷⁴ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 99.

touch upon. In those years, Britain was in a race with France and Germany on the colonialist policies. On the other hand, Russia's doubtful process in those years had encouraged the states for being an aggressive against the regional rivals like the Eastern European countries and the Ottoman Empire. By the way, rising power on the other side of the Pacific, the US had become a part of the European continent political process. With this view, it is easy to understand that the frame of the Turkish-British relations in basis of the Iraq conflict covers the regional and international political events at the same time. In other mean, two great countries' relations are not independent from the environmental effects surely. Thus, during the preparation process of the First World War, the relations of the countries in the Europe were too complicate to understand⁷⁵. The Ottoman Empire was weak to understand that process and to resist the war preparation period. When the Germans had encouraged the Ottoman authorities for the war, it was too late to appreciate the existing political area deeply. Perhaps, if the Turks did not join the war with Germany, it would be a peaceful and useful relations process with Britain. However, when the Ottoman Empire showed that it would be with the Germans, Britain had put into action their policies and plans on the Eastern Anatolia and the Arabian Peninsula⁷⁶.

Under all these conditions, the Turkish-British relations are not independent from the regional political area and it is extremely a need to add the regional and international developments to the process. As a theoretical frame, these relations between two sides do not concern any detailed historical appreciations or the political actions. Crimean War can be appreciated as a turning point for their relations; but, it was a just a connection point for the Ottoman and British authorities. The beginning was peaceful, but the situation of the Ottoman Empire had directed Britain to change its plans for own interests. Whereas Crimean War had

⁷⁵ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 156.

⁷⁶ Pearton, M. (1984). *Diplomacy, War, and Technology Since 1830*. University Press of Kansas, p. 200.

a mutual positive effect for the sides; at the same time, Britain had helped the Ottoman Empire with a serious army support⁷⁷. So, in this point, it can be seen a future investment on the Ottoman Empire with the Crimean War alliance. In actually, Crimean War was an indirect message of Britain to Russia. So Britain could use the Crimean War as a trump against the Ottoman Empire and Russia at the same time. So, Crimean War was a diplomatic move of Britain.

According to this thesis, until the First World War, the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain were in normal condition. But, the historical Gallipoli and Dardanelle defenses of the Ottoman forces, the losses of Britain during that period and delaying victory of the war had broken the relations positive situation between the sides. Right in that point, Britain had gained a serious profit from the Iraq policies through last period of the war⁷⁸. The same thing was valid for the afterwards of the war. So, the Iraq matter is surely important to touch upon for the last period of the Turkish-British relations. The Iraq conflict has a destructive effect on the relations. The attitude of the Arabian and Muslim subjects and the secret British pressure on the Ottoman lands had triggered the tension in the relations⁷⁹.

Lausanne is the last point the relations between two sides. Maybe, Lausanne was the worst point of the relations. According to that, the meeting of the Turkish and British side in Lausanne was the most extreme point of their political relations and the Lausanne's agenda had concerned a lot of issues including the Iraq, lands and debts. Lausanne is known as a treaty for the peace; it is hard to say that it had provided a suitable peace between the Turks

⁷⁷ Meram, Ali Kemal. *Belgelerle Türk İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1969, p. 91-92.

⁷⁸ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble, p. 68.

⁷⁹ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 111.

and the British for a long time period. After the Lausanne process, the Turkish-British relations were broken off. That disconnection was a result of the British pressure and failure on the Turkish policies at the same time. The pressure had brought the achievement for a short time period, but, the failure was the result of the short time period achievement of Britain. The Turkish National Campaign was the last determinative point of the Turkish-British relations. The dimension of their relations had been carried to the official political sphere with the Lausanne Conference for the first time in their history. But, the negative situation of their relations had continued again⁸⁰.

In the last point the introduction part of this thesis, it is important to touch upon that the relations between Turkish and British sides are the most vital part of the regional and international political area between the 19th century's beginning and the first period of the 20th century. It was normal that both sides had affected the world political system directly and their civilizations were the determinative facts for the European political area in particularly. That is why this thesis pays attention on the Turkish-British relations' brief history in the following parts of the working. The Iraq issue is important to understand the dimension of the British Turkish relations from a different angle and this thesis working adds the Iraq conflict to the issue. That is why it will be possible to find the regional and the international dimensions of the Turkish-British relations in this thesis from the Turkish history's view and from the British history's views. This mutual comparison will help to decide the deficiencies, failures and good parts of the relations.

⁸⁰ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 451.

CHAPTER 1. IRAQ in the AGENDA of the EUROPE's OTTOMANS and BRITAIN

I. I. Iraq's meaning for the Turkish History: Ottoman's Fall in

Muslim World

Ottoman and the Middle East: During the last period of the Ottoman Empire, Abdulhamit II was the leader of the Ottoman lands and, he had tried to recover the current problematic situation of the Empire. The reformation workings on the order of the Ottoman Empire had been started during the Abdulhamit II term. However, it was like a “last try” for the Empire⁸¹; because, Abdulhamit and all the Ottoman authorities were aware of the dangerous situation of the Ottoman administration on the Anatolian and the other parts of the Empire. Abdulhamit's most important wish was about to unite the Islamic countries under the control of the Empire. With that way, Abdulhamit had planned to recover the politic and the economic structure of the Empire. The Islamic union was the last chance for the Ottoman Empire⁸².

In those years, the Islamic countries in the Eastern lands, particularly in the Middle East were trying to separate their lands from the sovereignty of Ottoman. Especially, the Arab nationalism had been come out during the last period of the 19th century. Directly, that revolutionary idea had affected the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire on the region⁸³. They had only focused on their independence. So, they had to make cooperation with the Western authorities. The Western sovereignty on the Middle East region had begun in those years.

⁸¹ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 88.

⁸² Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 306.

⁸³ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkım Publishing House, p. 108.

The most important one, the Ottoman Empire's powerful effect had been weakened in the same period and the Ottoman authority had been started to criticize. At the same time, the Caliphate role of the Ottoman Sultan was an ordinary rule for the Islam world; however, they did not believe the efficiency of it after 1850s. Westernized structure of the Ottoman Empire and the weak effect of the Ottoman politics and the forces were the meaningless facts for the Islam world anymore. So, they had changed their direction to alliance with the Western countries. The Arab authorities and the leaders had made cooperation with the powerful Western states like the Britain and France⁸⁴. With that way, while they were developing their efficiency on the region, the Ottoman Empire was bleeding and it was losing its lands, people, money and forces at the same time.

After that period, the result of the First World War was the legal and official declaration of the Ottoman's defeat and failure about its efficiency and authority on the Middle East lands. Right in this point, it is a reality to accept that the Ottoman Empire had not tried to change the rules and the conditions for its own profit. In contrast, they had done nothing and the Middle East region chose the Western sovereignty⁸⁵. It had been seen during the First World War. The Ottoman Empire, which had joined the war with Germany, did not get any support from the Islamic Middle East countries. On the other hand, the Arab colonies and the religious and politic Arab leaders and names that they had the local authority did not prefer the Caliphate to support; in contrast, they had chosen the Western countries with a hope to found their own countries. Syria is one of them and the support of the British and French leaders during the war had made the country to found their state⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkim Publishing House, p. 111.

⁸⁵ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 176.

⁸⁶ Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 201.

In the end of the First World War, the situation and the view was clear: the Ottoman Empire's influence about the politic and the religious issues had been defeat and the Western forces were the new authorities of the Middle East region. Beyond, the Ottoman Empire was defeated in basic. And, that situation had caused a new period under the control of the new Arabian countries in the Middle East, which were founded, with the major support of the British and the French forces. At the same time, these Western forces were the guarantees for the sovereignty of the Islamic society on the Middle East. The downfall process of the Ottoman Empire, which was started during the mid-term of the 19th century, had been completed by the deep impacts of the First World War. So, after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the Arab and Islam world, in brief, the Middle East region had reached their independence⁸⁷. However, the authority gap after the Ottoman sovereignty had become useful for the profit of the Western countries; particularly, the Britain had a priority.

Iraq's Meaning: Turkey's general approach to the Iraq matter depends on the historical background of the Ottoman Empire and the backward of the history. During the Empire times, the Ottoman authority had ruled Iraq and the other regional authorities for a long time period. However, in those terms, Iraq and the Middle East region were not aware of today's petroleum values. The trade and the other financial activities were the most important income for the Eastern society⁸⁸. During the Ottoman hegemony years on the East, the Ottoman economy had gained a serious income from the Eastern circumstances and the conquest of the Eastern region had provided a powerful income to the Empire. Iraq's situation was right in the middle of this process very importantly. According to that Iraq was a transition point of the traders between the Western markets and the Eastern producers and the

⁸⁷ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 192.

⁸⁸ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble, p. 88.

Ottoman Empire had used Iraq trump as a powerful weapon in its economy. Iraq's presence was so valuable in the Ottoman civilization in economic mean⁸⁹.

On the other hand, Iraq was a center for the Eastern armies; with that way, the Empire had used the Iraq lands as a control point against the Eastern rivals and enemies of the Empire. When the lands of the Empire were enlarged until the end of the 15th century, the control points of the Empire had increased all around the Ottoman lands. Iraq was one of the most strategic points; because, it was closer to the Persian lands, Arabian Peninsula and the Far Eastern roads⁹⁰. That is why Iraq had been holding a long time period in the Empire's lands desirously. In particularly, the hegemony years of the Empire on the other civilizations and states, Iraq was like a "second capital" of the Empire in economic and military meaning. In the general mean, however, Iraq had not become a stable area in the Ottoman lands. It was so attractive to conquer to the other states. That is why Iraq had faced a lot of attacks that were realized by the other Eastern states a long its history under the rules of the Ottoman Empire⁹¹.

The situation mentioned above had change after the regression terms of the Ottoman Empire, which started in the 18th century. When the Ottoman authority was begun to criticize in the Eastern lands, it was the first period that the rebellions against the Ottoman authority had been started. While the Ottoman authority was getting weak and the other authorities getting stronger, the Ottoman authority was insufficient to obstruct these rebellions. After that, Iraq had become the center of the rebellion against the Ottoman Empire; it was the first sign of the Ottoman's political regression. The rebellion groups had used Iraq as a strategic

⁸⁹ Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 79.

⁹⁰ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 91.

⁹¹ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble, p. 90.

starting point against the Ottoman forces to start the rebellion⁹². In actually, the weakness of the Ottoman Empire had encouraged the Arabian society against the Empire's authority, especially, during the last period of the 18th century. In the 19th century the level and the dimension of the rebellions had increased and the Empire had lost the authority of the region land by land. During that period, Iraq had an unbalanced situation and the Ottoman forces had lost and won the power on Iraq in time. In other mean, Iraq's problematic situation under the rules of the Ottoman Empire was one of the most serious signs of the Empire's downfall; because, the Empire was losing the influence and support from the Eastern lands. With that situation, Iraq was one of the places between the Ottoman lands that had begun for the independence movements. From the last part of the Arabian Peninsula until the end of today's Iraq borders, in those years, the rebellion fire had surrounded the Ottoman authorities⁹³. Perhaps, that process could be managed well; the Empire would not be seen any serious threat from the Eastern lands through the Western side of the country. But, the Empire had lost the East, at first. After that the legal authority in Istanbul had lost its influence.

Towards the first period of the First World War, Iraq and the other Arabian nations and states had become certain enemies of the Ottoman authority and their lands were the certain frontlines for the Empire's armies. That situation was so valuable for the Ottoman's future until the end of the war. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire had lost its influence area because of the effective policies of the British, French and Italian agents on the Arabian and the Middle Eastern societies⁹⁴. With that way, the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Arabian societies including Iraq had been worsened and it was hard to turn back to the old peaceful area; there was a serious struggle between two sides now.

⁹² Graves, R. and Kennington, E. (1991). *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Marlowe & Company, p. 23.

⁹³ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 233.

⁹⁴ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 51.

Secondly, when the Ottoman Empire had decided to join the First World War, the Istanbul authority had believed the Islamic union of the Arabian nations and the regions like Iraq would join the war by Ottoman's side; the Istanbul administration had believed that. But, right in the beginning of the war, the Islamic call of the Ottoman Empire had not been listened and the Empire had faced the truth painfully⁹⁵; the Empire had lost lands, people and soldiers without fighting in the war.

Under all these conditions, the Ottoman Empire's all the hopes and ideas on the Arabian subjects had been damaged and there was a road separation between the sides. Last period of the Ottoman Empire's fall had included serious domestic clashes between the rebellion groups and the central administration. That is why the Ottoman authority had tried so hard for reconstructing the Arabian attendance to the Empire's lands, but it was too hard after the beginning of the 19th century⁹⁶. The absence of the certain authority in the Ottoman Empire's central administration had caused to lose the authority on the Eastern lands and Iraq was one of the Eastern lands which did not accept the Ottoman administration as the legal and upper authority in the region. After Iraq's political rebellion, the other Arabian societies left the Ottoman authority⁹⁷.

In actually, the Ottoman authorities had decided to use Iraq with its historical importance against the enemies during the First World War as a powerful frontline; but, it had been turned into a weapon against the Ottoman authority. So, how did it become possible? No doubt, there was a deep historical background; however, the first period of the 20th had become determinative term for the Ottoman Empire's future with the other subjects away from the Anatolian lands. That is why the beginning of the 20th century and the First World

⁹⁵ Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 99.

⁹⁶ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 115.

⁹⁷ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 54.

War were the break points and facts of the last period of the Empire⁹⁸. It is sure to be that the Middle East policies of the Empire were successful after the 18th century for the Ottoman authorities. The Ottoman influence was lost in on the Arabian societies' lands and the regional rebellions and new-formatted leader of the region changed the authority system of Iraq term by term. While the Empire was getting weak, the regional authorities, rebellion groups and foreign influence in the Middle Eastern region were getting strong. The Western policies of the Empire had kept the Ottoman authorities alive for a short time period and they were only sufficient to stay alive. In other mean, those policies were the results of some essentialities. On the other hand, the Eastern subjects of the Empire had felt themselves as forgotten; it was a terrible feeling and it was a complicated situation for these people to decide where they will stay; because, towards the last period of the 19th century, the Eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire was under the threat of new rebellion creations and the foreign agents to make them enemies against the central administration in Istanbul⁹⁹. So, Iraqi society was one of these affected groups and they had not decided to do for their surviving for the next problematic days. In the end, they made their decision to change their side for their independence struggle against the Empire. Unofficially, the last period of the 19th century can be accepted as the last term of the Eastern lands were together with the other Ottoman lands¹⁰⁰. Iraq was one of the regions that were separated from the Ottoman authority.

⁹⁸ Graves, R. and Kennington, E. (1991). *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Marlowe & Company, p. 41.

⁹⁹ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 162.

¹⁰⁰ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 57.

I. II. Iraq's meaning for the British History

The British policies had focused on the rich sources of the Asia after Britain completed its rising on the Industrial Revolution. Until those terms, the British colonial consciousness had focused on the African enlargement and the British political side had directed the British forces to that region. Thus, Britain had conquered a big part of the African continent through the end of the 19th century's second period. The British colonial power had made the country most powerful state with the US. In the European area, even Britain had stayed away from the continental politics, its leadership was certain. After the second defeat of the Napoleon Britain's priority had been registered officially. In those years, the Africa was one of the basic sources of the British economic hegemony. At the same time, that hegemony had provided a priority role to Britain for the political area; Britain had become the determinative state of the world colonial system¹⁰¹.

Britain had not developed any politics about the Arabian nations and the Arabian Peninsula's political area. In other mean, the Arab world was far away from the British political viewpoint. That is why the African continent was the only aim of the British colonial system; there is only India as out of the Africa region. The Arabian Peninsula was right between of them and it was just a transition point until the end of the time that Britain had understood the weakened situation of the Ottoman Empire and its hegemony on its Arabian subjects¹⁰². Those events had warned Britain's foreign policy as a messenger and Britain had begun to direct its foreign policies towards the Arabian society; because, there serious matters and struggles between the current Ottoman authority and the new regional political

¹⁰¹ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 111.

¹⁰² Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 165.

formations¹⁰³. It was a great chance for Britain to defeat the Eastern side of the Ottoman Empire during their regression period¹⁰⁴.

During the Eastern enlargement period of Britain, Iraq was just a region. However, the rebellions in that region had made the Arabian society and Iraq attractive for Britain foreign policy as a weapon against the Ottoman Empire¹⁰⁵. If we see the struggle between Britain and Germany with the friendship Germany and the Ottoman Empire, it was not a surprise to see a British presence in the Eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire. The politic sphere was already possible for Britain to change the system for its profit. According to that the Arabian society in the regions like Iraq did not want to see the Ottoman Empire as their legal leaders. So, Britain had joined the process in the Arabian lands of the Ottoman Empire secretly¹⁰⁶.

Along the 19th century, Britain did not use its physical power in the region. There were only representatives of the British government. Its most important reason was about that the British representative had seen the natural source richness of Iraq and the other Arabian lands. But, it was dangerous to be in a fight with the Ottoman Empire about that. On the other hand, the British representatives had seen the petroleum richness in the Eastern part of the Ottoman Empire. However, neither the regional society nor Ottoman authorities were aware of that. So, the British politics had started to locate in Iraq and its environment day by day. It is right to say that there was efficiency of the British representative during the rebellions in the Arabian lands of the Empire¹⁰⁷. However, it was hard to focus on Iraq for Britain; because, the states was working hard on the African enlargement and the colonial plans in the Asian

¹⁰³ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 171.

¹⁰⁴ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 81.

¹⁰⁵ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 173.

¹⁰⁶ Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 167.

¹⁰⁷ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble, p. 45

lands. Britain had wanted to certify the world political leadership before the regional leadership in a specific area. In other mean, Britain had preferred to be the leader of the European politics after the colonial leadership on the Africa continent; Iraq and the Arabian lands would be the next¹⁰⁸.

Thus Britain had used its secret influence in Iraq during the First World War period. Britain had made an investment to Iraq and it had given the advantage to Britain during the great world war. One of the most visible reasons of the Ottoman Empire's failure in the First World War was about the doubtful process in the Eastern lands along the war period. The rebellions and the resistance groups in the Eastern area had become successful against the Ottoman forces and the biggest part of the Eastern lands had been lost towards the end of the war¹⁰⁹. The British policies had become successful; because, they had understood the political, economic and socio-cultural sphere of the region and they had used Iraq as headquarters of Britain. Thus, when the war was over, Britain had won the political side of the war on the Arabian lands without using any soldier or weapon. The legend of the Lawrence of Arabia was one of the most visible examples of the British influence on the Arabian society. The other Arabian lands were important to Britain; but, Iraq was closer to the Anatolian lands and it was closer to the French influence area after the war. So, the British politics had focused on protecting Iraq against the possible threats for the British forces and controlling the other Arabian lands in the Arabian Peninsula. With that way, Iraq had gained more strategic importance after the First World War's end; because, Britain had made Iraq as one of the most important headquarters of the British forces in the Eastern lands¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ Graves, R. and Kennington, E. (1991). *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Marlowe & Company, p. 74.

¹⁰⁹ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 68-69.

¹¹⁰ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 74.

Iraq's importance to Britain depends on previous terms of the near history; Britain politics had not focused on the Iraq's strategic and natural source importance before the Ottoman Empire's regression in the 19th century. However, in a short time period, Britain had accomplished more things than the Ottoman Empire had accomplished in six hundred-year periods¹¹¹.

I. III. THE BRITISH RISE OVER the EUROPE

I. III. I. Napoleon Comes out and Challenges the Europe

Napoleon's presence was not a threat for the rest of the Europe right in the beginning of his leadership in France. After he promoted to the leadership of France from an ordinary soldier in the French army, France's surface in the European politics had completely changed. At first, he was a leader of a state in the Europe; however, after his leadership, France followed a aggressive political way against the other European states. In particular, Napoleon's aggressive attitude against the Russian lands, actually, had created the basis of local war in the Europe and then it would lead through a world war¹¹².



¹¹¹Viorst, M. (2007). *Storm from the East: The Struggle Between the Arab World and the Christian West*. Modern Library, p. 77.

¹¹²Addison-Wesley ¹¹² Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 139.

Figure 1. Founder and first leader of the First French Republic Napoleon Bonaparte¹¹³.

Basically, after the French Revolution, Napoleon was a savior for French society; at least, he had appreciated himself as the only choice for the independence of France's poverty, hunger and decline. After conquest of Italy in 1801, French society and he had believed these things more powerfully. On the other hand, conquest of Italy was a messenger for rising of France over the Europe and it was a message to the other European states to be afraid of France and Napoleon's himself, at the same time. Napoleon had three basic purposes; conquest of Egypt and the other regional states, conquest of Russia and conquest of island of Britain. Last two purposes were so utopist approaches maybe, but Napoleon was a leader who had loved dreaming of conquest. However, he was not aware of the current economic situation of France; he needed a powerful and a stable economic structure, but France did not have that until his leadership. That is why he met serious economic challenges during his conquest plans. Thus he could not complete his Russia campaign successfully and it was a sign for his decline¹¹⁴.

In 1814, downfall of Napoleon had made comfortable rest of the Europe; however, he had come back to his throne after he escaped from his banishment in Elba, Italy in 1815. After he brought his forces together again in France, this time, he lost the war against Britain and Russia in Waterloo. It was the end of his era in France and in the Europe. But he had created a chaos area in the Europe at the same time; Russia had get strong, Britain guaranteed his position in the European politics and French threat on Prussia was lost.

¹¹³ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 139.

¹¹⁴ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 110.



Figure 2. A view from Waterloo: The war had changed the political situation of the Europe¹¹⁵.

After 1789 French Revolution, Napoleon's decline was another crisis for French. Most importantly, rest of the European states had decided to create a new order in Europe after Napoleon to obstruct the aggressive and mortal politics in the Europe¹¹⁶. In particular Britain was not comfortable with the threats from the nationalist waves in the European continent; while Britain was rising over the Europe with its economic power, Napoleon's plans had broken the plans of Britain¹¹⁷. The British authorities did not want to accept these oppressive attitudes in the Europe and they called the other European states for a congress to discuss¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁵ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 98.

¹¹⁶ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 201.

¹¹⁷ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 71.

I. III. II. New Formation of the Europe after Napoleon: Congress of Vienna

After Napoleon's first decline from the French throne, especially, Britain had understood the bad sign for the European politics. That is why the British authorities had called The Tsar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, Sweden and Württemberg in Wien, Austria¹¹⁹. The basic purpose of the Congress of Vienna was about removing the concerns of Britain for the politic situation in the rest of the Europe. Even Napoleon was a weak threat for Britain's future plans on the Europe¹²⁰; Napoleon's presence for a short time period and his aggressive policies against the other European states were threats for the future of Britain in the European and in the world politics¹²¹.

However, during the Congress of Vienna, the British side did not focus on consuming the power and sources of France. In other words; Britain did not want to make France poor in politic and economic area. In contrast, the British authorities tried to protect the current situation of France and encouraged the other European states for France to save the country from the influence of dictator. Britain's purpose was about showing Britain as a friend for France and obstructing the possible rebellions and resistances after Napoleon's capture and during his banishment period. Like Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Sweden had concerns about Napoleon's new era in the Europe; because, during his first period on the French throne, Napoleon had spent a serious budget for French army and the numbers of his

¹¹⁹ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 174.

¹²⁰ Grenville, J. (1999). *Europe Reshaped: 1848-1878*. Wiley-Blackwell, p. 68.

¹²¹ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 100.

troops were more than totality of a few European states' troops¹²². That is why in 1804 these states joined in an alliance with Britain to protect themselves against unexpected and powerful attacks of the French troops. When Napoleon decided to attack on Russia, it was a surprise and a shock for entire the Europe¹²³.

So, Russia and the other did not want to meet an attack like that. Even Russia had a powerful resistance against the French troops; the presence of the threat was enough to be afraid of a great war. On other hand, Britain had met a serious problem about the pressure of the Netherlands and Belgium for their interests on France. After 1795, both countries had serious clashes about their own interests on France. Congress of Vienna was a good opportunity for Britain to find a permanent solution of both states' expectations after Napoleon. That is why Britain had focused on protecting the interests of France against the states like the Netherlands and Belgium¹²⁴.

¹²² Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 221.

¹²³ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 254.

¹²⁴ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 143.



Figure 3. Napoleonic Europe¹²⁵.

Congress of Vienna had aimed to decrease the concerns of the other states in the Europe like Britain. Surely, Britain had seen its interests as priority topics on the agenda of congress. However, the concerns of the others were not minor to ignore. It was important and precious for Britain to take leadership in Congress of Vienna to manage the process and to get its interests from the congress¹²⁶.

I. IV. The British Rise over the Europe

Britain's rise over the Europe depends on some important points that the other European states could not see. Actually, Britain's rise had started in the beginning of the 19th century; in those years, Britain took the leadership of the naval force from Spain and Portugal.

¹²⁵ Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West, Volume II: Since 1555*. London: Addison-Wesley, p. 601.

¹²⁶ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 193.

After that, the British government paid attention on Britain naval forces and Britain had the world most powerful sea power through the Eastern seas¹²⁷.

In the beginning, it is important to say that Britain had a different mentality from the other European states and the US about colonialism issue; the British authorities did not focus on just one region. In contrast, Britain had understood the importance of Eastern world and the importance of the rich natural sources in that region. That is why the Arabian Peninsula had become the first target of Britain. In the following period, Britain tried to increase the kinds of economic sources for the country and the new target of Britain had become India and its environment. The materials like spices, cacao, tobacco and tea had become the new materials of Britain's economy to make Britain powerful in every area of economic traffic in the Europe. After the midterms of 1800s, the British economy had become the first seller of everything in the European markets; it was an important economy for Britain to take the leadership on the European politics to direct the politic and economic processes¹²⁸.

On the other hand, Britain's most important targets were the rich mines of African region. In this issue, Britain's investments on naval forces had worked and the British forces' areas of influence enlarged on the African lands. Diamond, gold and coalmines were the basic materials of British economy in Africa. Most of the African countries, which had rich mines, were the priority targets of Britain. Through the beginning of the First World War, Britain had collected a serious income from the African diamond, gold and coal mines from the African

¹²⁷ Cains, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression (1688-1914)*. New York, p. 59.

¹²⁸ Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. (1976), *The "New Imperialism"- Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*. Massachusetts, p. 188.

lands. At the same time, after that period, Britain had become the first seller of serious natural sources and different materials in the European markets again¹²⁹.

All of these things in the 19th century had made Britain a serious and a powerful actor in the European politics. By this way, Britain's rise over the Europe had begun through the First World War. However, Britain's basic expectation was higher than it reached in the 19th century. In those years, Britain was controlling the European markets' economy by its sources that they were brought from the colonies of the country. Surely, they provided a serious income and a serious politic power to Britain¹³⁰. Britain's followers like France and Germany had tried to reach the same level with Britain, but their efforts were not enough to reach the Britain's position. That is why they accepted the power of Britain in colonial mean¹³¹.

After all of these things, Britain's rise over the Europe had started. Firstly, Britain had become a colonial power at the outside of the European continent that it was the priority aim of Britain; because Industrial Revolution was not enough to provide a stable economic structure in Europe for Britain. There was a serious need to enlarge the area of influence for Britain. So, Britain focused on colonial lands in Africa, Arabian Peninsula and India¹³². It was a fast decision-making process for Britain and it was a difference for Britain against its rivals in Europe. Basically, Britain owed its increasing power the Industrial Revolution profits. In particular, Britain's economic profits affected the political development of the country

¹²⁹ Jones, A. (2008). *The Politics of Reform 1884*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 132.

¹³⁰ Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. (1976), *The "New Imperialism"- Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*. Massachusetts, p. 76.

¹³¹ Clark, J. C. D. and Cowling, M. (1985). *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 72-73.

¹³² Lee, Stephen J. (1988). *Aspects of European History: 1789-1980*. London: Routledge, p. 77.

directly. When the 19th century ended, Britain had taken the leadership in any mean in the Europe¹³³.

The difference between the US and Britain was about their areas of influences. The US was controlling a specific area and there was a serious civil war in the country. The civil war matter had stopped the development process of the country. That is why the US could not find chance to integrate into the European politics through the end of the First World War. Perhaps, it was a chance for the US to recover the scars of the civil war¹³⁴.

On the other side, Britain had a seriously larger area of influence in politic and economic mean. Britain had not met any resistance in domestic area and in the colonial lands until the end of the First World War and it made the Britain's works easier than the US. Seriously, it was a real chance for Britain to enlarge its area of influence and economic power in the world. When the First World War began, Britain was the most prepared states for the war; except Ottomans' resistance in Gallipoli, Britain did not meet any resistance in the First World War process. Large area of influence, developed economy and large numbers of troops of Britain provided victory Britain in any mean¹³⁵; So, it is fair to say that Britain's rise over Europe was not just limited with the European area. Firstly Industrial Revolution and then the colonial system made Britain the leader of Europe and the world respectively. This process in the beginning of the 19th century was a beginning of a world leadership for Britain at the same time. Until the end of the colonial period in the world, Britain would be the only country, which kept on its colonial influence in the most its colonies that those colonies were conquered during the 19th century¹³⁶.

¹³³ Grenville, J. (1999). *Europe Reshaped: 1848-1878*. Wiley-Blackwell, p. 245.

¹³⁴ Jones, A. (2008). *The Politics of Reform 1884*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 93.

¹³⁵ Clark, J. C. D. and Cowling, M. (1985). *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 80.

¹³⁶ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 33.

Britain had controlled its own area, the European lands until the First World War beginning and until the rising of nationalist waves in the European states like Serbia, Austria-Hungary and Germany. However, their resistance could not save Europe from Britain's hegemony¹³⁷.

I. IV. I. British Colonialism and Sharing the Eastern World

The states, which had same logic about being hegemonic like Britain and France were the most effective ones during the Industrial Revolution years. Especially, Britain's colonialist pressure on Africa and Asia was effective to rule the world economy and trade process¹³⁸. Thus, through the end of the 19th century, Britain was ruling the world. There were additionally France, Germany and Holland. But, Britain, France and Germany were the leaders of the process seriously and they were holding the world trade with their hegemony on Africa particularly. These three countries' one-year profit from their trading actions in the world was around 33 billion \$. But, there was a serious competition between the sides. They came together only for the decision about sharing the African lands for their production activities and trading rights. After that sharing, Britain had taken a big part of the African lands and it had meant that Britain would administrate the world trade at the same time. So, since Spain and Portugal's struggle, it is seriously hard to say that there is a co-operation between the major world countries on the world trade. The powerful one always decides the rules as we can see on Britain example along the colonial period. It means a serious hegemony for a country to rule the world¹³⁹.

¹³⁷ Grenville, J. (1999). *Europe Reshaped: 1848-1878*. Wiley-Blackwell, p. 144.

¹³⁸ Cains, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression (1688-1914)*. New York, p. 78.

¹³⁹ Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge, p. 134.

During the Industrial Revolution and colonialist period in the Europe, there were some signs for the equalities between the European countries. Tariffs were on the lowest level in the Europe between the years 1820 and 1879. It meant that the European area was open the competition. On the other hand, the custom barriers were removed mostly. In this view, it seems like that there was a serious competition and agreement area between the countries. However, the situation does not seem like that. These fair attempts and equalities between the European countries were temporary and valid for a limited process. The leader of the world trade regime in those years was the basic decision mechanism on the European economy and trade system in general mean¹⁴⁰. So, the decisions mentioned above were the products of the British politicians and they were not more than the economic benefit expectations of the British authorities. Thus, Britain had directed the process for a long time period until the American intervention to the continental issues¹⁴¹.

When the presence of the British effect on the Industrial Revolution and system was clear, it meant a serious hegemony. In those years, Britain was center of the world economics and trade regime. Their colonization power gave them chances to create their own power before and after the Industrial Revolution. Although there were rivals like France and Germany, Britain was enough to reply it needs and to feed the world except the US. Britain's industrial power was a real threat for the other European states' interests on the colonial lands. Britain was conquering, locating its troops and sweating. This process was locating in a large area in Africa, Arabian Peninsula and the Southern Asia. Britain had gained a serious income from its colonial lands and the British economy was the healthiest and the most developed economy right before the First World War. In particular, Britain was leading richest mine

¹⁴⁰ Tignor, L. R. (1966), *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914*, New Jersey, p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Clark, J. C. D. and Cowling, M. (1985). *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 141.

areas in Africa and those mines were providing continuous income and a serious trading power to the Britain¹⁴².



Figure 4. An illustration from a British newspaper, which shows the hegemony of Britain from *Cape to Cairo*¹⁴³.

Britain's colonial system was depending on two methods; first, managing the natural sources and second, collecting young people to make them slaves and soldiers. In first method, Britain's policy was about to control the area as a political leader and economic ruler. That situation had provided Britain a politic and economic power at the same time. Today, Britain has still hidden politic hegemony on some African states¹⁴⁴. Although there are protests and oppositions against Britain's existence in these countries, cooperation between Britain and some African countries is still alive. Britain had built that relationship's basis

¹⁴² Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. (1976), *The "New Imperialism"- Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*. Massachusetts, p. 99.

¹⁴³ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 58.

¹⁴⁴ Easton, S. C. (1964). *The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism*. New York., p. 85.

during the colonial period. Until the end of the First World War, Britain did not want to share its income from those African lands with those lands' owners. However, until the end of the war, Britain had a great hegemony on these lands¹⁴⁵.

The other method was like a preparation for a possible war; Britain was collecting a great army for the war. Even there was not any war; the British army would use young slaves and soldiers from Africa, Arabian Peninsula and the Southern Asia for its new conquests on the new colonial areas¹⁴⁶. It was a serious humanitarian problem for Britain until the end of the First World War; most of the young people were used for the interests of Britain as soldiers in the war. On the other hand, they were used for conquest of their own lands and they killed their own people¹⁴⁷. That situation had created a pressure on Britain until the end of colonial process. But, Britain had gained lands, money, soldiers and a new interracial generation in its lands. It would be a serious problem for the socio-cultural structure of Britain¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁵ Jones, A. (2008). *The Politics of Reform 1884*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 112.

¹⁴⁶ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 63.

¹⁴⁷ Sanderson, G.N. (1985). *The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn, 1870-1908*. London: Cambridge, p. 71.

¹⁴⁸ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 322.



Figure 5. The colonial separation of Africa between the sides of the European powers¹⁴⁹.

Despite the presence of these clear problems, Britain enlarged its area of influence and it became the leader of colonial process against the other colonialist states in the world. Surely, Britain was not the only state, which had a powerful colonial system, but Britain had managed that process for its interest very successfully¹⁵⁰.

France was another powerful colonialist state in the Europe; Britain had shared Africa's biggest part with France. Although France had large lands on the African continent like Algeria and an island Madagascar, those countries' natural sources were not effective to

¹⁴⁹ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 234.

¹⁵⁰ Cains, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression (1688-1914)*. New York, p. 121.

provide the needs of France. Surely, it was a reason for a disagreement between Britain and France to share the colonial areas. However, Britain had provided important trade rights for France to decrease their reactions to Britain's income from the colonial lands. In particular, Africa was very important for France, too. Like Britain, France wanted to use African youth for slaves, soldiers and task force¹⁵¹.

In contrast, France had met serious resistance in Algeria and Cameroon against its colonial projects. The British troops had decreased the actions of local resistance. However, France could not achieve that. France's basic gain was about country's fast development process after Napoleonic years and its scars on the society. Through the end of the 19th century, France had found solution for the politic matters in the domestic area¹⁵²; at the same time, France recorded an important development process in economic area. According to a country like France, which had serious politic and economic problems during the 19th century, the colonial attack and its economic dimension had advanced France's potential¹⁵³. Like Britain, France used its ports like Marseille to make connection between African colonies' ports and the French ports. In particular, Morocco and Algeria were important transition points between these ports. Surprisingly, French another country, which had a serious naval power and France used it to provide connection from African colonies to French lands¹⁵⁴. In other words, France had followed Britain's footsteps in Africa to get the same economic achievements. Even the most far colony land Madagascar had become close to

¹⁵¹ Easton, S. C. (1964). *The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism*. New York, p. 141.

¹⁵² Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. (1976), *The "New Imperialism"- Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*. Massachusetts, p. 125.

¹⁵³ Tignor, L. R. (1966), *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, New Jersey, p. 73.

¹⁵⁴ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 174.

France. Although French naval force was not the same with Britain's, it was the reason of France's rising over the African colonies after Britain¹⁵⁵.

Germany was another country that followed the same way with Britain and France at the same time. Germany was completely different than Britain and France ideologically. Germany's nationalist structure had pushed the country in aggressive politics. After Prussia's decline in the European history, Germany has stayed alone to bring together entire the German nations and Germany had assumed a role to continue the ideology of nationalism after Prussia's decline and its decreasing influence on the European politics¹⁵⁶.

Through the end of the 19th century, Germany had recorded serious development acceleration by the effect of the nationalist movements in the country. In particular, the militarist structure of the country had reached a serious and frightening point against its rivals in the Western Europe. On the other hand, after Ottoman Empire's joining to German side, German threat had increased in the Europe¹⁵⁷. However, Germany was not powerful against Britain's colonial system in Africa especially. So, Germany could become close Britain as a rival in the colonial issues. Like France, Germany had to follow Britain's footsteps in Africa's colonial lands. Germany was too late to have colonial lands in Africa.¹⁵⁸ Britain's power and France's cooperation with Britain had decreased the numbers of valuable African colonies. There was the only independent country in Africa as Liberia; but Liberian lands were far away from German lands and ports. At the same time, Liberian lands were surrounded by the British and the French troops¹⁵⁹. That is why Germany had not wanted to take risk on Liberia.

¹⁵⁵ Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York, p. 45.

¹⁵⁶ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 176.

¹⁵⁷ Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York, p. 181.

¹⁵⁸ Cains, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression (1688-1914)*. New York, p. 224.

¹⁵⁹ Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge, p. 75.

On the other side of the issue, Germany had no powerful naval forces; so, it was an obstacle for Germany to be in a competition with France and Britain to have some share from the colonial lands. When Germany reached the last period of colonial conquest of African lands especially, it was too late have a serious profit from this system¹⁶⁰. Perhaps, it was one of the deficiencies of German politics before the First World War; because, while it's rivals were having a serious profit and influence on colonial system in the South and the East, Germany was struggling against the warrior spirit and nationalist pressure in the domestic area¹⁶¹.

In those years, Britain did not think about the existence of the American power and the US's rising was a surprise for their plans; because, the US was leading the continental trade system on the America. The US had also completed its industrial development. So, the US was more prepared for the world leadership on the trade regime. Britain chose the hegemony without limitation. But, it was a threat for Britain; because, the country's system was not ready yet to rule the world against regional and international rivals. There was also a war threat for the Europe through the end of the 19th century¹⁶².

Hegemonic power of the US is related its balanced policies about the economy area. The European powers were the general hegemonic states during the powerful years of the Industrial Revolution. But, their power had stayed limited with their workings in those years. They could not continue their efficiency for a long time period. In other word, their developments in economic mean made them enemies more than rivals. Their enmity had prepared their end through first period of the 20th century¹⁶³. But, the US was far away from these clashes and struggles. That distance had helped the US to make its economy stable and

¹⁶⁰ Sanderson, G.N. (1985). *The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn, 1870-1908*. London: Cambridge, p. 46.

¹⁶¹ Tignor, L. R. (1966), *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, New Jersey, p. 55.

¹⁶² Easton, S. C. (1964). *The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism*. New York, p. 39.

¹⁶³ Gopal, S. And Tikhvinsky, S.L. *World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Crisis Within Imperialism. History of Humanity: Scientific and Cultural Development, Vol. VII, 2002*, pp. 22.

powerful against the worldwide rivals of the country. Especially, during the Industrial Revolution period, the US had preferred to stay away from the regional clashes like Britain, France and Germany lived. In contrast, the US had decided to draw its own way for the economic developments. It was another isolationist idea of the American system after the political area¹⁶⁴.

That is why the US focused on encouraging domestic markets to make them powerful and make them serious rivals for the European markets' economy. So, for a long time period, the US had followed a "protectionist" way for its domestic area. Protectionism was a powerful solution for the American economy's problems and its competition power against the international rivals¹⁶⁵.

This preparation period for the American economy right before its enlargement through the world markets was a great beginning for the US¹⁶⁶; because, the American administration had made stronger its domestic area firstly. After that, the US had found chance to analyze the world system; in those years, the US was behind the European countries in the colonialist period¹⁶⁷.

That is why the US had checked the standards and the rules of the world economy. Finally, the US joined the economic process with its power and effectiveness on the world economy. In other words, the US had worked well to know what it would do to change the

¹⁶⁴ Sanderson, G.N. (1985). *The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn, 1870-1908*. London: Cambridge, p. 68.

¹⁶⁵ Tignor, L. R. (1966), *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, New Jersey, p. 154.

¹⁶⁶ Cains, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression (1688-1914)*. New York, p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge, p. 236.

world trade's rules for its benefits. The beginning of the 20th was the milestone of the American hegemony on the world economy and trade system¹⁶⁸.

Right in this point, it is important to touch upon the rising period of the American economic and trade system on the world; surely, two World Wars were the basic reasons of the American rising. There are three basic reasons of it. First of all, during the First World War, the US had joined the war through the last period of it. That is why the American economy could not be damaged. After the war, while the other countries in the Europe were trying to recover their economies, the American economy had enlarged its influence area through the other side of the Pacific. In other words, the US had become as one of the most important speakers of the European economy's decision-making process¹⁶⁹.

I. V. The Situation of the Ottoman Empire and the First Contact with

Britain

In the year 1770, when the steam engine, becoming the symbol of the British Empire was sailing the oceans; scholars of the French enlightenment were busy with new editions of the science writings and German philosophers were probably working on the meaning of the rising in the science and sociology¹⁷⁰. A Russian fleet, circum-sailing Europe all the way from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean burned the Ottoman Navy lying at anchor in the Aegean Sea's base. In confusion or desperation, the Ottoman Empire protested to Venice presumably for letting the Russian fleet in, via the Adriatic.

¹⁶⁸ Sanderson, G.N. (1985). *The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn, 1870-1908*. London: Cambridge, p. 124.

¹⁶⁹ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 47.

¹⁷⁰ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkım Publishing House, p. 82.

The decline was marked by defeat in wars, loss of territories and weakening of the central authority. According to the Kucuk Kaynarca Treaty (1774), Russia, as the protector or guarantor of non-Muslim communities, annexed Crimea (1783) and Georgia (1800). The French Revolution (1789) sending their Christian king of the Guillotine had alarmed the Ottoman Empire. In 1792-93, Sultan Selim III ordered a series of reforms, known as Nizam-I Djedid (New Order) in public life, in tax and agrarian administration. The young Sultan Selim III who was trying in hurry to modernize the State, the army and his imperial household was murdered by his angry Janissaries (1807)¹⁷¹. He had apparently underestimated the power of mores and vested interests. The new Sultan Mahmut II reluctantly accepted the Sened-I Ittifak (Document of Alliance) imposed upon the state by the Ayan or rising, feudal provincials.

That document marked the transition of the Ottoman Empire from the “patrimonial” to a feudalism of the Ayans. In 1811, Governor Mohammed Ali Pasha became the ruler of Egypt. In 1821, when Greeks revolted for independence, the Empire seemed helpless. Military forces of Mohammed Ali Pasha, fighting with the Ottoman army to suppress the Mora revolt, disobeyed orders and returned home¹⁷².

Except for abolishing the Janissary Hearth and the Bektashi Orders (1826), held to be necessary with the goal of the establishment of a New Army Corps, the Ottoman Ulema rejected nearly all measures proposed towards the restoration Household. Soon after the successfully staged operation against the Janissary Corps, the Ottoman Navy was burned in Navarro and Mohammed Ali Pasha’s son Ibrahim Pasha defeated the Ottoman army on the Anatolian lands (1832). The Egyptian sweep to Istanbul was halted in 1833 by Russian and

¹⁷¹ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 77.

¹⁷² Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks’ Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkim Publishing House, p. 84.

British interventions. They did not want to install Mohammed Ali Pasha in Istanbul. First Greeks now the Egyptians, what was the next? Was the Empire falling to pieces?

When the Gulhane rescript of 1839 guaranteed life, honor and property to all millets and subjects of the Sultan, the Empire did not have any secular sanctions to make such guarantees work. Under the Islamic Law Sharia, non-Muslims were equitably recognized but not treated equally. Egalitarianism required secular statutes, the making of which was the purpose and policy of the Tanzimat period. It was described the disruption of religious identities as “cultural bifurcation”¹⁷³.

From Sultan Mahmud II's death until the first Constitution (1877-1878), Tanzimat bureaucrats or “official-dom” were the major force behind the reformation program which included gradual secularization that finally touched upon every aspect of political, socio-cultural and economic life. The proclamation of the Imperial Rescript of 1856, a timely follow up of the Gulhane (1839) provisions¹⁷⁴, ranged from Western art and music to education, banking, communication by postal services and telegraphy to equality between Muslims and non-Muslims to calls and demands for a representative or constitutional government. One of the controversial products of this Rescript was the Land Law (1858)¹⁷⁵, in which 70% of the state owned land rights were turned over the individuals as private property. The purpose of this law is not clear, however¹⁷⁶. Some think that its purpose was to identify the actual users for registration and taxation purposes.

¹⁷³ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 124.

¹⁷⁴ Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 139.

¹⁷⁵ Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996) *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul: Isis Press, p. 78.

¹⁷⁶ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkım Publishing House, p. 104.

Obviously, the British were afraid of the Russians' growing presence or interest in "warm waters" was not yet ready to kill the "sick man". Surely, there was an "Eastern Question" on the European agenda since 1774 and time come, the British would not, as it were, hesitate to let the sick man die, dismember his body and send the remaining Turks back to Asia where they came from. After Crimean War, the Ottoman Empire had invited to the congress of Paris (1856) as a member of the European family. Yet the territorial losses continued. At the Berlin Congress of 1878, however, following the Russian War, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria won their independence and Austria occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Responses to the Western oriented reforms of the Tanzimat first came from the "Young Ottomans" and soon after from the "Young Turks". Mustafa Fazil Pasha, son of the Governor of Egypt and one of the sponsors of the Young Ottomans, wrote to Sultan Abdulaziz from Paris that there was a serious problem for the Ottoman identity and power on the Empire and the Islam. The other Young Ottomans who were seeing the Tanzimat as secularization and a threat to the throne, tried to stop or slow all such efforts. A generation of well-educated statesmen, scholars and intellectuals, striving for modernization, faced a variety of dilemmas. Grand vizier Mustafa Resid Pasha, after duly consulting with Sheikh ul-Islam and the Sultan, for example, had to postpone the installation of "lightning rods" against electric bolts hitting minaret, to a more opportune time in future¹⁷⁷.

The breakthrough for a secular state and society came with the General Education bill. For the first time the State acted decisively to establish modern secondary schools for all, including the girls and to revise all school curricula by introducing math and natural history in Turkish was at long last remembered. Such reforms, conceived and carried out by the Education Minister Saffet Pasha, appear to have been supported by Ibrahim Edhem Pasha a

¹⁷⁷ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 113.

Western trained engineer and educator with secular views. Wills and spirits were high yet the means rather meager. Once again, the Madrasa stood fast and aborted several attempts for the establishments of a university. The secular Galatasaray Lycee along with the military, medical and technical schools, educated several generation of Young Turks who paved the way to the Turkish Revolution.

While Tanzimat reforms and efforts were underway, the general state of the Commonwealth was not well. Things seemed to be going from bad to worse. Successive borrowings from the West proved no panacea, even the cumulative, compound interests of the debt could not be paid back on time. Debts were snowballed. When the Ottoman Bank which was found in 1863 by the Western capital, failed as a make believe “central bank”. The Empire was losing land and blood¹⁷⁸.

Out of the going clashes between Western oriented reformers and Ottoman/Muslim revivalists, Mithat Pasha, a successful governor and founder of the Agricultural Bank, emerged as the champion of constitutional government. The text of the Kanun-u Esasi drafted by Mithat Pasha was proclaimed in 1876. When the 1877-1878 War broke out with Russia, however, the Ottomans were involved with uprisings and the constitutional crises at home; Russian troops advanced to the gates of Istanbul and dictated the Treaty of San Stefano (1878). Once again, British diplomacy saved a total disaster. Sultan Abdulhamid II, seizing on the opportunity and using the Imperial rights, suspended the Constitution, until the Young Turks’ revolution in 1908 for the restoration of Parliament¹⁷⁹.

With the Public Debt Administration, formed for balancing the imperial finances, the semi-colonization of the once mighty empire was now officially underway. Defeats and

¹⁷⁸ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 115.

¹⁷⁹ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks’ Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkim Publishing House, p. 164.

retreats continued; Bulgaria occupied Eastern Thrace. In 1886-1887, the new Ottoman army won its first field victory over the independent Greece, at the peace talks, however, Ottomans had to give the Island of Crete, as a condition of grace or good will.

The meaning of the modernization in the Ottoman Empire had been understood very differently from the Western civilization. In the West, the modernity was a piece of the development and that development was including political, economic, socio-cultural, technical and scientific developments at the same time. The religious pressure had been removed from the agenda of the Western civilization's development and modernizations process. With that way, the Western societies had advanced their potential to the upper levels¹⁸⁰.

However, the meaning of the modernization was limited with the social area in the Ottoman Empire. According to that, the changes in the social, cultural and daily life had been understood that the Ottoman Empire was changing its skin¹⁸¹. In contrast, the situation of the Ottoman Empire was in danger with the unlimited effect of the Western modernization, but the limited application of it on the Ottoman system. The deficiency in the meaning was hidden the consciousness of the Ottoman authorities; they had understood the change as surface and according to them the needs of the Ottoman culture were only about the changed in the social and legal area. The rights and different legal applications would bring a new era to the Ottoman society. In actually, if the Empire was administrated well, those ideas could be capable with the current situation of the Ottoman civilization. Nevertheless the needs of the Ottoman system were paying attention on the political, economic and military issues. The modernization of the Ottoman system had depended on them. That is why the Sultans like

¹⁸⁰ Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996) *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul: Isis Press, p. 54.

¹⁸¹ Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 241.

Selimm III and Mahmut II had tried to change the political structure and the military system as soon as possible. But, they were in failure or too late to change the things. Basically, the Ottoman authorities had created a secret state administration behind the curtain and that secret administration had broken the hundred year political system and hegemony of the Sultan on the top of the Ottoman politics. The modernization had worked to hide the deficiencies in the society and in the administration. The real needs of the Ottomans about the modernity had stayed behind and every second the wasted would come back negatively for the presence, welfare and the future of the Empire¹⁸².

The modern Western system had not only developed its social structure. It had changed the skin of the political area and the talented statesmen were educated. The military are were developed with the new weapons and techniques. The capacity of the production systems was increased. The most important one, the road to the Industrial Revolution had been opened. The development consciousness of the West was like that. With that way, the Western civilization had rising; because, the working process of the West more powerful than the Ottoman. The West was aware of the presence of the Ottoman power in the past and the Ottoman threat and feat had encouraged them to resist against the Ottoman Empire. Surely, it was one of the factors of the Western development; but the Ottoman factor was the most important one¹⁸³. For the West, the Ottoman Empire's hegemony on the region was a target to be defeated and its presence was a need for the spiritual support to the Western society. In the past, the presence of the Eastern civilization's power was a reason to create the Crusades.

But, the Ottoman Empire could not understand the dimensions of the Western development; the Empire had only focused on the simple changes. In actually, the real change

¹⁸² Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 71.

¹⁸³ Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 155.

was in the political development of the Western states and their investments for their military sides. The Ottoman authorities had not focused on the real needs of the Empire. At truth, the Empire had needed the same changes with the Western civilization immediately. However, changing of the military systems, opening to the foreign states and educating the talented statesmen were late for the Ottoman Empire¹⁸⁴. The difference can be understood by the time gap between the years; the West had completed the first phase of its modernization and change right in the beginning of the 19th. However, the Ottoman Empire had not even completed the necessary sides of the development and modernization. That gap is a proof of the problematic consciousness of the Ottoman Empire about the modernization. Through the beginning of the First World War, the Empire was still working on the social changes in the country, although the Empire was losing its lands one-by-one¹⁸⁵.

The modernization or being modern was a trauma for the Eastern civilization's representative. That is why the Ottoman Empire had not achieved the modernization process well. Not just only in the social area, in the political area, the Empire had lived the worst years about the political hegemony and respect. Through the end of the 18th century, the Empire had lost its political respect and prestige on the European countries and its hegemonic power on the Balkan countries. In the following period of this prestige regression, the Empire had lost a big part of its European lands after different wars against the different states and the powers. At the same time, the old subjects of the Empire had become the new rivals for the Ottoman by founding their independent states. On the other side, in the Eastern area, the Ottoman revolutionary modernization period had not met any support from the Muslim subjects of the Empire and the Arabian Muslim, in particularly, had preferred to revolt against

¹⁸⁴ Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkim Publishing House, p. 138.

¹⁸⁵ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 94.

their masters to remember its traditional identity and to remember its Muslim subjects in the East¹⁸⁶.

Right in this point, it is important to say that Britain had used that complicated situation well as a weapon against the Ottoman Empire. Especially, during the First World War, that tactic was a serious advantage for Britain; the identity and the modernization issue was a result of the Western pressure on the Ottoman Empire. In other mean, Britain was a part of that pressure. On the other hand, Britain had used the Ottoman modernity process as a traumatic situation for the Muslim society to encourage them against the Empire under the Jihad call. Britain's different roles in that process had decided the bad direction of the relations between the Ottoman authority and the Muslim Arabian subjects. In the end of that period, the Arabian subjects had decided to refuse the Ottoman authority and decided to build their future. It was a controversial issue, building heir future; thus, they could not do it possible in peace¹⁸⁷.

I. VI. A Turning Point in the Relations of Turkish-British Sides:

Crimean War

In the historical process, the relations between Turkish side and British side had lived different turning points in positive and negative mean, at the same time. In particularly, the direction of their relations was in a negative way after the regression terms of the Ottoman Empire and that period was the same term with rising of Britain on the European continent all over the world. That unequal situation between the sides had affected the Turkish-British competition for the profit of the British side. But, the cooperation between the sides had been

¹⁸⁶ Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996) *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 92.

¹⁸⁷ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire 2nd edition*. Barnes and Noble, p. 132.

seen in some periods of the relations in the history and the events like those were one of the unusual and positive developments in their relations¹⁸⁸.

As one of them, Crimean War (1853-1856) was one of the most important and most valuable developments in the European and the Turkish-British relations' history. In actually, Crimean War was between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. However, the colonial view of Russia for the war had made the matter the priority political topic in the major European states' agendas; because, the purpose of Russia is not only related the clash with the Ottoman Empire¹⁸⁹. Britain and France were aware of that. That is why there was a sudden and unexpected cooperation between Britain and the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps, the Empire was in the worst period of its history; but the Western alliance in the Europe between Britain and France had not wanted to allow that. According to their benefit approach, the Ottoman Empire's damaging from a possible war against Russia would reduce their influence in the Eastern Europe against Russia. The Ottoman Empire was already weak, but the Western allies had to make weak Russia to hold the control of the Eastern Europe, at the same time. So, Crimean War was a chance for their aims on the Eastern side of the Europe and even they had not wanted to face a threat from a powerful Russia and they had wanted to direct the system of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the Empire in a near future. They had already made their plans on the Ottoman Empire before Russia. However, Russia's move was unexpected and sudden for the Ottoman Empire and its allies¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 174.

¹⁸⁹ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 176.

¹⁹⁰ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 177.

I. VI. I. Ottoman Empire's Situation before Crimean War

19th century was the most problematic and most doubtful age in its history. In any mean, political, financial and socio-cultural, the Empire was living the worst years. The control of the political area was not in the Ottoman Sultan's hands and the system in the Empire had passed the factors that out of the Ottoman dynasty. The decision mechanism in the country was losing blood and the rebellions all around the Empire were threading the central authority seriously. In particularly, the rebellions on the Arabian Peninsula were the serious warnings for the Ottoman authority to change the things for the goodness of the Arabian subjects in the Eastern lands of the Empire. However, the Sultans had tried to make feel the presence and the pressure of the central authority many times¹⁹¹. But, those attempts were for nothing; because the Arabian part of the Empire had decided to drawn their destiny on their own and their resistance was supported by the European powers secretly. That situation was not a secret anymore in those years, but the Arabian subjects were resisting against the Ottoman authority strongly¹⁹².

So, the rebellions and the resistance attempts on the Empire lands were weakening the central authority, decision-making power and influence on its subjects. The Ottoman Empire's general view was not in a good form in those terms and these matters had consumed the last resistance hopes of the Empire. That is why Russia had seen the Ottoman Empire as a "sick man" and its last days were a chance for Russia to realize its projects to reach the warm lands and seas in the Mediterranean region. The worst thing in those years for the Ottoman was about that the control mechanism of the Empire had lost its persuasiveness and authority on the domestic issues and the foreign affairs of the Empire. So, the Ottoman Empire's

¹⁹¹ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 93.

¹⁹² Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996) *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 144.

regression had turned into downfall for the Empire in a short time period and the 19th century was a transition period from regression to the downfall period¹⁹³.

I. VI. II. The British Reaction to that Period

Britain's basic matter was about developing its standards in the Industrial Revolution period and about reaching the world leadership. So, there was no chance for Britain to waste time on the continental matters in the Europe. Britain had advanced in the colonial issues and the country was one of the most powerful colonial powers all around the world with France and Spain. However, the British authorities had not seen the current standards sufficient to reply the power needs of the British Empire¹⁹⁴. That is why they were looking for the possible and comfortable areas for the colonial power of the country. In those years, while Britain was advancing in the international issues, in the domestic area of the European politics, Russia's developing influence on the Eastern lands of the Europe and its presence to be a threat for the Ottoman Empire had awakened the British authorities to understand the current situation in the Europe and to focus on the possible threats for the future; because, the plans of Britain on the Eastern Europe had a long time to wait after the colonial system was completed. So, there was a need for the time gap. But, Russia's threat against the Ottoman Empire had changed the agenda of Britain to understand the dimensions of the issue. Russia was threatening the Eastern Europe including Austria and Prussia and the Russian policies had focused on defeating the Ottoman Empire¹⁹⁵. At first, Ottoman Empire's downfall in a short time period would be a danger for the colonial transportation traffic of Britain from Asia and Africa. The Ottoman Empire was already an ally and there was no matter for the colonial traffic. But, if

¹⁹³ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire 2nd edition*. Barnes and Noble, p. 211.

¹⁹⁴ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 77.

¹⁹⁵ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 38.

Russia defeats the authority of the Ottoman Empire in the Eastern side, that traffic would not be worked. On the other hand, the achievement of Russia on the Ottoman Empire would affect the good relations of Britain with the Arabian and Muslim subjects of the Empire; because, in those years, Britain was another guarantee of the Arabian society and Muslim subjects because of its colonial regions' approximation to their regions¹⁹⁶.

With all these reasons, Britain had wanted to be a part of Crimean War. Britain had wanted to control the Ottoman Empire on its own; but it was a far plan from those days. It was in the agenda of Britain. The British authorities were aware of the doubtful term in the Ottoman domestic area. That is why they had planned to surround the Ottoman Empire in a long time period, after that, they could conquer it slowly and gently. However, Russia had damaged the future plans of Britain; they could not think that a rising power on the Europe could be an alternative against Britain's hegemony. The claim of Russia was like that¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁶ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 40.

¹⁹⁷ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 339.



Figure 6. Map of Crimean War: Situation of Ottoman Empire and Russia¹⁹⁸.

I. VI. III. The End of Crimean War and the General View after the War

The war's result was not a surprise for Russia and the Ottoman Empire; because, Russia had stayed alone right in the beginning of the war and the opposite alliance against Russia was too powerful to resist. Britain had organized France and Kingdom of Sardinia against Russia to fight with the Ottoman Empire. There are two important points for the results of Crimean War; firstly, Britain had showed the importance of its policies on the Ottoman Empire. Britain had not beared from joining a war to protect its benefits on the Ottoman Empire. That situation had increased the dependency of the Empire against Britain. At the same time, Britain's support to the Ottoman had made the Western European countries

¹⁹⁸ Bilgin, M. (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 121.

effective on the Ottoman domestic policies. With that aim, the Ottoman Sultan had ordered to remove the taxes from the actions of the un-Muslim subjects. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire had guaranteed to protect the civil rights of the foreign subjects of the Ottoman society. It was just a simple example of increasing foreign effect in the Ottoman political system in those years¹⁹⁹. Secondly, the surrounding policy of Britain for the Ottoman Empire had worked for the future; the Russian threat was defeated from the Eastern side of the Empire for a while. With that way, Britain had guaranteed the transition road of the colonial traffic. For the future, Britain had found solution for hundred-year Ottoman Empire matter of the Europe²⁰⁰.

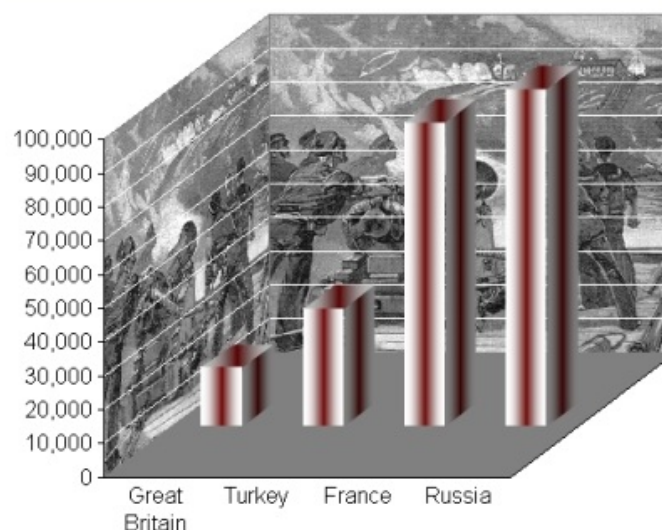


Figure 7. Numbers of death civilian and the soldiers of the sides during Crimean War²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁹ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire 2nd edition*. Barnes and Noble, p. 74.

²⁰⁰ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 139.

²⁰¹ Harley, K. (1993). *Reassessing the Industrial Revolution: A Macro View*, in Joel M. (ed.), *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Assessment*. London: Westview Press, p. 89.

On the other side of the issue, Crimean War and the cooperation between the Ottoman Empire and Britain was the first visible example for the goodness of the relations between two sides. Whatever the reason is, Britain had helped the Ottoman Empire and the intervention of Britain had saved the Ottoman lands from a deep crisis and the civil war threat for the future. So, Crimean War was a turning point for the relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, Britain's future plans and the regional balance until the First World War²⁰².

CHAPTER 2. THE SITUATION of the CENTRAL STATES of the FIRST WORLD WAR BEFORE the WAR and TURKEY and Britain: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE in the PRE-MODERN PERIOD

II. I. The Search for Balance Elsewhere in the West

Right before the First World War, nationalist waves in the Europe had reached the highest level in the European politic history. In particular, Germany and Serbia had a lot of different social nationalist waves on their lands. Napoleon's presence was the first sign of the nationalist waves in the Europe. Germany and Serbia had developed that nationalist approach during the first period of the 20th century²⁰³. Britain and France had left nationalist waves through the end of the 19th century. In other words, that separation between Germany-Serbia and Britain-France had decided the sides for a possible war in the beginning of the 20th century. Italy and the Ottoman Empire had joined the politic ideas of Germany. Even Italy

²⁰² Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 204.

²⁰³ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 139.

changed its side during the last period of the war; Italy was one of the sides of nationalist waves. This complicated political relations between the powers in the Europe created the absence of balance in the continent²⁰⁴.

Search for balance in the Europe was about, firstly, the colonial system. However, Britain was luckier and more effective than the other European states. After Britain's rise on the African and the Arabian lands, the other European states had wanted to reach their shares from the colonies in those regions. While Britain was taking the big part from the colonies in Africa, the other were not in comfort with that situation. When they wanted to get their shares from the system, Britain was against their efforts in Africa²⁰⁵. Perhaps, this was one of the reasons of the First World War until the year 1914. France and Germany was a bit luckier than the other European states about having colonies. However, they were late and they were far away from having a big share from colonial system. Thus Britain did not leave its leadership in every colonial area in the Eastern world²⁰⁶.

France was in a reconstruction process after Napoleon's decline and the country had done a great job to recover its scars after Napoleon hurt France after Russia and Africa attacks. France had tried to follow the same process with Britain to have its share from colonial system in Africa. Unfortunately, even France was late to have that share from Africa; however, French troops were insistent to have some places²⁰⁷. Surely, it was not easy to have important states' areas of natural sources when there was a great influence of Britain. Perhaps, France's insistence could be a reason for a war against Britain in the colonial lands. But, neither Britain nor France was closer to this end; because, Britain had seen France a possible

²⁰⁴ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 152.

²⁰⁵ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 146.

²⁰⁶ Pearton, M. (1984). *Diplomacy, War, and Technology Since 1830*. University Press of Kansas, p. 158.

²⁰⁷ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 131.

ally for its purposes in the colonial lands. On the other hand, France was not prepared for a battle against Britain and it could be a great risk against Britain in French domestic politics and in the colonial lands which were located on Africa. That is why it had taken so long time for France to enlarge its colonial areas in Africa and Arabian Peninsula²⁰⁸.

Germany was a surprising state for the other European states. After Prussia's decline in the European politic area, Germany had chance to be united by the high efforts of Bismarck's himself. After that period, Germany had completed its industrial enterprise and it was ready to be called as a colonial power in the Europe. However, all of these things had become so fast and nationalist spirit of the German society had grown up fast, too²⁰⁹. Germany's developments had encouraged society to defend their German basics in the history and nationalist waves found chance to declare their doctrines in the country. In the first times of nationalist enlargement in the country, German authorities were so glad that people knew their roots and they had decided to be back to the roots²¹⁰. Generally, Germany had no support from Britain like France, but huge support of society in the country had encouraged German troops to enlarge their areas of influence on colonial lands, in particular Africa. Perhaps, Germany could not get enough natural sources and financial support from its colonies while France was getting more than Germany, but Germany had completed its industrial development process, in particular for weapon and military industry. In other words, Germany was already prepared for a possible war in the Europe²¹¹.

Italy was another country like Germany that the country was looking for bringing the pieces of Italy together. After Roman Empire, through the end of the, in 1890, Italy had been brought together for the first time in its modern history. It was a real achievement for Italy to

²⁰⁸ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 62.

²⁰⁹ Pearton, M. (1984). *Diplomacy, War, and Technology Since 1830*. University Press of Kansas, p. 36.

²¹⁰ Mayall, J. (1990). *Nationalism and International Society*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 71.

²¹¹ Mayall, J. (1990). *Nationalism and International Society*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 86.

be strong against the other powerful states in the Europe. In particular, after France's hegemony was over on Italy, the country had seen France as a rival in the industrialization process and arming process of the European states. In other words, Italy was one of the countries, which made clear their sides for a possible war in the Europe. Right before the colonial period, Italy had some colonies in Africa and Southern Asia. However, those places did not have enough natural sources to provide needs of Italy. So, Italy had wished to join the colonial process that its rival in the Europe had important areas of natural sources before Italy²¹². Surely, it was a threat for the future of Italy and the states like Italy were not happy with the situation about colonial system of the major states in the Europe. In particular, Britain had the biggest share and Britain was controlling a huge area of sources that Italy and the other states needed, too²¹³. That is why Italy had shared the same concerns with Germany to direct the colonial process and it would be reason for the states like Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, one of the biggest similarities between Italy and Germany was about the nationalist waves in the country. In particular, after united Italy came out, Italy's future was about its nationalist approaches about the future. So, there was an increasing pressure on Italian authorities to enlarge Italy's area of influence to control the colonial areas²¹⁴.

Between all of these countries, which were mentioned above, Russia was in the worst situation. In political mean, Russia had met a deadlock against the revolutionary rebellions in every area of the country. Tsar regime was under the threat of a public rebellion against Tsar's himself. On the other hand, socialist and communist waves had gained a serious power in Russia; however, Tsar had refused their dangerous role against himself. In particular, after

²¹² Calhoun, C. "Nationalism and Ethnicity". *Annual Review of Sociology*, V.19 No:7 (1993), p. 211-239.

²¹³ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 211.

²¹⁴ Conrad, S. (2010). *Globalization and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 271.

1890, the voices of rebels were higher than past and the worst economic structure of the country in the history had encouraged people to be against Tsar's regime. The worst thing for Russia was the economic structure's decline through the end of the 19th century²¹⁵. That situation increased the pressure on Tsar and Russia from Britain. Politic ideologies and approaches of both sides were completely different than each other. However, Britain's increasing power and oppositely, decreasing power of Russia had made Russia like a colonial part of Britain. Oppressive agreements on Russia had disturbed politic elites in the country, but there was no choice for Tsar to accept that situation and the agreement of Britain. At the same time, Russia had an expectation from Britain to get some share from the colonial parts in Africa at the same time. Perhaps, Tsar could fix some problems in the economy by the support of natural source transition from Africa²¹⁶. However, Britain and France were against that situation; they did not want to challenge against a new actor in colonial process. That attitude of those countries had pushed Tsar be in a cooperation with Germany; Germany had similar plans on the Europe with Russia and Willem II had accepted to provide some economic aid for Russia in the beginning of their relationship. Both sides had seen their agreements as a profitable approach for their interests. After that agreement with Germany, indirectly, Russia had become a side of a possible war for future²¹⁷.

Great powers of the Europe were in a trouble to create a stable politic system in the beginning of the 20th century. They had different expectations and plans from each other. In particular, the colony projects of the states had separated them to the different sides for a

²¹⁵ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 84.

²¹⁶ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 52.

²¹⁷ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 173.

possible war²¹⁸. On the other hand, one of the greatest nightmares of the Europe, the nationalism had come out again right in the middle of the continent. Except Britain, most of the European states under the pressure of the nationalist waves' ideas and protests. Those nationalist movements would direct the war process in their favor. So, it was exactly hard to create a balance system in the Europe; different expectations, different ideas and different ideological structures of the countries would open the road to war in the beginning of the 20th century²¹⁹.

II. II. General View

Except the relations between Turkey and Britain, the world's matter increased during the last period 18th century. Decreasing influence of the Ottoman Empire, contrast, had increased the power of the other European countries. In this period, Germany, Austria-Hungary Empire and France were the rising values on the Europe. The Balkans, on the other hand, had come out the "new challenger" against the European hegemonies. However, their first aim was to defeat Ottoman power on their historical roots²²⁰. Two Balkan Wars were created for this reason. Beyond that, the Europe was the center of the political maneuvers; the British interests, the French-German conflict and the surviving efforts of the Austria-Hungary Empire had created the basis of the European clash. Extremely increasing nationalist movements had hit the Eastern side of the Europe; the countries that won their independences newly from the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Serbia were the dangerous countries for the future of the balance of power system²²¹.

²¹⁸Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 125.

²¹⁹Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 156.

²²⁰Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 244.

²²¹Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996). *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul : Isis Press, p. 123.

Bismarck's system, in actually, had been broken. The "interests" were on the first side for each country in the Europe; so, relations had been triggered to the extreme dimensions between the regional states. The tension between the Austria-Hungary and the Serbia is one of the examples of that situation²²². The Serbian nationalism, in accordingly, was a serious threat for its environment; such that the Serbian nationalist wanted to build the Serbia the Great after hundred years. It, no doubt, was an arduous and an utopist dream for the Serbian nation. Therefore, although the obstacles from the other regional countries, the Serbian nationalists had drawn their roadmap; the first stage was to defeat the Austria-Hungary. It, afresh, was an utopist behavior. And, the Serbian nationalism caused chaos without they did no account for the future. The Europe was already waiting for the fire of spark; the Serbian attitude exactly was that. In the end of the war, Serbia and the other part of the Europe had been damaged in the end of the war²²³. There was not triumph; there were only losers for the future²²⁴.

The echoes of the war were not just limited with the European borders. The other part of the issue, in other mean, the other part of the world was not ready for a complete war except the US. President Woodrow Wilson was aware of the European conflict and he had prepared his country for a war. He was just waiting for a fire of spark as the war's itself did. The US, at truth, had completed its evolution process since the civil war was over. While Bismarck was trying to unite his allies around Germany, the isolated policy of the US from the European continent had assisted the developing process of the country. Only Britain was aware of the danger; according to the great British politicians, if the situation in Europe went on with this direction, the war would be useful for the American interests more than ever.

²²² Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 79.

²²³ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 116 .

²²⁴ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 166.

Even the American authorities preferred to be out of the European conflict and even the process had affected the US, the America had enough power to protect itself in a wide area across the ocean and the triumph of the war would be certainly the US. So, the American administration had preferred to watch the developments in the Europe from the other side of the Atlantic. At truth, the American interests were not related the future of the Europe²²⁵. And the other part of the world is not important for a while for the American development; because, the US has a trump like ocean surrounding and this advantage had increased the development speed of the American naval. In the meanwhile, the power of the American army was getting stronger day by day; because, they did not become in a serious battle against any army and their military tools were powerful against their rivalries. This situation, however, can be seen as a disadvantage for the American army's experience against the European counterpart; because, the European armies had a root about the war experience and their experience can be seen a serious advantage during a battle. Because of that, the US had wanted the stay at home. They had just waited for the Europe to be tired out. That situation would make America's hand powerful against the European countries. The most valuable thing is that the US was not in a hurry to be in a war. Despite the negative political developments in the Europe²²⁶, the US authorities were waiting for the first attempt from any country in the European continent.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Britain had a similar political approach with American authorities'; Britain had tried to keep itself away from the regional and continental political struggles between the other states.; because, the smart British politicians, naturally, had understood status quo well and they had directed their policies for staying away from the

²²⁵ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 311.

²²⁶ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 49.

war²²⁷. Therefore, the oppressive politics of the German Kaiser on the regional European countries had frightened Britain. France, on the other hand, had been oppressive on the British government to create an alliance against the increasing power of the Germans. Britain had two different approaches for the war; first of all, the British authorities had focused on the possible German hegemony after the war²²⁸. Perhaps, the power of an alliance cannot be enough to defend the front lines. Britain trusted itself; however, there was no reliable feeling for the other allies. So, the British authorities had planned that if the German won, Britain could share the hegemony of the Europe with the Germans. Secondly, the British authorities were thinking about the glory after the war. If Britain won the war with its developed forces, Britain could assume the leadership of the Europe²²⁹. It was an attractive plan for Britain. Beyond that the possible presence of the US in the war was a threat for the leadership idea of Britain; because, it was hard to know the existing power and the capacity of the US before the war. If the US joins the war, they could get more than they wished.

Under all of these conditions, Britain had accepted to be in war. The most attractive part of the war for Britain is about to enlarge the hegemony of the Britain towards the Middle East, Asia and the Far East. Individually, so, that war was a transition chance for Britain to pass through the Eastern side. The Ottoman Empire was a threat or obstacle for the British aims no more, in accordingly the current situation of the Empire²³⁰.

Russia's situation was the most complicated one between the other European countries. Russia, in basic, was already in a civil war preparation. The division in the country between the Tsarist side, militarist side and the socialist side was already a threat for a war in the country. In actually, being in a war could decrease the influence of the Tsar; because, Tsar

²²⁷ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 49.

²²⁸ Caşın, M. H. (2008). *Uluslararası Terörizm*, Ankara: Nobel, p. 421.

²²⁹ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 84.

²³⁰ Mansfield, P. and Pelham, N. (2004). *A History of the Middle East*. London: Penguin Publishing, p. 117.

had lost his influence on his people. So, it was too late to save the things; beyond that, the war could make the things worse than ever. Therefore, the Tsar did not care about it. The biggest chance of the Tsar was that Russia was in an alliance with the powerful Britain and France. Surely, Russia was closer to the German threat more than its allies. On the other hand, the opposite creations in the country were the other disturbing reasons for the Tsar's authority. The military, no doubt, would join the war by the order of the Tsar. However, the socialists, in particular the socialist young society was against the Tsar authority; indirectly, they were against the war. This group would already be the organization, which created the "October Revolution" in 1917²³¹.

While there were a lot of indistinctness events in Russia, the state had decided to join the war without any reassurance. The Tsar had no support from his authorities and he had no support from the public. The country, contrast, was fighting against the starvation and the poverty at the same time. So, it was hard to focus on a war for the Tsarist Russia seemed like impossible; therefore, it was the last decision of the Tsar as the leader of Russia. The war had separated Russia different camps²³²; the Tsarists, socialists and militarists. However, only the socialist had stayed alive and they had continued their presence by getting stronger. In actually, the war would become a great coincidence for the future of the Tsarist Russia. In the past, the great wars had broken down a lot of major empires or the states; and that process had opened a new road for the people²³³. In 1789, the French kingdom was broken down and the monarchy in France had been come out. Napoleon had come out, at the same. It seemed like that Russia had needed it.

²³¹ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 311.

²³² Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 72.

²³³ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 427.

Russia's basic dilemma was the existing problematic situation of the country before the First World War. The war was a chance for the Russia to recover the political and the economic structure of the country; because the people had needed to bread in Russia and the war had seemed like a risk for Tsar. On the other hand, the revolution spirit in the country had expanded between the people and it was the basis of the Tsar's concerns. So, Tsar's moves had been limited by the oppressive environment of the country²³⁴. While the world was preparing for the war, Russia was trying to solve the main problems of the public to obstruct a revolution or a civil war before the public rebel.

France-German conflict in the European area was another problematic situation of the European continent after the conflict between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. France's attitude against the German politics continued; in contrary, Germany had planned to expand its influence area during the war and the war was a great chance to make a pressure on France. Therefore, Germany's matter was about a possible threat from Russia in the East and from France in the West. Like "Bismarck Nightmare", the preparation of the world war for Germany was in a dilemma situation as in Russia. So, the German politics had focused on the Ottoman Empire's presence; because, Ottoman Empire could be a great front line for Germany against Russia during a possible war²³⁵. German leaders had already planned to fight against France on their own. France was in a contrast approach; according to the France idea, the powerful relations with Britain and the US could be a great resistance against the German threat. On the other side of the continent, the Ottoman Empire was already over in the history; so, there was no chance for them to resist against Russia. The French authorities had already planned to support Russia during a possible war. The mutual plans of the both

²³⁴ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 111.

²³⁵ Arı, Tayyar. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2004, p. 174.

sides, France and Germany, were for their own futures²³⁶. Moreover, the war would not be just a front line and it could not take so short than the leaders expected. That is why the sides were planning long-term projects for the war. But, none of them had planned a destructive war like that before it happened.

The plans of both countries were different from each other. In actually, the aims and the approaches of the leaders were about their own interests; however, presence of the US and Japan during the preparation process of the war had made the situation more difficult than ever. Japan was an unknown enemy for the European countries; the US was a similar face and the interests of Britain and France were similar with the US's. Right in this point, extremely, Britain's suspicious attitude of Britain against the US had meant just one thing; Britain did not want to see any intervention of the US to the events that were outside of its continent²³⁷. Britain, because, believed that a situation like this would be a huge threat for the British hegemony on the European continent's politics. On the other side of the alliance, France, naturally, had seen the US as a possible friend to make cooperation; it was more than the relations of the French authorities with Britain. Due to the French thesis, if Britain had a victory after a possible war, perhaps, it would be useful for French interests, but it would be useful for the British dominance at the same time²³⁸. If, however, the US had a victory after a possible war, it would extremely make the things equal for the levels of the power of France and Britain. This equivalence would provide a chance for France to recover the administration process and the hegemony on the Europe. France, at least, had wanted to gain some serious benefits from the war against Germany and Britain; therefore, Germany had a priority for the French's foreign politics. In other mean, there was even a serious and the secret plans between

²³⁶ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 93.

²³⁷ Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge, p. 99.

²³⁸ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 431.

the alliances France and Britain. The basic fear of France was about Britain's an agreement with Germany to share the influence area on the Europe. The situation like that could not be a resistible political move for France. In this manner, it is easy to say that France's presence had belonged to the presence of Britain and the US at the same time against Germany²³⁹.

During these political clashes between the European countries, it is hard to separate the sides unquestioningly; the war's end and its results were more important than its preparation process. Every country, in basic, was afraid of its allies more than its enemies. It was a certain truth that Germany was the common enemy for the Western Europe. The presence of Kaiser and his aggressive attitude against the regional states was a serious threat for the others. France, naturally, was the priority target; that is why France had wanted join the war to obstruct the German expansion in the Europe²⁴⁰.

With this formation, we could see clearly that the First World War period had depended on thirdly basic and valuable points: First of all, the US aimed to be a member of the world politics without leaving an isolated political approach. And its best way was to be in the war and to direct the war between the weak European countries in every mean except Britain. The European countries were under the threat of the starvation and the civil war danger like Russia, Germany and France²⁴¹. These countries were not completely focused on the war; their focus point was about their domestic matters. During a period like this, the war could be good opportunity and a reason for a downfall of each at the same time. That risky situation was only advantage for the US; because, Britain could not fix the failures and errors of the events after the war on its own. For this reason, the US's plan was to wait for a possible

²³⁹ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 73.

²⁴⁰ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 144.

²⁴¹ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 234.

moment to join the war and to change the process for its own interests²⁴². Due to the American thesis, if the war took a long time period, the Europe would be a tired and a poor continent. With that way the US could be easily integrated to the continent's political environment and it would even be ascendant for the decision-making process. In the last point of this idea of the US, the authorities could use the Europe for its own politics. In other mean, this project was the first step of the way that went the world hegemony project of the US²⁴³. In actually, it was a long period project. It concerned the periods before and after a possible war. From this view, it is apprehensible that the US had seen the war a perfect chance to complete its recovery period after the domestic conflicts in the country. Lastly, that project could make the US dominant even on Britain after the colonial years of the British forces in America²⁴⁴.

Secondly, the other dimension of the valuable points of the process had worked for the political interests of Britain. No doubt, Britain was the most important and most powerful member of the world and the European continent politics after the industrial revolution. Britain was the most powerful country of the world during the industrial revolution years and the British companies had a great worker power. So, they did not need any change about the production stage on the factories or in the fields. However, when they decided to pass to the machinery structure in the production progress, it accelerated forming of the industrial revolution. Britain's situation had almost separated the Western countries the two parts: The biggest producers and the smallest producers. With its great population and the new machinery system Britain was a great power. So, Britain had the general of the biggest trade areas. The other countries, which knew that they could not reach it, determined their roles

²⁴² Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 610.

²⁴³ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 127.

²⁴⁴ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 236.

own their own²⁴⁵. They choose the little sectors; because they knew that Britain was playing for the bit parts and it did not care about the other simple sectors. This growth had carried the British economy towards the world leadership. In the last period of the industrial period, Britain had reached the world leadership on the colonial system. So, the ongoing leadership was the only purpose of Britain to continue; however, the current status quo was a threat for the continuity of the British influence on the world politics. The system could change after a possible war²⁴⁶. That is why the British authorities were aiming to protect their dominance while they were trying to keep the US away from the European continent politics; because, Britain had believed to find a solution for the Serbian-Austrian and France-German conflicts. After all, the British purposes were about the continuity of the British dominance on the European continental politics. In other mean, Britain had seen a possible war as its advantage on all the states in the European continent²⁴⁷.

Thirdly and lastly, the matters between the countries had been come out in the basis of the European countries' conflicts between each other. The European hunger was the reason of the war. So, what was the reason of that European hunger? No doubt, the financial matters of the countries had been come out during the first period of the 20th century. Britain had planned to expand the influence area of the kingdom towards the Eastern Asia and undiscovered African lands; because, the British had planned to gain a huge profit from these roads' benefits; because, there were undiscovered materials for the industrial development of the British companies. So, this situation had encouraged the British government for the over sea operations; however, the obstacles were clear. The Ottoman Empire, seriously, was an important target on the Eastern road and the Ottoman Empire's relations with Germany was a threat for this plan of Britain. That is why a possible war could serve the purposes of Britain.

²⁴⁵ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 500.

²⁴⁶ Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, p. 97-98.

²⁴⁷ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 181.

French authorities' only target was Germany. In particular, Alsace-Lorraine matter was a serious problem between the countries; because, the grateful coal maidens of the region were the basic reason of the conflict and the both states were contending that Alsace-Lorraine was a local part of Germany or France. So, Alsace-Lorraine was already a certain reason²⁴⁸. In those years, both countries' industrial workings and the military industry had depended to the coal material²⁴⁹. That is why they had extremely need Alsace-Lorraine right before they reached the over sea regions in the world.

On the other hand, Serbia was not a powerful country to reply the needs of the country completely. Beyond, the Serbian administration was under the threat of the civil war and increasing nationalism issue was the indispensable part of the Serbian politics. In this point, their nationalist attitudes and their poverty in the economy had come together during their opposite posture against Austria-Hungary Empire. Particularly, Serbia, as a country or as a nation, which lived under the rules of the other countries in the world during the history period, the Serbia nation was free in the first period of the 13th and 14th centuries. At truth, Serbia was an "empire" and its own rules were valid for the people of the country. On the other hand, in its own region the Serbian Empire has a nationalist posture and it was one of the most powerful states in the Balkan region. However, their efficiency could not stay alive for a long time period. The attacks of the Ottoman Turks to the Balkan area and the weak situation of the Balkan society had made the Serbia weak, too. On the other hand, the Ottoman Turks were living under the heavy, hard and powerful nationalism pressure and that feeling had created their own identity against the other states all around the Anatolia. However, despite of the absence of the great Serbian nationalist feeling, the power of the

²⁴⁸ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 39.

²⁴⁹ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 36.

Serbian Empire against the Ottoman state was not enough to defend itself²⁵⁰. Although that negative frame the Serbian did not give up to get its freedom and to build its nation under the one rule. According to their belief, the Serbian nation is one of the powerful and effective people unions all around the world and they believe they will build the Serbian Empire again. In the first period of the 20th century, Austria-Hungary Empire had come out as the new threat for the presence of Serbia. So, this threat and the complicated economic structure of the country had encouraged the country for a struggle with Austria-Hungary Empire²⁵¹.

Germany was defending Alsace-Lorraine as its own region and the coal matter was important for their benefit. Moreover, the German authorities, in particular, Kaiser had focused on the over sea operations like Britain. Right in this point, the interests of Britain and German concur. However, Germans had done the most effective attempt by developing their relations with the Ottoman Empire and the Empire had been the most effective trump of Germany during its enlargement period²⁵². Germany's economical growth was better than France; but it was not sufficient to develop the current financial structure. So, the war had been seen as a risky, but a logical way for the economical reconstruction process of the country.

The other dimension of the preparation period before the war had concerned important details for the Ottoman Empire's political situation. The political moves of the Empire were important and the determinative facts for the direction of the war.

²⁵⁰ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 211.

²⁵¹ Arı, Tayyar. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2004, p. 312.

²⁵² Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 283.



Figure 8. Ottoman Empire before the First World War²⁵³.

After the first period of the 20th century and right before the First World War, the Arabian nationalism had reached the highest level between all the Arabian states. The weak situation of the Ottoman Empire and increasing influence of the European forces in the Middle East had created a possible area for the Arabian states to found their independent countries²⁵⁴. The Islam was not a connector fact for the Ottoman and the other Muslim countries all around the Middle East anymore and the presence of the First World was had opened a new age for the region²⁵⁵.

Against the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France had been in a cooperation to create powerful resistance groups. On the other hand, they had chosen some countries like Iraq and Egypt for Britain and Syria for France and to create some new front lines against the Ottoman troops. On the other hand, they had chosen those countries for their future plans on the Middle East; because, Britain and France were aware of the importance of the Middle East region in

²⁵³ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 75.

²⁵⁴ Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003, p. 117.

²⁵⁵ Mansfield, P. and Pelham, N. (2004). *A History of the Middle East*. London: Penguin Publishing, p. 59.

the future²⁵⁶. That is why Britain and France had focused on the Middle East region while they were working on the Ottoman Empire.

In the colonial approaches of both countries, particularly Britain had preferred the kingdom administration for the following periods; because, as a kingdom, Britain had wanted to see its colonies as kingdom administrations²⁵⁷. With that way, the king could be a good serve of the British wishes and especially for the Arabian countries; Britain could hold the Muslim world. Britain was in war with Ottoman Empire and it was trying to get the Middle Eastern region for holding the Islam civilization; because, Britain had needed the Islamic Arabian countries for its own future in the Middle East²⁵⁸.

Egypt was one of those countries in Arabian Muslim states. Although it was a member of the Islam union under the control of Ottoman Empire, Egypt had decided to draw its own way after the First World War. It is sure to be that Egypt had no chance to rebuild its country and its lands; no doubt, they had needed a powerful support²⁵⁹. Britain was one of the dominant countries on the region and they had assumed a role as the new guide of the undeveloped countries.

As Egypt, Iraq was the other Ottoman region's countries. However, the British dominance had gained their support. Iraq's most important trump was its petroleum reserves. And it was a sufficient reason for the British authorities and forces to get a serious influence on the country. Thus, Britain had aimed to get a new front line before a new war. Iraq was an

²⁵⁶ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 397.

²⁵⁷ Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996). *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul : Isis Press, p. 87.

²⁵⁸ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 578.

²⁵⁹ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 85.

undeveloped country and a new founded country. But, the British authorities had completed all the things for their benefits²⁶⁰.

The freedom of Egypt and Syria and the downfall of the Ottoman Empire were the sufficient reasons for Britain to control these places. The importance of those places would be understood in the future right before the Second World War. These countries had become good allies; they would be the greatest frontlines for the protection the European countries²⁶¹.

The same things are valid for the situations of Syria and Lebanon. These two countries were the best allies of the France. However, France could not been a good protector during the Second World War. And after the Second World War, the French power could stay there for just expanding their cultural area²⁶².

Although there was a strong British efficiency, after British power, the French power was very effective. Particularly, after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, France had reached the potential of the region and France had taken the leadership of the Syria administration. The social French effect was very attractive for the Syria society. However, Arabian nationalism had shoved itself and Syria had gained its independence. It was not enough for the future of the country. Syria did not have enough things to protect itself²⁶³. So, at last French had used the country as a protector to stop the Southern attacks.

France was in a different way and they had chosen a monarchy for their colonies. France was a monarchy in basic and Syria was in monarchy system under the control of the French administration. The most important part of the issue is that, during the Turkish War of Independence and the previous terms, France had worked so hard to assimilate the Islamic

²⁶⁰ Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003, p. 88.

²⁶¹ Mansfield, P. and Pelham, N. (2004). *A History of the Middle East*. London: Penguin Publishing, p. 148.

²⁶² Adamthwaite, A., "Suez Revisited", *International Affairs* Vol. 64, No.3, Summer 1988, p. 44.

²⁶³ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 224-225.

society from the influence of the Caliphate Ottoman Sultan. And it was possible with the power of the monarchy system.

Lebanon had the same destiny with Syria. There was a French domination, too. And it was not a clear independence for the country. However, the militarist aims and the possible world war had made Lebanon a guardian against the Eastern clashes. Even we say there was an independent kingdom, after Ottoman Empire, there was no independent authority. Os, the Arabian nationalism was just a way to reach the independence for the Arabian countries²⁶⁴.

The fall of Ottoman Empire had created a new map for the Middle East and the other side, Arabian Peninsula. The new states were founded, maybe, but, the following period after the fall of Ottoman Empire was a serious dilemma for the Arabian Muslim countries to choose their destiny²⁶⁵. After all, everybody had preferred to be under the control of the European forces and authorities; because, according to the Muslim countries' thesis, they had serious armed forces and they had serious allies for their future before the following possible world war²⁶⁶. That is why they had accepted to be a new frontline for the war. The authority was only for the major European states.

In basic, the attitudes and the approaches of Britain and French were the similar; they had serious aims for the future in the Middle East. Particularly, Britain had begun to work during the First World War and they had aimed to hold the Arabian colonies²⁶⁷.

In this part of the thesis, it will be useful of the detailed situation of the European countries and the situations of the other world countries right before the war; because, the

²⁶⁴ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 128.

²⁶⁵ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 311.

²⁶⁶ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 129.

²⁶⁷ Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003, p. 165.

details concern the important parts for the future of the war and they can be determinative points for the war' direction and the afterwards of the war.

II. III. Road to First World War

Actually, road First World War had showed its first signs in the 19th century. Except Prussia, most of the European states had decided their road maps for the next period in the Europe. In particular, Industrial Revolution process had allowed the states to decide their own ways for the future. Every state decided its plans and they tried to apply their plans according to the level of their power. Surely, every state did not have the same power. In particular, Britain's situation was completely different than the other states; Britain was one or more step front than the other states in industrial development issue²⁶⁸. On the other hand, Britain was luckier than the others in the Europe; because the diplomatic logic in Britain had worked fine and except defeat against the US troops, Britain did not lost any war or any diplomatic struggle in anywhere. Britain had a complete system and that system had made Britain different than the others. Although France and Germany tried to reach the development and power level of Britain, both states had domestic politic economic problems and those problems were the basic obstacles for them²⁶⁹.

Rest of the Europe was not different than France and Germany. Balkans and Eastern Europe was struggling against poverty, hunger, economic disasters and public rebellions. Russia was the country, which was under the pressure of all these problems. Despite Russia's large lands and powerful army, all of these things were losing blood day by day and rebellions against Tsar were making Tsar's authority criticized. Naturally, rebellions in Russia were

²⁶⁸ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 140.

²⁶⁹ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 88-89.

affecting the Western European states and while Russia's authority and power were decreasing, the Western European states' reactions were triggering²⁷⁰.

Except the British island, rest of the European continent was under the threat of extreme ideological waves, poverty, hunger, economic decline and disagreements between current order and public. Britain and its allies rising over Europe and the rest of the world was a disturbing effect on the states, which were struggling against those problems. It was one of the basic and greatest reasons of the First World War²⁷¹.

After Britain lost colony wars against the US, Britain had decided to withdraw from the American continent. But Britain's coming back its own continent was the sign of a good thing. Perhaps Britain had lost a serious prestige in America, but Britain had found chance to bring its troops together after many years that the British army had spent at the outside of the Europe. After that period, Britain's rising over the Europe had started. Actually, Britain's rise was an expected situation for the European politics. In particular, after the decline of Ottoman Empire in the European politics, Britain had become a priority state to take the leadership and to rule the Europe. Britain had managed the politic process in the Europe very well and Britain's achievement had provided a permanent leadership to the state. Alliances and cooperation with different states were important moves of Britain to keep itself as safe. Although Britain was not on the European continent geographically, the British politics had achieved to keep the country as a part of the Europe and Britain had kept its posture stable in the European politics. Directly, that situation had provided an important role for Britain in the world politics, too²⁷².

²⁷⁰ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p 160.

²⁷¹ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 75.

²⁷² Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 93.

Britain reached the top of its politic and economic leadership after completed its colonial enlargement process in Africa, Arab Peninsula and the Southern Asia. There was an unlimited power for Britain by the great effect of colonialism. However, actually, that leadership was a threat for Britain at the same time. Britain's power and the weaknesses of the other European states was a threat for Britain's permanent leadership. While Britain was taking the biggest share from the colonial process, the others were waiting for the cooperation and in other words, mercy from Britain. In that process, France was luckier against the other to have the friendship of Britain. But, even France could not get all of its expectations. That is why Britain's power triggered the reactions against Britain and the other states started to threat Britain to leave its position or to share its economic power especially with the others. Britain did not even think about these things and focused on enlargement on the colonial areas. That situation was the beginning for an endless clash in the Europe²⁷³.

However, Britain's leadership had some serious challenges against its presence in the Europe and in the world. Basically, Britain's rising was depending on selfish politics against its rivals and there was not any cooperation or agreement between Britain and the other states. That situation had increased the level of disagreements against Britain. On the other hand, increasing power of nationalism in the world had affected central European states especially and except Britain and Russia, rest of the Europe was under the pressure the nationalism. Those nationalist ideas had pushed societies and indirectly the political authorities to see the nationalism as a savior from the chains and pressure of Britain; because, Britain was controlling everything in the Europe and Britain was consuming every source in the world. According to the nationalist view, a nation and a country have rights to enlarge its area of

²⁷³ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 147.

influence and conquest of any place is reasons to survive²⁷⁴. That encouragement pushed the states, which were under the effect of the nationalism, to challenge against Britain. On the other hand, Ottoman Empire was under the pressure of new Turk nationalist ideologies. Surprisingly, Italy, after the achievement on Italy's uniting, had a common nationalist approach for the future of the country. It was for the first time in Italy's separated history in politic mean²⁷⁵.

On the other side of the issue, Britain was supposing to control the Europe completely. However, in particular, Balkans and the Eastern Europe were on the contrast side of British politic logic and there were unexpected developments in the countries of the regions. In other words, Britain had no chance to control and to direct the processes in those regions²⁷⁶. That is why Serbia was one of the problematic states in the Balkans and that is why there was a challenge between public rebellion and Tsar in Russia. All of those uncontrolled incidents were threatening the influence and leadership of Britain. The British authorities were concerning about that those matters would cause greater matter in the future²⁷⁷. Since 17th century, France had gained a lot of colonies all around the world. However, complicated and problematic politic structure of France had caused loses of these colonies one by one. In particular, Napoleonic era in French history was successful at first; but after Waterloo in 1815, France's decline had begun. The only colonies in Africa were left for France although their support to the French economy was not enough²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁴ Williams, P., "Who is Making UK Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 919.

²⁷⁵ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 88

²⁷⁶ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 119.

²⁷⁷ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 121.

²⁷⁸ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 301.

That is why France had focused on providing good relationship with Britain. Britain was the state, which never wanted to see French as a problematic state; according to the British thesis, France was the friendliest states for the purposes of the British interests on the European politics. That is why France focused on cooperation with Britain completely. Through the end of the 19th century, France had chance to recover its scars and economic depressions to not to meet a revolution like happened in the year of 1789 with that cooperation. That cooperation had made France as the second greatest colonial empire after Britain. It was a profitable cooperation between the sides.

France was in comfort after Britain's support; at the same time, as one of the biggest threats for France in the Europe, the Ottoman Empire was living the worst years of the empire. The Ottomans were important for the European politics; because, their armies and support for them from the Islam world was a threat during the 19th century. However, the Ottoman Empire was losing blood every year. So, one of the threats were losing its importance, too. On the other hand, the other biggest states like Austria-Hungary and Russia were struggling against the domestic politic, economic and socio-cultural confusions; according to them, France was luckier in those years. A possible war could be a chance for France to recover entire the things the France lost in the past. So, sometimes, France had seen a war as a real chance more than Britain. That is why; France had encouraged the domestic confusions in those states to debilitate those states' politic hegemony²⁷⁹.

However, France had a basic fear for the interests of the state. For decades, France and Germany had serious politic problems and they had carried their politic problems to the battlefields. There was no certain triumph in those battles. Mostly, both states had seen the pressure and harm of these wars. Through the end of the 19th century, France had gained the

²⁷⁹ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 88.

friendship of Britain and that friendship had brought some advantages in economic mean; Germany was not lucky like France. Germany's basic encouragement was about the nationalist waves' power and pressure on the current administration²⁸⁰. Willem II, who was the leader of Germany until the end of the First World War, had defended a powerful nationalist and militarist approach; Willem II's basic focus point about debilitating the position of France and maybe, he was dreaming about gaining lands from France. Nationalist pressure in Germany was trying to encourage German administration to attack French lands; however, Willem II had focused on an attack, which was for right time and right place. The First World War would be good chance to try these things. Although France had more chances to develop its military and its economy, Germany was a real and a dangerous threat for French interests in the Europe and in Africa at the same time. On the other hand, increasing power and enlarging areas of alliances had made Germany an important actor for the European politics. France had serious concerns for that situation and after Germany's rising over French lands, France started to arm in its own region. In that situation, Britain's support to France was undeniable; that was a threat for Germany at the same time. While the process of European diplomacy was going through the First World War, two great powers France and Germany were preparing for a strong battle to take the leadership right in the middle of the Europe²⁸¹.

After January 18, 1871, Germany had brought entire the German races under the flag of Germany together except Austria. That achievement had ended the broken politic structure of Germany and after Prussian years, Germany, for the first time, was a real state. In that process, the support and the political intelligence of Otto von Bismarck was important. He had an important role during uniting process of Germany and he had assumed an active role

²⁸⁰ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 216.

²⁸¹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 172.

during rising process of German nationalism on its rivals in the Europe. It was an important development for Germany; in contrast, it was a threat for France, indirectly for Britain. A powerful and a united Germany could not be an easy rival against the other. At the same time, Germany had started to have some share from the colony system. Perhaps, it was not enough to provide the needs of Germany; however, it had made Germany a rival for the other colonial states²⁸².



Figure 9. One of the most important European politicians, German leader Otto von Bismarck²⁸³.

Germany's basic power was depending on the country's new ideological wave "nationalism". The nationalist groups in the country had gained power after uniting of entire German races under the flag of Germany. It was an encouragement for them to realize their nationalist purposes on the larger German lands. On the other hand, Germany had trusted in the other states, which were under the powerful effect of nationalism. They were close to the

²⁸² Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge, p. 158.

²⁸³ Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West, Volume II: Since 1555*. London: Addison-Wesley, p. 593.

logic of Germany and nationalism would rule the Europe soon or later. According to this thesis, Germany had given shape its foreign policy under the effect of nationalism. The basic favor of nationalist approaches to Germany was about militarist issues²⁸⁴. Germany was so lucky; because, most of the young people had made recorded their names for army. Attendances of German youth to the army were serious support for German administration to realize their purposes on the Europe and on the colonial lands. That situation had increased the numbers of the German troops in the European front. Although German economy was not ready to provide the needs of these troops sufficiently, however, German army was happy with the attendances and they believed the victory in a possible war. Germany was close to the war; because, the nationalist waves supporting the conquest idea and they believed that Germany had to take the lead in the Europe and to take its share from colonial system²⁸⁵.

However, Germany was not like as much as France; while France had a good relationship with Britain, Germany had alliances with the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary until the end of the First World War. These states were not powerful; in contrast, they had serious politic problems in their domestic politics and their politic structure was a serious obstacle for them to assist Germany during a possible war. The Ottoman Empire was close to decline; sultan's influence had decreased and authority was controlled by new politic elites. However, their presence was not useful to solve the problems. On the other side, Austria-Hungary was under the threat of Serbian, Romania and Greece. These Balkans states were against the continuity of Austria-Hungary existence. In other words, the Ottoman and Austria-Hungary side were sick and tired of being in struggle against the opposition and threats in their domestic foreign politics; so, there was no chance for Germany to have

²⁸⁴ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 305.

²⁸⁵ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 780.

assistance from these allies. But German side had believed that the Ottomans could stop Russians and Austria-Hungarians could support them against France. At the same time, the weakness of German colonies did not make sufficient support to the German economy²⁸⁶. It was a risk for Germany to be in a war with a critical economic structure like this. Although these matters in the domestic and in the international politics, the presence and the pressure of the nationalist waves in Germany had encouraged the state to be a side of a possible war for the future. Bismarck had wanted to keep Germany away a war until Germany completed its development process in the 20th century. But Willem II had more aggressive attitude in this issue²⁸⁷.

The First World War had created a difficult and a problematic area for the Ottoman's future. At truth, the regression period of the Ottoman Empire had started in the last periods of the 18th century. However, the 19th century and the beginning years of the 20th century were extremely the demolition years for the empire. Especially, the administration side of the Ottoman was too complicated and the political stability could not have been provided well. Before the First World War, the Ottoman's basic behavior was about to join to the war with Germany. That event was the first certain and clear example of the situation that the Ottoman wanted to leave all the rights of its sovereignty to a Western country. After the war, that situation had transformed and the Sultan of the empire preferred the sovereignty of the different Western countries. That approach of the Istanbul administration divided the country to the pieces. The process after 1918 had started too painful for the Anatolian people²⁸⁸.

²⁸⁶ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 566.

²⁸⁷ Williams, P., "Who is Making UK Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 922.

²⁸⁸ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 138.

It is fair to say that the Ottoman could not make any intelligent decisions before the war. Maybe, the existing conditions pushed the empire to it. However, all those decisions had created them to new and wrong decisions to give after the war for them; it was like a bad heritage for the Anatolian people. It was hard to make a choice between freedom and submission for the Ottoman authorities after the war; because the force was not on their side and the most valuable thing was that the Ottoman society had accepted the defeat certainly. According to the general view of the Ottoman, the beginning years of the 20th century had not brought the things the Ottoman authorities planned before the war. The conditions changed fast and deeply during the world war²⁸⁹.

The political view does not seem like good for those years. At the same time, it is valid for the economical situation of the country. After the First World War period had changed everything for the state. All the trading roads, production areas and the other things had passed the forces of the Allies. At truth, the empire was living a serious and an unavoidable crisis of its history. The British and France sovereignty in the country was certain and the Ottoman authorities were not on the rebellion side; the state was all alone with its destiny²⁹⁰.

The Ottoman Empire's one of the basic fears and one of the basic purposes were only about on Russia. The Ottoman Empire and Russia were the countries, which belong to Eastern side and Western side at the same time and this situation left them in the middle of the great struggle in the world, during the first period of the 20th century. Their relations were good in the beginning of the Ottoman Empire's first period; because, Russia had known that the Ottoman Empire was a great empire and they could not be an enemy for Russia. On the other hand, there was a fear about Turks in Russia. But during the last days of the Ottoman Empire,

²⁸⁹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 188.

²⁹⁰ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 571.

Russia had found a chance to apply its plans for the Mediterranean area. It was so hard to operate on the Ottoman Empire for Russia; because there were rebellions in Russia and it was more important than conquering a country. But, with the starting of the Ottoman Empire's decline slowly in the 19th century, Russia had believed that it had found a chance to take the leadership on Asia and it would be a great chance to show its power against all the European states²⁹¹.

II. IV. The First World War

The First World War had declared its coming since the first period of the Industrial Revolution years in the Europe. According to that European states were aware of a possible war in their lands and they were prepared for a battle right before the 20th century's beginning. Surely, some states were more ready for that battle; in particular, Britain was already one of the strongest states in the world in those years and Britain prepared its politic moves, economic structure and its army for a possible like the First World War when the first signs of the war came out. That is why Britain was closer to victory than the others, if there would be a war²⁹².

On the other hand, the states like the US and Japan were following the developments in the European continent. According to their common thesis, if there would be a war, it had to be between some European states and their satellite states; so, there would be no need to join the war in the beginning; the best choice would be about to wait and see. However, Japan would change its mind and would join the war in the beginning to support German side. On the other hand, the US would see the pressure on central European states and would wish to

²⁹¹ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 63.

²⁹² Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 95.

share the leadership with Britain to control the area for the future; it was more than a militarist approach. It was like politic expectation from the complicate politic area of the Europe.

Although every state had its own ideas, expectations and hopes from the war, any side would not get its expectations from the war completely. They were prepared for a battle, which would not take so long. However, the war would not be an ordinary clash for any side. They were not aware of that²⁹³.

II. IV. I. Prelude to War

Perhaps, nothing was ready to declare a war for a state against the other; however, murder of Francis Ferdinand by a Serbian student Gavrilo Princip was the most possible reason to declare a war. Actually, a death was not enough to see it as reason of a war. However, it was enough for Austria-Hungary; because Ferdinand was the next emperor of Austria-Hungary. Perhaps, murder of Ferdinand was an excuse for a war; but it was a valid excuse for Austria-Hungary side. Austria-Hungary was already was one of the sides during the nationalist movements and the murderer as a Serbian had not served in favor of his state. A murder, because of its murderer and its victim, had become an international crisis in the Europe. Firstly, Austria-Hungary and Serbia had become the sides of the war; it was not called as a “world war”, but it was the first step²⁹⁴.

Immediately reaction of Austria-Hungary side encouraged their allies to declare against their enemies in the central Europe. In particular, Germany had seen reaction of Austria-Hungary legal and valid reason for war. Although Austria-Hungary send diplomatic letters and cautions to the Serbian government; however, those letters were just for formality in democracy. Austria-Hungary was seeking for war. Generally, nationalist waves were

²⁹³ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 98.

²⁹⁴ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 701.

effective on Austria-Hungary policies on the European politics and murder of Ferdinand had triggered the tension in the country²⁹⁵. Most of the extreme-nationalist groups in the country arranged meetings to warn their governments against the threat of Serbia and its allies in the central Europe. Nationalists in Austria-Hungary had believed that the conquest of Serbia was important for the enlargement projects of their countries. In the Austrian government front, there were people who were upset and angry about the Ferdinand incident. Feeling of revenge was powerful on Austria-Hungary; that is why their communication process had strength with Germany after Ferdinand's death²⁹⁶. The level of Germany and Austria-Hungary's cooperation had increased after Ferdinand's death and Germany was more aggressive than Austria-Hungary about the incident that a Serbian nationalist killed a successor of Austria-Hungary dynasty²⁹⁷.

Although Austria-Hungary had emotional reactions for assassination of Ferdinand, after a shock period, Germany had decided to be calmed down. Germany was closer to be the leader of a side in the war; so, German authorities decided to build the future for the war. They were aware of the following period. That is why they called Russia for a meeting about the preparation process of next period. Seriously, Germany had paid more attention than Austria-Hungary about the politic side of the assassination of Ferdinand²⁹⁸.

²⁹⁵ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 186.

²⁹⁶ Arı, Tayyar. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2004, p. 114.

²⁹⁷ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 288.

²⁹⁸ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 505.



Figure 10. European Alliances and Battlefronts during the First World War (1914-1917)²⁹⁹.

At first, when the incident came true, Austria-Hungary dynasty had forgotten about diplomacy and politics. However, Germany's attitude was more realistic against Austria-Hungary side. Through the end of 1914, Germany had encouraged Austria-Hungary and called them to be prepared for war.³⁰⁰

It was a hard choice for Russia about being in the war or not. However, Germany's encouragement was a valid reason for Russia to be in. Although this encouragement, Russia's choice about being war, it was a serious gamble for the future of Tsar. Kaiser's pressure on Tsar had seemed like a good reason to be in and it had seemed like a profitable gamble for the politic future Tsar and his dynasty³⁰¹. Russia was not ready and assassination of Ferdinand was not important for their politic future in the Europe. There were more problematic issues

²⁹⁹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 112.

³⁰⁰ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 294.

³⁰¹ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 296.

in the domestic area of Russia. Rebellion against Tsar was getting increase day by day and Tsar was getting weaker term by term. However, Tsar did not step back to be in³⁰².

Ferdinand's death was a serious shock for Britain like Germany; because British side's foresight was not including a situation like this. Perhaps, a militarist operation could be acceptable; but assassination of a dynasty's member was a serious threat for the peace in the Europe and it could be really hard for a country to see their next leader's death body. Even Britain wanted to obstruct the war before they envisaged; it would be really hard after an incident like this. On the other hand, Serbia's support for a murder like this was another problematic situation for major states of the Europe. In particular, Britain was in a fire to find a solution for the future of European diplomacy³⁰³. Despite Britain's leadership in any mean, that incident had declined Britain's influence on the European diplomatic area. At the same time, Germany's encouragement on this issue had decreased Britain's potential of influence. Germany had declared a war unofficially and Germany's allies were decided right before the war unclearly. Britain was with France, however, Ferdinand's death and Serbia's situation had made Austria-Hungary and Germany's side more powerful emotionally. In other words, German side had declared the legitimacy of Austria-Hungary and their feelings after Ferdinand. It was a heavy burden for war from now³⁰⁴.

II. IV. II. The Ordeal of Battle

Surely, the assassination of Franz Ferdinand was the leading incident of the First World War. However, most of the states were waiting for sign like that one. Germany was one of them. It can be fair to say that Germany was the states, which had wanted the First

³⁰² Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 201.

³⁰³ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 245.

³⁰⁴ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 432.

World War most. According to German thesis, there were many chances Germany to be victorious. However, the war would be multidimensional. First of all, Austria-Hungary's relations with Germany and Germany's clear support for Austria-Hungary after assassination of Ferdinand had triggered the tension between the sides. On the other hand, Serbia had wanted the support of Russia to stay together with an ally against Germany and Austria-Hungary. After Russia's declaration for support, four states were determined as the sides of the First World War. The Ottoman Empire had declared its unlimited support and trust for Germany after the changes in the Ottoman politics. Germany's presence in the war had pushed France to protect its borders against an enemy like German side. Directly, France's decision had affected Britain decision and Britain had declared its joining to the war³⁰⁵.

Even Britain tried to stay away from a war right before the First World War's beginning; the conditions had made Britain prepared for battle. It was not a serious and frightening situation for Britain; because, Britain had a lot of advantages against its rivals and the British troops were ready for any battle on any part of the world. At the same time, Britain had a developed military structure³⁰⁶. In particular, the naval forces of Britain were the greatest troops in the world and the British army trusted their power against enemies. Most of these troops and naval ships were used during the colonial conquests of Britain and they had passed their exams successfully. That is why Britain had no fear against any side in the war. Perhaps, Germany's fast-developed troops and limited naval power could be effective against Britain; however, France had a mission to obstruct these attacks against the British island³⁰⁷.

³⁰⁵ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 188.

³⁰⁶ Rogers, Paul. "Reviewing Britain's Security", *International Affairs*, Vol.73, No.4, (October 1997), pp. 657.

³⁰⁷ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 247.



Figure 12. British naval troops leave England for the battle³⁰⁸.

The beginning of the war was depending on Austria-Hungary's attacks on Belgrade and Germany's war declaration against Russia. Basically, they were dangerous attempts for both sides to show their power. Serbia had no ordered army; but Serbia had support from the other Balkan states like Romania. So, Serbia was not easy. On the other side, Germany had tried to attack on Russia. Russia was a country that too many leaders like Napoleon had tried to conquer it. However, the climate conditions of Russia did not make the country easy to attack on. Actually, Germany's basic target was about using the Ottoman troops to obstruct the Russian attacks. If it could be possible, the Ottoman troops would attack on Russian lands. Even in the imagination; Germany had not planned about attack on France or Britain. There were serious enemies to beat³⁰⁹.

³⁰⁸ Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West, Volume II: Since 1555*. London: Addison-Wesley, p. 701.

³⁰⁹ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 390.

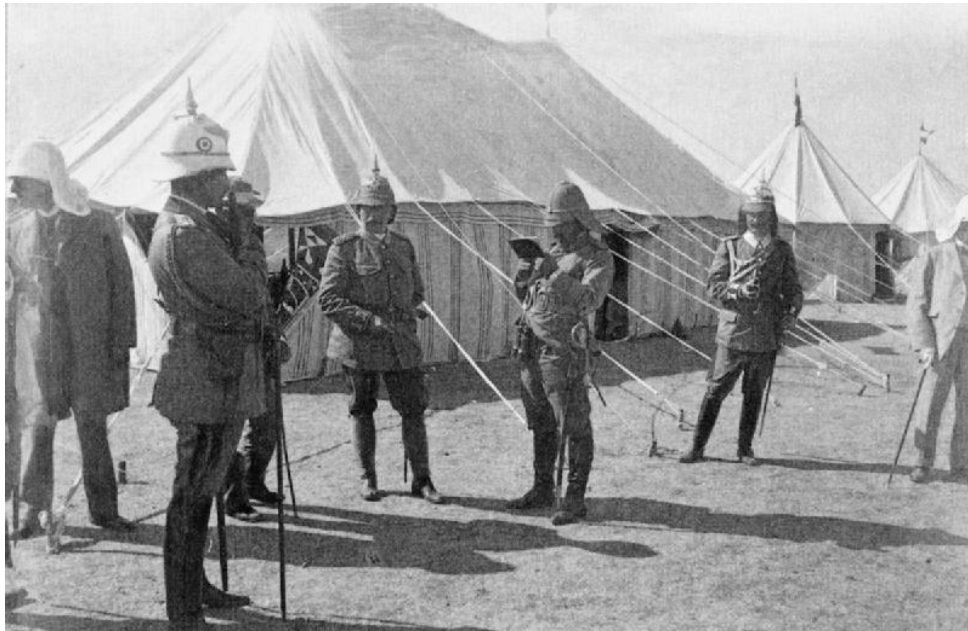


Figure 11. German troops on the Northern Africa frontline³¹⁰.

During the war, Willem II was blamed as attacking unplanned. Its basic reason was Germany's hegemon approaches on its rivals. That is why Germany had surprised about the US's joining the war. Germany's that unplanned strategies had affected its allies negatively. The Ottoman Empire was one of them. The Ottoman side had trusted in Germany's power and reliable declarations for being victorious after the war. However, those declarations were not realistic for a world war. The same thing was valid for Austria-Hungary's situation. After the decline of Germany's strategy, Austria-Hungary was the first states that it declared the defeat³¹¹. Germany did not realize its promises for Austria-Hungarian side and that period had fastened the decline of Austria-Hungary. The Ottoman Empire was luckier than Austria-Hungary; because the downfall of Tsar regime in Russia had defeat Russian threat against the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the public resistance against the enemies on the Ottoman

³¹⁰ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 152.

³¹¹ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 392.

lands had kept them alive until the end of the war. When the war was over, officially, the Ottoman Empire had not lost any battlefield in the First World War³¹².

In 1915, during the Gallipoli Wars, the Ottoman troops had done great job although they had not had enough military equipment, nourishment and medical aid, the Ottoman troops had stopped the British naval forces and the French troops on their own. It was a great success for them and it was a real shame for Germany that the German troops did not provide sufficient support to the Ottoman troops. Although more than a hundred thousands Ottoman soldiers were killed, the British naval forces could not pass through Istanbul. It was a military achievement and an emotional victory for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman resistance had another important meaning; if the British naval forces could pass through Istanbul, they would carry the aid and military support to Russian Tsar³¹³. After that, Tsar could guarantee its regime. However, the support could not reach Russia and that fastened the decline of the current Russian system. That is why the results of the Gallipoli Wars were not limited with Britain and the Ottoman Empire's scars. It was more than two states' clash on the sea and on the lands. Unfortunately, the Ottoman troops' resistance was not enough to protect the current situation in favor of the Ottoman side.

The year of 1916 was really important point for the war. That year was the messenger of Germany's decline. During the battles, Germany had lost more than 800,000 soldiers and more than ten thousands military equipment. That situation was the beginning of the end for Germany; its basic reason was about Germany's allies' unsuccessful attacks on the enemies³¹⁴. Except Russia, most of the states in the First World War lost their troops, military equipment and lands; however, Britain was a real leader to recover the broken sides of itself

³¹² Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 243.

³¹³ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 374.

³¹⁴ Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage, p. 321.

and its allies. The big loses of the German side were because of Kaiser Willem II's unplanned attacks and unconscious directions for its troops and Germany's allies' commanders. Germany had not controlled the process well; that situation had broken the connection between Germany and its allies. That is why the year of 1916 had bad results for Germany³¹⁵.

There is no doubt; the US's joining the war was the turning point of the First World War. At the same time, it was the biggest mistake for Germany to declare the war against the US. Germany had an agreement and cooperation with Mexico. According to that if the US joined the war, Mexico would attack on the US. Surely, that situation had disturbed the US and the US was not in comfort with Germany's attacks on the trade ships³¹⁶. Because of these two important reasons declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917. It was the biggest threat that Germany faced during the war. There was a great connection and cooperation between the US and Britain. After Germany's attacks and threats on the US, the cooperation between the US and Britain had become stronger. So, the direction of threat had changed and Germany was under the fire from the British and the French sides³¹⁷.

The US was the last the determinative side of the war; first of all the US did not see harm in the three-year period of the war. While the European states were shooting each other, the US was watching the developments in the Europe. However, they had a connection with Britain to control the process; because the US was thinking about the leadership of the world politics and the US had wanted to control the economic system in the world. So, the current situation of the war and current situation of Britain were important points for the US foreign to follow the developments. The First World War was a chance and a misfortune for the US at

³¹⁵ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 145.

³¹⁶ Rogers, Paul. "Reviewing Britain's Security", *International Affairs*, Vol.73, No.4, (October 1997), pp. 656.

³¹⁷ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 512.

the same time³¹⁸. It was a chance, because the US could have chance to become stronger than the European power after they killed each other; it was important for world political leadership. It was a misfortune that the war threat was close to the US and it had become more and more real than the first periods of the First World War. That is why the conditions had pushed the US to the war³¹⁹.



Figure 13. The US had sent its troops to the European continent after the German attacks on the Pacific³²⁰.

Germany's defeat was not limited with the attacks of its enemies. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, strikes and rebellions against the current administration had increased. However, those strikes and rebellions were not limited with Russia. After defeats in Germany, many of the workers had ordered strikes and rebellion meetings against Kaiser Willem II's order. It was an unexpected situation for a country like Germany, which was under the pressure of the nationalist waves. It was a shock for the reliable defenders of the

³¹⁸ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 156.

³¹⁹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 88.

³²⁰ Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West, Volume II: Since 1555*. London: Addison-Wesley, p. 487.

nationalism in Germany; but it was the real truth and the future of German public. While the troops were getting weaker on the battlefields, the public was in rebellion against the order in Berlin. Russia's revolution had become everyone's revolution in the middle of the Europe. Germany had lost the war unofficially³²¹.

In the Britain side, the things were in good form, but Britain had lost too much things during the war. Firstly, Britain had not expected a serious defeat during the Gallipoli Wars. The British troops had imagined passing through Istanbul easily. However, the British naval forces and the British troops had lost too many lives and military equipment. On the other hand, British economy had lived an unexpected depression through the end of the war and the colonial profits would not be sufficient to provide the needs of the British economy. That is why Britain would focus on the unfair and heavy agreements after the war to make them accepted to the losers. At the same time, as a guarantee for its allies, Britain's problematic situation affected negatively the other allies of Britain including France and Russia. Although these negative conditions, Britain was triumph and Britain had reached its purposes that they were planned before the war³²².

In the last period of the war, two issues were important for the afterwards of the war. First of all, Italy's situation was too complicated. In the beginning of the war, Italy was not one of the sides in the war and Italy was united by the different states in the country like Germany did. The nationalist waves were effective in Italy like its allies before the First World War. So, it could make Italy close to the German side. However, it could not be happened. In 1915, after the great defeats in the Eastern Europe, Italy had joined Britain and France's side because of the agreement between the sides. However, Italy's changed policies were not effective to change the destiny of the country. Like Germany, Austria-Hungary and

³²¹ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 188.

³²² Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 156.

the Ottoman Empire, Italy had lost more than 600,000 soldiers and Italian economic had collapsed. But in the end of the war, Italy was on the victorious side. That situation would affect the balances in the European politics negatively.

On the other side, Russia had left its alliance during the war because of the Bolshevik Revolution in the country. That situation had made the war process harder for Russia's allies. In particular Britain could not see the sufficient support from the Western front. In the end of the war, Russia was on the victorious side. However, the problem was that, like Italy, Russia was under the pressure of economic depressions and civil war and the defeats during the First World War had affected the Russia's defense systems negatively. Russia was not an ally for Britain and France anymore. It was a country, which had no boundaries and no pressure. The communism had become the new surface of Russia. However, even Russia was on the victorious side with the others after the war; new Soviet ideology was against old Russia's allies' politic approaches. That situation would be another problem for the new era in the Europe³²³.

II. IV. III. Revolution in the Midst of War in Russia

Russia was one of the most important parts right in the middle of the European politics in the history. Although some of the European historians and politicians do not see Russia as a part of the Europe, Russia's power and political moves had made it valuable member of the European diplomacy. However, through the First World War, Russia was like a colonial part of Britain and Russia had become a weak and a sick part of European continent. The fact "sick" was used by Russia for Ottoman Empire, but Russia has been

³²³ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 165.

bleeding since the last period of the 19th century and the things were getting worse year by year on the Russian lands.

It is important to understand Russia's situation before the war and after the war; because the First World War had changed the political structure of the Europe and the world at the same time, but Russia's situation had different dimensions and those dimensions would affect millions of people in the future. Surely, that change in Russia was too bloody and most of the people, political authority, military member and ideological leaders had lost their lives including Tsar and his family. Perhaps, it had become a serious necessity for the permanence of Russia and perhaps, the incidents in the country was a result of wrong politics on public and national economy; however, revolution in Russia was a serious action in the country and it was a great and a much bloody revolution for a country. Some says, it was a serious need and some says it was necessary to do it like that. Russia's revolution was a dilemma for itself and for the individuals that realized it. But, Russia's revolution had changed the direction of the war and Russia's future at the same time³²⁴. So, it is not easy to see Russian revolution as a domestic incident or a rebellion of a society against the leaders that ruled Russia. It was more than that. The other importance of the revolution in Russia was about being a complete hope and wish of the society. That is why the revolution Russia was so powerful against the current order.

³²⁴ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 223.



Figure 14. One of the most important leaders of Bolshevik Revolution Vladimir Lenin³²⁵.

Revolution Russia includes four important points for Russia's itself and the rest of the Europe; firstly, in the last period of the Russian Empire, Tsar Nicholas II could not understand the dimension the public's rebellion against Tsar's administration. Poverty and hunger were the basic problems of the society, but Tsar's situation was not close to understand these problems' degree during his preparation for a possible war in the Europe³²⁶. According to Tsar Nicholas II's approach, the war was close and Russia had to victorious against its rivals. That is why Russia had decided Britain and France as its allies. Another idea of Tsar was about the advantages of being triumph in the war; a victory could gain a serious income to the Russian economy and Tsar could find solutions for the matters of public about poverty and hunger. At the same time, a permanent solution for these issues could make Tsar a "hero" in the hearts of Russian people³²⁷.

³²⁵ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 88.

³²⁶ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 99.

³²⁷ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 171.

However, these approaches were not close to reality in those years; because, Tsar had no serious support from Russian army and Russian military members were not close to be supportive for Tsar's plans. There was a separation in Russian army. Most of these separated members of the army would join rebels' side in the following years after 1915. That is why Tsar Nicholas II had stayed alone after war's beginning in 1915. That situation had made revolutionists' side more powerful and more effective on public. So, that situation which was Tsar in had provided a possible sphere for a great revolution in Russia. In other words, after failure in the domestic policies, Tsar was in failure with his foreign policy. His ideas for the future of Russia were far away from saving Russia's today and it was useful to realize the revolution. Revolutionists had seen that situation a great chance to enlarge their area of influence on public³²⁸.



Figure 15. Revolutionist army of Bolsheviks³²⁹.

³²⁸ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 191.

³²⁹ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 132.

Secondly, Tsar Nicholas II had tried to silence the opposite voices against its administration in Russia by bloody methods until the beginning of the 20th century. That situation had encouraged the opposite ideas against Tsar to refuse its administration. This time, rebels were more powerful than Tsar; because, poverty and hunger triggered the tension and reactions against Tsar's dynasty. Public wanted to see a system and a leader to understand their feelings. However, Tsar Nicholas was far away from to make a connection with his people; in contrast, he was listening to his mentor and adviser Rasputin and it was a very serious problem for the public. Basically, Russian people were against the existence of Rasputin³³⁰. People were seeing Rasputin a wrong choice for Tsar to understand Russia's situation. According to the representatives of public, Tsar had to listen to them for a good understanding. When Tsar refused to make connection with the public and their representatives, that behavior had triggered the problems between Russian administration and Russian people. So, people had preferred to rebel³³¹.

That choice built the basis of the great Russian revolution. The first step was the in 1905. Mass of public walked to the Tsar's palace and they protested the presence of Tsar and Rasputin. Perhaps, it was a weak action against Tsar's attitude, but it was an important message for the future for Tsar. On the other hand, Russian people had understood that a war was coming and Russian army could join that war. It was another reason for reactions. They knew their army was tired and they had no medical, nourishment and economic support to be in a war. That is why Russian people did not want to see their army in a new war. That situation was important to understand that Tsar and his system had lost confidence in the eyes

³³⁰ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 154.

³³¹ Çaşın, M. H. (2006) *Rus İmparatorluk Stratejisi*. İstanbul: Okumuş Adam Yayıncılık, p. 247.

and in the minds of Russian people. So, that was triggering the tension against Tsar and a powerful resistance with revolution was coming³³².

Another important point was about the ideological structure of Russian revolution. In 1905, revolutionist side in Russia had achieved to show their posture against Tsar. Although their rebellion was in failure, they had achieved to change the administration system in Russia. In other words, they achieved to decrease the influence of Tsar. However, the real revolution and rebellion happened during the “October Revolution” in 1917. The Bolshevik groups that they had accepted the communist ideology for their roadmap changed the order in Russia and they killed Tsar Nicholas II and his family. Perhaps, it was really bloody revolution, but that revolution would change Russia’s order and name as “Soviet Union”. It was an important change in the Europe. On the other side of the Europe, nationalist movements had directed their countries’ rules and they had already caused a world war³³³. However, in Russia, a completely contrast ideology had gained power: communism. Tsar Nicholas II could not be aware of this revolutionary idea on his people. While he was undertaking nothing to his people, the Bolsheviks were undertaking equality, job and nourishment. On the other hand, Russia was created by different nations; so, nationalist was not powerful. However, an ideology like communism, which was undertaking equality, was seriously attractive for public. On the other side, Tsar was defending his monarchy; but it would not work in favor of Tsar’s himself. That is why the Bolshevik’s idea had worked³³⁴.

October Revolution in 1917 was a contrast posture of Russian people against system and it was against the rest of the Europe. While the nationalism was getting stronger in the Western Europe, in the East, Russia was creating its own system by the communism.

³³² Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 25.

³³³ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 139.

³³⁴ Çaşın, M. H. (2006). *Rus İmparatorluk Stratejisi*. İstanbul: Okumuş Adam Yayıncılık, p. 356.

However, it would not be limited with Russia or Soviet Union. The communist ideology's power was a product of poor people and it would be effective on the people in the world who were under the pressure of monarchy colonial system³³⁵.

Lastly, Bolshevik Revolution Russia was not only about a change in just one country. It also affected two important situations. Basically, Russia's allies during the First World War, especially, Britain and France was expecting a serious support from Russia. Russia's struggle against the Ottoman Empire and its achievement on this struggle were very important expectations for allies to be victorious on Eastern rivals. Surely Russia had one of the biggest and powerful armies in the Europe. Even the Russian army was tired because following wars right before the First World War, their numbers were more than most of the European states'. But, firstly in 1915 and secondly in 1917, Russia's army lost its confidence to Tsar they left fighting for Russia's plans and support for Russia allies through the end of 1916. In particular, when Britain and France lost the Gallipoli Wars against Ottoman troops in Dardanelle; the aid, which was planned to deliver to Russia, could not be realized. That situation had affected the belief of Russian army for the victory. That lost of connection between Russia and its allies had delayed the plans for victory³³⁶.

The other dimension of the issue was about communism's fast rising over Russia and communism's coming out as a serious and as a powerful ideology in the East of the Europe. Such that communism was there powerfully, Russia's named turned in to "Soviet Union" in the following period and Russia did not become an ally any longer for the rest of the Europe. It was a deep change for the political surface of the Europe. Britain, France and Germany were the powerful states that they had colonies; however, Russia's new Bolshevik group was

³³⁵ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt I*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 98.

³³⁶ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 196.

against colonial system and imperial logic; they were on the side of equality, peace and freedom for any individual, any society and any country in the world. Moreover, the communism was new for the Europe as an administration style in a European state after many years of communist ideology's creation by Karl Marx and his followers. That is why it was a surprise, shock and trauma for the rest of the Europe.

II. IV. IV. Armistices and Peace

Although the war was over, the discussion about the afterwards would not end; because, the victorious states were not victorious completely and their damages were not in the minimal level and they would try to arrange their damages in the maximum level. On the other side, the loser states had declined and especially, their economies were close to the bankruptcy. That situation had created unbalanced conditions between the sides³³⁷. In particular, the problems between France and Germany, moreover, the decline of the Ottoman Empire and rising of a national resistance on the Anatolian lands were threats for the peace talks between the sides. The attitude of the French government was not close to the peace; they wanted to see Germany as an isolated and a removed state from the European politics. France aimed to make Germany a “slave” of the country³³⁸. However, German side did not want to accept these conditions of France. The situation could cause a new war between two sides and that war could affect the rest of the Europe again. Britain was not on the side of French approach; on the other hand, Germany was still a threat for the entirety of the Europe. So, it was a hard decision-making process for Britain at the same³³⁹. In that process, the current US President Woodrow Wilson had assumed an active role to provide the peace between the sides and Wilson was elected as the spokesman of the Allied States. Wilson's

³³⁷ Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 41.

³³⁸ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 42-43.

³³⁹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 663.

first declaration was about Kaiser Willem II's decline from the German leadership. According to Wilson, Kaiser's presence was a serious threat for the welfare of the peace talks. On the other hand, Pope had declared his concerns and expectations from the peace talks. After his joining to the process, the peace talks of the First World War had become a peace for the rest of the world at the same time³⁴⁰.

Military casualties by country				
	Dead	Wounded	Missing	Total
Russia	1,700,000	5,000,000	-	6,700,000
France	1,359,000	4,200,000	361,650	5,920,650
Germany	1,600,000	4,065,000	103,000	5,768,000
Austria-Hungary	922,000	3,600,000	855,283	5,377,283
Great Britain	658,700	2,032,150	359,150	3,050,000
Italy	689,000	959,100	-	1,648,100
Turkey	250,000	400,000	-	650,000
Romania	335,706	120,000	80,000	535,706
Belgium	44,000	450,000	-	494,000
Serbia	45,000	133,148	152,958	331,106
Bulgaria	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919
United States	58,480	189,955	14,290	262,725
Australia	58,150	152,170	-	210,320
Canada	56,500	149,700	-	206,200
India	43,200	65,175	5,875	114,250
New Zealand	16,130	40,750	-	56,880
Portugal	7,222	13,751	12,318	33,291
Greece	5,000	21,000	1,000	27,000
Montenegro	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000
South Africa	7,000	12,000	-	19,000
Africa	10,000	-	-	10,000
Caribbean	1,000	3,000	-	4,000
Japan	300	907	3	1,210

Figure 16. Casualties, which declared after the First World War³⁴¹.

The most important point of the peace talks was Wilson's idea, which was decided in the American Congress on January 8, 1918 and called as "Wilson Principles". According to that the secret diplomacy would be forbidden, freedom to the world seas, removing economic barriers between the states and providing self-determination rights to the people. Wilson Principles were including too many topics; however, the points mentioned above were the priority to continue the peace talks in a healthy condition. Most importantly, Wilson had

³⁴⁰ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 65.

³⁴¹ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 141.

offered the self-determination right for the people on the Ottoman lands. The other important was about founding of LON³⁴².

As mentioned above, the problems between France and Germany were locating on the center of the peace talks. After the war, not German authorities, but German people were suffering because of the economic depression in the country. Their country, which was one of the most powerful one in the Europe before the First World War, was in trouble with the rebellions, robberies and civil clashes between the nationalist and the communist groups. On the other hand, extreme opposition against France was triggering. That is why the most important mission of the peace talks was about finding a fast and a permanent solution for the clashes between France and Germany³⁴³. By the way, German communist groups were attacking the coal producing areas in the Belgium part by part and they were threatening the coal producing and coal trade of France. After the end of the First World War, France had started to control these areas. During the peace talks, the coal producing issue would occupy the agenda of the conferences. Through the end of 1918, civil war a serious threat for Germany's itself, France and the rest of Germany's neighbors³⁴⁴.

However, the states like Bulgaria did not leave their fronts until the end of September 1918. It was another obstacle for the welfare of the peace talks. Bulgaria was the only state that the Bulgarian troops were resisting against British-French common troops and they did not left their fronts until the air strikes of the British air forces. It was another tiring process of the war. Some Bulgarian nationalist were trying to carry nourishment and military equipment to German people secretly by passing the forbidden borders³⁴⁵.

³⁴² Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 140.

³⁴³ Krauthammer, C. "The Unipolar Moment", *Foreign Affairs*, Winterr 1990/1991, p. 26.

³⁴⁴ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 114.

³⁴⁵ Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 162.

Although the conditions of the First World War's results made Germany loser and guilty for the situation, German Kaiser had not wanted to leave its position. In German public opinion and in the European public opinion, Kaiser was the number one responsible with the blood and deaths during the war. Actually, it was a serious burden and claim for what Kaiser had done; on the other side of the war, there were a lot of responsible with the blood, Germany's situation and Kaiser's attitude had disturbed Britain. The current British Prime Minister David Lloyd George had declared that Kaiser had left everything behind and left the Europe without taking with himself. According to George, Kaiser's legacy on the Europe was too bad and there were a lot of things to do for Britain and its allies to recover the Europe and their own scars³⁴⁶. In particular, George had blamed Kaiser as responsible with the broken economic structure of Britain and the rest of the Europe. So, there would be a payment for this problem. Kaiser and his Germany would pay for that. In the beginning of the peace process, Britain's attitude was not aggressive against the losers of the war; however, Bulgaria's resistance, Kaiser's presence and nationalist threat on France and the other British allies had made pressure on Britain and George had decided the change the attitude of Britain against that situation. Surely, the US had a peacemaker role, but Britain had hegemony on the Europe and that hegemonic situation had gained power after the defeat of the nationalist and aggressive threats like Germany. Through the conference in Paris, Britain would wait for Kaiser's decline, Germany's giving up and the other little resistances of the losers. Except the Ottoman lands, most of the lands that they were in rebellion would leave their meaningless struggle against the current pressure from Britain and Paris Conference would be started³⁴⁷.

³⁴⁶ Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press, p. 445.

³⁴⁷ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 241.

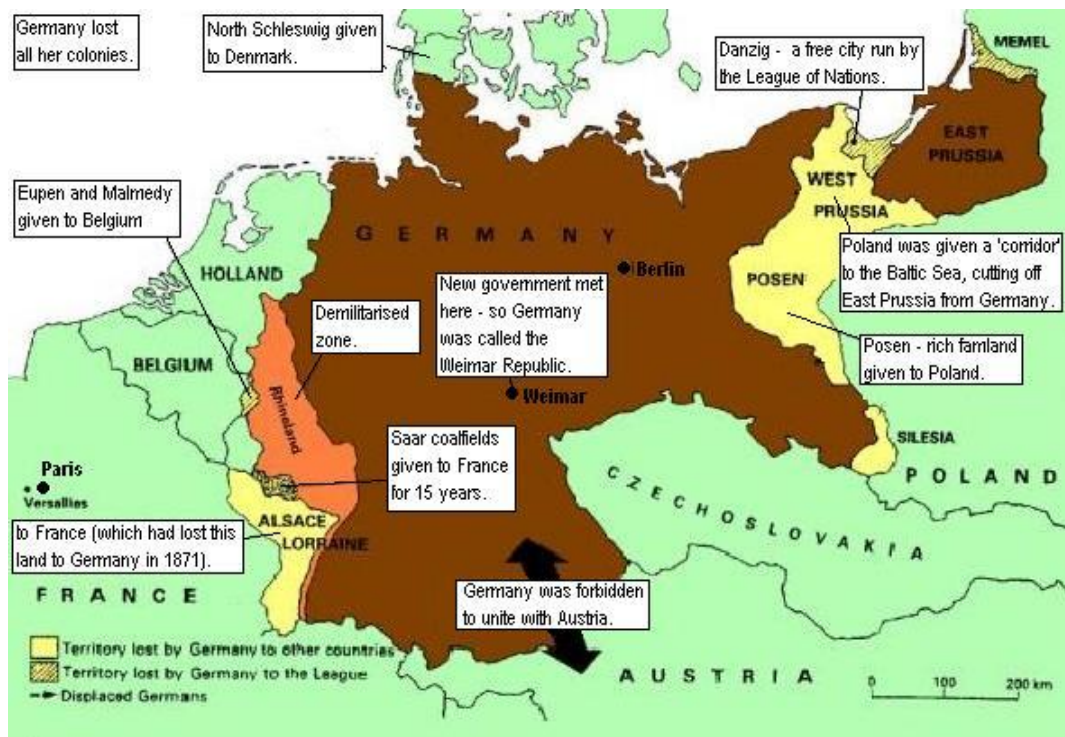


Figure 17. Versailles Treaty and afterwards³⁴⁸.

As being before the First World War, Britain and France had become the leaders of the Paris conference. The US would be besides them. After that, “Big Three”, Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George and Georges Benjamin Clemenceau had taken the decision-maker role in the conference. Basically, it was easy to find a solution for the afterwards of the First World War; however, three different personalities had made the decision-making process harder to realize³⁴⁹.

Wilson’s personality was close to idealism and he was not thinking about the issues like a European citizen and he had not been in the European politics until the end of the First World War. So, his mission was too hard to realize; because, the European diplomacy was far away from being idealist. It was closer to the realist approach. George was a typical British politician and he was not just thinking about only the current time; he was planning the

³⁴⁸ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 89.

³⁴⁹ Strachan, H. (2005). *The First World War*. London: Penguin Books, p. 145.

afterwards of the war. His basic approach was about that Germany or another state like Germany, which was under the pressure of the nationalist feelings, could try to realize their dreams again in the future and it could become a disaster again. There was no chance for the Europe to live these things again. On the other hand, there was a chance to remove the Ottoman Empire from the history once more; George had no hesitation to use this chance³⁵⁰. Clemenceau was aware of his country's potential and he had left the control of the conference mostly to the US and Britain. However, the basic obsession of France was about Germany's decline and the French hegemony and control on Germany. In particular, coal-producing process was indispensable for France and Alsace-Lorraine region was valuable for the economy of France. That is why Clemenceau had focused on these issues to provide a serious benefit for his country³⁵¹.

In the end of this complicated and separated peace process, the agreements and the conditions were decided. However, nobody was aware of that those agreements and the conditions would draw the destiny of the Europe negatively³⁵². Its basic sign was about the Versailles Treaty with Germany. It was like an order for the death of Germany. In any mean, France had achieved to finish Germany. In other words, France had done Germany as an ineffective actor in the Europe or as a slave for its interests in the middle of the Europe³⁵³. The Versailles Treaty was including economic conditions more than the politic conditions. Firstly, Germany had left all the places that German troops occupied during the war. At the same time, most of these troops would leave their equipment to the French troops. Then, Germany would release its army and German military would be limited with the conditions, which were

³⁵⁰ Strachan, H. (2005). *The First World War*. London: Penguin Books, p. 148.

³⁵¹ Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*. Delacorte Press, p. 263.

³⁵² Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 46-47.

³⁵³ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 701.

decided by the Allies³⁵⁴. It was an end for Germany in militarist mean. Germany would be defenseless and France could occupy the German lands whenever they felt a little threat from the German side³⁵⁵. France would take full of control in the Alsace-Lorraine region. France would manage the coal-producing process on its own in the Europe including the review of Britain. It meant that Germany would have no chance about having a share from the Alsace-Lorraine region's coal producing. In contrast, France would sell coal material to Germany with high prices³⁵⁶. Lastly, Germany would pay a war compensation, which had been never seen in the history of the world. That was impossible for Germany. However, French pressure on the US and Britain had provided that war compensation and France had completed its mission to end Germany. Naturally, these conditions had triggered the reaction against France and it was a beginning of French opposition and French antagonism in Germany. That situation would decide the future relations between Germany and the rest of the Europe³⁵⁷.

³⁵⁴ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 701.

³⁵⁵ Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 233.

³⁵⁶ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt I*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 126.

³⁵⁷ Ortaylı, İ. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 78.



Figure 18. Treaty of Saint-Germain - Treaty of Trianon and afterwards³⁵⁸.

The other treaties were not completely different than Germany signed with the Allies. Saint-Germain had meant the end of the Austria-Hungary dynasty; there were separated from each other. The basic threat for Austria was about founding of new states like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia³⁵⁹. Austria had left some of its lands to Czechoslovakia. It was a danger for the presence and authority of Austria in its own region. Austria was one of the powerful supporters of Germany; however, after Germany's decline, Saint-Germain Treaty had prepared the same destiny for Austria Germany. On the other side, Hungary's mentality and future would be separated from Austria until the end; because, after Trianon Treaty was signed, Hungary would be shared the same destiny with Hungary³⁶⁰. Hungary had left some of its lands to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. It was a project of Llyod George to keep their enemies under the control the states, which were under the control of Britain like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania. Trianon Treaty had made Hungary as a minor

³⁵⁸ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 101.

³⁵⁹ Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 88.

³⁶⁰ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 39.

state in the East of the Europe. Bulgaria had become a minor state like Hungary after the government signed Neuilly Treaty. Britain had made minor and ineffective entire the German one by one³⁶¹.



Figure 19. Treaty of Sevres and afterwards³⁶².

However, the greatest negative effect of the peace process had hit the Ottoman Empire after Germany. Sevr Treaty, which was signed with the Ottoman Empire, had made the country a separated and a death country. According to the treaty, the Ottoman army would be released and the Ottoman Empire's economy would haven been controlled by the Allies³⁶³. Greece, France and Britain would share the Ottoman lands and lastly, two new states would have been founded on the East and the Southeast of the country³⁶⁴. It had meant the end of the

³⁶¹ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. Norton & Company, p. 330.

³⁶² Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 133.

³⁶³ Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books, p. 416.

³⁶⁴ Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 95.

Ottoman Empire like Germany. But, Sevr process was not the end of a period. In contrast, it was a beginning for a new challenge on the Anatolian lands³⁶⁵.

II. V. The situation of the Relations in the Pre-Modern Period

The first and serious relations between Turkish and the British authorities had started in 1580s on the state dimension. Before that period, because of its feudal political and social structure, Britain had some great borders to expand through the Eastern side of the Europe. At the same time, the certain Ottoman power was creating a fear environment for all the European states and Britain was staying away from this great power of the Ottoman; because, in those years, the Ottoman Empire's efficiency was the reality of the Euro-Asia region. So, developing their relations had taken time in a long time period³⁶⁶.

However, it is hard to set apart the Turkish-Russian relations from the relations between Turkey and Britain. The Russian factor has been important for the Turkish side and it will the same in future. At the same time, when the Ottoman efficiency lost its presence in the future with the beginning of the 19th century, Britain and Russia had tried to use Turkey for their own aims against each other³⁶⁷. In those years, the roles have been changed and the rising power of the Ottoman Empire had replaced its position to a "satellite state" form. However, although the conditions were not on the Ottoman side, the honored and powerful posture of the Anatolian people during those years had saved the state for serious downfall³⁶⁸.

The first records about the relations of Turkey and Britain go until the first crusades against the Anatolian lands. But, that term did not include any war or any agreement between

³⁶⁵ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 156.

³⁶⁶ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları, p. 88.

³⁶⁷ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 100.

³⁶⁸ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 131.

two sides. During the Ottoman Empire's rising term, the Nigbolu War was the other encounter and there was not a direct battle between the forces of the states. A little unity of the British army had tried to resist against the Ottoman forces. At least, the Nigbolu War was a starting point for the both side to know each other; because, Britain was an increasing value in the Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire was the incontestable dominance state for its own region and for the Eastern Europe. Those years' king in Britain, Edward VI had understood the existing power of Turks and he gave shape his future politics about the Ottoman Empire after that war; the Ottoman's efficiency was certain and Britain had to pay attention enough against that power³⁶⁹.

Until the term of grand vizier Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, there was not any visible political or economical relation between two sides except indirect war clashes. In the second period of the 16th century, that term's leader in Britain, Queen Elizabeth had wanted to use the Ottoman alliance against the Spanish threat for her country³⁷⁰. That plans has been two dimensions; first of all, Queen was following the approach of Edward VI and she hoped to gain the friendship of the Ottoman. The second part of the view was about that Spain was serious danger for Britain's development and a good alliance with the Eastern forces would be stopped the Spain threat for the Queen's kingdom³⁷¹. Therefore, Queen Elizabeth could not gain she want. Mehmet Pasha preferred to protect its current posture against all of the European countries. Britain had to wait until the term of Murad III. The sultan of the empire had accepted the alliance of Britain. So, in 1580, the Ottoman Empire and Britain signed a

³⁶⁹ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 101.

³⁷⁰ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 63.

³⁷¹ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 201.

treaty of capitulation. It was a similar agreement as the Ottoman and France signed in 1569³⁷². After the capitulations, there was no real diplomatic or military meeting between two sides until the end of the 19th century really. Because of the regional differences and their different policies for their own area, Turkey and Britain had stayed away from each other. Until the end of the 18th century that situation had not changed or there was no effective factor to bring together or bring face to face the both countries. However, 19th was the period of the rising British power. At the same time, the same period was the worst years of the Ottoman Empire. So, the Eastern policies of the British authorities had pushed them to handle the Anatolian lands issue again. And that process was given shaped along the 19th century. While the European policies were creating a battlefield all over the Europe, the Ottoman's destiny was drawn by the developed European states, particularly Britain³⁷³.

In the general view, the relations of Turkey and Britain had been developed lately. Before the 18th century, except the capitulation issue, the both sides did not come closer in any subject. It is natural that the both sides had seen each other during the political moves of the Central European matter with France, Prussia and Russia; however, it is not acceptable to be counted a serious and high level relation issue.

There are many reasons of this and the reasons are attached to the British side. From the feudal terms until the Industrial Revolution, Britain was a schizoid to understand the world politics and to interfere to the regions out of its own lands. There were already valuable political and religious matters in the Europe. And, along the ages, Britain had made an effort to solve these problems³⁷⁴. On the next step, beyond all of those events, the Ottoman Empire's

³⁷² Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 122.

³⁷³ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 86.

³⁷⁴ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 193.

rising on the Eastern Europe kept away Britain the new areas to fight. Yet, the Ottoman Empire was an important focus of the force and staying away from the danger, even it was right to be in an alliance with it. Until the Industrial Revolution, the basic road map of Britain was about to solve the regional problems and to stay alive.

The colonial process, power of the Mercantilist wave and the great success of the Industrial Revolution in Britain had changed the current surface of the country. The lands were expanded to Indian Ocean. On that road, the biggest part of the Africa was under the control of the British forces. On the other side of the Atlantic, Britain had the biggest part of the Northern America, too. The British colonialism was so powerful in the American continent³⁷⁵. That view was enough to accept the certain dominance of the kingdom on all over the world. So, the time was with Britain through the last period of the 19th century.

In same time period, the Ottoman Empire was living the worst years of its history. The beginning of the 19th century meant the beginning of the last period of the Ottoman Empire at the same time³⁷⁶. All the economical sources had been lost; there was not any certain army formation in the country and the most important one, the empire had lost its political prestige against the European countries and Russia. The roles of the states had been changed and the empire was facing the worst truth of the new age in the 19th century. Such the Russian authorities had named the Ottoman “sick man” that³⁷⁷. Now, the one power of the West and East, the Ottoman Empire was under the control of the Western states. That situation caused a administration transition from the Ottoman authorities to the foreign authorities. The Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane in 1839, the Reform Firman in 1850 and the First and the Second Constitutional Eras were the productions of the foreign pressure on the

³⁷⁵ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 109.

³⁷⁶ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 109.

³⁷⁷ Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, p. 48.

Ottoman. All of those revolutionary changes in the state was a sign of that the European states and Russia were trying to ready the Ottoman lands' transition process to their own lands. In the last period of the 19th century, sharing of the lands between those countries had been decided. The Ottoman Empire was over according to the foreign allies³⁷⁸.

The care of the British administration on the Ottoman had started in those years, too. Yet, Britain was the preferred arbiter on the Ottoman subject between the European states and Russia. At the same time, Britain was the symbolic leader of the European balance and the world administration. Even it was called the “Stabilizer of the Balance”³⁷⁹. That term was used to explain Britain's existing role on the European politics. Consequently, that situation made Britain the preferred to decide about the Ottoman's situation before the First World War. And the reliable political relations of Turkey and Britain had started in the last period of the 19th century³⁸⁰. The previous period of the 19th century, Britain's road was on the colonial line and the kingdom did not leave those policies for a long time. So, it is normal that Britain had no chance to make contact with the Ottoman or the kingdom did not care about the Eastern European regions, except Russia. On the other hand, the aim about the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire was the possible way to cause the Ottoman and the Western states to become closer.

II. VI. The First World War Period and Afterwards

At truth, the serious level of the relations between Turkey and Britain reached on the pre-First World War terms. Britain was far away from on its politics about Anatolian lands

³⁷⁸ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 87.

³⁷⁹ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 139.

³⁸⁰ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 128.

until that time; however, the downfall of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 20th century encouraged the British politics to be arranged against the Ottoman. Maybe, the alliance between Weimar Germany and the Ottoman Empire was the most valid reason for bending to the East for Britain. When the opposite side of Britain in the First World War, Germany came together with the Ottoman, that situation legitimated the political and military actions of Britain. So, it acceptable that the highest relation process between two sides has started by the world war³⁸¹.

It is hard to understand the Ottoman's behavior about to join to the war with Germany. But, that terms' dominance party Ittihat and Terakki's leader Enver Pasha's German enthusiasm is accepted the basic reason of Germany and Turkey rapprochement. Enver Pasha had believed to Germany's power and the chance of victory for the war. Therefore, the power of the other European countries did not aware the Ottoman government. It was a good reason and a misfortune for Britain and France³⁸². It was a good reason, because developed Britain dominance on the Europe had wanted an expanded area for its future plans on the Asian and the Middle East lands. It was a misfortune, because, whatever its existing situation, Ottoman had a population and religious power in its region; so, Ottoman's joining to the Allies' side could be more meaningful for securing the Eastern side of the front lines of the war³⁸³. Right in the middle of this hesitant situation, the British policies were given shaped with a new form against the Ottoman. On the other hand, the Ottoman authorities were hopeful for the war and their basic idea was about to be in a reconstruction period and to stay

³⁸¹ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 58.

³⁸² Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 35.

³⁸³ Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire (Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 309.

alive against the Western forces. At least, although the certain British dominance on the Europe, Germans had provided this belief for their all allies³⁸⁴.

Except the other areas and the events of the First World on the Ottoman lands, the Gallipoli Campaign was a determinative event on the Turkey and Britain relations. That campaign was one of the war front lines on the Anatolian lands. The Gallipoli Campaign had changed the going of the world war. After the campaign, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia had found a possible area to come out and the Allies' victory chances had decreased. The Ottoman factor had showed itself seriously during the Gallipoli Campaign³⁸⁵.

After the campaign, Britain decided to revise their plans on the Anatolian lands; because, they had understood that the success of the Ottoman forces in the Gallipoli resistance could be a cautionary effect on all of the Ottoman forces and the Ottoman society. It was a serious fear and it would become true after the war for Britain. Maybe, the Gallipoli resistance could not change the result of the war; however, the Allies had met an unexpected negative effect from the war. Generally, all the front lines were gained by their forces but the Anatolian front lines. The Gallipoli defeat had negative political, economical and the psychological effects on the Allies' plans on the Anatolian lands. So, the campaign changed the Ottoman policy of Britain, too. When the war was over, the Gallipoli effect was still going on and the biggest fear of Britain, facing an Anatolian resistance was coming true. The one of the most valuable actors of the Gallipoli Campaign, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk would assume the leadership of the Turkish National Campaign³⁸⁶. The changing conditions after the First World War changed the British road map on the Asia and the Middle East. The Turkish War of Independence was a reliable issue to handle by the British authorities. So, that demureness

³⁸⁴ Ortaylı, İ. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 134.

³⁸⁵ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 178.

³⁸⁶ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 181.

developed the political relations of two sides. There was not the Ottoman; the new Turkish movement was the fundamental interlocutor the British side. On the some points of the Anatolian lands, small groups of the British and the other Western forces had faced in the three years war period from 1919 to 1922. But, Britain preferred to change the conditions for their profit by using direct diplomatic ways and by using instigation methods.

After the First World War, Britain redounded its interest about the Middle East because of that the region has a great importance about India road strategically and it is in the center of natural sources like petroleum. However, Britain did not have enough efficiency to conduct the region's politics with its way. On the other hand, the British politicians and authorities had not thought that it was really necessary for the state's existing benefit. So, the Ottoman's importance had come out in this point. Britain's fundamental belief about the regional plans were about that there would be Ottoman Sultan who would be under the control of the British Kingdom and that Sultan would provide the order from Anatolian lands to the general Middle East for the British profits³⁸⁷. At the same time, little Greece state in the Western Anatolia, Kurdish and Armenian states in the central and Eastern Anatolia would help the British policies to hold under the remote control the Anatolia and the Middle East. Actually, Britain's policies were multidimensional; all those plans were connected to the other parts and the other states of the area³⁸⁸. In particular, those plans on the Anatolia and the Middle East would create an obstacle for the increasing power in the Eastern Europe, Russia and then the created mandate system on the countries like the Ottoman would make easy the administration process for Britain form their island³⁸⁹.

³⁸⁷ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 139.

³⁸⁸ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 152.

³⁸⁹ Mansfield, P. and Pelham, N. (2004). *A History of the Middle East*. London: Penguin Publishing, p. 199.

This brief and general view about Britain's plans describes the future policies after the war. And the Turkish lands are the center of these developments during the years between 1918 and 1922 for the British side. Directly, these events and Britain's workings about Eastern regions had affected and developed the relations between Britain and the Ottoman. Nevertheless, the new founded Turkish government in the 1920 had taken the initiative more than the Ottoman side. That situation had made hard the process for Britain side; in that, the new Turkish government was a serious problem for the British plans and basic matter was about that the Anatolian people was supporting the new Turkish government, which was in Ankara. Istanbul had lost its value and the British authorities had become aware of this and the existing situation had pushed them to change their road map radically. According to Britain policies about Anatolia, the new Turkish authority was more powerful than Sultan's government in Istanbul politically and military; so, they were very valuable to pay attention³⁹⁰.

So, right in this point, it will be useful to appreciate the own historical and existing conditions of two sides in those years generally.

Britain: With the beginning of the 20th century, Britain, which had taken its share from the Mercantilist and the Colonialist waves mostly, had started to bend its political moves to the Middle East region. However, there were some basic borders for Britain; first of all, especially, the Ottoman's Anatolian lands had a serious contention between France and Britain. It was making hard the things for Britain to hold the leadership in the Asian side³⁹¹. Maybe, the Ottoman's existing situation was too bad and it had seemed like an advantage; particularly, Britain was not alone and the France policies were creating a clash environment

³⁹⁰ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 139.

³⁹¹ Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New Approaches to Economic and Social History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 121.

in that area. The other border was about the promised Arabian Kingdom to the Arab societies to make them a powerful enemy against the Ottoman. And, it had not seemed like possible for the near future; because, the new Turkish resistance in the Anatolia had already started to be clear threat for Britain and the Arabian forces were not powerful enough to be used against that resistance. In short, the Anatolian lands were not easy area to conquer and to administrate³⁹².

When the picture was appreciated from Britain's own situation, it was not comfortable for the state. While the world war was affecting the country negatively, the Europe's existing posture was not in safe, too. The Europe had a stability matter and being a dominance power in the region, Britain had to secure it. Therefore, when we thought about Britain's and France's situation in the Turkish lands was the fundamental clash reason in the Europe at the same time. When France's wish which was about to destroy German presence in the Europe and the contrast posture of Britain against it came together in the political area of the European states, it had made the process after the war difficult to solve. So, France was the main issue for the British foreign policy before it reached the Ottoman fields³⁹³.

The other problematic situation was valid for the United Kingdom states. Especially, the rebellion movements in Egypt and India had come and they were exactly in annoying. Those movements were the first examples in the United Kingdom community and this time it was like a serious issue³⁹⁴. On the other hand, the Irish freedom actions were effective to warn

³⁹² Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları, p. 148.

³⁹³ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 44.

³⁹⁴ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 341.

the British authorities about the domestic matter of the state. And the last one, the labor rebellions in Britain was paying attention for the internal environment of the country³⁹⁵.

Right in a situation like this, the new Turkish rebellion movements in the Anatolia were the last point for the British policies in the Ottoman lands. Yet, the British government was in a good relationship with the current Ottoman government, which was under the control of Damat Ferit Pasha. The Ottoman Sultan and his general staff had left their hopes to the God and Britain. The First World War, Enver Pasha and his support to the German forces had brought anything to the Ottoman. In contrast, the country was closer to the six hundred years end and there was nothing to do. So, it was most frightened scenario for the British policies; because, that situation would strengthen the new rebellion movements in the Anatolia and it would mean a great failure for Britain. The British public opinion was already reactive against the Turks. The public opinion was blaming the Turks about to change the destiny of the world war and to help Bolshevik Revolution in Russia indirectly³⁹⁶. Now, there was a new wave, which did not accept the Serves rules. At truth, it was the result of Britain mistake; the hundred years smart and cunning politicians could not understand the eligibility of the new Anatolian rebellion and they could not comment their relation with the Soviet Russia. Generally, they appreciated those people illiterate, ineffective and coward. However, they were not like the British thought³⁹⁷.

Between the years 1919-1923, there was not a direct war between Britain and the Anatolian government; it was an indirect war mostly. That's main reason was Greece. Britain had tried use Greece that did not against the Ottoman in the First World War an instrument to

³⁹⁵ Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. Norton & Company, p. 710.

³⁹⁶ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 83.

³⁹⁷ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 147.

destroy the Anatolia indirectly and slowly after the Armistice of Mudros. Actually, it was two-dimensional plan; the first part was about to strengthen Greece, which was a simple and weak state against the Western Anatolia forces. The other part was about to decrease the existing Italian efficiency in the region by using that weak Greece³⁹⁸. After all, this plan had not worked actually; on the contrary, it triggered the Anatolian rebellion movements more.

This view shows that the British and the Turkish political struggle had continued without any direct clash in the battlefields from 1914 to 1918. These states' clashes had live in a strategic dimension and the Anatolian government was very successful as the classical British political moves during this period³⁹⁹.

Turkey: Turkish rebellion against the Western forces in the Anatolian lands was generally called the National Campaign and the Islam fact was very effective between the relations the Anatolian government and Britain during the National Campaign period. In its first times, the National Campaign had a discourse about to protect the Caliphate and the Sultanate. Their approach had provided them a serious support from the Anatolian society. It was a reliable move for creating a complete resistance against the Western forces. This issue had an important place in the relations of two sides. According to the British allegation, they were the biggest Muslim country in the world being the United Kingdom. At truth, it was real and the United Kingdom had the largest Muslim population in its lands. The %25 of the United Kingdom's population was Muslim and most of them were Indian Muslims. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire had held the Islam and its all power under the control of the Ottoman Sultan being the Caliph and that efficiency had continued until the First World War

³⁹⁸ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları, p. 34.

³⁹⁹ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 46.

virtually⁴⁰⁰. Consequently, the Islam and the Muslim issues had brought face to face the Anatolian government and Britain during the Turkish War of Independence.

The Islamic view of the Anatolian movement had frightened the British authorities at first. In those years, being a member state of the United Kingdom, India had the most Muslim population in its big population and the Islam side of the new Turkish resistance could call the Indian Muslim society for the Jihad. So, the British policy created to take the Caliphate from the Ottoman in the beginning of the 1920s⁴⁰¹. Their basic fear was about to meet any religious rebellion against the United Kingdom, which could order by the Anatolian National Campaign. Nevertheless, the Islam fact lost its expected effect when the National Campaign became successful day by day⁴⁰².

The other fact, which was reliable in the relation, was the Russian factor. The history is full of the events and issues that whenever Russia and Turkey came together, absolutely, Britain had wanted to be included in this alliance. Just the opposite, the same situation is not valid for the Turkish and British alliance; that had removed Russia from the Turkish or the British cooperation.

The truth of the matter was that the Turkish War of Independence was not connected to the Bolshevik viewpoint; however, because of the pragmatic reasons, each side had seen their cooperation extremely necessary. In the general view, both sides, Turkey and Russia were under the occupation of the Western political and military forces. Therefore, the National Campaign had to use Soviet factor to the last. This factor is connected to the same resistance of the both side that it was the struggle against the imperial powers including

⁴⁰⁰ Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 272.

⁴⁰¹ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 123.

⁴⁰² Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 122.

Britain. While this share point were providing a friendship between Turkey and Soviet side, it had disturbed the British side; because, this time they had not joined process directly⁴⁰³.

The leader of the Turkish War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal had used the Soviet factor to protect the existing situation to balance the relations with the Western and the Eastern states without causing any clash at the same time. Mustafa Kemal's basic aim was about not to lose the connection with Western states by using Soviet card and to develop the relations with the other anti-imperialist powers in the region like Soviet Russia. So, he had applied a great diplomacy during the hard war years. It was a possible choice for the Soviet government; they had seen Turkey as a buffer factor against the Western forces and they needed it mostly. Maybe, the relations of two anti-imperialist states in the East was a serious threat for the regional British plans, but, the successful Turkish diplomacy had kept away Britain a new war against the Eastern area⁴⁰⁴. At the same, in March 16, 1921, they signed an agreement with the Soviet Russia. It was an indicator of the British submission for the Anatolia issue and it was the victory of Turkey after eight years clash period. That agreement was just a beginning on road to the Turkish victory about the National Campaign. The other agreement between Turkey and Britain would continue in the next years⁴⁰⁵.

The last factor on the relations of Turkey and Britain was about the Westernization efforts of the new Turkish Republic. It did not have a visible effect as the other. However, there was a serious and the clear contradiction about this issue; while the National Campaign was fighting against the Western states and their forces, on the other hand, the new Turkish

⁴⁰³ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 171.

⁴⁰⁴ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 125.

⁴⁰⁵ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 165.

Republic's basic aim was about Westernization⁴⁰⁶. Mustafa Kemal believed that the Westernization was important about the national security at the same time. So, the Westernization was a need to reach the modern level of the Western civilization and was reliable to provide a national security for the foreign affairs of the new republic.

II. VI. I. The Turkish War of Independence, the Lausanne and Musoul-Kirkuk Problem

The basic problem of the revolution movement in Turkish lands was about that there was no certain order. Every armed group had tried to apply their own methods to resist against the forces in the country. Sometime, they had disturbed the local society and some of those armed groups had changed their mission as surviving in the country with anyway; they were like pirates. Under these conditions, it was hard to wait for a resistance against the Ottoman administration and a successful revolution in the country. The Turkish revolution already was not a production of the insurgent posture of the people. However, it was not a resistance against the Ottoman authorities or the Ottoman Sultan. The people were afraid of the identity of the Ottoman Sultan and they had believed the certain hegemony of the Sultan⁴⁰⁷. Moreover, some of the Turkish War of Independence supporters had joined the war for the continuity of the Sultan's administration and the Caliphate. So, it took a long time period to create a common consciousness for a revolution in the country. even though after the Turkish War for Independence, some people were in a great expectation for the continuity of the Sultan's regime. And, some people were happy with the primitive, simple, and ordinary ideas of the

⁴⁰⁶ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 148.

⁴⁰⁷ Ucuzsatar, N.U. (2007), *Türk İstiklal Harbi'nin Menşei ve Esasları 1919-1922*. İstanbul. Derin Yayınları, p. 94.

current system. After the war for a revolution, there would be the real revolution in people's minds⁴⁰⁸.

It was a truth that Turkish War Independence was successful in the end of the battle period in 1922; however, there are some serious conflicts about the reality of the Turkish revolutionary process. Generally, Turkish War for Independence was a resistance against the Western forces like the Britain, France and Italy. Moreover, Turkish army had had to fight against the countries, which had supported by the Western countries like Greece. On the other side of the country, the Soviet Union government had supported Armenian army clearly. For this picture, there was no chance to create a revolutionary environment for the future of the country⁴⁰⁹. Thus, the priority of Mustafa Kemal and his friends was about to save the country from its existing situation. And, it was only possible with a rebellion. The most important one, the complicated social structure of the Ottoman Empire did not allow any complete movement in the country. So, it was not possible to fight against the enemy with a complete social resistance. And, it means that Turkish War for Independence was different from its counterparts in the past.

At the same time, when the Turkish War for Independence was over, there were some pieces from the past of the previous Ottoman administration. The Caliphate issue, the other religious issues and the economic matters, which were the heritage from the Ottoman Empire to the new Turkish Republic, were the ongoing debates about the future of the Turkish War for Independence. There were still matter to be solved and Turkish revolution was not

⁴⁰⁸ Bozkurt, M.E. (2006). *Türk İhtilali'nde Vatan Müdafası*, İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, p. 101.

⁴⁰⁹ Balcı, İ. (2006). *Bir Millet'in Uyanışı*, İstanbul: İlk Biz Yayınları, p. 72.

sufficient to solve all of those problems during the years between 1919 and 1922⁴¹⁰. In other mean, the power of the Turkish nation was only sufficient for the resistance and for staying alive. There were some parts in the society, which were thinking about the continuity of the Ottoman rules. And, Mustafa Kemal and his friends were just the commanders during the war. However, those people were not aware of the real resistance of the country. So, there was not a complete resistance and revolution consciousness for the Ottoman society. They had believed the success of the Sultan and the power of the Islam⁴¹¹.

The only similar part of the Turkish revolution against the other historical and reliable revolutions was about its certain result; the Ottoman Empire, which was a certain oppressive regime on its lands, was broken down and the new Turkish Republic was found. The administration styles of the both sides were completely different. And, the new Turkish Republic had removed the religious from the existing administration of the country. Except all of these, it is hard to say that Turkish War for Independence was a revolution⁴¹². It is sure to be that there were similar rebellions in the undeveloped countries of the world and particularly, the Middle East region and the countries from the Africa continent had followed the resistance of the Turkish people. And Mustafa Kemal was an important example to follow. However, all of these Middle Eastern and African countries had aimed to break down the pressure on them and to create completely new administration in the country and there was no need to fight against the religious pressure on these countries after the First World War period. The only problem was about the pressure of the colonial powers on the Middle

⁴¹⁰ Ucuzsatar, N.U. (2007), *Türk İstiklal Harbi'nin Menşei ve Esasları 1919-1922*. Istanbul. Derin Yayınları, p. 55.

⁴¹¹ Balcı, İ. (2006). *Bir Milletin Uyanışı*, Istanbul: İlk Biz Yayınları, p. 98.

⁴¹² Bozkurt, M.E. (2006). *Türk İhtilali'nde Vatan Müdafaası*, Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, p. 82.

Eastern and African countries. So, they had no more matter to fight; but, Turkish War for Independence was in a serious war all around the country with its limited power⁴¹³.

Turkish resistance was coming from the historical freedom feelings of the nation and the Turkish War for Independence was a product of that belief. And the revolutionary side of the issue has no ideological part; in contrast, although there was a revolution spirit, it was more than a revolution. It was fight and it was a real war to stay alive. And, generally, the revolutions come from the domestic matters and battles of the nations; the Turkish War for Independence was an example of a regional war era that the powerful against the weak⁴¹⁴.

From 1919 to 1922, the National Campaign had the basic resistance material of new Turkish government. Although there was nothing to hold and to stay alive against the different rivals on the every piece of the Anatolian lands, the Turkish War of Independence had started under those conditions and when the war was over in Izmir, 1922 the “sick man” had saved itself from the Western pressure⁴¹⁵.

After the world war, Britain’s interlocutor was the Istanbul government about to discuss the future of the Anatolia. The intent of the Ottoman had already changed in the direction of Britain plans on the issue. According to the Istanbul government, especially Damat Ferit Pasha, the defeat during the war was a result of the empty German passion Enver Pasha and his staffs. So, the new government had decided to be in cooperation with the British authorities for escaping from the destructive effects of the after war period in the minimum level. However, Mudros and Sevres were not the simple treaties and their effects were more destructive from the war’s itself. There was no choice to resist and the Istanbul

⁴¹³ Ucuzsatar, N.U. (2007), *Türk İstiklal Harbi'nin Menşei ve Esasları 1919-1922*. Istanbul. Derin Yayınları, p. 119.

⁴¹⁴ Bozkurt, M.E. (2006). *Türk İhtilali'nde Vatan Müdafaası*, Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, p. 133.

⁴¹⁵ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 47.

government to be with Britain. Their plan was about to share the Anatolian lands between the Allies and the dominance of the Sultan being a Caliphate would be protected by the British guarantee. The other parts of the state would be divided between the other states of the Europe⁴¹⁶. It seemed like a possible way to choose and to apply.

But, in 1919, when the Turkish War of Independence started, the direction of the relations between Turkey and Britain had changed deeply. Such, the new Ankara government refused all the authority of the Istanbul government and they declared that they were the only representative of the new Turkey. It was an extremely disturbing effect for the British policies on the region; because, the resistance of the Anatolian people would be hard and Russian alliance was over after the war. So, it meant that the Eastern front-line of the new war would not be there. There was only the Western front-line seriously and the defenders of the Western side were Italy and Greece. That situation was already a problem for the Turkey policies of Britain. In 1920, the new “Grand National Assembly of Turkey” was founded and the authority had changed had from Istanbul to Ankara. It was the basic fear of Britain came true. After the foundation of the new assembly, the National Campaign forces won a lot of battles like First and the Second Inonu Battles in the center of the Anatolian lands. The Eastern side was already under the control of the National Campaign forces. The resistance in the Southern Anatolia was going on and the Turkish forces were close to the victory. That general view showed that Britain had to change its policies for the Anatolia and they had to make serious contact with the Ankara⁴¹⁷.

So, the London Conference in February 1921 is important the changing conditions of that term. That conference was a sign of the softening on the relations. That’s first reason was

⁴¹⁶ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 74.

⁴¹⁷ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, p. 130.

about the reaction in the domestic politics of Britain. Secondly, the Anatolian movement was getting stronger in the region. Even, the National Campaign forces had taken back Izmit and Gemlik area after the battles. Third one, the Gumru Treaty in 1920, which was signed between Ankara government and the Soviet Russia, had increased the prestige and the dominance of the new Turkish state against the European states. Fourth, the First and the Second Inonu victories had pushed to give up the British forces during the Turkish War of Independence⁴¹⁸. So, when the London Conference was started, the Ankara government was more powerful against the British government politically. The most reliable event during the conference was about that the Istanbul and the Ankara governments had worked together and it was an important sign for being understand the power and the efficiency of the Ankara government on the Turkish lands. Although there was not any certain decision or any treaty after the conference, the important point of the London Conference was that the Ankara government under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal proved their presence in the politics of the Middle East region. At the same time, the Ankara government succeeded to recreate a destroyed state and the society from the beginning.

II. VI. II. The Lausanne

Decidedly, the Treaty of Lausanne was the symbol of the certain victory of the Turkish National Campaign from 1919 to 1922. The reached point after the First World War was a real right of the Turkish Anatolian resistance against the Western forces. Under Mustafa Kemal's leadership, new Turkey had done a great job for their future. In the Western side, it was a similar of the historical defeats against the Ottoman. It was a situation as if the Ottoman spirit had come out again. So, it was a great reason of fear for the developed and powerful European states, especially for Britain. Maybe, it was the end all of the efforts which were

⁴¹⁸ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 144.

about to hold Anatolia after thousands years⁴¹⁹. Because of this clear view, the Treaty of Lausanne had seemed like an opening age in the history between West and East. Not only the battlefield success of the Turkish resistance, the winning on the political area as in Lausanne was a hope for the states which under the pressure of the imperial powers in the West⁴²⁰. Accordingly, the Turkish War of Independence and the Treaty of Lausanne extremely irritating events for the Western policies and the future plans about the Middle East particularly⁴²¹.

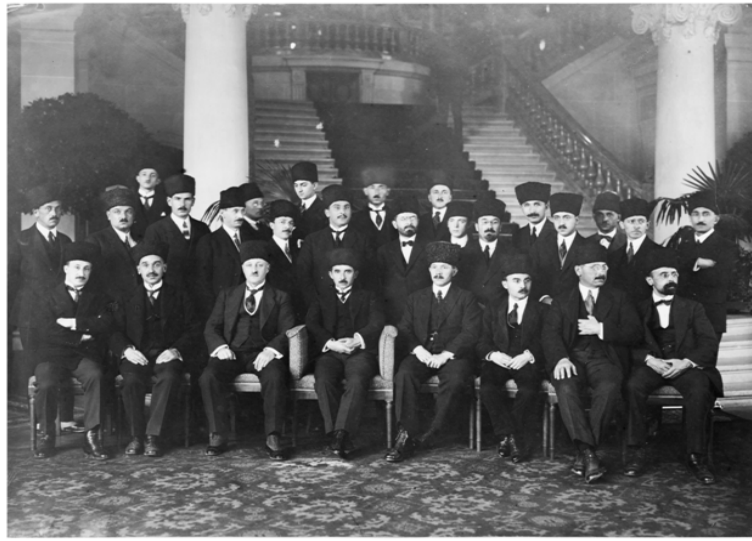


Figure 20. Turkish delegation in Lausanne Conference, 1923⁴²².

The importance of the Lausanne Conference from the viewpoint of the relations between Turkey and Britain was about that the existing situation had made the both sides equal in the political area. Turkey and Britain would not fight in the battlefields or with the indirect moves; the relations were carried to the legal and the lawful dimension. With this specialty, the Lausanne Conference provided a different field in the relations of two sides by

⁴¹⁹ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 95.

⁴²⁰ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 241.

⁴²¹ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 174.

⁴²² Karacan, A. N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 231.

creating a revolutionary balance between the Western and Eastern civilizations after hundred years of the Ottoman's regression⁴²³. Therefore, it will be fairer to hold the issue in a balance level for Turkey and Britain for understanding the existing factors of those terms and the next events after the agreement. It is already possible that the results of the Treaty of Lausanne had provided a serious change in the relations of Turkish Republic and Britain⁴²⁴.

During the Lausanne Conference, there was a basic contradiction that under the leadership of the British committee, the Allies were defending the fundamental arguments of the Armistice of Mudros; on the other side, the Turkish committee was defending the Armistice of Mudanya. So, that contradiction did not allow any certain victory for the both sides on the paper; it seemed like a settlement text more. However, the general view of that treaty was victory sign for Turkey. Although the British committee tried to change the conditions for their profit every time during the conference, it could not be possible. Nevertheless, Britain had taken some strategic benefits from Lausanne at truth⁴²⁵. This situation was a result of the impossibilities and the oppressions of Turkey's existing situation during the conference and, beyond all of those factors, new Turkish Republic extremely needed a treaty like this after eight years war period⁴²⁶.

After many years, Lausanne's results are still a questionable situation for Turkey; for some, Lausanne was a victory for a country, which had nothing to resist against its enemies. For some, it was a shame for an honorable race's honorable generation. These two extreme ideas about Lausanne Treaty cannot change the results for today. However, it is important to see the valuable points of Lausanne for Turkey and Britain at the same time; because, these

⁴²³ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları, p. 201.

⁴²⁴ Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephæstus Books, p. 93.

⁴²⁵ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 326.

⁴²⁶ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 135.

states had gone to the conference with the different expectations. Those expectations were about the highest interests of their states. But the process and the behaviors of the representative during the conference had made pressure on the delegations to change their ideas. Actually, Lausanne was a new war on the table and the weapons were words, political moves and hidden threats by the states to their rivals⁴²⁷. So, it is hard to see Lausanne as just a conference and a peace treaty. It includes so many things in it; passions and obsessions of the states and leaders, which come from the past. This situation drew the end of the conference. In particular, Britain's pressure on the other states' delegates was a serious doubt to talk about peace. Perhaps, Turkish side had won the war; but the political consciousness of Turks was not powerful to resist and to be victorious against its rivals. Political arena is a different place to pay attention and British politicians were doing their job well in this arena. It was a tradition for Britain. That is why it was not a trouble for British side. On the other hand, British delegations had a preparation process right before the conference. Maybe they were not victorious on the battlefield, but their trumps were ready against Turks. British pressure on the League of Nations and the other sides of the Lausanne Conference were enough to beat the Turkish side⁴²⁸.

Deficiency of Turkish side about the political moves was a trouble for the delegation. However, Ismet Inonu was in comfort that he had the victory since 1920 against the Allies. So, Turkish side had the legal rights about being right against the others. British side was aware of that and their pressure was because of that. Inonu declared that Turkey had the right to draw the window of the peace treaty and to make accepted their wishes. During the conference Inonu had declared his expectations from the conference permanently. It was a doubt for British side; because they did not expect a Turkey, which was trying to make

⁴²⁷ Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephaestus Books, p. 39.

⁴²⁸ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 118.

pressure on the sides of the conference. At the same time, Turkey was right to declare their expectations and conditions about the treaty because of their advantage situation after Turkish National Campaign⁴²⁹. The most important thing was that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had said Turkey would never give up fighting its highest interests during the conference. After Turkish National Campaign, Ataturk had gained a huge respect all across Europe and his approaches for the new era in the Europe was respectful and important for the next period and the relations between the states. That is why existence of Ataturk was a threat for the pressure of Britain on Turkey. Under these conditions and with the effect of the victory during the national campaign Turkey joined the conference.

Lausanne's Importance for Britain:

The First World War had been ended with the victory of Allies. According to that Britain had advantage against the other European states; because loses of Britain were less than the others and Britain's financial structure was enough to balance the situation after the war. No doubt, war had stressed British authorities, but the result was in a satisfying level. After the war, the basic problem was about the situation of the Ottoman Empire; actually, the thing was that Turkish National Campaign which came out after Sevres Treaty was the serious threat for the interests of Britain. In this process, Britain tried to change the conditions in favor of it, but it could not work. That process brought the states through an end in favor of Turks. The last point was Lausanne Treaty⁴³⁰. So, firstly, Lausanne was a prestige matter for Britain in the political area. Britain could not realize its aims on Turkey during the national campaign of Turks. The expectations of British authorities were empty at the end of the struggle on the Anatolian land. That situation had destructed the prestige and position of Britain on the European politics; because, new Turkish country and its leaders had defeated

⁴²⁹ Henig, R. (1995). *Versailles and After, 1919-1933*. London: Routledge, p. 32.

⁴³⁰ Henig, R. (1995). *Versailles and After, 1919-1933*. London: Routledge, p. 83.

British Empire's army although Turks' numbers were less. At the same time, the other sides of the war, Italy, France and Greece had lost the war against Turks. So, there was a complete defeat for the victorious states of the First World War. That is why Britain aimed to recover that situation for own interests⁴³¹.

Greece's position was important to understand that Britain always tried to make pressure on Greece against Turkey during the conference. Turkey and Greece share the same historical tradition and the area. Their attitudes about their social lives, their political approaches and their economical moves are similar. The basic reason of this similarity is that the both countries had lived together under the rules of the Ottoman Empire for hundred years. In this long time period, the mutual effect between each other was the basic point of their relations and their similarities⁴³².

And, after the Greek society was separated from the Ottoman state and Greece was founded in the middle of the 19th century, their common points did not change. It is a truth that their rivalry did not change and sometime that rivalry had caused serious clashes between two sides. That problematic situation is valid for the every area of the current relation process. The most important one is that the Greek society has an enmity against the Turks and their country. In this point, the political struggle between two sides gains importance. So, the struggles between two sides, which include the regional, and the European politics create the basis of the conflict between two sides.

Secondly, Britain was aware of that they lost the war, but British authorities did not want lose everything they had on the Anatolian lands. At least, they did not want to pay compensation. At the same time, they did not want to see new Turkish state as a legal and a

⁴³¹ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 219.

⁴³² Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 220.

powerful state on its efficiency area, Middle East including Arabian Peninsula. Right in this point, British politician focused on resisting against Turkish expectations and wishes before the conference in Lausanne⁴³³. It was a certain truth that Britain would pay something to Turks like the other defeated states during Turkish National Campaign; but, basic ideas was about to defend the current position of Britain⁴³⁴. Moreover, Britain could be right against Turks about the Southern areas of Anatolia. After that Britain could keep some land for its dominance. Thus, in the Mosul and Kirkuk matter, British delegation would achieve that.

Third and the last one; it was about sharing the lands. In this situation, traditional British political talent showed itself. British delegation made pressure on Italy, France and Greece to racist against the land matter between the sides against Turkey. It was a chance for Britain to save its prestige and interests on Anatolia lands. In other words, Britain tried to keep it away from the conflicts between the states in the conference. After those conflicts, Britain hoped to see its position in the conference safe. British authorities tried to show their state was not a part of the political conflicts and there was nothing to lose for Britain. Briefly, Britain hoped to stay in Turkey for a long time period and British politicians directed their policies on this direction. However, at the end of the process it did not work completely in favor of Britain.

Lausanne's Importance for Turkey:

Turkey was the most hopeful side of Lausanne Conference; Turkey was victorious and its image on the western state had risen again after hundred years of the Ottoman Empire's glory days. That situation had made Turkey hopeful for the future of the country. But first of all there was an obstacle to get over; it was Lausanne process. Turkey's approach

⁴³³ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 156.

⁴³⁴ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 173.

to the conference was depending on two points; they were, first, deciding the borders of new Turkish state and second, Turkey's future in political and financial mean on the region. In the first step, Turkey's idea was to keep the motherland on Anatolia and not leaving Aegean cost to Greece and Italy⁴³⁵. Greece was already keeping under the pressure of Britain and Italy about this issue before the conference. Atatürk and İnönü who were aware of that pressure decided to say certain things about their expectations on Aegean cost and they did not even think about talking upon on this issue. Turkish delegation's most important mission was about to stay hard and stable for the Aegean matter⁴³⁶.

The other region, Southern area of Anatolia was another matter for the situation of peace talks. This issue already took so much time of the states in Lausanne. There were Britain and France in South-East of Turkey and they did not talk about leaving the places easily; they were resisting. It was a missile for Aegean matter against Turkey. But Turkish delegation knew that during the conference and İnönü and his delegation said Turkey was the victorious on that region and it was hard to negotiate some things about own lands. Turkey's thesis was clear and logical; they had won the war and they had to decide the basic lines of the peace treaty. It had to be like that in theory, but existence of Britain in the conference was a serious threat and obstacle for the wishes and achievement of Turkey. British delegation made clear their approaches for the land matters right before the conference. On the other side, Turkish authorities had already made clear their approaches since Mudanya Armistice Treaty October 11, 1922. That is why there was no matter for Turkish side South-East Anatolia matter. Eastern Anatolia lands were another topic to discuss after the conference.

⁴³⁵ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 217.

⁴³⁶ Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephaestus Books, p. 56.

Second important point for Turkey was about the political and financial topics. In this point, Turkish delegations faced resistance of Allies, but new Turkish state achieved to get what it wanted mostly. Most important one, “Capitulations” were a serious scar for Ottoman Empire and it was like a bad heritage for new Turkish state’s history. Turkish delegation tried to refuse that heritage and they made accepted their pressure against the other states. Capitulations would not be a good starting point for new Turkish state; that is why Inonu and his friends paid so much attention about that matter. The other topic was about Ottoman Public Debt Administration. Debts of the Ottoman Empire in the last days caused founding of this establishment by the foreign states including France and Russia. Ottoman Public Debt Administration matter was one of the issues that each country was aggressive to keep it alive. The same resistances like other issues were shown by the Turkish delegations Ottoman Public Debt Administration issue, too. But, even Ottoman Public Debt Administration was removed from the records of the new Turkish state; debts were shared between the countries, which separated from the Ottoman Empire during last days of the state. Turkish delegation was saved with a little debt payment; it was “little” according to the total of Ottoman Public Debt Administration’s debts and this situation was important for new beginning of the country. Lastly, the war reparation issue was a burden for the European countries, especially Britain. But, after a mutual agreement, Britain, France and Italy gave up war reparation for the First World War. Only Greece left Karaagac region to Turkey as war reparation⁴³⁷.

In political area, Turkey’s prestige and legal situation were important points, too. Most of the world states had accepted Turkey’s legality and most of them paid attention for the victory of the country. In this point, Ataturk and Inonu had wanted political and legal guarantee from the European states for a new peace process. That situation caused new topics

⁴³⁷ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 187.

in the conference; they were straits and Aegean islands⁴³⁸. The statute of the straits was a valuable issue for the future of new Turkish state on the region, because straits were precious transition points. In this issue, Inonu could get he wanted and Turkey dismissed its army from the straits. However, control and decision-making right of the straits were left to the League of Nations; it was a political and a legal guarantee for Turkey and it was enough for the first step. The islands were another troublemaker between Turkey and Britain⁴³⁹. Britain was not the direct responsible of the issue, but they were trying to make pressure on Italy and Greece to disturb Turkey. Except Gokceada and Bozcaada, Turkey has left the other twelve Aegean islands to Greece. But the advantage of Turkey was that Greece would not locate its army on these islands.

Under these conditions, Lausanne Treaty was signed by Turkey, Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Romania, Japan and Yugoslavia. But neither Turkey nor Britain could reach their aims completely and easily. Lausanne was like a battlefield more than a political meeting. Surely, Turkey was the victorious side after the conference, because there was a new path for Turks to go and a great was ended in favor of them. Even Lausanne was not the real deserve of Turkey, Britain and the other major European countries were aware of that the Ottoman era was ended and a new era with new Turkish state was started. Britain's and Lord Curzon's aim was to reduce increasing prestige and political power of Turkey after their victory against four different European states at the same time⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁸ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 225.

⁴³⁹ Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephaestus Books, p. 71.

⁴⁴⁰ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 194.

Two Challengers in Lausanne: Inonu versus Curzon

Ismet Inonu and Lord Curzon were the priority personalities in Lausanne Conference. According to that it is possible to say that these politicians decided the direction and the results of the conference, moreover, they drew the general frame of the Lausanne Treaty at last. That is why it is valuable to understand these characters and their posture during the conference. In particular, Inonu is an important personality and Inonu was a person who completed four-year war on the Anatolia lands and came to Lausanne to giving a positive shape for his country's victory.

Ismet Inonu (1884-1973) was a commander in Turkish army during Turkish National Campaign. At first, he was a volunteer during the beginning of Turkish national resistance in Erzurum and Sivas congresses with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. They were good friends and their friendship had affected the other commanders positively to join the resistance as volunteer. During those years, Inonu was a assistant for Ataturk, but after his short assistance period he became the second commander in new Turkish army. He had a stubborn and a rebel personality. That is why Ataturk wanted to see him as the commander of the Mid-Anatolian armies. His personality was useful for Turkey's victory against the allied countries on the Anatolian lands. After many years on the battlefields, Mudanya Armistice Treaty in 1922 was the crown of his success and his stubborn personality. Moreover, it was his first experience in a treaty process as a politician. In Mudanya, he showed his skills in politics; that is why Ataturk already chose him to achieve realizing a useful treaty for the future of their campaign. Inonu was the possible person to make those these things realize and his journey in politics started with Mudanya process. That successful view of Inonu in Turkey made him the right individual to go to Lausanne to represent Turkey. At first he was afraid to be alone against the other countries' pressure on Turkey and he wanted Ataturk to come with

him. However, Atatürk declared his trust to İnönü and İnönü became head of Turkish delegation in Lausanne⁴⁴¹.



Figure 21. Head of Turkish delegation in Lausanne İsmet İnönü⁴⁴².

Lausanne was very stressful for İnönü, because he and his delegation were alone against the allied states although his country was the only victorious side of the national campaign. However, he did not give up declaring his country's expectations and he had big part of it except Mosul and Kirkuk matter. Although British pressure on the conference, İnönü was hard to be persuaded and to be satisfied about his expectations. In particular, İnönü was irresistible about the islands and straits issues; he was a difficult man and he had he expected. Briefly, İnönü was victorious after the battlefields again in Lausanne mostly⁴⁴³.

⁴⁴¹ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 203.

⁴⁴² Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephaestus Books.

⁴⁴³ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 223.

George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925), well-known Lord Curzon worked in political area of British diplomacy and he was very effective in the Eastern politics of Britain. He assumed a governor role in India and he worked on excluding Indian extremist and Indian nationalist from the resistance process. He was successful and his service to Britain made him important to the authorities. Lord Curzon was a smart man that is why he was trying to keep Britain away from the Anatolian lands, because he believed all the Eastern lands could be conquered but Turkey. So he tried to change the idea of British authorities, but his effort did not work and Britain started a struggle against Turkey with France, Italy and Greece⁴⁴⁴. At last, Lord Curzon's legitimacy was understood, but it was too last. Right in this position, Curzon assumed a role to call Turks to peace talks in Lausanne and he made accepted his call to Turks. Lausanne had seemed the best way to save Britain from an endless struggle.

However, in Lausanne, Curzon faced Turks' another resistance against the allied countries and their decisions. Lord Curzon had seen his similar Ismet Inonu. During the conference, they made pressure on each other. Inonu achieved so many things for his country, but Curzon was in failure. So he preferred to threat Turkish delegation about the Kurdish issue and his threats gave him chance to keep Mosul and Kirkuk under the British hegemony. That was already the only profit of Britain from Lausanne. Curzon's achievement was only related his threats on Turkey, except, he could not made accepted his wishes to Inonu.

⁴⁴⁴ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 253.



Figure 22. Head of British delegation in Lausanne Lord Curzon (a photo from his first years as a bureaucrat)⁴⁴⁵.

Lord Curzon's biggest achievement was about holding Iraq's control in the hands of Britain; rich petroleum areas of the country were precious for Britain's needs. That is why, through the end of the conference, Curzon had only focused on Iraq issue; he had threaten Inonu and Turkish delegation for a rebellion in Iraq against the Turkish army. It was an annoying situation for Turkish delegation and they did not want discuss this issue in Lausanne while there more important issue for Turkey⁴⁴⁶. Curzon knew that and he tried to hit Turkey with Iraq trump. At last, he achieved that. Perhaps, Curzon provided hegemony for Britain in Iraq, but would not take so long to leave Iraqi lands in the near future. Petroleum and petroleum hegemony issue would change after a short time period.

Lausanne and Afterwards:

Although Lausanne was a part of Turkish National Campaign's victory, many years after Lausanne Treaty, in Turkey, a lot of politician criticized details, presence and purpose of

⁴⁴⁵ Graves, P. P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları.

⁴⁴⁶ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 255.

Lausanne Treaty. There is a serious separation between Lausanne Treaty's supporters and opposites. In particular, criticism of treaty was too harsh in Turkish Grand National Assembly against Ismet Inonu and his friends in delegation of Lausanne.

First of all, it is important to see the opposites' thesis for Lausanne Treaty. According to the opposite in parliament of Turkey, Lausanne's details were dangerous for Turkey's future and Inonu could not that. Straits matter was the best example of it. According to that if Turkey had no army to control Bosphorus and Dardanelle straits that situation would make Turkey an easy target for its western enemies⁴⁴⁷. Especially, Britain was a serious threat after peace period in the Europe. Britain made the straits defenseless to prepare a new army to attack Turkey. So, treaty's point about the straits was a new chance for Britain and its allies to conquer Anatolian lands. According to opposites in parliament, Inonu had assisted Britain for this purpose. Another problematic issue was about the Aegean islands. For Lausanne Treaty opposites, there was betrayal of Inonu to Turkey: according to that they believe Inonu could save most important ones of the islands. But he did not. He did not choose to fight against the allies. Gokceada and Bozcaada were just little gifts for Turkish delegation's existence in Lausanne Conference: it was not more than that⁴⁴⁸. Lastly, there was a criticism for Inonu about war reparation. Turkey could not get any war reparation from any country. It was a big mistake, because Turkey was a new country and this country had deserved huge war reparation in Lausanne. However, Inonu surrendered on the table against Curzon. Inonu and Turkey was defeated at the same time in Lausanne. The result was not satisfied for Turkey's rights on the table. In other words, Turkey could not get the state deserved after the national campaign legally.

⁴⁴⁷ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 237.

⁴⁴⁸ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 204.

Against all these critics, Inonu's answers were clear and he waited parliament to understand him. Actually, the straits issue was not a defeat; it was a victory for Turkey. According to Inonu, Istanbul and Dardanelle were under the threat of British naval forces. After 1918, especially, Istanbul was surrounded by the British army on the sea and on the land. There was a certain armistice for Britain in Lausanne Treaty and Turkey have chance to say the last word for the straits. Beyond, League of Nations was the responsible about the straits. It meant a legal protection. Inonu and Turkish delegation could achieved this even Turkey was a minor country for a major problem like this. The other problem, Aegean islands were not the easy issues to be solved. Turkey was alone during the conference and the other countries were totally against Turkish delegation. Britain and Italy were trying to make pressure on Greece against Turkey; on the other hand, Britain and Greece were threatening Turkey about to leave the islands to Greece or to fight again for these islands. Inonu did not choose to fight; cleverly, he made pressure on Greece to leave these islands without army. It was so important for defense of Turkey against Greece. Greece delegation was aware of Turkey's power and resistance, so they accepted this option and they withdrew their army from the twelve Aegean islands. That is why it could be an achievement again. Last issue war reparation was not an easy issue to discuss in a conference like Lausanne, which was going on under stress. Britain and France had already refused pay anything right in the beginning of the conference. So, war reparation was behind at the highest mountain. Again, cleverly, Inonu refused to pay war reparation which was related the end of the First World War. It was a surprise for allied states and Inonu provided equality in this issue.

After all these, it is not possible to blame Inonu and his friends for a betrayal or failure, because Lausanne was not an easy political process a fresh country's young and

inexperienced politician in the international area. However, Atatürk drew a good roadmap for Turkish delegations and İnönü and his friends did their best⁴⁴⁹.

II. VI. III. Musoul-Kirkuk Problem in Lausanne

Musoul and Kirkuk regions were the most valuable issues the Lausanne Conference. When the both side thought about the petroleum sources of these areas, their importance had increased two times. The leader of the Turkish committee, İsmet İnönü had offered a close and binary with the British committee about Musoul and Kirkuk issues; because, İnönü had not prefer to face any pressure from the other allies of the Britatin while they were arguing about that reliable subject⁴⁵⁰. The British side had accepted it; however, they did not agree the big part of the Turkish approaches, which were about to take Musoul and Kirkuk. According to Turkish approach, the Anatolian people needed the petroleum to create a development process after the destruction period in their own lands and those regions' importance had increased for them. In contrast that view, the leader of the British committee, Lord Curzon specified that the issue was not about the petroleum really. According to Curzon, if there was a need about natural sources, consulting to the London government to have an obligation sources; they had to leave insisting about to have Musoul⁴⁵¹. On the other hand, for Curzon, Turkey's best way could be to make a connection with the petroleum companies to solve their source problem. Those approaches of Lord Curzon were not even helpful for the Turkish side⁴⁵².

⁴⁴⁹ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 228.

⁴⁵⁰ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 154

⁴⁵¹ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 109.

⁴⁵² Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 137.

	A	B	C
Kurds	263,830 (39.2 %)	427,720 (54.5 %)	520,007 (64.9 %)
Arabs	43,210 (6.4%)	185,763 (23.7 %)	166,941 (20.8 %)
Turks	146,960 (21.8 %)	65,895 (8.4 %)	38,652 (4.8 %)
Christians and Jews	31,000 (4.6 %)	62,225 (7.9 %)	61,336 (7.7 %)
		16,865 (2.1 %)	11,897 (1.5 %)
Yezidis	18,000 (2.7 %)	30,000 (3.8 %)	26,257 (3.3 %)
Total settled population	503,000 (74.7 %)	-----	-----
Nomads	170,000 (25.3 %)	-----	-----
Total population	673,000	785,468	801,000

Sources: A Turkish statistics produced at the Lausanne conference in 1923
B Estimates by British officers in 1921
C Enumeration by the Government of Iraq (1922-24)

Figure 23. Turkish and the British thesis for Musoul and Kirkuk population⁴⁵³.

That disagreement had caused a dead-end for the negotiations of Turkey and Britain. After that time, Ismet Inonu carried the issue to the January 23, 1923 date session of the conference. This time, the attitude of the British committee was hard to resist and their behavior had expanded the other allies. Inonu's mission had been changed; while he was trying to explain the Turkish side's approaches well, he was trying to decay the curved allegations of the British authorities⁴⁵⁴. This point is a clear example of stressing relations of two sides.

The Turkish and the British committees had completely different claims about the issue. While Ismet Inonu was putting forward the Turkish thesis about the Musoul issue, he touched upon on the ethnographic, legal, historical, economical, political, military and strategic points.

⁴⁵³ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 98.

⁴⁵⁴ Atarodi, H. (2003). *Great Powers, Oil and the Kurds in Mosul*. Washington: University Press Of America, p. 152.

From the ethnographic view, the region's population was around 500.000. 263.000 of it were Kurdish, 146.000 of it were Turkish and 43.000 of it were Arab. The other parts of the population concerned to the other little ethnic groups⁴⁵⁵. The big part of the Musoul was Kurdish and Turkish people; at the same time, Inonu had told that the Kurdish race was a member of the historical Turkish genealogical tree. Finally, according to the Turkish thesis, the Kurdish people wanted to live with the Turkish population in the region. It was an opposite view of the British thesis which was brought forward before⁴⁵⁶.

From the legal view, the British forces had occupied Musoul after the armistice and it was a lawless move according to the international law and the principles of Wilson⁴⁵⁷. Although that lawless situation, Britain had explained about its occupation on Musoul and Kirkuk that it was a natural right for themselves after the war period and it was the right about the conquer. That approach of the British side was found too uncivilized and out of the international law system which was accepted with foundation of the League of Nations. During that discussion, the Turkish committee wanted to arrange a plebiscite in the region; in contrast, the British committee had put forward that the population in Musoul and Kirkuk were too uneducated and the plebiscite would be unsuccessful. So, the chance about the plebiscite for the Turkish side had been destroyed because of the British lobby actions⁴⁵⁸.

From the historical view, Musoul was an indissoluble part of the Turkish lands since the 11th century. Ismet Inonu talked about that the geographically, Musoul was an extension of Anatolia. When the railway, which connected Musoul to the Mediterranean area, was completed, the area would be connected to the Anatolia more than Iraq. Right in this point,

⁴⁵⁵ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 94.

⁴⁵⁶ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtaş Yayınları, p. 141.

⁴⁵⁷ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 85.

⁴⁵⁸ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 152.

from the economical view, according to the Inonu's approach, Musoul was attached to Diyarbakir and the Mediterranean harbors. Yet, Baghdad and Basra had enough potential to prevent the Iraq's own economy⁴⁵⁹.

From the military and the strategic view, Musoul was a valuable place to provide a good transition connection between the Anatolian lands. So, it made Musoul very reliable in every meaning for Turkey. For the security issue, the British committee told that Musoul was a guard region for the security of Bagdad. However, they had not tried to understand the same security worry for Turkey's own lands, like Istanbul and Ankara. On the other hand, as Musoul matter, the regime of the Turkish Straits was the other issue of the security worry between Turkey and Britain. For Turkish committee, those issues had to handle on the same axis⁴⁶⁰.

After those explanations of the Turkish committee, Inonu had tried to reveal the basic contradictions of the British side. According to Inonu's claim, with the Sykes–Picot Agreement, Britain had explained that they could leave Musoul to French administration. It meant that Britain could leave the Iraqi lands. At the same time, it also meant that an agreement, which was signed while Iraq was a part of the Ottoman lands, was not valid for the international laws⁴⁶¹. So, that claim an opposite view against the British claims, which were about that protecting the Arabian lands were the primary mission of Britain, and the system of mandate was the best administration option for Iraq.

On the opposite side of the Turkish thesis, the British thesis was extremely unfair and lawless. First of all, the British committee objected the population numbers, which was put

⁴⁵⁹ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 129.

⁴⁶⁰ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 93.

⁴⁶¹ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p.125.

forward. According to the British numbers, the numbers of the Kurdish people were more than the Turkish committee talked about. And the numbers of the Turkish people less. The first separation between two sides had come out on the numbers⁴⁶².

The other basic defense of Lord Curzon was about the historical background of the Turkish and the Kurdish societies' past. For Curzon, there was no connection between two social group's histories. So, there was no need to bring together Turks and Kurdish people on the region. Curzon also put forward the "Muslim Minority" fact and he defended the idea which was about that Turkish administration was mistreating to the Armenian people and the other minority groups. In this point, Curzon tried to carry the issue to a religious dimension and he knew that a Christian group of Allies could help him on Musoul matter against Turks⁴⁶³.

That certain disagreement caused a new period about the Musoul and Kirkuk problem between Turkey and Britain. And Britain suggested that carrying the problem to the League of Nations platform was the best choice to solve the problem. At truth, that was a serious advantage for the British side; because, being a dominance power on the world politics, Britain had a great efficiency on the League of Nations⁴⁶⁴. So, it was more than a suggestion; it was like an insistence. At last, Turkey agreed to carry the situation to the international platform. There was no other choice for Turkey. The country had just left a war behind and the Musoul and Kirkuk problem could cause a new war. Mustafa Kemal did want

⁴⁶² Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 181.

⁴⁶³ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 144.

⁴⁶⁴ Değerli, E.S. LOZAN BARIŞ KONFERANSI'NDA MUSUL (Musul at the Lausanne Peace Conference). Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Vol. 10 No. 18, December 2007, ss.132.

to be in a new clash. So, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey agreed that decision, too. However, it was like a desperate situation for the Turkish side⁴⁶⁵.

When the research committee for Musoul and Kirkuk of the League of Nations assumed the mission, actually, the result was clear from the beginning; during the meeting in the League of Nations General Council, the pressure of Britain was felt and that pressure affected the result of the commission report directly. Turkish efforts to collect some support from the member states in the League of Nations were failure. The successful British policies reached the last point Britain wanted.

In 16 July 1925, the research committee for Musoul and Kirkuk of the League of Nations had completed their report and they served up the report to the General Council. According that report, even the results were not close to the British thesis for the region, it was far away from the Turkish thesis pretty much. The general view of the report was on the self-determination side for Iraq; however, the British pressure during the preparing period of the Musoul report had affected the important points of it⁴⁶⁶. As a result, the report had created a useful end for the British plans for the Iraq lands. In the eventual result of the Musoul and Kirkuk matter, Turkey had become the loser side. In contrast, with its unlimited dominance and the efficiency on the general politics of the European and the world, Britain had an important victory against Turks. After the National Campaign years, in the relations of two sides, first time, Britain had gained a winning. Politically, Britain's success was not about its own dynamics; on the contrary, Britain had used a meaningless pressure on the member states of the League of Nations and the General Council of the organization. So, it meant the illegal ways to use. From that view, it is not fair to say that Musoul and Kirkuk issue was not a

⁴⁶⁵ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 43.

⁴⁶⁶ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 168.

failure for the Turkish policies. The new founded republic was in a war threat after the war of independence⁴⁶⁷. As Mustafa Kemal said, being insistent and aggressive during that period would not bring any profit for Turkish Republic. On the other hand, Turkey's limited power on the world politics had obstructed new republic to change the conditions on the region. So, assuming the decision was the best way.

As mentioned above, the failure on the Musoul issue had come out for Turkey. However, the situation was not a result of the Turkish diplomatic process. There were many different and illegal events during the discussion process with Britain. And that process caused a tension period on the relations⁴⁶⁸. Britain had faced up to that and the British politics had taken all the risks to be in a war after a short time period. That courage of the British side had created an irretrievable error against Turkey.

The first stress reason on the relations was about Britain's attitude about Musoul issue in the League of Nations and during the binary meetings of Turkey and them. Britain had followed a pressure tactic on the member states and the British influence on the world politics had become a determinative phenomenon for the issue. That view shows us that Musoul matter could not have been solved under the legal rules of the international law. The political and the military conditions directed the road of the problem. Turkey's posture in this issue was so peaceful⁴⁶⁹. Maybe, it can be appreciated a fear from a new war and the Turkish politicians had tried to keep away from it, however, Turkey had wanted to solve the problem by using the self-determination rights of the region people. The war was the last option for Turkey's own politics. On the other hand, Turkey had already won the last battle and the

⁴⁶⁷ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları, p. 192.

⁴⁶⁸ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf 174.

⁴⁶⁹ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları., p. 193.

European states were not happy about it particularly. So, the limited political efficiency of Turkey made it alone during this issue⁴⁷⁰.

The other British move for Musouls and Kirkuk issue was on the provocation policy. The Sheikh Sait rebellion was the most visible example of that policy in February 1925. At first, the rebellion seemed like a simple rebellion; however, the Kurdish armed groups' resistance continued two months⁴⁷¹. The rebellion was a product of the provocation and the Kurdish gangs killed so many people and destroyed the regional villages. Although it was like a normal rebellion, it had been transformed a serious political and social problem in the Southern part of Turkey. The most interesting side of the event was that the rebellion had come out during the Musoul issue was discussed in the League of Nations. There is no doubt; it was a British provocation event. Therefore, the British authorities blamed the Turkish authorities on that they were making a clear genocide against the Kurdish people. This thesis was a plan of making Turks the guilty on Musoul and Kirkuk issue. And the Sheikh Sait rebellion caused a serious leeway on the Musoul process for Turkey. At the same, with that British plan, Turkey had lost prestige. When the Turkish side understood that it was a British provocation, that situation changed affair of the relations with Britain⁴⁷².

The last problem between two sides during the Musoul matter was about the religious issues. According to the British and the French claims, Turkey was hurting the ethnic religious groups on the Musoul and Kirkuk region⁴⁷³. It was not true; however, that was the other dimension of the British provocation plans. And it became so convincing in the League of Nations General Council. Beyond, it affected the report of the Musoul committee

⁴⁷⁰ Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman, p. 137.

⁴⁷¹ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 201.

⁴⁷² Çoşar, N. And Demirci, S. THE MUSOUL QUESTION and the TURKISH REPUBLIC: BEFORE and AFTER the FRONTIER TREATY, 1926. *The Turkish Yearbook, Vol. XXXV*, 2004. pp. 50.

⁴⁷³ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 136.

of the League of Nations. Although there was not any religious pressure on the regional societies, Britain had used that claim with France well against Turkey⁴⁷⁴.

When all the elements of the issue came together, the view of the Musoul matter is clear to see that the victory for Turkey was not possible under those conditions. Britain had left the relations' future with Turkey for the Musoul problem. In that issue, the conditions had turned back to the war period between 1919 and 1923 for a while⁴⁷⁵. The only difference was that while Turkey was refusing to face a new clash, Britain used its political and military power on this issue. It was a serious risk for Britain's posture against Turkey.

With the treaty, which signed between Turkey, Iraq and Britain in 5 July 1926, the Musoul problem ended. The result was negative for the Turkish side in political and economical meaning. As mentioned before, the conditions which were determined by the British authorities. Turkey had wanted to stay away from a direct clash from Britain and when that trump card for Britain joined the political propagandas, the situation had ended for Britain's profit. The Musoul matter was top of the Turkish-British tension after the Turkish War of Independence and the Treaty of Lausanne. While Turkey was getting its expectations from the Treaty of Lausanne, the same situation was not valid for the Musoul and Kirkuk regions. However, that issue had become a great guide for Turkey's posture against Britain for the future and it would come out during the Second World War⁴⁷⁶.

⁴⁷⁴ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 182.

⁴⁷⁵ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 182.

⁴⁷⁶ Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European History)*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 191.



Figure 24. Map and borders of Turkish Republic after Treaty of Lausanne⁴⁷⁷.

II. VI. IV. Mosul and Petroleum Matter between Turkey and Britain

Mosul-Kirkuk matter was not only related the hegemony or political dominance between Turkey and Britain on the region; it was more than that. Need of petroleum was the basic reason of the clash between two sides. Curzon did not want to allow for a solution about the border between Turkey and Iraq, because Curzon was trying to change the process in favor Britain⁴⁷⁸. If Turkey and Iran were in trouble for a long time period in region there could be a clash and there could be an intervention of Britain. But if Turkey took it expected in Lausanne from Iraq it was not possible. Indirectly, a clash on the southern Anatolian lands would be useful for the interests of Britain. During a struggle between Turkey and Iraq, Britain was planning to support Iraq. That move would be a chance to be in Iraq to control the petroleum trade. Turkish delegation was struggling against too many things in Lausanne and Iraq border matter had lost its importance⁴⁷⁹. It was a danger for the future, but Inonu and

⁴⁷⁷ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 122.

⁴⁷⁸ Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları, p. 193.

⁴⁷⁹ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 260.

Turkish delegation could not be aware of threat for Turkey political future. Actually, Britain created that area; first, Turkey had to be tired because of meaningless problems a discussion, after that Curzon would take care of Iraq, Turkey's Iraq border and petroleum areas. That was a clever strategy.

Britain's care about petroleum depends on British colonial operations on Arabian Peninsula. During the first colonial period of Britain, British spies, commanders and scholars had discovered high potential petroleum source in Iraq and the other Arabian countries. But, after Britain lost a war against Turkey, Iraq's importance increased; in other words, when the conditions change against Britain on region, Anatolia and Arabian Peninsula, Britain focused on Iraq. According to the records of British scholars in 1924, Iraq was the third area, which had the highest petroleum potential in the world. This sanction made Iraq more attractive for Britain. On the other hand, Britain understood that Turkey did not give up some basic points in Lausanne like capitulations and straits, British delegation and Curzon paid more attention on Iraq and Iraq's petroleum sources⁴⁸⁰.

On the Turkish side thing were too complicated to find solution. Lausanne was already a very hard process for Turkey. Moreover, Turkey was so tired of fighting since 1914 on the Anatolian lands. There were a lot of serious and important issues in Lausanne; so, Turkey could not pay sufficient attention for Iraq issue and Iraq petroleum sources. Through the end of conference, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk declared that Turkey had no chance to discuss upon Iraq matter; it was an issue to talk after the conference. According to him there was no reason to fight against Britain after four-year clash for Mosul area and petroleum. Atatürk had accepted to lose Mosul and petroleum control. Turkish side's thesis about Mosul was that the region was a part of Ottoman Empire and Turkey protected the area during the National

⁴⁸⁰ Black, E. (2011). *British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement: The West's Secret Pact to Get Mideast Petroleum*. Dialog Press, p. 177.

Campaign⁴⁸¹. So, Turkey had to control the area. But the political tricks and efforts of Britain did not allow that. Britain already knew that they could not gain anything from Lausanne; that is why they focused on Mosul and its resources and they did their best.

At the same, Britain has Kurdish trump and they used that well; in particular, rebellions and clashes of Kurdish groups against Turkish forces Iraq border of Turkey kept away Turkey from the petroleum issue. Turkish government wanted to finish these incidents and to draw the border with Britain in Iraq immediately. In other words, British tricks did not give any chance to Turkey focus on Mosul's hegemony and controlling the petroleum areas. Surrounding speaking of Atatürk to the newspapers in Turkey was a clear sign of that. Kurdish issue more serious matter for Turkey than Mosul and petroleum, because Britain was supporting the Kurdish rebellion like they did to Arabs in the past. When Turkey, Britain and Iraq signed border agreement between Turkey and Iraq in June 5, 1926, there was a possibility for Turkey to have some from Iraq petroleum as 10% and 500,000 Sterling every year⁴⁸². However, from Turkish delegation Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüşdü refused that condition. After that Turkey lost its last chance to have share from Mosul petroleum. In contrast, Turkey had a heritage as Kurdish problem for its future.

II. VII. What Was the Connection between the Ottoman Empire and

Iraq for Britain?

This issue is the basis of the British movement in the Arabian societies and it creates the main reason of the British political hegemony on the Arabian societies. When the British authorities saw the potential in the Arabian political area to rebel against the Ottoman

⁴⁸¹ Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt I*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, p. 223.

⁴⁸² Black, E. (2011). *British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement: The West's Secret Pact to Get Mideast Petroleum*. Dialog Press, p. 143.

administration, it was a beginning of the Ottoman regression in the administrative mean on the Arabian regions. So, it is easy to separate the reason of focusing of the British policies on the Arabian world to the three topics⁴⁸³.

Proximity of Iraq to the Ottoman Lands and the Arabian Peninsula:

In those years, the Arabian rebellion against the Ottoman administration was a process until the end of the First World War and that situation was an attractive reason for the Western forces to use the Arabian region against the Ottoman Empire. During a possible war period, being effective in Iraq could be useful for the British forces to the fight against the Ottoman Empire⁴⁸⁴. Or while there were still nationalist rebellions of the social-ethnic communities, the British effect can trigger the tension of the Arabian societies against the Ottoman Empire and Iraq could be used as an easy transition point for the other Arabian societies through the Ottoman lands in the Anatolia⁴⁸⁵. In the administration consciousness of Britain there was a tactical strategy to make fight the sides against each other. That is why Britain had used the Arabian society to make them rebel; because, they known that their attempt would be occupied the Ottoman side. Iraq's proximity to the Ottoman lands and its complicated and their conflict between them were the great keys for the British authorities to find the gaps in the region and used those gaps as the serious and powerful weapons during the last of the Ottoman Empire's regression terms⁴⁸⁶.

⁴⁸³ Bilgin, Mustafa (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, p. 217.

⁴⁸⁴ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 234.

⁴⁸⁵ Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman, p. 166.

⁴⁸⁶ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 142.

Using the Muslim Identity against the Muslim Brother:

During the last years of the Ottoman Empire, a lot of Ottoman Sultans had tried to call the Muslim countries for fighting against the Western enemies and it was called jihad. But the call of jihad had not worked for bringing the Muslim nations together against the hundred-year enemy, the Christianity; because, the degree of the separation between the Muslim and Caliph Ottoman and the other world Muslims, especially Arab Muslims. When the British authorities had been aware of that matter, they had tried to use this division as a powerful weapon. With that way, the British authorities had deployed their spies like Lawrence of Arabia and representatives to organize the Muslim separation between the sides⁴⁸⁷.

Those spies and representatives had been located in the Arabian Peninsula and they had encouraged the Arabian society to not answering the jihad in no way. According to these secret representatives of Britain, the Ottoman Empire had wanted to use the Muslim influence on the Muslim Arabian states and it was just a purpose to consume the population of the Arabian society by using them during the clashes. In other mean, according to the British spies and representative, the Ottoman Empire had a racist attitude against its Arabian subjects by dividing them the Anatolian subjects. That is why they had encouraged the Arabian societies to rebel against the Ottoman Empire. In the British view, the Arabian Muslims were the brothers of the Western societies and the only protector of them would be the British Christians⁴⁸⁸. On the other hand, the British spies had informed the Arabian society for their independence in the future secretly. That message was a call for the Arabian nations to waken up for the resistance and fight⁴⁸⁹. During that period, Britain had decided as an unofficial

⁴⁸⁷ Graves, R. and Kennington, E. (1991). *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Marlowe & Company, p. 93.

⁴⁸⁸ Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 243.

⁴⁸⁹ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble.

center for that rebellion. Between the years 1900 and 1912, Britain had worked so hard to change the idea and the approaches of the Arab nations against the Ottoman Empire and Iraq was the center of the rebellion moves of the Arabians with Britain.

Bringing the Arabs Together under One Identity in Iraq:

Ottoman Empire's identity matter had been started to criticize through the last period of the Empire. The matters like minorities, different religious and the different social groups had disturbed the structured social order of the Ottoman Empire. But, the system had been damaged until the last period of the Empire and a lot of minorities had declared their independence. The British authorities had seen this situation after the independence declarations of the Balkan states in particularly. So, the British authorities had searched for the new independence followers all around the Empire⁴⁹⁰. The Arabian nations were the most possible groups for Britain. With that way, Britain had worked for bringing the Arab nations under one-identity as Muslim and Arab in the Arabian Peninsula; because, according to the British authorities, the Ottoman Empire had hold the Arabian nations under the pressure and the Empire had not allowed them to be united. That was a British thesis⁴⁹¹; but they had enjoined that idea to the Arabian nations to make them believe.

After all, Britain had called the Arabian nations to act them to Iraq. As mentioned above, under Iraq lands, Britain had promised the Arabians to make them independence. That is why Iraq was seen a beginning for the Arabian nations. During their rebellions against the Ottoman Empire, Iraq was headquarters. At the same time, Britain had used the Iraqi trump as

⁴⁹⁰ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 163.

⁴⁹¹ Viorst, M. (2007). *Storm from the East: The Struggle Between the Arab World and the Christian West*. Modern Library, p. 89.

a great chance against the Arabians that Britain was the protector and friend of the Arabian independence process⁴⁹².

Rebellion, Resistance and the Role of Faysal bin Huseyin:

Generally, the legend of “Lawrence of Arabia” is the most known fact right behind of the success for Britain during the first period of the 20th century. Britain had used Lawrence character as a friend for the Arabian society to show Britain as an ally and it had worked. However, while Lawrence was effective for the general Arabian world, the other specific character, Faysal bin Huseyin was seriously effective on Iraq for British aims.

Bin Huseyin was one of the sons of Serif Huseyin who was the leader and emir of Mecca. Serif Huseyin and his young son bin Huseyin were the most possible and most powerful figures for the resistance of Iraqi forces against the Ottoman forces. In particular, bin Huseyin was young, smart and active on the politics against the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the regional leaders and emirs were listening to him carefully. He had respect. That is why Britain had focused on bin Huseyin to direct the British politics in favor of Britain and Iraqi leaders at the same time. Without using weapon, Britain had decided to use bin Huseyin’s influence on the people, because he was one of the most important Arabian nationalist and that situation had increased his respectful identity even for the Syrian leaders.

⁴⁹² Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton, p. 116.



Figure 25. Founder and the first king of Iraq, Faysal bin Huseyin⁴⁹³.

In 1915, the regional Arabian rebels and political leaders had showed that they would support bin Huseyin's actions and politics. Bin Huseyin encouraged the Arabian forces and rebels against the Ottoman Empire in the following year; influence and power of bin Huseyin had been proved. 1916 was the first year that the Arabian resistance and rebellions had been started against the Ottoman authority. After two years period, when the Ottoman Empire lost the First World War, the Arabian rebellion won its first victory and the southern lands of the Empire were separated from the from the Anatolian lands⁴⁹⁴. That success brought a serious advantage to bin Huseyin and Britain declared that he was the King of Syria. At the same

⁴⁹³ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 122.

⁴⁹⁴ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 143.

time, he was responsible with Iraqi lands. In this situation, it is important to see that bin Huseyin played its role well, but the British support to him made him more powerful and effective on the Arabian society. In other words, bin Huseyin was like a “puppet”, but he was strong for its environment.

However, that happy and successful process did not take so long; France was in trouble with the regional Arabian rebels and France had wanted to control the general area. That is why France tried to find a possible sphere to be agreed with Britain. In this situation, Britain had chosen its ally, France. But Britain did want to lose the influence and effect of bin Huseyin. So, bin Huseyin was declared as the new leader of eastern Arabian society. In 1921, officially, Britain declared that bin Huseyin was the new King of Iraqi State, which was under the control of Britain. Actually, bin Huseyin and Britain were so lucky at the same time. Bin Huseyin was lucky, because he had a serious and powerful political and military support from Britain; that situation made him effective on the Arabian authorities. Britain was lucky, because, after Lawrence, a “real” Arabian personality came out and he made the things easier for the British aims. During bin Huseyin’s twelve-year kingdom in Iraq, Britain administrated the region and the country in favor itself. Bin Huseyin was a powerful and active Arabian nationalist and his personality mad him more powerful during his administration in Iraq. That is why, Britain left the administration to him in Iraq in 1930 and Iraq declared its independence, because Britain had already made Iraq as one part of the UK and it was enough to keep Iraq under pressure. Bin Huseyin’s personality and nationalist posture were effective during that period⁴⁹⁵.

⁴⁹⁵ Bilgin, Mustafa. *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008, p. 191.

II. VIII. Iraq's Own Politics: Treaty of Saadabad

Treaty of Saadabad, which was signed by Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan additionally on July 8, 1937, has importance for the history of Iraq and the powers on it. Actually, this treaty was just a simple agreement between Turkey, Iran and Iraq; however, after the other regional countries saw the importance of it, they wanted to join the process like Afghanistan. After Afghanistan's joining, Treaty of Saadabad's conditions were decided. No doubt, the treaty had different importance for the sides. Turkey had secured its eastern borders, Iran had made Turkey an alliance for a long time period, Afghanistan had continued to build the new country and Iraq had found chance to decide own future as an independent country. Basically, the reason of this treaty was about to decide the borders between Turkey, Iran and Iraq and reduce the illegal actions of Kurdish terrorist groups. In particular, Turkey and Iran had serious problems on that issue. That is why they had cared about a treaty like Saadabad. On the other side of the issue, Iraq had cared about for different dimensions of the issue.

According to that, Iraq paid attention for Treaty of Saadabad on three basic issues. Firstly, as a new state, Iraq wanted to be known and the state wanted to decide its borders against its neighbors. In the past, Iraqi lands were one of the parts of the Ottoman Empire's lands. After the decline of the Empire, Britain had controlled Iraq. After many years under the pressure of the foreign states, for the first time its history, Iraq had own authority and Treaty of Saadabad was a sign of it⁴⁹⁶. Iraqi authorities had believed it was a great chance for their country to decide its future with the different social groups like Kurdish and Turkmen people.

⁴⁹⁶ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 133.

During the last days of the Ottoman Empire and the first days of Turkish Republic were the problematic terms for Iraq about independence. There were also serious clashes on the Iraqi lands and on the unofficial Turkish border of the country. Secondly, Treaty of Saadabad provided a security and legacy to Iraq about its borders and “state” identity. According to the 7th article of the treaty, the sides would be in cooperation against the illegal actions on the borders between the sides. It was important for Turkey and Iraq at the same time, because both countries were in trouble with the terrorism and the other illegal actions. Turkey had power to obstruct those actions, because Turkey had armed forces. But, Iraq did not have a serious self-protection and the 7th article of the treaty was very useful for Iraq⁴⁹⁷.

Lastly, Iraq had seen Treaty of Saadabad as a powerful legal support for its future. In particular, after the First World War the security of the minor country had depended on the international agreements. However, Iraq had gained any advantage from that process and any agreement had not worked for the interests of Iraq. Iraq was so lucky about this situation; in any mean, it had a serious support in legal mean. At the same time, Iraq had guarantee of its powerful neighbors on the region Turkey and Iran. Moreover, Britain had supported that situation because of its aims on Iraq including petroleum issue. So, Treaty of Saadabad was a serious chance for Iraq according to its equals in the Middle East⁴⁹⁸. During the founding of new Iraqi state, Treaty of Saadabad provided a guarantee and support to the country to remove the pressure on it, which was realized by Turkey and Britain physically.

⁴⁹⁷ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 135.

⁴⁹⁸ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 136.

CHAPTER 3. COLD WAR PERIOD AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

III. I. Iraq After the Second World War and Britain's Iraq Policy

The end of the Second World War was a messenger of democratic Iraq; because the war was over and the European states would try to fix their problems in politic and economic means. That is why Iraq would care its problems under a democratic system. However it was just an expectation for the Iraqi politicians and rest of the public opinion. Kingdom of Iraq was closer to the end than ever.

Kingdom of Iraq had lived a normal politic era with mandatory system in Mesopotamia under British administration. In the first phase of this mandatory system, Iraq was under the control of king and British representatives were in Iraq to check the system's continuity and to secure the regime. King Faisal II was the strongest castle of British system in Iraq in those years. The interests of the side were the similar; Faisal wanted to stay on his position to secure his future in the country and his position in the Arabian society by using the influence of Britain. British politicians saw Faisal II as a valuable ally to protect petroleum areas and to assist the petroleum areas' administration to the British companies. Those mutual expectations stopped the attacks against Faisal II for a while. During that period, Britain collected sufficient authority to control the petroleum's power in the region; Britain had one of the richest sources by using Iraq's own authority⁴⁹⁹. However, Faisal II was not aware of the danger yet; because existence of the British influence on the region and increasing power of Jewish pressure for the hegemony of Israel were threats for Arab nations as much as Iraq of Faisal II. The mistake of Faisal II was about to trust Britain and himself too much; Britain did

⁴⁹⁹ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 178.

not pay attention for the interests of Iraq primarily. At the same time, Faisal II had no power to protect himself from the extremist pressure in the Arab world. That dilemma was a serious pressure on Iraq's future.

Faisal II lived the first pressure from the public opinion during the 1941 military coup. The coup was designed by his uncle and after a short time period coup turned into Anglo-Iraqi War and it was a show for power of Britain. The war continued for 29 days and Britain was victorious. However, that war was a reason for two-sided administration in Iraq and the authority of Faisal II was hurt a bit. When the war was over, Britain made Nuri as Said as the new Prime Minister of Kingdom of Iraq. The reason was about protecting the interests of Britain and providing information stream to Britain fast. The term of Faisal II before the Anglo-Iraqi War was too hard for Britain have information about regime and the moves of the Kingdom of Iraq. After the war Britain had chance to handle the process and the administration. The term of Faisal II was a friendly period for Britain as they wished⁵⁰⁰.

However, Iraq's situation was not easy to control for Britain; extreme Arab nationalists, shareholders of petroleum areas and militant of the little attacking groups were threatening order of Faisal II and the British interests. After 1941, Kingdom of Iraq did not see any peaceful period until the end of the kingdom era.

End of Anglo-Iraqi War was a beginning for historical Hashemite period in Kingdom of Iraq some other Arab states like Syria and Lebanon. Faisal II was not comfortable with that situation because of increasing power in the country⁵⁰¹. But the situation of Hashemite was not more different than Faisal II. Iraq army did not want to see a king of a dynasty for the country; their wish was about founding a militarist order to protect the interests of country

⁵⁰⁰ Sluglett, P. (2007). *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 142.

⁵⁰¹ Catherwood, C. (2005). *Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq*. Basic Books, p. 97.

against Britain and the other imperial powers in the country. At the same time, according to the militarist approach, petroleum was for Iraqi people, not for imperial powers. So, there was a need for nationalizing the petroleum.

That is why, between 1941 and 1958, Kingdom of Iraq met a lot attempt for the military coups. The security of the country was lost and British influence was getting weaker day by day. It was a common threat for existence of Faisal II and Hashemite dynasty in Kingdom of Iraq. At last, in 1958, the military coup which was called 14 July Revolution were realized. Basically, it was seen as an ordinary military coup attempt for the country; however, it was more than that and it would shape the future of the country⁵⁰².

Increasing Arab nationalism was the main reason of military coup. Faisal II was not a serious defender of the Arab nationalism and his approaches on the Arab world were not similar with the militarist authorities. After 1941, Faisal II was getting weaker and his authority on the military was lost. On the other hand, influence of imperial world lost a castle after 14 July Revolution. In contrast, the influence of USSR increased because of the agreement between Soviet authorities and the Iraqi militarist leaders. Execution of Faisal II and the other dynasty members finalized the term in Iraq, which was under the control of Britain. In other words, incidents during the 14 July Revolution were intimidation against the imperial forces around Iraq. Military coup was the messenger of a new era in the region for Iraq and the other Arab states at the same time.

III. I. I. Petroleum

The world's petroleum consumption is increasing day by day. And the main fact of the world's production sectors is petroleum. At the same time, this need causes great struggles

⁵⁰² Marr, P. (2011). The Modern History of Iraq. New York: Westview Press, p. 95.

for this thing since 1940s. All we know that, the big part of the petroleum reserves in world are in the Africa and the Middle East area. However, these regions' countries are undeveloped countries and their efficiency about the petroleum politics are in low level. So, the developed Western countries try to handle the management of these reserves and this causes struggles, clashes, sometimes-even wars. After all, the petroleum issue is the basic object of the political and the economical projects of the states; because, everybody knows that it is an indispensable tool⁵⁰³.

The most important example of the petroleum importance showed itself during the OPEC petroleum crisis. Especially, the Western countries affected from this crisis after the petroleum exporting states applied petrol embargo and they redounded the petroleum prices. It happened during the term that there was a great need for the petroleum all around the world. In those days (and still today), the Middle East region had the 65% part of the petrol reserves. So, it made an importance for the region and it is still the same. The petrol resources in the Middle East make a big difference to the other parts of the world in political and economical meaning⁵⁰⁴. The economical structure of the Middle East is completely different from the fields. The petrol is the basic economical resource but it is not shared between the societies of the regional states. The Middle East countries care about the personal profits about this issue and they forget their political situation during this transportation process.

The economical production of the regional power depends on the petrol production. The Middle East petroleum is the %65 of the world petroleum reserves and it makes the region more attractive. The economies of the countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and UAE almost depends on the petrol production completely. In the beginning of the 21th

⁵⁰³ Lee, R.D. (2009). *Religion and Politics in the Middle East: Identity, Ideology, Institutions, and Attitudes*. Westview Press, p. 113.

⁵⁰⁴ Owen, R. (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Routledge, p. 93.

century, the petrol was discovered and it became the basic economical fact for the regional states. It is not only effective for the Middle East countries; it is about the other countries of the world at the same time. So, this situation creates an economical and sometimes political force for the Middle East. The OPEC crisis of the 1970s was the great example of this⁵⁰⁵.

At truth, the petrol power of the Middle East had to make the region more effective on the world politics. But, generally Arabian countries did not prefer to have political power. It is not even easy to say that they preferred to have the political power on their own. Rather than their current situation on the world political they could become more effective; however they did not. Today, the petrol is the most indispensable source for the world industrial development. But, the petrol exporting states cannot provide to make them more important.

After the Second World War, England left its dominance on the Middle East to America. This process became more problem for the region about energy sources; because America had a big population and its aims on the industrial issues needed more energy power. America created its projects on the Middle East for its future. During the Cold War area, the efficiency of the Soviet Union on the regional countries increased. America was not happy about it. So, they changed their plans to the clash projects to hold region. Egypt and Syria took the control of the petrol producing and they closed their economical policies against the Western countries. After this time, the petrol subject became more valuable for the countries' foreign policies and the importance of the region's energy power developed. However, after the downfall of the Soviet Union, its power lost and America held the region. Iraq and Iran lived serious pressures because of their economical behaviors against America.

⁵⁰⁵ Lee, R.D. (2009). *Religion and Politics in the Middle East: Identity, Ideology, Institutions, and Attitudes*. Westview Press, p. 175.

With these historical reasons, today, the petroleum issue still has an importance for the relations with the countries out of the region. Therefore, the rich petrol countries are powerful in the region like Saudi Arabia. But, there is an American pressure and American efficiency in the country. So, the petrol richness does not make them free about their political movements. Saudi Arabia is different politically from the other region states. On the other, the countries, which do not have enough energy reserves, have disadvantages for their administrations. Their people are still poor and the reserves do not give enough development chances for them. And this situation creates an inequality in the region⁵⁰⁶.

The most important one, the economical sovereignty system does not work in the Middle East; the countries still are connected to the Western countries systems. Although the petroleum resources, there are still interdependent countries. These countries are not free about their administration; but they do not take an example the Western civilization for being a model. It creates another problem between the Middle East countries that they have union between each other to protect themselves and to make common decision-making environment. It shows that the petroleum is not a unifying fact for the Middle East. By contrast, it separates the countries in their own region and sometimes it causes some clashes between each other. This is a chance and advantage for the developed countries to direct the petroleum markets.

III. I. II. Role of the Military Coups in Iraq

Absence of a stable order in the Middle East states provided chances for the military authorities to control the politic system. That is why the power of the military coups in those states more effective than the legal and elected authorities. Generally, effective states on the

⁵⁰⁶ Owen, R. (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Routledge, p. 133.

Middle East region like Britain supported the military side against the legal order; that is why military structure in the Middle East was more powerful. In the current time, there is still effective role of military in the Middle East states.

As one of them, Iraq lived these problematic terms in history. Different military authorities, different alliances and different names tried to change the order by using the militarist pressure on presidents and prime ministers. In particular, after the 1930s, Iraq's administration changed hands rarely because of the militarist pressure on the king. "Revolution of May" in 1941 was the most important example on this issue⁵⁰⁷. That military coup meant the end of the British hegemony on Iraq. However, by the support of Britain, king could take the leadership in Iraq again even it was not powerful enough to hold authority.

After 1941, Iraq could have a legal political order under the guarantee of Britain and their follower king of Iraq Faisal II, Iraq's ethnic structure, military's rebellion attempts and politic struggles in the Arab world did not allow Iraq to protect the administration in peace. Surely, military's power was decisive for the results of those clashes. An army, which does not serve their kings or leaders, cannot stay in peace forever; there may be serious rebellions, clashes, perhaps civil war threat any time. Iraq lived that after the end of the Second World War. Whereas Arab unions providing was a hope for Iraq to continue the legal administration system; after that, Arab world's struggles and Britain's unsuccessful policies on this region destroyed hopes of Iraq. Clash between military and king was about handling the authority in Iraq; but there were different variables; first, surely, presence of the petroleum made Iraq's administration more precious than the past⁵⁰⁸. Military authorities believed that they could have the administration in Iraq it would make easy to handle the country for a long time period; because, if they had petroleum and weapon at the same time, it would make their

⁵⁰⁷ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 114.

⁵⁰⁸ Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group, p. 75.

power forever. It was like a similar approach with the European militarist leaders after 1930s. Second and the last, military were more powerful against king to control the feelings of the people⁵⁰⁹. According to that military authorities could claim that they were the real nationalists and protectors of Iraq. Naturally, the Iraqi people who hate king's administration would believe the claims of the military and support their actions. Iraqi society was against Faisal II's administration through the end of 1940s. That is why it was a good chance for military to realize their aims in the country.

So, 1958 revolution was so important incident in Iraq's history. It was the bloodiest revolution attempt in Iraq's politic past. General Abd al-Karim Qasim's leadership brought the authority to military and kingdom was ended forever. However, it was not the end of the clashes in the country; because, a military coup does not bring the peace and solution every time. Surely, Qasim's leadership did not bring the same things in Iraq. It was just an attempt to make an "ego" feeling real. Although Qasim's authority did not see 5 years beyond and a new military coup happened in Iraq, but republican regime disappeared in Iraq's history until the current time⁵¹⁰.

In 1963, Iraq's military signed a revolutionary success in Arab world. Baas regime came out and it would affect the rest of the Arab world directly in basis of Arab nationalism and it was a beginning of a new era in Iraq. That nationalist approach was a new roadmap for Iraqi authorities to handle the petroleum's power against domestic and foreign rivals of the administration in any mean; because, nationalizing the petroleum network was on the top militarist Iraq regime's agenda⁵¹¹. However, it was realized by a person who would control

⁵⁰⁹ Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011). *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 92.

⁵¹⁰ Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011). *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 123.

⁵¹¹ Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press, p. 236.

Iraq hardly for a long time period. Entire the military coups, clashes, struggles and lastly the Bass regime with Arab nationalism created a man whose name was Saddam Hussein. He was a commander and he was not completely different the former militarist leaders in the country. So, he would decide and prepare the end of Iraq in 2003 with his all mistakes.

III. II. Baas Movement and Saddam Hussein's Leadership

Baas ideology was depending on a common move plan of the Arabian states under the same interests; none would be the leader on its own, there would be just one state name and Islam would rule the region. It was interesting that one the Bass ideology's creators, Michel Aflaq (1910-1989) was a Syrian Christian. On the other hand, one of basic materials of the ideology was socialism. Bass had come out with a lot of dilemmas. According to their approaches, those ideas would rule the Eurasia region in the future, at the same time. Baas movement came out in Syria; however, it found fanatic and loyal supporters in Iraq. In particular, defeat of Arab union against Israel after the "Six-Day War" increased the support for the Bass movement in Iraq. While, the Baas ideology was losing its breath in the other Arabian countries, Syria and Iraq was getting stronger with the Baas mentality. Iraq had more than Syria. Actually, the Baas movement and Bass Party could not reach the potential in the country until 1976; communist creations and communist extremists did not allow Baas Party to get strong. However, 1976 was the year of a deeply change for Iraq, because an ordinary Iraqi officer who was called Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) had the control of general administration in Iraq and Hussein was an extremist about Arabian nationalism; in particular, he was a strong man between whole the officers in the military and he had a great support from them. He was ready to use the power of army and the ideology of Baas movement⁵¹².

⁵¹² Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group, p. 188.

Baas movement in Iraq was a bit different than the other Arabian movements. Iraqi system and ideology were depending on an absolute Iraqi hegemony on the other Arabian states; if there will be an Arabian union. In the first years of the Baas movement in Iraq, Iraqi politicians had focused on these ideas and they had decided their policies on these ideas; they were their milestones to make Iraq an absolute leader⁵¹³. Israel's rising on the Arabian Peninsula had triggered the Arabian nationalism in the region again. The Arabian military members and the Arabian nationalist politicians had aimed to get the administration. Hafez al-Assad, who was the leader of Syria between 1971 and 2000, was one of them and he was against Israel extremely like the other counterparts in the Arabian world⁵¹⁴. When he came into power in Syria in 1971 legally, he had aimed to defeat the Israel threat from the Arabian region. And he was in cooperation with Envar Sadat. However, the aims of both leader were for nothing; because, Israel was more powerful and Israel had won almost all the battles. But, Assad did not give up; he had ordered a sanction to the Lebanese Civil War; it was the most powerful sanction of the Syria administration. However, in 1982, Israel changed the rules in Lebanon for its own benefit and Assad's plans were damaged. Moreover, Assad had problems with Iraq; because Iraq had a leader like Assad⁵¹⁵.

Saddam Hussein was a hard man for whole the friends of him from the military years knew him like that. He supported the movements, which was on Arabian nationalism. He was one of the extremist supporters of Arab-Israel clash. Defeat of Arabian side had destructed him deeply and he had wanted to control the system from a side that he had chosen. That is why he directed the military operations and non-bloody coups in Iraq. At last, in 1979, he had chance to rule the country. But it was not a good thing for the neighbors of Iraq. There are a

⁵¹³ Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011), *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 114.

⁵¹⁴ Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011), *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 164.

⁵¹⁵ Bashir, Ala (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little. p. 197.

lot of reasons of that. First of all, Saddam Hussein was an Arabian nationalist, but he was a dictator for his country and it was not good for its country. He would try to enlarge his dictatorship through the other side of the Arabian states. He had imagined a united Arabian state and a leadership for himself. However, it was just a dreaming very dangerously. Secondly, he was a serious enemy for the US and Britain. According to him, those countries had to be externalized from the regional politics⁵¹⁶. After that he would have chance to manage the petroleum traffic in the Middle East; it was just another long-term dream. Lastly, he was thinking about movements, ideologies and political approaches from the Arabian lands; he believed that Islam had to be the only ruler for the area and Iraq would be the ruler of that period. That is why Hussein was so angry with the Iran Islamic Revolution. He was scared of Iran's growth in a short time period and Iran's possible leadership between some regional states in the Middle East. After Iran Islamic Revolution he declared war against that country to protect his and his country's position in the region⁵¹⁷.

Hussein's presence disturbed the US most, because the matter of petroleum was a serious issue for the US foreign policy. At the same time, Britain was caring about the developments in the Middle East; maybe, Britain lost its efficiency on the Middle Eastern politics according to the past, but Britain was a major country, which paid attention on the Middle East always. That is why the situation of Iraq was so important to the British politics. Hussein was closer to the American friendship, but he was far away from being an ally with Britain in the region.

Hussein was not weak, but he was not powerful so much; he always trusted the chemical weapons, pressure of Baas system and the support of the Arab world, which was created by the threats, and fear methodology of Hussein. At first, Baas ideology was so

⁵¹⁶ Aburish, Said K. (2001). *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge*. London: Bloomsbury, p. 211.

⁵¹⁷ Bashir, Ala (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little. p. 139.

attractive for the other Arab countries and it was a emotional support for their independence struggle against the Western hegemony on the Arab world. After First Gulf War, the situation changed and the fake Arabian friends of Hussein changed their minds and ways. Baas regime and ideology was getting weaker year by year. Until the end of the 1990s, Saddam Hussein and his Iraq stayed same, while his neighbors were changing with the support of their Western allies⁵¹⁸. Right in this point, the relation of the US with Saudi Arabia and relations of Britain with Kuwait were the remarkable facts for the Arabian history after the First and Second World War periods. These moves left Hussein alone. Through the end of 1990s, Saddam Hussein and Baas ideology had almost lost its influence on the Arabian nations and then Hussein left its aggressive and hard foreign policies against its neighbors like Turkey and Iran. It was not a wish of Hussein; it was a result of Western political pressure on Iraq's foreign policies⁵¹⁹.

III. II. I. Britain's Viewpoint on Baas Movement

No doubt, presence of a hard and problematic order in the Middle East and the Arabian nations was a messenger of new clashes and maybe, even the wars. For decades, Britain had defended a permanent order and peace in the Middle East, because the region had reach natural sources like petroleum and Britain's interests were always on these sources since the beginning of the 20th century. Britain was the first country that had seen the natural sources potential in the Middle East and the Britain authorities directed their policies and plans on the region. That situation continued until the modern period in the Middle East. That is why Britain did not decrease the attention on this region and they paid attention on the

⁵¹⁸ Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011), *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 205.

⁵¹⁹ Aburish, Said K. (2001). *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge*. London: Bloomsbury, p. 278.

region⁵²⁰. So, Baas movement's presence was another chance to increase the attention and to provide politic and economic advantage for Britain. In basic, Britain had seen Iraq and Baas movements as a chance for its interests.

Actually, the presence of Baas movements was useful and harmful for Britain in two different points; first of all, Baas movement was useful for Britain because of the great power of Baas ideology in Iraq. Iraq and Saddam Hussein's common power was a serious threat, pressure and fear on the other Arabian states in the region. Britain could use the influence of Baas identity by supporting Iraq and Saddam Hussein. When Iraq and Hussein had power on the region, Iraq and Britain could be allies for the regional politics; Britain had already power to direct Hussein and his ideas. On the other hand, Iraq's rich petroleum areas were the targets of the British government; that is why Baas ideology and Hussein's influences were so important to Britain to control the politics in the region.

However, second dimension of the issue, it was a dangerous game for Britain, on the other hand. Although, Baas movements was working for the interests of Britain, there was a threat for Britain at the same time; if Baas ideology and, in particular, Saddam Hussein had more power than Britain expected, that hegemony would threat position, expectation, plans of Britain. Iraq and Hussein would become a threat to Britain to manage the region and if the power of Hussein could reach the higher potential, perhaps, their potential would become attractive for the other Arabian states to support Iraq and Hussein.

III. III. Soviet Policies on Iraq

Soviet authorities had always followed the incidents in the Arab world nearly. It was normal that Soviet policies were always against the Western states' policies on the Middle

⁵²⁰ Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group, p. 231.

East. That is why the Soviet authorities did not give up finding a possible way to make connection with the Middle Eastern states.

During the military coups years in Iraq between the 1930s and the 1950s, Soviet policies were with the militarist leaders of Iraq. That is why Iraqi politicians said that Soviet Union was with the Iraqi army to change the order in Iraq. Basic reason of that was about the presence of British hegemony on the Iraqi leaders. In particular, Faisal II was under the pressure of Britain and it was a hard situation Soviet Union to realize their plans on the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East. In basis Iraq, Soviet Union was thinking about having rights and making economic cooperation with Iraqi government on the petroleum matter. Britain was so powerful about the petroleum areas of Iraq and it was a threat for the Soviet policies on the region. To realize its plans Soviet Union tried another way; during the military coups period, Soviet weapon industry worked for the Iraq army secretly. Normally, Iraq army had weapon to arm their soldiers. But, that time, militarist leaders planned to make army more powerful against the authority. 14 July Revolution was a great example for that situation; Iraqi government could not resist against the military and the system was changed in Iraq until the end of the period of Saddam Hussein⁵²¹.

Hussein's term was a turning point on the relations of Iraq and Soviet Union. Hussein was on the side of Soviet Union and the communist ideology was closer to Hussein's ideology because of that their logic depends on the leadership of one party and one leader⁵²². The equality idea of communist was not closer to Hussein; however, against the West, Soviet Union was the most possible ally for Iraq in the 1970s. In 1972, that is way both states signed an agreement about cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union; the agreement would

⁵²¹ Smolansky, B. M. and Smolansky O. M. (1991). *The USSR and Iraq: The Soviet Quest for Influence*. Washington: Duke University Press Books, p. 118

⁵²² Sluglett, P. (2007). *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 178.

be valid for 15 years period. It was the beginning of the Soviet militarist hegemony in Iraq. Again, in after that agreement between two sides, there was signed aid agreement for the negative situations of the states. Naturally, those agreements were in favor of Iraq; because, there was no chance for Iraq to provide an aid to Soviet Union or there was no chance for Iraq to provide weapon to Soviet Union. In those years, Soviet Union was one of the primarily weapon producers in the world.

Saddam Hussein's period was an awakening period for Iraq. After Hussein's hegemony started, Iraq's influence increased on the Arab world. Surely, the alliance with Soviet Union was a serious encouragement for Iraq. It was seen during the Iraq-Iran War. Soviet administration supported Iraq army with weapons and instruments. It was an interesting coincidence that the US was with Iraq against Iran. However, Soviet Union's expectation was about obstruct a possible threat from Iran after Islam Revolution. That situation increased the level of weapon transportation between Iraq and Soviet Union. In other words, their relations became stronger than ever. Iraq was one of the best customers of Soviet Union⁵²³.

The same situation was lived during Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In basic, Iraq was alone against Kuwait and its allies like the US and Britain under the flag of the UN. However, Soviet Union supported and encouraged Iraq for invasion of Kuwait. Soviet Union was not one of the sides of the war between Iraq and Kuwait; but their support to Iraq continued until the end of the war.

⁵²³ Catherwood, C. (2005). *Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq*. Basic Books, p. 183.

III. IV. Iran Islam Revolution and Road to Iraq-Iran War: The British Effect

III. IV. I. Iran Islam Revolution in a Comparative Perspective

As a different revolution, Iran Islamic revolution has different specialties. First of all, Iranian revolution's ideological basis is different. In Russia, the revolution had realized against the capitalist moves and the structured order in the country as a socialist revolution. However, in Iran, the revolution was against the capitalist Western politics as an Islamic revolution. The religious facts were more important the politic facts during the Iranian revolution. Second, the failure of the monarchy had made the Islamic side more nationalist than the other in the country. So, the extreme opposite sides had changed their positions. The Islamic administration replaced the politic authority. The last one, the Iranian Islam revolution had not affected the world socio-politic structure as well as the other revolutions in France and Russia⁵²⁴.

In the Iranian Islam revolution, the name of Ayatollah Khomeini (1902-1989) has a valuable place. Before the Iranian Islam revolution, during the Shah regime of the country, Khomeini was in banishment. He had gone to France and he had managed the Iranian revolutionary movement from that country. During the last days of the Shah regime, the Iranian government and military was divided and it was a serious threat for the regime and increasing effect of Khomeini's discourses from the outside of the country had pushed the country a revolutionary spirit⁵²⁵. Turnouts of the labors were the first signs of the revolution and in 1979; the Iranian Islam Revolution process had been concluded successfully. The

⁵²⁴ Kurzman, C. (2005). *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. New York: Harvard University Press, p. 78.

⁵²⁵ Keddie, N. R. (2006). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. Washington: Yale University Press, p. 133.

Shiite law administration had replaced the constitutional monarchy after the Iranian Islam Revolution. Under the control of Khomeini, the Shiite Islam ideas were victorious against the Westernized monarchic Iran. During his banishment years in France, Khomeini had said that the existing Iran government had directed the Iranian society to sin; with that way, Iran had become a part of the Western civilization. According to Khomeini, Iran was an Islamic Eastern country and its own willpower was more powerful than the Western country's hegemony. That is why Iranian Islam Revolution was a serious need for the country. During his militant terms in Fedayin-i Islam group, Khomeini had focused on an Islamic administration in Iran⁵²⁶.

Khomeini's leadership had provided a different and a powerful regime change to Iran; beyond, Khomeini had gained a serious support from the country. It was like that all the Iran people were waiting for an Islamic change in the country. According to personal approach of Khomeini, Iran had to be a religious country and Iran had to return its roots like the Soviet Russia did. Right in this point, Iranian Islam Revolution and the October Revolution in Russia were similar events. They were against the Western hegemony in the countries. Furthermore Khomeini had called the Shah as "Carter's dog"⁵²⁷. Khomeini was a part of his country's religious environment and he was called as Twelfth Imam after the revolution process's achievement. He had increased the efficiency and the power of the Shiism.

Khomeini's rising depends on the weakness of Shah's regime. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980) was a supporter of the Western regime and the US government was

⁵²⁶ Fischer, M. M. J. (2003). *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Washington: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 141.

⁵²⁷ Keddie, N. R. (2006). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. Washington: Yale University Press, p. 188.

supporting the Shah regime. That is why Pahlavi had felt himself and his regime in safe. Pahlavi's previous administration process was including coups and military pressure on the Iran people. That pressure had turned into a Westernization process after 1960s; however, particularly the religious leaders of Iran had declared a resistance against the Shah regime. Khomeini was the priority name of that process. While Shah Pahlavi was in failure in his country, Khomeini was very successful in France as far away from his lands and, Khomeini had used the unsuccessful process of the Shah regime as a trump for his aims.

There is no doubt that Khomeini's methods were bloody after the revolution. A lot of people were executed because of their actions during the monarchy regime. However, Khomeini's most important advantage against the Shah regime was his support from the public. People had wanted Khomeini and his Shiite mentality had enlarged in Iran. Until his death, the Iranian Islam Revolution was had created the basis of all the state administrations in the country⁵²⁸.

Before the Iranian Islam Revolution, during the Shah regime, Iran had serious financial problems. The oil crisis between 1973 and 1974 had hit the Iranian economy deeply. The problem about the oil prices was the problem that was not in Iran government's hands. In those years, Iran society was fighting against the financial and social matters in the country. Actually, the middle of 1973 was the starting point for the Iranian people for a revolutionary rebellion against the existing regime⁵²⁹. The most disturbing issue for the Iranian society is about Shah's oppressive attitude against his people. After the oil crisis in 1973, the oppressive attitude of the Shah regime had increased. Moreover, the American government under the rules of the President Jimmy Carter was trying to oppress the Pahlavi's administration for the

⁵²⁸ Fischer, M. M. J. (2003). *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Washington: University of Wisconsin Press, p 291.

⁵²⁹ Kurzman, C. (2005). *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. New York: Harvard University Press, p. 162.

new liberation moves. In those years, American rules were so important for the Shah administration. However, the Pahlavi's regime was more than a monarchy; it was like a dictatorship. Against that oppressive attitude of Shah, FMI, which was founded in 1961, and the militant wing of ulema were very effective to organize the Iranian people. Khomeini was one of members of FMI after its foundation. He was already captured in 1963 because of his action in the organization. That date was the beginning for Khomeini's banishment and his rising on the Iranian revolution at the same time. Khomeini's situation was not a surprise for the ulema side of the country. Shah had an order from the US and if there would be liberalization working, first of all, the influence of the ulema side had to be decreased.

However, in 1971, Khomeini's book "Vilayat-i Faqih Hukumat-i (Government of the Islamic Jurist)" had been published. That book was like a "fatwa" for the Iranian ulema and the Iranian society. After book's publishing, the religious leaders of Iran had called the people to bring them in the mosques. It was like "Jihad" calling for the Iranian people. With that event, Islam's revolutionary rising had started in 1971. On the other hand, that event was a transition process from protest to the rebellion⁵³⁰. There was an action well then.

Until the Iranian Islam Revolution in 1979, the physical rebellion of the Iran society had continued. When the Iranian Islam Revolution was realized, the formation of the Iranian administration had changed for a long time period. Khomeini's long-term efforts had reached the happy end towards the last terms of the 1970s. However, when Khomeini had come to the leadership of the country, Iran was in an involution and the Islam revolution had not seemed like a certain solution for the Iran society's matters. So, Khomeini had deployed Mehdi Barzagni as the President of Iran for a while. Barzagni's term was a short time period to complete the Islam revolution in the country. Thus, the friends of Khomeini had founded IRP

⁵³⁰ Keddie, N. R. (2006). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. Washington: Yale University Press, p. 239.

in 1979 to begin the Islamic politics in the country⁵³¹. That move was an attempt for the transition from the liberal politics to the religious based politics in Iran. During that transition period, Iran had decided to follow an “isolation” policy from the world politics. At the same time, during the problematic term of the Middle East process, Iran was in an isolation politics. However, it was not useful for the goodness of the country; because, the unsuccessful politics of the country had caused a war between Iran and Saddam Husain’s Iraq from 1980 to 1988. It was a serious damage for the new Iran politic formation; because, Iran had lost so many soldiers and civilians right in the beginning of the Islam revolution’s beginning⁵³².

In the social area, Iran was in a traumatic situation. After Shah Regime’s downfall, Iranian society had been closed to the Western markets and Western culture. The most of the rights of the women had been taken. And the scarf burden for the women had become the most important part of the Iranian social life. Shah’s liberal oppression had been turned into mullahs’ religious oppression. The Islamization process of the country had begun with the religious rules in the country.

III. IV. II. France-Iraq Cooperation in Nuclear Issues and Israel’s

Reaction

Until the First Gulf War Saddam Hussein had good relationships with the Western states including the US. At the same time, Hussein’s Iraq was a possible costumer for Soviet weapon industry. That is why Hussein’s position was safe in his own region. France was one of the states, which supported Iraq in nuclear issues; in other words, France was nuclear supplier of Iraq. That is why, in 1979, right before Iraq-Iran War, there was signed an

⁵³¹ Kurzman, C. (2005). *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. New York: Harvard University Press, p. 262.

⁵³² Fischer, M. M. J. (2003). *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Washington: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 314.

agreement between France and Iraq about selling Osiris nuclear reactor to Iraq. Hussein was thinking about the great power of Iraq and any attempt to do that was possible for him. He guaranteed his army's weapon needs from Soviet Union, rocket needs from the US and nuclear needs from France.

So, surely, this move of Iraq disturbed a lot of regional states in the Middle East and Arab world. Saddam Hussein was a result of Arab nationalism and he was a part of Baas system; so, it made him like dictator and a hard man to agree. On the other hand, he was like war machine that had no mercy against its rivals. That is why he was a frightening personality for the rest of Middle East and the last nuclear attempt of him was a great danger for the others. In particular, Iran concerned about future. Like Iran, Israel was another state, which concerned about future plans of Saddam Hussein on Arab Peninsula; because there was \$300 million investment by Iraq and it was a sufficient reason to have fear. Iran was another side to criticize the nuclear actions of Iraq; because, Iraq's possible threat on Iran meant fear for Iran's new regime's future⁵³³.

At first, Iraq's nuclear program did not seem like a threat for the regional states; in particular, the US authorities did not see Iraq as a "dangerous" state about the nuclear workings. It was the basic of the general concerns in the Middle East. For some, approaches of the US were efforts to make Iraq's nuclear program legal and to encourage Iraq's power against Iran. Surely, the US would keep Iraq under control, but it would not be easy.

That is why Israel tried to find a solution for that problem. Surprisingly, before Israel's attacking project, in September 1980, Iran ordered an attack, which was called "Operation Scorch Sword" on Iraq's nuclear facilities and nuclear reactors, which was bought

⁵³³ Claire, R. (2005). *Raid on the Sun: Inside Israel's Secret Campaign that Denied Saddam the Bomb*. Broadway, p. 138.

from France. However, it was a light attack and it did not work to damage the reactors sufficiently. After the attack, the war period between Iraq and Iran began. By the way, France engineers achieved to repair the reactor. So, it meant that Iraq would continue the nuclear projects. After more than one-year period, this time, Israel decided to order an attack on Iraq's nuclear facilities. But Israel had a preparation before the attack. At the same time, Israel's negative attitude against Iraq's nuclear workings was known right after Iran's attack in 1980. Israel's leader Menachem Begin did not hide that they could organize a hard attack on Iraq. There was a debate on Israel's these attacking plans; the UN and the US tried to find a solution for the presence of problem. However, Israel's politic pressure on the US made them given up to obstruct the attack.

When Israel's air attack, which was called "Operation Opera" started and finished successfully, Iraq's nuclear systems damaged deeply. Unfortunately, French civilians and engineers lost their lives during the air attacks. Although the attack's results provide a peace for the regions, actually, Israel's attack worked for Iran's interests. Iraq's damaged army did not prepare themselves against Iran during the Iraq-Iran War. On the other hand, Israel's attack was not successful; because France agreed with Iraq to repair the reactors once again. After that, Iraq's nuclear workings were hidden the underground of the country⁵³⁴. It had encouraged Saddam Hussein's regime to improve the financial resources to develop nuclear system and weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, Israel's attack increased the attention of Iraq on Kuwait's petroleum areas to provide the energy need of the country; in other words, Israel had directed Iraq to attack the other places in the Middle East region and Arab Peninsula.

⁵³⁴ Cook, J. (2008). *Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran and the Plan to Remake the Middle East*. Pluto Press, p. 201

III. IV. III. Road to Iraq-Iran War: The British Effect

The war between Iraq and Iran was not an unexpected situation for the Middle East. Saddam Hussein's hard attitude and his ideas about to enlarge his influence on the other Middle Eastern countries had made Iran a target for Iraq and for Hussein's Baas ideology. Iran Islamic Revolution was another triggering point of the Iraq-Iran relations in those years. In the beginning of the issue, Hussein and his Iraq saw themselves as the guardian of Islam in the region. Hussein was the only leader to bring all the Islamic and Arabic facts together and Iraq could be the center of Islam and Arab nations. Those were just ideas of Saddam Hussein. So, Iran's revolution on the basis of Islam was a threat for the current position of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. On the other hand, Iran's attitude against the "Pan-Islamist" and the "Pan-Arabic" policies was negative. There was a certain disagreement between the other Middle Eastern states and Iran⁵³⁵. Indirectly, it was a disturbing situation for the purposes of Iraq politics. Iraq wanted to be leader and the country that all the other listened to its words. But Iran was different. Saddam Hussein did not want to accept and to allow that. All of these developments made pressure on Iraq to declare a war against Iran in 1979.

However, it was not just an issue to evaluate on Iraq and Iran's struggle between each other. There was a petroleum matter and the Western states, in particular, the US and Britain was right in the middle of the issue. During the Iraq-Iran War, Britain was not active on the battlefield side, but the British politicians were so active on the Iraq-Iran matter. There were different fears of the British foreign policy. Those fears were including politic and economic interests of the country mostly⁵³⁶. Surely, the US and the other states were worry about the developments about the war; however, the Britain foreign policy evaluated the

⁵³⁵ Louër, Laurence (2008). *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf*. Washington: Columbia University Press, p. 89

⁵³⁶ Karsh, Efraim (2002). *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*. Osprey Publishing, p. 29.

situation differently, because Britain had seen the war as a serious chance to increase its influence on the region without using the military force.

Basic fear of Britain was about increasing power of Iran after the Islamic revolution period; Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989) was getting power in those years and his ideology was like an icon for the Iranian society. His power was so frightening to Iraq. At the same time, the US and Britain had that fear, because Khomeini was an enemy for the Western civilization and Arab-Islam nationalism. That situation made Iraq and Britain ally during the war period. Actually, Britain was not the supporter of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, but the British foreign policy followed the ideology that “enemy of my enemy is my friend”. So, Iraq’s increasing power was not so frightening to Britain. That is why they supported Saddam Hussein’s Iraq to protect their interests on Iran. Iraq had Islamic fact in the politics, but they were not powerful to be afraid of⁵³⁷.

After that, Britain did not want to join the Iran matter; they wanted to find another solution for that issue. Right in this point, Iraq’s declaration of war against Iran was a chance for Britain to stay away from the battlefield against Iran. Iraq could be an ally for Britain, because the pressure of the US had made Iraq a potential customer for the weapon sales. On the other hand, Iraq’s leader Saddam Hussein was a possible ally to manage and to direct after those sales. However, Khomeini and his Iran was not a possible ally to be in an agreement. Khomeini and his Iran was a danger for Britain as much as the US after the Shah regime in the country⁵³⁸. Above all these things, briefly, Iraq was a potential customer, but Iran was a potential threat for all the expectations of the British foreign policy. Because of these reasons, Britain supported Iraq in logistic area during Iraq-Iran War.

⁵³⁷ Blight, James (2012). *Becoming Enemies: U.S.-Iran Relations and the Iran-Iraq War, 1979-1988*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, p. 205.

⁵³⁸ Smith, Philip (2005). *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, p. 116.

After the Second World War, Britain had left its dominance on the Middle East to the US. However, this process became more problematic for the region about energy sources matter; because the US had a big population and its aims on the industrial issues needed more energy power. The US created its projects on the Middle East for its future. During the Cold War area, the efficiency of the Soviet Union on the regional countries increased. The US was not happy about it. So, they changed their plans to the clash projects to hold region. Egypt and Syria took the control of the petrol producing and they closed their economical policies against the Western countries. After this time, the petrol subject became more valuable for the countries' foreign policies and the importance of the region's energy power developed. However, after the downfall of the Soviet Union, its power lost and the US held the region. Iraq and Iran lived serious pressure because of their economical behaviors against the US⁵³⁹.

In the result of the war, Britain could not reach the things they expected. First of all Iraq could not reach the permanent victory; maybe, Iran could not do the same thing, but Iran was in reconstruction period and despite that construction period Iran could be a "nation" against Iraq. That situation provided a serious resistance point for them. Islamic chance in Iran had achieved in the country. Britain was one of the states, which tried to realize their purposes on Iran by using Iraq's dangerous face. But it did not work. Shah regime did not come back to Iranian lands. The most important one was that for the first time after the Second World War, although the US and the Soviet Union fought together in a war, even they could not be triumph. So, there was not any reason for Britain to be sorry about Iran matter. England Prime Minister of those years John Major said it was not a big lose for Britain,

⁵³⁹ Blight, James (2012). *Becoming Enemies: U.S.-Iran Relations and the Iran-Iraq War, 1979-1988*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, p. 319.

because Britain had power; it was a big lose for Iraq and the other Arabian states against just one state, Iran⁵⁴⁰.

Iran's victory was not just lose for the Western allies; it was more than that; because, Iran was a serious opposite of the Western side and the states like the US, Britain and France were the targets of the Mullah regime in Iran. That opposite situation between Iran and the others would increase after the Iraq-Iran War. Actually, the war was disappointment for the US and Britain. In particular, Britain was so sorry that the British forces did not support Iraq efficiently and Britain was on the battlefield to decrease the resistance of Iran forces. That situation would encourage Iran regime for the future⁵⁴¹.

CHAPTER 4. NEW ERA: DEVELOPMENTS in the MODERN PERIOD

IV. I. Developments in the 1990s

Surely, the most fascinating issue for the beginning of the 1990s was about separation of the Soviet Union. Actually, it was not an unexpected situation for the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1980s; the developments right in the middle of the 1980s were the first sign of a possible disengagement for the Eastern Block. The most important incident was the clashes between the societies, which created Yugoslavia. Serbia and Croatia were in the basis of the incidents and Croatia was on the side of separation from Yugoslavia hegemony. This was a beginning for the Eastern European countries' possible reactions for the future against the Soviet Union. Thus, in 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev declared the separation and decline of the Soviet Union. It was a victory for NATO and the US. However, in those years, Iraq-Iran War had ended yet and Iran did not lose anything; it was a failure for the

⁵⁴⁰ Karsh, Efraim (2002). *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*. Osprey Publishing, p. 72.

⁵⁴¹ Louër, Laurence (2008). *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf*. Washington: Columbia University Press, p. 171.

western allies on the other hand. These contrast developments would direct the rest of the years in the 1990s.

Iraq-Iran War was ended in 1988, but the results of the war were not in favor Iraq and its allies. Iraq was damaged and Iraq economy was in a deep depression. That situation would be pressure on Saddam Hussein to find new solution for the economy of his country. That is why Hussein changed his way through the Arabian Peninsula and declared war against Kuwait. This declaration made the US and Iraq as enemies against each other. They were allies during the Iraq-Iran War, but the conditions made them opposites. The importance of that war was different; the Soviet Union and the US had become allies after the end of the Cold War⁵⁴².

In the European side, European integration process was going on and the separation of the Soviet Union was a great chance and a message for the upcoming problems for the current EC structure. It would be a great chance for the new European creation against the Soviet Block; however, on the other hand, all of these states which were separated from the Soviet Union were poor and weak in the international relations. At the same time, their economic form was under the limits that the EC could support. In economic mean, fall of the Soviet Union was a danger for the EC. Britain was one of the European states that they did not support the enlargement of the EC through the Eastern Europe; according to the British foreign policy, the EC had a long way to advance and the EC need to decide its future plans after a good evaluation after the First Gulf War. On the other side of Britain, France, Germany and Italy were thinking about an Eastern Europe enlargement after the fall of the Soviet hegemony on the Eastern Europe countries. According to their approaches, it was a great opportunity for the EC to become a powerful politic actor in the Europe and in the Asia at the

⁵⁴² Karsh, Efraim (2002). *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*. Osprey Publishing, p. 90.

same time. Helmut Kohl, German Chancellor between 1982 and 1998, had seen that situation a great chance for the integration history of the Europe with François Mitterrand, French President between 1981 and 1995. Surely, that was a serious separation point between the sides.

The 1990s were the rising years of Iran at the same time. After the end of the war against Iraq, Iran isolated itself from the international politics; existence of the Gulf War worked in favor of Iran on the other hand and Iran achieved to stay alive. During the reconstruction period of the country, Iran tried to find new financial sources in the country; petroleum and natural gas sources and their marketing process to the Western countries were the priority issues of the Iran government's agenda. No doubt, Iran was not a threat in those years. However, it did not mean that Iran would not be threat after a short time period. Thus, right in the middle of the 1990s, Iran recorded an importance development in economical area and in the military force investments; all of these things were the messengers of a powerful Iran in the region. In particular, during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, Iran was a different country than ever and Iran had almost become a regional power. Iraq's defeat had fastened the rising process of Iran than the Iran authorities expected⁵⁴³.

Turkey's situation and transformation was another important point for the Middle East and the European politics at the same time. In 1995, for the first time in history, an Islamic political party had the political administration in Turkey, WP. It was a trauma for Turkish society. For decades, Turkey was called a "secular country" and the religious matters were behind the political worries. However, this time, religion was right in the middle of the political environment of Turkey; moreover, it was more powerful than ever. That situation changed the viewpoint of the European states' approaches on Turkey. On the other hand, the

⁵⁴³ Louër, Laurence (2008). *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf*. Washington: Columbia University Press, p. 211.

US and Britain preferred to follow the developments in Turkey from behind the curtain. Turkey's transformation had begun in those years, right in the middle of the 1990s and it was just a beginning of a new era for Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey had become a member of the Customs' Union of the EC. While Turkey was closing to the Europe for the first time in its history as a permanent member, at the same time, Turkey's Islamic political transformation made close Turkey and the other Arabian and Islamist countries in the Middle East. In basic, Turkey did not leave its secular roots despite the Islamic change in the country. That situation made Turkey a serious bridge and ambassador between Western allies and the Middle Eastern countries.

IV. II. Invasion of Kuwait and Road to Gulf War

IV. II. I. Iraq-Kuwait Relations and Invasion of Kuwait

Until the 1960s, Kuwait was a part of British administration system in the Middle East. It is easy to say that Kuwait was one of the last castles of Britain in that region. That is why Britain tried to protect Kuwait until the independence declaration of Kuwait national administration. That position of Kuwait had made the country as an ally of Iraq. Until the end of the 1970s, Iraq was already a warm state against its neighbors like Kuwait. Although, state lived different militarist pressures and threats, Iraq achieved to protect a stable structure until the beginning of Saddam Hussein's administration period. Before Hussein, Iraq and Kuwait provided good relations between each other and support their politic and military structure. There were agreements between two sides in politic, economic and military areas. Those things kept two states as ally for a long time period⁵⁴⁴.

⁵⁴⁴ Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group, p. 172.

The good relationships of Iraq and Kuwait increased after the Islam Revolution in Iran. Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary actions threatened Iraq and Kuwait. According to these states, Khomeini's Iran was the primarily enemy of the regional states and Iraq-Kuwait friendship was under the threat of Khomeini's new period. After the incidents in Iran Iraq's new militarist leader Hussein had called its allies to be united against Iran. Naturally, Kuwait was the first states answered that call positively. Despite the absence of British effect in Kuwait, Britain administration supported the call of Iraq at the same time. When Britain left Kuwait in 1960, their influence on the region was not over; British influence continued until the end of Iraq-Iran War in 1989. In that term, Britain encouraged Kuwait government to support Iraq during a possible war against Iran⁵⁴⁵. Actually, Britain's that move was a beginning for the broken relations between Iraq and Kuwait; because, after Saddam Hussein's rise on the region, Kuwait would feel itself alone and desperate against the great military power of Hussein's Iraq.

Until the end of the good days between two states, Britain's role was so important. Basically, Britain was a reason for balance between Iraq and Kuwait. The militarist changes in Iraq were a threat; not just for Iraq domestic dynamics, for Kuwait and the British interests on petroleum. That is why Britain tried to keep calm the incidents and politic changes in Iraq. Some militarist leaders in Iraq had planned enlargement policies on the regional states including Kuwait. Saddam Hussein would declare that Kuwait was the 19th city of Iraq after the disagreement term between two states. British authorities that followed the politics in the region had seen the danger before a clash and they tried to stop the extremist movements in Iraq. Iraq was the states of the politic revolutions and rebellions. The other concern of British authorities was about an enlarged rebellion wave all around the Arabian Peninsula. It was the greatest threat for Britain and Kuwait's interests on politics, economy and military issues. Iraq

⁵⁴⁵ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 113.

already could not provide a permanent political order in the country until the appearance of Baas movement. So, until the end of the 1970s, relations of Iraq and Kuwait were in a normal condition. Kuwait was a quiet country and the presence of British authorities in the country had provided a permanent order. Except, Arab-Israeli conflict, Kuwait did not face any threat in the region about its independence. So, Kuwait was on the side of peace in its own region. Automatically, Iran's revolution in 1979 disturbed the plans and expectations of Kuwait. So, Britain encouraged Kuwait to support Iraq for the permanent peace in the region; on the other hand, Britain aimed to hold Kuwait and Iraq against Iran. It was an important political move Britain⁵⁴⁶.

The US had seen Kuwait as a trump against Iraq's increasing influence on the other Arab states and petroleum areas of the Middle East. On the other hand, petroleum was not a powerful fact to declare a war for the states; however, things had changed through the beginning of 1980s. That is why Iraq and Kuwait's petroleum areas were so valuable areas for the Western allies at the same time. In other words, the US and Britain had felt themselves as the natural shareholder of Arab petroleum in that region. So, Iraq's intervention on Kuwait was a direct threat for the interest of the Western states primarily the US and Britain⁵⁴⁷.

In the borderline between Iraq and Kuwait, there are a lot of valuable petroleum areas; their rights were limited with length of their borderline. However, Saddam Hussein's Iraq did not accept that situation and Hussein declared Kuwait was against the rules about having petroleum from the land. In other words, Kuwait was against the legal order of petroleum managing system. However, it was seen as an excuse for the incident. Saddam Hussein's claim was about Kuwait's unfair policies on marketing the petroleum to the other Western states cheaply. Hussein had found that behavior as a threat for the international

⁵⁴⁶ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 115.

⁵⁴⁷ Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group, p. 174.

competition. At the same time, Iraq side's claim was about that Kuwait was thief and they were stealing Iraq petroleum from the Iraq lands. It was guilt and it had to be punished. For months, the discussions between two sides continued with the support of the Western states; because they did not want to see a petroleum crisis and they did not want their economies to be affected from a possible war. At the end of the discussions between Iran and Kuwait representatives, there was no solution. That is why Saddam Hussein decided to declare a war against Kuwait.

Invasion of Kuwait was a great mistake for Saddam Hussein's Iraq; first of all, that process was a beginning of Hussein's downfall. A lot of Arab countries declared their concerns about Hussein's Iraq and their relationship with Iraq was in a negative direction after Kuwait matter. Second, Western allies increased their pressure on Saddam Hussein and his regime; Baas movement was just a political system in the past; however, after invasion of Kuwait Baas regime was started to criticize and Iraq became the "evil" of the West; In particular, the US and Britain chose Iraq as their new target. They would just wait for the right time to attack on Saddam Hussein. Third, the US and Britain make felt their existence in the Middle East powerfully; that was a caution for the other extremist and militarist regimes in the Middle East to check their situation and their authority. Lastly, the problem between Iraq and Kuwait was in favor of Iran. Iran could not find chance to recover the country after Iraq-Iran War. Their regime and Islam Revolution was new right before the war against Iraq and they had no time to make their regime permanent and powerful in the country⁵⁴⁸. However, invasion Kuwait made Iraq as a target and Western states focused on Iraq. In other mean, Iran's situation and regime change lost its importance and priority in their agenda.

⁵⁴⁸ Smith, Philip (2005). *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, p. 195.

Hussein's aggressive attitude had caused a clash between Iraq and Kuwait's supporters and their numbers were not a few; Iraq would have to fight against a lot of states' armies to defend itself. At the same time, Hussein's aggressive attitude had created an endless war for Iraq even it would end in a year. Iraq would leave the pressure on its shoulders after that period ended.

IV. II. II. First Gulf War and the Policy of Britain on Iraq's

When Iraq declared a war against Kuwait on August 2, 1990, it was a reason for an international crisis. Its basic reason was about Iraq's problems with Kuwait about the petroleum issue. Iraq authorities had blamed Kuwait authorities that Kuwait was stealing petroleum as 2,4 billion \$ from Iraq's lands. With that way, Iraq authorities had claimed that Kuwait had passed the border between two countries. So, it was a reason for the war. Actually, Iraq and Kuwait had %20 of the world's petroleum reserves. That is why there are serious problems between each other and between the major countries and them. After all, Iraq had wanted Kuwait to cancel the 60 billion \$ debt. However, Kuwait government had refused that. The conditions of the war had been completed for Iraq. On the other hand, right in the beginning of the 1990s, Saddam Husain had started an extreme propaganda against the US and Israel. And Kuwait's relations with the US were in good form in those years. So, Iraq's threat against Kuwait had disturbed the US. At the same time, Israel had seen Saddam's power, army and his threat as a serious warning for the future of the region. In those years, President Bush had begun counter-propaganda for Saddam's Iraq about that country's attitudes about the human rights. After that counter-propaganda, the US had collected a serious support from its allies⁵⁴⁹.

⁵⁴⁹ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 133.

Before the war, the US army had sent 200,000 troops to Saudi Arabia to block the Iraq army's actions. And it was called as "Desert Shield". In the political area, the UN had declared an embargo process against Iraq. And the UN had called its members to cancel their relations with Iraq. During that period, the US had removed 7 billion \$ debt of Egypt; on the other hand, Syria had taken serious loans from Saudi Arabia and European Community. All of these moves were encouraging Egypt and Saudi Arabia to join the war. Therefore, Jordan and Palestine had not become a side for that war to protect the Arab League's presence⁵⁵⁰.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the numbers of the allies' troops had increased and it was 500,000. With these numbers, "Desert Shield" had been turned into "Desert Storm". This war was change for Egypt's roles between the Western allies after the Suez Crisis 1956. Iraq was the new "bad country" of the Western allies. And Saddam Husain's role had been turned into an evil with the Gulf War in 1991⁵⁵¹.

Although Iraq army had used the Scud missiles, which were bought from the Soviet Union; however, American army had defeated those missiles. And that move was the end of the war for Iraq. During the last days of the war, the American army had encouraged the Iraqi Kurdish rebels against the Iraq national army. Their actions against the national army had blocked the actions of the Iraqi national army against the allies. Although Saddam Husain had used hard methods to stop these rebellions, Iraqi national army had lost too many soldiers. And the time had been wasted. The rebellions of the Kurdish rebels had continued.

On April 3, 1991, the UN had guaranteed the ceasefire. The result of the war was not positive for Iraq's future. Iraq army had lost too many soldiers and military tools. The border of Iraq-Kuwait had been decided again by the new agreement between two countries. Iraq had

⁵⁵⁰ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 69.

⁵⁵¹ Smith, Philip (2005). *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, p. 168.

been limited about arming and attacking to its rivals or enemies. After these results of the agreement, Iraq had begun the good relations with the Western countries. Particularly, Iraq's relations had become in good relations with the US. The American government had helped the Iraqi society with humanitarian aids to fix the matters after the war.

Iraq's defeat had helped the regional countries to change their oppressive regimes and political attitudes against their societies. Kuwait had tried to changed kingdom regime to a parliamentary regime. And the modernization process had been accelerated. The king of Saudi Arabia had founded a consultation assembly to decide the rules in the country. During the war, Yemen people had been damaged; they had left their villages and they had lost their lives. However, after the war, Yemen people had created the major part of the labor in Saudi Arabia. And most of the Yemen people had had to change their locations. The major negative effect of the war was for the Palestinians. Most of them had had to stay in Gaza and Israel pressure on the Palestinian people had increased after Iraq's defeat.

When the war was over, the development process of the Middle East states during the new opened globalization area in that modern world had lived a great depression again. The most important one, the peace was hurt again. The war had caused a new tension between the regional states and the other Western states which had joined to the First Gulf War. The victory of the Western forces had not brought the peace at truth. In contrast, the fact of Middle East terrorism had showed itself seriously. Even America said that it would provide a welfare environment for the region in every meaning; the results of the War had denied it. So, the peace transformed to the impossibility and that impossibility allowed new clashes which were

ordered by the new created terrorist groups to change the political systems of the Middle states for their profit⁵⁵².

After the First Gulf War, Iraq's situation was a threat for Britain and the other Western allies. Britain's plans about to protect and support the Baas regime in Iraq and to increase the influence of Hussein on the other Arabian and Islamic states were in failure. The second option for the British foreign policy about Saddam Hussein was realized; Hussein turned into an evil for the American and the British interests on the region. After the First Gulf War, Hussein became a man that Britain had to pay attention on him. It was not easy to destroy him; because, there were a lot of politic, economic and social facts to be disturbed and Britain stayed away to fear these facts after a problematic process in Iraq. On the other hand, Iraq and the rest of the region were like a bog and Britain did not want to stay through the middle of it⁵⁵³. Perhaps, the US and the allies were victorious after the First Gulf War, but they spend a lot of money and military supplies for this unnecessary place. That is why Britain preferred to keep the relations in calm with Iraq and the other politic actors in the region.

IV. II. III. The Role of the UN After the War

After the First Gulf War, the US tried to increase the importance of the UN about the Iraq matter. In other words, American authorities and British politicians tried to use the UN as provider of legality about solution of Iraq matter. The war was a problem for the world economy because of that the petroleum areas and prices were under the threat of the war. When the war was over, American government wanted to fix those problems before it affected the world.

⁵⁵² Fisk, Robert. (2007). *The Great War for Civilizations: The Conquest of the Middle East*. Vintage, p. 177.

⁵⁵³ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 219.

That is why the UN declared two articles about Gulf War's end: number 686 and number 686. Those decisions were about the future of Iraq's situation after the war. Number 686 was about Iraq's declaration about ending the war for its own side. In other words, Iraq had given up. The US had made pressure on Iraq to leave the battlefield and than Saddam Hussein's side left fighting against allies. Article 686 is generally known as the article that it ended up the war. When Article 686 published in UN Security Council Iraq accepted the call and there was an agreement between Kuwait and Iraq to discuss the matters between the sides. it was a victory of the allies against the aggressive policies of Hussein. Those years' American President George H. W. Bush had evaluated the issue as a victory for the peace of the Middle East. After the declaration of Article 686, the US had taken the control on the region and that was the certain loss of Britain about hegemonic issues on the Middle East and Middle Eastern petroleum⁵⁵⁴. Surely, the US would share the petroleum with its ally Britain, but Britain would not hold the region like the old times. The US had used the UN for its next purposes on Iraq after the First Gulf War.

Article 688 was the advanced formation of Article 686 and it was about the military issues. According to Article 688, Iraq would decrease the numbers of war weapons and war equipment. It was a limitation for Iraq to block its next aggressive actions against its neighbors. After that, the UN decided to provide an "Operation Provide Comfort"; it would provide a security force on the Turkish lands and it would be prepared against the possible actions of Saddam Hussein's Iraq for the future⁵⁵⁵.

However, the basic problem was about the Kurdish refugees. Around 500,000 Kurdish refugees had passed to the Turkish side during the Gulf War. That situation made those years' Turkish President Turgut Ozal concerned about the future of those people. That is

⁵⁵⁴ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 220.

⁵⁵⁵ Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge, p. 221.

why Ozal and Bush decided to create a Kurdish region and a Kurdish parliament in the northern side of Iraq. Article 688 had included humanitarian aid for those people at the same time. To realize that idea, there was created a “security area”, which was closer to the Turkish border in Iraq. The Kurdish people, who were affected from the war placed there. Security area was a part of Operation Provide Comfort⁵⁵⁶; after that period, Kurdish parliament, which was created by the Kurdish politicians and the representatives of Kurdish societies’ leaders. Basically, creating a Kurdish area was an idea to provide a peaceful area between Turkey and Iraq by using Kurdish people. However, it would be a great problem for Iraq’s domestic politics and Turkey’s terrorism concerns in the future. So, the decisions of the UN were criticized after the end of the Gulf War. Even Saddam Hussein accepted the peace agreement; Kurdish area had been seen as a political move of the US and its allies to apply sanctions on domestic Iraqi policies. The level of the problems had increased between Kurdish politicians and Saddam Hussein after 1991 and PKK terrorist actions had strength against Turkish after the UN’s order and arrangement.

IV. III. Britain’s Policy on Iraq After the Gulf War Period

Britain’s Iraq policy was more aggressive than the 1990s after the 2003 period that the US started. Britain was the biggest ally of the US during the Iraq War and the basic purpose of the British foreign policy was about controlling some petroleum regions in the country. It was a normal expectation for Britain; firstly, there was a serious cooperation between Britain and the US in any mean. Their alliance is valid for all the parts of their actions all around the world like they did in Afghanistan. That is why it was hard to separate the actions and expectations of each country about the Iraq issue. Britain was already to fight along side of the US; because, the British foreign policy has depended on strong relationships

⁵⁵⁶ Oke, Mim Kemal (2002). *Musul-Kürdistan Sorunu 1918-1926*. İstanbul: Bilge Karınca Yayınları, p. 213.

with the major countries on the Middle East issue since 1950s, level of cooperation between the US and Britain has increased after Britain lost its influence on the region.

On the other hand Britain has a genius and a smart foreign policy heritage; this heritage encourages the British diplomats to seek and find possible politic and economic sources all around the world. In 2003, the fall of Iraq, that situation seemed like a possible chance for Britain to share the controlling and the decision making right on the region with the US and the other share holders of the Iraq operation. However, Britain was one of the major shareholders after 2003. Today, the British petroleum companies are still active powerfully on the south and southeastern parts of the country. Right before Saddam Hussein lost his position in Iraq, British leader Tony Blair declared that Britain would fight until the end of Hussein's fall. It was a message of Britain about the future of the region. It was like a roadmap of Britain for its plans on the Middle East for the future. Iraq was like a good and a valid excuse for the US to declare a war against the weak states of the Middle East to control the region, to have decision-making right and to manage the petroleum traffic. Even the end of the war did not answer the expectations of the US⁵⁵⁷; Britain had important gains after the war. Surely, Britain had power to manage the region like the American authorities did and Britain holds the chance to block the possible attacks and threats of Iran. In particular, after the Iraq War, Iran seemed like a possible for Britain and the other allies of the western alliance in the Middle East like Turkey and Israel. Britain tried to show its mission like being a "guardian"⁵⁵⁸; it was a description of Blair when he talked to NATO allies during a meeting. Blair's speech was a show of the British foreign policy and it was an effort to prove the power, the influence and the continuity of the British economic interests on Iraq and on the region.

⁵⁵⁷ Sluglett, P. (2007). *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 193.

⁵⁵⁸ Hollis, R. (2010). *Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era*. Wiley-Blackwell, p. 132.

After many years, Iraq War separated the ideas and the policies of Turkey and Britain. Actually, decision making process for Turkey about being in the war or not was not easy; the new government of Turkey under the leadership of JDP was trying to settle the area and Iraq War was just a thousand km away from Ankara, capital of Turkey. That is why Turkey did not decide fast about the war. Besides the US, Britain was not happy about the attitude of Turkey; according to the British authorities, Turkey was a NATO ally and they had to be in the war without any discussion in domestic politics; because Iraq War was a common foreign policy matter for whole the NATO members. When Turkey decided to be out of the war, Britain started questioning the relations with Turkey⁵⁵⁹.

In this situation, it is important to evaluate the approaches of both sides like in the Lausanne period after the Turkish National Campaign. According to Turkish thesis mentioned before, a new government and a new process after a serious economic depression between 1999 and 2002, Turkey's priority was about reconstruction for political area and financial matters. Regional political issues would be handled after these problems reached a permanent solution for three-year period. At the same time, Turkish government could not find an intervention on Iraq as logical and as useful for the peace of the region; it was not a short-term period decision and approach⁵⁶⁰. Turkey had a political legacy on its neighbors since the first period of republic's foundation; peace at home, peace in the worlds. So, Turkey's preferred expectation for Iraq was to protect the unity of the country and to find a permanent solution with the current government in the country. If it does not work, politic and economic sanctions would be useful to persuade Saddam Hussein's state. For the Turkish foreign policy, it was the only way to stay away from the war.

⁵⁵⁹ Akgün, B. (2006). *11 Eylül Sonrasında, Dünya ABD ve Türkiye*. Tablet Yayınevi, p. 91.

⁵⁶⁰ Akgün, B. (2006). *11 Eylül Sonrasında, Dünya ABD ve Türkiye*. Tablet Yayınevi, p. 98.

On the other hand, Turkey's expectation about decreasing the influence of terrorist group PKK on the north of Iraq was depending on Turkey's intervention to the region and Iraq War gave Turkey a chance to organize an operation to the terrorists at the same time. However, surprisingly, Turkey stayed away from this operation chance. Surely, there were a lot of reasons of this situation, but it was a truth that Turkey missed a serious and a historical chance to find a permanent solution for terrorism matter, which is a psychological burden on the shoulders of the Turkish society.

Britain and Blair had seen the situation like a chance for Turkey and Britain had believed that the experienced Turkish army about the northern side of Iraq would provide a valuable chance for the alliance troops. Turkey's existence during the Iraq War would be the essential part of the operations. It was just an idea for British side; however, Turkey's approach to the Iraq operations was an unexpected situation for the US and Britain at the same time. Britain did not blame Turkey directly; first of all Blair and then the British press said victory would be only for the supporters and "real" friends of NATO. It was an indirect blame for Turkey⁵⁶¹. In other words, Britain preferred to show its response with hidden messages and indirect statements. Actually, they were another methods to show their negative reaction against Turkey. President of the US George W. Bush and Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair were on the same side against Turkey's reaction right before the Iraq War. In NATO, reactions of the members against Turkey had changed; in the last years of American intervention to Iraq, most of NATO members called their troops back to their homelands. However, their ideas about Turkey's position during the war were negative and that situation had affected Turkey's prestige negative right in the beginning of the 2000s.

⁵⁶¹ Hollis, R. (2010). Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era. Wiley-Blackwell, p. 177.

IV. IV. Developments in the 2000s and the Second Gulf War

The political elites' power in the Middle East countries provides them major advantages to protect their power for a long time period. Because of absence of the social consciousness and common sharing national feelings are advantages for the political elites and major disadvantages for the general community. While the Islam's power is certain, the administrations transform it to legal foundation for their continuity. On the other hand, the society puts the slam belief to the first side and this belief pushes them to stay back. The absence of the democracy is another valuable problem for the Middle East's people.

After the September 11 attack, when the targets were determined against to the Middle East, the struggle between the regional states and their people had started. The basis reason of it, the people were aware of the Western danger and their only wish from their administrations about to protect their land. Iraq could not success it well. That important example was a deep effect on the Middle East Nations' political, economical and social situation. As we know that the Middle East has a problematic structure in every meaning; the welfare level is low, development process is not enough and the struggles between the political elites and the other Islamic movements are in dangerous level⁵⁶². Today, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Palestine live in a situation like this. In these countries, the governments are too weak to protect their existing position and to give their people the rights and welfare standards they deserved. The poor people's numbers increase day by day and they do not believe that their politicians will change the things for their societies' profit. And, it does not seem like possible in a near future. At truth, the democracy belief between the Middle East nations is common wish and expected phenomenon, at truth. However, a few of them like Turkey applied it to the political process well. The other regional states even do not

⁵⁶² Oke, Mim Kemal (2005). *Irak Savaşı Günlüğü*. İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık. p. 164.

care about it. Their ideas were destroyed during the Iraq War of the US; all they believed that the democracy would not bring expected piece and welfare to the region. But their deficiency about the administration power caused some different Islamist movements in the Middle East day by day. We can separate those two different parts⁵⁶³.

One of them is about the political Islamist movements which cares only about the policies of their own countries and they try to join the decision making process. At the same time, their basic aim is about to change the political structure of their own countries. However, the most important one is about that they have no serious support from their own people and most of the Middle East governments do not give confidence them to join the administration period. On the other hand, the absence of the regional interdependence political and social movements makes all the political Islamist groups weak. The major obstacle for them is that the democratic process has no place in the Middle East, except some examples⁵⁶⁴. As a different example, in Turkey, the civil society is more effective than the other Middle East countries and the other Islamic countries. In the Middle East, Turkey seems like more modern and more secular country between all of the regional countries. So the political Islam cannot be successful for affecting the politics in a Middle East country⁵⁶⁵.

The other dimension of the Islamist movements is about terrorism. There are a lot of different terrorist group all over the world. However, most of them are in the Middle East region. This is a result of an undeveloped and an uncivilized society. Maybe, the regional societies are unhappy with this situation but they have no power to stop these extreme groups. In the different points of the Eastern world, different Islamic rebellions were more effective from their legal administration of their lands. So, the states mentioned above like Afghanistan,

⁵⁶³ James A. Bill, "The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Autumn, 1996), p. 508.

⁵⁶⁴ Michael C. Hudson, "The Middle East", *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Dec., 2001), p. 801.

⁵⁶⁵ Oke, Mim Kemal (2005). *Irak Savaşı Günlüğü*. İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık. p. 192.

Lebanon and Palestine are in trouble with Islamist terrorist movements while the Middle East is trying to resist terrorism⁵⁶⁶.

It seems like that terrorism was a way for the own protection of Eastern countries. But, in time, the Eastern governments' aims and the terrorist groups' profiles changed. While the governments are trying to change their social, political and economical structure, the terrorist groups do not want to allow it. In every area, old protector terrorists, now, trying to change the rules for their benefits. Their countries' benefits for democracy, development, health, human rights and the other modern approaches are in the second plan. The most reliable thing is that, these groups do not only stay in their lands; they are every point of the world and today, they have a efficiency to change the progress of the international relations by their attacks and actions. So, this situation makes the terrorist groups "benefit organizations" in the world politics⁵⁶⁷.

Actually, 2003 was an important turning point for Iraq and the rest of the Arabian states; the last dictator of the Arabian nations had lost his position and he was close to his end. It was an end of an era. On the other hand, it was a chance for the different socio-cultural groups in Iraq, in particular. Kurds have found a serious chance to declare their autonomy and the control of Iraq's north belongs to the Kurdish politic and military groups. They have reached their aims on the Iraq land. At the same time, this Kurdish society is ready to direct the regional politics of the other Kurdish societies all around the Middle East; they are like new challengers of the region.

In the basic political position of Iraq, the American and the British companies have an important place, because these companies direct the petroleum traffic of Iraq. So, that

⁵⁶⁶ Michael C. Hudson, "The Middle East", *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Dec., 2001), p. 804.

⁵⁶⁷ James A. Bill, "The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Autumn, 1996), p. 510.

situation provides them large influence area in Iraq. In other words, these companies work like a representative of the states that they belong to. In this point, British petroleum companies like BP are so powerful in the decision-making process of the politic and the economic issues of Iraq. In this view, it is easy to see that, Saddam Hussein's fall has created a new era for the politic actors that he had never placed them in Iraq.

Another problematic issue is valid for Turkey. At truth, the increasing power and the efficiency of the Kurdish nationalism in Turkey had started with the end of the Iraq War of the US. After the war, the Kurdish political creations had taken over the administration of the state; particularly, the Kurdish Regional Administration on the North of Iraq had increased the hopes of the Kurdish people in Turkey's Southeastern region about creating a new Kurdish state; because, that creation had meant a freedom sign for the Kurdish people who live in Turkey. On the other hand, the US policies on the region had created a problematic area for Turkey. After that time, the Kurdish people has caught a developing acceleration in Turkey; because, they had courage. That situation was a useful situation for the PKK. The PKK had declared a cease-fire in 1999 for a long time period; however, in 2004, they were back with the bloodiest actions of their history. Their coming back was connected to the US actions in Iraq and the rising of the Kurdish leaders in Iraq administration. After Ocalan's fall, the PKK had found the possible area to continue its presence. Unfortunately, the biggest part of the Kurdish people had supported coming back of the terrorist group. They had felt that they were in safe after 80-year period in their regional areas⁵⁶⁸.

The US had assumed a role as a connector between the Turkish and the Kurdish nations. The US had wanted Turkey as a great ally on the region with one condition; Turkey would allow the actions of the Kurdish political groups in the Northern Iraq and there would

⁵⁶⁸ Ozkan, T. (2004). *CIA Kürtleri: Kurt Devletinin Gizli Tarihi*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayın, p.97.

be peaceful solution for the Kurdish issue. But, the Turkish government was afraid of the situation and they did not accept that offer. Turkey has understood that the cooperation with the US in this issue was the sign of a independent Kurdish state on the region and Turkey did not want to face an event like that. So, Turkey had refused that offer. According to Turkish approach, the conditions of the Kurdish people in Turkey were better than the Kurdish society in Iraq. At the same time, the Kurdish people in Turkey knew that; but, they had wanted to get more chance when they had after many years⁵⁶⁹.

IV. V. Tony Blair's Role on Invasion of Iraq

Actually, Britain was not a defender of Iraq operation of the US until the end of the September 11 process. Prime Minister of those terms in Britain, Tony Blair was thinking about to control Iraq and Saddam Hussein until an extreme move of Iraq. But there was no idea for an operation on Blair's mind. According to Blair, Iraq and Hussein were dangerous for the peace of the region and the interests of Britain on the Middle East; however, there was not any reason to make pressure on Hussein without reason. That is why Britain did not touch Hussein's Baas regime until the call of US about intervention on Iraq.

Iraq operation was not a result of September 11 incident basically; plan of the American weapon industry was about to create an "other" and Iraq was the most possible option to create an "other" and an evil. After that September 11 became a starting point for the US. When the US decided a war against Iraq NATO and Britain were desperate against the pressure of the US. In those terms, Blair said the US was the primarily ally of Britain and if e US wanted Britain to join a war, Britain would do that. That declaration of Blair criticized and met a lot of objections in the domestic area; the British public opinion was completely against Blair's approaches about Iraq. Nobody wanted a war in Britain. However, choice was Blair

⁵⁶⁹ Ozkan, T. (2004). *CIA Kürtleri: Kurt Devletinin Gizli Tarihi*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayın, p.148.

and his government. During the preparation process of Iraq War, Blair decided to protect the interests of Britain about Iraqi petroleum. The rich source of the region was a sufficient reason for Blair to decide. On the other hand, the operation decision of the US encouraged Blair for saying that there was lost the protection of security in the region. As mentioned above, Blair had waited for the concerns about the security of the region and the interests of Britain. That was the time according to Blair; in other words, George W. Bush's policies made him to feel that.

It was a great courage show from Blair; because entire British public opinion was against him. Although he tried to explain that Saddam Hussein was completely against the presence of Britain in the Middle East it did not seem like as realistic for the others. In that point, Blair tried to use the mass destruction weapons of Hussein to strength his hand; however, it was not proved at first. That situation would make Blair under pressure after too many British soldiers were killed in the Iraqi lands. The petroleum issue was another deadlock for Blair; British public opinion and the media believed that Blair supported the US operation to be one of the biggest shareholders for the Iraqi petroleum sources. On the other hand, some believed that biggest petroleum companies in Britain made pressure on Blair to continue the operations in Iraq. However, Blair denied all of those things. He defended his approaches about democracy and Britain politic interests in Iraq. During his Prime Minister period he had to fight against those claims. After many months of his mission ended in Britain Prime Minister office, Britain decided to call its army back from Iraq lands⁵⁷⁰.

Iraq War had two dimensions for Blair; one of them was about the pressure of the US. As the primarily ally of the US, Britain faced the pressure of the US policies and George W. Bush's personal expectations from Blair. On the other hand, some media companies'

⁵⁷⁰ <http://tr.euronews.com/2010/01/30/tony-blair-irak-savasini-savundu/>

owners made pressure on Blair personally like Bush and petroleum companies did. As one of them, Rupert Murdoch, who is the owner of the News Corporation in the US, advised to join Iraq War with the US. Murdoch's expectation was about creating a news stream during the war like CNN did during the First Gulf War⁵⁷¹. It was a financial expectation with the petroleum companies. Blair had felt those pressures on his shoulders.

However, Blair did not seem like changed his mind about Iraq War. When he was called Iraq War Investigation commission in the British Parliament, he defended Iraq War after many years. He said it was a necessity for the peace of the region and the world at the same time. According to him, Britain had a valuable mission with the US to protect the peace as alive⁵⁷². That is why he supported the US operations and he sent the British troops to Iraq. Even former UN General Secretary Kofi Annan said Tony Blair was the only political person to stop the invasion of Iraq⁵⁷³, Blair defended that the invasion of Iraq was inevitable and it was a necessity for human being. After his explanation and powerful claims about him, it was hard to believe for world public opinion that it was a political necessity for Blair and his Britain.

V. GENERAL ASSESSMENT

V.I. Historical Evaluation of Turkey-Britain Relations

In a three hundred-year period, the relations between Turkey and Britain had been shaped by the different events, different names and different situations. Generally, the relations of them had depended on the problematic issues and the solution was not closer to the reality. The communication between them was off because of that, perhaps. However, the

⁵⁷¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2012/jun/15/rupert-murdoch-tony-blair-iraq-alastair-campbell>

⁵⁷² http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/multimedya/2010/01/100128_live_inquiry_tony_blair.shtml

⁵⁷³ <http://www.aksam.com.tr/blair,-irak-savasini-durdurabilirdi--141845h.html>

basic determinative fact of the relations was the weakness of the Turkish during the last hundred-year period of the Ottoman Empire and the sudden and effective rising of the British colonial power over the world⁵⁷⁴. With all these stuff, the relations between Turkey and Britain had been affected from the development and regression situations of the sides. The Ottoman Empire was in forward of Britain for hundred years before the regression terms. The Empire had ruled a big part of the European continent and the Eastern culture identity had supported the European power of the Ottoman Empire powerfully with its Islam leadership role⁵⁷⁵. When the Empire was out control, the revolutionary system in the Europe had increased the potential of the European countries fast and effectively. Unfortunately, the Empire could not catch that train and while the Europe was breaking off the bonds of the pressure on it, the Ottoman Empire had stayed with the oppressive attitudes of the domestic area's political and military actors. After that period, the Ottoman had lost its influence slowly on the Europe. The rising period of Britain was timely with the regression term of the Ottoman Empire⁵⁷⁶. With that way, Britain had risen over the Europe and the world in a short time period. The roles had changed. The Ottoman Empire had tried to save itself from the regression and dependence to the Western forces, but Crimean War's end in 1856 had written the destiny of the Empire until the end of the First World War. After the war, the Empire had lost its reason of presence and power to resistance.

The regression matter was the basis of the Ottoman failure in 19th century and it was the reason of the downfall in the 20th century. In contrast, the removing of the Ottoman threat from the agenda of the Europe had become useful for the Eastern policies of Britain surely. In other mean, the Ottoman Empire's presence had obstructed the Eastern advance of the British

⁵⁷⁴ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 132.

⁵⁷⁵ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 178.

⁵⁷⁶ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 366.

Empire and when the Ottoman Empire had lost its efficiency on the Eastern subjects of it, Britain had completed its enlargement policies on Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East and Asia⁵⁷⁷. With that way, Britain had defeated one target, but had three important points. So, it is easy to understand that Britain had tried to develop its relations with the Ottoman Empire right before Crimean War and that process was the beginning of a surrounding policy around the Ottoman Empire. When the First World War was over, that policy's mission was completed successfully⁵⁷⁸.

If we separate the relations between Turkey and Britain to two different terms, the first term belonged to the political moves and the tactical attempts against each other. In actually, the Turkish side was in failure to make a powerful and an irresistible policy against Britain. However, the British side had made itself more powerful than the previous terms of the country's political structure and they had gained the title that the British politicians and the politics were the most powerful political facts. This power of Britain was sufficient to beat the Ottoman side in time⁵⁷⁹. They had done that in a long time period, but their tactical system compilation had worked well altogether. That is why the Ottoman Empire could not resist the systematic political moves of Britain. In other mean, the Empire was working on removing the serious matter from the agenda of the country. The lands of the Empire had decreased, the rebellions had surrounded the Eastern side of the Empire and the domestic area was in trouble with the political and military clashes between the authorities. The Empire was weakening day by day. In those years, the European countries were aware of that and they had used the confusions on the Empire lands to gain some profits. Through the end of the 19th, Britain had

⁵⁷⁷ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 368.

⁵⁷⁸ Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton University Press, p. 136.

⁵⁷⁹ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 76.

a great influence on the Ottoman political system and there was a British sympathy between the Ottoman Sultan and the authorities. However, when the nationalist movements in the Empire had found chance to rise, it was a serious threat for the British aims on the Ottoman lands. There was a German sympathy and that situation had made the relations' future more than ever between the Ottoman Empire and Britain⁵⁸⁰. Two sides had faced during the First World War and it was an unexpected situation for the British policies. The German influence on the Empire had broken the tactical aims of Britain. However, when the war was over, the situation was completely for the goodness of the British interests.

Iraq and the Middle East Matter:

In the basis of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, there was not any effect of the Middle East region until the beginning of the 20th century. The Middle East was just a transition point for the British colonial system and the goodness of the relations with the Ottoman Empire was for the goodness of the British colonialism at the same time⁵⁸¹. However, the British political consciousness was focused on the Arabian Peninsula at first during the first rebellions in the Arabian subjects of the Ottoman Empire⁵⁸². That was a warning for Britain to focus on the region and to understand the political dynamics of the region. With that way, the British authorities and the spies had been located on the Arabian lands. It was a trick to encourage the Muslim subject of the Empire against the central authority. Britain had used it as its political move against the Ottoman Empire secretly and that system had worked well between the years 1900-1912. In those years, Britain had made

⁵⁸⁰ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 311.

⁵⁸¹ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 32.

⁵⁸² Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble.

accept itself as the friends and the partner of the Muslim Arabian societies and Britain had encouraged them during their rebellion⁵⁸³.

But the most important part of the issue is that while the British authorities were trying to open and to enlarge the colonial roads, they had discovered the dimensions of the natural sources of the Middle East region. In particularly, the Arabian Peninsula was like a heaven for their industrial actions' natural needs and the petroleum issue had gained the first importance in those years. With that way Britain had tried to find a headquarters for its action in the Middle East region. Iraq was one of them because of its approximation to the Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire. The Iraq's complicated ethnic structure, becoming the center of the rebellions against the Ottoman authority and its rich natural sources like the petroleum had attracted Britain. Right in this point, it is important to understand that Iraq's importance does not appreciate with the political reasons on its own. Surely, it includes future plans of Britain on the Middle East and the natural sources of the region. Iraq was a defenseless region to resist a certain authority. The Ottoman Empire had no authority to do that in those years. So, it was a chance for Britain in those years⁵⁸⁴.

It is easy to understand that from those years' political situation that the British colonial power had provided a serious hegemony for Britain on all the world countries. That power had seemed like a hope for the desperate regions like the Middle East. As one of the members of that region, Iraq had seen the British support a serious independence hope for their future although there is a complicated ethnic structure. The Ottoman Empire had administrated the ethnic differences well in the past all around the Empire. The religious and the socio-cultural differences had not made any sense for the peace and welfare of the Empire.

⁵⁸³ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 123.

⁵⁸⁴ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 104.

However, when the regression had been seen in the Empire, those differences had shown themselves to rebel against the owner of their rights and lands. The weakness of the Empire had encouraged those differences for the resistance against the Empire's presence. That was most frightened scenario for the end of the Ottoman Empire and it had drawn the destiny of the Empire. Iraq had a great importance to understand the dimensions of these rebellions and the danger in the Middle East region of the Empire⁵⁸⁵. The Ottoman authorities had understood the importance of the Middle East after the increasing rebellions in the middle of the 19th century; however, the region had changed its skin and the incidents were not suitable for the Ottoman authority to intervene⁵⁸⁶.

While the influence of the Ottoman Empire was reducing on the Muslim subjects and the Arabian societies, Britain was enlarging its influence area on the Middle East. Britain's strong posture and developed structure had made itself a reliable ally for the Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire on their independence road. With that way, after the beginning of the 20th century, Britain had enlarged its colonial system through the Middle East region. That colonial system had not included an exploitation system; in contrast, Britain had encouraged the Middle East societies, in particularly the Arabian nations, against the Ottoman Empire for their independence process⁵⁸⁷. The Arabian nations had understood that Britain had attached importance to their presence and their ethnical identity. However, they had no idea about their future. In that point, Britain was preparing the same future with its colonial regions in the Africa and India⁵⁸⁸.

⁵⁸⁵ Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara, syf. 191.

⁵⁸⁶ Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble.

⁵⁸⁷ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, p. 211.

⁵⁸⁸ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 79.

This point explains the humanitarian differences of the issue: the Ottoman Empire had paid attention for its subject equally. But, its regression had broken the balance system in the Empire. However, Britain had not seen the Ottoman subjects except non-Muslims as human being and prepared the same destiny with its slaves in the African colonies. This point makes the difference and draws the general frame of the matter: The Ottoman Empire knows the humanitarian part of the issue, but it had lost the political side of it. On the other side of the issue, Britain had analyzed general frame of its relations with the Ottoman Empire after the 18th century and it had drawn a special roadmap for the Ottoman policies of the state more differently than the other states in the Europe. In that process, the British political consciousness had understood the needs and the matters of the Middle East region; at the same time, Britain had found different solutions to defeat the Ottoman and Islam hegemony on the region⁵⁸⁹. It was important for the Eastern policies of Britain. In the future, defeating the Ottoman Empire will open the road for Britain to reach the Russian lands and Russian hegemony on the Northern lands.

In this view, Iraq is like starting point to surround the Ottoman Empire from the Middle East region and the Arabian Peninsula. Iraq's most attractive side was about its crowded and complicated ethnic structure⁵⁹⁰. Britain had used that trump very well and encouraged the different ethnic groups against the Ottoman Empire according to their expectations from the future. Generally, Iraq was full of the ethnic groups, which were dreaming about the independence. Iraq's Kurdish society was in the good relations with the British side and British authorities had used the Kurdish society as a great weapon against the Ottoman Empire. During the First World War, after the war and during the Lausanne process, the Kurdish rebels had worked for the interests of Britain indirectly. Their basic support was

⁵⁸⁹ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 134.

⁵⁹⁰ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 69.

about independence and founding a land. The British political system had made believe the Kurdish society to that belief and their connection was more powerful than their connections with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman's weakness had allowed the continuity of that process and the social failure had become real with the 20th century. In the ideological and political mean, the Ottoman Empire had lost its general influence all around the Empire since the 19th century's beginning⁵⁹¹. Britain had fixed that problematic situation well and they decided their attitudes according to the needs of the Empire's problematic societies and ethnic groups. The basic deficiency of the Ottoman authorities was about understanding the dimensions of the matter. Losing of the connection with the Muslim subjects had hit the entirety of the Ottoman Empire and prepared a suitable sphere for the foreign powers to direct the process for their interests. That process had prepared the downfall and the end of the Empire at the same time. The connection problem and the failure about understanding the matters of the ethnic groups had weakened the Empire fast⁵⁹². With the direct effect of the First World War, the Arabian Peninsula turned into a serious matter for the peace and the entirety of the Empire. Iraq was a serious threat for the Ottoman side and a tool for the British side at the same time.

The General Frame of the Relations during the National Campaign Period:

Lausanne Treaty and afterwards were the most problematic years for the both sides; Britain had created a colonial empire. But, it did not work well and the resistance of the Turkish National Campaign had created a new resistance period against Britain. The colonial system of Britain had hit the British system⁵⁹³. The oppressive imperial Empire had broken the plans of Britain. On the other hand, the First World War had lived an unexpected period to

⁵⁹¹Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, p. 92.

⁵⁹¹Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble.

⁵⁹²Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 273.

⁵⁹³Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 111.

Britain in political and financial mean. The Ottoman Empire had lost its presence and Turkish Republic had risen over the Ottoman heritage. It was a symbol of the Turkish power and resistance against the Western forces on the Anatolian lands. At the same time, the Turkish National Campaign was a new resistance chance for the undeveloped and the third world countries. Indirectly, the Turkish National Campaign had disturbed the British colonial system. In this view, it is clear to see that the relations between the Ottoman or Turkish and the British sides had continued indirectly after the period that the clashes were over. However, their relations were limited with the social events like the rebellions against the British colonial Empire that was affected by the achievement of the Turks right after the First World War.

In the Iraq matter, the solution could not provide clearly. There were three basic reasons of that. First of all, the ethnic structure of Iraq had not allowed any stable intervention or foundation of a country easily. Different social groups had tried to change the conditions for their interests and this situation had created the basis of the ethnic and social clashes in the country. Iraq's basic matter was about its complicated social structure and that structure was always an obstacle in front of the social unity and welfare of the country⁵⁹⁴. If it is necessary to make a comparison between the periods during the Ottoman hegemony and the British hegemony, it is surely fair to say that Iraq was in more peace than the British hegemony period; because, Britain had used Iraq and its society as a weapon against the Ottoman Empire for a long time period⁵⁹⁵.

Secondly, the new matter in the world was about the natural sources matter and the petroleum was in the basis of the debates. So, it was hard to hold Iraq for Britain in a long time period. The world was watching the Middle East region and even the US had started to

⁵⁹⁴ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 278.

⁵⁹⁵ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 218.

care about Iraq and the other Arabian Peninsula countries. Naturally, that situation had warned the regional people to understand their value and importance. That is why the rebellions and the clashes in the domestic are of Iraq had increased after the First World War. Although there was a powerful British hegemony, the Iraqi rebellions were trying to draw their future on their own at the same time. Iraq was out of control after a time period. The geographical situation and the complicated ethnical structure had made Iraq uncontrolled⁵⁹⁶.

Third one is about that the encouragement of the British authorities on the Kurdish and Arabian society had provided a unity for the struggle of the regional people against the Ottoman Empire. However, after the First World War process, these societies had lost their chance to be in the region as a leader or as a member of the regional authority. In contrast, after the rebellion process was completed, Britain had used the different rebellion groups against each other to be fought. That situation had triggered the tension and the clashes again. Briefly, Britain could not manage the differences as well as the Ottoman Empire. In contrast, the differences in the region were the basic materials of the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East⁵⁹⁷. That is why if a power wanted to manage the process there; it had to be logical against the ethnic and social differences in the region. Britain had focused on own interests and that selfish attitude of Britain had directed the future of the region for the badness of Turkish Republic for the future. At the same time, Iraq and the other Arabian countries could not find their identities and they had left their hopeful ideas for the future; they had focused on a meaningless resistance and clashes between each other.

After all these issue mentioned above, it is hard to put the Turkish-British relations in a positive axis. In the basis of their relations, the struggle and the secret political moves were

⁵⁹⁶ Graves, P.P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, p. 117.

⁵⁹⁷ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 438.

more effective than the one-on-one relations between the sides. Britain had preferred that way because of its thousands years political identity and it did not chance during the relations between the Turkish side⁵⁹⁸. On the other side, Turks were defeated by their mistakes and the domestic matters of the Ottoman Empire, in particularly, had prepared the end of the Empire. Because of that reason, Turkish Republic had faced a problematic and an unsolvable heritage from the Ottoman Empire. Iraq and the relations with the other Muslim countries had been left as a heritage from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic⁵⁹⁹. But, Turks were unlucky to change the conditions for their profits; because, the Ottoman Empire could not find a solution to that matter because of its weakness during its last 200 years until the downfall⁶⁰⁰. Turkish Republic was too young to get over the matters like that. All of these conditions were for the profit of Britain and the British authorities had used these advantages well. So, it is hard to say that the relations of these countries had equality. In contrast, Britain had directed the process by itself and generally, the process was not for the goodness of the Turkish side.

Lausanne Treaty period was the highest level of the relations between the Turkish and the British sides. These two sides had struggled for the highest interests. However, Turkish Republic's unlucky situation did not allow changing the conditions of the Treaty; because, Britain had drawn the roadmap of the region, Iraq and new Turkish Republic during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. That is why it was a bad heritage for the new Turkish Republic. In this situation, it is extremely hard to say that the Turkish Republic had provided the sufficient profit from its relations from Britain. When Britain had lost the struggle on the Ottoman lands during the first period of the First World War and during the Turkish national campaign, it had created a "revenge" consciousness in the British policies. Because of that

⁵⁹⁸ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 324.

⁵⁹⁹ Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris, p. 190.

⁶⁰⁰ Sander, O. (1993). *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, 197.

revenge idea, Britain had focused on consuming the chances and the hopes of the Ottoman's heritors⁶⁰¹.

After all, it is important to understand that as two major states, which had managed a large area on the earth, the Turkish and the British sides struggled against each other. For a long time period, their relations were continued from a long distance and they did not come together too much. Moreover, they did not even come closer on the European political area. They were great far away from each other. However, when they met each other, they were different from their first formations. The Ottoman Empire was not an empire anymore; the lands reducing day by day. Britain was not the country of an island. In contrast, it was a colonial leader on the earth. Now, it was an imperial empire. That deep difference between the sides and the developed structure of Britain had put it one step beyond of the Ottoman Empire. In a short time period, the Ottoman Empire had accepted the ascendancy of Britain as an ally⁶⁰².

When the issue was appreciated from the historical perspective, the negative relations between two sides can be seen clearly. The direction of their relations was in the bad way rarely in the historical process⁶⁰³. Although there was cooperation for a short time period between the sides, it had ended with the nationalist movements' effects in the country. In actually, the cooperation of two countries was so normal; because, they had common hegemony effect on the Europe. At the same time, their cooperation was meaningless; because their interests were not even related each other. But, the regression of the Turkish side and the rising of the British hegemony on the world clashed and the loser was the

⁶⁰¹ Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, p. 326.

⁶⁰² Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. Barnes and Noble.

⁶⁰³ Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, p. 272.

Ottoman Empire⁶⁰⁴. So, the political hegemony, financial ascendancy and increasing capacity of one of these sides were the determinative facts between two sides. At the same time, Iraq was another political determinative fact of the relations' direction.

V. II. Iraq Matter for Britain: Failure or Success?

Britain's support to the invasion of Iraq was criticized in domestic area of the country and in the international area. However, Blair government did not give up supporting American troops. In the end, it is a complicated situation that Britain's support can be evaluated as a successful move and as a failure Britain's posture in the world politics.

Britain's basic expectation was about having its share from the Iraq petroleum; however, British authorities did not declare that clearly. It was a result of British plans on Iraq. Britain was successful about it; because, a lot of British petroleum companies, in particular British Petroleum Company (BP), has taken their places to manage the Iraq petroleum areas. Their rights cover a long time period for the future. At the same time, these companies provide petroleum source to the American companies. After the failure in Afghanistan, Britain's achievement about Iraq petroleum can be evaluated as a victory in financial mean. Perhaps, Britain will try to recover the huge military expenses.

In the political mean, it is easy to say that there is a serious failure for the British foreign policy. As mentioned above, Britain was in failure about Afghanistan policies and it is still the same for Britain. Britain's Afghanistan policy made the state as a target for the terrorist groups; in other words, some of the Muslim states and societies are against Britain's presence in the Middle East. Invasion Iraq and Britain's support to this invasion triggered the negative reactions against Britain. Until the end of the invasion of Iraq, Britain had just IRA

⁶⁰⁴ Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks, p. 477.

problem about terrorism problem. However, today Britain must face different terrorist groups' pressure on its politic interests in Iraq and in the rest of the Middle East⁶⁰⁵. At the same time, Britain's claim about providing democracy to the region like the US did was not realistic; it was seen after Saddam Hussein's death and Iraq's transformation in political mean. Multicultural structure of Iraq did not allow a realistic democratic system and religious and socio-cultural clashes could not be obstructed. Blair's claims about democracy did not work for Iraq. Surely, Britain's political failure affected Britain's relations Israel and Turkey at the same time. Both states could not get their expectations from the invasion of Iraq. Israel still feels the pressure of the Arab and Muslim states. On the other hand, Israel's expectations about providing a democratic and a complete state structure in Iraq did not work. It seems like it will be the same in the future⁶⁰⁶. At the same time, Turkey's concerns about PKK matter are still the same and Britain's support to the democratic and independent Kurdish region triggered the fears of Turkey about terrorism for the future.

V. III. Current Situation and Possible Scenarios for the Future

The historical negative effect to the regional piece in the Middle East after the Cold War era is the First Gulf War between 1990 and 1991. Iraq attitudes against Kuwait were an annoying issue for the American policies in the Middle East land. Although, all the cautions declared from the American side, Saddam Husein's Iraq forces had occupied Kuwait lands in the August of 1990. So, it had caused a new clash in the Middle East after a short time period.

When the war was over, the development process of the Middle East states during the new opened globalization area in that modern world had lived a great depression again. The most important one, the peace was hurt again. The war had caused a new tension between

⁶⁰⁵ Lee, P. (2011). *Blair's Just War: Iraq and the Illusion of Morality*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 196.

⁶⁰⁶ Shawcross, W. (2005). *Allies: The U.S., Britain, and Europe in the Aftermath of the Iraq War*. PublicAffairs, p. 208.

the regional states and the other Western states which had joined to the First Gulf War. The victory of the Western forces had not brought the peace at truth. In contrast, the fact of Middle East terrorism had showed itself seriously. Even America said that it would provide a welfare environment for the region in every meaning; the results of the war had denied it. So, the peace transformed to the impossibility and that impossibility allowed new clashes which were ordered by the new created terrorist groups to change the political systems of the Middle East states for their profit⁶⁰⁷.

So, right in this point, the most important question is that does the US want a permanent piece in the region; because after Britain, the US is the only owner of the area.

Actually, the answer of this question depends on the profits of the US basically. The profits are the natural sources, particularly petroleum. The US can defend until the end of time; because, a good democratization progress and its success in the Middle East can make easier the things for the US. Managing the order, directing the regional states on the directions of the US and its allies are reliable issues for the American foreign policies. However, the existing situation of the Middle East does not provide the conditions America hoped until today. After September 11 attacks, the increasing terrorism phenomenon and the opposition against America divided the West and East sharply. And American presence in the region had been started to criticize. So, the US authorities believe that a permanent peace environment between the Middle East states can effect positively the situation of America there⁶⁰⁸.

The new elected president, Obama's basic plans about the US politics are about to fix the existing financial problems of the country and to find a permanent solution in the Middle East, especially Afghanistan and Iraq. During the Bush administration, the US's regional

⁶⁰⁷ Fisk, R. (2007). *The Great War for Civilizations: The Conquest of the Middle East*. Vintage, p. 539.

⁶⁰⁸ Akgün, B. (2006). *11 Eylül Sonrasında, Dünya ABD ve Türkiye*. Tablet Yayınevi, p. 72.

policies on the Middle East was about clashes. Afghanistan and Iraq had transformed unsolved matter for the American government. Although the last period of the Bush administration had tried to moderate the relation with the regional states like Syria and Iran, it was not in enough level⁶⁰⁹. So, Obama tries to continue that moderating process strongly. Even the Obama tries to create a peaceful environment in the Middle East, it will take long time; because, Obama had explained that the American forces in Iraq will step back from the region until the end of 2011. So, that situation shows that the hopes about the permanent peace will not be valid until the end of 2012. It means that it is not enough to want a permanent peace for the US in the Middle East. The result depends on the America's existing and the future efforts about the peace. It is certain that a welfare and peace environment is wished by all the region states. However, the presence of America and Israel is the basic problem of the future plans for the Middle East.

Finally, as a result of this paper, presence of the US in the Middle East is the basic reason of the borders for the regional peace at truth. Historically or in the existing period, the peace issue is not clear between the Middle East states. At first, during the last Iraq War, America had seen a great support from its allies from Europe and the Asia. On the other hand, the other Middle East states had chosen to stay behind the issue and they had preferred to see the results after the war. All the general view for the Iraq War was about that the US would bring a permanent and strong peace and welfare environment to the region. Therefore, the expectations had been destroyed during the war. The same result was valid for the process after the war: the US could not get over the regional problems it had stuck on the Iraq lands. So, that situation had created a new battlefield more than a peaceful area.

⁶⁰⁹ Abdulkareem, K. "US War and Terror: A Middle East Perspective". Foreign Service Journal. Vol.5 No.11, April 2002. Available at: <http://www.afsa.org/fsj/Apr02/Abdulkareem.pdf>

Barrack H. Obama had declared his policies on the Iraq and the Middle East that he would try to fix all the errors in the region and the peace could be possible after a long time war period. But, when Obama was selected as a president of the US, he had seen the truth badly. American struggle in the Middle East land had not solved the current problems; at the same time, it had caused serious problems about the peace. And every day, the process of the peace meets the new borders. Iran's situation and the US's posture against that country do not include a permanent peace for the near future. On the other hand, opposition against the US in the Middle East have reached a new dimension today; the people and the states do not want to see no more American efficiency in the region. Its main point is that while a permanent peace is starting by finding a solution Israel-Palestine matter, the US does not come closer about the issue anymore. It means that, the starting point of the US about the issue is not true all over⁶¹⁰.

In the current time, the existing armed forces transportation to Afghanistan will create new problems; it is clear to say. At the same time, each Middle East country is not closer to the agreement with the other countries of the area. This negative environment makes stronger the extreme groups and their aims. Some countries like Turkey, Syria and Lebanon assumed a peacemaker role to make dialogues between problems countries to provide a peaceful area. However, it does not seem like easy. There are still ongoing debates about political and economical. Especially, the economical matters are not easy issues to solve. In this subject, the powerful countries of the area prefer to be uncommunicative⁶¹¹. So, this makes impossible the dialogue progress's aims. Again today, the energy problem is the most valuable issue of the region. Iran is one of the most powerful countries about it and the

⁶¹⁰ Brain, K. "Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and the Obama Administration" The Century Foundation Report. Available at: <http://www.tcf.org/publications/internationalaffairs/Katulis.pdf>

⁶¹¹ Chomsky, N., Achcar, G. and Shalom, S.R. (2006). *Perilous Power: The Middle East & U.S. Foreign Policy: Dialogues on Terror, Democracy, War, and Justice*. Paradigm Publishers, p. 88.

existing government is not closer to the peace by talking the other regional and out of region countries. This is the new form of the Middle East problem structure.

Turkey and Israel are the basic assurances of the Middle East and they are the most important allies of the US for the regional politics. However, the US needs more than that. America has to change its vision against the Middle East society at first. The peace development can start only with this way. Otherwise, the allies of the America and the US politics cannot go beyond a new battle in the Middle East. Terrorism phenomenon is the other important problem, which waits to be solved. Therefore, American politics only increases that threat day by day. A complete solution is hidden on the new American politics, which will be able to change in the new future.

V. III. I. Federal State Problem and Civil War

After the invasion of Iraq, the expectations of the world public opinion were about the US to create a democratic area in Iraq. Saddam Hussein's death was seen as a chance for that. In the end, a federal state was created in Iraq. So, did it work in favor of Iraq? It is hard to support the positive ideas about this issue. In contrast, negative approaches about the federal structure in Iraq are more powerful. There are different and valuable points for this negative view.

Basically, federal state idea was an opposite approach for the multi socio-cultural structure of the Iraq society. Kurdish people, Shia society and the other minority groups are the sides of the Iraq community⁶¹². However, their relations are not in good form against each other. Until the end of 2009, Baghdad was an area for suicide attacks and terrorist actions. Around 200 people per month lost their lives. Most importantly, some of these incidents were

⁶¹² Shawcross, W. (2005). *Allies: The U.S., Britain, and Europe in the Aftermath of the Iraq War*. PublicAffairs, p. 238.

realized near the religious places of Muslims, Shia people and the other religious groups. Those religious clashes are the basic obstacles for achievement of federal system.

Secondly, Kurdish issue in Iraq is not just an issue for Iraq's domestic policies. At the same time, Turkey is one of the sides of Kurdish issue in Iraq because of PKK matter. Turkey's pressure and Iraq central administration's disagreements with the Northern Kurdish administration are one of the basic obstacles for the achievement of federal system. Kurdish authorities defend an independent state for Kurdish society. It seems like a utopia for Kurdish authorities for the near future⁶¹³.

On the other hand, federal system in Iraq is open for manipulation. There is still a struggle to hold Iraq's different social groups and to direct them for the interests of the great states. It is a dilemma for Iraq's states identity; having different social groups, cannot be holding them together. This problem is a mount to climb for Iraq central administration. There is another problem about decision-making process of social and religious groups; they prefer to decide their future on their own. It is a risk for a state to hold the difference together.

Lastly, Iraq's neighbors are not ready to accept Iraq as a federal state. Iran and Turkey are the states have completely different administrations systems and their approaches on Iraq's administrations style are negative. Iran believes that Iraq's multi cultural structure is a danger for Iraq's itself and the dangerous incidents can be danger for Iran in the future at the same time. Turkey's basic concern is about Kurdish problem and PKK's presence. Iraq's scattered political structure allows the terrorist groups like PKK. It is the basic concern of Turkey against Iraq.

⁶¹³ Akgün, B. (2006). *11 Eylül Sonrasında, Dünya ABD ve Türkiye*. Tablet Yayınevi, p. 121.

The constitution is another problem for Iraq's future. Iraqi authorities tried to consider all the cultural groups and sides in Iraq to create a suitable constitution for today and the future. However, Iraq has serious obstacles to apply this constitution successfully. Firstly, Iraq's autonomy is not clear yet and it does not have clarity for the future. This situation obstructs Iraqi administration to apply a stable constitution in the country. On the other one, Baghdad government could not create a powerful authority on the federal regions; so, it is hard to make a constitution as accepted all around the county. Thirdly, the separation between Shia and Sunni Muslims is open to criticize for the other countries; Iran is ready to use the Shia card in Iraq and Iran's pressure will be effective on Iraq's constitution's content. For the last point, Iraq's economic power does not belong to legal Iraqi administration; in other words, Iraq does not manage the petroleum power of the country by itself. In contrast, the US and Britain tries to direct the petroleum trade with their effective and powerful oil companies. So, it makes them a "side" for the content of the Iraq constitution.

So, what is next? Is it possible to a civil war in Iraq? It is not an easy question to answer; however, Iraq's current situation does not give positive signs for the future of the country. Socio-cultural differences clashes, terrorism threat, dilemma about being a regional actor or a part of American authorities and lastly, uncertainty for the situation of the Kurdish administration on the Northern lands of the country are the basic matters of Iraq's domestic and foreign policy.

REFERENCES

Abdulkareem, K. "US War and Terror: A Middle East Perspective". Foreign

Service Journal. Vol.5 No.11, April 2002. Available at:

<http://www.afsa.org/fsj/Apr02/Abdulkareem.pdf>

Aburish, Said K. (2001). *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge*. London:

Bloomsbury.

Adamthwaite, A., "Suez Revisited", *International Affairs* Vol. 64, No.3,

Summer 1988, p. 451-452.

Akgün, B. (2006). *11 Eylül Sonrasında, Dünya ABD ve Türkiye*. Tablet

Yayınevi.

Akgündüz, A. and Öztürk, S. (1999). *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı*. Osmanlı Araştırmaları

Vakfı.

Allen, R.C. (2009). *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective (New*

Approaches to Economic and Social History). London: Cambridge

University Press.

Arı, Tayyar (2004). *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul: Alfa.

Atarodi, H. (2003). *Great Powers, Oil and the Kurds in Mosul*. Washington:

University Press Of America.

- Aykan, M. B., "The Palestinian Question in Turkish Foreign Policy from 1950s to the 1990s", *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, Vol.25, No.1. (Feb., 1993), p. 91-110.
- Ayly, C.A. (1989). *Imperial Meridian - The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. New York.
- Balcı, İ. (2006). *Bir Milletın Uyanışı*, İstanbul: İlk Biz Yayınları.
- Barbir, K. and Hathaway, J. (2008). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800*. London: Longman.
- Barkey, H. J. (ed.), Lasensky, S. B. (ed.), Marr, P. (ed.) (2011), *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the US: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press.
- Bartlett, C. J. (1996). *Peace, War and the European Powers, 1814-1914*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bashir, A. (2005). *The Insider: Trapped in Saddam's Brutal Regime*. Little, Brown Book Group.
- Bilgin, M. (2008). *Britain and Turkey in the Middle East*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Black, E. (2011). *British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement: The West's Secret Pact to Get Mideast Petroleum*. Dialog Press.

Blanning, T. C. W. (2000). *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914*. New York:

Oxford University Press.

Blight, James (2012). *Becoming Enemies: U.S.-Iran Relations and the Iran-Iraq*

War, 1979-1988. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Booth, K. (2011). *Realism and World Politics*. London: Routledge.

Bozkurt, M.E. (2006). *Türk İhtilali'nde Vatan Müdafaası*, Istanbul: Kaynak

Yayınları.

Brain, K. "Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and the Obama

Administration" The Century Foundation Report. Available at:

<http://www.tcf.org/publications/internationalaffairs/Katulis.pdf>

Cains, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G. (1993) *British Imperialism-Innovation and Expression*

(1688-1914). New York.

Calhoun, C. "Nationalism and Ethnicity". *Annual Review of Sociology*, V.19 No:7

(1993), p. 211-239.

Caşın, M. H. (2006) *Rus İmparatorluk Stratejisi*. İstanbul: Okumuş Adam

Yayıncılık.

Caşın, M. H. (2008). *Uluslararası Terörizm*, Ankara: Nobel.

Caşın, M. H., NATO's 60th BIRTHDAY and UNDERSTANDING

RUSSIAN SECURITY. *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on the Strategy and the Security Studies: The National Defense in the 21th Century*, April 16-17, 2009, p. 328-339.

Catherwood, C. (2005). *Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq*. Basic Books.

Chomsky, N., Achcar, G. and Shalom, S.R. (2006). *Perilous Power: The Middle East & U.S. Foreign Policy: Dialogues on Terror, Democracy, War, and Justice*. Paradigm Publishers.

Chorev, M., "Wherein the Divide? Terrorism and the Future of Atlanticism", *Perceptions*, Spring 2006, p. 48.

Claire, R. (2005). *Raid on the Sun: Inside Israel's Secret Campaign that Denied Saddam the Bomb*. Broadway.

Clark, J. C. D. and Cowling, M. (1985). *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Conrad, S. (2010). *Globalization and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, J. (2008). *Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran and the Plan to Remake the Middle East*. Pluto Press.

Çoşar, N. And Demirci, S. THE MUSOUL QUESTION and the TURKISH REPUBLIC: BEFORE and AFTER the FRONTIER TREATY, 1926. The Turkish Yearbook, Vol. XXXV, 2004. pp. 43-59. See also:

<http://acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr/browse/3935/3098.pdf?show>

Değerli, E.S. LOZAN BARIŞ KONFERANSI'NDA MUSUL (Musul at the Lausanne Peace Conference). Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Vol. 10 No. 18, December 2007, pp.127-140. See also:

<http://sbe.balikesir.edu.tr/dergi/edergi/c10s18/makale/c10s18m7.pdf>

Dodge, Toby (2003). *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, London: C. Hurst & Co.

Easton, S. C. (1964). *The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism*. New York.

Finlan, Alastair (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. London. Routledge.

Fischer, M. M. J. (2003). *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Washington: University of Wisconsin Press.

Fisk, Robert. (2007). *The Great War for Civilizations: The Conquest of the Middle East*. Vintage.

Fraser, R. (2006). *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present: A Narrative History*. London: W. W. Norton & Company.

Fromkin, D. (2001). *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Holt Paperbacks.

Glubb, J. (1959). *Britain and the Arabs: Study of Fifty Years, 1908 to 1958*. Hodder & Stoughton.

Goldstein, D. (2002). *The First World War Peace Settlements, 1919-1925* London: Longman.

Gopal, S. And Tikhvinsky, S.L. World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Crisis Within Imperialism. *History of Humanity: Scientific and Cultural Development, Vol. VII*, 2002, pp. 21-30. See also:

http://www.google.com.tr/#hl=tr&sa=X&ei=zDDrT8WqOliC4gSjncn5Ag&ved=0CE0QBSgA&q=maier-the+world+at+the+beginning+pdf&spell=1&bav=on.2,or.r_gc.r_pw.r_qf,.cf.osb&fp=6f8ee41a9492c2d4&biw=1115&bih=798

Graves, P. P. (1999). *İngilizler ve Türkler Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri (1789-1939)*. 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları.

- Graves, R. and Kennington, E. (1991). *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Marlowe & Company.
- Green, J. (2011). *Turkish War Of Independence, including: Treaty Of Lausanne, Treaty Of Sèvres, Greco-turkish War (1919-1922)*. Hephaestus Books.
- Grenville, J. (1999). *Europe Reshaped: 1848-1878*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Griffiths, M. (1995). *Realism, Idealism, and International Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Guvenc, B. (2006). *The Other: Turks' Quest for Identity and Image*. Istanbul: Alkım Publishing House.
- Halliday, F. (2010). *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*. I. B. Tauris.
- Harley, K. (1993). *Reassessing the Industrial Revolution: A Macro View*, in Joel M. (ed.), *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Assessment*. London: Westview Press.
- Henig, R. (1995). *Versailles and After, 1919-1933*. London: Routledge.
- Hollis, R. (2010). *Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Inalcik, H. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (*Economic & Social History of the Ottoman Empire*). London: Cambridge

University Press.

James A. Bill, "The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking",

Middle East Journal, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 501-512.

Jones, A. (2008). *The Politics of Reform 1884*. London: Cambridge University

Press.

Karacan, A.N. (2006). *Lozan*. Ankara: Nokta Yayınları.

Karaosmanoglu, A.L., "The Evolution of the National Security and the Military in

Turkey", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.54, No:1, p. 199-216, Fall

2000.

Karsh, Efraim (2002). *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*. Osprey Publishing.

Keddie, N. R. (2006). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. Washington:

Yale University Press.

Keegan, J. (2000). *The First World War*. London: Vintage.

Kishlansky, M.A., Geary, P. and O'Brien, P. (2000). *Civilization in the West*,

Volume II: Since 1555. London: Addison-Wesley.

Krauthammer, C., "The Unipolar Moment", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter

1990/1991, p.26.

Kurzman, C. (2005). *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. New York: Harvard University Press.

Laçiner, S. (2001). *Bir Başka Açıdan İngiltere*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları.

Lee, P. (2011). *Blair's Just War: Iraq and the Illusion of Morality*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lee, R.D. (2009). *Religion and Politics in the Middle East: Identity, Ideology, Institutions, and Attitudes*. Westview Press.

Lee, Stephen J. (1988). *Aspects of European History: 1789-1980*. London: Routledge.

Lieber, K. A. (2009). *War, Peace, and International Political Realism: Perspectives from the Review of Politics*. Paris: University of Notre Dame Press.

Louër, Laurence (2008). *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf*. Washington: Columbia University Press.

Marr, P. (2011). *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Westview Press.

Mansfield, P. and Pelham, N. (2004). *A History of the Middle East*. London: Penguin Publishing.

Mayall, J. (1990). *Nationalism and International Society*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Meram, A.K. (1989). *Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitap

Yayınları.

Meyer, G.J. (2007). *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914 to 1918*.

Delacorte Press.

Michael C. Hudson, “The Middle East”, *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 34, No.

4 (Dec., 2001), pp. 801-804.

Nexon, D. H. (2009). *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious*

Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change. Princeton University

Press.

Oke, Mim Kemal (2005). *Irak Savaşı Günlüğü*. İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık.

Oke, Mim Kemal (2002). *Musul-Kürdistan Sorunu 1918-1926*. İstanbul: Bilge

Karınca Yayınları.

Oran, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 1*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi.

Ortaylı, İ. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: İletişim

Yayınevi.

Ozkan, T. (2004). *CIA Kürtleri: Kurt Devletinin Gizli Tarihi*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım

Yayın.

Owen, R. (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle*

East. New York: Routledge.

Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (New Approaches to European*

History). London: Cambridge University Press.

Palmer, A. (1993). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John

Murray Publishers Ltd.

Palmer, A. (2009). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire 2nd edition*. Barnes

and Noble.

Pearson, M. (1984). *Diplomacy, War, and Technology Since 1830*. University Press

of Kansas.

Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. (1976), *The “New Imperialism”- Analysis of Late*

Nineteenth-Century Expansion. Massachusetts.

Rogers, Paul. “Reviewing Britain’s Security”, *International Affairs*, Vol.73, No.4,

(October 1997), pp. 656-657.

Sander, O. (1989). *Siyasi Tarih I*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi.

Sander, O. (1993). *Anka’nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü: Osmanlı Tarihi Üzerine Bir*

Deneme. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi.

Sanderson, G.N. (1985). *The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn, 1870-1908*. London: Cambridge.

Schroeder, P. W. (1994). *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*. Washington: Oxford University Press.

Shawcross, W. (2005). *Allies: The U.S., Britain, and Europe in the Aftermath of the Iraq War*. PublicAffairs.

Sluglett, P. (2007). *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Smolansky, B. M. and Smolansky O. M. (1991). *The USSR and Iraq: The Soviet Quest for Influence*. Washington: Duke University Press Books.

Smith, Philip (2005). *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Soysal, I., “1937 Sadabad Pact”, *Studies on Turkish-Arab Relations*, Annual 3, 1988, p. 132.

Stevenson, D. (2005). *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*. Basic Books.

Strachan, H. (2005). *The First World War*. London: Penguin Books.

Tignor, L. R. (1966), *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914*, New Jersey.

Ucuzsatar, N.U. (2007), *Türk İstiklal Harbi'nin Menşei ve Esasları 1919-1922*.

Istanbul. Derin Yayınları.

Waltz, K. N., (1994). *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Wandycz, P. S. (2001). *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge.

Williams, M. C. (2005). *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*: No. 100, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, P., “Who is Making UK Foreign Policy”, *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 5, October 2004, p. 909-929.

Yasamee, F.A.K. (1996). *Ottoman diplomacy : Abdülhamid II and the great powers, 1878-1888*, Istanbul : Isis Press.

Yiğitbaşı, D. (1975). *Tarihte Türk – İngiliz İlişkileri*. Ankara.

Viorst, M. (2007). *Storm from the East: The Struggle Between the Arab World and the Christian West*. Modern Library.

ÖZGEÇMİŞ
Fatih TUNA

Kişisel Bilgiler :

Doğum Tarihi : 01.01.1970

Doğum Yeri : Sivas

Medeni Durumu : Evli

Eğitim :

Lise 1988-1989 Suşehri İ.H.Lisesi

Lisans 1989-1993 İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi
Belge ve bilgi Yönetimi Bölümü

Yüksek Lisans 1996-2002 Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü,
Radyo Tv ve Sinema Bölümü,

Doktora 2006-2013 Yeditepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü,
İngilizce Siyaset bilimi ve Uluslar arası İlişkiler Bölümü

Çalıştığı Kurumlar:

2010-Devam Ediyor, Primeteks ihracat firmasında yönetici

2002-2010 M&A Imports adlı firmanın Türkiye temsilcisi

1997-2001 Frank Stone adlı firmada kontrol şefi(İngiltere)