

THE BALKAN WARS
ACCORDING TO THE
PRAVDA NEWSPAPER

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ABSTRACT

THE BALKAN WARS ACCORDING TO THE PRAVDA NEWSPAPER

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This thesis has examined the Bolshevik newspaper, Pravda, which began its broadcasting life in April 1912, for the period of the Balkan Wars from October 1912 to October 1913. The objectives of this study are to present and examine the position towards the Balkan Wars of a political group, which viewed the world and the Ottoman Empire from a different angle than the traditional Russian political position of the time, and would seize the power only five years later in Russia.

Keywords : The Balkan Wars, Pravda Newspaper, Panslavism

ÖZ

PRAVDA GAZETESİ'NE GÖRE BALKAN SAVAŞLARI

Şarlak, Levent

Avrasya Çalışmaları

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan

Eylül 2012, 169 sayfa

Bu tez çalışmasında, yayın hayatına 1912 Nisan ayında başlayan Bolşeviklerin gazetesi Pravda, Balkan Savaşları'nın vuku bulduğu 1912 Ekim-1913 Ekim arası dönemde taranmıştır. Bu çalışmada amaç, dönemin geleneksel Rus siyasi çizgisinden farklı bir çerçeveden dünyaya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na bakan ve beş yıl sonra Rusya'da iktidara gelecek bir siyasi grubun Balkan Savaşları'nı nasıl baktığının ortaya konulması ve tahlil edilmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkan Savaşları, Pravda Gazetesi, Panslavizm

To My Family

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In fact, in 2011, I had lost my hopes for accomplishing the master's program in Eurasian Studies, which I had begun in 2002. When I made a welcome visit to Professor Dr. Ömer Turan in September 2011 when he came from the US back, he asked me about my thesis studies. I told him that I did not finish the thesis studies and did not even know what I would do. At that moment, he undertook the responsibility of being my thesis supervisor, and guided me towards such a research agenda. He has always instructed me with his knowledge and experience in all the stages of the thesis research. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude towards dear Professor Dr. Ömer Turan, who has in fact made it possible for me to finalize this thesis.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANKurat Panslavizm - Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Panslavizm", Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Dergisi, C:2 Sayı 2-4 (Haziran-Eylül-Aralık), 1953

ANKurat Rusya- Akdes Nimet Kurat, Rusya Tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar, TTK Basımevi, 3rd. Edition, Ankara, 1993

ANKurat T&R- Akdes Nimet Kurat, Türkiye ve Rusya, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1990

Bayur C2K1 - Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi, Cilt:2 Kısım: 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991

Bayur C2K2- Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi, Cilt:2 Kısım: II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991

Bolsover 1914- G.H. Bolsover, 1815-1914 Arasında Rus Dış Politikasına Bir Bakış, Tercüme: Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, Belleten, Cilt XXX, Sayı 118 Nisan 1966'dan ayırbasım, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1966

Bolsover-Nik - G.H. Bolsover "1. Nikola ve Türkiye'nin Paylaşılması Meselesi", Çeviren: Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, DTCF Dergisi, Cilt: 23, Sayı:3-4, 1965

C&B Jelavich- Charles & Barbara Jelavich, The Balkans, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1965

Koloğlu SE - Orhan Koloğlu, Osmanlı-İtalyan Libya Savaşında İttihatçılar, Masonlar ve Sosyalist Enternasyonal, Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1999

MŞP - Mahmut Şevket Paşa-Hafız Hakkı Paşa, Rumeli Yağmalanan İmparatorluk, Örgün Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2009

Talat- Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları, Baskıya Hazırlayan: Mehmet Kasım, Say Yayınları, İstanbul, 1986

YTKurat Diplomasi- Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, "XIX. Yüzyıl'da Rusya'nın Balkanlar'daki Panslavizm ve Panortodoksluk Politikası Karşısında Osmanlı Diplomasisi", Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi 200 Yıllık Süreç (Ankara 15-17 Ekim 1997) Sempozyuma Sunulan Tebliğler, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1999

YTKurat Osmanlı- Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Paylaşılması, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara, 1986

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
CHAPTER	
1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.THE TURKISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS UNTIL THE BALKAN WARS.....	6
2.1 The Turkish-Russian Relations in the 19th Century.....	8
2.2 The Balkan Policy of Russia.....	19
3.RUSSIA AND THE PRAVDA NEWSPAPER BEFORE THE BALKAN WARS.....	26
3.1 Russia before the Balkan Wars.....	26
3.2 The Pravda Newspaper.....	32
4.POLITICAL POSITION OF PRAVDA TOWARDS THE BALKAN WARS...42	
4.1 The Balkan Wars.....	43
4.1.1 The First Balkan War.....	45
4.1.2 The Second Balkan War.....	50

4.1.3 The Debates over Federation in the Balkans during the War.....	58
4.2. The Austria Hungarian Empire and Panslavism.....	63
4.2.1. The Question of Serbia's Access to the Sea.....	65
4.2.2. The Shkodra Question.....	68
4.3. The Attitudes of the European States during the Balkan Wars...	72
4.3.1. The European Diplomacy.....	72
4.3.2. The European Capital.....	77
5. RUSSIA AND PANSLAVISM IN PRAVDA DURING THE BALKAN WARS.....	83
5.1. The Russian Policy during the Balkan Wars.....	84
5.2. Panslavism in Russia during the War.....	103
6. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN PRAVDA.....	113
6.1. The Internal Developments in the Ottoman Empire from the Beginning of the Balkan War to the Raid on the Sublime Porte.....	114
6.2. The Raid on the Sublime Porte and the Subsequent Developments in the Ottoman Empire.....	126
6.3. The News on the Massacres against the Turks.....	134
6.4. The News on Edirne.....	139
6.5. The Young Turks.....	150
7. CONCLUSION.....	157
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	161
APPENDIX: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU.....	169

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has examined the Bolshevik newspaper, Pravda, which began its broadcasting life in April 1912, for the period of the Balkan Wars from October 1912 to October 1913. The objectives of this study are to present and examine the position towards the Balkan Wars of a political group, which viewed the world and the Ottoman Empire from a different angle than the traditional Russian political position of the time, and would seize the power only five years later in Russia.

It should be initially stated that the main original source of the thesis is the Pravda Newspaper, which has been reached from the St. Petersburg National Library. In October 2011, the St. Petersburg National Library was asked for whether there existed the issues of the Pravda Newspaper on the period to be investigated within the thesis. The Library personnel responded that the issues of Pravda for the period in question were available; however, these had never been requested for research purposes and thus they were not available in the scanned format. They also stated that the sources could be scanned for a fee. After two months of waiting, the issues of the Pravda Newspaper belonging to the time period in question were given to the author of the thesis in scanned format. It should also be stated that the issues of some other newspapers of the time are available online in the web site of the Russian National Library (<http://www.nlr.ru>). These newspapers include *Novoye Vremya*, the best-selling paper of the time, and *Şura*, which was a newspaper published by the Muslims in Arabic letters in the Orenburg region. Before obtaining the Pravda Newspaper, the issues of *Novoye Vremya* for a few months were investigated. However, these issues were found sufficient in terms of neither quality nor quantity with regard to the period problematized within the thesis. Therefore, the author of the thesis decided to focus on the Pravda Newspaper. The issues of this newspaper have been obtained nearly in full amount for the period investigated. The newspaper had to be published under four different names because it was closed down by a court verdict for three times. Therefore, about 15 issues could not be examined because the initial four or five issues belonging to each new newspaper do not exist in the library. Unfortunately, the period of revocation of Edirne by the Ottoman Empire coincided

to the issues that could not be obtained. On the basis of this introduction on the original sources reached in the thesis, the content and discussion of the thesis has been organized as in the following:

The thesis begins with a short overview of the history of Turkish-Russian relations before the Balkan Wars. It is important to make sense of the Eastern Question, Panslavism and the Macedonian Question to understand the Turkish-Russian relations in the 19th century and the relations of Russia with the Balkans. Therefore, the second chapter is concerned with these historical questions, which determined the position of Russia with regard to the Balkan Wars. On this basis, the chapter attempts to develop an assessment of the Balkan policy of Russia, which was based on these three pillars.

The interpretation and explanation of the news articles published in Pravda on the domestic and foreign policy of Russia requires one to have a general understanding of Russia at the time. In this period, the last assembly of the Tsarist Russia, the Duma IV (1912-1917), just started working. The period was characterized by political oppression, however, there were intense political and intellectual discussions and social movements, which would culminate in the 1917 Russian Revolution. The third chapter attempts to provide a general picture of the sides of these intellectual discussions, their political positions and the people they represented. Moreover, as the main original source of the entire thesis study, the Pravda Newspaper will be introduced to the reader at this chapter. The Pravda of the time was a newspaper, which just started its broadcasting life and had about 40.000 circulation number. Yet, it was subjected to severe political oppression by the Russian government during the period investigated. The newspaper was closed down for three times by court verdicts, and was under constant censorship. This situation demonstrates that even though it had a circulation rate of one quarter of the best selling newspaper of the time, the newspaper was quite influential in daily life and opposed to the dominant classes in a powerful manner. This chapter will develop a general assessment of all these issues.

In the fourth chapter, the political position of Pravda towards the Balkan Wars will be assessed on the basis of the quotations from the paper itself. The mainstream position of Russia depicted the Balkan Wars as the struggle of “the Orthodox Cross against the Crescent”. The fact that Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria, which represented the Cross, were at the same time Slavic made the Russian public opinion

to show closer interest in this war. Therefore, the Balkan Wars were presented by the Russian press as the emancipation of “co-religionists and fellow races who had been oppressed for hundreds of years” from the Turkish oppression. Never the less, the Pravda newspaper of the time approached towards the war with quite different motives. It criticized the general position of the Russian press from the beginning, and questioned the reasons that gave rise to the Balkan Wars on the basis of general politico-economic transformations and class conflicts. Pravda did not consent itself with a mere questioning, but provided various proposals for resolution. Being one of these proposals, the idea of the establishment of a Balkan Federation was frequently discussed in the newspaper.

The fourth chapter will present the position of Pravda with regard to the First and Second Balkan Wars. Moreover, the discussions around the idea of the establishment of a Balkan Federation will be conveyed to the reader. At this point, it is important to underline that the Serbians were the most leaning people towards the establishment of such a federation in accordance with the socialist worldview. This idea was strongly supported during the war by the Yugo-Slavs (Southern Slavs), who were living under the rule of the Austria Hungarian Empire. These Slavic people reacted against the Austria Hungarian government, which followed a strict anti-Serbian policy during the Balkan Wars. These reactions were reflected in Pravda, and this particular issue will be discussed under a separate heading in this chapter. The last section of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of the critical position of Pravda against the double-faced policies followed by the great powers of Europe.

The fifth chapter is entitled as “Russia and Panslavism in Pravda during the Balkan Wars”. Russia officially followed a moderate policy by trying to avoid clashes with the great powers during the Balkan Wars. However, she unofficially supported Panslavist movements and pursued an aggressive policy at the same time. As the central primary source for this thesis study, Pravda attacked against the liberals, who were thought of constantly directing the unofficial Russian policy during the period investigated. The Russian liberals were criticized in almost all the commentaries published on the Balkan Wars. Within this context, this chapter will analyze Russia and Panslavist Russian public opinion with a particular focus on the Russian liberals, whose domination over the media was out of question at the time. This analysis will follow the chronological order of the discussion as developed in the previous chapters so far. Therefore, the first theme will be “The Russian Policy in the Balkan

Wars”, in which it will be elaborated on the bipartite structure of the Russian policy on the basis of the news articles published in Pravda, which tried to reveal this character of the Russian policy. Then, the below analysis will concentrate on the position of Pan Slavist liberals during the Balkan Wars, which was critical of especially Turkey and reflected during discussions in Duma and through the media. The position of the editorial team of Pravda towards the Russian liberals will be particularly examined. The second section of the chapter discusses the Pan Slavism in Russia during the Balkan Wars on the basis of the news articles in Pravda. The Russian society provided actual support to the Balkan Slavs from the early days of the war. The supporting activities, demonstrations in favour of the Balkan Slavs will be examined alongside the political atmosphere in Russia at the time. At the end of the chapter, the bipartite structure of Russian foreign policy towards the Balkan Wars will be elaborated on, and the chapter will be finalized with a general assessment.

The chapter six is entitled as “The Ottoman Empire in the Eyes of Pravda”. The chapter will initially examine the domestic problems in the Empire that gave rise to the defeat. Then, the news articles in Pravda on the domestic political developments and especially on the military and government in the Ottoman Empire will be examined. These articles will be analyzed on chronological order. The Pravda Newspaper frequently communicated news articles on the Ottoman Empire in its pages. These news articles primarily concerned with such issues as the impact of the war, the developments in the military, and the developments in Istanbul and the government, which was shaken due to the early defeat. Under the newspaper’s section of “War”, the developments on the issues of human casualties, the defeat of the militaries were communicated. In this thesis study, such news are not given place as they can be found in the Turkish sources as well. As compared to the telegraphs received from the capital cities of the other Balkan states, Pravda received many more telegraphs on the everyday life in Istanbul of the time. Additionally, it has been remarkable to observe that the telegraphs on the developments in the Ottoman military were quite detailed in content and provided significant information to reflect the concrete developments at the time. In this chapter, it will be particularly underlined that Pravda mentioned the massacres undertaken against the Turkish and Muslim population, which was a phenomenon not communicated in the Russian press of that time. The resistance of Edirne for long and difficult months was reflected in the pages of Pravda, and there will be a separate section on this issue as

well. Lastly, the chapter has another section on the Young Turks, who were perceived quite sympathetically, constantly followed, but subjected to frequent criticisms by the editorial team of Pravda.

CHAPTER 2

THE TURKISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS UNTIL THE BALKAN WARS

The first official relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Grand Principality of Moscow, which would later become the Russian Empire, were established in 1492 with the ambassadorship mission headed by Mikhail Plescheyev, which was sent to Beyazit II through Khanate of Crimean by Ivan III.¹ In more than five hundred years of the relations, these two states waged twelve wars against each other, and neither of them did not have another neighbouring state with which they entered into war in such many times and for such long periods.² When one looks at the relations between Turkey and Russia in this long period, it can be observed that the relations were overwhelmingly dominated by rivalry.

However, in the initial years of relations, the natural allies of the Grand Principality of Moscow were the Khanate of Crimean and the Ottoman Empire because the Prince of Moscow was under the pressure of Golden Horde Khanates and Poland-Lithuania. In the first two hundred years of the relations, the balance of power was in favour of the Ottoman Empire. After the Ottoman-Russian War in 1686-1700, with the Istanbul Agreement signed with Petro the Great (1672-1725) on 14 July 1700, Russia gained the right to hold the Sea of Azov (*Azak*) in her hands, and Petro the Great acquired equal status with the Ottoman emperor. By this time, the balance of power in the relations was redefined in favour of Russia.³ As a matter of fact, the reform efforts of Peter the Great and his successors made Russia to become one of the great powers after this period.⁴

The 18th and 19th centuries frequently witnessed wars between the two states. When one looks at the wars in the 18th century, it can be said that the Ottoman-Russian

¹ Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı-Rus İlişkileri 1492-1700”, Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500.Yıl, TTK Yayınları, Ankara,1992, p.26

² S.F.Oreškova, “Rusya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Arasındaki Savaşlar: Sebepleri ve Kimi Tarihi Sonuçları”, Dünden Bugüne Türkiye ve Rusya, Editor: Gülten Kazgan-Natalya Ulçenko, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p.17

³ İnalçık, p.27, p.33-34

⁴ Oreškova, p.5

wars in 1768-1774 and 1787-1791 resulted in three kinds of gains for Russia. Firstly, Russia acquired geo-strategic stability in her southern coasts because the Khanate of Crimean and the northern coasts of the Black Sea came under the domination of Russia. The land border of Russia in the south began to be supported by the rivers of Dniester and Kuban, which constituted fairly long water borders.⁵ Secondly, as a result of the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (*Küçük Kaynarca*), the Black Sea, which had been closed to navigations other than the Ottoman ships since the end of the 16th century, was opened to the Russian navigation as well. On the condition of being normal type and size, Russian merchant ships acquired the right to pass freely through the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles.⁶ Thirdly, the reciprocal right of the emperors of the two empires to protect and act as a religious leader for the Christian and Muslim population respectively was recognized.⁷ Yet, such a right would be never exercised by the Ottoman Empire, and this would later constitute the basis of the Eastern Question as the Empire lost power. Moreover, it would be exploited under the labels of Panorthodoxy and Panslavizm by the Tsarist imperialism.

In the 19th century, while the demise of the Ottoman Empire gained speed, Russia became one of the great powers in Europe in 1815 as the Napoleonic wars ended. As a new great power of Europe, Russia perceived the Ottoman Empire as a state ruling over the lands, the importance of which was grounded in strategic, economic and [psychological](#) reasons. Especially the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles and the Balkans were of great importance for Russia.⁸ The two empires waged four big wars against one another in the 19th century: 1806-1812, 1828-29, 1853-56 and 1877-78. The second of these wars resulted in the independence of Greece while the 1877-78 war made Romania, Serbia and Montenegro independent states, and Bulgaria remained as an autonomous principality depended on the Ottoman Empire. Among the apparent reasons of the wars were Russia's aim of rescuing Orthodox Christian and especially Slavic fellows from the oppression of the Ottomans. On the other

⁵ Oreškova, p.26

⁶ Matthew Smith Anderson, *Doğu Sorunu 1774-1923*, (trans.: İdil Eser), Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p.11

⁷ İlber Ortaylı, "XVIII Yüzyıl Türk-Rus İlişkileri", *Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500.Yıl*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1992, p.125

⁸ G.H. Bolsover, *1815-1914 Arasında Rus Dış Politikasına Bir Bakış*, Tercüme: Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, *Belleten*, Vol: XXX, No: 118. The different publication from April 1966, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1966, p.265, p.279 Hereafter Bolsover Nik

hand, the Ottoman Empire waged war against Russia because the latter provoked the Christian subjects against the Ottoman rule and had an eye on the Ottoman lands. These are the apparent reasons mentioned in history books, and certainly reflect some part of the truth. However, apart from these reasons, there were economic, political and external reasons that made these two states to wage war against one another in the 19th century. The main determinant of Balkan policy of Russia before the Balkan Wars was defined through the Turkish-Russian relations in the 19th century. Additionally, the fundamental theme determining the Turkish-Russian relations in the first half of the 19th century was the Eastern Question.

2.1 The Turkish-Russian Relations in the 19th Century

The Eastern Question, which emerged with the demise of the Ottoman Empire and occupied the agenda of European diplomacy for two hundred years and especially in the 19th century, can be defined as in the following: “The problem of the decline of Turkey and the diplomatic complications which ensued are generally referred to as „the Eastern Question””.⁹ In a more comprehensive sense, it refers to that:

The European great powers approached the problems of the Ottoman Empire, who fluttered in the problems of the stage of decline, with regard to their own interests and witnessed the birth of a big rivalry among themselves. This rivalry was experienced in both political and economic realms; the construction of the Suez Canal and its operation on the one hand and the Baghdad Railway projects on the other hand resulted in quite important developments in the international relations. When the independence struggles of the Balkan nations, which tried to rescue themselves from the Ottoman rule, and Russian Tsarist imperialism, which exploited these nationalist movements under the label of Pan Slavism, were added to these issues, the Eastern Question revealed all the interwoven issues.¹⁰

The Eastern Question was an issue that existed until the decay of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.¹¹ The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was envisaged by the Europeans¹² and the Russians¹³ in the first

⁹ Charles & Barbara Jelavich, *The Balkans*, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1965, p.34 Hereafter C&B Jelavich

¹⁰ Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, *Kitap Tanıtma-The Eastern Question*, Ankara Üniversitesi DTC Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, Vol: 4, No: 6, 1967, p.525

¹¹ It is possible to consider the Armenian Question, which has come to the fore once again after 1960s, within the context of the Eastern Question.

¹² With regard to the general condition of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century, the British Ambassador in Istanbul, Stanford Canning, stated in a letter sent to the Empire’s capital in

half of the 19th century. However, because the legacy of the Ottoman Empire would be quite huge, it would destroy the balance of power and increase conflicts in Europe. Being aware of these, the great European powers waited for the conditions to mature for themselves. During this time, such lands as Egypt, Cyprus, Tunisia, Morocco and Tripolitania, which had been under the Ottoman rule, came under the control of Europeans without destructing the balance of power in the continent.

The fundamental reason that gave rise to the Eastern Question was the demise of the Ottoman Empire as opposed to the West on military, economic, scientific, etc. grounds since the 17th century. In this century, the Ottoman land regime collapsed, agricultural production decreased, the foreign trade entered into the monopoly of Western marine companies and the country became a country of raw materials. In the early 18th century, it was understood by the Ottoman statesmen that the State entered into a period of decline or dissolution.¹⁴

The rivalry for the partition of the Ottoman Empire began in the first half of the 19th century. An incident occurred between Russian Tsar Nikola I (1796-1855), who envisaged the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and used the expression of the „the Sick Man of Europe” for the first time, and Metternich, who was the famous Austrian politician of the time and in charge of the office of the prime ministry for 39 years, explains the rivalry at the time in a quite explicit manner. Metternich narrated that during a dinner Tsar Nikola I asked “What do you think about the Ottoman Empire? Is not this man sick?”. When Metternich behaved as if he did not hear the question, Tsar re-asked the same question. In response, Metternich replied as such: “Do his royal majesty ask this question to the doctor or the inheritor?”. Metternich said that Tsar Nikola I did not responded to this question and stated: “The Tsar did not mention about the sick man once again”.¹⁵ Mirza Muhammed Farahani, an Iranian statesman who went to the Ottoman Empire on the route of pilgrimage in

1843 that: “There is an approaching crisis, which would throw the Empire that has been increasingly losing power into a situation of disaster and sedition. See: Bolsover Nik, pp.213-214

¹³ The possible dissolution of the Empire was envisaged by the Tsarism as well. In the 1829 Report prepared by “The Investigation Committee of the Sublime Porte” established by The Russian Tsar Nikola I, it was stated that the continuing existence of the Ottoman Empire would be better than her collapse in Europe because her collapse would prevent the real objectives of Russia from being achieved. Bolsover Nik, p. 207.

¹⁴ Niyazi Berkes, *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, 1. Basım, Ankara, 1975, pp.20-23

¹⁵ Cited from Vitzhum von Eckstadt: *st. Petersburg und London in den Jahreti 1852-1864* Stuttgart, 1886, Vol: 1, pp. 51-52 by Bolsover Nik, p. 211.

1886, said with regard to this rivalry that: “[The Ottoman Empire] is in a situation of a dead body of an animal which is thrown in front of a great number of dogs. Because they are afraid of each other, these dogs cannot attack the corpse and take one part of the body and run away. Otherwise, they wipe the corpse out in a single day”.¹⁶

Russia, which was a powerful state in the 19th century, was tried to be kept off the Eastern Question especially by Britain in the rivalry among the big powers for the partition of the Ottoman Empire. The policy of protection and industrialization followed by Russia in the 19th century inflicted a heavy blow on Britain, which was a powerful state of the time and perceived Russia as a warehouse for raw materials. A powerful Russia constituted a danger for the British interests in the Near East and India as well.¹⁷ Within this context, the enduring wars between the Ottoman Empire, which was struggling to stop the process of decline, and Russia, which was causing challenges for the big powers of the time, constituted a good solution for the big powers of the time in terms of eliminating both of the dangers.

In the declining stage of the Ottoman Empire, it is like a destiny for Turkey to enter into a war with Russia in case of a rivalry between a Western power and Russia. All the reform attempts either remained half finished or failed because of such wars or international conflicts in the Tulip Period (1718-1730), during the reigns of Mustafa II (1695-1703), Mustafa III (1757-1774), Selim III (1789-1807), Mahmut II (1808-1839), in the era of Tanzimat (1839), Abdulhamit II (1876-1909), and during the period of the Second Constitutional Era (*Mesrutiyet*). Even though Turkey became victorious from the war, the war expenditures made the treasury unable to accumulate and make investments, and thus the state had to incur heavy debts. Especially Britain, who was concerned with the rising power of Russia, followed the goal of making the Ottoman Empire wage war against Russia.¹⁸ By this way, Britain managed to stop Russia in Europe and Near East as well as to undermine the reform attempts in the Ottoman Empire and to make her a more indebted state.¹⁹

¹⁶ Orhan Koloğlu, Bilimselden “Medyatik”e Tarih, Söyleşi: Barış Doster, Destek Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, p.404

¹⁷ Niyazi Berkes, Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu, Bilgi Yayınevi, 1. Basım, Ankara, 1975,p.34

¹⁸ Berkes, pp.29-34

¹⁹ In the opening speech of the workshop organized by the Turkish Historical Society to celebrate the 500rd year of Turkish-Russian relations on 12-14 December 1992, the Russian academician M. S. Medvedev stated with regard to this issue that: “*What the history has taught us is that when we look at*

Therefore, the aforementioned wars between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in the 19th century should be evaluated within the context of the Eastern Question and the rivalry among the Western powers. Especially the Crimean War can be regarded as a war through which the Western powers tried to keep Russia off the Eastern Question and to take the two states under control on monetary grounds. With regard to this issue, in an article written shortly before the Crimean War, Karl Marx, who defined the Eastern Question as the critical test for the European diplomacy (*pons asinorum*), identified that the following two factors became visible quite explicitly in the Eastern Question: the first one was the slow but quite sedulous progression of Russia towards Istanbul, and the second was the struggle of Western diplomacy to stop Russia.²⁰

As a matter of fact, through the Crimean War (1853-1856) the Western diplomacy showed explicitly that they did not want Russia in “resolving” the Eastern Question.²¹ Britain and France was quite annoyed because of Russia’s ambitious attitude towards the Ottoman Empire. In order to prevent an early and untimely resolution of the Eastern Question with the intervention of Russia, Britain and France joined the Ottoman war against Russia on the side of the former.

The Ottoman Empire played roles in neither the starting nor the conducting nor the concluding stages of this war, which is called by the Western historians as “comedy of mistakes”.²² The Crimean War was a war through which the Ottoman Empire was introduced with the external debt for the first time. Nearly 30 years after this first external debt, the Ottoman treasury went bankrupt and even the power to collect tax revenues was transferred to the Western capitalists through the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA - *Duyun-u Umumiye*²³).²⁴ When one looks at the

those unbelievable years during which the armed conflicts erupted and the relations grew away from between Russia and Turkey, it is generally possible to identify that Russia and Turkey become mere puppets in the hands of the great powers, and they pushed these states [Russia and Turkey] into this situation by creating any kind of conflict among themselves.” Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500.Yıl, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p.21

²⁰ Leon Troçki, *Balkan Savaşları*, Trans.by Tansel Güney, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, p.267

²¹ Oreškova, p.29

²² Berkes, p.34

²³ The first debt agreement was signed on 4 August 1854, and the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was established in 1882. The definite recovery of the debts was completed on 25 May 1954, i.e. exactly 100 years after the first external debt. It should be particularly underlined that the Administration of Public Debts was in a status of being a state-within-a-state. So much so that Italy financed the Tripoli War by means of the loans received from the Administration of Public Debts. See, Berkes, pp.43-45

consequences of the war for Russia, it can be observed that “the number of paper rubles in circulation doubled, and the national debt rose from 108 million rubles in 1853 to 533 million in 1856”.²⁵ As a result of this war, the Ottoman Empire was introduced with the external debt and became a good customer for the Western capitalists up to its collapse, and the debts of Russia increased five times. The real victorious side of the war was the finance capital, which would exploit both of the states by means of high interest rates.²⁶

On the other hand, the Crimean War restricted the opportunities for Russia to extend its frontiers as opposed to Turkey.²⁷ This particular consequence made Russia to expand towards Central Asia and Far East. As a matter of fact, the western borders of Russia in 1914 remained the same as those of 1814²⁸ while she invaded the Central Asia as well as took the area up to Pacific Ocean under her control.²⁹

The Crimean War also resulted in anti-Western attitude in the Russian bureaucracy and public opinion and the proliferation of the Pan Slavism movement.³⁰

With regard to the issue of Pan Slavism, it should be primarily underlined that: “Russia’s Pan Slavist and Panorthodox policy has not been followed as an indispensable principle in her foreign relations”.³¹ Russia often utilized these

²⁴ Additionally, the Crimean War had great impacts on the Ottoman silver currency system. When the silver imports from Russia stopped, the Ottoman Empire had to regulate down the value of silver currency. The currency system, which had been already upside down due to paper “*kaime* (banknotes)”, was affected more negatively because of the damage of the right of seignorage with the going of British and French currencies in paper as well as token forms into circulation throughout the Ottoman territory. In this situation, in order to eradicate the “*kaime*”s, which were exported and captured by the British and the French, the permanent necessity of receiving external debts from these two states emerged. See: Haydar Kazgan, “Tarih Boyunca Osmanlı-Rus Ticareti ve Sanayi Devrimi Ülkelerinin Ticaret Politikaları”, *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye ve Rusya*, ed.: Gülten Kazgan-Natalya Ulçenko, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p.39

²⁵ Barbara Jelavich, *Russia’s Balkan Entanglements 1806-1914*, Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 1993, p.271

²⁶ Kazgan, p.41

²⁷ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917’ye Kadar*, TTK Basımevi, 3rd. Edition, Ankara, 1993, p.350 Hereafter ANKurat Rusya

²⁸ G.H. Bolsover, *1815-1914 Arasında Rus Dış Politikasına Bir Bakış*, Trans. by Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, *Belleten*, Vol. XXX, No. 118. The different publication from April 1966, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1966, p.265 Hereafter Bolsover 1914

²⁹ The last territorial gain of Russia, who was engaged in various wars in Europe throughout the 19th century, was Bessarabia in 1812, and it was lost during the First World War. See: Jelavich, p.270

³⁰ Akdes Nimet Kurat, “Pan Slavizm”, *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Dergisi*, C:2 Sayı 2-4 (Haziran-Eylül-Aralık), 1953, p.255 Hereafter ANKurat Pan Slavizm

³¹ Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, “XIX. Yüzyıl’da Rusya’nın Balkanlar’daki Pan Slavizm ve Panortodoksluk Politikası Karşısında Osmanlı Diplomasisi”, *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi 200 Yıllık Süreç* (Ankara 15-

principles whenever necessary in order to reach her imperialist ambitions. The Church of Moscow, which disengaged from the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of the Phanar in 1448, undertook the religious mission of Byzantine, and began to regard itself in the status of Roman Empire III. Moreover, as mentioned above, with the 1774 Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca, Russia took all the Orthodox Christians living on the Ottoman lands under her control, and she carried this claim up to the 19th century.³² In the second half of the 19th century, Russia added Slavic fraternity in addition to the patronage of Orthodoxy.

Panslavizm³³ is a political movement that aimed to build up political unity of all the Slavic people under the leadership of Russia. At the time of the emergence of Panslavism, the Western Slavs, namely Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Slovenian and partially Polish people, were under the domination of Austria-Hungarian Empire. On the other hand, the Eastern Slavs, namely Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, were living under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the emergence and development of the Panslavist movement were shaped as opposed to the Germans and the Turks.³⁴ Panslavism developed parallel to the Pangermenism³⁵. While the

17 Ekim 1997) Papers presented at the symposium, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1999, p. 173. Hereafter YTKurat Diplomasi

³² YTKurat Diplomasi, p. 173.

³³ The notion of Panslavism was used for the first time by the Slovak author J. Herkel in 1826. In his work written in Latin language and belonging to general Slavic language, he added the notion of “Rus Panslavimus – Real Panslavism –” to the literature. With the notion of Panslavism, Herkel meant the reciprocal transaction of all the Slavic people in the cultural realm, and he identified the objective of unification of all the Slavic people under a great state on political realm. In this way, the idea of creating a Slavic unity was shaped for the first time by a Slovak, who is an Austria-Hungarian citizen belonging to Western part of the Slavs and Catholic religion. ANKurat Panslavizm, pp.242-243 For another source on detailed information, see: Hans Kohn, Panislavizm ve Rus Milliyetçiliği, Trans. by Agah Oktay Güner, Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983.

³⁴ ANKurat Panslavizm, p.244

³⁵ Pan-Germanism, German nationalist doctrine aiming at the union of all German-speaking peoples under German rule. Pan-Germanists considered that not only the German groups in neighboring countries, such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Switzerland, and Alsace, but even distant German-speaking groups such as Volga Germans, Baltic Germans, Transylvanian Germans, and German-Americans were linked by a blood tie to their fatherland. The doctrine originated in the late 19th cent. as an instrument of German imperialistic expansion. In 1893 the Alldeutscher Verbund (Pan-German League) was founded. The Pan-Germans became particularly vocal after Germany's defeat in World War I had deprived it of some border territories and its colonies. National Socialism appropriated Pan-Germanism; by the annexation of Austria and of German-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and by German conquests in Europe during World War II, Adolf Hitler nearly succeeded for a time in making the Pan-German program a reality. Cited from The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Pangermanism> Date accessed: 8.7.2012

latter served for the development of German imperialism, the former served for the Russian nationalism and imperialism³⁶.

Panslavism, which is regarded as “the natural extension of Pan-Orthodoxy”³⁷, firstly appeared among the Russian intellectuals and in 1857 the Slavic Aid Society was established.³⁸ At the time, intellectual discussions surfaced among the Westernizers and Panslavists³⁹, and the famous Russian author Fyodor Dostoyevski⁴⁰ was in the Panslavist front while the other important Russian author Lev Tostloy was in the opposite front.⁴¹

From the second half of the 19th century, Panslavism would become an instrument which Russia often utilized especially to reach her goals as opposed to the Ottoman and Austria-Hungarian empires. In this regard, Russia appointed Nikolay Pavlovich Ignatyev⁴² (1832-1908), who was completely a Panslavist, as an ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1864. Ignatyev, who headed for three years the Near Eastern Desk which was the most important office of the Russian Foreign Ministry, and dealt closely with the issue of Turkey and the Balkans, would struggle for the Slavic people in the Balkans, namely Montenegrins, Serbians and Bulgarians, to be taken under Russian control through either establishing an independent state or becoming an autonomous polity depended on the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ As a result of the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian War these objectives would be largely accomplished.

One can regard the 1877-1878 Turkish-Russian Wars, through which Russia made Serbians and Montenegrins to acquire independence, Bulgarians to acquire autonomy, and Orthodox Rumenians to acquire independence, as the peak point of

³⁶ Hugh Seton Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia 1855-1914*, Westview Press, 1985 pp.90-91

³⁷ YTKurat Diploması, p. 175.

³⁸ Süleyman Kocabaş, *Kuzeyden Gelen Tehdit: Tarihte Türk-Rus Mücadelesi*, Vatan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989, p.279

³⁹ Mihail Meyer, “18. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Rusya ve Türkiye İlişkileri”, *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye ve Rusya*, Editor: Gülten Kazgan-Natalya Ulçenko, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p.6

⁴⁰ With regard to the anti-Turkish attitude of Dostoyevski, an article dated 19 February 1327 (1911) and entitled as “Türk Düşmanlarından: Dostoyevski (One of the TurkishTurcophobes: Dostoyevski)” was published by Kaya Alp in the 19th volume of *Genc Kalemler Dergisi* dated 11 April 1328 (1912). For a translation suitable to the contemporary Turkish, see: *Genç Kalemler Dergisi*, İsmail Parlatur-Nurullah Çetin, Türk Dil Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1999, pp: 426-428

⁴¹ ANKurat Panslavizm, pp.269-270

⁴² Ignatyev was in the ambassadorial mission in Istanbul between 1864-1877.

⁴³ ANKurat Rusya, p.76

Panslavism. The role of Panslavist Russian Ambassador Ignatyev, who was appointed to Istanbul and quite influential at the Sublime Port, was quite important in the outbreak of the war. It was a war during which none of the great powers intervened into the relations with Russia, and even Britain, who had hitherto supported the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, implicitly took the side of Russia.⁴⁴

Ignatyev suggested the Sublime Port to deny the external debts which had continuously increased after the Crimean war⁴⁵. On 5 October 1875, the Ottoman Empire announced the moratorium for her external debts. Such a moratorium declaration shook the financial world in a serious manner. This situation resulted in big demonstrations under the leadership of the holders of the Ottoman bonds in Europe and the USA. Because the Ottoman bonds yielded good amount of money, they were sold to not only the big capitalists but also poor people in Europe. Even the money in the saving funds belonging to the war survivors was invested in the Ottoman bonds.⁴⁶ This caused the outbreak of an enormous anti-Turkish attitude in Britain, France and Germany. By this way, the storm, which had been estimated by Ignatyev, broke out in Europe. The Russian diplomacy was quite satisfied because these developments mostly served for the Balkan policy of Russia, and Britain approached to the Russian side in the resolution of the Turkish question.⁴⁷

The 1877-1878 Turkish-Russian war was quite different from the previous ones and had great impacts in the post-war period. With this war, Russia began to split the metropolitan lands of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁸ and imposed the first peace agreement Aysestefanos⁴⁹ to the Ottomans by coming into the suburbs of Istanbul.⁵⁰ The Ottoman Empire was to some extent fragmented; Serbia, Romania and Montenegro acquired their independence; Bulgaria became an autonomous principality; and Kars,

⁴⁴ Berkes, p.39

⁴⁵ Berkes, p.39

⁴⁶ Kazgan, p.41. Even the Vatican invested some of its money in the Ottoman bonds.

⁴⁷ Berkes, p.39

⁴⁸ According to the geopolitical worldview of the Ottoman statesmen, Anatolia and the Rumelia lands up to Danube River constituted the center of the Empire while the rest of the lands were the edges of the Empire. Bilal Şimşir, "1878-1918 Yılları Arasında Türk-Rus İlişkileri", Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500.Yıl, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1992, p.149

⁴⁹ An Istanbul district, which is currently called as Yesilkoy and encompasses the Ataturk Airport.

⁵⁰ Şimşir, pp.147-148

Ardahan and Batum were captured by Russia in the Eastern Anatolia. The phenomenon of migration⁵¹ emerged for the first time with this war. In the previous wars, when the Empire lost the war, the local population used to stay in their homeland. However, with this war, the Slavic nationalism reached its peak and did not want to recognize the right to live for the Turkish and Muslim population in the land taken from the Ottoman Empire.⁵²

The European imperialist powers, which had guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the 1856 Paris Congress after the Crimean War, gave up this policy after the Ottoman-Russian War in 1878. The most important reason for this policy change is the alteration of Britain's policy as the most powerful state at that time. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the interests⁵³ of Britain in the Mediterranean shifted from the straits⁵⁴ to the new canal. Britain's complete capture of the control of Suez Canal⁵⁵ made Britain's Prime Minister Lord Salisbury even to say in 1895 that they were not interested in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits⁵⁶.

The reformulation of Britain's policy towards the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire does not mean that Russia gained unlimited freedom with regard to her policy towards the Ottoman Empire. The Ayestefanos Agreement, which was signed on 3 March 1878 and imposed by Russia, was replaced by the Berlin Agreement, which was signed on 13 July 1878 and protected the interests of great powers of Europe, primarily Britain. "The chief concern of European Powers was not the welfare or fate of Balkan Christians. It was feared that should the Ottoman Empire fall, Russia would inevitably fill the vacuum thereby created in the Balkans. They also recognized the strong religious bonds and Slavic brotherhood which attracted

⁵¹ For detailed information on the migration and population statistics of the Muslim people in the Balkans after the 1877-1878 War and the Balkan Wars, see: Justin Mc Carthy, *Ölüm Ve Sürgün, Çeviren: Bilge Umar, İnkılap Kitabevi*, See also: Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri(1912-1913)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2. Baskı, Ankara, 1995

⁵² Şimşir, p.147-148

⁵³ Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Paylaşılması*, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara, 1986, p.10-13 Hereafter YTKurat Osmanlı

⁵⁴ The British Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston (1830-41, 1846-51) stated that the protection of the Mediterranean for the British interests began from the Istanbul Strait. Cited in Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerstone, 1830-1841*, London, 1951, Volume: 2, pp.789-90 from YTKurat Osmanlı, p.10

⁵⁵ After the bankruptcy of the Egyptian Khdiva Ismail, Britain captured 75% of the shares of Suez.

⁵⁶ YTKurat Osmanlı, p.13

the South Slavs to the northern power”.⁵⁷ As a matter of fact, with the Berlin Agreement, the political gains of Russia, who approached 12 kilometers close to Istanbul, were very few as compared to her military gains.⁵⁸

With the Berlin Agreement, the European great powers, and especially Britain, managed to balance Russia by preventing her from disintegrating the Ottoman Empire on her own and from establishing the great Bulgaria in the Balkans, which would be depended on herself. Moreover, the European imperialist powers directly engaged in the partition of the Ottoman Empire. The British claimed Cyprus⁵⁹, the administration of Bosnia Herzegovina was given to Austro-Hungarian Empire. Then, the British settled in Egypt and the French settled in Tunisia. By these developments, Russia was restrained in the Balkans for a while. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire lost 40% of her land and population in the Balkans.⁶⁰ After the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian War, the Macedonian question came to the agenda of Europe.

The initial eruption of the Macedonian question was the result of the pressure of Russia on the Ottoman Empire to establish a Bulgarian Orthodox church,⁶¹ which would be independent of the Greek Patriarchate. This problem would later become one of the most important parts of the Eastern Question after the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian War.⁶² After the 1878 Berlin Agreement, the “Eastern Question” became a problem not only concerned with the partition of European Turkey by Austria and Russia on the foreground, and by the other European great powers in the background. It also began to include the newly independent Balkan states.⁶³ While the Eastern Rumelia was given to the Ottoman Empire with the Berlin Agreement, Romania became a party to the Eastern Question as Dobruja was given to Romania.⁶⁴ Thence,

⁵⁷ C& B Jelavich, p.37

⁵⁸ Oreškova, p.31

⁵⁹ The British Prime Minister Disraeli (1874-1880) defines Cyprus as “the key to the Mediterranean” because of its proximity to the Suez Canal. See: YTKurat Osmanlı, p.13

⁶⁰ İbrahim Artuç, *Balkan Savaşı*, Kastaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 1988, p.30

⁶¹ The Bulgarian Church was separated from the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of the Phanar in 1870 with the efforts of the Russian Ambassador Ignatyev.

⁶² Richard C. Hall, *Balkan Savaşları 1912-1913 1. Dünya Savaşı'nın Provası*, Çeviren: M. Tanju Akad, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2003, p.6. For further information regarding the Macedonian Question see: Fikret Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Çeviri: İhsan Çatay, İstanbul, 2001

⁶³ Artuç, p.31

⁶⁴ Mahmut Belig Uzdil, *Balkan Savaşları'nda Çatalca ve Sağ Kanat Ordularının Harekatı*, Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2006, p.93

the great powers began to follow the policy of playing off these newly born states against each other in accordance with their own interests. The post-1878 period up to the Balkan Wars, during which the great powers followed imperialist policies towards both the Balkan nations and the Ottoman Empire, would be called as the period of “Macedonian Question”. “In the post-1878 political literature, the Balkans belonged to the Balkan people, and the theme of excluding the Turks from Europe was dominant in the European circles”.⁶⁵

The European territory of the Ottoman Empire, which included Macedonia as well, consisted of three regions and six provinces. The Albanian Region, where mostly the Albanians lived, comprised of Shkodra and Janina while the Thrace Region (West and East), where mostly the Turkes lived, comprised of Edirne Province.⁶⁶

The Macedonian Region, which whetted the appetite of the newly established Balkan states, comprised of Salonica, Bitalo (Manastır) and Kosovo. In the provinces of Macedonia lived many different groups of people from different race and religion such as Turks, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Pomak people and Vlachs (*Ulah*). “The composition of this population provides all the neighbouring countries with a basis for their aspirations and claims”.⁶⁷ “Balkan diplomacy after 1878 has revolved around the explosive question of how Macedonia should be divided among the three neighbouring countries, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia”.⁶⁸ The instruments that these states resorted to in the struggle for the partition of Macedonia were gangs, priests and teachers.⁶⁹

These states, which were quite impassioned and ambitious because of the newly acquired independence, entered into a vehement rivalry in the Ottoman Macedonia in order to add the people of the same race who were living under the Ottoman rule into their own territory. “Almost all the Christian population living in Macedonia was aiming to unite with the neighbouring states as they thought that the Ottoman rule

⁶⁵ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi IX. Cilt, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1999, p.287*

⁶⁶ Artuç, p.35

⁶⁷ L.S. Stavrianos, *Balkans 1815-1914*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc, 1963, USA, p. 96

⁶⁸ Stavrianos, pp. 95-96

⁶⁹ The first Orthodox group that would be separated from the the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of the Phanar would be the Bulgarians in 1870. In 1894, Abdulhamit would permit the Serbians to open an independent church in Skopje. Up to the Balkan Wars, these three states continued to open schools in Macedonia.

was temporary”.⁷⁰ The Macedonian Question would drag all the kingdoms in the Balkans into a war in 1912-13 both with the Ottoman Empire and among each other.

2.2 The Balkan Policy of Russia

It should be stated that the Russian foreign policy, which had an eye on the Straits and tried to take as many shares as possible from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire during the process of resolution of the Eastern Question, gave great importance to the Empire. This can be observed from the number of personnel employed for foreign mission in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia in 1905. About the 20% of the Ministry’s personnel on foreign mission was employed within the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. Among the 326 diplomats employed for foreign mission in 1905, 67 of them were on mission in the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹

The ambition of Russia over the Ottoman Empire was observed both by the Empire herself and the other states. Britain, Austria-Hungaria and the Ottoman Empire were annoyed with the possibility of Balkans to become under the control of Russia. Therefore, Britain was trying to balance the power of Russia in the region by intervening into the Treaty of Ayestefanos and creating the Berlin Agreement. Moreover, the British Prime Minister Gladstone praised the rising nationalist movements in the Balkans and defined them as “a barrier composed of chests of the free people against the hegemony of Russia”.⁷² The following was stated in the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungarian⁷³ dated 1884: “A Slavic Balkan Peninsula that would be shaped under the protection of Russia can cut our life vessels”.⁷⁴ The external policy of Abdulhamit II, who stayed in power from 1876 to 1909, was explained by Sultan’s one of the head clerks (*Başkatip*), Tahsin

⁷⁰ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt:2 Kısım: 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, p.49 Hereafter Bayur C2K1

⁷¹ B.Ignatyev, “XIX. Yüzyıl Sonu ile XX. Yüzyıl Başında Rus-Türk İlişkileri(Gerçekleşmeyen Yakınlaşma Tasarıları)”, *Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500.Yıl*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1992, p.153

⁷² Cited in Philip Magnus, *Gladstone-A Biography*, London, 1954, p.241 from YTKurat Osmanlı, p.12

⁷³ The Austria-Hungarian Empire of the time harbored a crowded population of Slavic people, namely Catholic Croations, Slovenians, partly Orthodox Serbians and Muslim Bosnians, who are known as Southern Slavs as well. Additionally, the Catholic Czech and Slovaks were Austrian subjects. There were 23,5 million Slavs (Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, etc.), and about 7 million of them were Yugo-Slavs in the Austria Hungarian Empire. See: Bayur C2K1, pp.32-34

⁷⁴ F.R. Bridge, “Habsburg Monarşisi ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1900-1918”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Sonu ve Büyük Güçler*, Editor: Marian Kent, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.36

Pasha as in the following: “to handle Russia, not to forget that Austria has an eye on Macedonia, to create controversies among the Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks”.⁷⁵

On the other hand, by the end of the 19th century, the Pan Slavists conceived that it was a natural mission of Russia to rescue the Slavic people in the Balkans from the Ottoman rule.⁷⁶ Such a mission was partially accomplished by the Pan Slavism with the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian war. As a matter of fact, in the post-Crimean War, not only the already known policies of Russia with regard to the Straits and Istanbul, but also the independence struggles of the Balkan nations had an impact on the bilateral relations between the two empires. The fact that in the post-1878 period the Balkan nations, and primarily Bulgaria, did not become “Russian satellite” states made Russia to redefine her Balkan policy. In fact, the objective of the newly established Balkan Orthodox and Slavic states was not to enter under the Russian umbrella, but to establish a nation state as in the case of the Greek state.⁷⁷ Therefore, “shortly after they acquired their independence, the Balkan nations and Russia understood that their close relations had caused disappointment and antipathy”.⁷⁸ So much so that Tsar Alexander III stated in 1885 that: “Our great ambition is to occupy Istanbul. The developments which will occur in the Balkan Peninsula will be of secondary importance for us. Now, the Slavic people should serve for Russia, not us for them”.⁷⁹

Russia, who was restrained in the Balkans and did not find what she expected in the relations with the post-independence Balkan nations, shifted the direction of her foreign policy from Balkans and the Middle East to the Far East.⁸⁰ However, after the defeat in the 1905 Russian-Japanese War, Russia re-directed her attention towards the Near East and the Balkans.

⁷⁵ Süleyman Kocabaş, *Kuzeyden Gelen Tehdit Tarihte Türk-Rus Mücadelesi*, Vatan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989, p.347

⁷⁶ Bolsover 1914, p.283

⁷⁷ YTKurat Diplomasi, p. 177

⁷⁸ Bolsover 1914, p.284.

⁷⁹ Cited ferom Sumner B.H., *A Short History of Russia*, A Harvest Book, New York, 1949, p. 274 by Süleyman Kocabaş, *Kuzeyden Gelen Tehdit Tarihte Türk-Rus Mücadelesi*, Vatan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989, p.353

⁸⁰ Ignatyev, p.155

In fact, after the 1905 Japanese defeat, the regime was changed in Russia and she was not powerful enough to deal with the external issues any more.⁸¹ At the same time, on economic terms, Russia was quite weak and dependent on Britain and France.⁸² The fundamental concern of Russia at the time was the possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire before Russia became a fully-fledged state. Therefore, she was following a policy through which she tried to protect the *status quo* at least in order to postpone the Eastern Question, i.e. the question of the partition of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, “Russia gave the declaration of independence by Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule a cold welcome”.⁸³

In 1908, shortly before the declaration of independence by Bulgaria, the Russian Foreign Minister Alexander Petrovich Izvolsky (1856-1919) told the Austrian Foreign Minister that should the right of Russia over the Straits be recognized, Russia would not object to the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary.⁸⁴ Upon the apparent approval of Austria, Izvolsky departed from Vienna to Paris and London to inform France and Britain. During his journey, Izvolsky read from the newspapers that Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria declared her independence. The Russian public opinion met with reaction that Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina by eliminating Russia through diplomatic moves⁸⁵, and that Russia did not respond to this development. Such initiative of Izvolsky, which was perceived as the betrayal of Slavic interests, annoyed the pro-Slavic Russian public opinion.⁸⁶ Shortly after the setback of the Bosnian affair, Izvolsky inaugurated a policy of attempting to bring the Balkan states together under Russian guidance to establish protective wall against further German and Austria-Hungary penetrations. This policy was to be implemented by two diplomats: Nicholas

⁸¹ ANKurat Rusya, pp.373-391

⁸² Alan Bodger, “Rusya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Sonu”, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Sonu ve Büyük Güçler, Editör: Marian Kent, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.93

⁸³ Ömer Turan, “II. Meşrutiyet ve Balkan Savaşları Döneminde Osmanlı Diplomasisi”, Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi 200 Yıllık Süreç (Ankara 15-17 October 1997) Papers presented at the symposium, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1999, p. 247

⁸⁴ ANKurat Rusya, p.408

⁸⁵ Serbia showed the harshest response to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. In response to a question raised by the Turkish journalists to the Istanbul Ambassador of Austria, Mark Pallavicini, on the question that relying on what kind of right Austria has annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was a province of the Ottoman Empire, the ambassador said: “We have the right because we have the power”. See: Turan, p. 245

⁸⁶ Bodger, p.107

Genrikhovich Hartwig (1857-1914)⁸⁷ in Belgrade of 1909; Anatol Vasilevich Nekliudov was appointed to his post in Sofia in 1911.⁸⁸ Izvolsky's initiative of establishing a Slavic front against Austria was later followed by Sazanov, who came to the office of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1910.

At that time, Russia tried to establish close relations with the Ottoman Empire and appointed an active and skilful ambassador Nikolai Tsarikov⁸⁹ to Istanbul in order to form an alliance against Austria-Hungary. The Balkan policy of Russia at this time directed towards a triple objective: to make the Ottoman Empire be in a constant crisis and under constant supervision through the Balkan states; to open a way for herself towards the Straits by means of taking the Slavic states in the Balkans under her control; and to prevent the Austria-Hungarian Empire from expanding in the Balkans through the Balkan states.⁹⁰ It should be underlined that Russia's political objectives did not match up with her economic power in the region. Thus, "the lack of an economic base in the Balkans to back Russia's political pretensions was a point of weakness for the Russian government".⁹¹

The central objective of Russia, who intended to establish an alliance in the Balkans after 1909⁹², was to prevent the expansion of Austria-Hungary towards the Balkans. The alliance she was trying to form for this aim gradually became to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire by gaining a Pan-Slavic and Pan-Orthodox character with the contributions of the ambassadors in Belgrade and Sofia. One of the most important events, which encouraged these states to position themselves against the Ottoman

⁸⁷ He stayed in Belgrade between 1909-1914 as a Russian ambassador. As a Pan-Slavist, Hartwig followed the policy of building up a Serbian policy more than following the Russian policy. Therefore, he acted independently from the center and intervened into the internal affairs of Serbia. The Ambassador in Sofia, Nekliudov, was also Pan-Slavist, however, he followed a policy that is dependent on the center and played important roles in the formation of the Balkan alliance. See: Alan Bodger, "Rusya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sonu", Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sonu ve Büyük Güçler, Editör: Marian Kent, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.94, p.106; see also: Jelavich, p.229

⁸⁸ Jelavich, p.228

⁸⁹ Because of the talent of Tsarikov, who served in Istanbul between 1909-1912, the policy of Russia towards the Ottoman Empire was friendly. See: Turan, p. 245

⁹⁰ Enver Ziya Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi IX. Cilt, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1999, p.287

⁹¹ Jelavich, p.203

⁹² The first attempt for alliance by Russia dates back to 1879. In the official letter sent to the Ottoman government by the Ottoman ambassador Suleyman Sabit in Bucharest on 15 October 1879, it was mentioned that there was a possibility for an alliance among Bulgaria, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania to be formed with the help of Russia. See: Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, No:17, p.33; Karal, pp.289-290

Empire, was the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary in 1908.⁹³

The question over the ownership of churches and schools in Macedonia caused great controversies among the Serbians, Bulgarians and Greeks, who could not form an alliance for this reason. This problem was removed with the law enacted by the Party of Union and Progress on 3 July 1911.⁹⁴

After the disappearance of this problem, the controversies among the Balkan states were resolved, especially thanks to the Russian ambassadors in Belgrade and Sofia, through a series of agreements that recognized the Russian arbitration and leadership in sharing of Macedonia. The Serbian-Bulgarian alliance formed on 13 March 1912 was followed by Bulgarian-Greek alliance on 29 May. With the signing of agreement by Montenegro with Serbia in early 1912, with Greece in May, and with Bulgaria in August, the Bulgaria-centred Balkan alliance was established.⁹⁵

As already underlined, the fundamental objective of Russia at this period was to form a Serbian-Bulgarian front against Austria-Hungary. She also aimed to protect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and thereby the *status quo* at least until she overcome the internal economic, political and military problems. Such ideas of Sazanov were sabotaged by his ambassador to Belgrade, Hartwig himself. In spite of Sazanov, Hartwig had a finger in the eruption of the first Balkan War.⁹⁶

The Bulgarian Prime Minister Stoyan Danev (1858-1949) went to St. Petersburg to present the Bulgarian-Serbian Agreement to Russian Tsar in the second half of 1912. He visited firstly the Foreign Minister Sazanov and requested the approval of waging war against Turkey. However, Sazanov set his eyes against such a request and told Danev that Russia was not ready for a war with Turkey. Then, Danev visited the Russian Tsar, who accepted the arbitration role between Serbian and Bulgarian relations however told Danev that: "Bulgaria should not enter into a war with Turkey. Because Russia cannot wage a war and cannot be ready for a war before a couple of years".⁹⁷

⁹³ Jelavich, p.227

⁹⁴ Turan, p. 247

⁹⁵ Turan, p. 247-248

⁹⁶ Bodger, pp.106-115

⁹⁷ Balkan Harbi (1912-1913) 1.Cilt, Genelkurmay Harb Tarihi Başkanlığı, Gnkur Basımevi, Ankara, 1970, p.48

The French Prime Minister Raymond Poincare (1860-1934), who visited St. Petersburg shortly before the Balkan Wars, explains the possible attitude of Russia towards the war. He said: “It is too late to wipe out the movement which she [Russia] has called forth... She is trying to put on the brakes, but it is she who started the motor.”⁹⁸

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940), who was in Sofia and Belgrade as an independent journalist precisely before the war, stated that the trust on the Russian support behind the armies of the Balkan states were felt explicitly or implicitly by everybody, both among the state officials and the people. He also stated that nobody in Sofia and Belgrade gave credit to and believed in the pre-war official statement of Russia on that the *status quo* would not be changed. Trotsky asserted that both the politicians and the people thought that Russia made such a statement in order to gain time with regard to the Europeans. He underlined that should the Balkan countries not trusted in that Russia’s policy would protect themselves, they did not resort to the policies followed at that time.⁹⁹

As a matter of fact, the confusion in the foreign policy of Russia before the Balkan War was quite obvious. On the one hand, Russia was secretly arbitrating among the Balkan nations over the issue of the partition of Macedonia. On the other hand, on 15 October 1911, the Istanbul Ambassador Tsarikov could offer such an agreement to Grand Vizier Said Pasha that in return for opening the Straits to the Russian warships, Russia would assume the task of preserving the *status quo* between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan nations, review the capitulations once again, and give up the concessions granted to the Russian capitalists in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁰ The same Russia forced the Montenegrin Monarch Nikolas in June 1911 to stop supporting the Albanian nationalists, who rebelled against the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰¹ Behind all these events, which showed the inconsistent and planless nature of the

⁹⁸ Cited in S.B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, New York, 1934, p.433 from Stavrianos, p. 114

⁹⁹ Troçki, pp. 184-188.

¹⁰⁰ Akdes Nimet Kurat, , *Türkiye ve Rusya, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, Ankara, 1990, pp.161-164 Hereafter ANKurat T&R, For the detailed information of Ottoman-Russian relations, supported by Russian sources, at the beginning of the 20th. Century see: Sevilya Aslanova, *20. Yüzyılın Başında Rusya'nın Osmanlı Politikası*, İlkin Ozan Yayınlar, Antalya, 2011, especially for the Balkan policy of Russia see, pp.62-101 and pp.137-152

¹⁰¹ Anderson, p.303

Russian foreign policy, was the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sergei Dmitrievich Sazanov.

It is required to know the character of Sazanov, which was always changing, weaving and having problems in making decisions, in order to make sense of the Russian policy towards the Balkans. In the period when he occupied the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1910-1916, the character of Sazanov made its mark on the Russian foreign policy. Sazanov tried to resolve the Balkan confusion through contradictory policies going this a-way and that a-way.¹⁰² Sazanov is described in the memoirs of the Russian soldier and diplomats who worked with him as in the following:

Andrei Dmitrievich Kalmykov, a diplomat who served in Skopje as consul-general during the Balkan Wars, described the foreign minister as “modest, well meaning,.... lacking in talent and experience”, and without energy, character, or initiative. Sazanov told Kalmykov that “Balkan affairs were entirely new to him”; the consul agreed, commenting that “Sazanov himself knew nothing about the Balkans, as I understood from my talk with him, and had only an instinctive feeling of distrust.”¹⁰³

General Michael Aleksandrovich Taube, formerly the military attache in Belgrade, wrote that he was “simple modest, affable, with a perfect personal disinterestness, very aware of moral questions and profoundly religious, very orthodox and very Russian,... [a good candidate for] the post of procurator general of the Holy Synod, or even for that of a high prelate of the Russian church.”¹⁰⁴

In fact, “the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the hands of Sazanov did not have a clear view on Russian interests in the Balkans. He was trying to deal with the issues when the occasion arises”.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Bodger, p.94

¹⁰³ Cited in Andrei Dmitrievich Kalmykov, *Memoirs of A Russian Diplomat: Outposts of Empire, 1893-1917*, New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1971, pp. 214-217 from Jelavich, p.227

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Michael Aleksandrovich Taube, *La Politique Russe D'avant guerre et la fin de l'empire de tsars, 1904-1917*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1928, pp. 248-249 from Jelavich, p.226

¹⁰⁵ Hall, p.189.

CHAPTER 3

RUSSIA AND THE PRAVDA NEWSPAPER BEFORE THE BALKAN WARS

It is required to examine the condition of Russia in the period for which the Pravda newspaper has been examined for this thesis in order to make sense of and evaluate the articles published in the newspaper on the Russian domestic and foreign policy during the Balkan Wars. In this period, the Duma IV (1912-1917), which was the last assembly of the Tsarist Russia, just started working. The period that will be examined in this thesis was characterized by oppression by the Tsarist state; however, it was also a period during which intellectual discussions and social movements, which would later result in the Russian Revolution, were experienced in condense manner. For this reason, this chapter is concerned with the sides of the discussions, their political positions and the masses they represented in Russia during the Balkan Wars.

It is also of great significance to inform the reader about Pravda, which was the first daily paper of the Bolsheviks who were one of these political movements and would capture the power five years later and destroy the Russian state tradition. The Pravda of the time was a newspaper, which just started its broadcasting life and had about 40.000 circulation number. However, in the period investigated, the Russian government applied excessive pressure on the newspaper. It was closed three times via court decisions and subjected to constant censorship. The newspaper, which would be completely closed with the outbreak of the First World War, had to be published with eight different names in the first two years of its life when it enjoyed continued publication. This situation demonstrates that even though it had a circulation rate of one quarter of the best selling newspaper of the time, the newspaper was quite influential in daily life and opposed to the dominant classes in a powerful manner. All these issues will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1 Russia before the Balkan Wars

It can be said that the strict despotism of Russia was broken with the 1905 Russian Revolution. However, it is not possible to speak of the emergence of a constitutional monarchy in Russia with the Duma assembly established after the revolution. This is

because the Tsar had the power to amend and enact important laws when and if necessary without any discussion in the Duma.

The bills of laws were being discussed in the Duma firstly, and then, they were sent to the Council of State (*Gosudartsvennyi Sovyet*), which had in fact existed in the period of absolutist monarchy. Half of its members were elected by tsar and the other half were elected from Russian nobles (*Dvoryan*), big landowners (*zemstvo*), university members and clergy. The bills of law were adopted there, and then they were sent to the tsar for final approval.¹⁰⁶ The members of the council of ministers, including the prime minister, were elected from among the state officials.¹⁰⁷ The Tsar had also the power to close down the Duma.

The 1905 Revolution did not take the power to supervise foreign policy¹⁰⁸ from the hands of tsar either. In the Article 12 of the 1906 Constitution, it was stated that: "Tsar is the highest executive in the external relations of Russian state with foreign states. At the same time, he prepares international policy of the Russian government."¹⁰⁹ In short, it is possible to state that tsar was still quite influential in the Russian Empire. Having said this, it is important to underline that Tsar Nikola II, who was in power during the period investigated up to 1917, was a person of weak personal character, quite easily influenced by other people, and unable to govern the country.¹¹⁰ Both the domestic affairs and foreign policy of Russia were in a complication at the time. At domestic level, the socialist inclination, especially the Bolshevism, which was powerful in Europe as well and would open the way to 1917 Russian Revolution, was increasingly gaining power. Especially in the period of 1906-1911, when Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin¹¹¹ was in the office of prime ministry, the socialist movements were tried to be taken under control through oppressive

¹⁰⁶ ANKurat Rusya, pp.391-392

¹⁰⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Empire#Council_of_Ministers Date accessed: 21.03.2012

¹⁰⁸ Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov, who was the Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire between 1856-1882, states with regard to the foreign policy of Russia that: "Only two persons know the foreign policy of the Russian government. One of them is the Tsar, who makes the policy up, and the other is me who prepares and implements the policy". See: Bolsover 1914, pp. 267-268.

¹⁰⁹ Bolsover 1914, p. 267.

¹¹⁰ ANKurat Rusya, pp.364-365

¹¹¹ He was the prime minister between 1906-1911 and was killed in a suicide attack in Kiev in 1911. He followed the policy of Russification over the non-Russian nations through oppressive policies. The right to vote and send representatives to the Duma elections were restrained for the Polish and Muslim people by him.

means. On the other hand, Russia's economic problems limited her capacity to pursue aggressive foreign policies, especially towards Austria Hungary.

One of the political and intellectual movements that was influential in the post-1905 Russia was "Neo-Slavism (new Panslavism)". One of the most important reasons for the rise of this movement was the intention of Russia to form an alliance of Slavic people against Austrian expansionism after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria Hungary. On the other hand, in the period of Pyotr Stolipin, who followed Russification policy towards the Finn and Polish people and lost his life in a suicide attack, those intending to establish a deal ground between the Russians and Polish people, who were hitherto taken out of the Panslavism movement, proliferated.

With the help of these groups, the "Association of Spreading Friendship among the Slavic People" was established in 1908. This association aimed to bring all the Slavic people, including the Polish, under the political leadership of Russia. While the Panslavist movement had hitherto been shaped on the bases of hostility against the Turks, it began to include hostility towards the Austria Hungarian Empire as well. The political objective of this movement was to rescue the "Slavic brothers", i.e. Serbians, Croatians, Czech, Slovaks, Polish and Ukrainians from the domination of foreign states and to bring them together under the hegemony of Russia. After succeeding to free the Balkan Slavs from the Ottoman rule, Russia was putting the same plan on the scene for the Slavic people living under the rule of the Austria Hungarian Empire.¹¹² The Octobrists, Cadets and Progressists, which formed the majority in the Duma IV, were the vigorous advocate of Neo-Slavism at the time.

The political parties and representative bodies within the Duma IV, which was open from the start of the Balkan Wars up to 1917, were as in the following: The Octobrists were represented by 100 members, the Cadets by 50 members, the Trudoviks (labour group) by 10 members, the Progressists by 48, the Mensheviks by 7 members, the Bolsheviks by 6 members and the Muslims by 6 members in the parliament.¹¹³ The most crowded group of the Dumas III and IV was formed by the rightest political organization, the Octobrists.

The Octobrist Party was a non-revolutionary centrist Russian political party formally called Union of October 17. The party's program of

¹¹² ANKurat Rusya, pp.404-405

¹¹³ ANKurat Rusya, pp.403-404

moderate constitutionalism called for the fulfilment of Emperor Nicholas II's October Manifesto granted at the peak of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Founded in late October 1905, from 1906 on the party was led by the industrialist Alexander Guchkov and drew support from centrist-liberal gentry, businessmen, and some bureaucrats.¹¹⁴

The second biggest group in the Duma IV was the Cadet Party under the leadership of Pavel Nikolayevich Milyukov, who represented liberalism in Russia. This party had sent the maximum number of members of parliament to the Dumas I and II.¹¹⁵

Cadets (Constitutional Democrats) formed in October, 1905, called Cadets from its abbreviated name for members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. The Cadet party were reformists who sought to retain the monarchy but establish parliamentary rule over Russia.¹¹⁶

Another rightest liberal party was the Progressist Party, which was represented with 48 members and formed a bloc with the Cadet Party in the Duma IV. It was established in 1908. "In the last two Dumas the Progressists entered into a coalition with the Constitutional Democrats, and in the Fourth Duma they were part of the Progressive Bloc."¹¹⁷

The Trudoviks were another political group represented in the Duma IV. "Trudoviki [was] a petit bourgeois political organization in Russia. Formed in April 1906, the group was composed of deputies to the First State Duma who represented the peasantry and the intelligentsia and who were also of a populist orientation."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Octobrist> Date accessed:6.7.2012

¹¹⁵ The Duma I (May-June 1906) was opened in St. Petersburg on 27 April (10 May) 1906. There were 524 members in total. Of this number, 190 were from the Cadet Party, 44 from rightist conservative Octobrists, 17 from Social Democrats, 44 from the Polish, Baltic provinces and the Muslims. Even though the peasants had 204 representatives in the parliament, 112 of them formed the Trudoviki (labour) group with the Socialist Revolutionaries. The Tsar adjourned the Duma I in July 1906.

In the Duma II (February-June 1907), the Cadets had 98 representatives, the Octobrists had 80, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks had 65 in total, the Trudoviks and SR(Socialist Revolutioner)had 157, and the Muslims had 34. The Prime Minister Stolipin adjourned the Duma II on 3 (16) July 1907. The Duma III (1907-1912) comprised of 53 representatives from the rightists, 93 from the Russian nationalists, 133 from the Octobrists, 39 from the Progressive Party, 53 from the Cadets, 14 from the Trudoviks, 14 from the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, 17 from the Polish and Baltic provinces, 10 from the Muslims, and 10 from the independent candidates. The Muslims in Turkestan were denied the right to vote in this election. See: ANKurat Rusya, pp.390-401.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/orgs/c/a.htm#constitutional-democrats> Date accessed:6.7.2012

¹¹⁷ Cited in Michael T. Florinsky (ed.), McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union (1961), pp. 455-6 from <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Progressist+Party> Date accessed:6.7.2012

¹¹⁸ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Trudoviki> Date accessed:6.7.2012

The Mensheviks were another group of political organization represented in the Duma IV.

Meaning "minority" in Russian, the party was formed in 1903 from a split in the The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (R.S.D.L.P), which created the Bolsheviks [majority] and Menshevik parties. Mensheviks believed that socialism should only be achieved firstly through a bourgeois revolution (via reformism); following this revolution, they felt the working class and peasantry would then be able to revolt against the bourgeois, and establish Socialism.¹¹⁹

Apart from the Mensheviks and the Trudoviks, all the above mentioned political parties adopted a pro-Slavic and anti-Turkish discourse especially in the course of the First Balkan War. The Austria Hungarian Empire was turned into a target in the press affiliated with these political parties.

While the right-wing parties intended to continue with the constitutional monarchy and they desired the bourgeoisie be the sole political power, the political parties at the leftist front were in favour of a bourgeois democratic republic. However, only the Bolsheviks rejected such a position within the leftist front. According to the Mensheviks, the revolution should represent a bourgeois character, and thus the proletariat could not take the power. The proletariat instead had to play the oppositional role in the bourgeois camp, and push the bourgeoisie to the left side.¹²⁰ As far as the Bolsheviks are concerned, what should be done was the revolution through which the proletariat took the political power.

Grigori Yevseevich Zinovyev (1883-1936) describes that period as in the following:

... the main discussion was on the character of the Russian revolution, which was perceived as unavoidable even by the liberals themselves. The main problem was to know what its scope would be, where it would occur and which class would play the leading role.¹²¹

When one looks at the intellectual discussions, it is possible to say that the most condensed discussions occurred between the Cadets, who represented the liberal bourgeoisie being the mastermind of the rightest wing under the leadership of Miliukov, and the socialists. The liberal bourgeoisie desired the formation of the constitutional monarchy, the economic power to be kept by the dominant classes, and

¹¹⁹ <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/orgs/m/e.htm#menshevik> Date accessed:6.7.2012

¹²⁰ Zinovyev, Rusya Komünist Partisi Tarihi, trans. by İ. Kılıç-A.Yalman, Akış yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1991, p.109

¹²¹ Zinovyev, p.109

the bourgeoisie to have the most important share in the political power.¹²² The representatives of the Tsarist government at the time remained quite close to this group. Moreover, it was reported in the Pravda newspaper that there were frequent hidden meetings between the Foreign Minister, Sazanov, and the leader of the Cadet Party, Miliukov, at the time. When one looks at the number of representatives in the Duma IV, the reader can reach the conclusion that the power of the socialists, and especially the Bolsheviks, who were represented with only 6 members, is exaggerated. However, such a reading does not reflect the reality itself. This is because during the term of Stolipin as the Prime Minister, important changes were made with regard to the Duma elections before the elections for the Duma III. According to the new arrangements, the feudal landlords (*Pomeshchiki*) elected 1 member from 230 persons, the urban people from 1.000 persons, the peasants from 60.000 persons and the workers from 125.000 persons.¹²³ That is, 1 vote of the feudal landlords was equal to 543 worker and 260 peasant votes. Moreover, if one considers the fact that the most organized social group at the time was the workers, it becomes easier to understand that the Duma assembly did not reflect the street and the social realities of the time.

Under the Tsarist administration, which was unable to overcome the problems of the country, Russia was faltering in terms of both internal and external issues. As mentioned above, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the time of Sazanov did not have a clear view on Russia's interests in the Balkans. He was trying to tackle with the problems as the occasion rose. Moreover, the extreme Slavist feelings were overwhelmingly processed both in practice and in the printed press by the pro-government groups even though they were aware that this would cause a war with Austria Hungary. One year after the Balkan Wars, this political atmosphere would bring Russia to a war against Austria Hungary because of the Serbian question. As Zinovyev underlines, before the revolution that was perceived as avoidable by everyone, the Pravda newspaper was the centre of revolutionary propaganda under the leadership of Lenin, who was in Cracow at the time.¹²⁴

¹²² Zinovyev, p.109

¹²³ ANKurat Rusya, p.397.

¹²⁴ ANKurat Rusya, p.404

Pravda newspaper too denotes that there were three camps in Russia before the Balkan Wars. These were the rightist *Reaktziya* (the Octobrists and the others), liberals (the Cadets and the Progressists) and the democrats. However, the Pravda newspaper also states that Russia was separated into two camps with the influence of the Balkan Wars. Within the engineered Panslavist atmosphere, the rightists and the liberals collaborated. That is, the Cadets and the Progressists made collaborations with the Octobrists and the nationalists. It is also stated in the newspaper that the government was involved in this collaboration as well. The opposing side comprised of the social democrats and the labour groups (*Demokratiya*).¹²⁵ As a matter of fact, in 1914, when Russia entered into the First World War, the Octobrist, Cadet and Progressive Parties joined together and formed the Progressive Bloc.

In the Russian press of the time, the Balkan Wars were conceived as the war of freedom waged by Orthodox Christian Slavic brothers against the Turkish domination. An intense pro-Slavic and pro-Christian discourse was utilized and it was presented that Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece were fighting against the Muslims in order to rescue the Christian Slavic brothers from the Turkish domination. We can understand such attitude of the Russian press from a great number of articles published in Pravda, which criticized this situation by giving the names of the newspapers. Moreover, we can understand this attitude from the constantly existing section of “Newspaper Search” in the Pravda Newspaper. Similarly, in the writings of Trotsky, which were sent to *Luch* and *Kievskaya Misl* newspapers and were collected into a book later on, we see that the general attitude of the Russian press was Panslavist, anti-Austrian and pro-war.¹²⁶ This was the general condition of Russia under the influence of the dominant classes before and during the Balkan Wars.

3.2 The Pravda Newspaper

The newspaper and magazine broadcasting increased both quantitatively and qualitatively in Russia after the First Russian Revolution (1905). Apart from the press existing in Moscow and St. Petersburg, which was called as the central press,

¹²⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 18.12.1912[31.12.1912], Issue: 196, “War: Yes-No”, article by A. Zivanov.

¹²⁶ Leon Troçki, *Balkan Savaşları*, trans. by Tansel Güney, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995. Especially the pages of 321-369 of the book are nearly totally reserved to the critique of the biased attitude of the Russian press.

there was regional broadcasting in the cities like Kiev, Odesa, Irkutsk, Saratov, Baku, Tbilisi, Kazan, etc. In Moscow and St. Petersburg, about 14.000 newspapers and magazines were published while the number in the regions was 1.400.¹²⁷

In 1913 there were 856 daily newspapers; *Novoe Vremya* the most influential had a circulation of 150.000. In general, the press was anti-German, anti-Austrian, and pro-Slav. Both the newspapers and the political parties-the Octobrists, the Kadets and the Nationalists- were supporters of this line. They were also interested in an active Balkan policy.¹²⁸

The best selling newspaper of the time, *Novoye Vremya*, was broadcasted in St. Petersburg between the years 1868-1917. *Novoye Vremya* held progressive and liberal views.¹²⁹ The official media organ of the liberal Cadet Party was the *Rech Newspaper*. “*Rech* was a daily newspaper with supplements, the central organ of the Cadet party. It was published in St. Petersburg under the actual editorship Miliukov. *Rech* was popular among the liberal bourgeois intelligentsia.”¹³⁰ Yet another influential newspaper of the time was *Russkoe Slovo* (1895-1917), which kept constant reporters in Istanbul. “*Russkoe Slovo*, a daily newspaper, bourgeois-liberal in orientation, published in Moscow”.¹³¹ *Russkiye Vedomosti* (1863-1917) was mentioned in Pravda as another influential newspaper of the time in Russia. “A newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 onwards by a group of Moscow University liberal professors and *Zemstvo*¹³² leaders. In 1905 it became the organ of the Right wing of the Constitutional-Democrats”.¹³³

¹²⁷ Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu, “Rusya Matbuatında Balkan Savaşları (1912-1913)”, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Başkanlığı 7. Uluslararası Atatürk Kongresi, 17-22 Ekim 2011, Üsküp, Makedonya. Paper Presented for the congress (unpublished).

¹²⁸ Jelavich, p.207.

¹²⁹ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Novoe+Vremia> Date accessed: 6.7.2012

¹³⁰ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/rech> Date accessed: 6.7.2012

¹³¹ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Russkoe+Slovo> Date accessed: 6.7.2012

¹³² Zemstvo a form of local self-government, set up in a number of provinces in European Russia by the Zemstvo Reform of 1864. The formation of the zemstvo was an attempt by tsarism to adapt the autocratic system to the requirements of capitalist development. Pomeshchiki (landlords) occupied the dominant position in the zemstvo, also participating were representatives of the bourgeoisie, including house owners, factory owners, merchants, clergy, and kulaks. Bourgeois elements in the zemstvo became stronger with the development of capitalism and the decrease in landowning by the dvorianstvo (nobility or gentry), especially in the district zemstvos of the industrialized Central Zone. Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/zemstvo> Date accessed:6.7.2012

¹³³ <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/periodicals/r/u.htm#russkoye-slovo> Date accessed:6.7.2012

As one can see, the dominant power in the Russian press was the liberals at the time. The Cadet and Progressist Parties, which were the most powerful groups at the Duma IV, was liberal-oriented while the pro-Tsarist rightist Octobrists were supported by liberals who were quite close to the centre. Because all these parties supported Panslavist policies, one can say that two themes were dominant in the Russian press of the time: Panslavism and liberalism.

When it comes to the newly established newspaper of the time, i.e. Pravda, the following information should be particularly communicated to the reader. Pravda emerged after the Prague Conference,¹³⁴ when the Bolshevik movement was separated from the Russian Social Democrats. The establishment of a daily paper, which would be the media organ of the Bolsheviks, was decided at this conference. Pravda began its broadcasting life about three months after the conference.

When one looks at the pre-Pravda media organs of the Bolsheviks, it is important to remember that *Iskra*¹³⁵ (i.e. Sparkle) was their first newspaper and published before 1905. The first official newspaper of the Bolsheviks was *Novaya Jizn* (i.e. New Life).¹³⁶ After *Novaya Jizn*, *Zvezda* (i.e. Star), which was firstly published two times and then three times a week, began to be broadcasted. Afterwards, *Zvezda* transformed itself into Pravda which was published on daily basis.¹³⁷ The first issue of Pravda¹³⁸ (i.e. Reality) was published on 22 April 1912 in St. Petersburg. Pravda, became the official media organ of the Central Committee and the Communist Party after the 1917 Russian Revolution. It continued its broadcasting life in this status until 1991.

¹³⁴ The Prague Party Conference was the sixth party conference of Vladimir Lenin's Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. It was in Prague January 5-17 1912. At the conference, Lenin and his supporters broke away from the rest of the party and formed their own, purely Bolshevik, party.

¹³⁵ This newspaper was published without the legal permission and continued its existence clandestinely between 1900-1903.

¹³⁶ Zinovyev, p.108

¹³⁷ Pravda was published six days a week, except Sundays, during the period that is examined in this thesis, i.e. October 1912 – October 1913.

¹³⁸ There was another newspaper called as Pravda, which was published in Russian language by Trotsky between 1908-1912. This newspaper was called as Pravda Vienna in order to make a distinction between the Pravda newspaper which was the media organ of the Bolsheviks. After the birth of the Bolshevik Pravda, the other newspaper ended its broadcasting life.

Lenin, who were living in Cracow that was in the borderline of the on Austria Hungarian Empire at the time¹³⁹, exercised a tight control over the activities of the newspaper. Between 1912 and 1914 the actual editor and guiding spirit of the newspaper was Lenin. He determined its orientation, carefully selected its writing and editing staff, and worked out the format. Between 1912 and 1914 alone, the paper published some 300 articles by Lenin.¹⁴⁰

With regard to the content of the Pravda newspaper at the time, the following points are worth mentioning. From 1/14¹⁴¹ October 1912 to 1/14 October 1913, a period of time this thesis has examined the newspaper, Pravda was published 6 days¹⁴² a week except Mondays. Apart from some specific days¹⁴³, the newspaper was published with four pages. The newspaper was examined beginning from its 132nd issue. Throughout the period examined, the price of Pravda, which was 2 *kapiks* (piaster), did not change even though the name of the newspaper was altered. Moreover, Pravda was published under the slogan of “Workers’ Daily”. It was broadcasted from St. Petersburg, and its second branch was opened in Moscow in July 1913.¹⁴⁴

The newspaper generally accepted advertisements for its first and last pages while the middle pages did not take them. The first page included short headings with regard to the content of the issue, and then articles on generally different topics, and especially topics on international developments. Moreover, the first page rarely included articles under which the name of the author was added. These articles generally included two letters referring to the abbreviation of the names of the authors. The most important reason for this was the oppression and censorship implemented against the socialist press in the Tsarist Russia at the time. The first

¹³⁹ It is a city located in the south of Poland, and it was within the frontiers of Austria Hungary.

¹⁴⁰ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Pravda> Date accessed: 22.03.2012

¹⁴¹ During the period that is investigated in this thesis, the Tsarist Russia used the Julian Calendar, which follows the Gregorian Calendar 13 days behind.

¹⁴² On 14.05.1913 (27.05.1913), it was announced in the 313rd issue of the newspaper that it would be published seven days a week and with 6 pages beginning from May 20 (June 2). However, this plan was not realized during the period investigated in the thesis.

¹⁴³ The number of pages increased up to 8 with the special issues published in specific dates like the March 8 International Women’s Day, the 30th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, 03 (17) March 1913, No: 256, May 1 the Labour Day, the birth anniversary of Jesus. Between the dates of 24 December 1912 (6 January 1913) and 29 December 1912 (11 January 1913), the newspaper was published only one day, on 25 December. Yet, only such things as poems, stories, etc. were published on this day. This means that the newspaper gave importance to the religious New Year ’s Day.

¹⁴⁴ Rabochaia Pravda, 18 July 1913[31.07.1913], Issue:5.

page also included a special section called “*за рубежом*”, which means “from abroad”, and this section allocated spaces to developments in the international scale. The newspaper also allocated spaces on daily basis to the labour movements in different regions, primarily those in St. Petersburg, under the section of “*рабочее движение*” (labour movements) in its 3rd or 4th page. Furthermore, there was a special section called “*телеграммы*”, which means telegraphs, for the international wires received. The same pages included a special section called “*но росси*” (from Russia) that was allocated to the developments within the Russian Empire.

In the period investigated, the newspaper just began its broadcasting life. Therefore, in the following issues, there were some changes in the content. For instance, a special section called “Media Search” was included later on. This section provided a general search over the Russian media and included articles on important news or the ones which were intended to be criticized. Afterwards, another section called “The Insurance Question” was added to the newspaper, which discussed the need for the workers to receive insurance and its legal basis. The section of “*хроника*”, which can be translated as “Today in History”, mentioned important labour events in history and short information about those who died during processes of labour struggle. In the section called “*на фабриках и заводах*” (In the Factories), the important labour-related developments happening in different regions of Russia were communicated on daily basis. Beginning from the second half of 1913, another section called “*о рабочим печати*” (Labour News in the Press) was added to the newspaper. Additionally, in the last page, there was a special section entitled as “*провинция*” (From the Countryside), which provided information about the developments on different rural regions of the country.

The newspaper was subjected to frequent oppression and censorship in the period investigated. It was stated in the issue of 4 (17) April 1913 that the news article on the labour incidents occurred near the Lena River¹⁴⁵ was banned by the censorship board. The newspaper could not be broadcasted on 15, 16, 17 April 1913 (28, 29, 30

¹⁴⁵ The mine workers near the Lena River in the northeastern Siberia launched demonstrations on 13 March 1912 by demanding the improvement of the working conditions and increase in wages. The demonstrations were suppressed by the Tsarist army on 17 April in a bloody manner and 270 workers were killed. The above mentioned date, i.e. 4 (17) April 1913, was the first anniversary of this event. The leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, took the surname of Lenin after this event. See: ANKurat Rusya, pp.403-404

April 1913)¹⁴⁶. On the issue published on 19 April 1913 (2 May 1913), it was announced that the newspaper was raided by the police and all the documents were seized.¹⁴⁷ The newspaper experienced 41 police raids throughout the first year of its broadcasting life. As the newspaper gained strength, the number of raids increased accordingly. For instance, in the special issue printed for the celebration of the first anniversary of the newspaper, it was stated that the number of raids in the last 100 issues was two times more than the first 200 issues previously published. It was also denoted that the newspaper was fined to 7.800 Rubles and its editors were sentenced to 47¹⁴⁸ months in prison. In the same period, 60 newspaper employees were exiled to Siberia.¹⁴⁹ Zinovyev, who was quite close to Lenin until 1917 and one of the initial propagandists of the Bolsheviks, describes the pressures over Pravda at the time as in the following:

Pravda encountered with harsh pressures. Its publication was stopped, each and every article was penalized, its redactors, employees and assistants were arrested. These [pressures] went to such levels that it was not possible to find a proof reader at some point ... In fact, those, who were struggling tirelessly to collect a few bucks for the existence of the newspaper and the payment of the fines while knowing that they would end up with prison sentence, were the workers themselves.¹⁵⁰

The tsarist regime relentlessly harassed the newspaper. Out of the 645 issues that appeared from 1912 to 1914, 190 were suppressed. The government closed down the newspaper eight times, but Pravda continued to appear under other names. In 1913 it was issued as *Rabochaia Pravda* (Workers' Truth), *Severnaia Pravda* (Northern Truth), *Pravda Truda* (The Truth of Labor), and *Za Pravdu* (For Truth), and in 1914 it came out under the name *Proletarskaia Pravda* (Proletarian Truth), *Put' pravdy* (The Path of Truth), *Rabochii* (Worker), and *Trudovaia Pravda* (Labor Truth). On July 8, 1914, on the eve of World War I, the tsarist government banned the paper and arrested its staff.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ In the issue of 296 dated 23.04.1913 (06.05.1913) of the Pravda Newspaper, the reader was informed that the translations, money and documents, which were siezed by the police during the police searching, were not given back. Therefore, the newspapers Pravda and Moscovski could not be broadcasted.

¹⁴⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 19.04.1913[02.05.1913], Issue: 293.

¹⁴⁸ It cannot be clearly read from the original source whether the number of months was 47 or 17.

¹⁴⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 23.04.1913[6.05.1913], Issue: 296.

¹⁵⁰ Zinovyev, p.144.

¹⁵¹ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Pravda> Date accessed: 23.03.2012

In the issue of 23.05.1913 (06.05.1913), Pravda celebrated its first anniversary and provided some information and statistics with regard to the first year. As an indicator of the financial difficulties the newspaper was in, this issue announced that “the donations from the workers for the newspaper should continue”. Moreover, the donations for *Zvezda*, which had previously been published by the Bolsheviks, were compared to those for Pravda. Within one year, the amount of donations for Pravda was 3.393 Rubles 42 Kapiks¹⁵². 79% of this donation was from the workers, 20% from the intellectuals and 1% from the peasants.¹⁵³ If one considers that the price of the newspaper was 2 Kapiks, we can say that within one year the amount of donations collected was equal to about 170.000 issues sold. Moreover, if one considers that the circulation number of the newspaper was about 40.000, we can say that the amount of donations was equal to the approximate number of issues sold in four days.

On the other hand, it is stated in this special issue that 48 articles on Balkan War and 22 articles on international politics were produced within one year. Additionally, 153 articles were sent to the newspaper from the reporters living abroad. It was also stated that 1.335 articles were published in total in the first year. 226 of them were on the issue of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and 141 of them were on the Duma elections.¹⁵⁴

As for the daily circulation of the newspaper, there was not mentioned the exact number in the period investigated. In the issue 296, it was stated that the circulation of the newspaper had to be 100.000 according to the German criterion. With regard to this issue, the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* indicates that “the newspaper’s daily circulation averaged 40,000, reaching 60,000 some months.”¹⁵⁵ As a clue for the accuracy of such an estimation, one can resort to a letter by Lenin sent to the editorial team of Pravda on 5 April 1913. Lenin states that they had to work “...to increase the circulation of Pravda from 30,000 to 50,000, and the number of subscribers from 5,000 to 20,000, and proceed unflinchingly in this direction. Then we shall extend

¹⁵² It is possible to state that the amount of donations at this time was not high. That is to say, in the issue 327 dated 30.05.1913 (12.06.1913) of Pravda, the first page mentions that the English working class collected 6.000 Rubles to support the Balkan workers. This number is about 50% higher than the amount of Money collected for Pravda.

¹⁵³ Pravda Newspaper, 23.04.1913 [6.5.1913], Issue: 296.

¹⁵⁴ The elections for the Duma IV were held in September 1912.

¹⁵⁵ <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Pravda> Date accessed: 23.03.2012

and improve Pravda".¹⁵⁶ In the light of this information, one can say that the circulation number of Pravda during the period investigated was 30.000 – 40.000 on average. At this point, if one considers the fact that the best selling newspaper was *Novoye Vremya* and its daily circulation number was about 150.000, a simple comparison then reveals that Pravda had a considerable number of circulation.

The information on the financial condition of the newspaper was not communicated in its pages during the period examined. However, the impression gained during the process of the examination of the newspaper makes the author of the thesis to make the following assessment. Pravda received news articles from Istanbul to Calcutta, from Vienna to Vladivostok, from Johannesburg to Cairo and Caracas. This means that it received news from different regions and cities, especially from abroad through telegraphs. If one takes into account that during that time the newspaper was under harsh pressures, its editors were sentenced to fines, and the newspaper tried to pay these fines by means of the donations from the workers, it was possible for Pravda to establish a network of salaried reporters neither at home nor abroad. In fact, Pravda was financed by voluntary contributions from workers, many of whom were active contributors, correspondents, and distributors. Between 1912 and 1914 the paper published contributions from more than 16,000 workers.¹⁵⁷ That is, it seems appropriate to state that the news articles sent from domestic and international sources were largely prepared by socialists and those adherent to or sympathetic of the Bolsheviks.

Regarding the issue of the concern of Pravda Newspaper for the Balkan Wars, the following observations are worth mentioning. Pravda gave special importance to the Balkan Wars and allocated more than half of the newspaper's space to the war at the time of its outbreak. For instance, 17 (30) November 1912 was the first day when a news article on the war was not published at the first page of the newspaper. That is, in the previous 47 days examined, the developments on the war had been communicated through the first page of the newspaper.

Telgraphs on the war or internal developments were received from Istanbul almost on daily basis. On some days, different telegraphs on the same topic were published.

¹⁵⁶ Cited in Lenin Collected Works, progress Publishers, 1976, Moscow, Volume 35, pp.95-96 from: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/apr/05p.htm> Date accessed: 23.03.2012

¹⁵⁷ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Pravda> Date accessed: 23.03.2012

This makes one to think that there were more than one reporters who sent news article from Istanbul to Pravda.¹⁵⁸ In the same vein, the newspaper received frequent telegraphs from Sofia, Athens, Belgrade and Cetinje (*Çetine*). Moreover, wires were sent from the capital cities of big states, especially from Vienna and London, where the peace conference was gathered. In fact, there were two reasons for Pravda to closely follow the Vienna press. The first reason was the crowded Slavic people living under the rule of Austria Hungary. The second was that the tension between Russia and Austria, which had erupted following the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria Hungary in 1908, reached its peak with the Balkan Wars. As a matter of fact, the two states would face off against each other only one year after the Balkan Wars.

One can say that Pravda did not show the same level of interest to the Second Balkan War as compared to its interest in the First Balkan War. The technical reason for that was the closure of the newspaper via a court decision on 6 (19) July 1913. Afterwards, the newspaper began to be re-obtained under the name of Rabochaia Pravda (The Reality of the Labourers) beginning from the 5th issue published on 18 (31) July 1913. In the period when the Turks re-captured Edirne, the newspaper was closed. On the other hand, the newspaper was closed two times following court decisions up to 1 (14) October 1913, which is the last day of the period investigated.

The newspaper analysis demonstrates that Pravda provided information on the frontal battles on daily basis. This information was obtained from the telegraphs received from the capital cities of belligerent states, and almost all the telegraphs were wired without any comments. The most important reason for this was the censorship practices implemented by the states. The telegraph centers were under the control of the governments, and the censorship officials, who knew foreign language, had the opportunity and the power to arbitrarily restrain the papers of journalists. One can say that the telegraphs from Istanbul were received nearly without any censorship imposed on them. The reason for that the foreign journalists in Istanbul sent their news articles through the Istanbul-Constanta (*Köstence*) ship, which cruised three times a week at the time. Then, these news articles were wired from

¹⁵⁸ When one looks at the telegraphs received from Istanbul, there were some telegraphs sent to Pravda on the same day and with the same topic. However, it can be determined from the discourse of the telegraphs that they were not sent by the same person. This was quite obvious in the telegraphs sent on 11(24).11.1912 published at the issue 212, and on 15(28).06.1913 published at the issue 340.

Contanta or Bucharest to the centers without any censorship. There was a great number of telegraphs originating from Romania, but being sent from Istanbul to Pravda at the time. The fact that the foreign journalists in Istanbul had the opportunity to escape from censorship enabled them to reflect upon the atmosphere in Istanbul in a more realistic manner than the news articles sent from Sofia, Athens and Belgrade. As a matter of fact, quite different from the telegraphs received from the other capital cities, those coming from Istanbul were not merely related to developments in the war fronts, but there were detailed news on the internal developments.

During the period investigated, the information on such issues as the military conditions of the belligerent states, war casualties, which can be regarded as more objective, was communicated quite rarely in Pravda. The Bolsheviks utilized Pravda as a political instrument to oppose the pro-Tsarist parties like the rightist Octobrists, the liberal Cadets, who embraced the ideologies of nationalism and Panslavism. Therefore, the critiques against these parties were much more commonly communicated by means of Pravda. As mentioned earlier, the harsh pressure over the newspaper made the articles to be published in an unnamed format. In the following chapter, these articles, which are considered to represent the ideas of editorial board of the newspaper, will be utilized frequently. The position of Pravda with regard to the Balkan Wars will be evaluated on the basis of these articles.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL POSITION OF PRAVDA TOWARDS THE BALKAN WARS

The general position of Russia towards the Balkan Wars can be metaphorically depicted as the fight of “Orthodox Cross against the Crescent”. The fact that Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria, which represented the Cross, were at the same time Slavic made the Russian public opinion to show closer interest in this war. Therefore, the Balkan Wars were presented by the Russian press as the emancipation of “co-religionists and fellow races who had been oppressed for hundreds of years” from the Turkish oppression. The Pravda newspaper of the time approached towards the war with quite different motives. It criticized the general position of the Russian press from the beginning, and questioned the reasons that gave rise to the Balkan Wars on the basis of general politico-economic transformations and class conflicts. Pravda did not consent itself with a mere questioning, but provided various proposals for resolution. Being one of these proposals, the idea of the establishment of a Balkan Federation was frequently discussed in the newspaper.

In this chapter, the position of Pravda with regard to the First and Second Balkan Wars will be presented. Moreover, the discussions around the idea of the establishment of a Balkan Federation will be conveyed to the reader. At this point, it is important to underline that the Serbians were the most leaning people towards the establishment of such a federation in accordance with the socialist world view. This idea was strongly supported during the war by the Yugo-Slavs (Southern Slavs), who were living under the rule of the Austria Hungarian Empire. These Slavic people reacted against the Austria Hungarian government, which followed a strict anti-Serbian policy during the Balkan Wars. These reactions were reflected in Pravda, and this particular issue will be discussed under a separate heading in this chapter. The last section of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of the critical position of Pravda against the double-faced policies followed by the great powers of Europe.

4.1 The Balkan Wars

It seems important to describe the process towards the Balkan Wars and the developments in the First Balkan War in order to make sense of the articles published in Pravda during the war. Under the leadership of the Russian diplomats, Bulgaria-centered alliances initially between Bulgaria and Serbia, and then between Bulgaria and Greece were established in 1912. The Balkan states, which took the advantage of the ongoing Ottoman-Italian war in Tripoli, intended to create a trouble that would heat up both the domestic and international relations. On 1 August 1912, the bomb exploded by the Bulgarian komitadji (resistance movement)¹⁵⁹ in Kocani (*Koçana*)¹⁶⁰ caused the death of 11 people and the injury of many others. This incident pushed up excitement among the states of Balkan Alliance. Armed conflicts in the Ottoman borders of Serbia and Montenegro followed this incident. The people taking to the streets in Sofia and Belgrade demanded declaration of war against Turkey. The Bulgarian Cabinet, which was gathered under the presidency of the King Ferdinand on 26 August 1912, took the decision that unless the Ottoman Empire initiated reforms in Macedonia, they would propose Montenegro, Serbia and Greece to wage war against the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶¹

While these were the immediate political developments in the Balkan states, the Ottoman statesmen could not comprehend the possibility of these developments to cause a war, and thus could not take the necessary military and administrative precautions throughout the September 1912. That is why they did not want a war. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire accepted the mediatorship proposals by the great powers, and announced that she would initiate reforms for Rumelia as envisaged by the 1878 Berlin Agreement. The Balkan states put forward further conditions as opposed to the mediatorship proposals from the great powers. In fact, the implementation of such conditions proposed by the Balkan states would mean the *de*

¹⁵⁹ “Komitadji - The term Komitadji also known as "komit"Albanian Comitadji or Komitaji (Macedonian Комити; Romanian: Comitagi; Greek komitatzides; from Turkish: Komitacı, "a rebel, member of a secret revolutionary society" refers to members of Slav Macedonian rebel bands operating in the Balkans during the final period of the Ottoman Empire, fighting against Turkish authorities and rival Greek and Serbian groups.” See: Merriam-Webster Unabridged Edition from <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Komitaji> Date accessed:1.8.2012

¹⁶⁰ Today, it is a city located 120 km from Skopje in the southern border of the Republic of Macedonia.

¹⁶¹ Karal, p.298

facto disconnection of the Ottoman Empire from Macedonia. This is because the conditions of the Balkan states included that Macedonia would be separated into different regions on the basis of ethnic divisions, that each and every ethnic region would have its own assembly and army, and that the Ottoman Empire would withdraw her army from Macedonia.¹⁶²

Montenegro was the first Balkan state that waged war against the Ottoman Empire on 8 October 1912. The other states of Balkan Alliance, namely Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, sent a diplomatic note to the Ottoman Empire on 13 October 1912. The Ottoman Empire did not respond to such notes, and declared war against these states on 16 October 1912 without waiting for their war declarations. The Ottoman army was divided into two fronts: while the eastern army was fighting against the Bulgarians, the western army was conducting war against the Serbians. The eastern army, which was defeated by the Bulgarians in Luleburgaz on 29 October 1912, withdrew up to Catalca. Moreover, the western army¹⁶³, which was defeated by the Serbians in Kumanova on 23-24 October 1912, fell back up to Bitola (*Manastır*). The Serbians captured Skopje. On the other hand, Greece attacked to the Greek Macedonia on 8 November 1912 and seized Salonika. This means that in only 3 weeks after the outbreak of the war, the eastern army had to fall back up to 40 km close to Istanbul, and its connection with the western army was disengaged. Only Edirne, Janina and Shkodra¹⁶⁴ were resisting against the encroachments of the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Montenegrins respectively.¹⁶⁵ These last castles would be captured by the Greeks and Montenegrins in March and April 1913.

However, on 29 June 1913, another war was erupted among Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, who could not share the lands captured from the Ottoman Empire. The Greek-Serbian alliance fought against Bulgaria in this war, the symptoms of which had already appeared. Romania, who did not take part in the First Balkan War, entered into Bulgaria by taking advantage of the situation. Bulgaria was defeated in all the fronts within only one week. The Ottoman statesmen of the time, who

¹⁶² Fahir Armaoğlu, 19. yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi(1789-1914), TTK, Ankara, 1999, 2. Edition, p. 667

¹⁶³ For the activities of the Western Army during the Balkan Wars see: Fevzi Çakmak, Batı Rumeli'yi Nasıl Kaybettik?, Yayına Hazırlayan: Ahmet Tetik, T.İş Bankası Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2011. See also: Balkan Harbi (1912-1913), III.Cilt, Garp Ordusu 1.Kısım, Genelkurmay Basımevi, Ankara, 1979

¹⁶⁴ For detailed information for the Shkodra Castle combats see: Abdurrahman Nafiz & Kırmettin, İşkodra Savunması, I.ve II. Cilt, Genelkurmay ATASE Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2007

¹⁶⁵ Armaoğlu, p. 669

regarded the situation as suitable for them, re-captured Edirne during the Second Balkan War. In fact, the process towards the Second Balkan War will be described under a separate section. At this point, on the basis of this preliminary information¹⁶⁶, it is important to make sense of how Pravda perceived the First Balkan War.

4.1.1 The First Balkan War

In the public declaration document of the war against the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarian King Ferdinand states that they were peaceloving, had to enter into the war due to destiny, and had to take up arms to realize their great objectives. He mentions the blood brothers who were living behind the Rhodope (Rodop) Mountains and could not gain their independence, and then states that:

... We could not stand the tears of our Balkan Christian brothers. We are taking up arms to put an end to this situation The families of the Bulgarian soldiers, who would be martyred after we saved our Christian brothers, do not forget their teachers and saviours. Go forward! The God is with us!¹⁶⁷

The war declarations of the Serbians and the Greeks were similarly based on the objective of saving the Christian brothers from the Turkish domination, emphasized the religious dimension, and initiated with the blessing of the kings and administrators in the churches. All these were made to make the world believe that the war was waged for freedom, and to receive support from the Christians. Such manifests of the Balkan states were responded in turn among the pro-tsarist Octobrists, liberal Cadets, and Progressists, etc., who were the dominant power groups in Russia, and in their media organs from the very beginning. The newspapers and magazines belonging to these parties followed a strict broadcasting policy shaped on the basis of pro-Orthodox, Pro-Slavic and anti-Turkish sentiments.

The position of the editorial team of Pravda was determined from the beginning on the basis of the idea that it was not a war waged for the sake of freedom. They regarded “the holy independence struggle [as] an empty talk, not to say an empty talk [fabricated] to deceive the ranks”¹⁶⁸. For them, the war was a war of conquest

¹⁶⁶ For more detailed information with regard to the period before and during the Balkan Wars, see: Aram Andonyan, *Balkan Savaşı*, Aras Yayıncılık, trans. by Zaven Biberyan, İstanbul, 1999. This book was published in Armenian language right after the war in 1913, and then it was translated into Turkish.

¹⁶⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 06.10.1912[19.10.1912], Issue: 136.

¹⁶⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 4.10.1912[17.10.1912], Issue: 134, “The Gamble”, unsigned article.

initiated for the sake of the interests of the nationalist Balkan kingdoms.¹⁶⁹ They instead emphasized the necessity to approach to the situation in the Balkans on the basis of class conflicts and with the concern for solution. With regard to the Balkan Alliance, they stated that: “This alliance has been established under the control of the Russian diplomacy, yet without the contribution of the Balkan nations. Therefore, not a democratic revolution, but wars of conquest have been undergoing in the Balkans.”¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Pravda frequently underlined that even though the Balkan alliance states became victorious from the war, nothing would change for the masses living in the region and consisting of labourers and peasants, regardless of which nationality they come from. This position was explicitly manifested in the issue 161 of Pravda dated 06.11.1912 (19.11.1912), which stated that¹⁷¹:

The Greeks revolted against [the Ottoman rule] in the 1830s, yet now they have a kingdom on their own. Not the Turkish propertied [classes], but the Greek ones are currently plundering the peasants who have flagged during the 1909 rebellion ... After the Greeks, the Romanians gained their independence in 1878. In 1905-1906, the Romanian peasants were staging a hunger strike and rebelling against not the Turkish masters, but their own masters ... Now, the Bulgarian peasants are suffering from their own “Çorbacıyev”¹⁷².

Immediately after shining out of the consequences of the war, Pravda wrote that the exploited has not been altered while only the exploiter has been changed.¹⁷³

Nonetheless, it was frequently denoted by the newspaper that the Ottoman Empire had the responsibility for the events to come to such a point. More specifically, they emphasized that the feudal agrarian relations caused such developments to happen in the way it was. They also indicated that the Young Turks thought they would resolve the Balkan question by giving the right of free expression to all the nations in the 1908 Young Turk Revolution¹⁷⁴, however, the subsequent developments did not prove such an anticipation.

¹⁶⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The Fight for Edirne”.

¹⁷⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 26.10.1912[8.11.1912], Issue:153, “The Balkan Diplomacy and the War” article by F.F.

¹⁷¹ Pravda Newspaper, 6.11.1912[19.11.1912], Issue: 161, “The Empire of the Inheritors of Prophet”, unsigned article.

¹⁷² It is written as *Çorbacıyev* in Turkish in the article.

¹⁷³ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The Fight for Edirne”, unsigned article.

¹⁷⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “On the Balkan Question” article by F.F.

In an article blaming the Ottoman Empire and the feudal relations, Pravda described the reasons that opened the way to the war as in the following:

The agrarian question is the most fundamental question, and in Turkey it is still in the period of middle ages. The slavery-caste system results in the institutions of justice to be at the level of middle ages. All the lands are in the hands of *pashas*¹⁷⁵ and landlords. Additionally, the churches, monastery and mosques had the lands of foundations in their hands. Therefore, the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek peasants and the Turkish people in the villages live under desperate conditions ... The Turkish and the Balkan bourgeoisie in general have pushed the agrarian question into the background by provoking religious, linguistic and nationalist biases, instead of sweeping the Turkish slavery away, i.e. taking lands from the big propertied [classes] and giving them back to peasants. The Young Turk regime did not initiate any reforms on the realms of economy and agriculture ... The political life in Turkey is completely developing in a wrong direction. While the economic problems [and] the class conflict are pushed into the background, while the struggle should normally be between propertied-poor, bourgeoisie-workers, it is conducted among the Turks, the Serbians, the Albanians and the Bulgarians.¹⁷⁶

At the end of the same article, it was stated that the economic and political development of Turkey was hampered by feudalism, nationalist and religious biases and the most seriously by the European capitalism.¹⁷⁷

The criticisms against the Ottoman Empire on the agrarian question continued in other articles as well. With regard to the agrarian question in Macedonia, Pravda put forward that the landlords were the Turks and the Muslims while the peasants were the Slavic and Christian people¹⁷⁸. The Macedonian and Balkan countries had underdeveloped economic conditions, and feudal relations of production continued to exist. Pravda also underlined that the peasants had to give 1/3 of the products of their labour to the landlords while this was much lower in Russia.¹⁷⁹ On the basis of such an analysis, Pravda argued that the Russian press could not grasp the economic and class dynamics of the war, and informed the reader through mistaken and different explanations. More specifically, Pravda put forward that:

Novoye Vremya and *Rech* [newspapers] mention national salvation while describing the developments; however, the economic emancipation,

¹⁷⁵ It is written as *paşa* in Turkish in the article.

¹⁷⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, "On the Balkan Question", article by F.F.

¹⁷⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, "On the Balkan Question", article by F.F.

¹⁷⁸ It is stated in the article that this information was obtained from the Austrian Marxist Otto Bauer.

¹⁷⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 7.11.1912[20.11.1912], Issue:162, "The Social Importance of the Serbian-Bulgarian Victory", article by T.

which is the most important one, is put into the shades. The bourgeoisie like our Cadets yelling of “national salvation of the Slavs”. They try to make the developments in the Balkans not to be comprehended in an accurate manner. This situation makes the emancipation of the Balkan nations difficult.¹⁸⁰

In another article, it is asserted that the feudal order still existed not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in Austria, the Balkans and Russia. The reactionary elements of the feudal order were described as “unlimited power to govern, feudalism (slavery), oppression of nations”.¹⁸¹

After the victory of the Balkan alliance states, the London Conference was gathered. In the conference, it came to light that the demands of these states at the conference were quite different from what they demanded at the start of the war. This contradictory position of the Balkan states was quite strikingly described by Pravda as in the following:

Turkey has given 5/6 of her own European lands. She has sacrificed several millions of people. She has left Crete. However, this is not enough for those who have become victorious in the Balkans. They still want Edirne and the Aegean Islands too. There is no more questioning on the justice or injustice of this situation. The power, force takes the decisions. The Serbian king and the Bulgarian tsar have already forgotten their manifests for the people. In these manifests, there was no mentioning of the new lands, but there was a call to rescue the Slavic people from the Turkish domination. The Turkish concessions are much more than what the Bulgarians and Serbians want ... If the war in question was an independence war, the Balkan diplomats and generals would be delighted, and immediately sign a peace agreement to make their own soldiers to go back to their homes. Whatever our Panslavists say, this has never been a war of freedom from the very beginning.¹⁸²

The encompassment of Edirne was highly criticized by Pravda as well. It was put forward that it was meaningless for the Slavic armies to attack and seize Edirne. It simply demonstrated for Pravda that the Balkan War was not a war of freedom. The following observations describe Pravda’s position on the issue quite explicitly:

The liars of the ruling class highly shouted that the Balkan war was waged for freedom ... The consequence of the war reveals their lies. That is to say, the Bulgarians want Edirne to be incorporated into Bulgaria, but the most of the population of Edirne is Turkish ...¹⁸³ The Slavic

¹⁸⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 7.11.1912[20.11.1912], Issue:162, “The Social Importance of the Serbian-Bulgarian Victory”, article by T.

¹⁸¹ Pravda Newspaper, 21.10.1912[3.11.1912], Issue: 149, unsigned article.

¹⁸² Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, unsigned article, “The Fight for Edirne”.

¹⁸³ Pravda Newspaper, 11.01.1913[24.1.1913], Issue: 212 unsigned article, “The Peace is nearby”.

encompassment of Edirne is meaningless. This is because [of the following question:] who will they rescue! ¹⁸⁴ The interests of the Balkan kingdoms target Edirne. The interests of the Balkan Slavs, however, do not require this. Edirne is not worthy of a single drop of the blood of Balkan peasants. ¹⁸⁵

The same criticisms continued when Edirne was seized by the Bulgarians:

When the Bulgarians declared war, there were people claiming that this war was initiated against tyranny, and for freedom and equality. As we now explicitly see, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is trying to expand their own existence in the Turkish lands. While the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is threatening Istanbul, the international situation is getting tightened considerably. ¹⁸⁶

Apart from Edirne, the castles of Janina and Shkodra were delinked from the centre and stayed under foreign occupation for several months during the First Balkan War. The first castle occupied was the Janina Castle seized by the Greeks. In March 1913, the Edirne Castle fell down alongside the Janina Castle. The Shkodra Castle, which was still in the Albanian borders and encompassed by the Montenegrins, was the castle that resisted against occupation for the longest period of time. The commander of the castle, Hasan Riza Pasha (1863-1920), was killed in a suicide attack, and Montenegro took the commandship of the castle under control. Esat Toptani Pasha gave the Shkodra Castle to the Montenegrins on 22 April 1913 in return for the support of Montenegro to make him the king of the would-be established Albania. In Pravda, an article on this wheeler-dealing over the Shkodra Castle was published and it was put forward that this also showed that the war was not waged for freedom, but for interests. With regard to this issue, after the fall of Shkodra, Pravda denoted that:

According to a general, every castle can be seized by a donkey when and if that donkey is loaded with gold. This was the case in the Balkan war as well. The Russian nationalists and liberals welcomed excitingly the seizure of Shkodra. They regarded the seizure of Shkodra as a big military victory and as one of the links of the success chain of the Balkan alliance states ... [However,] this event is not a military, but an economic affair. That donkey was not loaded with gold, but carrying the Albanian crown on his head. The Montenegrin King attacked the Shkodra castle for months, and ultimately he made a deal with the commander of the castle, Esat Pasha ¹⁸⁷. The deal was as such: You give the Shkodra Castle

¹⁸⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, unsigned article, "The Fight for Edirne".

¹⁸⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, unsigned article, "The Fight for Edirne".

¹⁸⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 17.03.1913[30.3.1913], Issue:268, unsigned article, "After Edirne".

¹⁸⁷ In the same article, Esat Pasha is introduced to the reader as in the following: "A French bourgeoisie newspaper writes with regard to Esat Pasha as such: Albanian, semi-bandit, the head of a feudal family. He is rich and possesses large amounts of land. He has secured these lands by seizing

to me, and declare yourself as the king of Albania. Shkodra was given to the Montenegrins by this way ... Here it is! The fall of Shkodra shows us that this war was not waged for freedom. What do we see here? The conflicts of particularistic interests and wheeler-dealings¹⁸⁸

After the end of the First Balkan War, the Russian press did not remember and could not present this war as a war for freedom. Underlining this changing discourse of the mainstream media, Pravda stated that:

The liberals too are in a position to acknowledge that the conflict in the Balkans was not made for the sake of religion and freedom. Everybody accepts that this was done for the interests of a group/class. Even the *Rech* [newspaper] does not defend the lie that it was made for freedom, religion, homeland any more. The liberals did not see the Salonika discussion¹⁸⁹, the event on the seizure of Shkodra, the developments between Serbia and Bulgaria. Of course, they could not see the interests of kingdom and Balkan bourgeoisie in the game of Balkan war. This is what liberals are! The liberal Slavonofil cannot say any more that the war in the Balkans was waged for the sake of religion, Slavic Unity and freedom.¹⁹⁰

On the basis of the analysis developed so far, one can easily conclude that the mainstream Russian press approached towards the Balkan Wars from a Pan-Orthodox and Panslavist perspective. However, the position of the editorial team of Pravda is quite certain: this war was a war of conquest by the Balkan kingdoms! As the Second Balkan War erupted, the assertion of Pravda would be justified and the mainstream Russian press would have to make some revisions on its attitude towards the war in the Balkans.

4.1.2 The Second Balkan War

The question of the partition of Macedonia caused the Second Balkan War, which represented a much greater conflict than the First Balkan War, among the three

them though his political power. At the beginning of the war, he came to Shkodra by gathering soldiers from Albania, and he took the service with the Turkish governor of the city, Hasan Riza Pasha. He had in his mind to take the place of Hasan Pasha. One day, he invited Hasan Riza Pasha to a lunch, and when Hasan Pasha was going back to his home, he got Hasan Pasha killed. Esat Pasha has come to the power in place of him ... A scene from the middle ages has come into existence in front of our eyes ... Europe does not recognize Esat Pasha as the king of Albania. This is because some European princes regard him as a rival. And so, the fall of Shkodra show us that this war has not been waged in the name of freedom. What do we see here? The conflicts of particularistic interests and wheeler-dealings..."

¹⁸⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 19.04.1913[2.5.1913], Issue: 293, "Shkodra", article by Yu. I.

¹⁸⁹ There was a disagreement between Greece and Bulgaria over who would control Salonika at the time.

¹⁹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 31.05.1913[13.5.1913], Issue: 328, "Russian Liberalism and the Slavs", unsigned article.

central states of the Balkan Alliance, namely, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. In fact, the problems among the members of the Balkan Alliance were already evident in early November 1912, when the defeat of the Ottoman Empire became definite. However, these problems accumulated in time and resulted in a major conflict only in the summer of 1913. The relations between Bulgaria, whose army got exhausted in the Catalca front and thought that she could not take what was intended from Macedonia, and Serbia were getting worse. At the same time, the question over who will possess Salonika caused further problems between the Greeks and Bulgarians. The states of the Balkan Alliance had agreed before the First Balkan War that they would resort to Russian Tsar for the issues they could not resolve among themselves. When the Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Evstratiev Geshov (1849-1924) could not convince the Bulgarian King Ferdinand to resort to the Tsar for the resolution of the problems, he resigned only one day after 29 May 1913 when the London Peace Agreement was signed. The new government was established by Stolyan Danev (1858-1949). The Bulgarian attitude became more inflexible with the Danev government. Serbia and Greece signed an alliance agreement on 1 June 1913, and by this means they resolved the question of land partition. Even though the Russian Tsar Nikola II stepped in the relations among Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece to resolve the problems, this attempt could not be successful because of the reluctance of Bulgaria. On 29 June 1913, the Bulgarian army attacked against the Greek-Serbian forces who were gathered near the Vardar River, and this attack officially started the Second Balkan War. With the attack of Romania, which did not take part in the First Balkan War, against Bulgaria in early July; Bulgaria lost the war in all the fronts in approximately 10 days. Taking the advantage of this situation, the Ottoman Empire rescued Edirne from the Bulgarian occupation on 20 July 1913.¹⁹¹ After summarizing the Second Balkan War in this way, the thesis will evaluate the position of Pravda against this second conflict among the Balkan states.

The problems among the states of the Balkan Alliance began to be communicated in Pravda shortly after the outbreak of the First Balkan War. However, news on such issues was limited until the seizure of Edirne by the Bulgarians. After this event, the developments among the Balkan states were often reflected in the newspaper. One month after the outbreak of the war, i.e. in November 1912, the problems among the

¹⁹¹ Armaoğlu, pp.680-688

states of the Balkan Alliance began to be broadcasted in Pravda. “According to the *Mir Newspaper*, the relations among the alliance states have gotten colder. For the newspaper, the sincerity in the relations among these states will be tested in a short time.”¹⁹² It was also mentioned in Pravda that Romania began to be gradually boiled only one month after the victory of the states of the Balkan Alliance became evident in order to get a share from the plunder of the Ottoman Empire. “The people who gathered in front of the manor of the Bucharest King demanded autonomy for the Romanians in Macedonia by protesting their desperate conditions.”¹⁹³ After two months, news articles on Bulgaria’s entrance into Romania were published in the newspaper. Pravda also mentioned the developments that Romania massed troops along the Bulgarian border at the time when the Ottoman Empire responded to the diplomatic note given by the great powers before the raid on the Sublime Porte. Moreover, Pravda described that the Kamil Pasha government waited for the denial of these news to respond to the note as in the following:

The Vienna-Romanian-Bulgarian conflict has attracted attention. The fact that the rumour that Russia would abandon her impartiality in the case of the failure of the note was not denied have great impact on the political environment here [Vienna]. It is rumoured that Bulgaria has warned Romania not to mass eye-watering troops along the Bulgarian border.¹⁹⁴ Istanbul – The Ottoman response to the note given by the great states has been postponed. The reason is that the rumours over the entrance of the Romanian army into the Bulgarian lands have not been disavowed yet.¹⁹⁵

What was interesting was that the news circulated in early January 1913 on that the Romanian army would enter into Bulgaria was re-broadcasted in early February as Vienna-originated news. “Vienna – Here, everybody knows for certain that Romania will initiate military action against Bulgaria.”¹⁹⁶

Pravda communicated quite rarely information with regard to the problems among the states of Balkan Alliance before the fall of Edirne. One of these rare news articles was on the Bulgarian-Greek conflict. The Bulgarians were stopped at Catalca before

¹⁹² Pravda Newspaper, 10.11.1912[23.11.1912], Issue: 165, Telegraphs – Sofia, “The Relations within the Balkan Alliance”.

¹⁹³ Pravda Newspaper, 20.11.1912[3.12.1912], Issue: 173, Telegraphs – Bucharest, “The Intervention of Romania”.

¹⁹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 01.01.1913[14.1.1913], Issue: 205, Telegraphs – Vienna.

¹⁹⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 01.01.1913[14.1.1913], Issue: 205, Telegraphs – Istanbul, “On the Eve of the War”.

¹⁹⁶ Pravda Newspaper 05.02.1913[18.2.1913], Issue:233, Telegraphs – Vienna.

the London negotiations, and an armistice was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the states of the Balkan Alliance after Macedonia was off the hands of the Ottoman Empire. Greece was the only state which did not put a sign on this armistice agreement. This development, which reflected the lack of confidence and race for the pillage sharing, was reflected differently in Pravda with a London- originated news article. Pravda states that: “London – According to Reuters, Greece will not sign the initial peace [agreement]. The reason for this is that she does not want Turkey to gain strength. Greece proposed to send supporting troops to Catalca for Bulgaria, however, Bulgaria did not accept this offer.”¹⁹⁷ In fact, the distortion of the news by the Reuters become evident later on. The Bulgarian army, which came close to Istanbul, does not want to see the Greek army nearby. The main reason for the Greek policy of not signing the armistice and stopping the London negotiations was to make the Bulgarian army get more exhausted in the battle against the Turks. There were no more Turkish army in front of the Greek and Serbian armies; however, the Bulgarian army was continuing the war. That is why the Bulgarians did not want Greece in Thrace. During these days, news on the clashes between the Bulgarian and Greek armies were reflected in the press, however, the Greek side denied such news. Pravda communicated this event as in the following: “Athens – The alleged clashes between the Bulgarians and the Greeks are lies. The relations among the countries and the armies of the Alliance are fraternal.”¹⁹⁸

As already indicated, the news articles on the clashes among the states of the Balkan Alliance began to be more frequently communicated in Pravda after the fall of Edirne. However, these were generally based on the telegraphs originated from the capital cities of the great powers, not from the capital cities of the Balkan states. The interesting point for the below cited telegraphs is that these telegraphs were of London and Vienna origins, and all of them were sent within a week in mid-April. The most possible reason for this situation was that there was a strict censorship practice in the states of the Balkan Alliance before the Second Balkan War. This censorship could be overcome through reaching information from officials of London Conference of Ambassadors, which was held during that time. Furthermore, the representatives of the Balkan states were trying to solve their problems in

¹⁹⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 23.11.1912[6.12.1912], Issue: 175, Telegraphs – London.

¹⁹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 23.11.1912[6.12.1912], Issue: 175, Telegraphs – Athens.

separate meetings in London. It seems possible too that the European journalists could reach information from the delegates attending to the peace agreement. The following news article presents a collection of these telegraphs published to describe the developments among the Balkan states:

Berlin – The Greek-Bulgarian friction is deepening. Bulgaria is sending its troop that is located in Edirne [now] to Macedonia. Greece is strengthening her military troops in Salonika. About 8 troops will be sent to Epirus (*Epir*) as well.¹⁹⁹ London – In the political circles, it is spoken about that the Salonika and Bitola agreements were made between Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria.²⁰⁰ London - Bulgaria wants to relieve her troops of Catalca to use in case of worsening relations with Serbia and Greece.²⁰¹ Vienna – The tension between Bulgaria and Serbia is serious.²⁰² London – According to the rumours, the already tense relations between Bulgaria and Serbia began to get even more stretched.²⁰³

At the same time, the Bulgarians said in a telegraph from Sofia that “Salonika is ours”. Pravda communicated this news as in the following: “Sofia – The head of the [Bulgarian] Statistical Bureau Popov has prepared a report on the future of Salonika. According to the report, in case of Greek seizure of Salonika, Bulgaria should definitely implement a commercial strategy against Salonika by establishing a rival harbour.”²⁰⁴ This telegraph also demonstrates that in a situation when the First Balkan War ended and there remained no border questions among the great powers except for Epirus and Albania, the Bulgarians did not want to give Salonika to Greece.²⁰⁵ Bulgaria, who thought that the settlement day with the former partners

¹⁹⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 02.04.1913[15.4.1913], Issue: 281, Telegraphs – Berlin, “The Plunder Sharing”.

²⁰⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 02.04.1913[15.4.1913], Issue: 281, Telegraphs – London.

²⁰¹ Pravda Newspaper, 06.04.1913[19.4.1913], Issue: 284, Telegraphs – London, “Clashes within the Unionists”.

²⁰² Pravda Newspaper, 06.04.1913[19.4.1913], Issue: 284, Telegraphs – Vienna, “The Bulgarian-Serbian Conflict”

²⁰³ Pravda Newspaper, 06.04.1913[19.4.1913], Issue: 284, Telegraphs – London.

²⁰⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 03.04.1913[16.4.1913], Issue: 282, Telegraphs – Sofia, “The Unionist Enemies”.

²⁰⁵ The Ottoman Empire too desired Salonika to stay under the Greek control. On 29 May 1913, The Grand Vizier Mahmut Sevket Pasha told in a meeting to the Military Attache of the Austria Hungarian Empire, Borovski, that: “The fundamental reason of the Bulgarian-Greek conflict is the Salonika question. We intended Salonika to stay in the weaker side, that is, Greece. See: Mahmut Şevket Paşa-Hafız Hakkı Paşa, *Rumeli Yağmalanan İmparatorluk*, Örgün Yayinevi, İstanbul, 2009, p.191 Hereafter MŞP

was approaching, wanted an immediate peace agreement with Turkey. This development was reflected in Pravda via such words: “Sofia – It is spoken within the political circles that the Balkan Alliance is in a crisis, and if Serbia and Greece continues to prolong the signing of the peace agreement, Bulgaria will sign the peace agreement on her own without regard to the [other] states of the Balkan Alliance”.²⁰⁶ Beginning from early May 1913, Pravda communicated nearly on daily basis news on the Bulgarian-Greek clashes, and sometimes on the Bulgarian-Serbian clashes. The second war would outbreak in June, yet it was already evident at the time, as examplified with the following news article:

Vienna – According to the news received, there are military preparations in the states of the Balkan Alliance. Serbia has stopped the railway access between Belgrade – Nis and Nis – Skopje for three days. Demonstrations were held in Sofia with the slogans of “To Belgrade!”. Kavala has been bombed by the Bulgarians too. The Greek ships rambling near the harbour.²⁰⁷

Bulgaria, who thought that she has finished her job in Edirne after its seizure, was concerned with sending her troops to Macedonia. Pravda stated with regard to this event that: “The Bulgarian troop of 20.000 soldiers began to advance towards Nigrit through the Struma River by leaving Edirne and Catalca.”²⁰⁸

The clashes among the Balkan states began to be broadcasted in the Russian press as well. Beginning from early June, Pravda began to publish sarcastic news articles on the Russian liberals, conservatives, nationalists and poets, who had previously regarded the war as a war for the freedom of the Christian Slavic fellows. The article published in the first page of the issue dated 6 (19) June 1913 provides an example to this sarcastic criticism:

.... The Turks, who were presented as “enemy to Christianity”, “colonialist”, and against whom the the Balkan Alliance states declared “holy war”, and the Greeks are ready to establish an alliance against the Bulgarian “brothers”.²⁰⁹ The Turks too are ready to fight against the

²⁰⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 08.05.1913[21.5.1913], Issue: 308, Telegraphs – Sofia.

²⁰⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 18.05.1913[31.5.1913], Issue: 317, Telegraphs – Vienna, “On the eve of the war among the Slavs”

²⁰⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 18.05.1913[31.5.1913], Issue: 317, Telegraphs – Selaniko, “Preparations for War and Peace”.

²⁰⁹ It is right to state that the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos had cooperation meetings with Turkey as a tactical move against Bulgaria. Venizelos met with the Ambassadorial Undersecretary Galib Kemali Bey in Athens and established closer relations between Turkey and Greece. See: Necdet Hayta-Balkan Savaşları'nın Diplomatik Boyutu ve Londra Büyükelçiler Konferansı (17 Aralık 1912-11 Ağustos 1913), Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2008, p.76.

“Christian fellows” with “Slavic fellows”. The Greeks are at the same situation as well. The emergent picture is quite informative. This war has not been caused by some moral values or struggle for freedom. The war was initiated especially to gain (conquest) novel lands and attain new pillages. Now, the double-faced lies of the disgusting Russian liberals have been revealed. At one time, the “patriots” used to say that the Slavic brothers initiated this war in the name of freedom. Now, everything has been revealed.²¹⁰

In a news article published in the day after, Pravda made fun of the great powers as well, which could not intervene into the developments: “... The London “Peace” Conference has ended without performing its own job. The Paris Finance Conference is at the same place too ... And the great powers are preparing [diplomatic] notes for the 101st times! The [sarcastic] Turks has gotten excited, they are preparing to take the revenge during the fisticuffs of the Slavs. This is the situation.”²¹¹

Pravda began to receive information about the conflicts on daily basis from the capitals of the Balkan states after the eruption of the Second Balkan War. However, it should be particularly underlined that Pravda’s interest in this second war was much more limited. About 30% of the Pravda’s content was filled with the war in the First Balkan War while this proportion was fewer than 10% for the Second Balkan War. There were administrative reasons for this.²¹² Some of the news articles were concerned with the violent events occurred among the Balkan Christians during the war. The following represents a case for this:

Athens – “The Brutishness of the Fellows”: After the seizure of Sarigele from the Bulgarians, the Greeks saw that the bodies of Greek military officers and soldiers [who fell into the hands of the Bulgarians] were teared to pieces, their throats were slitted and their eyes were scratched out.²¹³ Sofia – “The Brutishness of the Fellows”: According to the information provided by the Bulgarian News Agency, the inhabitants of the villages in Vidin Province have been leaving their settlements because of the robberies and harassments of the Serbians ... The inhabitants of villages where the Serbians entered are trying to move to the villages where the Romanians have entered.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 06.06.1913[19.6.1913], Issue: 332, article by G.Z., “Conflicts among the Slavs”.

²¹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 07.06.1913[20.6.1913], Issue:333, article by G.Z., “A New War?”

²¹² At the beginning of the Second Balkan War, the Pravda Newspaper was closed due to a court verdict, yet it began to be republished a few days later with the name of *Rabochaia Pravda*.

²¹³ Pravda Newspaper, 25.06.1913[8.7.1913], Issue: 347, Telegraphs – Athens, “The Brutishness of the Fellows”.

²¹⁴ Rabochaia Pravda Newspaper, 21.07.1913[3.8.1913], Issue: 8, Telegraphs – Sofia, “The Brutishness of the Fellows”.

As can be inferred, a sarcastic language is used and the word of fellow is placed in inverted commas in both of the telegraphs. The casualties in the Second Balkan War are reflected in the newspaper as well: “Belgrade – According to the calculations made with regard to the Second War here, the casualties have reached to 100.000 persons during this war.”²¹⁵

When Bulgaria had a sudden and unexpected defeat in the Second War, the internal affairs of the kingdom became complicated as well. Therefore, while the Bulgarian King Ferdinand had previously refused the mediation of the Russian Tsar, he set his hopes on the tsar for this time. This situation was reflected in Pravda in such words: “Sofia – They are setting great hopes on the mediation of Russia for the resolution of this serious situation here.”²¹⁶ Another article described the situation in Bulgaria after the Second Balkan War:

According to the news coming from the reporter of *Daily Mail* in Bulgaria, which escaped from the Bulgarian censorship, the internal situation of Bulgaria is quite dangerous ... People’s demonstrations against the King Ferdinand and his cabinet have been forbidden. The press is broadcasting only the news provided by the government. The war setback of the Bulgarian army are hidden from the people.²¹⁷

The number of news communicated with regard to Turkey in the Second Balkan War was limited. Most of these limited news articles will be described in the section on Edirne. On the other hand, the news on the clashes in the war fronts was continually reflected under the title of “War” in Pravda. In this thesis, these news articles and telegraphs are not given place as many of them communicate news on developments concerning military.

This section has conveyed the news articles published in Pravda on the problems and conflicts among the states of the Balkan Alliance. Pravda regarded the First Balkan War as a “war of conquest” from the very beginning. As one can see, the editorial team of Pravda used the word of fellow within inverted commas while communicating the conflicts among the states of the Balkan Alliance as if they

²¹⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 29.06.1913[12.7.1913], Issue:351, Telegraphs – Berlin, “The Consequences of the Massacre”.

²¹⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 28.06.1913[11.7.1913], Issue:350, Telegraphs – Sofia, “The Russian Mediation”.

²¹⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 02.07.1913[15.7.1913], Issue: 353, Telegraphs – London, “People’s Tension in Bulgaria”.

wanted to show that their position with regard to the war was proved to be right. By this way, Pravda made frequent references to the Russian press, which had mentioned these states as the Slavic, Orthodox fellows during the First Balkan War. In an article published after the Second Balkan War, Pravda provides a striking summary of its position towards the Balkan Wars by stating that: “In capitalism, all the wars would be for the interests of the ruling class. The hitherto utilized slogans of crusades, freedom, and struggle against the crescent have been shouted to get the soldiers agitated.”²¹⁸

4.1.3 The Debates over Federation in the Balkans during the War

It was frequently discussed in Pravda that the establishment of a federation in the Balkans would resolve the conflicts among the Balkan states through peaceful means. Before going into the depth of Pravda’s position on this issue, it is important to make a short summary of how the idea of Balkan Federation emerged, and what the Socialist International of the time, which influenced Pravda as well, thought of this issue. The initial concrete steps for the Balkan Federation were taken in the First Balkan Conference of Social Democrats²¹⁹, which was held in Belgrade on 7-9 January 1910. The conference was attended by social democratic parties from Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, Austria Hungary, Ukraine, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and social democrat groups from Macedonia and Turkey. In this conference, it was argued that the underdevelopment of the Balkans was caused by the European capitalists, and the idea of a federation among the Balkan nations was discussed.

The Secretary General of the Socialist International of the time, Camille Huymans, anticipated at the very beginning of the Balkan War in October 1912 that the idea of a Balkan confederation would be a failure. In the report, it was stated that the idea of confederation among the Balkan nations, which was developed during the First Conference of Social Democrats in Belgrade, was difficult to realize for the existing capitalist monarchies. It is also denoted in the report that the Austria Hungarian Empire had imperialist ambitions towards the region, and would oppose to such an

²¹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 02.07.1913[15.7.1913], Issue: 353, “These have been mistaken!”, unsigned article.

²¹⁹ Cited in La Premiere Conference Social Democriatique Des Balkans from Orhan Koloğlu, Osmanlı-İtalyan Libya Savaşında İttihatçılar, Masonlar ve Sosyalist Enternasyonal, Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1999, p.76 Hereafter Kologlu SE

idea. Furthermore, after being suspended from the Far East²²⁰, the Tsarist Russia continued her bloody policies in the region and would stand against both the decisions taken during the Conference and the social democracy itself.²²¹

In general, the position of the Socialist International towards the Balkan question was determined with reference to the assertion that only an agreement between Turkey and the Balkan states would resolve the problems among the Balkan states. The Socialist International intended to prevent the great powers from intervening into the issue in order to rescue the Balkans from the influence of the great powers, and to make them find solutions within themselves. With such a position, the Socialist International stood against the ambition of “dismissing the Turks from Europe” pursued by the imperialists. Moreover, while they were always critical towards Turkey, they did not accept a solution without the Turks. By this way, they behaved in accordance with the principle of universal right.²²² It is possible to state that the editorial team as well as those defending a Balkan federation in the newspaper were close to the position of the Socialist International.

It should be initially denoted that Pravda supported the idea of the establishment of a federation in the Balkans. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the editorial team of Pravda opposed to the Balkan Wars due to their being the wars of “conquest”. The establishment of a federation in the Balkans would create difficulties for the interests of the imperialist powers, especially for Russia and Austria Hungary, to be pursued in the Balkans. At the very beginning of the war, it was asserted that the fundamental objective of the great powers was to prevent the unification of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. This is because if the Balkan nations get united, they would gain strength in a short time and create obstacles for the interests of the great powers.²²³ The article continues that:

As the labour parties of the Balkan states state, the resolution of the Balkan question could be possible only through the democratic unification of the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek people by knocking the Balkan governments out. Only with the unification of all the Balkan states, including Turkey, the savage European capitalism can be resisted

²²⁰ The advancement of Russia towards the Far East was restrained with her defeat in the 1904-1905 Russian-Japanese War.

²²¹ Koloğlu SE, pp.77-78

²²² Koloğlu SE, pp.77-78.

²²³ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “On the Balkan Question”, article by F. F.

against. This unification can contribute to the economic and political development of all the nations living in the Balkan Peninsula.²²⁴

It was also denoted in Pravda that the federation in the Balkans had to be primarily based on economic integration: “The unification of the Balkan states should be materialized on economic basis. The customs union should be established firstly, the system of single currency should be initiated. All these arrangements open the way to economic development and the advancement of the Balkan nations”.²²⁵

Trotsky, who followed the Balkan Wars as a journalist in Belgrade, frequently met with the social democrat parliamentarian, Dragisha Lapchevich (1864-1939), in the Serbian Parliament. In Lapchevich’s article entitled “The War and the Economic Condition of Serbia” and published at the first page of the issue of Pravda dated 27 October (9 November) 1912, it was stated that: “... Bulgaria owes Turkey for her rapid industrial development. Similarly, the exports to Turkey are increasing year by year in Serbia. While the Serbian export to Turkey was 1.456.493 francs in 1900, it has increased to 23.472.922 francs in 1910.”²²⁶ On this basis, it was defended that the unification with Turkey on economic terms had to be realized against the imperialist and colonialist policies of the European states. Lapchevich also stated in the same article that it was required to initiate a single economic area, which would include Turkey as well, instead of war. As already known, Serbia had an eye on the ways to exit into the sea at the time. Lapchevich asserted that the solution for this was the Balkan Unity as well: “Now, some statesmen think that reaching to the seas is required for the economic empowerment. Serbia could find the way to the seas not through war, but through a Balkan unity”.²²⁷

At the beginning of the war, Pravda received articles, which defended the unification of the Balkans under a federal structure, not only from Serbia, but also from Bulgaria. In an article dated 7 (20) October, it was stated that: “The Bulgarian leftists are against the independence of Macedonia in spite of the support of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. If Macedonia was not in the hands of the Turkey, but independent, it was a “forbidden apple” as it is now. The great powers do never let Macedonia to

²²⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “On the Balkan Question”, article by F. F.

²²⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:142, “In the Balkans”, article by F.F.

²²⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 27.10.1912[9.11.1912], Issue: 154, “The War and the Economic Condition of Serbia”

²²⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 27.10.1912[9.11.1912], Issue: 154, “ The War and the Economic Condition of Serbia”.

have her independence.” The article continued that: “... We as the social democrats do not want the independence of Macedonia, but the unification of all the Balkan nations under a single federal state.”²²⁸

The idea of Balkan federation came to the agenda of Pravda on the eve of the second war. On this issue, the speech of the Serbian Parliamentarian Lapchevich was quoted in an article published at the first page: “The Serbian member of Social Democratic Party Lapchevich rejects the partition of the Balkans and wants the establishment of a federation under a state. Lapchevich says that the would-be established federation would protect the Balkan nations from the great states and initiate economic and cultural development.”²²⁹ When the signs of the second war were already evident before its outbreak, it was stated with a particular reference to the idea of federation that:

... One of the fundamental reasons for the conflict among the Balkan nations is the issue of sovereignty. The Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian kingdoms are ready to cut one another's throats on this sovereignty issue ... In the existing conditions, it is unavoidable to encounter with seas of blood in the Balkans ... If the federation can be established, then a unity among the Balkan nations can be realized ... If the route showed by the socialist is not followed, the consequences will be miserable ...²³⁰

One week after this article, another news article was published at the first page of Pravda and it was stated that the Balkan question could be resolved in three ways: The first way was conditioned by the fact that the Bulgarian domination and influence in the Balkans are increasing. To establish this domination, Bulgaria had to fight against the other smaller Balkan states and form the Balkan Unity under her leadership just like the German unity secured by Prussia. The second way was the still ongoing situation. At the time, the interests of the German and Russian imperialisms forced them to make the Balkan states fight against each other and fall into the influence of the foreign powers. These states were far from following an independent policy, and would continue to act under the influence of the great powers. The third way supported by the author of the article Yu. K. was the establishment of the Balkan Federation through democratic integration. He stated at

²²⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 7.10.1912[20.10.1912], Issue: 137, “Bulgarian Social Democrat Party – The Social Democrats and the War”, unsigned article.

²²⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 01.06.1913[14.6.1913], Issue: 329, “The War and the Balkans”, article by F.F.

²³⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 07.06.1913[20.6.1913], Issue: 333, “A New War?”, article by G.Z.

the end of the article that no one would be surprised if the Balkans shift from the currently followed second route to the third one.²³¹

Even though there were many news articles on the Balkan unity and Balkan federation in Pravda, it seems that they anticipated the failure of such a project. It was also denoted in Pravda that it was firstly the Balkan workers who suggested the peaceful resolution of the Balkan question through the establishment of Balkan federation.²³² Moreover, it was underlined by Pravda that the Serbian Workers' Party took a decision in 1909 on that the resolution of the Balkan question could be realized only through establishment of a unity like the federation of Balkan republics without any regard to differences on religion, nationality, etc.²³³ However, Pravda indicated that the developments were not in this direction; not the unity of Balkan nations, but the alliance of monarchies were established.²³⁴ The reasons for these developments were described by the newspaper as in the following: "The scarcity of the democratic class, i.e. proletariat in the Balkans, the oppression over the peasants, unemployment and ignorance."²³⁵ It should be particularly underlined that 80% of the Serbian population at the time was illiterate²³⁶ and the other countries did not enjoyed different situation than this. On this basis, it is asserted that: "In these eastern societies, which are taking the initial steps in industrialization, it was natural for the socialist understanding, which comprises production, property, relations between labourer and employer, to be in the shadow of nationalism."²³⁷

While concluding this section, it seems plausible to have a short summary of the main discussion points developed so far. It is now evident that the idea of Balkan federation was supported primarily for the objective of prevention of imperialist interventions into the region through a federation. This structure, which was discussed especially in the socialist circles during the Balkan Wars, was tried to be established in a more flexible manner through the Balkan Pact 20 years after the war, shortly before the Second World War. It was aimed to prevent the intervention of

²³¹ Pravda Newspaper, 14.06.1913[27.6.1913], Issue: 339, "The Balkans, the War and Europe", article by Yu.K.

²³² Pravda Newspaper, 21.10.1912[3.11.1912], Issue: 149, unsigned article.

²³³ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:142, "In the Balkans", article by F. F.

²³⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 21.10.191[3.11.1912]2, Issue: 149, unsigned article.

²³⁵ Pravda Gazetesi, 21.10.1912[3.11.1912], Issue: 149, unsigned article.

²³⁶ Troçki, p.116

²³⁷ Koloğlu SE, p.65

Germany and Italy, which pursued aggressive policies, into the region through the Balkan Pact.²³⁸ This structure, which was headed by Turkey at the time, was put to the agenda by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It seems plausible to make the following inference: Mustafa Kemal, who was on mission as an *attaché militaire* in Sofia shortly after the Balkan Wars, obtained this idea from the discussions in the socialist circles in the Balkans.²³⁹

Lastly, no article or telegraph on the issue of the Balkan Federation from Romania, Greece and Turkey has been encountered with during the analysis of the Pravda newspaper. This makes the author of the thesis to conclude that the idea of Balkan Federation was not discussed in these countries. On the other hand, it is important to note that the articles in Pravda on the issue of Balkan alliance or federation were mostly originated from the Serbian sources, except for a few articles received from Bulgaria. Moreover, it would not be wrong to state that the intellectual basis and discussions with regard to Yugoslavia, which would be established in the form of a socialist federation in the future, began to be shaped in this period.

After this analysis, the thesis now tries to examine how the Slavic people living under the rule of Austria Hungary perceived the idea of *Yugo-Slavic* (Southern Slavic) unity during the Balkan Wars. This analysis will be made on the basis of the examination of news articles published in Pravda.

4.2. The Austria Hungarian Empire and Panslavism

The support to the Balkan states during the Balkan Wars, which was provided by the Slavic people living under the rule of the Austria Hungarian Empire, was frequently communicated in Pravda. There were especially two periods of time when such news was reflected in the pages of Pravda. The first one was during the tension between Serbia and Austria that arose due to Serbia's intention of reaching to the sea. The other was at the time of and following the seizure of Shkodra by Montenegro. It is

²³⁸ Balkan Entente – an alliance between Greece, Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia that was concluded in Athens on Feb. 9, 1934; its purpose was to maintain the balance of forces that developed in the Balkans after World War I. World War II (1939–45) put an end to the Balkan Entente.

²³⁹ In his mission as an *attaché militaire* in Sofia, Mustafa Kemal engaged in meetings with the members of the Internal Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization (IMARO), which was headed by famous socialist, Yane Ivanov Sandanski (1872-1915). For more information, see: Altan Deliorman, Mustafa Kemal Balkanlarda, Bayrak Basım Yayım Tanıtım, 2. Ed., İstanbul, 2009, pp: 70-75.

important to have a short look at the issues of Panslavism and the condition of Slavic people in the Austria Hungary before analyzing the news articles published in Pravda. It seems plausible to make the conclusion that the book of Eastern Slavs was closed down for Russia after the independence of Serbia and Montenegro following the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian War, and the independence of Bulgaria in 1908.

There can be two common features to be identified among the Western Slavs. Firstly, almost the entire population of the Western Slavs lived within the frontiers of Austria Hungary. Except from the Serbian living in Austria Hungary, the Czech, Slovaks, Polish, Croats and Slovenians were Catholics.²⁴⁰ Russia approached towards the Eastern Slavs from the perspective of both Panorthodoxy and Panslavism. Yet, such a policy was closed for Russia towards the Western Slavs, and thus she had much limited influence over the Slavs in Austria Hungary as compared to the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important reasons of this was the existence of a religious unity on the basis of Catholicism between the Germans and Hungarians, and the Western Slavs. Still, it should be particularly underlined that the Germans and Hungarians regarded the Slavs at the time as inferior to themselves in spite of the religion-sect connection.²⁴¹

The distribution of population in the Austria Hungarian Empire before the First World War was as follows: 12 million Germans, 10 million Hungarians, 3 million Romanians, 2.5 million people of different nationalities and 23.5 million Slavic people. This Slavic population included 7 million Yugo-Slavs, who consisted of Croats, Slovenians and Serbians.²⁴² That is, 46% of the total population, which was 51 million people, was composed of Slavs. The ratio of Yugo-Slavs to the total population was 13%. In fact, these people were those on whom Russia would be influential with regard to her propaganda of Panslavism over Serbia and Montenegro, who had 3 million population in total. The Yugo-Slav people under the rule of Austria Hungary were more advanced than the Slavs in Serbia and Montenegro in terms of administration, population, culture and welfare. However, the developments

²⁴⁰ There were Slavic and Catholic Ukrainians who lived within the frontiers of Austria Hungary at that time especially around Lvov in Western Ukraine.

²⁴¹ Bayur C2K1, p.33.

²⁴² Bayur C2K1, pp.32-33

would be quite different in the Balkans, and the Serbians and the Montenegrins, who were about 3 million in total, would attract the Yugo-Slavs in Austria Hungary.²⁴³

The sudden defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars and the possibility of the Balkans to become a Slavic sea under the influence of Russia made Austria Hungary be alarmed. The reason for that was the success and the territorial expansion of Serbia and Montenegro. They would attract the southern Slavs, which would ultimately mean for the Austria Hungarian Empire to dissolve. This fear was reflected in the pages of Pravda. The early success of the Balkan states made the Austria Hungarian Prime Minister Lazslo Lukacs (1850-1932) to state that they were concerned about the fate of Turkey. He stated that if the Balkan Slavs entered into Istanbul, their turn would come immediately. He ultimately urged that the strengthening process of the Slavs had to be reversed back.²⁴⁴ Another news article was received from Budapest and stated that: “The *Haplo Newspaper* broadcasted in Budapest states that one should resort to arms against the unification of the Slavs in a single sea, otherwise the partition of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia²⁴⁵ would be at stake.”²⁴⁶ There were many telegraphs received which reflected the concern of the Austria Hungarian Empire about the possibility of the dissolution of the empire because Slavic people would gain strength both in Vienna and Budapest. At this point, there was no turmoil within the empire yet. The main tension would emerge following the insistence of Serbia to reach the sea and her advancement towards the Adriatic.

4.2.1. The Question of Serbia’s Access to the Sea

The early success of the Balkan states in the First Balkan War made these state to set greater objectives. Serbia, who had for a long time searched for the ways to access to seas, intended to realize her objective of acquiring a port in the Adriatic Sea by occupying Durres (*Draç*)²⁴⁷ in November 1912. The Austria Hungarian Empire stood strictly against such an intention because a greater Serbia could have an influence over the Slavic people living under the rule of the Empire. Furthermore,

²⁴³ Bayur C2K1, p.33

²⁴⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146, Telegraphs – Budapest, “Austria and the War”.

²⁴⁵ While certain portion of Yugo-Slavs (Croatia-Slovenia Assembly and Dalmatia Assembly) had an autonomous assembly in Austria Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina was ruled from the center.

²⁴⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 19.10.1912[1.11.1912], Issue: 147, Telegraphs – Budapest.

²⁴⁷ Today, Durres is a port city located in the Adriatic coast of Albania.

Austria Hungary wanted a greater Albania in the Balkans in order to balance the gradually growing power of the Balkan states in the region. However, on 28 November 1912, the Serbians entered into Durres, which was under the Ottoman rule at the time. In order not to cause the Russian public opinion to react, Austria Hungary did not initially make Serbia leave out Durres.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, in the London Conference of Ambassadors, which was held on 17 December 1912 to resolve the problems of the Balkan Peninsula, the question of Serbia's intention to access to the seas came to the agenda. Following short meetings, Russia adopted the position of Austria Hungary and did not insist on Serbia's demand.²⁴⁹ On the basis of this summary of the tension between Russia and Austria Hungary, the below discussion analyzes the news articles published in Pravda.

Germany and Austria Hungary threatened Serbia with regard to the issue of her intention of accessing to the Adriatic, and Austria gathered military pile in the borders. As a response to such developments, Russia took similar precautions. In a meeting with the French Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Georges Louis, the Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov stated on 10 November 1912 that: "If the Serbians reach the Adriatic coast and Austria attempts to rout them out, it would be impossible to pacify the Russian public opinion."²⁵⁰ By November 1912, Russia continued to support Serbia. Such a position increased the anti-Russian attitude in Austria Hungary. News coming from Vienna on this issue was reflected in Pravda as well:

The mental state of the public opinion is quite stretched. The Balkan question has become of secondary importance while the Serbian problem has come to the forefront. The possibility of war is spoken explicitly. The moderate *Arbeiter Zeitung* Newspaper states that mobilization has began in Russia and the war is threatening Austria. *Zeit* Newspaper states on the other hand that Russia is our enemy.²⁵¹

The great powers, which observed the strict position of Austria Hungary and did not want a problem with her, began to support Austria. This made Russia to give up her support to Serbia. The attitude of Sazanov, who had previously said that he could not pacify the Russian public opinion on this issue, was redefined. The most explicit

²⁴⁸ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt:2 Kısım: II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp.89-94 Hereafter Bayur C2K2

²⁴⁹ Hayta pp.28-29

²⁵⁰ Bayur C2K2, p.90

²⁵¹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.11.1912[25.11.1912], Issue: 167, Telegraphs – Vienna, "The Russian-Austrian Relations".

manifestation of this change of position can be observed via the following telegraph sent by Sazanov to Russian Ambassador to Begrade on 12 November 1912:

The decision of Austria to prevent Serbia from reaching the Adriatic is unconditional, and Germany is supporting her on this issue. As for France and Britain, they have declared that they did not want a trouble arising from this situation. Russia intends to notify that she does not want to be dragged into a war for this reason.²⁵²

By this way, Russia declared that she abandoned her policy of supporting Serbia on the issue of Adriatic. Meanwhile, the Austrian-Serbian relations get stretched, and the Slavic people living under the Austrian rule began demonstrations against the government. These developments too were communicated in Pravda:

Brno²⁵³ - The Czechs have stood against the policy followed by their own ministers. They have sent their compliments to the Balkan nations, and stated that they presented unconditional support to and were in an ageless solidarity with them.²⁵⁴ Vienna – The protests of the southern Slavs have began once again in the morning. Approximately 200 youngsters, many of whom receive higher education, are engaging in protests by walking to the city center. The police have arrested 4 persons.²⁵⁵ Zadar²⁵⁶ - About 500 Croatian and Serbian people, who are members of the Dalmatia Party, have sent telegraphs [to the Balkan states], which stated that „We present our support to you even though we are not there”.²⁵⁷ Vienna – The southern Slavic students made demonstrations. The police have arrested 12 persons (12 Slavs, 5 of which are of Italian nationality) on the basis of the accusation of public betrayal.²⁵⁸ Prague – Anti-war protests have been held in Czech lands. The [Czech] Government enacted a resolution. The resolution proposed establishing friendly relationship between Austria Hungary and the Balkan states.²⁵⁹ Sofia – According to the information received from Belgrade, there is a tension among the Slavic soldiers [in the Austrian army, which is deployed] near the Bosnian border. The soldiers state that: “We are not going to fight against the Serbians; we want to live together with our fellows”. As a consequence of this development, additional troops from Budapest have

²⁵² Bayur C2K2, p.90

²⁵³ It is a city densely populated by Czech population and located in the borders of Austria Hungary. Today, it is in the frontiers of the Czech Republic and its second largest city.

²⁵⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 09.11.1912[22.11.1912], Issue: 164, Telegraphs – Brno

²⁵⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 12.11.1912[25.11.1912], Issue: 167, Telegraphs – Vienna.

²⁵⁶ It is a city densely populated by Croatian people and located in the Dalmatia coast of Austria Hungary. It is within the frontiers of Croatia today.

²⁵⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 12.11.1912[25.11.1912], Issue: 167, Telegraphs – Zadar.

²⁵⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 12.11.1912[25.11.1912], Issue: 167, Telegraphs – Vienna.

²⁵⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 04.12.1912[17.12.1912], Issue: 184, Telegraphs – Prague.

been consigned there. Those expressing these demands will be punished.”²⁶⁰

As one can see, the Slavic people living under the rule of the Austria Hungarian Empire were engaging in demonstrations against their own government in different places of the country. What is interesting to observe that even the non-*Yugo-Slav* Catholic Czechs made demonstrations to support the Serbians. On the other hand, the socialists in Austria Hungary too protested against the aggressive position of Austria against Serbia. A telegraph received from Budapest states on this issue that: “Budapest – The socialists threw stones to the police while protesting the war, 8 persons have been arrested.”²⁶¹

Moreover, it is important to underline that there were anti-Slavic and Pan-germanist protests in Austria Hungary while the Slavs were making demonstrations to support the Serbians. These were reflected in the pages of Pravda as well. The following provides an example in this regard:

Vienna – A few parliamentarians, pro-pangermanists attended to the demonstration organized by the German Agricultural Workers. A big demonstration was held against the entrance of the southern Slavs to the parliament. The slogans shouted included “Serbia, get out!”, “Russia, get out!”²⁶² Vienna – Last night, the socialists and progressive students who gathered near Mitzukevich monument in Lvov²⁶³ marched towards the consulate. The police repulsed the students.”²⁶⁴

As one can see, Russia, who declared that she supported Serbian access to the sea, gave up this policy as she could not face up to a tension with Austria Hungary without the British and French support behind herself. The fundamental support to Serbia was given by the Slavic people living in Austria Hungary. The Slavic people living in Austria Hungary would show such an attitude during the Shkodra problem.

4.2.2. The Shkodra Question

In the London Conference of Ambassadors, the question of who would possess Shkodra was settled on 22 March 1913 while the issue of determining the Albanian borders was being discussed. Even though Russia insisted on the city to be left to the

²⁶⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 02.12.1912[15.12.1912], Issue: 183, Telegraphs – Sofia.

²⁶¹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.11.1912[25.11.1912], Issue: 167, Telegraphs – Budapest.

²⁶² Pravda Newspaper, 14.11.1912[27.11.1912], Issue: 168, Telegraphs – Vienna, “Anti-Russian Demonstration”.

²⁶³ It is a city, where the Catholic Ukrainians lived, and which was located within the frontiers of Austria Hungary. The city is currently located in the borders of Ukraina.

²⁶⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 15.11.1912[28.11.1912], Issue: 169, Telegraphs – Vienna.

Balkan Slavs, it was left to Albania with the pressures of Austria Hungary and Italy. As in the case of Serbia's intention to reach the sea, Russia had to take a step back as opposed to Austria Hungary on this issue as well. While such negotiations were continuing in London, the Turkish forces were continuing to defend Shkodra. The other participants of the conference, namely, Italy, France, Germany, Britain and Austria Hungary intended to make Montenegro to give up surrounding the castle. For this objective, they gathered in the Antivari Port of Montenegro and made a blockade over this place on 10 April 1913. On 23 April 1913, the commander of the castle, Esat Toptani Pasha, contractually handed the castle over the Montenegrin King Nikola. This development caused tension at the international level. The powerless Montenegro initially refused to give the castle to the international powers to be handed over to the would-be state Albania in spite of the lack of Russian support behind. However, the Montenegrin King had to bow to the pressures after a while, and hand Shkodra to the international force on 14 May 1913.²⁶⁵ The shortly summarized problem of Shkodra resulted in pro-Montenegro protests among the Slavic people both in Russia and Austria Hungary in April and May 1913.

These protests were surfaced ones again during the period of the tension between Austria Hungary and Montenegro that arose due to the question of Shkodra's attachment to Montenegro. Shkodra remained under the Montenegrin rule for about one month. In this process, in spite of the pressure of public opinion, Russia avoided tension with Austria Hungary, and urged Montenegro to leave Shkodra. However, the panslavist movement in Russia at the time made both the Germans and Austrians anxious. Meanwhile, an article on a speech delivered in the German Assembly, which criticized Russia and the Panslavist policies, was published in Pravda. The speech was delivered by a Social Democrat parliamentarian at the *Reichstag* and stated that: "Panslavism is a fabrication of the Tsarist politicians. The unity of Slavic interests is a banal fabrication. This is because the Polish people are being exploited by Russia. The Russian Tsar and his servants committed unbelievable murders in Bulgaria at one time." Delivering his speech after the social democrat parliamentarian, the German Foreign Minister, Gottlieb von Jagow (1863-1935), criticized the parliamentarian because of his speech.²⁶⁶ Here, as can be inferred, the

²⁶⁵ Bayur C2K2, pp.336-339

²⁶⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 04.04.1913[17.4.1913], Issue: 283, Telegraphs – Berlin, "On the Social Democrat Ledebur and the Russian politics".

German Foreign Minister abstained from annoying Russia, with whom they had already reached an agreement on the Shkodra question at the London Conference.

The occupation of Shkodra by the Montenegrins was welcomed by the Slavic people living under the Austria Hungarian rule beamishly. Even these protests were banned by the government. These protests too were reflected in the pages of Pravda:

Vienna - ... The protests sympathetic to Montenegro and the other Balkan states have been banned in the cities and villages of the Dalmatia region. The leader of Serbbian tribe of Dushan Sokol Veliki in Dubrovnik, Perovich, who was the a lawyer at the same time, was exiled from Austria on condition that he would never go back to the lands of the empire. In Zadar, a person was exiled too on the grounds that he read a poem in the name of the military successes of the Balkan states. According to a Vienna newspaper, the celebrations, which had been organized due to the end of the Balkan Wars, were banned.²⁶⁷ Prague – Celebrations were held following the fall of Shkodra. 30 people have been arrested.²⁶⁸ Brno – The people have gathered together here after the submission of Shkodra. Making a speech on the issue of Shkodra was banned by the police. When the speakers did not comply with the ban, the police cleared the area out. Marching with firebrands was banned after the demonstration. In spite of this, demonstrations were held in the streets and several people have been arrested.²⁶⁹ Zagreb – Street protests have been organized with the fall of Shkodra. During the protests, slogans against Austria and General Berchtold²⁷⁰ were shouted. The participants of the protest were dispensed by the police.²⁷¹ Prague – Protests have been organized in many cities of Czechoslovakia following the fall of Shkodra. Police have arrested many people.²⁷²

The Austrian Government was uptight about the fall of Shkodra. As already seen, the protests, which were underway for about 10 days in the country, were tried to be banned, suppressed via the police and the protesters were tried to be arrested and exiled. The astonishment of the Austrian press at the time was reflected in the pages of Pravda as well: “Vienna – The newspapers here are astonished about the fall of Shkodra, and they write that in the case of Europe’s non-compliance with its own promise, Austria should intervene into there.”²⁷³ The Austria Hungarian Empire and

²⁶⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 04.04.1913[17.4.1912], Issue: 283, Telegraphs – Vienna, “Sympathy towards Montenegro”

²⁶⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue: 289, Telegraphs – Prague.

²⁶⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue: 289, Telegraphs – Brno.

²⁷⁰ Count Leopold Berchtold (1863-1942), the Foreign Minister of Austria Hungary of the time.

²⁷¹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue: 289, Telegraphs –Zagreb.

²⁷² Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue: 289, Telegraphs –Prague.

²⁷³ Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue: 289, Telegraphs - Vienna.

the great powers which are supporting her have been putting pressure on the Montenegrin King Nikola to make him leave Shkodra out, and Montenegro have resisted against such pressures till early May. The interesting statements of the Montenegrin King were reflected in Pravda as well: “The King Nikola says that he will move to Shkodra and will never leave there.”²⁷⁴ In this period, the Shkodra policy of the government continued to be protested in Austria Hungary: “Rijeka²⁷⁵ - An eventful protest to support Montenegro was organized among the Croatian communities. Problems were encountered with in these protests.²⁷⁶ Prague – A Demonstration was held to support Montenegro and the windows of some buildings at the roadsides were broken, and the protesters clashed with the police.”²⁷⁷

The newspapers broadcasted by the Czechs in Austria Hungary waged harsh criticism towards the Austria’s policy towards Shkodra through quite interesting expressions. One can reach this conclusion from the news received from Prague and communicated in Pravda:

Prague – According to *Chekski Slova*, the media organ of Clover, the would-be newly born Albanian state will be the illegitimate child of the Austrian diplomacy. And this will be the most expansive of the love affairs of Austria Hungary.²⁷⁸ Prague – Almost all the Czech newspapers univocally say that Austria Hungary have brought shame on herself with regard to the issue of Shkodra.²⁷⁹

After submission of Shkodra to the international force, the news on protests received from Austria Hungary stopped in Pravda. However, it was reflected in Pravda that Austria declared a state of emergency because of the issue of Shkodra, and this was lifted after the submission of Shkodra to the international force: “Vienna – The emergency rule has been lifted in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 2 May. The emergency rule has been lifted because the possibility of clashes has been diminished after the submission of Shkodra to the international force.”²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 13.04.1913[26.4.1913], Issue: 290- “War News”.

²⁷⁵ Rijeka is the principal seaport and the third largest city in Croatia after Zagreb and Split

²⁷⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 13.04.1913[26.4.1913], Issue: 290 Telegraphs –Rijeka.

²⁷⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 13.04.1913[26.4.1913], Issue: 290 Telegraphs –Prague, “The Czechs are sympathetic to Montenegro”.

²⁷⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 27.04.1913[10.5.1913], Issue:300 Telegraphs -Prague

²⁷⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 27.04.1913[10.5.1913], Issue:300 Telegraphs -Prague

²⁸⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 03.05.1913[16.5.1913], Issue: 304, Telegraphs – Vienna, “The State of Emergency”.

4.3. The Attitudes of the European States during the Balkan Wars

In the historical period of the Balkan Wars, which is called as the “Age of Imperialism”, the great powers especially Britain and France controlled many places of the world from India to Philippines as their colonies. Those countries, which were not directly colonized, and had their own states, were being exploited indirectly through the European finance capital. This financial pressure, which caused the rise of the socialist movements in many countries including Russia, was naturally on the agenda of Pravda. Its editorial team frequently gave places to the double-faced attitudes of the imperialist states towards the Ottoman Empire. These critiques concentrate on two realms in general. The first one was concerned with the European diplomacy while the second one was on the European capital. Even though these two issues cannot be easily separated from one another, the below analysis will elaborate on the position of Pravda on these issues in two different sections.

4.3.1. The European Diplomacy

The most powerful critiques of Pravda were waged against the European diplomacy. It was accused of being double-faced, and the European diplomats were called even though such words as immoral. In an article published at the very beginning of the war, it was stated that the Balkan problem was provoked by the great powers:

The problem in the East has been caused by the intervention of the European states, which have aggravated and sharpened the national liberation [movements]. Austria Hungary, Russia, France, Germany, Britain have been provoking the clashes and differences among the Balkan nations. In 1885, Austria picked the Serbian-Bulgarian war. The reason for that was to prevent the Balkan countries from becoming united.²⁸¹

In the same article, it was stated that the states of the Triple Alliance²⁸² and the Triple Entente²⁸³ intended to make Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece to wage war against Turkey, and by this way to make the states on the both sides weaken. The article continues that:

²⁸¹ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “On the Balkan Question”, article by F.F.

²⁸² The military alliance established by Germany, Austria Hungary and Italy before the First World War. During the war, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria joined the alliance; however, Italy moved out this alliance and joined the opposing one, the Triple Entente at the beginning of the war.

²⁸³ The military alliance established by Britain, France and Russia before the First World War. During the war, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Greece joined this alliance.

“These intend to benefit from the both sides. The independence slogans in the Balkans are mere beautiful sentences to hide their selfish appetites. For these, the emancipation of the Balkan nations is [worthless] just like the last year’s snow.”²⁸⁴

In another article published at the beginning of the war, it was stated that the so called friendly intervention of the European powers, which is indeed the other way around, brings nothing more than more difficulty for the workers and peasants in the Balkans.²⁸⁵

The Ottoman Empire was one of the most important areas of struggle among the great powers of Europe before the Balkan Wars. France, who was the biggest investor for the Ottoman Empire and playing the role of the protector of the Catholics, had been interested in Lebanon and Syria while Britain, who exercised *de facto* control over Egypt, had increased her concern for the Arabian Peninsula. In the post-First World War period, these two powers would divide almost the entire Ottoman Asia among themselves. At the beginning of the war, Pravda waged harsh criticisms towards the policies followed by Britain and France with regard to Turkey: “Britain and France mention the Asian Turkey as “Ours” ... In order to occupy the lands of others and powerless neighbours, they make millions of people fight against each other and choke in blood”.²⁸⁶

The leaflet published by the International Socialist Bureau at the beginning of the war was broadcasted in Pravda as well. In the leaflet, it was stated that they protested against the great powers, which placed a peaceful hat in the role of big brother of the Balkan nations, and at the same time exploited the nations and countries under their rule. A sarcastic criticism against the British bourgeoisie was waged in the same article:

While the English workers in Birmingham are protesting against the war, the good hearthed British bourgeoisie are talking about the birds. Yesterday, in a meeting, they stated that they were sorry about the murders of the birds because of the feathers on their hats. The good hearthed sirs have no time to think of the shedding blood of the humans...²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “ On the Balkan Question”, article by F.F.

²⁸⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 16.10.1912[29.10.1912], Issue: 144, “The Balkan People and the European Diplomacy”, article by V.

²⁸⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 04.10.1912[17.10.1912], Issue: 134,”The Gamble”, unsigned article.

²⁸⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 11.10.1912[24.10.1912], Issue: 140, “The War of Wars”, a letter from London, unsigned article.

In an article published at the time when the defeat of the Turks became evident and Istanbul was under the Bulgarian threat, it was stated that the Europeans would desire the Bulgarians to slaughter the Turks. It was further stated that: “Indeed, if the occupation in question happens, the position of the entire European diplomacy might change. The European public opinion might think in the future that this occupation has fortunately happened because of the eradication of the Eastern Question.”²⁸⁸ The attitudes of the great powers were frequently criticized in the pages of Pravda during the London Conference which was gathered at the time when the course of the war became evident: “The European diplomats cannot share Turkey. The appetites have been whetted. Everyone is conducting meetings in order get their share from Turkey.”²⁸⁹ In another article, it was stated with regard to the London Conference that the “partition” of Balkans by the European diplomacy has been slowly.²⁹⁰ As a matter of fact, the partition of the Balkans by the European diplomacy continued over the powerless Ottoman Empire. Before the raid on the Sublime Port (*Bab-ı Ali Baskını*), the great powers had sent a diplomatic note to the Ottoman Empire and urged her to leave out the Aegean islands and Edirne. When the Kamil Pasha government resisted against leaving Edirne to the Bulgarians, the European great powers threatened the Ottoman Empire by not giving debts. These developments too were reflected in Pravda: “If Turkey insists on Edirne, the great states will not support such a position, and remind Turkey her financial dependency to the great powers.”²⁹¹ In a telegraph sent to Pravda after the raid on the Sublime Port, it was stated that the financial pressure would continue: “Germany has announced that she would not assist Turkey to continue with the war. Paris and London will follow the same attitude too”.²⁹² The strict attitude of the Europeans, which aimed to make the Ottoman Empire give concessions on Edirne issue, was severely criticized by Pravda in an article, in which the Ottoman Empire was resembled to the “Little Red Riding Hood”.

²⁸⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 10.11.1912[24.11.1912], Issue: 165, “The Cadets are Dying for the war”, unsigned article.

²⁸⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 18.12.1912[31.12.1912], Issue: 196, “War: Yes-No”, article by A.Zivanov.

²⁹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

²⁹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 04.01.1913[17.1.1913], Issue:207, Telegraphs – Vienna, “On the eve of the War”.

²⁹² Pravda Newspaper, 16.01.1913[29.1.1913], Issue: 216, “The Great Powers to Stop Assistance to Turkey and Alliance States”.

Pravda waged harsh criticisms against the European diplomacy, which urged the Ottoman Empire to leave the Aegean islands and Edirne to the Balkan states or the solution to be handed over themselves. In the news articles published on Edirne in different time periods, the following statements were communicated: “The population of Edirne is overwhelmingly the Turks and the Turks live in the surrounding areas.”²⁹³ “Edirne is a province that is completely comprised of the Turks and there are nearly no Slavs living there.”²⁹⁴ “The Bulgarians want Edirne to be annexed to Bulgaria, however, the most of the population of Edirne is Turkish...”²⁹⁵ “The occupation of Edirne by the Slavs is meaningless. This is because [of the question] „who will they rescue!”²⁹⁶ When the pressures on Turkey to leave Edirne increased, an article entitled “Edirne and the Aegean Islands” was published at the first page of Pravda on 12 (25) January 1913. The article denoted that:

The shrewd diplomats tell mellifluously to the Little Red Riding Hood [Turkey] that they will undertake the protection of archipelagos in the Aegean. The shrewd diplomats, who have signed agreements on Turkish immunity again and again, have eaten and jabbed out the hands and feet of the little red riding hood. Now, these threaten Turkey that she would lose her lands in the Asia Minor and not be given additional debts if she does not give Edirne to the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. These diplomats are dishonest and the Turks know their tricks and dishonour.”²⁹⁷

In another article published after the fall of Edirne, it was expressed that the eyes of the European diplomacy were on Turkey once again, and the European diplomats were compared to cockers. The following is the news article, which asserted that the fall of Edirne would bring the “Straits” question into the agenda:

The fall of Edirne and the unfaltering attacks near Catalca have brought the armies of the Balkan Alliance closer to Istanbul. The straits question has been entering into the agenda of Europe once again. The interest of the world diplomacy, which tries not to give up the delicious part of the cake at their hands, has concentrated on Turkey once again. The Balkan

²⁹³ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

²⁹⁴ Severnaya Pravda Gazetesi, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, “The Intervention Out”, unsigned article.

²⁹⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 11.01.1913[24.1.1913], Issue: 212, “The Peace is Nearby”, unsigned article.

²⁹⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

²⁹⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue:213, “Edirne and the Aegean Islands”, unsigned article.

knot is [tightly] tied, and when the cockers of diplomacy begin the backstage negotiations, the strait question rises up.”²⁹⁸

The threats of the Balkan states against Turkey were in the news in Pravda at various times: “Poincare urged the suppression on the Christians be stopped in Turkey by applying to the Sublime Porte. Otherwise, France, as the protector of the Christians in Near East, will burden this responsibility to Turkey.”²⁹⁹ When the issue of re-annexation of Edirne by Turkey came to the agenda, the German threat was reflected in the pages of Pravda: “Berlin – Germany has threatened Turkey that the great powers would endanger the Asian lands of Turkey if Turkey re-annexes Edirne.”³⁰⁰ On the other hand, after the re-annexation of Edirne by Turkey, Russia threatened her to enter into Anatolia. This situation was frequently communicated in the Russian press at the time, and in a news article published in Pravda, it was stated that:

... The Russian people have been tried to be dragged into turmoil. The Russian and German capitals have tried to enter into the Balkan market, however, the Russian people will pay the price of it. Let’s not to step on the bloody mud in the Balkans. We do not want Russia to intervene into there ... The bourgeoisie have dragged the Balkan nations to a dirty, meaningless and bloody massacre. The Balkan Slavs do not need Edirne, but peace and democracy. Only these will be good for the created wounds.³⁰¹

Before finalizing this section, it is important to mention that the greatest imperialist power of the time, Britain, felt discomfort with the support of the Muslim people in India, which was a British colony, to the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars. This discomfort can be observed from the telegraphs received from India and communicated in Pravda on various times. The Indian Muslims provided moral and material support to the Ottoman Empire during the war. Pravda received news in this line from Delhi and Calcutta: “The Indian Eastern Bank issued 10-year dated and interest-free bonds for Turkey.”³⁰² The interest and support of the Indian Muslims made the British government discomfort and unsettled. The telegraphs received from Delhi after the raid on the Sublime Porte affirm this discomfort as well: “A

²⁹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 17.03.1913[30.1.1913], Issue:268, “After Edirne”, unsigned article.

²⁹⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 05.10.1912[18.10.1913], Issue: 135, Telegraphs – Paris.

³⁰⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 05.07.1913[18.7.1913], Issue:356, Telegraphs – Berlin, “The Threat of Germany”.

³⁰¹ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, “The Intervention Out”, unsigned article.

³⁰² Pravda Newspaper, 04.01.1913[17.1.1913], Issue: 207, Telegraphs – Lahore, “Assistance to Turkey”.

declaration was accepted after a meeting organized by Muslim people in Delhi. In the declaration, the British government is urged not to put pressure on the Ottoman Empire during the peace negotiations. The Turks are proposed to sustain the power of Islam or to die.”³⁰³ In a telegraph received from Calcutta two weeks after this declaration, it was indicated that the British were annoyed from the Indian Muslim movement and began to take action: “Calcutta – The unrest among the Muslims is increasing because of the Balkan War. The British representatives in India advised the Indian government to suppress demonstrations organized by the Muslims.”³⁰⁴ As a matter of fact, the intention of the British to ban the demonstrations was not without reasons. With regard to this issue, in his book entitled *Ege Sorunu – Belgeler*, Bilal Simsir quotes a British document on the issue:

In this war, the eyes of India, especially of the Muslims, were on Turkey. When Turkey gained success, enthusiasm [due to Turkey’s success] and hostility towards the British were increasing. In the case of defeat of the Ottoman Empire, this enthusiasm was settled. In the case of Turkey’s victory in the Balkan Wars, indignation against the British colonialism could emerge. The success of Turkey in the Balkans was an undesired situation for Britain in terms of her interests in India. Even the liberation of Edirne was welcomed enthusiastically in India.³⁰⁵

4.3.2. The European Capital

With regard to the Balkan Wars, Pravda expressed that the great powers did not aim at stopping the war and shedding the blood. It was also stated that these states gave primary importance to their economic interests and capital investments in the belligerent countries. It is known that the best customer of the European capital at the time was Turkey, who got indebted through high interest rates. The biggest surplus of capital belonged to France, who invested this money in especially Turkey and Russia. On the other hand, the German and British capitals too had interests in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans even though they were not as great as the interests of France.

³⁰³ Pravda Newspaper, 18.01.1913[31.1.1913], Issue:218, Telegraphs – Delhi, “Assistance to Turkey”.

³⁰⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 07.02.1913[20.7.1913], Issue: 235, Telegraphs - Calcutta, “Expression of Opinions by the Muslims”.

³⁰⁵ Cited in Ege Sorunu- Belgeler, Cilt 1-2, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1989 from Hayta-p.143

Pravda frequently communicated in the beginning of the war that the early defeat of the Ottoman Empire put those states having capital investments in the Empire into trouble: “In the Balkan Wars, the great powers think of not the dying Balkan Slavs, but their sinking money. According to the news by *Golos Moskva*, Britain is concerned about her 120 million pounds of capital funds, France is concerned about her 2 billion franks, and Germany is concerned about her 4 billion franks of capital.”³⁰⁶ It was also denoted that Russia did not enjoy a different position than the above mentioned states: “Of course, the British, German, French and Austrian bourgeoisie are concerned about their own billions, their own interests in order to open up new markets for themselves. What is your [Russia] difference from them? You seek after the same interests too.”³⁰⁷ In another article, the political figures of the Russian domestic policy were criticized due to their imperialist ambitions: “The Octobrists, the nationalists, the patriots without a party, from *Novoye Vremya* to *Ruskoe Slovo*, the attitudes of all these are evident. While hues and cries are at the forefront with regard to the objectives of the Slavs, the main aim is to get share from Turkey and to obscure the domestic problems of Russia.”³⁰⁸

The economic interests and domination of the great powers over the Balkan states, primarily Turkey, were frequently communicated in the pages of Pravda. In the article entitled as “The Empire of Prophet’s Inheritors”, the existing colonialist order in the Ottoman Empire was described. Moreover, it was indicated that the 35% of the budget of the Ottoman Empire, who was in the grip of the European capitalists, were going to the safes of the European finance lords. This system, it was added, would be destroyed sooner or later: “If the Ottoman Empire sinks, what will happen to the lenders, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Amsterdam and the Vatikan³⁰⁹? [a sarcastic remark] What will happen? Nothing, it will be quite funny...”³¹⁰

As a matter of fact, when the victory of the Balkans states became evident, the great powers conveyed these states that the debts of the Ottoman Empire were transferred

³⁰⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 23.10.1912[5.11.1912], Issue: 150, “Slavic Feelings in the Statistics”, unsigned article.

³⁰⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 23.10.1912[5.11.1912], Issue: 150, “Slavic Feelings in the Statistics”, unsigned article.

³⁰⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146, “Fox and Coop”, unsigned article.

³⁰⁹ At that time, some portions of money belonged to the Vatican were invested in the Ottoman bonds. See: Kazgan, p.41.

³¹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 6.11.1912[19.11.1912], Issue: 161, “The Empire of the Prophet’s Inheritors”, unsigned article.

to these states. A telegraph on this issue received from London in the beginning of the London Conference stated that: “The British Ministry of Foreign Affairs urged her consulates in the Balkan states to inform the Balkan governments that the Ottoman debts in the conquered lands were changed to these states. The owners of the Ottoman bonds too have been informed about this situation.”³¹¹ As this telegraph exemplifies, the question of “The claims on the Ottoman Empire” was frequently reflected in the pages of Pravda:

According to Reuters, some agreements have been concluded with regard to the investments to be made to the states of the Balkan Alliance during the meeting of ambassadors. Moreover, the Ottoman debts were discussed ... The states of the Balkan Alliance were informed about the Ottoman debts. However, it is too early to speak of this issue because of the still undetermined status of borders, including those of Albania.”³¹²

In the London Conference, the victorious Balkan states tried hard to make it accepted that these debts would be paid back by the Ottoman Empire. However, the great powers did not accept this, and in the capital of France, who had the biggest capital share in the Empire, a commission on these debts was established. Pravda communicated news on this commission as well. “An international technical commission will be gathered in Paris. The objective of the meeting is to resolve the economic and financial problems that have arisen due to wiping of the Turkish Empire out Europe.”³¹³ The Balkan states were invited to the meeting as well, and this was reflected in the pages of Pravda: “The participation of the states of the Balkan Alliance to the meeting of the international commission in Paris will be allowed. The financial obligations of the conquered areas for the Ottoman debts will be negotiated in the meeting.”³¹⁴ As one can see, the financial affairs were dealt with the greatest investor in the region, i.e. France. The frequent meetings were being held on the financial issues between the French ambassador in Istanbul and the Ottoman government. The Grand Vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha, told about the French Ambassador Maurice Bompard (1854-1935), with whom he met nearly on

³¹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 05.12.1912[18.12.1912], Issue: 185, Telegraphs – London.

³¹² Pravda Newspaper, 24.01.1913[6.2.1913], Issue: 223, Telegraphs – London, “The War and the Financial Interests”.

³¹³ Pravda Newspaper, 30.01.1913[12.2.1913], Issue:228, Telegraphs – Paris, “Annihilation of Turkey”.

³¹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 12.03.1913[25.3.1913], Issue: 263, Telegraphs – Sofia, “The Conditions of the Peace”.

daily basis in Istanbul: “As is his custom, he used to jobber and speak of financial affairs and concessions.”³¹⁵

At the end of the war, the warring parties demanded the European capital to provide loan at interest. This development was reflected in a news article in August 1913: “Vienna – The Bulgarian government has begun negotiations with the consortium of Austria Hungarian banks. The theme of the negotiations is the provision of the credit 30 million franks to Bulgaria.”³¹⁶ Meanwhile, the former minister of financial affairs, Cavit Bey, was in Paris to take on debt.

In an article, which was published shortly after the raid on Sublime Porte, Pravda made fun of European capitalists for this time, and described that a squadron leader, Enver Bey, created difficulties for the European capitalists. It was denoted with regard to the states attending to the London Conference of Ambassadors that:

The representative of Britain, who had settled in Southern Asia as a monopol, could not agree with the representative of Germany. Britain could not be in accord with the representative of Germany, who owned the Baghdad Railway and reach her assets in Asia. Moreover, Russia and Austria could not reach an agreement either. This is because their appetite was whetting for the same Balkan cake. They eventually compromised. The agreements were made by leaning on the powerless Turkey ... Turkey would say „Yes’ to all the demands of the Balkan Alliance states. Turkey is requested from to give the islands at her own coasts. If these islands come under the control of Greece, it would be quite dangerous for Turkey in the future. However, this is insufficient, the great states have not confined themselves with this. They demanded Edirne, which the Bulgarians could not take through their own power, to be handed over Bulgaria. The deal appeared to be nearly finished. The Turkish government consisting of semi-explicit and semi-implicit reactionaries was ready to give concessions with the pressure of the great states ... In the European press, there were frequent news articles on the happiness of the European speculators for the would-be coming peace. Turkey and the Balkan states had spent lots of money not too long ago, and the European speculators were shouting the slogan of “High interest rates to the Balkan debts!” in case of they would need additional loans ... The following was inferred from the European press: The diplomats have reached an agreement, the speculators have prepared the debt logs, and „a young squadron leader”³¹⁷ smiled the bland, white bearded bankers ... The speculators in Europe got demoralized, the hope to provide the Balkans with debt decreased, the bonds were damaged.”³¹⁸

³¹⁵ MŞP, p.61

³¹⁶ Severnaya Pravda, 21.08.1913[3.9.1913], Telegraphs – Vienna, “The Consequences of the War”.

³¹⁷ It is intended to refer to Enver Bey, who undertook the raid on the Sublime Porte.

³¹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 17.01.1913[30.1.1913], Issue:217, “The Revolution in Istanbul and Europe”, article by G.Aleksinski.

The speech of the Social Democrat parliamentarian, Renderet Cihankele, delivered on 6 (19) June 1913 in the Russian Duma was published in Pravda. The speech of Cihankele, who was close to the Bolsheviks, was informative to understand the interests of the imperialist powers over Turkey. Moreover, it was explanatory to make sense of the position of Russia. Therefore, it seems plausible to finish this chapter with the speech of Renderet Cihankele:

I am concerned with the question of to what extent Balkan war is unavoidable. Could any power outside the Balkan Peninsula prevent this war? The answer to this question is positive. The power that can prevent this war is the power named as the great states. This power could have prevented this war; however, it did not want to prevent. You all see how Britain has extended her lands thanks to Arabiya³¹⁹, how Germany has empowered the line of Baghdad Railway for her own interests, what kind of concessions France has gained in Little Asia, and that Austria and Italy have tagged after Albania ... I am not talking anything about Russia. The modest one was her. She was without her interests. She merely wanted to capture *Tsargrad*³²⁰ and the straits. According to what Miliukov says, she has to confine herself to only Armenia for the moment.³²¹

As one can see, the policies of the imperialist countries were harshly criticized in Pravda. Russia was among the imperialist powers that were criticized. The critiques were concerned with not only in the diplomatic fields. To the contrary, it was frequently denoted that the economic exploitation was based on the interests. As opposed to the hostility towards the Turks in Russia at the time, the editorial team of Pravda regarded the Ottoman Empire and the Turks as miserable victim being exploited in the hands of the imperialist powers.

On the basis of the analysis of Pravda throughout the chapter, it becomes quite clear that Pravda did not embrace an approach based on religion and race while communicating developments on the Balkan Wars. To the contrary, Pravda severely criticized the attempts to trace the reasons of the war to the relations among the races and religions. It strongly underlined that the fundamental reason of the war was

³¹⁹ It refers to the Arabian lands. At the time, the issue of passing Qatar to Britain was on the agenda of M. Sevketa Pasha.

³²⁰ It is the historical name of Istanbul in Slavic languages. Tsargrad (Old Church Slavonic: Цѣсарьградъ; Church Slavonic; Царьградъ, Russian: Царьград; Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serbian and Slovene: Carigrad or Цариград, depending on their alphabets (or Tsarigrad as an alternative Latin transliteration of cyrillic); Slovak: Carigrad; Romanian: Țarigrad; Ukrainian: Царгород; also rendered as Czargrad and Tzargrad; is a historic Slavic name for the city of Istanbul.

³²¹ Pravda Newspaper, 08.06.1913[21.6.1913], Issue: 334, The speech delivered to Duma and entitled as "The Balkan War".

the conflict of interests among the Balkan bourgeoisie as well as the great powers. Moreover, Pravda waged radical criticisms against the policies pursued by Russia. The following chapter is concerned with an examination of the bipartite policy followed by Russia during the war and the Pan Slavist atmosphere in Russia.

CHAPTER 5

RUSSIA AND PANSLAVISM IN PRAVDA DURING THE BALKAN WARS

Russia officially followed a moderate policy by trying to avoid clashes with the great powers during the Balkan Wars. However, she unofficially supported Panslavist movements and pursued an aggressive policy at the same time. As the central primary source for this thesis study, Pravda attacked against the liberals, who were thought of constantly directing the unofficial Russian policy during the period investigated. The Russian liberals were criticized in almost all the commentaries published on the Balkan Wars. Within this context, this chapter will analyze Russia and Panslavist Russian public opinion with a particular focus on the Russian liberals, whose domination over the media was out of question at the time. This analysis will follow the chronological order of the discussion as developed in the previous chapters so far. Therefore, the first theme will be “The Russian Policy in the Balkan Wars”, in which it will be elaborated on the bipartite structure of the Russian policy on the basis of the news articles published in Pravda, which tried to reveal this character of the Russian policy. Then, the below analysis will concentrate on the position of Panslavist liberals during the Balkan Wars, which was critical of especially Turkey and reflected during discussions in Duma and through the media. The position of the editorial team of Pravda towards the Russian liberals will be particularly examined. Besides, this chapter will examine the Shkodra Question, which mobilized the Russian public opinion and ultimately forced the government to take action against the Panslavists in the country. The Russian society provided moral and material support to the Balkan Slavs from the early days of the war to November 1912. This particular aspect of the Balkan Wars was reflected in Pravda under a specific title of “Panslavism in Russia during the War”. At the end of the chapter, the bipartite structure of Russian foreign policy towards the Balkan Wars will be elaborated on, and the chapter will be finalized with a general assessment.

5.1. The Russian Policy during the Balkan Wars

It should be initially stated that Russia followed a bipartite policy throughout the Balkan Wars. The official Russian foreign policy tried not to directly face against the great powers, primarily Austria Hungary. The official declarations and practices of Russia, who was not ready to get into a conflict with the great powers, were in this line. When the Balkan Wars between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Alliance, which Russia formed through her ambassadors, began, she took a position in accordance with the great powers and declared that the *status quo* would not be changed whatever the results of the war would be. Russia did not face against Austria Hungary on such issues as Serbia's access to the sea and the Shkodra question; she gave concessions in spite of the reactions from the public. Similarly, Russia worked in conformity with Germany, Austria Hungary, Italy, Britain and France during the London Conference of Ambassadors (17 December 1912 – 11 August 1913), when the Balkan question was discussed.

On the other hand, there was another, unofficial Russian policy in the course of the Balkan Wars. This policy shaped both the domestic and foreign policies. The turning point in the Russian policy towards the Balkans was 1908. As mentioned previously, Russia was deceived by Austria Hungary at a time when she thought that there was an agreement on bestowing Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria Hungary. After this event, Russia understood that she would clash with Austria Hungary in the near future. In this regard, Russia began to pursue a Pan Slavist policy in order to build a wall composed of Slavic people against Austria Hungary in the Balkans. At the domestic level, the Russian public opinion, which was already inclined to Pan Slavism, became even more sharpened on the issue. Russia intended to keep this Pan Slavist policy against the Austria Hungary alive during the Balkan Wars as well. This unofficial policy was undertaken by the Russian liberals, who were the representatives of the big capital groups and dominated the media at the time. As will be seen below, the liberals carried the banner for Pan Slavism from the beginning of the war. However, it should be underlined that the liberals did not follow such a policy independently. According to the Pravda Newspaper, there were constant communication and communion between the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazanov and the leader of the Liberal Cadet Party Miliukov. While the moderate official policy was implemented by Sazanov, the Pan Slavist aggressive policy was pursued by Miliukov, who was under the supervision of the former. For Pravda, the

fundamental objective of this policy implemented by the liberals was to prepare the Russian society to a war against Austria Hungary. Therefore, before presenting the relationship between the Russian government, especially the Foreign Minister Sazanov, and the liberals, it is not possible to make sense of the quotations from Pravda.

It should also be denoted that the practitioner of the unofficial policy, Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov, was the founder of the nationalist Progressive Block³²² that would be established in Russia during the First World War. He was also the biggest defender of the occupation of Istanbul at the time. Lenin described Miliukov as in the following: “The servant of Anglo-French imperialist capital and a Russian imperialist.”³²³

Russia noticed the possibility of outbreak of a conflict between Bulgaria and Greece after the early success of the Balkan Alliance. These two states constituted the most important anchorages of Russia in the Balkans in a possible war against Austria Hungary. In the post-1908 period, the central objective of the Russian foreign policy was to make these two states stand alongside herself against Austria Hungary. However, in the case of a conflict between the two, there could be breaking points within the Pan Slavist Russian society which had been prepared against Austria Hungary. There could also be the possibility for Bulgaria to approach to the Triple Alliance beside Austria Hungary. For this reason, the official Russian foreign policy supported the annexation of Edirne by Bulgaria even though this was in contradiction with her objectives. As will be seen below, the Russian liberals too aimed at keeping the public opinion alive during the war. For this reason, they supported several policies that are fundamentally at odds with the “grand objectives” of the Russian foreign policy like capturing Istanbul and the Straits. For instance, they supported the march of the Bulgarian army in Catalca towards Istanbul.

³²² Progressive Bloc : Formed when the Russian Duma was recalled to session during the War, Nicholas II's response to mounting social-tensions. In July 1915, the Progressive Party combined with the Cadet Party, Left Octobrists, and Nationalists to form a political front in the duma that supported a social-chauvinist stance towards the continuation of WWI. See: <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/orgs/p/r.htm#progressive-bloc> Date accessed: 13.7.2012

³²³ Cited in *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 3rd Edition (1970-1979) from: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Miliukov%2c+Pavel+Nikolaevich> Date accessed: 7.7.2012

On the basis of this preliminary information, the below analysis is concerned with the news article published in Pravda with regard to the relationship between the Foreign Minister Sazanov and the liberal Miliukov, who implemented the double-faced foreign policy of Russia. This relationship was brought forward frequently in Pravda. In fact, Pravda asserted that Miliukov was talking on behalf of Sazanov: “Now, Miliukov is writing on diplomacy in his own newspaper [*Rech*] on his behalf, but he is talking in the name of Sazanov.”³²⁴ In a news article describing this relationship and the motives therein, it was stated that:

The importance of the Balkan Wars in the history of the Russian liberals [can be observed] in their coming to the important posts in the ministries for the first time since 1906. In 1905-1906, the liberals were ashamed. They have been accumulating power to take the revenge of that day. The participation of [the liberals] in the activities for the Slavic unity, their presence in the neo-Slav movement in the event of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austrian and German hunting, Miliukov’s propaganda of ‘real national politics’, all these have been the preparations for the Balkan War and the age of Slavic unity.³²⁵

With regard to the cooperation between the Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov and the liberals, the article continued that:

The objective of the sneaky Russian official diplomacy was to determine the fate in the Balkans. This objective of the Russian diplomacy overlapped with the imperialist movements of the Russian liberalism. The double-faced policy of the Ministry throughout the period of Slavic crisis was supported in the newspapers of Miliukov. The Ministry trusted its new partner very much. It presented its own ‘interest-free’ Slavonofil feelings as ‘national’ feelings when necessary ... The imperialist attitude of the liberals and their relations with the ‘interest-free’ foreign minister will be revealed too.³²⁶

It was communicated in Pravda that Sazanov and Miliukov had frequent and even secret meetings. These meetings were called as meetings of “love”³²⁷. It was mentioned in Pravda that a secret meeting was held in January 1913 between these two sides in the house of one of the prominent liberals, Peter Berggardovich Struve (1870-1944). The meeting was attended by 25 people, including the personnel of the

³²⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 10.11.1912[23.11.1912], Issue: 165, “The Cadets are dying for the war”, unsigned article.

³²⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 31.05.1913[13.6.1913], Issue: 328, “Russian Liberalism and the Slavs”, unsigned article.

³²⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 31.05.1913[13.6.1913], Issue: 328, “Russian Liberalism and the Slavs”, unsigned article.

³²⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146 “The Fox and the Coop”, unsigned article.

Russian Foreign Ministry, the Director of the Department of Balkans of the Ministry Prince (*Knez*) Trubitsky, Miliukov and Sazanov. It was also stated that only predictions could be made with regard to the issue of what was discussed in this meeting. After this meeting, in the newspapers of the Progressives, rightists and the Cadets like *Rech* and *Russkoye Molva*, the intervention of Russia into the Balkan War was promoted along with the agitation campaigns on this line.³²⁸

In the early days of the First Balkan War, Pravda asserted that the main objective was to wage war against Austria Hungary, and Miliukov was assigned to prepare the Russian public opinion to this issue:

... They have been preparing the country for something. For what reason? Miliukov, who have been conducting secret meetings with Sazanov, can answer this question. We understand the sources of patriotism, which push Russia directly or indirectly to war against Austria, from the novel ordering of the ships.³²⁹

In another news article, it was stated that:

The Russian ruling class has been trying to infuse the public sympathy towards the Slavic people and hostility against the Turks since the beginning of the Balkan wars. The government has been trying to feed the patriotic feelings of the Slavs and prepare the people to a war against Austria. A hostile atmosphere has been tried to be created among Russia, Austria and Germany by means of increasing the Slavic patriotism. The Slavic Patriots have been preparing Russia to a war against Austria and Germany for the Turkish lands.³³⁰

The news articles on this line were published in Pravda especially during the Second Balkan War. The reason for that could be the following: The pursued policies could be more easily interpreted after the consequences of the Balkan Wars became evident. When Austria became the target country, the liberal equation of a war against Austria with patriotism was reflected in the pages of Pravda as in the following:

The Russian Foreign Minister and all the Russian bourgeoisie have been thinking of a war against Austria ... A year ago, the liberals were the pioneers of the the movement of „Slavicness’ against Turkey. Now, the issue is not with „the salvation of the Slavic fellows” anymore. Everything has been for the slow preparation of these „fellows’ to a war

³²⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 06.01.1913[19.1.1913], Issue: 209, “The Liberals and the War”, unsigned article.

³²⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 10.10.1912[23.10.1912], Issue: 139, “The Sources of Patriotism”, article by B.N.

³³⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, “The Day for Slavic Flags”, article by A.Yuryev.

against Austria. In the past, the Balkan Slavs were provoked against Turkey, but now they are provoked against the Germans. For the Russian liberals, a war against Austria is something like patriotism.³³¹

In another article published at the time, it was stated that:

The policy followed by the liberals during the Balkan War was not resulted from their sympathy towards the Slavs ... Only the national interests were central to their policy. The empowerment of the Balkan people as opposed to Turkey would make the liberals [Russia] to advance towards Turkey and Austria.³³²

At the end of the Second Balkan War, it became evident that Bulgaria would be on the side of Austria Hungary and join the Triple Alliance. The bipartite Russian policy became unsuccessful, and Bulgaria became the partner of Austria Hungary. This unofficial policy pursued by the liberals was criticized at the end of the war in Pravda as in the following:

... The liberals were trying to build the official Russian diplomacy by means of the Balkan Slavs. However, they helped Austria, instead of Russia. The Russian democrats should not forget how rascal the policy pursued by the liberals was while evaluating the consequences of the Balkan Wars. Now, [the Liberals] are standing in front of the broken dreams alongside the Bulgarians. After the Bucharest Agreement, Bulgaria became the partner of Austria, not Russia, and Russophile cannot do anything about this situation.³³³

It has been previously underlined that Sazanov had a constantly changing character, and had difficulties to make decisions. All these had an impact on the weaving policy of Russia towards the Balkans. One can state that the personal character of Sazanov impacted upon the double-faced policy of Russia during the Balkan Wars.

Lastly, in a period when it was quite difficult to wage criticism against the Tsarist regime,³³⁴ Pravda severely criticized the bipartite Russian policy, and especially the Panslavist policy directed by the liberals. Within this context, it seems plausible to think of that at the center of the criticisms against the liberals were “the Unofficial Russian Policy pursued in the Balkan Wars” and the Tsarist Regime supporting such a policy. Moreover, as will be discussed below, Pravda’s criticisms against both the

³³¹ Pravda Newspaper, 20.06.1913[3.7.1913], Issue: 343, “The Adventure Plans of the Liberals”, article by Yu. M.

³³² Pravda Newspaper, 02.07.1913[15.7.1913], Issue: 353, “These have been mistaken!”, unsigned article.

³³³ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 04.08.1913[17.8.1913], Issue: 4, “The Liberals and the War”, unsigned article.

³³⁴ The newspaper had to be broadcasted with four different names due to court verdicts on its closures in the one-year period, on which the thesis research was conducted.

news articles in the Russian press and the statements in Duma, which fed the hostility towards the Turks, were concerned with this unofficial Russian policy.

In Pravda, the liberals were frequently accused of chauvinism, pioneering the Panslavism, and distorting the real agenda and problems of the people: "... They distract the people's attention from routine affairs and gradually rising discomfort by starting uproars of patriotism ... All these drag the masses into a great chauvinism."³³⁵ "The Cadet patriots drag the youngsters into chauvinism by saying smart, great statements like culture, freedom, struggle for freedom, science, unity, etc."³³⁶

In November 1912, when the ceasefire negotiations were underway between the Turks and the Bulgarians, the Turks regarded the conditions of the negotiations too heavy and stopped the negotiations. Thereupon, the liberals wanted the Bulgarians to continue with the war and advance towards Istanbul. This event was reflected in the pages of Pravda as in the following: "... Our liberals are provoking the Balkan people to continue with the war, and suggest them to capture Istanbul. According to *Rech*, the break that has been taken in front of Catalca cannot be eternal."³³⁷

In mid-December 1912, the London negotiations were stopped and the Turks did not accept the conditions of the Balkan Alliance. Thereupon, a telegraph on the possibility of the war to re-commence was received by St. Petersburg. Pravda waged a strong criticism against the attitude of the Duma IV, and defined it as "The Black Walled Liberal Duma":

... As expected, „the Black Walled Liberal Duma' has expressed its own military opinions: „We think that the purity and honour of Russia have been broken.' The policy of Russian government that grads its feet has been criticized. The Black Liberal Duma has shown its dirty face. The Rightists, Octobrists, Nationalists, the Progressive Group and the Cadets have shared the feelings of brotherhood in this way.³³⁸

In this article, it was also underlined that the Social Democrat Malinovski, who was close to the Bolsheviks, stood against all these: "Malinovski stated that the Russian

³³⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, "The Day for Slavic Flags", article by A.Yuryev.

³³⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, "The Day for Slavic Flags", article by A.Yuryev.

³³⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 10.11.1912[23.11.1912], Issue:165, "The Cadets are dying for the war", unsigned article.

³³⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 09.12.1912[22.12.1912], Issue: 189, "Unification", unsigned article.

people, workers and peasants do not want war in either the Balkans, Iran or Far East. They do not want to see the seas of blood created for the sake of capitalism.³³⁹

In January 1913, the diplomatic note by the great powers urged the Ottoman Empire to give Edirne. The new government, which had undertaken the raid on the Sublime Porte a short time ago, did not accept this demand. In response, the liberal Cadets urged Russia to wage war against the Ottoman Empire. The article by the leader of the Cadet Party Miliukov called a war against Turkey, and it was criticized in Pravda with the following words: “The article by Miliukov was published in the *Rech Newspaper*. The name of the article is ‘War or Peace’. The Cadet nationalist calls Russia to take an unfaltering decision and suggests Russia to get into the action by giving away the threats.”³⁴⁰ As another newspaper of the liberals, *Russkaya Molva* urged the Bulgarians to enter into Istanbul. This demand too was subjected to severe criticism in Pravda:

The *Russkaya Molva* Newspaper is happy for the commencement of the military mobilization in Edirne while mentioning it ... and it states that: ‘the life is full of unexpected events. For the moment, it is difficult to estimate how long the Slavic armies, which have mobilized to take the revenge of hundred years of domination and injustices, will advance. Whatever the length will be, the way to Tsargrad is not far away any more...’³⁴¹

In Pravda’s section of ‘Media Search’, this article was criticized as in the following: “The blood has been shedding. The liberals of the *Ruskaya Molva* Newspaper are glad to see this, and the *Rech* Newspaper is in conformity with this. These will speak of their being against the war without shame by disguising themselves as peacelovers in the near future.”³⁴² As a matter of fact, they would begin to speak of peace during the Second Balkan War.

When the massacres against the Turks and the Muslims came to the forefront in the proceeding days of the war, Pravda attacked against the liberals, who were thought of being responsible for that situation. A news article was written at the first page of Pravda on the basis of the information collected from the Turkish “comrades” and the intelligence obtained by the Turks from the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek

³³⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 09.12.1912[22.12.1912], Issue: 189, “Unification”, unsigned article.

³⁴⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 26.01.1913[8.2.1913], Issue:225, “War one again”, unsigned article.

³⁴¹ Pravda Newspaper, 24.01.1913[6.2.1913], Issue:223 “Media Search”.

³⁴² Pravda Newspaper, 24.01.1913[6.2.1913], Issue:223 “Media Search”.

soldiers. In this article, the political figures of the Russian domestic policy were criticized as in the following:

“The Struggle of the Cross against the Crescent”, which was mentioned in the declaration of the Bulgarian Tsar, is underway. The struggle for rescuing Macedonia has been materialized just like this. The Russian proletariat and the representatives of democracy should approach to the course of this war very carefully. Russia should give up the support to the “fellows” there as provided by Miliukov, Branchaninov type liberals.³⁴³

When the news on the massacre against the Turkish and the Jewish people received from Salonika, Miliukov was attacked against once again:

The Greeks feel as if they were at their homes in Salonika. This is written by the *Razsvet* Newspaper.³⁴⁴ During the initial Christian celebrations for the capture of this city by the Greeks, they celebrated the emancipation of this city from the „barbarian’ Turkish domination by shedding the blood of the Jewish. Just like the wild animals, the Bulgarians and the Serbians were killing the Turks while the Montenegrins were killing the Albanians. And all these were made for the sake of emancipation from the „barbarian’ domination, freedom and philanthropy! Isn’t it Miliukov?³⁴⁵

Moreover, Pravda mentioned that Duma welcomed the fall of Edirne with shrieks of delight, and the liberal newspapers like *Rech* and *Russkaya Molva* were broadcasting with gunshots:

Our Duma crowded by the Octobrists welcomed the news on the fall of Edirne with huzzahs [shrieks of delight]. Now, all the newspapers, including *Rech*, are broadcasting news that was full of gunshots. *Russkaya Molva* becomes happy when it communicates the threat of the Balkan army against Tsargrad. And it explicitly threatens Istanbul with „beating [punch]’. The more subtle *Rech* states that: „The Russian diplomacy should not change its strategy pursued nowadays. The emerging new events make Russia to be more insistent.’ The other newspapers are openly fighting from now on. The smoke of the rubble of the Edirne Castle is still on the air, the corpses of the dead Bulgarian and Turkish soldiers have not been moved away yet. However, the patriots are glad to hear the exploded gunshots [against the Turks].³⁴⁶

It seemed that the liberals altered their attitude after the fall of Edirne and Shkodra. The Russian government, which thought that it was time to restrain the public opinion, seemed to warn the liberals too. As indicated above, after the Duma’s

³⁴³ Pravda Newspaper, 10.03.1913[23.3.1913], Issue: 262, “The War in the Balkans”, article by N.S.

³⁴⁴ It was the first Jewish newspaper published in Russian. The *Razsvet* Newspaper began its broadcasting life in Odesa in 1860, and then it began to be published in St. Petersburg. For more information, see: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0017_0_16516.html

³⁴⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 23.12.1912[5.1.1913], Issue:201 “Media Search”.

³⁴⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 17.03.1913[30.3.1913], Issue:268, “After Edirne”, unsigned article.

welcome to the fall of Edirne, the hostility towards Austria and Germany dramatically increased in the streets. This worried the liberals being the pioneers of Panslavism. All these developments were reflected in the pages of Pravda: “The slogans of ‘Austria, get out!’, ‘Germany, get out!’ have begun to be shouted in the streets of St. Petersburg ... Even Miliukov who was trying to increase the Slavic patriotism says in the *Rech* Newspaper that: The masses gathered in the streets of Petersburg do not serve for the Slaviness.”³⁴⁷

The liberals showed the same moderate approach in the incident of Shkodra when the Russian government cleared the streets out through oppressive means. The position of the liberals during the Second Balkan War will be analyzed in a detailed manner on the next pages.

The incident, which forced the Russian government to take precautions against the Panslavists, was the capture of Shkodra by the Montenegrins and the following events. Shkodra, which was surrounded by the Montenegrins for months and captured in April 1913, was a city densely populated by the Albanians. The Montenegrin Kingdom wanted to capture Shkodra because of its location; however, Austria Hungary was the most vigorous advocate of Shkodra to be handed over the would-be established Albanian state. Austria Hungary was afraid of being surrounded by the Slavs both internally and externally. At the same time, it regarded the prevention of the empowerment of the Serbian and Montenegrin Slavic neighbours as essential to the survival of her own empire. Therefore, she was trying to take the would-be established Albanian state under her control and give her the widest borders possible. As indicated above, Albania was being born as “the illegitimate child of the Austrian diplomacy”, as expressed a Czech newspaper. At the international level, Austria Hungary defended Albania’s right over Shkodra and managed to make Montenegro to leave Shkodra in May 1913. On the other hand, Shkodra, which was surrounded by the small Kingdom of Montenegro, became the symbol of Slavic sympathy among the Slavic people living both in Russia and Austria Hungary. In fact, Shkodra was a great objective for the small kingdom of Montenegro while it became a matter of honour for the Austria Hungarian Empire. Russia could not run the risk of clashing with Austria Hungary for Montenegro. Therefore, she supported the Austrian demand for Montenegro to leave Shkodra. On

³⁴⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 20.03.1913[2.4.1913], Issue: 270, “The War Threat”, article by A.Yuryev.

the basis of this preliminary information, it seems plausible to describe the atmosphere in Russia after Montenegro's capture of Shkodra with reference to the news articles published in Pravda:

The main issue of the day is Shkodra's annexation. The *Svet* Newspaper describes the happiness of the people as in the following: „People are giving their compliments and kissing one another. It is not possible to describe the happiness of the people. There have been many appealing events full of patriotism. The *Rech* Newspaper did not welcome this victory with passion.’ According to *Rech*, the annexation of Shkodra is an obstacle in the route to peace. The *Sovremennovo Slovo* Newspaper confessed eventually that the Shkodra issue is a matter of honour for Austria, and a matter of kingdomness for Montenegro.³⁴⁸

As one can see, the liberals and their newspapers, which had canalized the streets towards the Panslavist movement previously, did not share the passion of the same streets after the annexation of Shkodra. In fact, the breaking point for the relations between the Russian government and the Panslavists, which were unofficially supported by the government, was the annexation of Edirne by the Bulgarians. Upon this development, the Russian government prohibited demonstrations in favour of Bulgaria as it annoyed from the street demonstrations organized by the Panslavists. The annoyance of the Russian government was due to that the Panslavist movement went out of control. The annexation of Edirne and then Shkodra by the Bulgarian and Montenegrin Slavs demonstrated that the foreign policy of the Russian government did no longer overlap with the feelings of the Russian people.

The feelings of the Russian people did not overlap with the foreign policy of the Russian government. Russia was accused of giving concessions in the Russian press after the withdrawal of Montenegro from Shkodra. In response, the Russian government made a statement indicting the Balkan Slavs, especially the Montenegrin King Nikola. This statement was published in Pravda as well:

The OSV Bureau summarized the statement of the Russian government on the incidents in the Balkan peninsula as in the following: „The Empire government has made the achievements of the states of the Balkan Alliance to stay in them as many as possible ... Russia not only made Prizren, Ipek, Diyakof and Debre to stay in the hands of the Slavs, but also the connection of Shkodra. The concessions have been made in order to secure the peace. Shkodra is an Albanian city. The small Montenegro cannot ensure the unification of the tribes on the basis of race and religion. The connection of Shkodra to Montenegro would not be for the benefit of Montenegro; on the contrary it would weaken her.

³⁴⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 12.04.1913[25.4.1913], Issue:289, Media Search”.

The Montenegrin king was warned on this issue ... Russia could not stand on her own against the proposals, which the great states have raised and Nikola has rejected. Russia was ready to help her fellows, loose as casualties and for self devotion. However, the little fellows have certain obligations too. One of these obligations is to respect the proposals of the older fellows. Russia's attitude towards her Slavic fellows does not necessitate hostility against the other states.³⁴⁹

As one can see, it was expressed in a diplomatic jargon that the power of Russia had its own frontiers in the international level, and when this power became insufficient, she would naturally seek after her own interests. Additionally, the Balkan Slavs were urged to be tied to Russia's apron strings. After the concession of the Russian government on the Shkodra issue, the statement of the Russian government annoyed the Russian press. This situation was reflected in the pages of Pravda as well:

The government's statement on the Balkan situation has been widely discussed in the press. The *Rech* and *Sovremennik* Newspapers have been annoyed by this statement ... The newspaper of young merchants, *Russkaya Molva*, is not pleased either. It says the Shkodra concession is not acceptable for us. The „Progressives' say that a war can be waged for Shkodra. The *Zemshina* Newspaper has made a very severe statement against the patriots.³⁵⁰

The Russian Foreign Minister of the time, Sazanov, severely criticized the attitude of the St. Petersburg press on the Shkodra issue in his memoirs: "Some circles of St. Petersburg which were close to the palace, the nationalist press of the capital initiated a bitter campaign against the Russian policy. These campaigns went to a point that meetings and street demonstrations were held to raise the war demand to safeguard the Slavic interests, and the government was accused of betrayal." He also states that the greatest uproar was initiated on the Shkodra question. For him, the Moscow and the provincial press showed more accurate political position than the St. Petersburg newspapers³⁵¹. By saying all these, Sazanov explicitly showed his annoyance from the Pan Slavist movement.

On the other hand, the echos of the official statements of Russia were reflected in Britain, Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire. Pravda communicated this international dimension of the issue as well: "Britain is pleased about the statement of Russia on Shkodra. The telegraph from London states that: „According to the British

³⁴⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 29.03.1913[11.4.1913], Issue: 278, "The Government statement on the Balkan Question".

³⁵⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 31.03.1913[13.4.1913], Issue: 280, "Media Search".

³⁵¹ S.Sazanov, Kader Yılları-S.Sazanov'un Anıları, trans. by Betül Önuçak, Derin Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002,pp.89-90

political circles, the statement of the Russian government is quite well-timed, and it has a positive impact on the existing situation.’³⁵² A telegraph received from Cetinje provides an important example showing how the Slavic countries had the feeling that Russia would support themselves on any issues at the time. “Cetinje-The statement of the Russian government has been evaluated. The statement of the Russian government was published in the *Glas Tsernogodze* Newspaper. The newspaper asserts that all these are not accurate.’³⁵³ As one can see, Cetinje did not believe in even the official statement. The reactions from the Ottoman press to the statement were reflected in the pages of Pravda with the following words:

While elaborating on the statement of the Russian government, the *Tanin* Newspaper states that it was a statement not sufficient to talk about peace and it does not ease the tension in the society. [On the other hand,] the *Ikdam* [Newspaper] writes that it sees peace in the statement and thinks that the statement will accelerate the peace. The *Sabah* [Newspaper] writes that: „Russia’s support to the states of the Balkan Alliance has procured our death. We believe that the Russian-Turkish relations will be closer after the war.’³⁵⁴

The news articles published in the Russian press during and after the Shkodra incident were harshly criticized in Pravda, as in the case of Sazanov. Pravda criticized why the press wrote in the way it was and how it served for the interests of imperialism. In a news article, Pravda mentioned that the Russian press radically changed its position towards the war in accordance with the changing situations, and continued that:

... The ordinary readers believe in these tales naively ... The ordinary reader follows the cheaters. This is already what the cheaters want. They direct people’s attention to whatever they want. They direct the public’s attention to different, untruthful, „great’ politics while hiding the bandit policies of the great states in the midst of the pompous words like patriotism, honour, the glory of the country ... For instance, they make Russia look like the protector of the Slavs by provoking everybody against Austria ... These newspapers think of how they will eat their fills as the watchdogs of the real politics pursued by the great powers, instead of revealing this politics.’³⁵⁵

³⁵² Pravda Newspaper, 31.03.1913[13.4.1913], Issue: 280, Telegraphs – London, “The Shkodra Question”.

³⁵³ Pravda Newspaper, 02.04.1913[15.4.1913], Issue: 281 Telegraphs-Cetinje.

³⁵⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 02.04.1913[15.4.1913], Issue: 281 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

³⁵⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 04.05.1913[17.5.1913], Issue: 305, “The International Bourgeois Politics”, unsigned article.

In another article, the Russian aid to the Balkan Slavs were described on statistical basis and those still demanding a war for Shkodra were attacked. Pravda asks what was demanded more than these aids with the following sentences:

Have not 25.000.000 Franks, 20.000 packages of weapons, 500 horses sent to Bulgaria, and have not the Russian officers, petty officers and high ranked soldiers been assigned in the Bulgarian army? Have not 7 heavy weapons, 11.000.000 bullets, 10.000 thick military uniform been sent from the Antiwar Port to the Montenegrins at a time when the war heated? ... Have not the Turks been threatened for intervening into the internal affairs in the case of the Young Turks' making Turkey enter into war once again after the peace negotiations? At the time, Turkey continued the war without fear from Russia. Has not Russia wanted to give the money [credits opened] provided by the French capitalists to the Balkan collaborationist states, instead of Turkey?³⁵⁶

As one can see, the Russian government too began to think of controlling the Panslavist movement after the Shkodra incident. In the official Russian statement on the issue, it was explicitly stated that Russia could not yet develop the capability to wage war against Austria. Additionally, it seemed that the Russian liberals, who had aggressively pursued Panslavist policy in the previous period, was warned by the Russian government. As indicated above, the liberals did not share the happiness of the public in their newspapers. Moreover, Pravda seemed to assented to the Russian government's policy towards Shkodra while it had waged severe criticisms against both the official and unofficial policies pursued.

This Panslavist atmosphere in Russia eased in early May 1913, when small-scale conflicts among the states of the Balkan Alliance erupted. The liberals hitherto utilized the notion of "fellow Slavs" while Pravda made fun of such a notion after the emergence of conflicts among them. The following news article provides an example in this regard:

... The liberals too are in a situation from now on to accept that the conflicts in the Balkans are not conducted in the name of religion and freedom. Everybody accepts that this affair has been for the interests of a group/class; even *Rech* does not defend that this has been done for the sake of freedom, religion and the country. The liberals did not see the discussions on Salonika, the incident on the capture of Shkodra, the events between Serbia and Bulgaria. Of course, they did not see the interests of the kingdom and Balkan bourgeoisie in the game of Balkan War either. Here you are the liberals! ... The liberal Panslavist cannot say that the war in the Balkans are waged for religion, Slavic unity and freedom anymore. All these lies, including the lie of Slavic unity, will be

³⁵⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 21.06.1913[4.7.1913], Issue: 344, "The Panslavism", article by Politikus.

revealed in the near future. When these lies are revealed, the blanket sheeted by the liberals will disappear too.³⁵⁷

On the eve and in the course of the Second Balkan War, the editorial team of Pravda underlined their rightfulness from the very beginning, and began to make fun of those presenting the wars as waged for the sake of religion, Slavic unity and in the form of the cross and the crescent conflict. The news article published shortly before the Second Balkan War states that:

... The Turks, who were presented as “enemy to Christianity”, “colonialist”, and against whom the the Balkan Alliance states declared “holy war”, and the Greeks are ready to establish an alliance against the Bulgarian “brothers”. The Turks too are ready to fight against the “Christian fellows” with “Slavic fellows”. The Greeks are at the same situation as well. The emergent picture is quite informative. This war has not been caused by some moral values or struggle for freedom. The war was initiated especially to gain (conquest) novel lands and attain new pillages. Now, the double-faced lies of the disgusting Russian liberals have been revealed. At one time, the “patriots” used to say that the Slavic brothers initiated this war in the name of freedom. Now, everything has been revealed.³⁵⁸

Pravda criticized the change of discourse in the Russian press in the course of the Balkan War, which resulted in increased conflicts among the Balkan states. : “According to the *Novoye Vremya* Newspaper, Austria diplomacy provoked the saddening conflicts among the states of the Balkan Alliance. The *Zemshina* Newspaper makes an easier assessment of the situation: „Because they did not listen to the advices of ours [Russian diplomats], these events have occurred.’ No newspaper can say there will be war.”³⁵⁹

On the same days, the statement of the Social Democrat parliamentarian Renderet Cihankele in Duma (19 June 1913) was published in Pravda. This statement is quite informative with regard to the Russian policy at the time:

I am concerned with the question of to what extent Balkan war is unavoidable. Could any power outside the Balkan Peninsula prevent this war? The answer to this question is positive. The power that can prevent this war is the power named as the great states. This power could have prevented this war; however, it did not want to prevent. You all see that how Britain has extended her lands thanks to Arabiya³⁶⁰, how Germany

³⁵⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 31.05.1913[13.6.1913], Issue: 328, “Russian Liberalism and the Slavs”, unsigned article.

³⁵⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 06.06.1913[19.6.1913], Issue: 332, “Conflict among the Slavs”, article by G.Z.

³⁵⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 07.06.1913[20.6.1913], Issue: 333, “A New War?”, article by G.Z.

³⁶⁰ The Arabian lands are implied. At the time, Qatar and Bahrain were newly annexed by Britain.

has empowered the line of Baghdad Railway for her own interests, what kind of concessions France has gained in Little Asia, and that Austria and Italy have tagged after Albania ... I am not talking anything about Russia. The modest one was her. She was without her interests. She merely wanted to capture *Tsargrad* and the straits. According to what Miliukov says, she has to confine herself to only Armenia for the moment.

The 2nd question that concerns me is what kind of gains the Balkan states thought to obtain in the war against Turkey. On the eve of the war, the governments of the Balkan states sent ultimatum to Turkey. In the ultimatum, it was stated that: „We cannot stand the exploitation of our blood and religious fellows in Macedonia. We want autonomy for Albania too.’ These words in the ultimatum constituted the greatest blackmail. According to the information provided by the agents of Miliukov, the states of the Balkan Alliance states announced on 29 February that they signed an agreement that annihilated the autonomy of Albania. In this agreement, each and every Balkan state reserved shares for themselves with regard to the people close to herself. I am not mentioning about the bloody conflict that they would engage in in order to seize their own shares.

The 3rd question that concerns me is what kind of role our diplomacy has played in all these affairs? If you are pro-Slavs, you should give the Slavic people the right to self determination. However, it is useless to demand such a step to be taken by either our diplomacy or the European diplomacy ... It is stupidity to wait the Russian diplomacy to intervene into Albania. Whoever mentions about the role of the Russian government in the struggle for freedom in the Near East³⁶¹, they lie. The ruling class of Russia, who exploits the Slavs in their own country, will save the Slavs in the Near East! This is just like a cartoon! It seems to me that it is not even a cartoon.

Offence to our government [shouts]

The Session Leader warns Cihankele and says „Watch out what you say’. In response, Cihankele begins his speech on Mongolia.³⁶²

On the eve of the second war, the letter of Tsar to the Balkan kings was published in Pravda as well. The Tsar sent a telegraph to the King Ferdinand and the King Petro on 25.05.1913. In the telegraph, the Tsar stated that:

... The Balkan states are preparing to a war in which the fellows will kill each other once again ... I request the two kings to trust Russia in the resolution of the problems between them. I will not be indifferent to a war among the Slavic Alliance states. The state which initiates this war will be guilty in front of all the Slavic people. In the case of war in the future, I will determine the attitude of Russia by myself. Nikola II.

³⁶¹ With the notion of Near East, the Balkans were implied in Russia at the time.

³⁶² Pravda Newspaper, 08.06.1913[21.6.1913], Issue: 334, The text of the speech entitled as “The Balkan War” in Duma.

The response of the Bulgarian King was reflected in the pages of Pravda. In his reply to the Russian Tsar, the King Ferdinand stated that there would be peace only on the condition that the Serbs withdraw her soldiers from Bitola, Prilep, Veles³⁶³ and Ohrid, and recognize the Bulgarian government.³⁶⁴ As one can see, Ferdinand did not take any notice of the Russian Tsar. Pravda published a news article written with reference to the telegraph of the Russian Tsar, who intervened into the situation in order to prevent a Bulgarian-Serbian conflict. The article states that: “... In the past, the liberal and Octobrist newspapers thought that this incident [the conflicts among the Bulgarian states] could be resolved through a telegraph, and they made broadcasting in this line. The liberals say that this threshold has been passed over, and „our Slavic fellows’ could not pass the „great Russian exam’.”³⁶⁵ In another newspaper, Pravda denoted that:

... The liberals and Octobrists always used to lie, and they are still continuing to lie. They are trying to make our people to believe that the Slavs will enter into the Russia’s service and there will be no conflicts among the Slavs.³⁶⁶ After the ruling classes of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece have tangled with due to plunder sharing, our Panslavists cannot deceive our people any more. The Panslavists previously stated that they loved very much the Balkan Slavs and presented their sympathy to them. When it comes to the issue of Balkan Slavs now, they begin talking by making a wry face.³⁶⁷

In the Second Balkan War, there was segregation between the liberals, who conducted the unofficial policy, and the official foreign policy of Russia. This issue too was reflected in the pages of Pravda. The following provides an illuminating example:

... Miliukov states that: The balance in the Balkans have been destroyed because Bulgaria is much more powerful than the other Balkan states ... For Miliukov, Serbia could not attain her own national interests and could not resolve her national problems. For Serbia to resolve these

³⁶³ Veles is located within the frontiers of the Republic of Macedonia in the contemporary world. It is a city named in Slavic language, which was a place known as Koprulu located near the Vardar River in the Ottoman period.

³⁶⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 01.06.1913[14.6.1913], Issue: 329, Telegraphs-Sofya “The Response of the King Ferdinand”

³⁶⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 12.06.1913[25.6.1913], Issue: 337, “The War and the Panslavists”, unsigned article.

³⁶⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 12.06.1913[25.6.1913], Issue: 337 “The War and the Panslavists”, unsigned article.

³⁶⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 12.06.1913[25.6.1913], Issue: 337 “The War and the Panslavists”, unsigned article.

problems, there needs to be a powerful state to establish alliance with. Bulgaria can come to such a position. For this objective, Serbia should not alienate Bulgaria by bringing the Macedonian issue into the agenda. Miliukov urges Serbia to give Macedonia to Bulgaria ... By this way, Bulgaria would help Serbia in her war against Austria and in the process of attaining her „national objectives’.³⁶⁸

In an article published on the following day with the title of “Slavic Patriotism”, it was stated that Russian annoyance with Bulgaria had its roots in the past:

Russia had closed Bulgaria’s route to Istanbul In 1908, Russia got annoyed due to Bulgarian King Ferdinand’s declaring himself as Tsar. Such annoyance of Russia was „legal’. This was because through his minister Prince Povol’ski, Ferdinand prevented Russia from signing agreements with Austrian monarchy on the issues of straits and Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁶⁹

It was implied in the article that Bulgaria was responsible for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, which left the Russian Foreign Minister of the time, Izvolsky, in a difficult situation. It is also put forward in the article that this was quite influential for the Russian government in determining its position in the Second Balkan War. The official Russian foreign policy left Bulgaria alone during the war. Russia began to think that Bulgaria posed a direct threat to the Russian interests. Before the Second Balkan War, when Bulgaria had wanted Russia to put pressure on Romania, Russia had not accept such a policy.³⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, Russia did not want a powerful Bulgaria, which would pursue independent policies. This fact was expressed by the Bulgarian politicians with whom Trotsky met shortly after the Balkan Wars.³⁷¹ After the end of the Second Balkan War, on 3 August 1913, the French Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Théophile Delcassé(1852-1923), who met the Chief of the Russian General Staff of the time, stated that the Russian Chief told him that Russia would not turn away from the Bulgarians; however, at the same time Russia would not trust in a Bulgaria, which supported Austria.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 20.06.1913[2.7.1913], Issue: 343, “The Adventure Plans of the Liberals”, article by Yu. M.

³⁶⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 21.06.1913[3.7.1913], Issue: 344, “The Panslavism”, article by Politikus.

³⁷⁰ Armaoğlu, p. 687

³⁷¹ Troçki, p.402

³⁷² Bayur C2K1, pp.461-462

The leader of the liberal Cadet Party, Miliukov, who implemented the unofficial Russian policy, supported the Bulgarian interests during the Second Balkan War.³⁷³ However, on the basis of the news articles published in Pravda, one can not understand whether it was a political tactic determined in accordance with the practitioners of the official Russian foreign policy, or it was rooted in the sympathy of Miliukov, who taught history lessons in Sofia University,³⁷⁴ towards Bulgaria. Still, it was a definite fact that the official Russian policy did not want Bulgaria to be under the total control of Austria. The problem of who will possess Kavala located in the Aegean Sea erupted between Greece and Bulgaria, who was defeated in the Second Balkan War. Kavala was formerly a Bulgarian land. In the process of negotiations and signing of an agreement among the parties, except for the Ottoman Empire, the Russian ambassador to Bucharest at the time supported Bulgaria. Moreover, the Russian ambassador urged the French Ambassador to Bucharest at the time, Jean Camille Blondel, to give support to Bulgaria instead of Greece. When the French ambassador rejected this, the Russian ambassador stated that they had to do this in order to pacify the Russian public.³⁷⁵

Russia threatened the Turks as well, who re-captured Edirne, in order to pacify the domestic social atmosphere and not to give Bulgaria to Austria. It is possible to evaluate that this threat was primarily concerned with easing the public. As a matter of fact, Cemal Pasha mentioned in his memoirs that Russia was essentially in favor of Turkey's re-capturing Edirne.³⁷⁶ The threat of Russia against Turkey was reflected in Pravda through news received from Istanbul: "The rumours about the penetration of the Russian army into the Turkish lands have been proliferating in Istanbul."³⁷⁷ The statement that the straits were mined and closed to the marine traffic was reflected in Pravda through the news received from the British press: "London – According to the telegraph received from the *Daily Mail* newspaper on 18 July, the Bosphorus was closed to the passage of ships, and mined. According to the same

³⁷³ Pravda Newspaper, 02.07.1913[15.7.1913], Issue: 353, "These have been mistaken", unsigned article.

³⁷⁴ Cited in The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979). Available at: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Miliukov%2c+Pavel+Nikolaevich> Date accessed: 7.7.2012

³⁷⁵ Bayur C2K1, p.462

³⁷⁶ Bayur C2K2, p.417

³⁷⁷ Rabochaia Pravda, 18.07.1913[31.7.1913], Issue: 5, Telegraphs-Istanbul

newspaper, there are rumours on that the Russian ships were at the entrance of the Strait and these ships engaged in implicit blockade.”³⁷⁸ When Turkey re-captured Edirne, the Bulgarian intervention into Turkey was discussed in Russia. Pravda criticized these discussions as “the attempt to re-buy Bulgaria through the Turks”:

The capture of Edirne was robbery! The Russian people had neither their fingers nor their interests in the Edirne incident. However, the Russian capitalists and diplomats have their fingers in the Edirne incident. These wanted to stand on steady foots in the Balkans ... The Panslavists, who have gone bankrupt in Russia for the moment, are trying to buy Bulgaria by means of Edirne and through the shoulders of Turkey.³⁷⁹

The same article continues with a critique against the liberal newspapers, who seperated themselves from the official Russian policy and supported Bulgaria during the Second Balkan War. The liberal *Ruskoe Slovo* and *Rech* newspapers urged Russia to wage war against Turkey in order to give Edirne to Bulgaria. Such appeals were criticized in long pages by Pravda:

The liberal newspapers are full of aggressive articles once again. They provoke Russia against Turkey in the articles. In the articles, the essential interests of Russia are presented as if they were buried by Turkey. These articles are full of shamelessness and selfish lies that are poorly concealed ... The Russian people are tried to be dragged into turmoil. The Russian and German capitals are tried to be penetrated into the Balkan markets; however, the Russian people will be the price. Let’s not step on the bloody mud in the Balkans. We do not want Russia to intervene into there ... The Russian democracy should deal with only a single issue in the Balkans: the victory of Balkan democracy against the military and bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie have dragged the Balkan nations into a rascal, meaningless and bloody massacre. The Balkan Slavs need not Edirne, but peace and democracy. Only these will be goog for the created wounds.³⁸⁰

As one can infer from the analysis so far, Russia tried to pursue a bipartite policy during the Balkan Wars; however, this policy turned out to be a failure at the end. At the end of the war, Russia lost her “Slavic brother” Bulgaria to Austria, with whom she knew that a conflict would erupt in the near future. Moreover, as a result of this bipartite policy, the Panslavist Russian public opinion, which was implicitly supported to be utilized for the sake of foreign policy objectives, turned out to be

³⁷⁸ Rabochaia Pravda, 19.07.1913[2.8.1913], Issue: 6, Telegraphs-London

³⁷⁹ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, “Intervention out!”, unsigned article.

³⁸⁰ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, , “Intervention out!”, unsigned article.

giving harm to these objectives. The below discussion will try to examine the demonstrations organized by the Panslavists and implicitly supported by the government on the basis of the news articles in Pravda.

5.2. Panslavism in Russia during the War

This section will analyze the Panslavist atmosphere and corresponding actions during the war as published in Pravda. It should be initially stated that as far as reflected in Pravda, the influence of the Panslavist atmosphere over the people did not continue till the Second Balkan War. Especially the news articles on actions and financial aids for the Balkan Slavs seem to be stopped by November 1912. Even though there were some street demonstrations after the fall of Edirne and Shkodra, the Russian government did not allow these demonstrations to gain a massive support.

This Panslavist atmosphere was created during the war by the liberal Cadets, who were the most influential group in the Russian press, and the pro-Tsarist Octobrists, who were the biggest group in Duma. The previous chapters have already analyzed Pravda's criticisms against these political groups. At the moment, the below analysis will pay particular attention to such issues as the support provided by the Russian people towards the Balkan Slavs, the demonstrations organized for them. Of course, the news articles published in Pravda will be the primary source to make sense of these developments.

It has been already underlined that after the outbreak of the Balkan War Russia followed the path drawn by the great powers and declared that *status quo* would not be changed. However, within the fabricated Panslavist atmosphere, the statements of the official position were not taken into consideration seriously even by the Balkan states themselves. Trotsky, who was in Belgrade and Sofia during the war, underlined that the Bulgarian and Serbian politicians and people thought that the statement of Russia over the preservation of the *status quo* was made only to gain time as opposed to the Europeans. Moreover, Trotsky surprisingly realized that these people regarded such statements as hiding the real policy of Russia towards the region. He also emphasized that the real reason for that was the Russian press itself.³⁸¹ As a matter of fact, a keen hostility against the Turks was created in the Russian press. The pro-Tsarist Alexander Guchkov, the leader of the Octobrists, and liberal Pavel Miliukov, the leader of the Cadet Party, pioneered the Panslavist

³⁸¹ Troçki, pp.184-202

movement. This fabricated Panslavist movement, which was unofficially supported by the Russian government, was gone out of control after a while and consequently the government had to ban the demonstrations of the Panslavist groups. From the very beginning of the war, the Bolsheviks thought that the Panslavist movement aimed at obscuring the social problems in the country and it was the blanket of the Russian imperialist policy. Pravda was the central communication tool of the Bolsheviks to convey these ideas.

The meeting of the Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov with the leaders of these parties at the beginning of the war was reflected in Pravda as in the following:

Sazanov, Miliukov and Guchkov had meetings on the Balkan issues, and in the meetings they produce lies for their imperialist interests under the cover of freedom to oppressed people. Miliukov has for a long time declared himself as the builder of the interests of great powers, and the representative of the patriot-imperialists. For a long time, this Russian liberalism has undertaken the objectives of Sazanov.³⁸²

The one-month visit of Guchkov to the Balkans, which was made immediately after this meeting and for preparing a detailed report to the Association of Slavic Unity in Russia, was reflected in Pravda as well.³⁸³

The anti-Turkish propaganda engineered by the Liberals and the Octobrists, which kept the Russian public opinion under its influence, was severely criticized in Pravda from the very beginning: “They say by crying that they want to help and protect the fellow Slavic people. There is no feeling of brotherhood underlying this. What is underlying is to prepare new markets for the Russian capitalists.”³⁸⁴ It was also stated in Pravda that the essence of the patriotic, relentless Slavic policy in question was exploitation, supporting the imperialist plunder and provoking the domestic problems to support the imperialist plunder.³⁸⁵ “While the press is mentioning about the inhumane and brutish behaviors of the Turks, they are telling the tales about the oppressed Slavs. These are tales, not truths! The Slavs are as inhumane and brutish as the Turks.”³⁸⁶ In another article, it was stated that: “The Slavic and Turkish peasants in the Balkans are brothers, these have been exploited at the same level by

³⁸² Pravda Newspaper, 16.10.1912[29.10.1912], Issue:144, “The Fabricated Lie”, unsigned article.

³⁸³ Pravda Newspaper, 07.10.1912[20.10.1912], Issue: 137, “Guchkov and the Balkans”.

³⁸⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 12.10.1912[25.10.1912], Issue: 141, “Nationalist Liberalism”, unsigned article.

³⁸⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146, “The Fox and the Coop”, unsigned article.

³⁸⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, “The Day for Slavic Flags”, article by A.Yuryev.

their own governments. And the full emancipation of the Slavic peasantry in the Balkans can only be attained with the full emancipation of all the countries as in the full emancipation of Turkish peasantry.”³⁸⁷ In yet another article published at the beginning of the war, the Balkan War propaganda initiated under the slogan of Slavic freedom was made fun of with the following sentences:

The very influential newspapers have nowadays created the passion of patriotism. Everybody desires the freedom and independence of the Balkan Slavs. So to say the Russian Slavs are enjoying such a freedom ... We want to share this with the other Slavic people. The feeling of Slavicness has been tried to be increased at all hands.”³⁸⁸

Pravda caught from the *Rosiya* Newspaper that the issue at stake was not the feeling of “brotherness”, but capitalist interests. This critique was reflected in the pages of Pravda via the following words:

Tens of articles are published in the liberal *Rech* [Newspaper] and the others on the “fellow” Slavs on daily basis ... In its 2118. issue, the *Rosiya* Newspaper gives the commercial statistics of Russia with the Balkan countries. According to the data provided, while 46.6% of Russia’s Balkan trade was with Turkey, 0.34% was with Bulgaria, 0.58% with Serbia, 29.6% with Greece and 24.2% with Romania. It is stated in the newspaper that the Balkan war does not give harm to us. Our export to the Balkan states is already weak. Here you are the Slavic feeling ... If we occupy the Bosphorous, it would be great, if we cannot, we lose nothing, on the contrary our export increases. The Slavic feeling known by everybody is the feeling of savage capitalists. These are waiting for their victims [just like the predatory animals waiting for their trophy]”.³⁸⁹

Even though it was severely attacked in Pravda, this Panslavist movement, which was grounded in the Russian press and public opinion, provided effective support to the Slavic people fighting against the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars. This support provided was reflected in the pages of Pravda as well: “About 300 students gathered in the railway station for the sendoff of 25 Bulgarian and Serbian students, who were mobilized to join the war from Kiev. The slogans of „Long Live Slavs, Long Live Great Russia’ was shouted and the Bulgarian and Russian national anthems were singed. 100 students marched towards the Austrian consulate. They

³⁸⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146, “The Rascal Proposal”, unsigned article.

³⁸⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 10.10.1912[23.10.1912], Issue: 139 “The Sources of Patriotism”, unsigned article.

³⁸⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 23.10.1912[5.11.1913], Issue: 150, “The Slavic Feelings in Statistics”, unsigned article.

were stopped by the police, 2 persons were arrested and released after a short time.³⁹⁰ Warsaw – Protests against Austria – The university students made demonstrations in front of the Austrian consulate after sending off their Bulgarian friends in the railway station. The police cleared the protesters out.”³⁹¹ What is particularly important to underline here is that the reaction was not waged against one of the parties to the war, but against Austria. This point was highlighted by the editorial team of Pravda in several news articles. The following provides another example in this regard:

A meeting was held in the Moscow University Faculty of Law at 12.00 yesterday. The theme of the meeting was the incidents in the Balkans. The diplomacy of the Russian government was criticized. A document was signed with the consensus of the participants of the meeting. This document greeted the Balkan nations fighting against the Turks. When the university administration learned the content of the meeting, it called for the police, and the police caught the end of the meeting. However, the police did not enter into the meeting hall, and made no interventions to the students. The students dispersed freely.³⁹²

As one can see, the march towards the Austrian consulate was prevented by the police and the university administration intended to stop the meeting. The attitude of the officials is the indicator of that the Russian officials intended to take careful steps in spite of the public opinion.

The Russian official authorities tried to be careful with regard to Austria while they provided support to fund-raising activities to the Balkan nations fighting against Turkey. The Moscow and St. Petersburg municipalities, who were in the status of official authority, provided financial support to the Balkan Slavs. These developments too were reflected in the pages of Pravda with such sentences:

The Montenegrin mission living in Russia has applied to the St. Petersburg Municipality with the proposal for the municipality to provide financial and food aid to the Slavs, instead of sending medical equipment and health teams. On 1 November, the city administration accepted the proposal and reserved 10.000 Rubles from its budget.³⁹³ In the tomorrow's meeting of the Moscow local administration, the issue of sending 50.000 Rubles from the budget of the Moscow local administration to the Balkan Alliance will be discussed.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 05.10.1912[18.10.1912], Issue: 135, Telegraphs-Kiev

³⁹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 09.11.1912[22.11.1912], Issue: 164 Telegraphs – Warsaw.

³⁹² Pravda Newspaper, 07.10.1912[20.10.1912], Issue: 137, “The Meetings in the Moscow University”.

³⁹³ Pravda Newspaper, 02.11.1912[15.11.1912], Issue: 158, “The City and the War”.

³⁹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 09.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue: 138 Telegraphs-Moscow.

Pravda communicated a telegraph received from Belgrade at the beginning of the war, which mentioned the sympathy towards the Russian soldiers intending to join the Serbian army:

The declaration of war generated excitement among the people in Belgrade. The news on that the Russian volunteer soldiers would come from Moscow was welcomed by the citizens with screams and sympathies. Additionally, the volunteer troop from Caucasia has arrived. 2 volunteer troops will be established under the leadership of Russian reserve officers, and only the Russians will fight in these troops.³⁹⁵

About two weeks later, in another telegraph received from Belgrade, it was stated that the Muslim people was surprised of the Serbian army: “Prizren was captured by the Serbian army without encountering with any obstacles. The Muslim population of the regions is surprised about the plentitude of the number of soldiers. There are rumours among the people on that the Russian soldiers are nearby. This is because the people think that Serbia cannot have so many soldiers.”³⁹⁶

Apart from the financial aid, the health and equipment aids were sent to the Balkan Slavs as well: “Many Donations from the countryside of Russian have been coming in the recent period. The donations are given to the Serbian community living in Moscow. 500 people from this community (including nurses and health team) are collecting these aids to go to the war. The first group is leaving today.”³⁹⁷ On the other hand, the professors and university lecurers are collecting aids with the slogan of “Science-Slav Unification” under the leadership of the liberal Cadet Party: “... Patriotic, charitable evenings have been organized in Petersburg nowadays. The money collected in these nights are sent to the Slavic people ... Tomorrow, a greater street meeting and money collecting campaign will be organized in Petersburg: the Day for Slavic Flags.”³⁹⁸ On the other hand, Pravda communicated news on that there were restrictions on money collecting by the Turkish consulates in Russia while it was continuing for Slavs: “Sevastopol – Upon instruction from Petersburg, the Turkish Consulate was ruged to collect money and aids for the Red Crescent only

³⁹⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 06.10.1912, Issue: 136[19.10.1912], Telegraphs – Belgrade, “The War Precept from Serbia”.

³⁹⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 20.10.1912[2.11.1912], Issue: 148 Telegraphs-Belgrade.

³⁹⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 09.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue: 138 Telegraphs-Moscow.

³⁹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, “The Day for Slavic Flags”, article by A.Yuryev.

from the Turkish citizens.”³⁹⁹ This ban was criticized by Pravda in the first page: “... While these are trying to collect donations for the Slavic soldiers by selling the flags Slavic nations, they ban the money collecting for the wounded Turkish soldiers. They try to provoke the hostility among the blind tribes.”⁴⁰⁰

In another article, the one-sided policy on the donations and “the Day for the Slavic Flag” were severely criticized in Pravda:

... Indeed, what is the fund raising for the Slavs? Do not the poor Turks deserve the same aid? The poor Bulgarian and Turkish people, who have been put aside by their own governments, suffer from the war at the same level. And if you really have humanitarian feeling, provide aid to the both sides. However, our patriotic lords are trying to help only the Bulgarians and the Serbians. What is this? It is quite easy, they try to provoke hostility towards the Turks, not to help the people that are in difficult situation. They are trying to create a hostile atmosphere by provoking patriotism and getting prepared for a war for the Turkish land among Russia, Austria and Germany.⁴⁰¹

As opposed to the Day for Slavic Flag, the Russian workers engaged in fund-raising for the Turkish, Bulgarian and Serbian workers. This was reflected in the pages of Pravda as well: “In the workers’ meeting in Vlarsk Province, there was a proposal on raising funds for the Turkish, Bulgarian, Serbian, etc. workers. The fund-raising meeting is held against the „Day for Slavic Flag’.”⁴⁰² Apart from this, the anti-war demonstrations organized by the workers at the beginning of the war were communicated in Pravda as well: “The Petersburg workers regarded the war in the Balkans as killing of brothers each other, and demonstrated this through a series of protest meetings nowadays.”⁴⁰³ “The workers of Putilovski factory in the Navarskaya Zolstavo region have organized a protest meeting against the war.”⁴⁰⁴

The International Peace Bureau (Mir)⁴⁰⁵, which was active in Russia, was criticized by Pravda because of its Panslav position: “An organization named international

³⁹⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 20.11.1912[3.12.1912], Issue: 173, Telegraphs-Sevastopol

⁴⁰⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 18.12.1912[31.12.1912], Issue: 196, “War: Yes-No”, article by A.Zivanov.

⁴⁰¹ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190 “War: Yes-No”, article by A.Zivanov.

⁴⁰² Pravda Newspaper, 15.01.1913[28.1.1913], Issue:215, “The Balkan War and the Russian Workers”.

⁴⁰³ Pravda Newspaper, 09.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue: 138, “The Petersburg Workers and the Balkan War”.

⁴⁰⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 27.10.1912[9.11.1913], Issue: 154

⁴⁰⁵ This organization, which operated in Russia with the name of Mir and won the 1910 Nobel Peace Award, had close ties with the Tsar Nikola II. It still continues its operation in Switzerland. For more information, see: www.ipb.org.

Mir⁴⁰⁶, founded by the bourgeois parties organized in all European countries. This organization has an agency in Russia as well. This organization, which carries the word of peace in its name, did not initially utter a word when the war erupted in the Balkans. Then, this organization declared its sympathy towards the Slavic people...⁴⁰⁷ In another article published three weeks after this article, Turkey did not accept the conditions imposed by the Balkan Alliance and there emerged the possibility for the war to re-commence. In response, the rightists, Octobrists, Progressives and Cadets urged the Russian government to intervene into Turkey. The attitude of the representative of Mir during these discussions in the Duma IV was highly criticized in Pravda: “The representative of this ‘pro-peace’ group, lost himself [in Duma]and stated: ‘If the war erupts, I as Mir will provide support to you’.”⁴⁰⁸ The article continued its criticism by saying that “The Black Walled Liberal Duma” has shown its dirty face.

While the anti-Turkish atmosphere in Russia was frequently criticized in Pravda, this same position was reflected in the newspaper through the letters from readers. On 25.10.1912 (7.11.1912), in the 4th page, a letter from Chita⁴⁰⁹ was published under the section of “The Life in the Countryside”. The suicide of a Montenegrin, who lived in Chita and wanted to go to war voluntarily, yet could not manage to do so, was communicated via this news article in the letter format. It was stated that the Montenegrins were dismissed from their hometowns and forced to settle in Chita. Then, it was denoted that: “... The feelings of these [those Montenegrins living in Chita] have been wounded because of the Turkish atrocities [the treatments that are made only to animals] against the Montenegrins.”⁴¹⁰

The aforementioned news on the Panslavist atmosphere in Russia nearly stopped from November 1912 onwards. That is, the enthusiasm at the beginning of the war ceased after a while. The aforementioned financial and medical aids stopped, and even some humanitarian demands of the Balkan Slavs were rejected. This changing situation was reflected in Pravda as well: “Moscow – The Bulgarian Ministry of

⁴⁰⁶ It means peace as well as world in Russian.

⁴⁰⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 21.11.1912[4.12.1912], Issue:174, “The Real and Unreal World Friend”, unsigned article.

⁴⁰⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 09.12.1912[22.12.1912], Issue: 189, “Unification”, unsigned article.

⁴⁰⁹ It is a city with 320.000 population and located in the borders of China and Mongolia. The administrative center of the city is Zabaikalsky Krai.

⁴¹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 25.10.1912[7.11.1912], Issue: 152 “The Life in the Countryside”.

Internal Affairs have sent a telegraph to the Association of Russian Doctors. In the letter, it was requested the 60 experts on epidemiology and bacteriology to be sent in order to cope with the cholera epidemic. The Association of Doctors rejected this request.”⁴¹¹

The Panslavist atmosphere, which have been tried to be described, was created by te Tsarist Russia. The Panslavist policy, which had been provoked by Russia to restrain Austria after her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, resulted in the emergence of a public opinion that was not compatible with the objectives and interests of the Russian Tsarism. The passion of this public opion reached its peak at the start of the Balkan Wars. This impassioned Panslavist public supported the Balkan Slavs up to the end. In fact, they supported the Bulgarian penetration into Istanbul, waging a war against Austria in order for Montenegro to have Shkodra, and sending troops to Edirne to make the Turkish army withdraw from there. When one looks at these demands, it can be easliy concluded that these were not compatible with the foreign policy objectives of Russia. Yet, it can also be said that this fabricated public opinion had its impact on the governors of Russia and the practitioners of her foreign policy. On 31 March 1913, the Istanbul Ambassador of Austria at the time, Marki Pallavicini, mentioned Mahmut Sevket Pasha about the failure of the overlap between the feelings of the Russian people and the objectives of the Russian government:

The Russian people want the Bulgarians to enter into Istanbul. By this way, their feeling of being Slav is boosted. However, I accept that the Tsar does not want to see any nation other than the Turks in Istanbul. The General Dimitriyev and Danev from the Bulgarians are in Petersburg nowadays. They are trying to influence the Tsar. When the Russian Ambassador said that he did not want to see Bulgarians in Istanbul, he was truthful. This is because he conveyed the feelings of the Tsar. Yet, the Russian people do not think in this way. It is possible for the public opinion in Russia to increase its pressure over the Tsar and convince him in letting the Bulgarians go into Istanbul.⁴¹²

In fact, as an experienced diplomat, Pallaviçini’s mentioning of the possibility of the pressure of the public opinion to make the Tsar retreat demonstrates the contradictions within Russia.

⁴¹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 07.02.1913[20.2.1913], Issue:235, Moscow, “The Cholera Epidemic in the Bulgarian Army”.

⁴¹² Mahmut Şevket Paşa-Hafız Hakkı Paşa, Rumeli Yağmalanan İmparatorluk, Örgün Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2009, p.90

The greatest supporter of the Tsarist regime was naturally the Russian press in the process of the fabrication of this Panslavist atmosphere. While the press was engineering the public opinion within the country, it was sending messages to other countries as well. One can well understand from the telegraphs received from Vienna by Pravda that the countries at the time pay careful attention to the printed press of other countries. The Ottoman Empire too followed the Russian press in a careful manner. This can be observed in the memoirs of the Grand Vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha. He narrated his meeting with Padishah Mehmet Reshad as in the following: “Padishah Mehmet Reshad learnt from the Russian newspapers that the Party of Union and Progress did not want him and tried to replace him with Yusuf İzzettin. He told me this in our meeting.” In his memoirs mentioning this incident, Mahmud Sevket Pasha stated with regard to the Ottoman Empire that: “The articles published in the foreign press on us [the Ottoman Empire] used to be translated and sent to the ministers and police officers on daily basis.”⁴¹³ After his meeting with Padishah, he stated that he gave the order that Padishah would not receive the news articles in the press on the Ottoman Empire.”⁴¹⁴

This chapter has tried to analyze the Panslavist movement during the Balkan Wars with reference to the quotations from Pravda. The most important observation that can be made on the basis of Pravda’s news article is that Russia tried to avoid from a conflict with the Austria Hungarian Empire in the course of the war. The official statements made and policy followed by Russia were determined with reference to this policy objective. However, as elaborated on under the section entitled as “Panslavism in Russia during the War”, the Panslavist public opinion was always reactive towards Austria from the very beginning of the Balkan Wars. As indicated above, at the beginning of the war, the groups, who created uproars during the sending the Bulgarian and Serbian students off the war against the Turks from Kiev and Warsaw, attacked the consulates of Austria. During the problem of Shkodra, these groups would march by shouting “Austria, get out! Germany, get out!”. As a

⁴¹³ MŞP, p.148

⁴¹⁴ Mahmut Sevket Pasha states in his memoirs dated on 9 May 1913 that the Ottoman Empire engaged in bribing in order to make articles to be written in favor of the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars: “The Foreign Minister (Sait Halim Pasha) requested additional grants for bribing to create positive atmosphere our favor in the Paris press. This grant was accepted.” See: MŞP, p.150

matter of fact, Russia at the time was not a country of freedoms. In the period from October 1912 to October 1913, on which the newspaper search for this thesis has been conducted, the Russian government, which closed the newspaper four times, exiled its editors and would totally close the newspaper down in 1914, could have stopped the extravagance of the Pan Slavist movement from the very beginning if it really wanted to do so. Yet, the historical fact points out the other way around. That is, alongside its official policy, it implicitly directed the Russian people against the the Austria Hungarian Empire, into whom she had gotten her knife since 1908. For Pravda, the supporter and collaborator of the Russian government on this issue was the leader of the liberal Cadet Party, Miliukov, who was called by Lenin as “the servant of Anglo-French imperialist capital”. Yet, as indicated above, common ground shared by the Russian government and Miliukov disappeared in the course of the Second Balkan War. However, they would re-unite in the form of nationalist Progressive Bloc during the First World War.

As another important point, Russia left Bulgaria alone even though she had supported Bulgaria previously. The central reason for that Russia noticed during the Balkan Wars that a powerful Bulgaria would pose threats to the national interests of Russia.

While finalizing this chapter on the Russian policy during the Balkan Wars, the last, but not the least, important point to particularly underline is concerned with the position of the socialists, especially the Bolsheviks, in Russia during the Balkan Wars. These groups adopted a balanced and fair position towards the Turks and the Muslims. That is why they frequently criticized the biased attitude of the Russian press.

CHAPTER 6

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN PRAVDA

The Balkan Wars referred one of the biggest defeats in the Turkish history. This chapter will examine the news articles published in Pravda on the developments in the Ottoman Empire during the war. Before going into a detailed analysis on this issue, the internal relations that gave rise to the defeat will be examined. Then, the news articles in Pravda on the domestic political developments and especially on the military and government in the Ottoman Empire will be examined. These articles will be analyzed on chronological order and with a comparison to the Turkish sources describing the period in question.

The Pravda Newspaper frequently communicated news articles on the Ottoman Empire in its pages. These news articles primarily concerned with such issues as the impact of the war, the developments in the military, and the developments in Istanbul and the government, which was shaken due to the early defeat. Under the newspaper's section of "War", the developments on the issues of human casualties, the defeat of the militaries were communicated. In this thesis study, such news, which can indeed be found in the Turkish sources as well, was not given place.

It is important to underline that during the period investigated (October 1912 – October 1913), Pravda had a constant reporter in Istanbul, who reported news to St. Petersburg. As compared to the telegraphs received from the capital cities of the other Balkan states, Pravda received many more telegraphs on the everyday life in Istanbul of the time. Additionally, it has been remarkable to observe that the telegraphs on the developments in the Ottoman military were quite detailed in content and provided significant information to reflect the concrete developments at the time.

In this chapter, it will be particularly underlined that Pravda mentioned the massacres undertaken against the Turkish and Muslim population, which was a phenomenon not communicated in the Russian press. The resistance of Edirne for long and difficult months was reflected in the pages of Pravda, and there will be a separate section on this issue as well. Lastly, the chapter has another section on the Young

Turks, who were perceived quite sympathetically, constantly followed, but subjected to frequent criticisms by the editorial team of Pravda.

6.1. The Internal Developments in the Ottoman Empire from the Beginning of the Balkan War to the Raid on the Sublime Porte

Before the war, Europe had already been separated into two camps and getting prepared for a major conflict that seemed to be unavoidable.⁴¹⁵ The Tripoli War between the Ottoman Empire and Italy had provided suitable conditions for the Balkan states, who had been watching for the opportunity of the partition of Macedonia.

While the Ottoman Empire was at war against Italy, the Bulgarian-Serbian Agreement was concluded and it was publicized in the French Newspaper, *Le Temps*, on 7 May 1912. In spite of this development, there were still writings in the Ottoman press on the establishment of a Balkan unity under the leadership of the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹⁶ In his book called *Batış Yılları*, Falih Rıfkı Atay describes the pre-war period as in the following:

... The discussion and disputes to allocate our lands, the shuttling [of the Balkan states] to take the great states to their own sides, continual conversations between Russia and Germany, and France and Britain, all these leaked to our newspapers from here and there. However, we were preoccupied with our internal struggle and struggles. We became deaf in the midst of our screams. We would not hear even if they engage in bargaining nearby.⁴¹⁷

When one looks at the eve of the Balkan Wars, the following developments should be particularly underlined: The Turkish-Italian War, which erupted in 1911 following Italy's attack to Tripoli, was still continuing. The Empire was dealing with the internal turmoil as well, which was openly manifested as in the rebellions in Albania, Yemen and Syria. On the other hand, there were continual conflicts among the supporters of the Party of Union and Progress and their opponents. In July 1912, the political group called Saviour Officers (*Halaskar Zabitan*) removed the Party from the power, the Assembly was adjourned, and the "Great Cabinet" was established without grassroots support. On 6 August 1912, the martial law was declared and the

⁴¹⁵ Artuç, p.63

⁴¹⁶ Artuç, p.75

⁴¹⁷ Atay, p.52

followers of the Unionists (*İttihatçı*) began to be arrested. On 11 August 1912, the *Tanin* Newspaper, which was the media organ of the Unionists, was closed.⁴¹⁸ That is, the political polarization reached its peak in spite of the war with Italy.

When one looks at the military situation⁴¹⁹, the new cabinet, which was not aware of the conditions in the Balkans, had disbanded about 100.000 soldiers only two months before the war.⁴²⁰ While the troops were disbanded, new ones were recruited, and neither the soldiers nor the officers knew one another because of the change in the personnel structure of the army. The war seemed to be lost even before its commencement with such a confused structure of the army.⁴²¹ The contention between *Halaskar Zabitan* and the Unionists were underway. Moreover, the army was characterized by planlessness and disorder. There was no war plan in the hands of the Ottoman commanders. The situation was so miserable for the Ottoman army that when the Grand Vizier Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha felt the need to ask for the approximate number of the Ottoman forces, he could not get answer from the War Minister and the Deputy Commander in Chief, Nazım Pasha.⁴²²

On 15 September 1912, while the *Attaché Militaire* of Sofia Embassy of the Ottoman Empire informed the government about the war intention and preparations of the Bulgarians via a telegraph⁴²³, the Ottoman Foreign Minister Gabriel Noradunkyan Efendi's statement that "I am certain about the Balkans as my faith" would be circulated.⁴²⁴ The telegraph of the Deputy Foreign Minister Asım Bey that was sent to the Ottoman ambassadorships abroad was noteworthy too. The telegraph can be summarized as in the following: "The Balkan states have no longer approached towards the Ottoman Empire in a hostile manner. The reason is the friendly attitude of the great states towards the Ottoman Empire. Let the officials of the states where you are on mission know that we thank them for this situation."⁴²⁵ With the

⁴¹⁸ Ahmad, pp.135-140

⁴¹⁹ For the detailed information on military situation of the armies of Ottoman and others before the Balkan War see: Balkan Harbi (1912-1913), I.Cilt, Genelkurmay Basımevi, Ankara, 1970

⁴²⁰ Karal, p.298. In the meantime, there was an implicit mobilization initiated in Bulgaria. See: Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Makedonya'dan Orta Asya'ya Enver Paşa, II. Cilt 1908-1914, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1968,p.286.

⁴²¹ Talat, p.27

⁴²² Karal, p.306

⁴²³ Karal, p.298

⁴²⁴ Aydemir, p.284

⁴²⁵ Aydemir, pp.281-282

expression of the famous historian Enver Ziya Karal, this government established by Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha was simpleton [*allahlık*].⁴²⁶ On the eve of the Balkan Wars, the Grand Vizier Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha was 75 years old while the head of the Council of the State [*Danıştay*], Kıbrıslı Kamil Pahsa, who would become grand vizier after the outbreak of the war, was 80 years old. Fatih Kerimov, a Russian Muslim who came to Istanbul to follow the Balkan War on behalf of the *Vakit* Newspaper broadcasting in Orenburg, Russia, stated on 26 January 1913 (8 February 1913) that: “When Kamil Pasha was observed while coming to the Sublime Porte with scarf in his neck, British blankets in his feet, shrinking in the closed car at the 12 degrees, many people were saying that it was a pipe dream to expect this poor old man to rescue the country.”⁴²⁷

When one looks at the Ottoman governments in the course of the War, it is possible to say that the Empire was in a constant turmoil. Shortly before the war, on 17 July 1912, the Kuchuk Mehmed Said Pasha was removed from the grand viziership. Moreover, a new government, which would stay in power for 90 days, was established by Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha. When the defeat in the Balkan Wars became evident, another government was established by Kıbrıslı Kamil Pasha on 29 October 1912. With the raid on the Sublime Porte, the Union and Progress Party came to the power once again on 23 January 1913 and Mahmut Sevket Pasha established a new government. On 11 June 1913, Mahmut Sevket Pasha was killed while running the government and his government was replaced by Said Halim Pasha’s government. That is, the government was changed for five times only within one year. All these developments indicated that the Empire was in a constant political instability from the very beginning of the Balkan Wars. In fact, the military was in a similar situation as well. When the Grand Vizier Mahmut Sevket Pasha complained about the failure of the navy to succeed against the Greeks, the British consultant in the army, Lipus Pasha, replied that: “The reason for the Turkish navy not to perform a work is the change of 4 marine ministers and 4 navy commanders within 9 months.”⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ Karal, p.297

⁴²⁷ Kerimi, p.222

⁴²⁸MŞP, p.108

In spite of all these, the European great powers thought that the Ottoman Empire would become victorious in the coming war. Before the war, when Talat Pasha met with the most experienced ambassador in Istanbul, namely the Austria Hungarian ambassador Marquis Johann von Pallavicini (1848-1941), Pallavicini stated that he expected Turkey to win the war.⁴²⁹ On this basis, the great powers declared before the war that the *status quo* would be secured whatever the results of the war would be.⁴³⁰

Lastly, Falih Rıfkı describes the atmosphere in the Ottoman Empire during and after the Balkan Wars as in the following: “When one has a bird’s eye view on the Ottoman Empire in 1911 and a little later, he would be frightened. He would want to close his eyes with his two hands. There cannot be found a more informative example of the thing called as disturbance [than this one].”⁴³¹ As a matter of fact, the Ottoman Empire was in a disturbance of demise. After describing the pre-war atmosphere in the Ottoman Empire, it seems plausible to begin analyzing the period from the beginning of the Balkan Wars to the raid on the Sublime Porte on the basis of the news articles published in Pravda.

In the First Balkan War, which erupted in early October 1912, the Ottoman forces lost ground against the Balkan states primarily because of the defeats in the Kırkkilise and Lüleburgaz battles. After these defeats, Russia and Austria Hungary gave up the pre-determined policy on the preservation of the *status quo*.⁴³² The connection between the Eastern and Western Armies was broken after these defeats, and the army began retreating in a quite disorganized manner.

The panic experienced in the Turkish army after these defeats was reflected in Pravda through news received not from Istanbul, but from Sofia: “The Turks that have been hit are nervous. Panic has erupted within the Turkish army. This situation has happened because there is no definite plan in the hands of the Turkish general

⁴²⁹ Talat, p.27

⁴³⁰ There were some people like the Serbian Minister of Finance Lazar Pacu, who made a reverse interpretation of this statement. When Trotsky met with Pacu as a journalist during the Balkan Wars, Pacu stated: “Europe regards Turkey as its legitimate property. However, the European Great States cannot agree on how they will share this property – and thereby Europe protects Turkey. If the great powers were sure that we would be defeated and drenched in blood, they would wait and leave the events alone. Yet, they are afraid of that the loser would not be us. They are afraid of „their Turkey’.” See: Troçki, p.94

⁴³¹ Atay, p.43

⁴³² Bayur, C2K2, pp.39-40

staff.”⁴³³ The planlessness in the general staff was added by the problems encountered with during the management and conduct of the officers in the army⁴³⁴, and the army experienced an early disorganization. This problem was reflected in the top ranks of the army as well. On 25 October 1912, the reporter of the *Daily Telegraph* Newspaper, A. Berthold, who met with the commander of the Eastern Army, Abdullah Pasha, stated that: “The commander in chief was nearly dying of starvation. The personnel staffs were trying to scrape the poor lands in the garden and dig out a few corn residues, and they were cooking these residues with a little flour like slurry. Here you are the food of the commander who would command over 175.000 soldiers.” When Bertold gave the canned food to the Pasha, Abdullah Pasha said that: “If you did not come, I could not remain standing.”⁴³⁵ Similarly, in his memoirs, Cemal Pasha mentioned about a telegraph, which summarized the condition of the Ottoman army at the time. In the telegraph, Cemal Pasha was charged with the defence of the Yassıviran-Uzunlu and Nakkaşköy-Mahmutpaşa fronts as the commander of the 4th Regular Army Legion (*Nizamiye Fırkası*). Cemal Pasha said that there was no information about where this legion was situated. This incident too demonstrated the level of planlessness in the Ottoman army at the beginning of the war.⁴³⁶ The defeat of such an unplanned and unprepared army was disastrous as well. The telegraph sent by the British reporter Donahaye, who was following the Lüleburgaz battle for the *Daily Chronicle* Newspaper, from Constanza to the centre was published in the first page of Pravda:

The retreat of the Turks has become the escape of hungry, exhausted and demented masses ... I have been a witness to many military operations; however, I have never encountered with such an awesome disaster, and with such scenes as experienced by the hungry, exhausted, fatigued and lonely Anatolian peasants; I have never thought of this either.⁴³⁷

Omer Seyfettin, who participated in the battles of the Balkan Wars and kept a diary, described the retreat of the soldiers as in the following: “Oh dear God, what a

⁴³³ Pravda Newspaper, 20.10.1912, No: 148 Telegraphs-Sofia, “The Panic of the Turks”.

⁴³⁴ Trotsky met with an Armenian captive in Sofia, who told that: “... And the officers were dragging us into disaster. They did not know where and how they would take us, and when there occurred a problem, they were the first ones to run. If the officers were a little better than what they were, maybe even this army would not be defeated in such a awesome manner.” See: Troçki, p.234

⁴³⁵ Stephane Lauzanne, *Balkan Acıları*, Trans. by Murat Çulcu, Kastaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, p.56

⁴³⁶ *Hatıralar, İttihat ve Terakki-1. Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, Cemal Paşa, editor: Alpay Kabacalı, İş Bankası Yayınları, 3. Edition, İstanbul, 2006, pp.3-4

⁴³⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 28.10.1912[10.11.1912], Issue: 155, “The horror of the war”, unsigned article.

disaster! I have seen the ugliest of the retreats, dispersions [of the soldiers].⁴³⁸ As a matter of fact, the planless retreat caused panic among the soldiers and the army was defeated in terms of morale as well. A telegraph received from Sofia explicitly demonstrated this situation in Pravda: “The Turkish army has been dispersed in all the directions. The majority of the army has voluntarily laid down their arms. The remaining portion of the army has become so demoralized that the local people frighten the soldiers, make them to lay the arms down and run.”⁴³⁹ Trotsky, who followed the war in Belgrade and Sofia, underlined this situation by saying that: “... It is obvious for everyone, who has carefully followed the course of the war, that the Bulgarians, just like the Serbians, owe their victory to the breakdown of the morale of the Turkish army and their extemporaneousness.”⁴⁴⁰ In another telegraph received from Belgrade, it was stated that: “In the battle near Bitola [Manastır], the Turkish soldiers, who have been defeated by the Serbians, have been voluntarily becoming captives to the Serbians.”⁴⁴¹ Hasan Cemil Çambel, one of the former directors of the Turkish Historical Society, describes the dissolution of the army as in the following:

... the army was no longer an orderly army under order and command, it was flowing towards Çatalca in unorganized troops. When these troops were asked „My fellow countryman, where are you going?’, that leaderless soldier was replying by saying that „To Anatolia, to our villages!’⁴⁴²

In the mean time, Istanbul was in a severe turmoil as well. The contention between the Unionists and Halaskar Zabitan were underway in the army⁴⁴³, and the government headed by Kamil Pasha launched an arresting campaign against the Young Turks. The news on this apprehension attack was received by Russia even

⁴³⁸ Tahir Alangu-Ömer Seyfettin Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Romanı, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1.Edition, 201, p.191

⁴³⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 26.10.1912[8.11.1912], Issue: 153 Telegraphs-Sofia “The Panic of the Turks”

⁴⁴⁰ Troçki, p.306

⁴⁴¹ Pravda Newspaper, 17.11.1912[30.11.1912], Issue: 171 Telegraphs-Belgrade

⁴⁴² Hasan Cemil Çambel, Makaleler Hatıralar, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1987, p.108

⁴⁴³ This contention during the war went to a point that the both sides called the soldiers not to fight. The former Interior Minister of the Party of Union and Progress, Talat Bey, joined to the Balkan War as a soldier and went to Edirne. He was threatened by execution by the Edirne commander Sukru Pasha because he engaged in pro-Union and Progress propaganda. Sukru Pasha told Talat Bey that: “My Talat Bey son, if you do not want me to get you executed in the middle of Edirne by tomorrow, take off from here... Instead of helping me, you are putting the army out of action and trying to inspire the soldiers not to fight ... As the Edirne Commander Sukru Pasha, I am ordering you. You will take Edirne off just now and go to Istanbul. Otherwise, I will unwillingly make you executed or fusilladed you as the former Interior Minister of the Union and Progress.” İlhan Bardakçı, İmparatorluğun Yağması, Türk Edebiyat Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, p.57

before their realization: “According to the telegraph received from Istanbul, all the leaders of the party of the Young Turks would be arrested because the government thinks that they are against the peace.”⁴⁴⁴ Only 13 days after this telegraph, another was sent from Istanbul informing the apprehension of 400 members of the Party of Union and Progress: “About 400 Young Turks have been arrested and sent to Konya. In the lawsuit, which will be tried in the military court, the Young Turks are accused of blaming the government for betrayal among the soldiers who are going to the war, and of arranging killer for hire for Sultan, Nazım Pasha and the other authorized persons.”⁴⁴⁵ Some of the leaders of Young Turks like Cavit Bey and Hakkı Bey went to Marseille because of the arresting campaign. This incident too was reflected in Pravda with the headline of “The Escape of the Young Turks”.⁴⁴⁶ While the Unionists were arrested, the contention among the soldiers continued during the war, and went to a point of internal conflict. It was a development communicated by Pravda too: “It has been stated that the 13.000 soldiers, who had been purged after the 31 March incident, and sent to Macedonia for construction of roads and bridges, and re-called in the Balkan War, revolted near Hadımköy on 25 October (7 November), and 32 of them have been killed.”⁴⁴⁷ The internal conflicts among the soldiers forced Nazım Pasha to intervene into the situation: “The Sublime Porte has decided to release the apprehended Young Turks. Nazım Pasha stated that the apprehension of the leaders of the Young Turks has had great impact on the soldiers.”⁴⁴⁸ As a matter of fact, 400 people, who were arrested with the order of the Minister of Interior Resit Bey, and 150 people, who had been previously arrested, were released with the initiative of Nazım Pasha.⁴⁴⁹

When the war unexpectedly continued against the Ottoman Empire, the Sublime Porte applied to the great powers for mediatorship. On 25-26 October, the proposal for the intervention of the great powers was discussed in a meeting attended by the

⁴⁴⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 02.11.1912[15.11.1912], Issue:158, Telegraphs-Paris.

⁴⁴⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 14.11.1912[27.11.1912], Issue: 168, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Apprehension of the Young Turks”.

⁴⁴⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 09.11.1912[22.11.1912], Issue: 164 Telegraphs-Paris, “The Escape of the Young Turks”.

⁴⁴⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 02.11.1912[15.11.1912], Issue: 158, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Rebellion in the Turkish Army”.

⁴⁴⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 10.11.1912[23.11.1912], Issue: 165 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Turkish Affairs”.

⁴⁴⁹ Tahsin Uzer, Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 3.Edition, Ankara, 1999, p.320

council of ministers, religious notables, and the members of the council of state.⁴⁵⁰ When the great powers did not accept such a proposal, panic and resentment towards the great powers increased in Istanbul. This situation was reflected in the pages of Pravda via the following sentences:

Istanbul is in panic, and the panic has gradually begun to wrap the top statesmen. According to a rumour, the Sultan, who accepted the ambassadors of Austria and Germany, disappointedly criticized the attitudes of these countries towards the enemies of Turkey and reproached. The Sultan pins all of his hopes to Britain, and expects Britain to rescue Turkey as she did in 1853 and 1878.⁴⁵¹

It is not certain whether a meeting was held, or not; however, in the date this article was published in the newspaper, the Sultan appointed the pro-British, and anti-Unionist Kamil Pasha as grand vizier on 29 October. The Ottoman Cabinet, who could not make the great powers accept the role of mediatorship, lost all of its hopes to win the war. Moreover, as if it confessed that it would not ensure order in the country, it decided on 6 November 1912 with a decision of the Council of Ministers that each great power to sent a warship⁴⁵² to the Istanbul Port to safeguard their own interests.⁴⁵³

The new cabinet headed by Kamil Pasha declared jihad approximately one month after the commencement of the war in order to increase the spiritual power of the disorganized army. The statement of jihad by the Shaykh Al-Islam was reflected in Pravda as well.⁴⁵⁴ It is not known whether the soldiers benefited such a statement; however, Trotsky, who met the Turkish soldiers in Bulgaria as a journalist, stated that the Turkish soldiers were in a moral hazard and were not ready for the war because the Christians had been recruited to the army. After meeting with the Turkish soldiers, Trotsky published his observations in the *Kievskaya Misl* Newspaper on 4 November 1912. Trotsky stated that the recruitment of the

⁴⁵⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 17.10.1912[30.10.1912], Issue: 145 Telegraphs-Istanbul, "The Atmosphere in Istanbul".

⁴⁵¹ Pravda Newspaper, 18.10.1912[31.10.1912], Issue: 146 Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Turkey and Britain".

⁴⁵² 25 days after the permission for the entrance of warships of the great powers to the Istanbul Port, a telegraph was published in Pravda on dispatch of a Russian warship to Trabzon: "The Russian Consul in Trabzon informed the Trabzon Governor that „Russia has sent a ship full of soldiers to Trabzon in order to safeguard the Russian people. This is because the situation in the city is not calm nowadays’. There is no source reached to confirm this news.” See: Pravda Newspaper, 18.11.1912[1.12.1912], Issue: 172, Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Protection of the Russians".

⁴⁵³ Ahmad, pp.142-143

⁴⁵⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 28.10.1912[10.11.1912], Issue: 155, Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Religious War".

Christians to the army destroyed the belief that Islam was the only spiritual connection between the state and the army, and thus there emerged a deep moral emptiness. He also asserted that it was a mistake of the Young Turks.⁴⁵⁵

While the sudden defeat and Bulgarian threat on Istanbul was underway, the Istanbul press tried to hide the failures. As the failures increased, the government's oppression over the press increased too. Within this context, in early November, the *Tanin* Newspaper, the media organ of the Unionists, was closed down. Such oppression over the press was reflected in Pravda: "Broadcasting of the *Alemdar* and *Tanin* Newspapers, who criticized taking of the Sultan Abdulhamit from Salonika to Istanbul, has been stopped."⁴⁵⁶

The censorship over the press was noticed by the Istanbul reporter of Pravda, who described the atmosphere in Istanbul by stating that: "the failures that are hidden from the people are so many that..."⁴⁵⁷ In the same article, it was stated that the indictment of General Aziz and Mahmut Muhtar to the military court was a situation not accepted by the Sublime Porte, but an indicator of the failures. As a matter of fact, this telegraph was not an exception. Fatih Kerimi, the reporter of the *Vakit* Newspaper, an Orgenburg-centered Russian newspaper, stated with regard to the condition of the press on 13 November 1912 that: "... it should not be kept back. The truthful Turkish newspapers have been closed down. The remaining is tied to the existing governors and writes totally unrealistic things."⁴⁵⁸

As a matter of fact, the realities were hidden from the people and fabricated rumours were in the air. This groundless news of successes was conveyed to Russia through the Pravda reporter: "Thousands of people gathered around the railway station upon the news that 10.000 Bulgarian captives would be brought to Istanbul. Conflicts erupted between the people gathered and the police who intervened to clear the people out. Tens of people have been wounded."⁴⁵⁹ The submission of Salonika was reflected similarly in the press. Zekeriya Sertel, who was a journalist in Salonika during the Balkan Wars, narrates that while the war was going badly for the Ottoman

⁴⁵⁵ Troçki, pp.233-235

⁴⁵⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 09.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue: 138 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁴⁵⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 17.10.1912[30.10.1912], Issue: 145 Telegraphs, "The Atmosphere in Istanbul".

⁴⁵⁸ Kerimi, p.19

⁴⁵⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 21.10.1912[3.11.1912], Issue: 149, Subtitled as "Turkey" under the main heading of "War".

Empire, and the news were heard on the enemy's coming to the Karaferiye suburbs, the governor of the time, Nazım Pasha, told the journalist that: "The enemy was defeated in Karaferiye. Fifty thousands of people have been captured. These captives will be taken to our city by train tomorrow morning. Announce the good news to the people, they go to the station and meet [the captives]." Sertel continues that they printed this news with big points and went to the train station in the next morning. When the masses saw the train, a flood of applause arose from the masses: "When the wagons became empty, and the square were full of the Greek soldiers, we were all stumped ... We came back in tears."⁴⁶⁰

While Salonika was handed over the Greeks without firing a shot, the Turks escaping from Macedonia were going to the Salonika Port to go Anatolia. The poverty of the Turks at the port caught the eyes of the Pravda reporter:

The Turks escaping from Macedonia have crowded out Salonika. Thousands of Turks are in miserable conditions. When Salonika has fallen too, the people here have headed towards Istanbul; however, the ships do not take these people ... The soldiers are in the most miserable conditions here. The utterly penniless soldiers want to return back to Anatolia.⁴⁶¹

The Pravda Newspaper also communicated news on the daily life in Istanbul beside the developments on the war. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, all the schools, excluding the primary schools, were closed down, and turned into hospitals.⁴⁶² It was also reflected in the pages of Pravda that Istanbul University was closed too and the students went to the war.⁴⁶³ On the other hand, the editorial centre of Pravda was informed that xenophobia increased as the news on defeats in the front lines was received.⁴⁶⁴ In this period, when the Turkish army was resisting in Catalca, the people of Istanbul were waiting for the retreat of the army. Everybody in Istanbul, including the government, was in an expectation of chaos.⁴⁶⁵ The Sublime Porte was wrapped by expectation of chaos and panic. On 7 November 1912, the Ottoman Government applied to the ambassadors of the great powers in Istanbul for

⁴⁶⁰ Zekeriya Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 4. Edition, 2000, pp.41-42

⁴⁶¹ Pravada Newspaper, 16.11.1912[29.11.1912], Issue: 170, Telegraphs-Salonika, "The Condition of the Turks".

⁴⁶² Pravda Newspaper, 24.10.1912[6.11.1912], Issue: 151 Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Food Deficiency".

⁴⁶³ Pravda Newspaper, 13.10.1912[26.10.1912], Issue: 141 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁴⁶⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 24.10.1912[6.10.1912], Issue: 151 Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Food Deficiency".

⁴⁶⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 20.10.1912[2.11.1912], Issue: 148 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

mediatorship for the third time. The Foreign Minister Gabriel Noradinkyan Efendi implied by telling the ambassadors that there were 350.000 non-Muslim and 650.000 Muslim populations in Istanbul, and when the Bulgarians entered into the city, there would be turmoil and the Christians would have troubles.⁴⁶⁶ There is no doubt that this meant that “we cannot stop the Bulgarians with our armies, the great powers should do this. Otherwise, your religious fellows and subjects will suffer too.”

The warships of the great powers would cast anchor in Istanbul shortly after this time. The Istanbul reporter informed Pravda that the Christians were arrested on these days: “Many Christians have been apprehended by the Turkish government in Istanbul and the countryside. Many Christians have been apprehended in Drama, Salonika, Vidin, Florina, Gergeli ve Struma.”⁴⁶⁷ At nearly the same time with this news, Pravda published a telegraph from Paris on the warning of the Sublime Porte by Poincare.⁴⁶⁸ In the telegraph: “Poincare has requested from the Sublime Porte that the Christians in Turkey not be subjected to oppression. Otherwise, as the protector of the Christians in the Near East, France will encumber Turkey with this.”⁴⁶⁹ Even though there was not oppression, it was a fact that some komitadjis were apprehended. At the beginning of the war, the Sublime Porte tried to send the members of the resistance movement in Macedonia to Istanbul.⁴⁷⁰ Similarly, some Bulgarian-origin people were exiled to Anatolia with the suspecting of their being spies.⁴⁷¹ However, there were very few people subjected to such a political measure. The cholera epidemic erupted in Istanbul at this period. This epidemic, which was widespread among the soldiers and caused the death of many, were brought from Macedonia to Istanbul by both the soldiers and the people who escaped from Macedonia and migrated to Istanbul. This epidemic was reflected in Pravda as in the following: “Between 23 October – 15 December, 2.284 cholera cases were detected

⁴⁶⁶ Bayur, C2K2, pp.83-84

⁴⁶⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 20.10.1912[2.11.1912], Issue: 148 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁴⁶⁸ Raymond Poincare(1860-1934): He was a French statesman who served five times as Prime Minister, and as President from 1913 to 1920.

⁴⁶⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 9.11.1912[22.11.1912], Issue:164, Telegraphs-Paris.

⁴⁷⁰ Ali Remzi Yiğitgüden, 1912-1913 Balkan Harbi'nde Edirne Kale Muharebeleri, Genelkurmay ATASE Başkanlığı, Ankara,2006, p.40

⁴⁷¹ Kerimi, p.237, pp.245-246

in Istanbul. 1.095 of this determined cases resulted in death.”⁴⁷² These numbers do not include the soldiers and immigrants.⁴⁷³

When the war was underway, one of the biggest problems was the nourishment of the soldiers and the people. Because the territorial connection of Edirne, Shkodra and Janina was broken from the Ottoman Empire, this problem was experienced in these places in the most severe manner. In early December 1912, when the London Conference was gathered, one of the themes discussed in the conference was the nourishment of the Turkish soldiers in these three castles. The Pravda reporter conveyed the statement of the Sublime Porte with the following telegraph sent on 8 (21) December 1912: “The Ottoman Government will demand sending of food to the soldiers in Edirne, Shkodra and Janina. If the demands in question are not realized, the peace negotiations would not continue.”⁴⁷⁴ As a matter of fact, the raise of this demand by Turkey and corresponding response of the states of the Balkan Alliance were communicated in Pravda in the next day.⁴⁷⁵ According to a telegraph received two days after this news, the agenda of the Sublime Porte was changed on this particular issue: “The Turkish delegation did not fasten upon the sending of food to Edirne in today’s session.”⁴⁷⁶ The food aid would not be provided until the fall of these castles. However, the Bulgarian army in Catalca received food-filled wagons from Istanbul and Bulgaria. Moreover, the Edirne Commander Sukru Pasha was ordered to repair the destroyed railways in Edirne to enable the Bulgarian delivery of food to Catalca. This meant that the Ottoman Empire had to enable the delivery of food to the enemy forces while it could not feed its own soldiers in Catalca.⁴⁷⁷ The Bulgarian army in Catalca received food aid from Istanbul as well. This situation caught the eyes of foreign journalists in Istanbul. On 5 December 1912, Kerimi wrote

⁴⁷² Pravda Newspaper, 23.12.1912[5.1.1913], Issue: 201, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Cholera Epidemic”.

⁴⁷³ For detailed information for the people died because of epidemics during the Balkan Wars, see: Oya Dağlar Macar, *Balkan Savaşları’nda Salgın Hastalıklar ve Sağlık Hizmetleri*, Libra Kitap, 1. Basım, İstanbul, 2010

⁴⁷⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 08.12.1912[21.12.1912], Issue:188, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Peace Conference”.

⁴⁷⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 09.12.1912[22.12.1912], Issue: 189 Telegraphs-London.

⁴⁷⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 11.12.1912[24.12.1912], Issue: 190, Telegraphs-London, “The Peace Negotiations”.

⁴⁷⁷ Necdet Hayta-Togay Seçkin Birbudak, *Balkan Savaşları’nda Edirne, Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları*, Ankara, 2010, pp.74-75

that: “Seven wagons of bread and several thousands of salt were sent to the Bulgarian army in Catalca from Istanbul yesterday.”⁴⁷⁸

Not only the soldiers in the aforementioned castles, but also the people in Istanbul suffered from food deficiency. In a telegraph on 24 October (6 November), it was stated that: “Yesterday, the entire city run out of bread. The delivery of flour is never made.”⁴⁷⁹ The Sublime Porte appropriated the food in Istanbul in order to feed the army in Catalca, and this was communicated in Pravda as in the following: “Tomorrow, the entire foodstuff will be appropriated in the city, and 10% of the foodstuff will be left to the city dwellers.”⁴⁸⁰ After the raid on the Sublime Porte, the Unionists began to pursue more oppressive policies; they established commissions to undertake the food appropriations and the merchants were provided coupons. All these were reflected in Pravda as in the following:

With the order of the Sultan, the members of the newly established commission have been provided with the authority to appropriate a certain proportion of the food products. The merchants will be provided with coupons and equivalent value will be paid afterwards. By the way, those merchants, who had placed order for food from abroad, have cancelled these orderings.⁴⁸¹

During the period investigated in this section, when the Turkish army resisted in front of Catalca, there was a general atmosphere of panic both in the army and the government. As one can infer from the quotations from Pravda, the Pravda reporter provided a good sense of this panic atmosphere. The major incident, which would cause excitement for both the Ottoman Empire, the great powers as well as the Balkan states, would be the raid on the Sublime Porte. The Union and Progress would seize the power, which it had lost six months ago, in a bloody manner.

6.2. The Raid on the Sublime Porte and the Subsequent Developments in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, who was under the pressure of withdrawing from Edirne, tried to reinforce her forces in Catalca while waiting for possible conflicts to erupt among

⁴⁷⁸ Kerimi, p.91

⁴⁷⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 24.10.1912[6.11.1913], Issue: 151 Telegraphs-Istanbul “Food Deficiency”

⁴⁸⁰Pravda Newspaper, 25.01.1913[7.2.1913], Issue:224 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Seizure of Food Products”.

⁴⁸¹ Pravda Newspaper, 29.01.1913[11.2.1913], Issue: 226 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Seizure of Food Products”.

the Balkan states in the London Conference throughout December 1912. However, the political conflicts were underway both in the army and the political circles even though the war underway. Within this stretched atmosphere, the Pravda reporter informed St. Petersburg that there were rumours among the people on that the Party of Union and Progress could undertake a raid on the Sublime Porte two months before the raid happened. The telegraph received on 15 (28) November stated that: “The rumour that the Union and Progress will kill the Sultan and Nazım Pasha has caused excitement among the people.”⁴⁸² In another article received about 15 days before the raid, it was stated that: “The rumours on the meetings of the officers and the possibility of a new coup have been proliferating. These rumours seem to be in favour of the military party [Union and Progress]!”⁴⁸³ Six days before the raid, Pravda received a telegraph from Germany on the possible raid to be undertaken on the Sublime Porte: “All the evening papers of Berlin are writing on the restlessness in the Turkish capital. There is a danger of rebellion in the army. The Kurdish [soldiers], who have prompted a revolt, are being sent to Catalca and they are replaced by more reliable troops.”⁴⁸⁴ When one considers the fact that the rumours on the raid were heard from Russia and Germany, it is not plausible to think of that the Ottoman Government was not aware of that at the time.

The capture of state power by the Union and Progress and the appointment of Mahmut Sevket Pasha, who repeatedly said that he was not a Unionist,⁴⁸⁵ to the grand viziership did not put an end to the polarization in the army. The polarizations in the army continued throughout the war and they even turned into armed conflicts. All these developments were reflected in the pages of Pravda in a frequent manner: “The opponents of the new government have been killed. Conflicts erupted between the proponents of Nazım Pasha and the other members of the army in Catalca. 50 casualties from these conflicts have been taken to Istanbul. The proponents and the opponents of the Union and Progress have clashed in the military school as well, there are deaths and casualties.”⁴⁸⁶ “The soldiers, who will be consigned to the war

⁴⁸² Pravda Newspaper, 15.11.1912[28.11.1912], Issue: 169, Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁴⁸³ Pravda Newspaper, 30.12.1912[12.1.1913], Issue: 204 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Before the Revolution”.

⁴⁸⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 04.01.1913[17.1.1913], Issue: 207 Telegraphs-Berlin.

⁴⁸⁵ Ahmad, p.153

⁴⁸⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 17.01.1913[30.1.1913], Issue: 217 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Internal Conflict in Turkey”.

from Eskisehir, have rebelled. The riotous soldiers do not recognize the government.”⁴⁸⁷ The tension in the army resulted in reverse consequences for the opponents of the Union and Progress, and those anti-Unionist officers were purged. In Istanbul, about 100 anti-government officers were apprehended.⁴⁸⁸ “There is a list of 3.000 people being against the government in the hands of the Interior Minister. In this list, 600 people, 70 of which are officers, have been arrested. Yesterday, Cahil Osman Pasha was apprehended too.”⁴⁸⁹ One could easily reach the conclusion that Pravda closely followed the developments in the army. In a telegraph received from Bucharest, it was stated that: “In a telegraph from Istanbul, it was denoted that the reason for Izzet Pasha to come from Catalca was ‘the alteration of the cabinet’. The internal conflicts have erupted among the soldiers in Gallipoli, and the grand vizier stepped in the conflicts among the commanders of several troops.”⁴⁹⁰ Before the fall of Edirne, the internal conflicts within the Ottoman army, which planned to surround the enemy forces from behind, were narrated in the memoirs of the grand vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha, as in the following:

A telegraph was received from the Deputy Commander in Chief, Izzet Pasha. It was stating that Fahri Pasha, Fethi [Okyar] and Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk] intended to resign. The reason was the conflict between the Hursit Pasha, who was appointed as commander to the Gallipoli general forces, and his captain of staff, Enver Bey ... The conflict between the two commandships went to such a point that I immediately decided to go to Gallipoli.

As a matter of fact, as a confirmation of Pravda, Mahmut Sevket Pasha went to Gallipoli. Mahmut Sevket Pasha relieved Fahri Pasha of the duty and appointed Mehmet Ali Pasha in his place.⁴⁹¹

The intention of resignation of the Deputy Commander in Chief Izzet Pasha was reflected in Pravda as well: “Izzet Pasha has resigned. However, his resignation request has not been accepted yet. It is thought that Mahmut Sevket Pasha will

⁴⁸⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 13.02.1913[26.2.1913], Issue: 240, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Restlessness”.

⁴⁸⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 06.03.1913[19.3.1913], Issue: 258, Telegraphs-Bucharest, “Tension in Turkey”.

⁴⁸⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.03.1913[25.3.1913], Issue: 263, Telegraphs-Bucharest, “The Fear of Coup”.

⁴⁹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 12.02.1913[25.2.1913], Issue: 239 Telegraphs-Bucharest “Rebellion in the Armies”.

⁴⁹¹ MŞP, pp.34-39

appoint Turgut Pasha or Ahmet Pasha in his place.”⁴⁹² In fact, Izzet Pasha informed the Cabinet at the time that he would resign if the peace was not made. There was a considerable disagreement between the Grand Vizier and the Commander in Chief Mahmut Sevket Pasha and the leaders of Union and Progress with regard to the issue of Edirne. Mahmut Sevket Pasha indicated that he argued with the Minister of Education Sukru Bey on this issue. In the government meeting on 22 February 1912, the report by the Deputy Commander in Chief Izzet Pasha was announced and Izzet Pasha stated that the army did not have the capability to conduct a war. On this basis, Izzet Pasha said that he would resign if there was not a peace to be reached.⁴⁹³ This means that the memoirs of Mahmut Sevket Pasha confirm the Pravda reporter. The Arabic troops were sent to the Ottoman forces in Gallipoli as well. There were difficulties to make the Arabic troops to fight in a geography they did not know. For this reason, there were some initiatives to describe jihad to these soldiers. These initiatives were reflected in Pravda with the following sentences:

A brochure was sent to Gallipoli by the Pan-Islamist committee. The brochure describes the holy war waged against the Christians by the Muslims living in Tunisia, Algeria, India and Caucasia. The Pan-Islamist committee is in a close relation with the Party of Union and Progress of the Young Turks.⁴⁹⁴

Mahmut Sevket Pasha stated that when he went to Gallipoli, he visited the Arabic troops, he shared their meals and had conversation with them in Arabic, and told them that he was Arabic too.⁴⁹⁵

Another development reflected in Pravda was the escape of the Christian soldiers from the army: “The incidents of escape from the army have been observed among the Christian troops coming from Anatolia and Izmir. During the religious holidays, the soldiers wear daily clothes and get lost in the European neighbourhoods [of Istanbul], and then try to escape via foreign ships.”⁴⁹⁶ Trotsky too confirms that the feelings of the non-Muslims were in this line. As a journalist, he visited the prison camps in Bulgaria, where the Turkish captives were kept, and he mentioned that

⁴⁹² Pravda Newspaper, 05.03.1913[18.3.1913], Issue: 257, Telegraphs-Istanbul, ”Resignation of the General”.

⁴⁹³MŞP, pp.41-43

⁴⁹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 14.02.1913[27.2.1913], Issue: 241, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Holy War”.

⁴⁹⁵MŞP, pp.36

⁴⁹⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 08.01.1913[21.1.1913], Issue:210, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “From the Turkish Army”.

there were considerable number of Christian captives in the camp. He also stated that these captives did not have any spiritual connection with the armies they fight for, and they explicitly stated that they would be pleased of hearing the defeats of their armies. An Armenian captive with whom Trotsky told stated that: “I am telling you openly, we are glad for being captured and many of us are ready to fight against the Turks right now.”⁴⁹⁷

As another striking development after the raid on the Sublime Porte, some of the telegraphs on Turkey began to be received not from Istanbul, but from Romania. In the past, the journalists rarely used to send their telegrams from Romania by giving them to the Istanbul-Constanta ship. This was a way through which the foreign journalist escaped from the censorship. It seems plausible to trace the reason for the telegraphs from Romania to increase in number to the increased oppression over the press after the raid on the Sublime Porte. Feroz Ahmad too underlines the point that the Union and Progress began to pursue more oppressive policies after the raid. The appointment of Cemal Pasha to the Commander Istanbul enabled the Union and Progress to increase its influence in Istanbul. These oppressive policies increased when it became evident that the Edirne castle would fall and the contention over this issue within the cabinet was revealed. The press published articles on these problems, and in turn some of them were closed down. All these developments were reflected in Pravda with the following sentences:

The *Ifham* Newspaper has been closed down. The author and its newspaper has been charged with his article entitled ‘The war is dragging Turkey into death’ to the military court. The newspaper has begun its broadcasting life with the new name of *Vazife*. This is the only newspaper, which has the brass to criticize the government. The entire press has been terrorized.⁴⁹⁸

Kerimi explained the content of the article in question in his article published in the Orenburg *Vakit* Newspaper on 7 February 1913: “The *Ifham* Newspaper wrote that the peace had to be made as soon as possible; the trust in the existing situation of the army was not good for the nation, to the contrary, it was dangerous to do so. The Government has closed the newspaper down because of this article.”⁴⁹⁹ About one month before this incident, the Grand Vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha,

⁴⁹⁷ Troçki, pp.232-235

⁴⁹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 06.02.1913[19.2.1913], Issue: 234, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “For Calls for Peace”.

⁴⁹⁹ Kerimi, p.253

stated in his memoirs that the director of the *Ifham* Newspaper, Ferit Bey, went too far and affronted the army. He also stated that he warned Diran Kelakyan from the *Sabah* Newspaper on this issue.⁵⁰⁰

On 12 March 1913, Cemal Pasha sent to the representatives of the domestic and foreign press a letter prohibiting the articles on the tension in the cabinet. It was stated in the letter that the non-compliance with the ban would result in the closure of the newspapers and recalling of the journalists.⁵⁰¹ In a news article published on the same days, it was stated that: “There is no freedom of press. The only newspaper broadcasting against the Union and Progress, the *Alemdar* Newspaper, has been closed down.”⁵⁰²

When one looks at the political atmosphere after the fall of Edirne, it can be asserted on the basis of the news articles published in *Pravda* that the government was in a fear of coup to be undertaken against itself. The government, which feared from the reaction of the people, pursued increasingly oppressive policies after the fall of Edirne. This development was reflected in the pages of *Pravda* as well. As one can observe from the article below, the telegraph was sent from Bucharest to St. Petersburg:

According to the information coming from Istanbul to here [Bucharest], the government has still the control. The government has begun to carry out oppression. As in the period of Abdulhamit, the whistle-blowing⁵⁰³ is the most common technique. Those civil servants and newspaper reporters, who cast doubt in any way, are sent to Anatolia.⁵⁰⁴

Among the people exiled to Anatolia were many opponents of the Union and Progress such as the famous author Refik Halid Karay, who would be the Minister of Postal and Telegraph Service in the Ottoman government after the war after the First World War in 1919. Shortly after these exiles, the opponents of the Union and Progress began to escape from the country, and this development was reflected in *Pravda*: “Bucharest – According to a telegraph received from Istanbul, many

⁵⁰⁰ MŞP, p.29

⁵⁰¹ Ahmad, p.156

⁵⁰² *Pravda* Newspaper, 28.02.1913[13.03.1913], Issue: 253, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Restlessness in Turkey”.

⁵⁰³ With regard to the assertion that the denouncement at the time resembled the one in the period of Abdulhamit, the Grand Vizier Mahmut Sevket Pasha wrote in his memoirs that: “Our opponents did not miss a beat. They were spreading the rumour that sleuthing and denouncement went to a point further than the ones in the period of Sultan Hamid.” See: MŞP, p.143

⁵⁰⁴ *Pravda* Newspaper, 28.03.1913[10.4.1913], Issue: 277 Telegraphs-Bucharest

opponents of the Party of Union and Progress are trying to escape to Romania and Egypt. There are many top-ranked officers and statesmen among these people.”⁵⁰⁵ As the socio-political atmosphere was stretched, not only the top-ranked statesmen, but also those who could provoke the people were taken under custody, and it was communicated in Pravda: “All the mosques are under surveillance by the whistleblower in Istanbul. The number of arrested mosque hodjas is high.”⁵⁰⁶

The fall of Edirne caused excitement and restlessness among the people especially with the rumours on Bulgaria’s advancement towards Istanbul. Some Muslim families migrated to Anatolia as well. These domestic developments were reflected in the pages of Pravda: “The Muslim population of Istanbul has been trying to migrate to Bursa. The wealthier ones have been escaping to Europe. Everybody is afraid of the entrance of the Bulgarian army to the capital, and the subsequent disorder.”⁵⁰⁷

The number of the news articles received from Istanbul decreased from the fall of Edirne until the assassination of Mahmut Sevket Pasha. The news published in Pravda was generally concerned with Edirne. These news articles will be examined under the title of Edirne.

Mahmut Sevket Pasha (1856-1913), who undertook the posts of grand viziership and war ministry after the raid on the Sublime Porte (23 January 1913 – 11 June 1913), was assassinated in his automobile in Beyazit Square on 11 June 1913. The assassination of Mahmut Sevket Pasha was communicated by the Istanbul reporter of Pravda in a detailed manner. However, it is striking to observe that Pravda published news on this issue two days after the assassination. The reason for that could be the censorship over the press at the time. Apart from this point, the details of the incident were communicated in Pravda nearly on daily basis until the execution of the assassins. The following provides an example for Pravda’s way of communicating the assassination:

Istanbul – The number of arrested people is over 150 so far. The apprehended people include famous figures, retired generals and the editors of the *Alemdar* Newspaper. Serif Pasha has planned the assassination of the grand vizier and the conspiracy against him. Serif

⁵⁰⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 13.04.1913[26.4.1913], Issue: 290 Telegraphs-Bucharest

⁵⁰⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 11.04.1913[24.4.1913], Issue: 288 Telegraphs-Istanbul “The Threat of the Army”

⁵⁰⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 21.03.1913[3.4.1913], Issue: 271 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Panic in Turkey”.

Pasha was the Stockholm Ambassador of Turkey during the reign of Abdulhamit, he lives in Paris nowadays.⁵⁰⁸ Istanbul - ... The number of arrested people has reached to 1.300 so far. The apprehended people include retired generals, top-ranked ulamas, Sultan's son-in-law Salih Pasha and Ferit Pasha.⁵⁰⁹ Istanbul – 480 people have been arrested for attempting a coup, and sent to Sinop. These include 5 lawyers, 5 former parliamentarians, journalists, officers and civil servants.⁵¹⁰ It is thought that 12 people have planned the assassination of Mahmut Sevket Pasha. A verdict has been rendered for the execution of the people, who include the son-in-law of Abdulhamit, Salih Pasha, the former interior minister, Resit Pasha.⁵¹¹

The execution of the murderers of Mahmut Sevket Pasha has created negative impacts over the people. The government has prohibited the publication of news on this issue by newspapers in order to annihilate this impact and to make people forget the incident. The newspapers, which had previously published the photos of the execution, have been seized.⁵¹²

Pravda received another telegraph on the issue on the same day of the telegraph above: “The Commander of Istanbul⁵¹³ has prohibited the publication of speeches of those executed delivered before the execution. The reason for that is to prevent the courage of those executed from proliferating among the people.”⁵¹⁴

It was also communicated in Pravda that the execution of Sultan's son-in-law created restlessness in the non-Unionist wing of the army, and the army met with the government in order to prevent their execution: “ ... The 48. Military troop under the commandship of Abuk Pasha⁵¹⁵ gathered near Istanbul. A delegation of 120

⁵⁰⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 01.06.1913[14.6.1913], Issue: 329 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Apprehension of the Conspirators”.

⁵⁰⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 05.06.1913[18.6.1913], Issue:331 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Turmoil in Turkey”.

⁵¹⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 06.06.1913[19.6.1913], Issue: 332, Telegraphs-Istanbul

⁵¹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 13.06.1913[26.6.1913], Issue: 338, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Execution of the Murderers of Mahmut Şevket Pasha”.

⁵¹² Pravda Newspaper, 15.06.1913[28.6.1913], Issue:340 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “After the Execution”.

⁵¹³ The Commander of Istanbul at the time was Cemal Pasha.

⁵¹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 15.06.1913[28.6.1913], Issue: 340 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁵¹⁵ He commanded over the IV. Army Corps in the Easter Front during the Balkan War. He was the deputy commander when the army withdrew towards Catalca. On 5.5.1913, in a telegraph received from Istanbul, Pravda wrote with regard to Abuk Pasha and Enver Bey that: “Istanbul – According to the widespread rumours, Enver Bey has been sentenced to 45 days in prison by Ahmet Abuk Pasha. The reason for that was the political propaganda undertaken by Enver Bey within the troop commanded by Ahmet Abuk Pasha. See: Grolier International Americana, Medya Holding A.Ş., 1993, Vol 1, p.71. It should be underlined that Abuk Pasha was retired in 1914 when Enver Pasha was the war minister.

officers came to Cobandere and proposed the release of the murderers of the grand vizier.”⁵¹⁶

This section so far has tried to describe the Ottoman Empire at the time with reference to the eyes of Pravda while secondary sources have been rarely utilized. As one can see, the Pravda Newspaper continually communicated news to its readers in Russia on the political, military and the other daily developments in Istanbul. It is worth underlining that the newspaper accurately conveyed information on the developments taking place within the Ottoman army.

6.3. The News on the Massacres against the Turks

The Balkan Wars did not result in the capture of the lands, where the Turks and Muslims lived, by another country. In this war, they had to leave their homelands and migrate to Anatolia. The Turkish and Muslim population were subjected to severe cruelties during this forced migration. It is not realistic to expect the Russian press to communicate news on these incidents as they pursued an aggressive Pan Slavist policy. However, in a total contrast to the other Russian newspapers, the Pravda Newspaper informed its readers about the massacres against the Turks.

After the fall of Salonika, the massacres against the Turkish and the Jewish people were reflected in the first page of the issue dated 23.12.1912:

The Greeks feel as if they were at their homes in Salonika. This is written by the *Razsvet* Newspaper.⁵¹⁷ During the initial Christian celebrations for the capture of this city by the Greeks, they celebrated the emancipation of this city from the „barbarian’ Turkish domination by shedding the blood of the Jewish. Just like the wild animals, the Bulgarians and the Serbians were killing the Turks while the Montenegrins were killing the Albanians. And all these were made for the sake of emancipation from the „barbarian’ domination, freedom and philanthropy!⁵¹⁸

The states of Balkan Alliance drew fire on not only the Turks and Muslims, but also the Jewish people, who were subjected to forced migration from Macedonia to Anatolia as well. Following the war as a journalist, Trotsky frequently communicated

⁵¹⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 07.06.1913[20.7.1913], Issue:333, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “On the Eve of the Revolution”.

⁵¹⁷ The first Jewish newspaper published in Russian. It began its broadcasting life in Odessa in 1860, and then began to be published in St. Petersburg. For more details, see: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0017_0_16516.html Date accessed:07.03.2012

⁵¹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 23.12.1912[5.1.1913], Issue:201, “Media Search”.

the Serbian and Bulgarian massacres against the Turkish and Jewish people in Salonika, Bitola and Skopje through the *Kievskaya Misl* Newspaper.⁵¹⁹

On 14 February 1913, a news article by F.F. was published in the first page of Pravda, and stated by attributing to a Bulgarian soldier that:

A soldier writes in an article published in a Bulgarian newspaper a short time ago ... Everybody knows that there is a colonialist war here, Edirne and Gallipoli ... When we captured a place, we used to prepare the gallows trees upon the order of the General Jukovich. Then, the Serbian and Bulgarian officers were sending the goods they had stolen to their homelands. The mercenary soldiers [meaning komitadjis] and their leaders were committing awesome behaviours brutishly notwithstanding the children and women.⁵²⁰

On 10 March 1913, Pravda communicated news on the slaughters against the Turks at the first page. For this time, the Turkish socialists described the slaughters. The Turkish socialists, who sent letters to Pravda, collected information about the slaughters against the Turks from the letters sent by Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek socialists. Pravda published this letter. It is possible to trace two conclusions from this. Firstly, the Turkish socialists had ties with the Bolsheviks at the time. Secondly, even though the war was underway, the relationship among the Balkan socialists continued in spite of the harsh conditions of the war. The headlined news in Pravda is as follows:

Our Turkish comrades have collected information on the cruelties [brutishness] in the Balkans and published it. They have sent this information to all the socialist parties and newspapers. The information on these cruelties has been provided by Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek comrades in the armies of the states of the Balkan Alliance. Unfortunately, we cannot publish the entire information because of its length.

On 24 October, Bulgarian Saikov entered into Serez⁵²¹ The occupying soldiers collected weapons from the Muslims and distributed them to the Christians. The Christians have dispersed throughout the city and killed the Muslims. On Saturday, 27 October, the Bulgarian army of 5.000 soldiers occupied the *X city*⁵²² under the commandship of the General Kordaçef. 120 people were killed by a firing squad on the grounds that they were soldiers wearing so called civilian clothes. 6.000 people have been killed near Serez. This awesome slaughter continued

⁵¹⁹ Troçki, p.143, pp.309-312, pp.319-320

⁵²⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 14.02.1913[27.2.1913], Issue:241, "In the Balkans", article by F.F.

⁵²¹ It was one of the most important cities during the reign of the Ottoman Empire, and is located in the region of Middle Macedonia of Greece, near the borders of Bulgaria and Macedonia.

⁵²² The name of the city could not be detected from the original source.

for 2.5 hours, and it was stopped upon the request of the Greek Metropolitan Bishop. A few thousands of people from the male population from Petrich⁵²³, Meliki (*Mekili*) and Demirhisar were killed. The women were forcefully tergiversated to Christianity. The young girls were sent to Bulgaria. The men living in the villages of Anjista, Vilasta (Valiste?), Kut and Çimen in the region of Sina-Sıla [not read accurately] have been killed by the Greek soldiers. The Bulgarians called the Turkish peasants on the ground that there would be a census in Kulkuit. This place had been taken on Tuesday, the peasants were called on Saturday. They were put into the mosques with the groups of 8 people, and the mosques were burned. 180 people were burned here. In the Mantul village, the Bulgarians burned about 2000 boys. They took 58 young girls with them. Only 60 family could have escaped here. Similar incidents have happened in Poroy-Tser, Poroy-Ruak, Organlı, Geyan, Durlan, Çirnal, Tezağaç, Goriyak, Duran and 100 other small settlements and villages. The letter from our Turkish comrades is concluded as follows: „Every civilization [society] condemns these incidents, we condemn as well and protest. We expect you comrades to generalize this information and announce to masses.

The editorial team of Pravda continues in the letter that:

„The Struggle of the Cross against the Crescent’, which was mentioned in the declaration of the Bulgarian Tsar, is underway. The struggle for rescuing Macedonia has been materialized just like this. The Russian proletariat and the representatives of democracy should approach to the course of this war very carefully. Russia should give up the support to the “fellows” there as provided by Miliukov, Branchaninov type liberals.⁵²⁴

In the long article entitled as “The Consequences of the War and Socialism in Bulgaria”, which was published on 15.05.1913 at the first page of Pravda, it was initially mentioned about the corruption in the Bulgarian army. Then, it was stated that the number of the death and the wounded was more than 100.000 people, which was more than the claimed. Additionally, it was also stated that thousands of people died because of typhoid fever, typhus and cholera. After these, Pravda mentioned about the atrocity against the Turks undertaken by the Slavic and Greek armies and komitadjis:

There are awesome and barbarian rapes against the local population undertaken by especially the Macedonian volunteers [komitadjis]. Unbelievable and unheard oppression has been made to the Christian and Turkish inhabitants of Macedonia and Thrace. Many of these people have died, the others have been robbed. These awesome, barbarian rapes,

⁵²³ It is a city located in the south of Bulgaria, has a border with Greece and is located very close to Macedonia. It has currently 30.000 population. During Ottoman rule, it was initially a part of the Serez Sanjak of the Rumelia province. Then, it became a borough of the Serez Sanjak in the Salonika province.

⁵²⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 10.03.1913[23.3.1913], Issue: 262, “War in the Balkans”, article by N.S.

robberies and murders have been made by the Slavic and Greek armies.⁵²⁵

There were telegraphs on the atrocities by the Bulgarians in Cerkezkoy and Gallipoli: “The Bulgarians have burned Cerkezkoy while withdrawing towards Luleburgaz.”⁵²⁶ “Bucharest – The coasts of the Marmara Sea are full of the corpses of the Turks. The Turks, who were trying to swim towards their ships, were killed by the Bulgarians.”⁵²⁷

One of the most significant phenomenon of the Balkan Wars was the issue of migration, more specifically the forced migration. There were incomprehensible tortures and slaughters undertaken in order to force the inhabitants to migrate.⁵²⁸ Justin McCarthy, who examined the population and migration dynamics of the time, underlines that the Balkan Christians followed policies which would make the Muslim refugees not to return back, and the remaining Muslims to migrate.⁵²⁹ The Muslim population living in the urban areas could escape from this slaughter because of their being in the limelight. However, those living in the rural areas were subjected to the same atrocities. The letter of the British Consul Lamb in Salonika, which was sent to the British Foreign Ministry on 9 March 1913, confirms this point: “Generally speaking, where there remains a Muslim population in Macedonia, there also exists more or less severe poverty; however, I doubt that there has remained a Muslim population in many parts of the country, except for the big cities.”⁵³⁰

Even though limited, there was anti-Turkish news published in Pravda. As conveyed by Pravda, the Russian press was full of provocative news on the alleged slaughters

⁵²⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 15.05.1913[28.5.1913], Issue: 314, “The Consequences of the War and Socialism in Bulgaria”, article by G.Aleksinski.

⁵²⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 24.01.1913[6.2.1913], Issue:223, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Conflict near Catalca”.

⁵²⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 08.02.1913[21.2.1913], Issue: 236, Telegraphs-Bucharest “The horror of the war”. The Ottoman army, which could not split the Bulgarian defence in Catalca, intended to surround the Bulgarian army from behind by advancing from Sarkoy located in the coast of the Marmara Sea in order to rescue Edirne. Yet, this attempt failed. For detailed information, see: Hüsni Ersü, *Balkan Savaşı'nda Şarköy Çıkarması ve Bolayır Muharebeleri*, Editors: Ahmet Tetik, Çiğdem Aksu, Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2006.

⁵²⁸ With regard to the slaughters in the war, one can resort to Justin Mc. Carthy's book entitled as *Ölüm ve Sürgün* and Lieutenant Colonel Bekir Fikri's book named as *Balkanlar'da Tedhiş ve Gerilla "Grebene"*. In this second book, there is a particular section entitled as “A Diary of a Greek Sergeant” (pp. 215-338). In this section, which is a reprinted version of the diary of a Greek sergeant who was captured dead during the war, the slaughters of the Greeks are described in a detailed manner. See Bekir Fikri, *Balkanlar'da Tedhiş ve Gerilla "Grebene"*, Tarihi Araştırmalar ve Dökümantasyon Merkezleri Kurma ve Geliştirme Vakfı, 3. Edition, Istanbul, 2008.

⁵²⁹ Mc Carthy, p.163

⁵³⁰ Cited in Lamb'dan Dışişleri Bakanı'na yazı- F.O. 371-1762 from Mc Carthy, p.148

of the Turks against the Balkan Slavs and Christians. However, such news was rarely published in Pravda. During the one-year period of newspaper search, only four telegraphs with an anti-Turkish position have been detected. Three of them were sent from Sofia while the last one was from Istanbul. The telegraph received from Sofia at the beginning of the war stated that:

The rural population of the European Turkey suffer a lot. The Turks have begun to burn all the villages of their route of movement, to capture the adult Bulgarians in the Bulgarian villages, and put them forward during the battles. The intellectual Bulgarians, especially the teachers of the Bulgarian schools in Edirne, have been arrested and exiled. Many Bulgarians have been killed in Istanbul.⁵³¹

In fact, the Turkish sources partially confirm the above assertion that the intellectual Bulgarians were exiled. It is accurate that a state of siege was declared in Edirne on 9 October 1912, and the suspected people were removed from the city. Moreover, 101 Bulgarian komitadjis were sent to the Court of Battle (*Divan-ı Harb-i Örfiye*) and then they were sent to Istanbul by trains.⁵³² Apart from these, that the Bulgarians were killed in Istanbul and the other assertions in the telegraph are questionable.

Another news article was published during the Second Balkan War, and stated that:

Istanbul – „Slaughter in Gallipoli”: The fugitives coming to Istanbul describe the latest incidents in Gallipoli in a detailed way. According to what they say, the Kurdish, Laz and Circassian soldiers are oppressing the village inhabitants near Gallipoli. The women and children are raped. The houses have been burned. Armed conflicts are underway on daily basis between the Bulgarian and Turkish armies. As the Turks are lost battles with the Bulgarians, the Turkish soldiers attack the Greeks in the region.⁵³³

According to a young woman coming from Kumburgaz to Sofia yesterday, the Turkish soldiers beat the Christian men, who they gathered into a school.⁵³⁴

... The Turkish army left the military commandership in the east of Mustafapasha in order to stop the advancement of the Bulgarian army towards Komotini. According to the fugitives escaping from the conflict areas, both the Turks and the Greeks are engaging in savage attacks to the inhabitants of Thrace, and they are trying to kill them all.⁵³⁵

⁵³¹ Pravda Newspaper, 20.10.1912[2.11.1912], Issue: 148 Telegraphs-Sofia, “The Panic of the Turks”

⁵³²Yiğitgüden, p.40

⁵³³ Pravda Newspaper, 08.12.1912[21.12.1913], Issue:188, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Slaughter in Gallipoli”.

⁵³⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 31.01.1913[13.2.1913], Issue: 229, Telegraphs-Sofia, “The Massive Beat of the Christians”.

⁵³⁵ Rabochaia Pravda, 25.07.1913[8.8.1913], Issue: 11 Telegraphs-Sofia.

On the basis of the analysis of Pravda, one can reach the conclusion that the mainstream press of Russia was full of such news. Yet, Pravda gave limited spaces to such news. In fact, they could be accurate because of the nature of war. Fatih Kerimi, who was following the war in Istanbul during the war and well aware of the Russian press, wrote with regard to such news that: “I do not believe in the news published in the Russian press on the atrocities of the Turks against the Christians. This is because the position of the Turks and their spiritual conditions are not suitable for such behaviours as rape. They would be very happy if they can rescue themselves today.”⁵³⁶

6.4. The News on Edirne

Pravda began to communicate news on Edirne after the London Conference in December 1912. There had been a few news articles before this date. However, as the Conference was stuck on the Edirne issue, and the strong resistance of the Turkish commandship in Edirne shifted everybody’s attention to Edirne.

Edirne was described in Pravda as in the following: “Edirne is a city of 70.000 inhabitants, which has magnificent cathedrals and mosques, and has belonged to the Turkish reign for 550 years. This city has seen the Russian army for 2 times, and it stayed in the Turkish Empire for the same 2 times.”⁵³⁷ “The population of Edirne is overwhelmingly Turkish and the Turks are living around it.”⁵³⁸ “Edirne is a province composed totally of the Turks, and there are nearly no Slavic people living there.”⁵³⁹ As one can see, Pravda strongly emphasized that Turkish population characterized the demography of Edirne.

After this introduction on Edirne, Pravda underlined the ridiculousness of a Slavic attack on Edirne, and added that this incident showed that the Balkan Wars were not waged for freedom: “The liars of the ruling class have long clamoured that the Balkan war has been waged for freedom ... The consequence of the war reveals their lies. That is, the Bulgarians intend Edirne to be annexed to Bulgaria; however, the

⁵³⁶ Kerimi, p.107.

⁵³⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue:213, “Edirne and Aegean Islands”, unsigned article.

⁵³⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

⁵³⁹ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, “The Intervention Out!”, unsigned article.

population of Edirne is overwhelmingly Turkish ...”⁵⁴⁰ “The Slavic siege of Edirne is meaningless. Who will they rescue!”⁵⁴¹ The interests of the Balkan kingdoms aim at Edirne. The interests of the Balkan Slavs do not necessitate it. Edirne is not worthy of a single drop of the blood of the Balkan peasants.”⁵⁴²

On the other hand, the domestic contentions over Edirne, which were expressed in the Ottoman government and among the people, were reflected in Pravda as well. Before the news article on the raid on the Sublime Porte, it was stated in Pravda that the Turks gave Edirne off: “The Turks did not want to give Edirne off. However, according to the telegraphs received, the Turks are assented to give Edirne off due to the pressures of the great powers, especially Russia.”⁵⁴³ As a matter of fact, one of the most important reasons for the government of Kamil Pasha to be assented to giving Edirne off was the Russian pressure at the time. Russia was afraid of eruption of a conflict between Bulgaria and Serbia over the issue of territorial sharing. The Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov noticed this danger at the beginning of the London Conference, and sent a telegraph to his ambassador in Belgrade. In the telegraph, he stated that the issue of partition of territories had to be postponed after the London Conference in order to prevent a conflict among the Slavs. Sazanov also forced the Ottoman Empire to conclude the peace agreement in this telegraph.⁵⁴⁴ With regard to the conviction that the Ottoman Empire would give Edirne off, the impression made by the foreign minister Gabriel Noradunkyan Efendi⁵⁴⁵ to the ambassadors of the great powers was influential. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur too expresses that Noradunkyan Efendi created such impression among the ambassadors that they would not resist on Edirne issue. Then, the ambassadors informed the central governments about the Ottoman position on Edirne.⁵⁴⁶

In an article published on Edirne after the raid on the Sublime Porte, Pravda asserted that the raid was undertaken in order to prevent Edirne from being given off:

⁵⁴⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 11.01.1913[24.1.1913], Issue: 212, “Peace in the near future”, unsigned article.

⁵⁴¹ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

⁵⁴² Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The Struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

⁵⁴³ Pravda Newspaper, 11.01.1913[24.1.1913], Issue: 212, “Peace in the near future”, unsigned article.

⁵⁴⁴ Bayur C2K2, pp.180-181

⁵⁴⁵ Gabriel Noradunkyan (1852-1936) participated in the 1923 Lausanne negotiations as the Armenian representative.

⁵⁴⁶ Bayur C2K2, pp.192-194

One of the reasons of the revolution [the raid on the Sublime Porte] was the telegraph, which was sent by Edirne's protector Sukru Pasha and caught by the Young Turks. In his telegraph sent to Kamil Pasha, Sukru Pasha wrote that if Edirne was given off to the Bulgarians, he would explode all the bastions of the castle and move towards Istanbul with the remaining soldiers.⁵⁴⁷

In another article published on the same day, it was mentioned that the Young Turks would have to stop the peace negotiations in order to stay in power.⁵⁴⁸ In another article published after the raid on the Sublime Porte, it was indicated that:

The oppressive note given by six great states with different motives, but for the same aim, does not surprise Turkey. The Young Turks do not rush to give Edirne and the Aegean islands off, and do not want Turkey be subject to total division. Notwithstanding their latest slogan of "Either Edirne or death", the Young Turks would eventually give concession.⁵⁴⁹

Pravda published the interview of Reuters with Talat Bey on Edirne, which was conducted after the raid on the Sublime Porte: "We have decided to rescue our national honour. We will either rescue our honour or die with our accomplishments. We do not want the war to continue, however, we definitely want Edirne to stay with us."⁵⁵⁰ When one looks at the news articles published after the raid on the Sublime Porte, it can be said that Pravda made realistic anticipation. Even though it was stated by the leaders of the Union and Progress that they would die for the sake of Edirne, and the raid was undertaken in the name of Edirne, Pravda stated in early days of the raid that the leaders of Union and Progress would be obliged to give Edirne off. However, Pravda also stressed that the conditions imposed on the Ottoman Empire on this issue was quite severe: "The conditions of peace demanded from Turkey are quite harsh. The loss of Edirne and Aegean Islands would mean [for the Ottoman Empire] to lose her hegemony in Istanbul and the coasts of Asia Minor."⁵⁵¹ It was also communicated in Pravda that the Union and Progress proposed the case of "Eastern Rumelia"⁵⁵² for Edirne by stating that:

⁵⁴⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue:213, Telegraphs-Istanbul, "The Reasons of the Revolution".

⁵⁴⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue: 213, "War once again?", unsigned article.

⁵⁴⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue:213, "Edirne and Aegean Islands", unsigned article.

⁵⁵⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue: 213 Telegraphs-Istanbul, "Revolution in Turkey".

⁵⁵¹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.01.1913[25.1.1913], Issue: 213, "War once again?", unsigned article.

⁵⁵²It was a region which had been given to the great Bulgaria created with the Agreement of Ayestefanos concluded after the 1877-1878 Turkish-Ottoman War. However, it became an

According to the information received by St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency from a reliable source being close to the Party of Union and Progress and the government, the Turks accept to give Edirne off on the condition that a war will not erupt once again. The only condition is that Edirne will be autonomous, as in the case of „Eastern Rumelia’ province.⁵⁵³

Pravda also communicated that the domestic public opinion was quite sensitive towards the issue of Edirne:

The rumours over giving Edirne off to the Bulgarians have been negatively reacted in the entire country. These rumours had caused the resignation of the former cabinet. Turkey might give the right portion of Edirne to the great states. The government thinks that the city should be under Turkish domination. Otherwise, there will be people’s uprisings.⁵⁵⁴

As a matter of fact, the most important issue that caught the people’s attention was the Edirne question at the time. Moreover, the agenda of the Ottoman government was occupied by this problem as well. When the fall of Edirne was nearly evident in February 1913, the contention was between the two groups defending opposing stands on Edirne issue. While some insisted on defending Edirne up to the end, some others intended a peace agreement before the fall of Edirne. The Grand Vizier Mahmut Sevket Pasha pointed out that the army was not ready for waging a war, and insisted on a peace agreement that would keep Edirne out. However, the Union of Progress asserted that such a policy would provoke the people, and urged for the continuation with the war. Mahmut Sevket Pasha frequently mentioned this contention in his memoirs. Still, Mahmut Sevket Pasha had a totally different mode from Noradunkyan Efendi in his meetings with the ambassadors of the great powers, and in his interviews with the press. Pravda communicated the position of Mahmut Sevket Pasha as in the following: “Istanbul – It is believed here that the peace will be ensured in the near future. Mahmut Sevket Pasha states that they will agree on the terms of the peace, but they will not give Edirne off.”⁵⁵⁵

autonomous province under the domination of the Ottoman Empire with the intervention of Britain, which revised the Agreement in question and resulted in the 1878 Berlin Agreement. The region became integrated into Bulgaria in 1885.

⁵⁵³ Pravda Newspaper, 22.01.1913[4.2.1913], Issue:221 Telegraphs-Edirne, “The Young Turks are giving Edirne off”.

⁵⁵⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 19.01.1913[2.2.1913], Issue: 219, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Conditions of Peace”.

⁵⁵⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 21.02.1913[6.3.1913], Issue:247 Telegraphs-Istanbul.

While the defence of Edirne was underway, the problem of food deficiency experienced in Edirne was reflected in the pages of Pravda: “The rumours over the decrease of the food stock are exaggerative.”⁵⁵⁶ The striking point with this telegraph dated on 19.01.1913 is that it was sent from Edirne. Another telegraph received from Bucharest about one month later stated that: “Sukru Pasha is complaining about that there has remained insufficient food stocks, which would last only till 27 February.”⁵⁵⁷ In his memoirs, Mahmut Sevket Pasha confirms this information by stating that “the Edirne government sent a telegraph informing that there remained food, which was sufficient only till 28 February.”⁵⁵⁸ The news received from Edirne from February onwards indicated that the castle would fall: “In a telegraph received from Edirne, it is stated that the defense of Edirne is no longer possible because of the lack of money.”⁵⁵⁹ About 20 days before the fall of Edirne, news from London on that Edirne would be given off was received by Pravda:” London – The possibility of concluding a peace agreement has increased. According to the information received, Turkey gives Edirne off.”⁵⁶⁰ The following was the news received shortly before the fall of Edirne:

The bombardment over Edirne is continuing. The Turks have tried to get out of the city, and about 1.000 people have died.⁵⁶¹ The Sublime Porte intends to make peace by assenting to the conditions raised by the great states. It wants this to be accomplished before the fall of Edirne. The Turkish garrison has been heroically defending Edirne; however, there is a constant problem of food and armament.⁵⁶²

6 days after this telegraph and on the eve of the fall of Edirne, Sukru Pasha sent a telegraph to the Ministry of War, and stated that the army had troubles with the food deficiency, and the soldiers could no longer defend the castle because of hunger and fatigue.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 19.01.1913[2.2.1913], Issue: 219 Telegraphs-Edirne.

⁵⁵⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 13.02.1913[26.2.1913], Issue: 240 Telegraphs-Bucharest, “The Condition of Edirne”.

⁵⁵⁸ MŞP, p.28

⁵⁵⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 12.02.1913[25.6.1913], Issue:239 Telegraphs-Bucharest, “Penniless Edirne”.

⁵⁶⁰Pravda Newspaper, 16.02.1913[1.3.1913], Issue: 243 Telegraphs-London “The Edirne Concession”.

⁵⁶¹ Pravda Newspaper, 01.02.1913[14.2.1913], Issue:230 Telegraphs-Sofia, “The Bombardment over Edirne”.

⁵⁶² Pravda Newspaper, 07.03.1913[20.3.1913], Issue:259 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “Peace before the Fall of Edirne”.

⁵⁶³ MŞP, p.77

The news on the fall of Edirne was wired to Pravda with the code of “urgent”: “Sofia – Urgent – According to the information from the Bulgarian Agency, a total attack has begun to be waged from all sides of Edirne in this morning. The eastern part of Edirne has been captured today.”⁵⁶⁴ Another interesting point was that in the following day Pravda received many telegraphs from Berlin, London and Sofia, which had “urgent” codes on them. On the same days, there was no news received from Istanbul concerning this issue. It seems that the newspapers in Istanbul were subjected to censorship due to the fall of Edirne.

The first news on the fall of Edirne was the news on the fall of both Edirne and the government, however, the source of this telegraph was not indicated: “According to a telegraph received yesterday evening and written based on the political circles, a revolutionary movement has erupted in Istanbul because of the fall of Edirne. This movement is against both the government and the Party of Union and Progress. The movement is serious and gaining strength horribly.”⁵⁶⁵ Even though this news was not accurate, there was such an expectation after the fall of Edirne. It has already been underlined that the expectation of the Party of Union and Progress was in this line as well. In that period, when Cemal Bey was the Commander of Istanbul, the oppression against the opponents increased and the anti-government movements were tried to be suppressed.

The telegraph of the Sultan to Sukru Pasha, which was sent on the day of the fall of Edirne, was published in Pravda as well:

In the morning of 13 March, the Sultan sent a telegraph to Edirne commander Sukru Pasha with regard to the defence of the Edirne castle up to the end. Through a wireless telegraph, Sukru Pasha conveyed that the Bulgarians had been bombing Edirne for 42 hours, and they would defend the castle in spite of this.⁵⁶⁶

As a matter of fact, in his meeting on 26 February 1913 with the Grand Vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha, who defended making of a peace by leaving Edirne, Sultan Resad told him that he want Edirne not to be left under any circumstances.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 13.03.1913[26.3.1913], Issue: 264, Telegraphs-Sofia, “A Mass Attack to Edirne”.

⁵⁶⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 15.03.1913[28.3.1913], Issue: 266, Telegraphs – abroad, “Revolution in Turkey”.

⁵⁶⁶ Pravda Newspaper, 15.03.1913[28.3.1913], Issue: 266 Telegraphs-Berlin, “The Telegraph of the Sultan”.

⁵⁶⁷ MŞP, p.45.

All the telegraphs on the battles were received from Sofia at the time of the fall of Edirne: “On 11-12-13 [24-25-26] March, in a battle near Edirne, the Bulgarian army has 11.000 dead and wounded soldiers, and the Serbian army has 1.200 dead and wounded people.”⁵⁶⁸ “The Turks in Edirne have burned all the military equipments and warehouses. Many localities of the city are alight. The inhabitants of the city are running away in a panic.”⁵⁶⁹ “The Bulgarian army captured 60.000 Turkish captives, including 820 officers and 13 generals.”⁵⁷⁰

Besides the news on Edirne, Pravda showed interest in Sukru Pasha because of his heroism in the defence of the Edirne castle:

Sukru Pasha sent a representative to General Ivanov after the fall of northeastern region. The representative gave his sword to Ivanov by stating that Sukru Pasha would surrender. Ivanov gave the instruction of giving the sword of brave protector of the castle back. He conveyed his sadness on the necessity of submission of the castle. This castle has managed to resist against all the attacks.⁵⁷¹ On 13 March, at 14.00, Sukru Pasha surrendered to General Ivanov.⁵⁷²

The Bulgarian King Ferdinand came to Edirne two days after the surrender of the Turkish army. It was reflected in Pravda as well: “King Ferdinand entered into Edirne with his automobile on 15[28] March. He expressed his respect for the heroism of Sukru Pasha.”⁵⁷³ While these were communicated in Pravda, the Grand Vizier of the time, Mahmut Sevket Pasha, had totally different views on Sukru Pasha: “I regret to leave Sukru Pasha in Edirne. If there was a capable commander like the Artillery Major-General (*Topçu Feriki*) Ali Rıza Pasha or Hasan Rıza Pasha, who defended Shkodra, the result would be different Sukru Pasha was not a brave soldier by his nature.”⁵⁷⁴

The Ottoman statesmen, especially the Union and Progress, thought that Edirne could be taken back in the midst of the disagreement among the states of the Balkan Alliance, which would erupt after the Bulgarian occupation of Edirne. An article was

⁵⁶⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 19.03.1913[1.4.1913], Issue:269, Telegraphs-Sofia, ”The Bloody Numbers”.

⁵⁶⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 14.03.1913[27.3.1913], Issue: 265 Telegraphs-Sofia.

⁵⁷⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 19.03.1913[1.4.1913], Issue:269, Telegraphs-Sofia, ”The Bulgarian Captures”

⁵⁷¹Pravda Newspaper, 15.03.1913[28.3.1913], Issue: 266 Telegraphs-Sofia, “Giving the Sword of Sukru Pasha Back”.

⁵⁷² Pravda Newspaper, 15.03.1913[28.3.1913], Issue: 266 Telegraphs-Sofia, “The Surrender of Sukru Pasha”.

⁵⁷³Pravda Newspaper, 16.03.1913[29.3.1913], Issue: 267 Telegraphs-Vienna, “Ferdinand’s Entrance”.

⁵⁷⁴ MŞP, p.120.

published in the issue of 18.06.1913 of the *Tanin* Newspaper, the media organ of the Union and Progress. The article stated that the army had to remain in the state of mobilization even though it was too expensive.⁵⁷⁵ As the conflicts among the Balkan states were revealed, and as the defeat of Bulgaria against Serbia, Greece and Romania became evident, discussions arose within the government over taking Edirne back. The necessary financial source for a military operation was provided through the French Regie Company (*Société de la Régie Cointeressée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman*) on the grounds that its concessions would be prolonged for 15 years more.⁵⁷⁶ The financial problem was resolved in this way, and mobilization of the army had its turn. In fact, there were already suitable atmosphere in the army on such an operation. The British ambassadors in Istanbul and Berlin informed the centre that an attempt to prevent such a mobilization would result in overthrowing the government.⁵⁷⁷ This means that the army was already ready to undertake such a military operation for Edirne. In spite of appearance, the government tried to hide the real aim of the army. This situation was reflected in *Pravda* as in the following:

After the Bulgarian withdrawal from Catalca, the Turks entered Catalca. Upon the decision of the Council of the Ministers, the Turkish army will move only by the „Will of the Sultan’.⁵⁷⁸ The Interior Minister instructed the civil servants, who were previously on mission in Çatalca, Çorlu, Tekirdağ, Malkara ve Keşan, to return their missions back.⁵⁷⁹

As one can see, the Interior Minister urged the civil servants to return their mission in the places other than Edirne. The government tried to rescue Edirne secretly because it abstained from the great powers.

On 17 July 1913, Enver Bey stated in Cerkezkoy that: “No one will stop the Turkish army at the line of Enez-Midyе, even if the Turkish government succumbs the great states, he will give his soldiers the order of attacking Edirne and beyond.”⁵⁸⁰ The

⁵⁷⁵ Ahmad, p.162.

⁵⁷⁶ Bayur C2K2, pp.422-423 The French ambassador in Istanbul, Maurice Bompard (1854-1935), who informed the French Foreign Ministry about the agreement between the French Regie Company and the Ottoman government, stated in his telegraph that: “I have learnt that Talat Bey stated that the Regie Company can trust in that the Turkish Parliament would approve this agreement, which has provided the Ottoman nation with the opportunity to re-take Edirne.” See: Bayur C2K2, p.423.

⁵⁷⁷ Bayur C2K2, p.415.

⁵⁷⁸ It is written in the original source as “The Will to the Sultan (*İrade Sultana*)”.

⁵⁷⁹ *Pravda* Newspaper, 02.07.1913[15.7.1913], Issue: 353, Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The Turks have been re-taking what they have lost”.

⁵⁸⁰ The letter from *Attaché Militaire* Cooper Marling in Istanbul, 25 July 1913, The record of the British Foreign Ministry, No: 371/1834/35300. Cited from Ahmad, p.164

order for the army to advance towards Edirne was reflected in Pravda on 18 July 1913: “Istanbul – Izzet Pasha was ordered to advance towards Edirne. The army in Catalca will enter into the coast of Thrace, and the Bolayır army will enter into the Meriç valley.”⁵⁸¹

With regard to the great powers, when they learnt the Turkish attempt to take Edirne back, the attitudes of Germany, France, Austria Hungary and Britain were more severe than Russia. The British and the French threatened the government that Russia would intervene in the case of the Turks’ taking Edirne back. The German government put pressure on Istanbul in order to prevent passing over the line of Enez-Midyé.⁵⁸² The threats of Germany were communicated in Pravda: “Berlin – Germany has threatened Turkey by stating that if Turkey takes Edirne back, the great states would give harm to her Asian lands.”⁵⁸³

When Edirne was taken back without firing a shot, the Russian threats against the Ottoman Empire were reflected in Pravda for this time. The rumours that the Russian army entered into the Ottoman lands proliferated in Istanbul.⁵⁸⁴ One day after this news, a telegraph received from London stated that:

London – According to the telegraph received by the *Daily Mail* newspaper on 18 July, the Bosphorus was closed to the passage of ships, and mined. According to the same newspaper, there are rumours on that the Russian ships were at the entrance of the Strait and these ships engaged in implicit blockade.⁵⁸⁵

In fact, Cemal Pasha wrote in his memoirs that Russia supported Turkey to take Edirne back.⁵⁸⁶ The reason for that the Russians preferred the Straits to be in the hands of a powerless Turkey instead of Bulgaria in the case of Russian capture of the Straits. Simply because of this reason, Russia preferred the Aegean islands to stay with Turkey instead of Greece. On the other hand, Britain, France and the other great states preferred Edirne to stay with Bulgaria in order to prevent Russia from achieving these aims. In spite of all these, Russia undertook an initiative on Edirne in favour of Bulgaria in order to ease the Pan Slavist public opinion within the country.

⁵⁸¹ Pravda Newspaper, 05.07.1913[18.7.1913], Issue:356 Telegraphs-Istanbul, “The movement of Turkey”.

⁵⁸² Bayur C2K2, pp.415-433

⁵⁸³ Pravda Newspaper, 05.07.1913[18.7.1913], Issue:356 Telegraphs-Berlin, “The German Threat”.

⁵⁸⁴ Rabochaia Pravda, 18.07.1913[31.7.1913], Issue: 5, Telegraphs-Istanbul.

⁵⁸⁵ Rabochaia Pravda, 19.07.1913[1.8.1913], Issue: 6, Telegraphs-London.

⁵⁸⁶ Bayur C2K2, pp.417

The Russian threat of intervention into Edirne was a subject of an article in Pravda. Entitled as “Intervention Out”, the article stated that:

The Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks have taken Edirne before the struggle over the plunder sharing. Edirne is a province, which is totally composed of the Turks, and there are nearly no Slavs living there. There was no need for the states of the Balkan Alliance to rescue anybody there [a sarcastic tone]. These have driven the Turkish peasants from their lands, and given these lands to the Bulgarian peasants. The capture of Edirne was a theft! The Russian people has neither role not interest in the capture of Edirne. However, the Russian capitalists and diplomats have roles in Edirne incident. They intended to stand on strong feet in the Balkans The Panslavists, who have gone bankrupt in Russia, have been trying to buy Bulgaria off by means of Edirne and at the expense of Turkey.

The article continues that such newspapers as *Ruskoe Slovo*, *Rech* went to a point of waging a war against Turkey to give Edirne to Bulgaria:

... The Russian people are tried to be dragged into turmoil. The Russian and German capitals are tried to be penetrated into the Balkan markets; however, the Russian people will be the price. Let's not step on the bloody mud in the Balkans. We do not want Russia to intervene into there ... The Russian democracy should deal with only a single issue in the Balkans: the victory of Balkan democracy against the military and bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie have dragged the Balkan nations into a rascal, meaningless and bloody massacre. The Balkan Slavs need not Edirne, but peace and democracy. Only these will be good for the created wounds.⁵⁸⁷

As it has already been indicated, the German government had put pressure on the Ottoman Empire because of the Edirne question. The same German government tried to take the Ottoman Empire into her side by promising that she would protect the Empire against the Russian threats. This development was reflected in Pravda as well:

The German Ambassador in Istanbul, Baron Von Vangelheim, met with the Grand Vizier Sait Pasha. During the meeting, the German ambassador stated that he was talking in the name of the German cabinet, and that Germany would prevent the Russian army from entering into the lands of the Ottoman Empire. He also stated that if Russia would enter into the Ottoman lands by demanding Turkey to withdraw from Thrace and Edirne, Germany would prevent this.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁷ Severnaya Pravda Newspaper, 20.08.1913[2.9.1913], Issue:15, “The Intervention Out!”, unsigned article.

⁵⁸⁸ Rabochaia Pravda, 23.07.1913[6.8.1913], Issue: 9 Telegraphs, “Turkey and Germany”, the source of the telegraph not mentioned.

The Russian threats against the Ottoman Empire mobilized Austria Hungary to undertake policies aiming the realization of her own interests:

Paris – According to the news published by *Eco de Paris* relying on the reliable diplomatic sources of Austria, the Austria Hungarian government threatened the great states by stating that should Russia entered into Turkey without the consensus of Europe, and made Turkey to withdraw from Thrace and Edirne, Austria Hungary would immediately intervene into Sandzak of Novi Pazar (*Yeni Pazar Sancağı*). According to the same newspaper, the great states have discussed the common consensus to be established on Turkey, and it was evident that the Bulgarians taking of Edirne once again seemed not possible.⁵⁸⁹

It became evident within the international order that the Turks would not withdraw from Edirne once again after the revocation of Edirne. This situation was reflected in the pages of Pravda as well: “According to the German press, the Turks are trying to immediately draw their military forces to Edirne. 200.000 soldiers have arrived Edirne. The castles have been empowered and changes at the European standards have been made in the castles.”⁵⁹⁰ The great powers noticed that it would not be possible to draw Turkey from Edirne by means of military measures, and thus they undertook financial threats. The Russian ambassador in Paris, İzvolsky, applied to the French Foreign Ministry and requested the French Regie Company (*Société de la Régie Cointeressée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman*) to stop providing the Sublime Porte with loans. On 30 July 1913, the great powers proposed the Ottoman Empire a meeting on increasing the tariffs and relaxing the capitulations.⁵⁹¹ Talat Bey provided the great powers the response with regard to this issue. As the spokesperson of the Union and Progress, Talat Bey stated that:

There can be partisans intending the discharging Edirne. However, it is unimaginable for those adopting such a view to stay in the cabinet The Ottoman patriotism cannot betrayed for the sake of raising the tariffs. The value of Edirne is the blood of our loyal and brave army, which is ready to sacrifice itself in order to defend the city.⁵⁹²

Lastly, the Turkish invocation into Edirne pleased as well as worried the 100.000 Turkish captives in Bulgaria. The condition of the captives was communicated in Pravda as well:

⁵⁸⁹ Rabochaia Pravda, 20.07.1913[3.8.1913], Issue: 7 Telegraphs-Paris “The Austrian Threat”.

⁵⁹⁰ Rabochaia Pravda, 21.07.1913[4.8.1913], Issue: 8, “The Turks are empowering Edirne”.

⁵⁹¹ Bayur C2K2, p.444, p.438

⁵⁹² Cited in Stambool Newspaper, 4 Ağustos 1913 from Ahmad, p.164

Sofia – The invocation of the Turkish army into the Bulgarian lands has caused both excitement and restlessness among the 100.000 captives in Bulgaria. On 25.07.1913, a group of captives have been brought to Stara Zagora [Old Zağra]. Upon the rumours over the invocation of the Turkish army into the Bulgarian lands, a rebellion attempt erupted among the captives. The Bulgarians have suppressed the rebellion, there were wounds among a few Bulgarian soldiers and the people.⁵⁹³

6.5. The Young Turks

The Young Turks, who had undertaken the 1908 Revolution through which the constitutional monarchy was re-established in the Ottoman Empire, were frequently followed by the editorial team of Pravda throughout the Balkan Wars. It was evident that the editors and columnists of Pravda were sympathetic towards the Young Turks; however, it should also be stressed that they waged frequent criticisms. The chapter has already examined the news articles on the political oppression over the Young Turks at the beginning of the Balkan Wars and after Kamil Pasha coming to the post of grand viziership. Therefore, this last section will not repeat Pravda's position on these developments, and put a particular emphasis on the other news articles published in Pravda on the Young Turks.

Pravda regarded Macedonia as the source of the Turkish revolution undertaken by the Young Turks.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover, the politico-economic policies pursued by the Young Turks were severely criticized in Pravda on the grounds that they turned the Macedonian issue into a war in the Balkans. It was asserted that the feudal relations of production in agrarian setting paved the way to the war. Pravda also criticized that the Young Turks' attempt in 1908 to bring freedom of expression to all the nations in the country made them to believe that they would resolve the Balkan question by this way.⁵⁹⁵ However, for Pravda, these were the same policies previously pursued by the Ottoman Empire, and they enslaved the peasants to the land. In an article published in the early days of the war, it was argued that:

The agrarian question is the most fundamental question, and in Turkey it is still in the period of middle ages. The slavery-caste system results in the institutions of justice to be at the level of middle ages. All the lands are in the hands of *pashas*⁵⁹⁶ and landlords. Additionally, the churches,

⁵⁹³ Rabochaia Pravda, 25.07.1913[8.8.1913], Issue:11 Telegraphs-Sofia, "The Turkish Captives".

⁵⁹⁴ Pravda Newspaper, 13.10.1912[25.10.1912], Issue:142, "In the Balkans", article by F.F.

⁵⁹⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, "On the Balkan Question", article by F.F.

⁵⁹⁶ In the original source, the word "*paşa*" used in Turkish language.

monastery and mosques had the lands of foundations in their hands. Therefore, the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek peasants and the Turkish people in the villages live under desperate conditions ...⁵⁹⁷

In another article, it was asserted that: “The Young Turks has followed the path drawn by the previous governments; they have not only committed the mistakes of the former governments. They have been also exploiting through the power of the government the nations living in the Ottoman Empire in a denser manner and declining the demands of the peasants and the workers.”⁵⁹⁸

One another article waged a severe criticism against the agricultural tax (*aşar vergisi*) which created an heavy burden on the shoulders of the peasants, and against the Young Turks who did not lift this burden:

The Turkish bourgeoisie, and in general, the Balkan bourgeoisie have pushed the agrarian question into the background by provoking the religious, linguistic and national biases. The Young Turkish regime has not undertaken any reforms on economic and agrarian realms ... Macedonia and the Balkan states are economically backward, and the residual order of the middle ages is still dominant. In Macedonia, the peasants give 1/3 of their products to the lords.⁵⁹⁹

On the basis of the news articles written on the Young Turks, it seems plausible to assert that Pravda expected the 1908 Revolution to pave the way to radical transformations in the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, their sympathy towards the Young Turks grounded in this expectation. However, as the Young Turkish regime failed to initiate such radical changes, Pravda took a critical stand towards the policies pursued by them. In the unsigned article published with the title of “Struggle for Edirne” on 29.12.1912, Pravda wrote in the first page that such a defeat was caused by the fact that ignorant sultans and their administrators had ruled Turkey for centuries. Then, the Young Turks were regarded as one of the responsible bodies for the defeat:

The reason for Turkey’s defeat has been that the [1908] revolution, which was too late and caused the awakening of the country, was not radical enough, and the inability and unwillingness of the revolutionaries to provide the people with good conditions. The failure of the peoples in Turkey to realize the right to self-determination is a reason for this defeat.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 9.10.1912[22.10.1912], Issue:138, “On the Balkan Question”, article by F.F.

⁵⁹⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 13.10.1912[25.10.1912], Issue:142, “In the Balkans”, article by F.F.

⁵⁹⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 7.11.1912[20.11.1912], Issue:162, “The Social Importance of the Serbian-Bulgarian Victory”, article by T.

⁶⁰⁰ Pravda Newspaper, 29.12.1912[11.1.1913], Issue: 203, “The struggle for Edirne”, unsigned article.

Parvus Efendi, a Marxist thinker living in Istanbul at the time,⁶⁰¹ waged a similar accusation against the Young Turks. Pravda published Parvus Efendi's article which was published in a German newspaper. Pravda introduces Parvus' article by stating that he accused the Young Turks of betrayal. It was also stated that Parvus made historical parallels between the 1905 Russian Revolution and the 1908 Turkish Revolution. This introductory assessment is followed by the article of Parvus:

The attitude of Europe towards the Russian and Turkish revolutions is extremely different. The Russian revolution evoked admiration in the European working class, and scared the bourgeoisie. This is because the Russian revolution was initiated by the workers and defended the interests of the workers and peasants. With regard to the Turkish revolution, the European bourgeoisie has very different views. The European bourgeoisie admired the Turkish revolution.⁶⁰² However, it was revealed later on that the bourgeoisie and the nobles were special sympathetic towards the Young Turks. They regarded the Young Turks as the qualified statesmen and real politicians, whom they put faith in. The Young Turks were against the people from the very beginning. The Young Turks initially pursued the tactic of the Russian revolution, and then did not want to commit the same mistakes in Russia. „Oh! Let the people's revolution not happen. Let the class struggle not be waged.’ The European diplomats supported the anti-people position of the Young Turks. The Young Turks were struggling against the actions and demonstrations of the workers in Istanbul and Salonika. They enacted laws to prohibit the workers' movement. On the other hand, the betrayal of peasantry by the Young Turks is important as well. While Anatolia, the Asian part of Turkey the Turkish peasants of Anatolia were grizzling under the domination of feudal exploiters and taxes of middle ages, the Young Turks promised reforms. However, they did nothing, the peasantry has remained as the way they were ... and for Parvus, the Young Turks have betrayed the nation because they have betrayed the

⁶⁰¹ Alexander Lvovich Helphand (1867 – 1924, Berlin), was a Marxist theoretician. He used the name of Parvus in his writings. He was sentenced to imprisonment by the Tsarist government after the 1905 Russian Revolution, he escaped from the prison and went to Germany. Then, he went to Istanbul and lived there for 5 years. Parvus Efendi, who undertook the editorship of the *Türk Yurdu Dergisi*, had close relations with Yusuf Akçura and the leaders of the Union and Progress. Niyazi Berkes introduces Parvus Efendi as in the following: „This person, who used the name of Parvus in his writings and whose real name was Alexander Helphand, was a famous Marxist socialist. Because he had a role in the 1905 Revolution in Russia, he was exiled to Siberia, and then he refuged to Turkey. When he saw the ignorance of the Turkish intellectuals about the economic conditions of the world and their own country, and how they dreamed about the Central Asia, which he saw during the exile, he was nearly lost for words.’ (Berkes, p.69). The writings of Parvus Efendi published in *Türk Yurdu* between 1911-1914 was published by the *İleri Yayinevi* with the title of “Parvus Efendi-Türkiye'nin Mali Tutsaklığı”.

⁶⁰² Lenin described the sympathy of the Europeans towards the Young Turks as in the following: “The Young Turks are praised because of their being moderate and timid; that is, they are praised because of that the revolution they have undertaken is puny, of that it has not provoked the lower segments of the people, of that it is hostile to the first emergent proletariat movement of the Ottoman Empire” See: Yuriy Aşatoviç Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, Bilgi Yayinevi, First Edition, Ankara, 1974, p:327.

revolution. The defeat of the Young Turks happened at the same time of the military bankruptcy of Turkey. It is unavoidable for all the Asian nations to follow this same path in the 20th century.⁶⁰³

While Parvus' article was published in Pravda, he wrote another article during the Balkan Wars and published it in *Türk Yurdu Dergisi*. He defended the same position with regard to the Young Turks in this second article too. Yet, it waged a moderate criticism against the Young Turks with reference to the following sentences:

Turkey has fallen into the thumb of the European imperialism. Turkey firstly has to get rid of the economic dependency in order to disentangle from the political dependency ... [Parvus] states in his article addressing the intellectuals that: "If you do not create an economic power as necessitated by our age, your destruction is definite. After the Balkan War, Turkey will continue to be exploited on financial and industrial realms much more than the past. This is because the dominant power in this country is neither the government, nor the Turkish people, nor the Muslims, nor the Christians. The real dominant power here is the European capital. As you have become the servants of your creditors, your government too serves for their interests ... You, the intellectuals, have alienated from the people; you do not know your own nation. You either praise your nation to the skies in the form of spectre of heroism, or mortify them because of their ignorance and conservatism. However, you do not see that your nation has been shedding the last drop of its blood; if the sounds of cannons roaring at the doorsteps of your capital do not shake your hearts, if you do not still understand that you have been driven into a corner just like an animal surrounded by its hunters, what else can I tell you?"⁶⁰⁴

Pravda, which waged severe criticisms against the Young Turks, showed it is sympathy towards them either implicitly or explicitly after the raid on the Sublime Porte. In an article published shortly after the raid, the Kamil Pasha government was accused of being reactionist and collaborationist because it could not resist and was about to give Edirne and the Aegean islands off.

... He was about to give the islands at the Turkish coasts off. However, the great states have not confined themselves to this. They demanded that Edirne, which the Bulgarians could not take by their own power, to be handed over Bulgaria ... With the pressure of the great states, the Turkish government, which is composed of semi-explicit and semi-implicit reactionaries, was ready to give concessions.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ Pravda Newspaper, 07.12.1912[20.12.1912], Issue: 187, Article, "Parvus: On the Turkish Crisis".

⁶⁰⁴ Berkes, pp.70-71.

⁶⁰⁵ Pravda Newspaper, 17.01.1913[30.1.1913], Issue:217, "The Revolution in Istanbul and Europe", article by G.Aleksinski.

The same article continued with a sarcastic tone that the raid on the Sublime Porte slapped in the face of the European speculators and bankers, and it was asserted that it was made by a “squadron leader” named Enver Bey. Because the raid annoyed the European capitalists, it seemed that Pravda was glad to communicate news on the raid:

The agreements were concluded over the shoulders of the powerless Turkey ... Turkey would say ‚yes’ to all the demands of the states of the Balkan Alliance ... There were articles in the European press on the pleasure of the European speculators for the would-be peace in Europe. This was because Turkey and the Balkan states have spent a lot a short time ago and they would be in need of additional loans ... The European speculators regarded the consequences of this war in this way by shouting slogans of ‚High interest rates to the Balkan loans’ ... The following was understood from the European press: The diplomats have reached an agreement, the speculators have prepared the bonds of the loans, and ‚a young squadron leader’⁶⁰⁶ smiled towards the respectful, bland, white-bearded bankers. The European speculators were demoralized, the hope for providing Balkans with loans decreased, the bond have damaged.⁶⁰⁷

After the raid on the Sublime Porte, Enver Bey was asked how they would continue with the war while the state treasury was empty. Enver Bey replied that: “All the wealth of the Union and Progress and the donations of its members will be collected in order to continue with the war. However, the reporter of the St. Petersburg Agency states that these members have no assets.”⁶⁰⁸ With such a news article, Pravda underlined that Union and Progress was not a bourgeois party. Two days after this news article, another telegraph was received from Istanbul with regard to the issue of financing the war: “The Party of Union and Progress has begun to collect taxes after it seized the power in order to continue with the war. There are threats of exile for those not complying with this.”⁶⁰⁹

It has been already underlined that the political oppression over the press gained speed after the appointment of Cemal Bey as the Commander of Istanbul. Such an oppressive policy had an impact on the position of Pravda towards the Union and Progress, and the linguistic tone of the telegraphs received from Istanbul changed

⁶⁰⁶ Enver Bey who undertook the raid on the Sublime Porte.

⁶⁰⁷ Pravda Newspaper, 17.01.1913[30.1.1913], Issue:217, “The Revolution in Istanbul and Europe”, article by G.Aleksinski.

⁶⁰⁸ Pravda Newspaper, 15.01.1913[28.1.1913], Issue: 215 Telegraphs-Istanbul “Enver Bey”

⁶⁰⁹ Pravda Newspaper, 17.01.1913[30.1.1913], Issue: 217 Telegraphs-Istanbul “The Domestic Conflict in Turkey”.

afterwards.⁶¹⁰ While Pravda communicated news on the financial troubles of the Union and Progress in a positive tone only one month earlier, it began to receive telegraphs like “The wastefulness of the Young Turks”, and implicitly accuse the Young Turks of theft.

It is still unclear where 8.000 Turkish liras, which were collected for the sufferers of the great blaze erupted on 10 June 1911, have gone. Ahmet Rıza Pasha, who is currently in Paris, was the head of the institution distributing this money at the time. This person has never been accounted for the distribution of this money collected at that time. It is thought that the money collected has been given to the committee of the Union and Progress, and it was spent there.⁶¹¹

In a telegraph entitle as “The decision of the Young Turks” and received one day after the fall of Edirne, it was stated that the Union and Progress will never leave the wheel: “The Party of Union and Progress has decided that the struggle will be continued up to the end in order for the administration [of the country]. The representatives of the Young Turks’ party claimed that Turkey would not exist without the Young Turks.”⁶¹²

In May 1913, Pravda communicated news on the rumours about that Enver Bey would be imprisoned for 45 days: “Istanbul – According to the widespread rumours, Enver Bey has been sentenced to 45 days in prison by Ahmet Abuk Pasha. The reason for that was the political propaganda undertaken by Enver Bey within the troop commanded by Ahmet Abuk Pasha.”⁶¹³ It is known that Enver Bey was not put into a prison. It is also known that in 1914, when Enver Bey was the Minister of War, he retired Abuk Ahmet Pasha.⁶¹⁴ Still, it is not hard to say that Abuk Ahmet Pasha, who would be the ministers of war and public works at the cabinet of Ferit Pasha (1919-1920), was against the Union and Progress Party. Even though the news was not accurate, it is still clear that the possibility of the existence of a tension between Enver Bey and Abuk Ahmet Pasha is high.

⁶¹⁰ The same atmosphere can be observed from the articles Kerimi sent to *Vakit* Newspaper. See: Kerimi, 2001

⁶¹¹ Pravda Newspaper, 13.02.1913[26.2.1913], Issue:240 Telegraphs-Istanbul “The Wastefulness of the Young Turks”.

⁶¹² Pravda Newspaper, 15.03.1913[28.3.1913], Issue: 266 Telegraphs-Istanbul “The decision of the Young Turks”.

⁶¹³ Pravda Newspaper, 05.05.1913[18.5.1913], Issue: 306 Telegraphs-Istanbul

⁶¹⁴ Grolier International Americana, Medya Holding A.Ş., 1993, Vol. 1, p.71.

With regard to the Young Turks, there were striking differences among the telegraphs received from Istanbul. It seems plausible to state that the telegraphs reflected sympathy towards the Young Turks especially between the period from the beginning of the war and after the raid on the Sublime Porte. Shortly after the raid, the tone and level of criticism against the Young Turks increased considerably. The reason of this can be explained with reference to the oppression undertaken by the Union and Progress against the press. One clue supporting this assessment was that the number of telegraphs received from Romania, but originated from Istanbul, considerably increased after the raid. That is, the telegraphs, which could not be sent from Istanbul due to censorship, were sent to Constanta by ship and then sent to the centre. However, the change of attitude in question cannot be observed in the articles published in Pravda. Consequently, it is possible to state that the Young Turks were closely followed by the Bolsheviks. They followed the course of reforms in the Ottoman Empire after the 1908 Revolution. They waged severe criticisms against the Young Turks because of their failure to initiate radical transformations in the country especially in terms of production relations.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

When one looks at the history Turkish-Russian relations, there were twelve great wars in about 500 years of the relations. Neither of the states had another neighbouring country with which they waged war against in such a number and for such a long time. Even though it can be called as *cold peace*, the 90-year period of peace after the First World War has been the longest period of peace between the two states. The Turkish Revolution and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey had an important role in the constitution of such a period of peace. Moreover, the Bolshevik understanding had broken the traditional policies of the Tsarist Russia and brought a new political order and perspective to the Russian policy towards Turkey. This has also impacted upon the formation of this peaceful period.

The traces of this novel understanding can be identified in Pravda of 1912-1913. The mainstream Russian perception of the Balkan Wars was characterized by that it was a war waged by “the Orthodox cross against the Crescent”. The fact that Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria, who were representing the cross, were at the same time Slavic made the Russian public opinion to show greater interest in this war. Within this context, from the very beginning of the war, the Balkan Wars were presented in the Russian press as the salvation of “the religious and racial fellows who had been under oppression for hundred of years” from the Turkish domination. In the period investigated for this thesis (October 1912 – October 1913), Pravda approached to this war on the basis of quite different motives. The newspaper communicated the central assertion that this war was a war of conquest from the beginning of the First Balkan War. Furthermore, it took a critical stance against the mainstream Russian press, and questioned the reasons of the Balkan Wars on the basis of politico-economic perspective and with reference to class-based analysis. These reasons were not only questioned, but also some proposals for solutions were expressed in Pravda. The solution for the Balkan question raised by the socialist circles of the time was a Balkan Federation. This socialist understanding, which aimed at transforming the production and property relations in these early industrializing countries, was overshadowed by the nationalist movements of the time, and thereby failed. It should

be particularly underlined that the news articles on Balkan Federation was generally of Serbian origin. Moreover, it seems plausible to make the assertion that the intellectual foundations of the would-be established Yugoslav Federation were laid in this period. The telegraphs, which were received from the places where the Slavic people lived in the Austria Hungarian Empire during the Balkan Wars, demonstrated that especially the Southern Slavic people in the Empire leaned towards the idea of Yugo-Slavic (Southern Slavic) unity. On this basis, one can reach the conclusion that the ideational origins of Yugoslavia date back to the period in question. The fact that the founder of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), was from Austria Hungary seems to affirm this assertion.

One of the most important findings of the examination of the Pravda Newspaper is concerned with the confusion of the Russian statesmen. Russia pursued a bipartite policy throughout the war. The official Russian policy was characterized by a moderate policy, which tried to avoid clashing with the great powers, especially Austria Hungary. Even though Russia played crucial role in the outbreak of the Balkan Wars through the Balkan Alliance, which was formed with the help of the Russian diplomats, she took a position in conformity with the great powers and declared that the *status quo* would not be changed. Moreover, Russia did not take Austria Hungary on in such issues as Serbia's intention to access to sea and the withdrawal of the Montenegrins from Shkodra even though there was a widespread domestic reaction against the government policies. Similarly, Russia worked in conformity with Germany, Austria Hungary, Italy, Britain and France in the London Conference of Ambassadors. On the other hand, there was unofficial foreign policy pursued by Russia during the Balkan Wars, namely aggressive Pan Slavist policy. This unofficial policy was followed both in domestic affairs and foreign relations. As a matter of fact, the breaking point of the Russian policy towards the Balkans was the year 1908. Russia had planned that she would accept the submission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria Hungary on the condition that the Straits would be given to her. However, she was deceived by Austria and noticed that she would face off against Austria Hungary in a short time. For this reason, Russia followed a Pan Slavist policy in the Balkans in order to establish a barrier composed of Slavs against the Austria Hungarian Empire. The Russian public opinion, which was already leaned towards Pan Slavism, was continuously provoked by the government. Such a policy was tried to be aggressively pursued during the Balkan Wars as well. Such an

unofficial policy was engineered, directed and coordinated by the Russian liberals, who were the representatives of the big capital groups and had controlled the Russian press at the time. Panslavism, which was in fact fabricated against the Pangermanic expansionist policy, gradually turned out to be an anti-Turkish political and social movement in the hands of the incompetent Russian statesmen and social engineers. The Russian public opinion kept aside Russia's "great objective" to seize Istanbul, and began to support a Bulgarian occupation of Istanbul. Such a political atmosphere went to a point during the war that the Russian government had to ban the pro-Bulgarian demonstrations, which proliferated after the fall of Edirne, in order to ease the people in the streets. This internal contradiction of Russia can be blatantly revealed with reference to the fact that the experienced Austria Hungarian Ambassador to Istanbul of the time, Pallavicini, told the Grand Vizier Mahmut Sevket Pasha that the pressure of the public opinion in Russia could make the Tsar to retreat and thereby to make the Bulgarians to enter into Istanbul.

With regard to the issue of Pravda's position towards the Ottoman Empire and the Turks, it should be initially stated that Pravda did not lean towards the discourse of "dismissing the Turks from Europe" that was dominant at the time. The editorial team of Pravda regarded the Ottoman Empire as a poor country, who was exploited by the imperialist powers at the time called as "the Age of Imperialism". In a news article, the Ottoman Empire was likened to the Little Red Riding Hood, who was constantly deceived by the European diplomacy. The following assessment can be made on the basis of the news articles published in Pravda: The unjust policies pursued by the European capital and diplomacy seemed to give rise to an implicit sympathy towards the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the editorial team of Pravda showed an explicit sympathy towards the Young Turks. Never the less, the Young Turks were subjected to constant and severe criticisms in Pravda because they were thought of failing to initiate a radical social and political transformation in the country after the capture of state power in the 1908 Revolution. On the other hand, the developments in everyday life and especially the military were frequently observed by Pravda through its reporters in Istanbul. It is also important to underline that the massacres undertaken against the Turks were reflected in the pages of Pravda while it was quite hard to see similar news items in the mainstream Russian press, except for the Muslim newspapers.

The Turkish and the Muslim population in Rumelia, who had experienced the Turkification period long before the Turkish settlement and domination in Anatolia, had to immigrate to Anatolia by leaving their homelands in short periods of time after the Balkan Wars. These people were the group having the most advanced consciousness of nationhood. Falih Rifkî states that: “In the past, we used to understand Rumelia Turkishness when one says nation. The frontier of the nation used to extend towards maybe Bursa and Eskisehir. However, Anatolia used not to give us a feeling of unity. The people from Konya and Trabzon could not coalesce with one another as the people from Skopje and Salonika.” The Balkan Wars had the impact of trauma on the Ottoman intellectuals. The overwhelming majority of the governing elites, who had undertaken the 1908 Revolution, were from Rumelia. Moreover, the cadre establishing the Republic was from Rumelia as well. Within this context, it would not be wrong to state that the Balkans at the time were the most valuable part of the Ottoman Empire on social as well as economic terms. Such an invaluable part of the Empire was lost within merely three weeks during the Balkan Wars.

The process of nation-state building entered into a new phase with this war. While the Bulgarians and the Greeks accomplished the project of nation-state building, the foundations of Yugoslavia were laid down for the Serbians. With regard to the Turks, they would have to wait for 10 years for their own nation states. The idea of Turkism would come to the forefront after the Balkan Wars. It became clear that the Ottomanism, which was discussed in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* by Yusuf Akcura in 1904, went bankrupt with this war. The dead end for the idea of Islamic unity would become clear only after the First World War. The remaining last option would be the establishment of a new nation state, which would be undertaken with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

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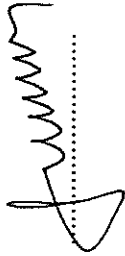
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Soyadı : Şarlak
Adı : Levent
Bölümü : Avrasya Çalışmaları

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : The Balkan Wars According to the Pravda Newspaper

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

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