

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

18 Subat 2017

METHODIEVA, Milena B. How Turks and  
Bulgarians became ethnic brothers: history,  
propaganda, and political alliances on the eve of the  
Young Turk revolution. *Turkish Historical Review*,  
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METHODIEVA, Milena B. How Turks and  
Bulgarians became ethnic brothers: history,  
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
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affairs, Abdul Hamid, relying on his German patrons and his own diplomatic skills, was able to keep new partition plans at bay. The sultan was more than Machiavellian enough to play the Balkan states off one another. Autonomous Bulgaria, after its absorption of Eastern Rumelia in 1885, was emerging as a regional bully, above all in Macedonia, where the Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Committee (BMARC), founded in 1893, pressed irredentist claims (this is the organization that would evolve into the better-known Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, or IMRO, still an essentially Bulgarian affair though the new name concealed this better). Quietly, Abdul Hamid acquiesced in Greek rebel activity in the province so as to weaken Bulgarian influence. Negotiations were under way between the Porte, Greece, Serbia, and Romania to forge a general anti-Bulgarian alliance.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, the very vitriol directed at the sultan by the Western press commended him all the more to the kaiser and his German advisers as an ally. After the collapse of Bismarck's system, Germany had, since 1892, faced a Franco-Russian military alliance. Britain and France had reached an *entente cordiale* over African colonial questions in 1904. With French encouragement, in 1907 London and Petersburg then put Great Game tensions to bed by dividing Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet into spheres of influence in an Anglo-Russian Accord. Spurred to action by the threat of encirclement by a Triple Entente, Ambassador Marschall and Abdul Hamid renegotiated a far-reaching railway agreement in spring 1908, which provided new revenue sources to help the Germans begin blasting the Taurus Mountains. The burgeoning partnership saw its physical manifestation in Haydarpasha Station, the great German-built flagship of the Baghdad Railway, nearing completion on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.

With a powerful new ally in tow, the Sick Man of Europe, given up for dead at the onset of Abdul Hamid's reign three decades previously, now appeared to be in full-on convalescence. Outside the gated fortress walls of Yıldız, however, others, unconfident of recovery, were sharpening their scalpels. Like so many patients under the knife, the Ottoman Empire could only hope that the cure was better than the disease.

CHAPTER 2

RADICAL SURGERY:  
THE YOUNG TURKS

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*The memory is so intense that to this day, I cannot think of it unmoved. I think of it as a final embrace of love between the simple peoples of Turkey before they should be led to exterminate each other for the political advantage of foreign powers or their own leaders.*

—HALIDÉ EDİB,  
*Memoirs*

*When Muslims learn that the [newly installed] Caliph is powerless, and is only the puppet of people who are more or less estranged from Islam, then a major crisis will be unavoidable.*

—BARON MARSCHALL,  
German ambassador to the Ottoman Empire,  
October 1909<sup>2</sup>

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

FROM THE DISTANCE OF A CENTURY, pictures capturing the euphoric crowds in Constantinople in July 1908 appear at once inspiring and profoundly depressing. Can the peoples of this simmering ethno-religious cauldron of a country—Muslims and Christians, Balkan Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and Albanians, Turks and Greeks, Circassians, Tatars, Armenians and Kurds, Arabs and Jews—really have believed that a few French words (*liberté, fraternité, égalité*) would submerge their differences, reverse the Ottoman Empire's

dence Day. He opposes the recitation of Hallel with its usual blessing but is not against saying it without the blessing. With regard to another debated "Zionist" question, he does not criticize the idea of withdrawal from territories of the historic Land of Israel, by virtue of the halakhic reasoning that withdrawal can be regarded as positive if it leads to the avoidance of war and prevents the death of Jews. In addition to his writings, R. Ovadia gives many lessons and lectures which are broadcast by satellite and have thousands of listeners.

## 2. Ovadia Yosef's Influence

Ovadia Yosef and the Shas Party sustain each other. His spiritual influence encourages people to vote for Shas, while the party's expanding influence and the growth of the *haredi* sector of the Sephardi and Mizrahi populace bring more people to respect his authority. As the leader of a large political party, R. Yosef stands in the media spotlight, and statements he makes during his lectures occasionally arouse public consternation. Many politicians seek him out and ask him to order Shas to support their positions. R. Yosef has gathered around himself a circle of associates and disciples who take a negative view of Israel's secular culture and seek to promote a religious alternative. His involvement in politics can ultimately be viewed simply as one of the many tools he uses to achieve his broader goals.

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AVI PICARD

## Yoshevet Şiyyon Society (Tunis)

Founded in 1914, Yoshevet Şiyyon (Isaiah 12:6) was a → Zionist organization that was active in → Tunis. Jules Bonan, one of its founders, explained that its aims were to spread Hebrew studies by modern methods. The founders considered Yoshevet Şiyyon to be ideologically affiliated to Mizrahi, the Religious Zionist party. They founded it after splitting off from the → Agudat Şiyyon society, the first Zionist organization in Tunis, founded three years earlier. The main difference between the two organizations had to do with religion. In the view of the founders of Yoshevet Şiyyon, Agudat Şiyyon was much too liberal. That is why Jacob → Abū Qurā (Boccaro), who also became the chief rabbi of the → Grana community in Tunis in 1914, left Agudat Şiyyon and joined Yoshevet Şiyyon.

There is little record of the activities of Yoshevet Şiyyon after the First World War. However, after the Second World War, when the French authorities banned new Zionist organizations, young Jewish activists used the Yoshevet Şiyyon certificate to organize Tséiré-Tsion (Youth of Zion), a socialist group that influenced all the Zionist youth movements in postwar Tunisia. Along with the country's other Zionist organizations, Yoshevet Şiyyon ceased to exist after Tunisia gained its independence in 1956.

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John Turkle

HAIM SAADOUN

## Young Turk Movement, Jews and

aut. Feriç Ahmad

The Jews of the Ottoman Empire, unlike its other minority communities, did not have

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Young Ottomans | Political theory ideology - Ottoman | Ottoman Empire - 19th century

I have written to Sir Edward at great length about the Committee and the Young Turks, which two seem to have been rather confused in the public mind in England and I have explained to him how the Committee has till now required very careful handling. He will no doubt show you my letter, so that I will not repeat.

With every Minister since the Constitution I have been on the best of terms, but unfortunately, those Ministers have after a few days or weeks rarely been able to retain the favour of the violent members of the Committee. My aim throughout has been that the Embassy should be in complete harmony with the Government in power and with the moderate and I believe best members of the Committee.

They have more sympathy with us than with other Powers but they naturally look to the strongest and if they see indications that other combinations are more successful outside than we are, they ask themselves what is the value of our sympathy and do not or would not think far enough ahead to see that other Powers may be harbouring some designs against them. If we could detach Italy from Germany and Austria it would no doubt tell its tale, but that I presume, is hardly realisable now.

I will naturally do my best to prevent anything like an understanding with Austria, but we may expect to have irresponsible statesmen in power ere long and they may rush in where angels fear to tread. The great difficulty will be to get rid of the deep-rooted hatred of the Turk for the Bulgar and I despair for some time to come of anything like a real understanding between them though I quite realise how easily the whole feeling of a nation can be turned by some small event.

I am sorry about the horse, but I am not responsible and could not do otherwise than forward His Majesty's request.

The girding of the Sword<sup>179</sup> was the most pitiable and democratic performance I have ever witnessed - Sic transit gloria &c. We may have another similar ceremony ere long.

That little reptile Maxwell<sup>180</sup> of the Daily Mail has been here and I believe written a lot of trash and will probably abuse this Embassy, as he does all of our Embassies and Legations, but I treated him very nicely.

[98]

Sir Gerard Lowther to Sir Edward Grey

Private  
British Embassy, Pera, May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1909

<sup>179</sup> The investiture of the new sultan, Mehmed V on May 10.

<sup>180</sup> William Maxwell.

Dear Sir Edward,

Many thanks for your private letter of April 30<sup>th</sup><sup>181</sup>, received by this week's Bag. The recent events, culminating in the disappearance of Abdul Hamid from the scene are certainly a psychological moment in the constitutional movement, and one for taking stock of the position.

Abdul Hamid's system of government during the thirty odd years preceding July last was responsible for so much bloodshed and misery that his removal was more than justified irrespective of whether the recent mutiny was engineered or not by him, with the object of restoring his absolutism. He gave me and my colleagues positive assurances that he would do nothing contrary to the Constitution with which he believed the safety of his throne was connected and, in the absence of any positive proof to the contrary, it is perhaps just as well that Turks should fancy that not we but the Germans regard with favour the movement which was to end in his deposition. The idea that we were connected with the "removal" of Abdul-Aziz<sup>182</sup> dogged our policy here during the recent reign and it may not be amiss that the present Sultan or his successor should have no grounds for imagining that we approved of the recent deposition of the Sultan and Caliph. At the time of the fall of Kiamil Pasha, I telegraphed to you that that event might lead up to some violent action against the Sultan. It was, in fact, fairly clear that the guiding spirits in the Committee could not rid themselves of fears of him as long as he was on the throne and on this account his removal from the scenes was in a way expedient, and has, for the time being, restored confidence and given satisfaction to those who have the destinies of Turkey in their hands. The latter are in a way an unknown body who keeps in the background, and many believe that the really directing spirits regard the recent change of Sultan as merely a half measure and that many months may not elapse before Youssouf Izzeddin succeeds to Mahmoud (sic) V. Such a consummation must of course depend on circumstances, but many think that the trend of events lies in this direction.

At the time of the revival of the Constitution in July last, the pro-English sentiments of the Turkish masses welled up to the surface, being partly the old genuine feeling of the days of the Crimean War and partly the reaction from the suppression of such sentiments during the anti-English Hamidian régime. All Turkish forms of government rely on the Army, and the latter, since the German victories in 1870, and especially since the stay of von der Goltz in Turkey, have looked towards and admired the military efficiency of the German Army. This has been and is the backbone of German influence in Turkey, but for a time the feelings of the Army were merged in those of the whole Turkish population. After the first outburst of enthusiasm, I arranged to meet two spokesmen of the Committee; one, the Secretary of the Foreign Organisation and the other now Vice President of the Chamber, the Secretary of

<sup>181</sup> Letter no. 90.

<sup>182</sup> Sultan Abdulaziz was deposed in 1876.

Handwritten note: *clerk's letter (100002)*

Handwritten note: *03 Mar 27'*

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

The competitors of the Armstrong group are numerous. They include: the Germans, the Americans, the firms of Palmer and Fairfield and the Russian influence which has been working against battleships.

The object of the first three is to get the ships put up to tender.

The Government here have never actually committed themselves to us, though the late Minister of Marine whom they will now repudiate practically did so.

The Armstrong group have spent several thousand pounds legitimately out here with all their staff of designers and it will be, putting it mildly, a distinct slight to us, if they now resort to an open tender in which Armstrong would probably not tender.

Latter assure me that there never has been the slightest sign of the Minister wanting bakshesh. We shall see how things shape but if they go wrong you may wish me to use perhaps some rather strong language.

I cannot make out that Williams has had any row with the Minister but latter has gone to sea.

I am very disappointed over the setback which has giving me endless trouble, but these people are perfectly hopeless to deal with.

[181]

Sir Gerard Lowther to Sir Charles Hardinge

Private

British Embassy, Constantinople, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1910

My dear Charles,

I feel sure that matters are not going so well in Albania as the Grand Vizier and the Government make out. Pallavicini, who is in a better position than any of us to know what is happening says that things are going very badly, and that insubordination is rife amongst both officers and men. He strikes me as being very anxious about the situation, though desirous to see it improve. I believe the Turks have lost 400 killed and 700 wounded have been sent to Salonika. There seems to be trouble everywhere for the Turks just now and they will be terribly pinched for money, though Djavid declares himself quite confident of getting it. I suppose nothing more came of the joint warning that it was suggested Bompard and I should give to the Ottoman Government as to their reckless expenditure. It is better so, for they would pay no attention to it and they would take it very much amiss. The ultra-chauvinistic elements are very much on the increase and are much to the fore just now.

I don't know why the "Standard" invented a long story as to the conversation I was said to have had with the Porte over our occupation of Egypt. I need hardly say that the subject has never been mentioned either by me or to me here. The only point on which I have touched was asking about Muhammad Farid's selection as Freemason delegate. I feel pretty sure that Talaat lied

Jön-Türkler (1909-02)  
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both to Rifaat and to myself over that, but on the other hand I am assured that Muhammad Farid is not at all the enthusiastic nationalist that he was.

Tcharykoff asked me a few days ago to point out privately to Admiral Williams that there was no necessity for the Turks to build men of war of 16,000 tons, that if they did so Russia would have to build vessels of 22,000 tons in the Black Sea, and that all that Turkey required was a cruiser strong enough to beat the new Greek ship. I said that Williams had come out with an open mind, that he had hardly time to study the requirements of the Ottoman Empire or the values of material they have, but that I quite agree with him that it was folly for Turkey to spend large sums on large vessels. I however did not promise to say anything to Williams and I feel sure that the Turks would much resent our telling them what they require in the way of ships. As a matter of fact I don't know how the matter stands, as Williams went off to sea with the Fleet, to the Marmara, and he was presiding the commission enquiring into Armstrong's plans.

The Turks were not very polite in the matter of sending representatives to the funeral service. They don't see it necessary and that was all. Whether this was due to stupidity or wantonness I don't know, probably the former.

I have not yet had the resume of your conversations with Rifaat about Crete. Naturally the question is very exceedingly worked up here to draw the attention of the public off the Albanian question, but those who do interest themselves in it do so with great warmth.

I hope the summer may produce some solution of this Cretan question which although not likely to be a definite one may perhaps get us a few years of peace.

The Germans seem to be spending a good deal of money on the press here and have lost none of their activity. I believe they are working to get Tewfik back to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Presumably the old gentleman is even more German than Rifaat. The Germans no doubt encourage the Young Turks in their pan-Islamic ideas.

I shall be much interested to hear what was said to Rifaat.

[182]

Sir Gerard Lowther to Sir Charles Hardinge

Secret

Private and confidential

Constantinople, May 29<sup>th</sup> 1910

Dear Charles,

Gorst's telegram of the 23<sup>rd</sup> April and your telegram of the 25<sup>th</sup> April about the rumoured appointment of Muhammad Farid as delegate in Egypt of

Oliver Stein, Nachrichtendienstoffizier in Osmanischen Reich  
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im Vorderen Orient 1915-1919, Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2018.

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03. März 2019

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## 2. Kapitel:

Schicken Sie das Kind nachhause – Getrimmt auf Orient –

Die Jung-Türken – Versuchungen – Der erste Auftrag.....147

## 2. Kapitel

Jön Türker  
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### „Schicken Sie das Kind nachhause“

Am nächsten Morgen hatte ich mich wieder bei B. zu melden. Der erklärte mir, daß der Oberst, nach genauem Studium der Akte befohlen habe, daß ich an Stelle der unterlassenen Vereidigung dienstverpflichtet werden sollte. Später erfuhr ich, daß diese Welle bis zum General hinauf geschlagen hatte, der entschied, weil in der Eile wirklich nicht festzustellen sei, auf welchen der zur Auswahl stehenden Landesfürsten ich zu vereidigen sei. Das war ja auch der Grund, weshalb meine Vereidigung bisher noch nicht erfolgt war. In Berlin hatte man anscheinend garnicht mehr daran gedacht.

Was sowohl der Oberst, wie anscheinend auch der General übersehen hatten, war mein Alter. Ich war ja gerade noch im 19ten Jahrhundert geboren (1898) und so fiel es wohl nicht so auf. Als B. nun mit mir zur Meldung (Vorstellung) beim Obersten erschien, rief der bei meinem Anblick entsetzt auf: „Das ist ja Kinderschändung! B. schicken Sie das Kind sofort wieder nachhause!“ – B. erlaubte sich nun darauf hinzuweisen, daß ich doch – gemeinsam mit der Niemeyer-Expedition, mit eigenhändiger Unterschrift des Generalobersten von Falkenhayn zur MM befohlen worden sei und daß ein bayerischer Prinz und General-Feldmarschall (Ruprecht) gegengezeichnet habe. Der Oberst sah ein, daß da nichts zu machen war. Er erklärte mir nun, sehr barsch, daß eine Vereidigung aus unverzeihlicher Nachlässigkeit bisher nicht erfolgt und, hier nicht durchgeführt werden könne. An ihre Stelle trete eine „Verpflichtung auf das Deutsche Reich“, die rechtlich dieselbe Bedeutung habe, wie der Fahneid. Er verlas dann den Text dieser Verpflichtung, die den Zusatz trug „solange das Deutsche Reich besteht“. Eine seltsame Formel, die ich weder vorher noch auch nachher jemals wieder gehört habe.

Nach dieser Formalität war der Oberst ganz manierlich geworden und gab mir sogar die Hand, halb um die Verpflichtung damit „durch Handschlag“ zu bekräftigen, teils um mich als Offiziers-Kameraden anzuerkennen. Meine „stramme Haltung“ während der ganzen Angelegenheit hatte ihm wohl gefallen. Außerdem hatten ihm, wie mir B. später erzählte, die Beziehungen zum Bayerischen Königshaus imponiert. Na, ja, mir sollte es recht sein.

Anschließend nahm B. mich zu sich in sein Dienstzimmer. Wir setzten uns zusammen an den kleinen Tisch, sodaß das Vorgesetztenverhältnis nicht statisch betont wurde. Es war ein langes Gespräch, das meine ganze Stellung dort umriß. Der wichtigste Punkt war, daß ich außer ihm, B., keinem Menschen irgend etwas über meine Dienststellung oder gar einen Auftrag und dessen Ergebnisse erzählen dürfe, nicht einmal dem Obersten. Dann würde ich noch von einem Oberleutnant durch Konstantinopel geschleust werden, um dort „alles“ kennen zu lernen. Als ich ihn fragte, was er denn unter „alles“ verstehe, lächelte er etwas hintergründig

147-156



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01 Ocak 2019

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GENELİNE YAYIMLANDIĞI  
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17066 AL, Sérhun. Young Turks, old state: the ontological  
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as an antidote to the ontological insecurity of the state  
was very crucial in the mind-set of late Ottoman elites  
from Tanzimat reformers to the Young Turks."

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
KAYIT GELEN DOKÜMAN

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6821 YENEN, Alp. The "Young Turk zeitgeist" in the Middle Eastern uprisings in the aftermath of World War I. *War and collapse: World War I and the Ottoman state*. Ed. M. Hakan Yavuz, with Feroz Ahmad. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015, pp. 1181-1216. "In the aftermath period the Young Turk exiles ambitiously attempted and publicly announced efforts to unite the different Muslim and Middle Eastern uprisings against the British imperialism."

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GE'LEN DOKÜMAN

22 Ekim 2018

American Turkish Encounters:  
Politics and Culture, 1830-1989

Edited by

Nur Bilge Criss, Selçuk Esenbel,  
Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	266047
Tas. No:	327.373 AME-T

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2011

02 Kasım 2018  
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

YOUNG TURK RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED  
STATES, 1908-1918

FEROZ AHMAD

In 1908, the United States was not considered by the new, constitutional régime as a Great Power, and neither the Sublime Porte nor the lively Turkish press paid much attention to the empire's relationship with Washington. The U.S. had already overtaken Britain as a great economic power, but American interests lay elsewhere, in Latin America and East Asia, and only halfheartedly in the Near East, where its focus was on missionary and educational activity, rather than trade.

After the Ottoman's Young Turk revolution of 1908, the new regime was concerned with the European powers and ignored the U.S. embassy. The Sublime Porte never sought loans from American banks, despite the Ottomans' difficulty in raising capital through Europe's money markets. Ambassador Oscar Straus, who arrived in Istanbul in September 1909, played no significant role in the Young Turks' policy, although U.S. interest in the late Ottoman Empire revived after 1910.<sup>1</sup>

To free the empire from French and German financial groups, the Young Turks encouraged American participation in Turkish public-works programs. Negotiations with the Sultan for a railway financed by American capital, called the Chester Project, began before the revolution of 1908. But these negotiations ran into the opposition of Germans who saw the American project as a rival with its own Baghdad railway. The State Department offered substantial concessions, including an increase in customs dues, the sale of American ships to the Porte, and financial loans.<sup>2</sup>

According to the U.S. embassy in Istanbul, the influence of the Germans on the Young Turks led to the defeat of the railway project. Ambassador Straus noted,

It was obvious that the Chester Project would clash with the Baghdad Railroad. That the Germans would be opposed to it is clear. . . . Turkey is so dependent upon the cultivation of the six great Powers, who practically have in their keeping the political existence of the Empire, that should one or more of these Powers, as for instance Germany or Russia, strongly

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Jan Torkler  
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Jön Türkler (100002)

# Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space

Edited by  
Jørgen Nielsen

02 Kasım 2013

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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THE YOUNG TURKS IN POWER:  
A COMPARATIVE AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Klas-Göran Karlsson

Few historical periods have been depicted in a more multifaceted, polarized and contradictory way in scholarly discourse than the Young Turk era of the Ottoman history. In the years 1908–1918, traditionalism met with modernity, decentralisation with centralisation, imperial Ottomanism with Turkish and other nationalisms, secularism with a religious revival, liberal reformism with conservative autocratic or revolutionary totalitarian rule, and attempts at socio-political integration with the most horrendous massacres of ethnic minorities. As an over-determining factor in many scholarly works, the Tripolitanian War against Italy 1911–1912, the Balkan wars 1912–1913 and the First World War 1914–1918, or rather the continuing military disasters of the Ottoman forces in these wars, enter the historical scene as *deus ex machina* to strike a conclusive blow in the Ottoman struggle between these extremes.

No doubt, the Ottoman wars in general and the First World War in particular left their strong marks on the Young Turk decade in power, as did further territorial losses in Europe already before the wars: in 1908, Bulgaria declared itself independent, supported by Russia, at the same time as Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1910–1912, Albania revolted. Lost was the Rumelian heartland, a European territory that had belonged to the Ottoman Empire for centuries, had given it much of its multinational character, and had been of utmost economic and political importance. Long-range social and economic reconstruction work had to be pushed into the background by more urgent tasks to handle the war crisis and to hold together the disintegrating empire. Consequently, open constitutional processes had to give way to closed sessions within a Young Turk military oligarchy, and, from 1913, to a military dictatorship. Liberal, constitutional ideas are obviously much easier to transform into political practice in peace than in war, and the rise of an aggressive Turkish nationalism can be regarded as a more or less natural corollary of the strained war situation and tendencies of disintegration. As has been stated by an early observer of

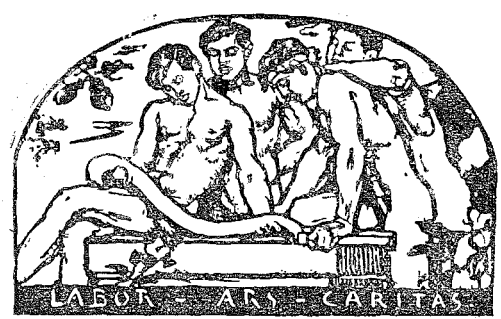
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# War and Collapse

World War I and the Ottoman State

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## Revisiting Dominant Paradigms on a Young Turk Leader

Ahmed Rıza

*Erdem Sönmez*

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Ahmed Rıza is considered to be a major ideologue and intellectual and one of the most significant leaders of the Young Turk movement. His political and intellectual portrait is particularly noteworthy because he stood between two generations of constitutionalism: the Young Ottomans and the Unionists. Moreover, after the 1908 revolution, he was elected to be the Speaker of the parliament in deference to his longtime efforts in opposition to the Hamidian regime. He was later appointed as a member of the senate.

Ahmed Rıza was born in 1858 in Istanbul, to a father who was nicknamed "English" and an Austrian mother who was a convert to Islam. After graduating from the Mekteb-i Sultani (Imperial School),<sup>1</sup> he worked and received his informal training in the Tercüme Odası (Translation Bureau) as many of the Young Ottomans had done before him. Within a relatively short time span he went to France to study agriculture.<sup>2</sup> Upon returning to the Ottoman Empire, he applied to the Ministry of Education because no suitable position at the Ministry of Agriculture was available at the time. He was appointed to the National Education Office in Bursa. Not content with his appointment, he resigned during his visit to Paris for the centennial exhibition of the French Revolution.<sup>3</sup> While in Paris, Rıza wrote six reform bills and submitted them to Sultan Abdülhamid II, only to be ignored.<sup>4</sup> Despite the silence from Yıldız Palace, he published the first of these reform bills and shortly thereafter joined the ranks of the Young Turk movement.<sup>5</sup> Most importantly, perhaps, he was

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## The Dilemmas of Young Turk Policy, 1914–1918

*Feroz Ahmad*

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12 Ocak 2018

Young Turk policy during the Great War was neither adventurous nor naïve, as it is often portrayed. It was pragmatic, and its principal goal was to save the Ottoman Empire. The policy was based on the Ottoman experience of the Eastern Question in the late nineteenth century and more specifically on the experience with the Great Powers since the revolution of 1908.

After they restored the constitution in July 1908, the Young Turks expected a sympathetic response from the Great Powers—especially from Britain and France. Instead they found themselves facing one crisis after another, culminating in their virtual expulsion from Europe as a result of the Balkan Wars of 1912–13.<sup>1</sup> That left them demoralized, though the faction led by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) that seized power in January 1913 was determined to make the best of a bad situation. This faction (hereafter the Unionists) ruled the Ottoman Empire until the armistice of 1918, when they dissolved the CUP and the main leaders fled abroad. This chapter examines their policy and the decisions that they were forced to make.

When the Balkan Wars ended in 1913, the Unionists realized that their isolation had been disastrous and that this isolation had to be ended if the empire was to survive. They were convinced that the Great Powers—England, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Austria—would partition what remained of their empire without an alliance. Even though they had invited the German military mission under Liman von Sanders in 1913, they knew that their future would be more secure with the Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia. They were not pro-German as is often alleged: hence their attempts to conclude alliances with Britain,

66-83

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## Young Turks, Old State

The Ontological (In)Security of the State  
and the Continuity of Ottomanism

*Serhun Al*

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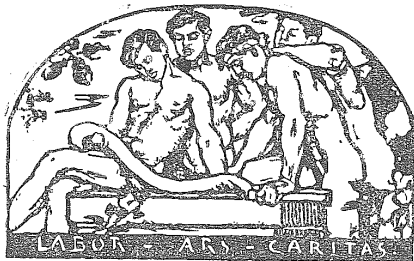
In order to understand the mind-set and psyche of the late Ottoman political environment, especially Young Ottomans and Young Turks, it is essential to understand the political and intellectual milieu within which these forces of saving and empowering the state came into being in the longest century of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1</sup> As this chapter seeks to elaborate, the most important ideational and political framework within which these elites were raised and influenced was the idea/policy of Ottomanism—a state project of patriotism that sought legal equality across religious and ethnic communities under a supranational state identity. Both the Young Ottomans and Young Turks, two successive generations who came to characterize the late Ottoman constitutional movement, were self-declared Ottomanists and projected the inculcation of patriotism as the major way to save the Ottoman state from collapse. The existing literature emphasizes ruptures in identity politics of the late Ottoman ruling elites (Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism), especially the portrayal of the Young Turks as Turkish nationalists. But I argue that understanding the notion of Ottomanism within the conceptual context of the state and its ontological security on the one hand and patriotism on the other significantly reveals Ottomanism's continuity in state policy, perhaps until the end of World War I.

By "patriotism" I mean political identification with the state and the concern for the state's survival and well-being, which leads to willingness to sacrifice for the promotion of such a cause.<sup>2</sup> Thus the primary emphasis of patriotism is on the survival and continuity of the state rather than

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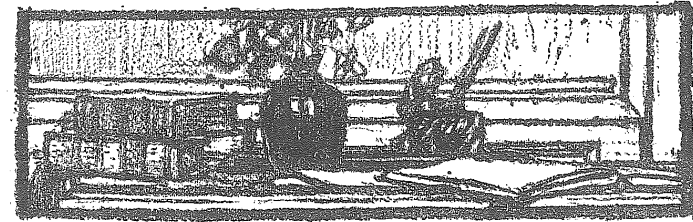
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## La Jeune Turquie et sa politique étrangère

Souvent les changements de régime ont passé sans affecter la politique extérieure des Etats. La révolution jeune-turque avait, à l'origine, paru infliger à ce principe un éclatant démenti. L'Allemagne, qui, sous le gouvernement d'Abd-ul-Hamid, jouissait à Constantinople d'une exceptionnelle faveur, put croire compromise son influence en Orient lorsque apparurent les réformateurs qui entendaient faire table rase d'un passé abhorré. Le boycottage des marchandises autrichiennes en Turquie, qui compromettait le commerce austro-allemand, l'arrivée au pouvoir des glorieux proscrits auxquels la France avait donné les exemples de son histoire et l'hospitalité de ses frontières, en un temps où l'exil était le seul refuge contre l'absolutisme hamidien, les tendances avérées des rénovateurs, leurs manifestations significatives, l'appui que les Jeunes-Turcs recevaient de la France et de l'Angleterre, l'enthousiasme que provoquaient le patriotisme de leurs aspirations et la rectitude de leur conduite, tout concourait à diminuer et à amoindrir l'hégémonie allemande. Et l'influence que l'Allemagne perdait en Orient, n'étaient-ce pas les deux puissances occidentales dont la sympathie agissante n'avait pas manqué au nouveau régime qui devaient être appelées à en bénéficier ?

Les événements ont déroulé les prévisions les mieux établies. Un malentendu dont a peut-être exagéré la portée a provoqué à Constantinople et à Paris une irritation qui s'est traduite par

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# DERGÂH

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## EDEBİYAT SANAT KÜLTÜR DERGİSİ

İsmet Özel

SÜLEYMAN ÇOBANOĞLU, HEYHAT!

İki yıl sonra otuzuna varacak; bir şair için hiç de genç yaşta değil. Şiir gelecek diye öyle uzun süre bekledim ki artık bu türden gecikmişlik gözüme görünmüyor. Yaşı benden genç olup da Türk şiirine ilmek atanlara yıllar boyu dikkatle bakadurdum. Buna ahlâken mecburdum. Yaşı benden ileri olan şairlerin bana bir zamanki gönlü sunuşlarına teşekkürümü başka nasıl belli edecektim? Ben bekleyedurken şiirin külliyetli bir kefareti istediğini açıkça dile getirişim hazırlanmışlığıyla şiiri birbirine karıştıranların bana düşman kesilmelerine yetti. Oluyor galiba, dedim Osman Konuk'a, ikinci kitabını çıkarırsan yazdıklarından ne anladığımı yazmayı üstleniyorum. Senin için ikinci kitap şart. Bu zenaate ait olduğundan ben emin olmalıyım.

Müşkülpesentlik bendimin üstünden Süleyman Çobanoğlu zanaatkarlığıyla akmayı becerdi. Şiir kitabına kakavan bir isim bulduğu gerekçesi şiirin geldiği gerçeğine baskın çıkamaz artık. Ne çok anlamı var Şiirler Çağla'nın bir düşünsenize! Şiirlerin çağlayışından, çağla tezeliğindeki şiirlere, oradan çağıyla doğan şiirlere ve daha bilmem nerelere geçebilirsiniz. İyi şairlerin böyle dopingli başlıklara ihtiyacı yok.

Şiir geldi. Hece vezni ihyâ ettiği için filan değil. Şiirin biçim üstünde ve biçim üstüne kurulu olduğu bizim geleneğimizin ayrılmaz parçasıydı zaten. Süleyman Çobanoğlu uzun bir aradan sonra bu parçayı yerine koydu sadece. Şiir çıkmazdaki yerini arka arka yürüyerek terk edebildirdi. Ne var ki çıkmaza girerken odaklanan noktalar arka arka yürüyüşte genişleyen açığa bir bir dahil olan muhtelif noktalar haline dönüşüyor.

Şiir geldi. Aniden, beklemedik bir anda ve ayak seslerini duyurmadan. Tıpkı iki Almanya'nın birleşmesi gibi. İki Almanya birleşince bir Almanya olmadı. Çünkü Almanya üçe bölünmüştü. Kelimeli, mısralı, bütünlüklü şiiri bekliyorduk. Gelen odur. Nereden mi biliyorum? İyi şiirleri (iyi müzikte olduğu gibi) okuduktan (dinledikten) sonra eserde kendimize ait ve hiç kimseden ödünç almadığımız bir şeyi unutmuş, kaybetmiş, bırakmış gibi oluruz. Kendimize ait o şeyden vazgeçmediğimiz yahut o şeysizlikten duyduğumuz mahrumiyet acısına duçar olduğumuz zaman bir daha, biraz daha yanaşırız esere. Kendimize ait başka bir şeyi oralarda düşürmek pahasına.

BU SAYI

Eserleri ile dergimize katkıda bulunan, bazıları şiirlerini kitaplaştırmış, bir kısmı da kitap çıkarmak üzere olan şairleri daha yakından tanımak üzere bu sayıda şiire geniş yer ayırdık.

Ömer Erdem, Kemal Sayar, Gıyasettin Ekici, Hasan Akay, Ümit Aktaş, Cevdet Karal, Levent Sunal, Mehmet Erdoğan ve Süleyman Çobanoğlu böylece bir araya geldi.

İsmet Özel bu şairlerden Süleyman Çobanoğlu üzerine yazdı.

Derkenar sütunlarında Mehmet Can Doğan, Fatma Karabiyik Barbarosoğlu, Ali Şükrü Çoruk ve Lütfü Bergen'in yazılarını bulacaksınız.

Melek Paşalı bir hikâyesi ile aramızda. Prof. Dr. Mine Mengi 'Divan şiirinde Çelebi Tipi'ni anlatıyor.

Bu sayının 'orta sayfa sohbeti'ni Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi üzerine çalışmış iki öğretim üyesi ile yaptık. Hayati Develi ve Musa Duman bu konuda aydınlatıcı bilgiler veriyor.

Doç. Dr. Sema Uğurcan Tanpınar'ın gözyle Yahya Kemal'i anlatıyor.

Talip Küçükcan'ın yazısı Batı medeniyetinin kendi içindeki çatışmasını konu alıyor. Hasan Akay klasik sanatlarımızdan 'ebrû' üzerine geniş bir deneme kaleme aldı. Selim Somçağ bu defa Amerikalıların yeme-içme alışkanlıklarına değiniyor.

Son sayfamızda rahmetli hocamız Nurettin Topçu'nun 'sanatkar' konulu derinlikler içeren bir yazısını bulacaksınız.



Levent Sunal

1960 Adana doğumlu. İ.Ü. Tıp Fakültesi'ni bitirdi. Halen İstanbul Sağlık Müdürlüğü'nde tabib olarak çalışıyor. 1984'de Varlık dergisinde başlayan şiir serüveni son beş yıldır Dergâh'ta sürüyor.

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durağan bir senfoninin a sesi  
yoksul ama kırmızı umutlar; taptaze  
yeni çıkmış simitler gibi fırından

benimle beraber yeni bir denize doğru akmadalar  
herkes herşey yeni denizlere akmada  
gözler delik deşik etmede ufku; yaşama kaygısı  
ve ölüm beraber

ne sucu çingirakları ne boza  
ne yatırlar efendiler  
geri dönüşsüz bu son noktada  
sokakta yalnızca, acı ve kediler

DURMADAN

öfkemi büyütmemiyorum güdük kalıyor  
bir günün çekirdeği ellerim görmezlikten geliyor  
yoksulluğu şokaktaki biçare umutlar peşi sıra  
tükenişi martının yağmur kipi aralık zaman  
durmada kayboluyor yaşadığını insan

yok anılar dil sürçer gün üşür  
büyür içine bir kabus gibi oturan secde  
ne kaldı ne kalacak geriye  
seni bekleyen kırlangıç fırtınası

yokuşlar zamanın süregen makinası  
kayboluşlar yitik usun peşinde  
evler yalnızlık karıncalanması doyumsuz  
at öltür sürer mi kokusu iz peşinde

yaşadığı bir yaşanmamışın koca bir yalanı  
ellerimizi güzün öptüğü de yalan  
çıkacak mı almamız erince  
bizi bekleyip duran musalladan

21 Şubat 2016  
MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

D E R K E N A R

man dilimi sunar.

Adre Gide "Hatıra yazmak ölümün elinden bir şeyler kurtarmaktır" der. Biyografi yazmak ise yaşanmış olanın, ölümle nihayetlendiğini hatırlatarak, ölümün her an beklenebilirliği içinde yaşanılan an'a ufak bir dokundurma belki.

Yaşadığımızın farkına varmak için daima hatırlamalara ihtiyacımız var. Bu hatırlatma bazen yitirilmiş bir sağlık, bazen yitirilmiş bir dost olsa da, biz kaybettiğimiz herşeyin ardından deice bir yaşama isteği duyarız. Hayata kırılmalarımız, küskünlüklerimiz hep bu yaşama arzusu yüzündendir. Yaşamak hiç düşünmeden yaşamak. Başka yaşantılara sırt çevirerek yaşamak. Hayat hakkını sadece kendimize ait sanarak yaşamak. Cysa Kierkegard "Yaşamaya sabrım yok" diye inliyordu. Yaşamakta olduğumuz alelade hayatın hiç kıymeti olmadığını idrak etmek en iyi ateş biyografi kitapları. Kıymetsiz olanı kıymetli olan bir hayatın peşine düşerek anlamlandırılmak.

Ingeborg Bachman "gidiyoruz tozlanmış yüreklerimizle" diyor. Tozlanmış yüreklerle giderken bir başkasının iz sürerek yeniden kurgulayabileceği bir hayatı geride bırakabilmek her faninin nasibi değil. Ama isterse her fani peşine düşebileceği bir hayat bulabilir.

Fatma Karabiyik Barbarosoğlu

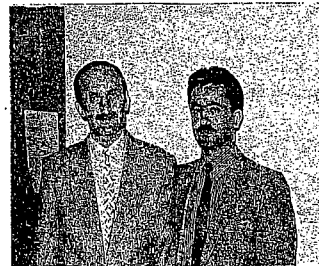
İSVİÇRE'DE JÖN TÜRK BASINI

19. yüzyılda imparatorluğun kötü gidişini durdurmak için alınması gereken tedbirleri içeren Tanzimat ve Islahat Fermanları, fikri planda ciddi olarak -Kuleli Vak'ası istisna edilirse- ilk defa Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti tarafından tenkide uğramıştır. 1865 yılında kurulan cemiyetin üyeleri arasında Batılı kesimden taniyan devlet adamları ve devrin ileri gelen edipleri, muharrirleri (Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi, Ebuzziya Tevlik v. s.) vardı. Sadrazam Ali Paşa'nın şahsında, devletin Batılılaşma uygulamalarını beğenmeyen bu grup, tenkilerini devletin idaresi ve sistemi konularında yoğunlaştırmıştır. Onlara göre devlet, Tanzimat ve Islahat Fermanlarıyla Batı'nın gözünü boyamak için birtakım düzenlemelere girmiş, yabancılarla verilen imtiyazlarla ekonomi felce uğramış, alınan borçlar yüzünden Batılı devletlerin, devlet işlerine müdahalesi söz konusu olmuştur. Yeni Osmanlılar'a göre kötü gidişi durdurmak için yapılması gereken tek şey ülke idaresinde hürriyetleri genişleterek, meşrutiyet (Usûl-i Meşveret) sistemine geçektir. Daha sonraki yıllarda bir ideoloji haline alacak olan meşrutiyet fikri, zaten imparatorluğun ruhuna ve geleneklerine uygun bir rejimdir. Batılı devletler, (İngiltere, Fransa v. s.) bünyelerindeki halkları yönetime ortak (hakimiyet-i amme) etmelerinden başka, aklın verilerine dayanan tecrübi ilimlere önem verdikleri için ileri seviyeye ulaşmışlardır. Bu yönüyle Meşrutiyet ve Terakki, Yeni Osmanlılar'ın üzerinde en fazla durdukları kavramlardır. Batı karşısında eklektik (seçme) ve uzlaşmacı davranan Yeni Osmanlılar, Batı'dan alınması gereken değerlerin imparatorluğun iç dinamiklerine uygun olması hususuna dikkat ederler.

İtalya'daki mutlakiyet rejimine karşı mücadele eden Carbonari adlı şiddet yanlısı örgütün nizamnamesine göre teşkilatlanan Yeni Osmanlılar, yukarıda adı geçen örgüt gibi hiçbir zaman tedhiş hareketlerine girişmemişlerdir. Fikirlerini gazete vasıtasıyla kamuoyuna duyurup, bu yolla gerekli düzenlemelerin yapılması için hükümete baskı yapma yoluna giden cemiyet mensupları, Ali Paşa'nın basına uyguladığı sansür yüzünden (Karamâne-i Âli), faaliyetlerinin büyük kısmını Avrupa'nın çeşitli şehirlerinde (Londra, Paris, Cenevre v. s.) sürdürmüşlerdir.

Avrupa matbuatında "Jeune Turces (Jön Türkler)" adı ile anılan Yeni Osmanlılar, Mısır meselesi yüzünden Ali Paşa ile anlaşmazlığa düşen Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın mali yardımları sayesinde neşir faaliyetlerini sürdürmüşlerdir. Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın daha sonra Babıali ile anlaşıp Paris'ten İstanbul'a gelmesi üzerine Yeni Osmanlılar da belirli aralıklarla yurda dönüş yapmışlardır. Bunlardan Namık Kemal ve Ziya Paşa 1876'da ilan edilecek olan Kanun-ı Esasi çalışmalarına filen katılmışlardır.

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Bir kültür hazinesi:  
Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi

Hayati Develi ve Musa Duman  
ile yapılan konuşma orta sayfada

Jan Türkler  
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ГЛИГОР ТОДОРОВСКИ

ПРИЛОГ КОН ПРАШАЊЕТО ЗА СОСТОЈБАТА НА МУСЛИ-  
МАНСКИТЕ ИСЕЛЕНИЦИ (МУАЦИРИ) ВО МАКЕДОНИЈА ПО  
МЛАДОТУРСКАТА РЕВОЛУЦИЈА

(Според необјавени документи)

Српските дипломатски претставници во Турција, односно во Македонија, која како составен дел на Турција била сè до Првата балканска војна од 1912 година, мошне внимателно ја следеле состојбата на муслиманските иселеници преселени во Македонија, односно на муаџирите. Српските конзули во Скопје, Битола и Солун, покрај другото, редовно го известувале Министерството за надворешни работи на српската кралска влада за проблемите со кои се среќавале муслиманските иселеници во Македонија. Интересно е да се напомене дека вниманието на српските дипломатски претставници во Македонија предимно било посветено на муслиманските иселеници во Македонија, кои се доселиле од Босна и Херцеговина, додека многу помалку на муслиманските иселеници кои дошле од Бугарија во Македонија, по Руско-турската војна од 1877/78 година и по ослободувањето на Бугарија, или по Кресненското востание од 1878/79 година. Во документите, исто така, нема ни помен за муслиманските иселеници кои дошле во Македонија од Србија по српско-турските војни од 1876/78 година и по Берлинскиот конгрес од 1878 година, кога одделни делови на Јужна Србија биле ослободени од турско владеење. Ова посебно внимание што српските дипломати го обрнувале спрема муслиманските иселеници дојдени во Македонија, од Босна и Херцеговина, за нивниот живот и престој на новите територии, сепак, говори и за една определена политичка тенденција на српската влада, всушност, спрема Босна и Херцеговина. Оваа тенденција се манифестирала и во обраќањето на поголемо внимание спрема муслиманските иселеници од Босна и Херцеговина, доселени во Македонија.

Истражувајќи во Архивот на Службата за архивски и документарни работи при Сојузниот секретаријат за надворешни работи во Белград, конкретно во архивскиот фонд на Министер-

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
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COLLECTION TURCICA  
Vol. XVII

# « L'ivresse de la liberté ». La révolution de 1908 dans l'Empire ottoman

sous la direction de  
François GEORGEON

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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- Jan Tarkler (100002)  
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Juliette HONVAULT

## DES FAITS ÉTRANGES... LES ÉCHOS DE LA RÉVOLUTION JEUNE-TURQUE AU YÉMEN

Relatée comme un événement majeur dans l'histoire du monde arabe ottoman, la Révolution jeune-turque de 1908 se distingue au Yémen... par l'ampleur de son insignifiance historiographique. L'histoire de la fin de l'occupation ottomane, qui correspond aux débuts du règne de l'imam Yahyâ (1904-1948), est surtout marquée par des conflits incessants et par l'événement du traité de paix signé à Da'an en 1911 entre les deux parties. L'imam Yahyâ al-Mutawakkil 'alâ-l-Lâh se voit alors reconnaître une autorité morale sur les populations de confession zaydite des montagnes du Nord, en échange d'une paix très fragile, mais qui garantira le soutien de Yahyâ à l'Empire durant la Première Guerre mondiale. Présenté, jusqu'aux lendemains de la révolution de 1962 qui met fin à l'imamat, comme une date décisive de la victoire de l'imam Yahyâ contre l'agression de l'occupation ottomane, l'événement 1911 sature l'histoire d'une période cruciale pour la formation de l'État yéménite moderne<sup>1</sup>. Après la révolution, l'historiographie « officielle » yéménite reviendra bien évidemment sur le traité de Da'an, pour souligner la place particulière qui lui

<sup>1</sup> Le chroniqueur Abd al-Wâsi' Yahyâ al-Wâsi'i n'évoque pas du tout la Révolution jeune-turque ; « l'instauration de la liberté » apparaît selon lui en 1909, avec la destitution du Sultan, cf. Abd al-Wâsi' Yahyâ al-Wâsi'i, *Târîkh al-Yaman al-musammâ furjat al-humûm wa-l-huzn fi hawâdîth wa târîkh al-Yaman*, le Caire, 1928/1346, p. 218-225. Chez Muhammad bn Muhammad Zabâra il suffit de souligner combien l'évocation rapide de l'événement de 1908 tranche avec son long exposé du traité de Da'an, cf. Muhammad bn Muhammad Zabâra, *A'imat al-Yaman bi-l-qarn al-râbi' 'ashar li-l-hijra*, Matba'at al-salafiyya, Sana'a, 1956, p. 132 et p. 208-223. En 1972, le cadî Abdallah al-Shamâhî, qui fut un des porte-paroles de la révolution de 1948, et qui fut emprisonné par l'imam Ahmad de 1948 à 1953, écrira encore que, en l'année 1329 / 1911, « le Yémen et l'imam Yahyâ se débarrassent de la guerre et du régime turc », cf. *al-Yaman al-insân wa-l-hadâra*, Ministère de la Culture et du Tourisme, Sana'a, 2004 (3<sup>e</sup> éd.), p. 183.

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VOL. XIX

Penser, agir et vivre  
dans l'Empire ottoman  
et en Turquie

Études réunies pour François Georgeon

Nathalie CLAYER et Erdal KAYNAR

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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THE YOUNG TURKS AND THE ALBANIANS OR  
YOUNG TURKISM AND ALBANIANISM?

Nathalie CLAYER

In the literature on the Young Turk revolution or on the Albanians in the late Ottoman Empire, one of the themes often treated is the relation between the "Young Turks" and the "Albanians." In this paper,<sup>1</sup> I want to ask if the issue is pertinent. In fact, I argue that a more pertinent question would be that of the relations between "Young Turkism" and "Albanianism."

"The Young Turks and the Albanians" in Existing Literature

It is often assumed in studies dedicated to the Young Turk revolution that the Albanians played a role in the Young Turk movement and in the events of 1908. This role is evaluated in different ways: sometimes it is considered as a key role, sometimes as an important role, whilst in other studies it is not particularly mentioned. Of course, the chosen perspective (general or provincial) can be responsible for these variations.

When present, the relations between the Young Turks and the Albanians are usually described and analysed through different themes: the participation of some Albanians in the Young Turk movement from 1889 onwards (especially the activities of İbrahim Temo, İsmail Kemal, and others); the Macedonian question and the Albanians; and the part the latter played in the revolution itself (by which is meant the role of Niyazi Resneli, presented as an Albanian, the rallying of the Albanian *çetes* and the role played by the gathering of Kosovo Albanians at Firzovik/Ferizović). Further themes include the way the Albanians welcomed the proclamation of the revolution; the relations between Young Turk committees and Albanian committees after the revolution; the reactions

Nathalie Clayer, CNRS/EHESS (Paris)

<sup>1</sup> In memory of a workshop and time spent in Princeton.

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TARİH  
JÖNTÜRKLER  
TENE DENİZLİ  
Gena Türkler hareketi ve devrimi  
hakkında yeni Rus eserleri.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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Haz. Orhan M. Kolak, Orhan Koloğlu Armağanı, İstanbul 2009.

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JÖN TÜRKLERİN BİRİKİMİ VE CUMHURİYET

Barış Doster

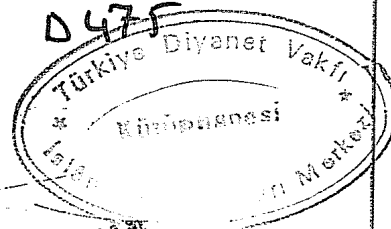
Türkiye'nin gelişim sürecini Batı şablonu ile açıklamaya ve anlamaya çalışmak, gelişmeler karşısında bunu yapanları şaşkına çevirir genellikle. Endüstri Devrimi'ni yaşamamış, çökerken yarı sömürge durumuna düşmüş, tamamen din kurallarına göre yönetilmese bile teokratik yönü öne çıkan bir çokuluslu imparatorluğun dağılmasının nedenlerini, iktisadi, siyasi, askeri, toplumsal, kültürel, coğrafi boyutlarını dikkate almadan tahlil etmek, çok yanlış sonuçlara ulaşılmasına neden olur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu da, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni de Batılı, Batıcı, neredeyse oryantalist bir bakış açısıyla ele alanlar, fena halde yanılmaktadırlar. Bu hatayı yapanlar arasında bu toprakların yazarı, çizeri, bilim insanı, gazetecisinin bulunması ise ayrıca düşündürücüdür. Çünkü bu yanlış kavrayış, imparatorluğun son döneminde onu kurtarmak ve yaşatmak için çabalamış bir asker-sivil bürokrat kadro tarafından, Mustafa Kemal Paşa öncülüğünde kurulan Cumhuriyet'in kurtuluş ve kuruluş sürecini doğru anlamamayı da beraberinde getirir. Sonuçta da ortaya Türkiye'nin siyasi, iktisadi, askeri, toplumsal, kültürel yapısını Batı'nın gelişme şeması içinde anlamaya çalışan, sanayileşme, burjuvazi, ulusal pazar, ulus devlet, demokrasi, kentleşme, işçi sınıfı, insan hakları, hukuk devleti gibi kavramların neden Batı'daki gibi ortaya çıkmadığına, niçin Batı'daki gibi hayata geçmediğine şaşırıp, öfkelenen bir aydın(!) tipi ortaya çıkar. Bu aydın/entel tipi, anakronik bir yanlışla da sürüklenerek, güncel değerlerle geçmiş yargılayıp, mahkûm etmek ve bunu da Cumhuriyet'in kusuru olarak göstermek kolaycılığını da yapar ve kafasındaki Cumhuriyet'i numaralandırır.<sup>1</sup>

19 ŞUBAT 2010

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
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MADE FAZLA BİRTAN  
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11 Nisan 2010

## Reflections on Justice: A Young Ottoman View of the Tanzimāt

CHRISTIANE CZYGAN

Jan Torkler

Although there have been numerous publications on the Young Ottomans,<sup>1</sup> the picture which we have of them regarding their formation, their activities in Europe and also their publication *Hürriyyet* (Freedom), remains incomplete. This article, in its original form, was presented at the conference, organised by David Kushner, in Haifa in 2007 on aspects of reform and change in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

The origin of the Young Ottomans has hitherto been attributed to a secret society, which became known as *İttifak-ı Hamiyyet* (Patriotic Alliance) in the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> According to newer findings of Kaya Bilgegil, this secret society was called *Meslek* (Path).<sup>3</sup> This designation is also supported by Burak Onaran and his findings in the French Archive.<sup>4</sup> Ebū'd-Diyā Tefvîk, witness and chronicler of the Young Ottomans, who obviously did not intend to reveal all the facts, mentioned in 1909 an unnamed revolutionary society only. However, he specified the place of their last meeting: *Veli Efendi Çayırı* (The meadow of Veli Efendi).<sup>5</sup> This name is also mentioned in the document found by Bilgegil for the place where the society worked out its programme.<sup>6</sup> In the contemporary German Press of the 1860s the French designation *Jeune Turquie* and the German *Jungtürken* appeared, and were both used for the same purpose.<sup>7</sup> The variety of titles might already create doubts about the existence of a single coherent political society and furthermore seems ill-suited to describing members of intellectual circles in Istanbul at that time. In *Hürriyyet* Diyā Bey (1825–80) mentioned individuals described as supporters of freedom in the context of Western political struggles.

As in Britain, the United States and France many thousand patriots were destroyed by imprisonment, exile or at the hands of the executioner, so one example of this has also been seen in our land. Those supporters of freedom, who wished to change the way of government were either dismissed, imprisoned or executed.<sup>8</sup>

Here we might assume that Diyā articulated in this statement his sympathy for members of the secret society and their courage. In contrast Nâmîk Kemâl (1840–88) talked of a society in opposition only in the era of Abd'ul-Mecîd (1839–61). In all probability the secret society of 1867 was not meant, but it related to the *Kuleli Vakfı'sı* (Kuleli

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# JÖN TÜRK DÜŞÜNÇESİNDE MODERNLİK VE MODERNLEŞME

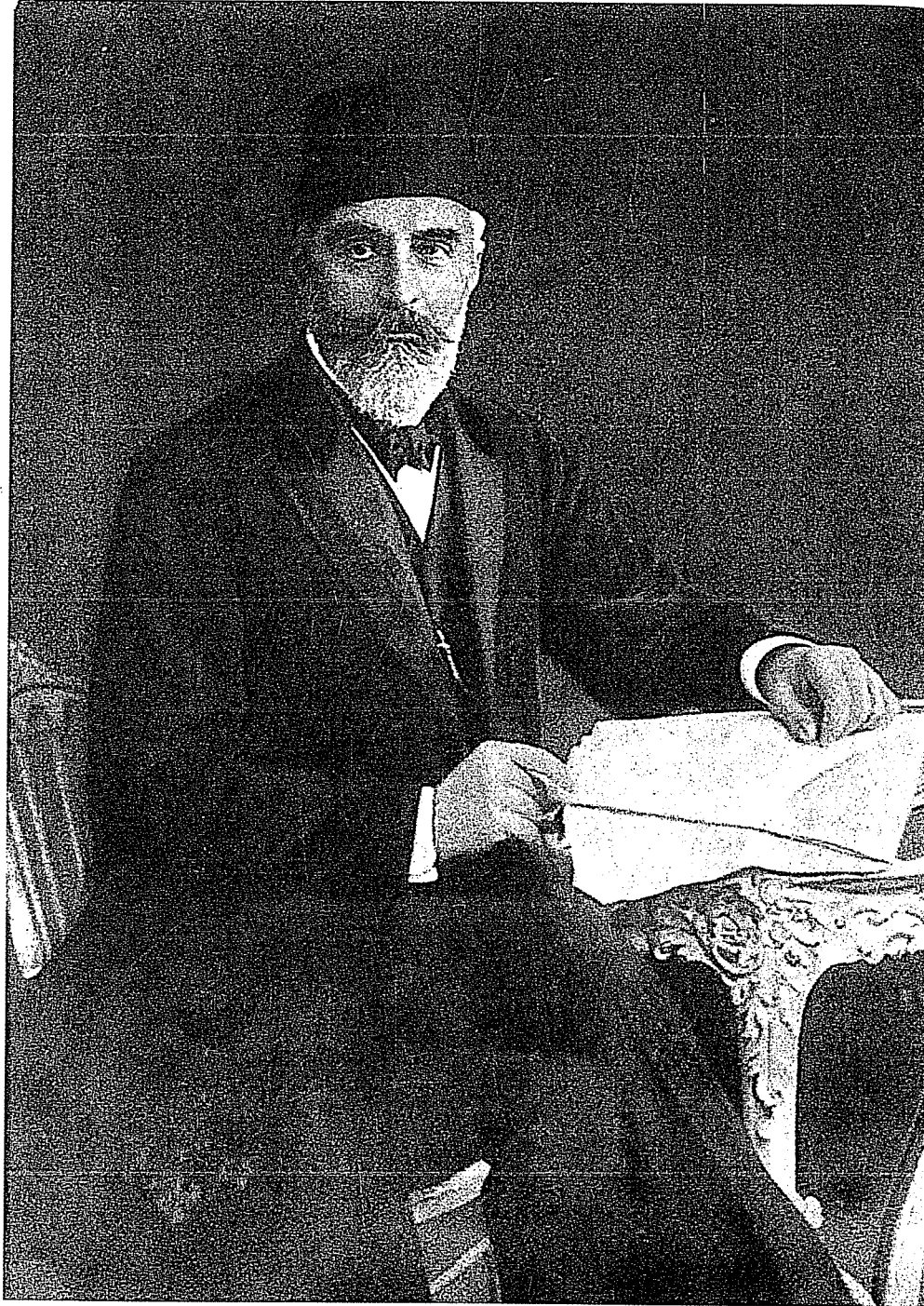
24 NİSAN 2011

İlyas Söğütü \*

## GİRİŞ

Osmanlı-Türk toplumunda modernleşme, Batı'da olduğu gibi, toplumun iç dinamiklerinin yarattığı, sivil çevresel aktörlerce yönlendirilen çok boyutlu bir değişim süreci olarak başlamış değildir. Türk modernleşmesi temelde, yönetici elit içindeki dar bir kadronun Batı ile Osmanlı arasındaki güç dengesini yeniden kurma amacıyla yürürlüğe koyduğu reform programlarına dayanır. Türk reformistlerinin algılamalarına göre bir toplumda modernleşme yönünde bir değişim, ancak bu işlevi toplum adına üstlenen bir seçkinler kadrosunun bilinçli ve kararlı çabaları ile gerçekleştirilebilir. Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türk aydın bürokratu sorunu bu biçimde koymuş ve kendisini de bu değişimin faili ve sorumlusu olarak konumlandırmıştır. Bu söylemin düşüncelerimiz üzerinde kurduğu hegemonya nedeniyle, kendisini modernleşmenin baş aktörü olarak konumlandıran bu aydın-bürokrat kadroların modernlik algıları ile modernleştirme önerilerinin, modernleşmek için gerekli iç dinamiklerden yoksun olan

\* Y. Doç. Dr. İlyas Söğütü, Bilecik Üniversitesi, İİBF Siyaset ve Sosyal Bilimler ABD.



Ahmet Rıza Bey

Yıkımın ve Yenilenmenin Mimarları:  
Kemalist Jenerasyona ve Jön Türklere Dair  
Bir Grup Biyografisi Denemesi<sup>1</sup>

ERIK JAN ZÜRCHER\*

Jön Türkler (100002)

13 MART 2008

İSAM 163455

Giriş

İleriki sayfalarda sunulacak olan bulgular devam etmekte olan bir çalışmanın verileridir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinde yaşamış 200 civarında siyasi olarak aktif şahsiyetin yaşam öykülerinin analizi tüm hızıyla sürmektedir. Tamamlanmış çalışmanın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Meşrutiyet Devrimi'nin yüzüncü yıldönümü olan 2008'de biyografik sözlüğe ek bir monografi şeklinde çıkması bekleniyor. Bir başka seviyede, sözü geçen bulgular aynı zamanda yaklaşık otuz yıllık bir Türkiye tarihçisinin profesyonel yaşamının ürünleridir. Mete Tunçay'ın bir yol gösterici olarak önemli bir rol oynadığı ve ilham kaynağı olduğu bir yaşam!

1977'deki yüksek lisans tezim, dönemin cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Kemal Paşa'ya (sonradan Atatürk olarak anılacaktı) karşı planlanan suikast girişiminin ortaya çıkmasının ardından yapılan 1926 yazının Türkiye'si'ndeki siyasi duruşmalarla ilgiliydi. Bu göstermelik yargılamalar iki grubun tasfiyesiyle (politik olarak, ancak kısmen de fiziksel olarak) sonuçlandı: 1908-1918 yılları arasında ülkeyi yönetmiş olan İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin önde gelen üyeleri ve Mustafa Kemal'in 1919-1922 bağımsızlık mücadelesi

1 Bu metin Hamilton Gibb'in 2006'da Harvard Üniversitesi'nin Ortadoğu Bölümü'nde verdiği unutulmaz derslere dayanmaktadır. Aynı zamanda iki makalemden de yararlanmaktayım: "The Young Turks: Children of the Borderlands?", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1-2 (2003) 275-286 ("Jön Türkler: Sınır Bölgelerinin Çocukları", *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma* içinde, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005) ve "How Europeans adopted Anatolia and Created Turkey", *European Review* 13/3 (2005), 379-394.

(\*) Uluslararası Sosyal Tarih Enstitüsü (Hollanda).



Haz. Orhan M. Celak, Orhan Koloplu Armağan, İstanbul 2009

İSAM 1879K

MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
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ARNAVUTLAR VE JÖNTÜRKLER

Gazmend Shpuza

27 ŞUBAT 2010

Arnavutların Jöntürk devrimi sırasındaki özel ve önemli katkısını, hem çağın siyasetçileri, hem de daha sonraki zamanların tarihçileri bildirmişlerdir. Avusturya-Macaristan Dışişleri Bakanı Ehrental, devrimin başlıca askeri kuvvetini, Arnavutların oluşturduklarını ve bu hareketin onlar sayesinde genişletildiğini kabul etmiştir<sup>1</sup>. O zamanın diğer şahitleri de, örneğin siyasetçi Obri Herbert, Arnavutların Temmuz ayı devrimindeki büyük katkısını dile getirir<sup>2</sup>. Daha sonraki inceleyeciler de, Jöntürklerin Arnavutların yardımları sayesinde iktidara geldiklerini kabul ettiler<sup>3</sup>. Fakat, bu türdeki değerlendirmeler genelleştirilmemiştir ve bu problem, zamana adanan incelemelerde özel bir yer almamıştır.

O yüzyılın başında Güneydoğu Avrupa için de önemi az olmayan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki 1908 Temmuz devrimiyle ilgili Balkan, Türkiye<sup>4</sup> ve Batı tarihçiliğinde, Arnavut elemanlarının aktif rolünün gözden düşürüldüğü dikkati çeker. Olaylar sırasında Arnavutların Sultan Abdülhamid'in savunucularından, reform ve anayasaya karşı çıkanlarla bir olduklarına dair ifadeler

<sup>1</sup> Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914, Wien und Leipzig, 1930, (OUAP), vol. I; dok.nr.19, tel.nr.89, Ehrental-Petrograd, Wien, 24. 7. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> O. Herbert, *Ben Kendim*, Bak.: A. Karjagdiu, *Libri "Ben Kendim" Unë vetë i Obri Herbert dhe ngjarjet e kohës së tij*, in : "Përparim", 1971, n.2 f.154.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Sachs, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*, Wien, 1913, p. 576.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmed Niyazi, *Hatırat-ı Niyazi yahud Tarihçe inkılâb-ı kebîr-i Osmaniden bir sahife*, İstanbul 1326; S. Külçe, *Firzovik Toplantısı ve Meşrutiyet*, İzmir 1944; A. B. Kuran, *İnkılâp tarihimiz ve "Jön türkler"*, İstanbul 1945, s.251-253; Aynen, *İnkılâp Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki*, İstanbul 1948, s. 244; aynen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılâp Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, İstanbul 1959, s. 472.

## THE PLACE OF THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION IN TURKISH HISTORY\*

Prof. Dr. Sina AKŞİN\*\*

### I. Introduction

**The Turks in History:** The Turks of Turkey are part of the Turkic peoples who, back in history, were once concentrated in Central Asia. Central Asia can be roughly described as the region to the north and the north-west of the China Wall. The China Wall was built to keep the nomadic peoples -including the Turkic peoples- out of China. The Wall also roughly corresponded to the frontier of fertile land where agriculture could be practised. In Central Asia the land was generally not suitable for agriculture, but could sustain the animal herds of the nomads.

The first "state" of the Turkic peoples was the Empire of the Huns, for which the approximate dates 220 BC-216 AD are given. But whether or not this formation can be considered a state or empire in the proper sense of the word is not clear, because the Huns did not use the written word. Probably this formation was a confederation of tribes, rather than a state. The same can probably be said for the Göktürks (552-745), though at the end of their primacy they began to use writing. The third important political formation of the Turkic peoples was the Uygur State (745-940). By the end of the 8th-century, two important developments took place among the Turkic peoples. 1) A great number of them began to move west, to Transoxania and contiguous regions and 2) they began to adopt Islam. It seems that the proces of Islamization was a rather long, drawn-out affair, lasting more than two centuries (900-1150).<sup>1</sup> The first Moslem Turkic state was the Kara-Khanid State (940-1040), followed by the Ghaznavid state (963-1186). If we don't count the inscriptions at Ötüken (730), it was in the Kara-Khanid State that the first two works of literary significance in the Turkic languages, the *Kutadgu Bilig* (1070) and the *Divan-ı Lügat-it-Türk* (1074) were written.

\* 1988 Martında Manchester Üniversitesi'nde yapılan Jön Türkler sempozyumuna sunulmuş olan tebliğdir.

\*\* A.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi

<sup>1</sup>İlber Ortaylı, *Türkiye İdare Tarihi* (Ank., TODAİE, Y., 1979), p. 34.

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T.C.  
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YAKINÇAĞ TARİHİ BİLİM DALI

07 EYLÜL 2009

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JÖN TÜRKLER'İN MİSİR'DAKİ FAALİYETLERİ VE  
KANUN-İ ESASİ MECMUASI (1896-1899)

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

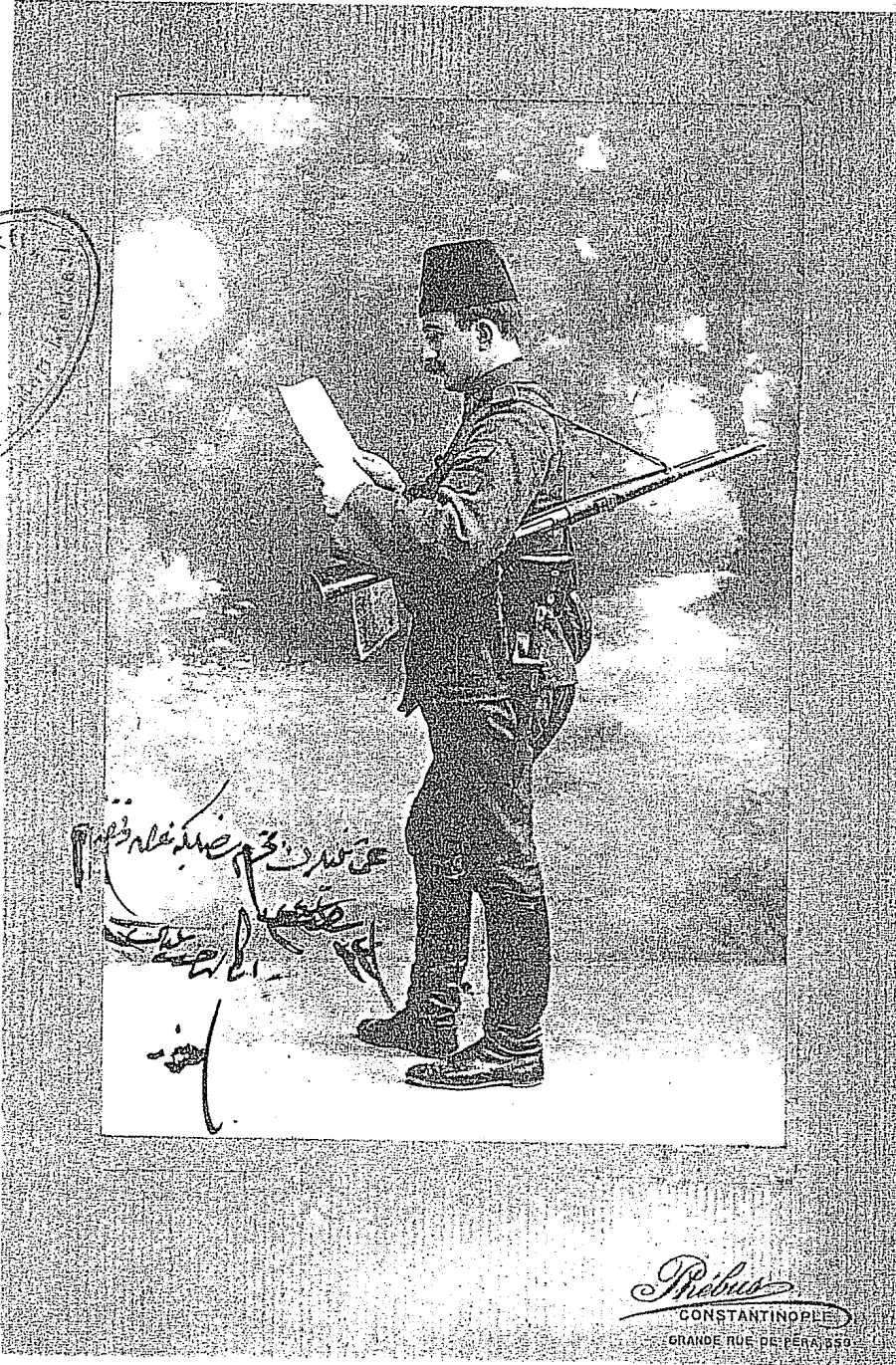
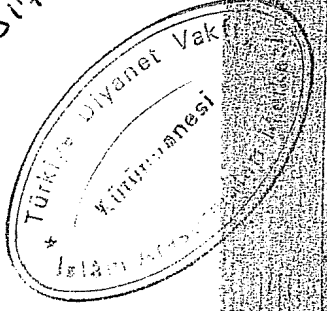
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MUSTAFA MERCAN

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İSTANBUL 2003

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Enver Bey

## TÜM ZAMANLAR İÇİN KAYIRILAN ELEM: ESKİ AVRUPA SONA ERERKEN İMPARATORLUK İÇİN DİRENEN JÖN TÜRKLER

Altay Cengizer\*

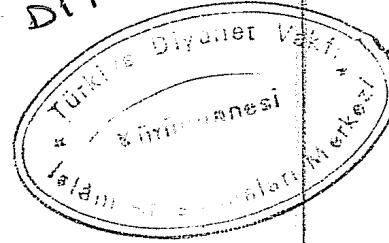
Devam etmekte olan çok daha geniş bir çalışmanın bazı ana hatlarını izleyen bu makalede, 1908 Jön Türk İhtilâli'nden sonraki Osmanlı Hükümetlerinin nasıl bir dış siyaset ortamıyla karşı karşıya kaldıkları ele alınmaktadır. Avrupa'da emperyalist Güçler arasında kızışan rekâbetin Türkiye üzerinde nasıl bir etki icra ettiği ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Jön Türkler, başta İngiltere ve Fransa olmak üzere Avrupa ülkelerinden en asgari beklentilerini dahi karşılayamaz. Böylece ortaya çıkan hayâl kırıklığı, Avrupa'daki bloklaşmanın derinleşmesiyle birlikte yerini kısa sürede memleket üzerinde nüfuz alanlarının tesis edileceği; bilahare de parçalanılarak yok olup gidileceği korkusuna bırakır. Makalede, bu korkunun ne derecede geçerli nedenlere dayanmış olabileceği irdelenmektedir. Doğaldır ki makalenin sınırları dikkate alınmış, Osmanlıların karşısına geçen başta İngiliz İmparatorluğu ve Çarlık Rusyası olmak üzere İtilâf Bloku'nun "aktif husumet" ola-

\*Büyükelçi, Harvard Üniversitesi Weatherhead Center for International Affairs'de Üye.

HADE EYLEMLERİNİN  
SONA GELEN DOKÜMAN

07 ARA 2008

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07 ARA 2008

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# JÖN TÜRKLER VE EMPERYALİZME KARŞI DİRENEN GİZLİ ÖRGÜTLER

Odile Moreau\*

## GİRİŞ

Bu makalemizde İttihad ve Terakki'nin emperyalizme karşı direnişini nasıl değiştirdiğini aydınlatmaya çalışacağız. Jön Türk Devriminin öncesi ve sonrasında, İkinci Meşrutiyette ve Birinci Dünya Savaşına kadar olan dönemde hangi ideolojik referanslar kullanılmıştır? Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bütünlüğünün korunması Osmanlılık fikrine dayanıyordu. Fakat Trablusgarb ve Balkan yenilgilerinden sonra Türkçülük ve İttihad-ı İslâm'a ayrı bir önem atfedildi. Bu fikir sayesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda sömürgeleştirilmiş Müslüman topraklarını kurtarma bilinci filizlenmeye başlamıştı.

\*Doç. Dr. Odile Moreau, Montpellier III Üniversitesi/Centre d'Histoire Sociale de l'Islam Méditerranéen (CHSIM), Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS /Paris). FRANSA

# ÉTUDES D'ICONOGRAPHIE ISLAMIQUE



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## THE YOUNG TURKS AND THE JEWS: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVISION

While doing research in the Public Records Office in London in autumn 1979 I came across a dossier listed as FO 195/2479, number 480. The dossier discusses the return to Istanbul of the body of Talat Paşa, a leader of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti) and the Young Turks during 1908-1918<sup>1</sup>.

One comment which was made in dossier number 480 struck my attention. It was made by D. L. Busk who was acting first secretary of the British Embassy in Ankara. Busk stated, «Ahmet Emin Yalman, grandson of Salonician Jews (and who knows how much 'Union and Progress' was under the influence of 'deunmes') wrote, a few days ago in the 'Vatan': 'The honours rendered to Talat Pacha are the first manifestation of Turkish gratefulness to this great patriot and an amend for the oblivion into which the great man had fallen'».

In this article I do not wish to cover the entire historiography of the Young Turk movement for that has been adequately done in the works which I mention below. I do think, however, that many of the major books and articles during the last twenty-five years do not pay adequate attention to some Zionist sources on the Young Turk movement and, in particular, to Vladimir Jabotinsky's works and to Joseph B. Schectman's biography of Jabotinsky<sup>2</sup>. The association among the dönmes, Freemasons and Young Turks may have been closer than the works of Bernard Lewis, Feroz Ahmad, Ernest Ramsaur, Jr., and Elie Kedourie indicate even though all of the above scholars have different views regarding the significance of the relationship between Jews, Freemasons and Young Turks. The works on this subject by Elie Kedourie, Bernard Lewis and Ernest Ramsaur seem to imply that

<sup>1</sup> I presented the results of this research at the «Atatürk Devrimleri II. Uluslararası Simpozyumu» at İstanbul University, 11-15 May 1981, the results of which are to be published in a volume edited by Yılmaz Altuğ. Because of the narrow focus of that article and the subject matter I was not able to include all of the material and research that I had obtained on the topic of Talat Paşa and the return of his remains to Turkey on 25 February 1943.

<sup>2</sup> *Rebel and Statesman: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story*, vol. I and II (New York: Thomas Yoseleff, Inc., 1956).

Turcica, XVIII, 1986, s. 219-235, Paris.

12. LA CONTROVERSE ENTRE LES  
MISSIONNAIRES AMÉRICAINS ET LES  
EGLISES ÉVANGÉLIQUES ARMÉNIENNES  
EN TURQUIE DANS LE DERNIER TIERS  
DU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE



L'AUTEUR avait accepté avec reconnaissance de fournir cet article comme sa contribution au *Festschrift* en l'honneur du professeur Abdul-Latif Tibawi. De graves troubles de santé l'ont seuls empêché de tenir à temps l'engagement qu'il avait pris. L'étude en question, qui sera publiée dès que possible dans une revue historique, se veut témoignage d'admiration et d'affection à l'égard du savant qui a le plus oeuvré pour libérer l'étude sérieuse des aspects religieux de l'histoire du Proche-Orient des éléments sectaires et purement polémiques ou apologétiques dont l'intrusion l'avait si longtemps défigurée.

Jean-Michel Hornus

Presented to ABDUL-LATIF TIBAWI  
ARABIC AND ISLAMIC GARLAND

London - 1977, s. 111-119.

DN: 29267.

13 ARALIK 1994

13. THE YOUNG TURKS AND THE ARABS

1909-1912

Tag Elsir Ahmad Harran

THE period 1909-1912 occupies an important place in the history of the Turkish-Arab relations. It marks the beginning of the end of four centuries of Ottoman rule in the Arab lands. From 1909 until 1911 the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), the political organ of the Young Turks, remained in effective control of the Ottoman Empire, and the centralist and repressive policies which its leaders tried to impose on the subject peoples of the Empire, created a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among those peoples and led some of them to seek alternatives to the Ottoman rule. The Arab grievances against the Young Turk regime stemmed from the pursuit of such policies. The failure of the Arab leaders, who were mainly Syrians, to redress these grievances was to generate a movement for administrative reforms in the Arab provinces, a process which was to culminate in the demand for a decentralized form of government. The rejection of this demand by the Young Turks was ultimately to lead to the appearance of a separatist movement among the leaders of the Arabs, and in the end to the loss of the Arab provinces.

With the crushing of the April counter-revolution, the deposition of Sultan 'Abdul-Ḥamid, and the accession of his brother Muḥammad Rashād, the CUP assumed more direct responsibility in the government of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> On the pretext of suppressing the reaction, and assisted by the declaration of martial law in the capital and its neighbourhood in April 1909, the CUP was able to purge the city of political opponents, and to secure ascendancy in the Empire. Throughout the year 1909 the CUP continued to consolidate its power, and by the autumn of that year its members were masters of the army, the cabinet, the Sultan, and the Chamber of Deputies, and had a strong hold on the press.<sup>2</sup> The CUP was now firmly in the saddle, and took care not to be unseated. Their main concern was to check and to prevent any further territorial disintegration of the Empire. For this purpose, they followed a policy of centralization, and stressed 'Ottomanism' as the common bond of unity between the various ethnic groups ('anāşir) of the Empire. Accordingly they declared, 'equal rights for all classes of Ottoman subjects', and announced, 'the brotherhood of all national groups under the Ottoman flag'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.O. 371/771—No. 287, Lowther to Grey, Pera, 20.4.1909. Also, *Takvimi-Vekayi*, No. 200, of 5.5.1909.

<sup>2</sup> F.O. 371/1249/19795: *Memorandum*, dated 16.5.1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

JOSEPH HAJJAR

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ENTRE LA JEUNE-TURQUIE  
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- Zirikli, Khayr al-Din. *Al-a'lam: qamus tarajim li ash'har al-rijal wa al-nisa' min al-'arab wa al-musta'ribin wa al-mustashriqin*. Cairo, 1954-59.
- Zürcher, Erik Jan. *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement*. Leiden, 1984.

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Jön Törkler

17 HAZIRAN 2003

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# THE YOUNG TURKS

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THE COMMITTEE OF  
UNION AND PROGRESS IN  
TURKISH POLITICS

1908-1914

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FEROZ AHMAD

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## OSMANLI DEVLETİ'NDE JÖN TÜRK HAREKETİNİN BAŞLAMASI VE ETKİLERİ

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Durdu Mehmet BURAK\*

### GİRİŞ

Jön Türkler: Osmanlı Devleti içinde 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Meşrutî bir temele dayalı bir sistem kurmak, Kanun-i Esasi ilanıya da serbest seçimlere gitmek ve böylece oluşturulacak meclise, ülke geleceğini teslim etmek gibi fikirlerle yola çıkan, hedef olarak batı örnekliliğini seçen Osmanlı aydınlarının ortak adıdır. Bu isim ilk olarak Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın yayınladığı bir arızada kullanılmış ve sonradan Namık Kemal ve Ali Suavi tarafından Yeni Osmanlılar karşılığı olarak benimsenmiştir. Ayrıca, I. ve II. Meşrutiyet dönemlerinde de bütün ihtilalciler için bu isim kullanılmıştır.

Jön Türk hareketi, Osmanlı tarihinin son kesitinde en önemli sosyal ve siyasal harekettir. Belki de Osmanlı tarihinde böyle bir orijinallik ve tipiklik az rastlanan bir örnektir. Jön Türkler'den İttihat ve Terakki'ye uzanan yolda Osmanlı temelinden sarsılmıştır. Kuruluş ve başlangıç noktaları ile sonuçları farklı neticeler doğuran hareket, hem bir felaket hem de geleceği etkileyen bir kaosa dönüşmüştür.

Tarihimizde Jön Türkler konusu, aydınlanmamış, karanlık yönleriyle hâlâ önemini ve ilgi çekme özelliğini korumaktadır. Jön Türklerin Türk tarihine damgasını vurdukları 1890-1918 yılları arası, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşünün hızlanıp tamamlandığı bir dönem olmuştur. Bir çöküşün yanında, bir kuruluşun oluşumu-

\* Gazi Üniversitesi, Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi, Sosyal Bilimler Eğitimi Bölümü, Öğretim Üyesi.

4. I. Mes'ud (1116 - 1155)
5. II. Kılıç-Arslan (1155 - 1192)
6. I. Keyhusrev (1192 - 1196 + 1204 - 1210)
7. II. Süleyman - Şâh (1196 - 1203)
8. III. Kılıç-Arslan (1203 - 1204)
9. I. Keykâvüs (1210 - 1219)
10. I. Keykubâd (1219 - 1237)
11. II. Keyhusrev (1237 - 1246)
12. II. Keykâvüs (1246 - 1249 + 1249 - 1261)
13. IV. Kılıç-Arslan (1249 + 1261 - 1266)
14. III. Keyhusrev (1266 - 1283)
15. II. Mes'ud (1283 - 1297 + 1302 - 1308)
16. III. Keykubâd (1297 - 1302)
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17. Olcayto Hudâbende (1308 - 1316)
18. Ebû - Said Bahâdir (1316 - 1335)
- III. OSMANOĞULLARI :
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20. I. Murad (1362 - 1389)
21. I. Bâyezid (1389 - 1402)
22. İ. Süleyman (1402 - 1411)
23. Mûsâ Çelebi (1411 - 1413)
24. I. Mehmed (1413 - 1421)
25. II. Murad (1421 - 1444 + 1446 - 1451)
26. II. Mehmed (1444 - 1446 + 1451 - 1481)
27. II. Bâyezid (1481 - 1512)
28. I. Selim (1512 - 1520)
29. II. Süleyman (1520 - 1566)
30. II. Selim (1566 - 1574)
31. III. Murad (1574 - 1595)

32. III. Mehmed (1595 - 1603)
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36. IV. Murad (1623 - 1640)
37. Sultan İbrahim (1640 - 1648)
38. IV. Mehmed (1648 - 1687)
39. III. Süleyman (1687 - 1691)
40. II. Ahmed (1691 - 1695)
41. II. Mustafa (1695 - 1703)
42. III. Ahmed (1703 - 1730)
43. I. Mahmud (1730 - 1754)
44. III. Osman (1754 - 1757)
45. III. Mustafa (1757 - 1774)
46. I. Abdülhamid (1774 - 1789)
47. III. Selim (1789 - 1807)
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58. Bayar (1950 - 1960)
59. Gürsel (1960 - 1966)
60. Sunay (1966 - 1973)

### HAYAT TARİH MECMUASI 9. YILINDA

Bu sayımızla Hayat Tarih Mecmuası, 8 yılını bitirerek 9. yılına başlamıştır. Ellinizdeki bu sayı hariç, mecmuamız, 8 yıl içinde, 96 sayı neşretmiştir. Bu 96 sayının muhtevâsı tam 10.000 sahifedir. İlk 7 yıl içinde 100 sahifelik nüshalar hâlinde çıkan Hayat Tarih Mecmuası, 8. yılında 132'şer sahifelik 12 sayı vermiştir. 32 sahife, ilâve hâlinde ve ayrıca sahife numarası verilerek mecmuanın or-

tasında yayınlanıyordu. Bu sayımızdan itibaren bu ilâveyi kaldırıyoruz. Mecmuamız eskisi gibi 100 sahife olacaktır. Gene eskisi gibi uzun metinler, tefrika hâlinde, birkaç sayıda verilecektir. Her türlü baskı ve yayın masraflarının fâhiş şekilde yükselmiş bulunması, bizi bu davranışa mecbur etmiştir. Muhteviyâtımızda titizliği korumayı vaad ederek, okuyucularımızdan özür dileriz.

# Jön Türk Basını

YAZAN:  
Dr. FETHİ  
TEVETOĞLU

Jön Türkler'in gazetelerinden olan ve geçen sayıda bahsettiğimiz Hilâfet gazetesi Meşrûtiyet'in ilânına kadar devam etmiştir, demektir. Millî Kütüphane'de (1556 sc 68) 1900 yılına âit 19. ve 1903 yılına âit 83-84. sayıları bulunmaktadır.

49 — HİLÂL: 4 aralık 1299 (1883)' den 30 ağustos 1301 (1885) tarihine kadar Filibe'de haftalık olarak yayınlanmış bu «Osmanlı gazetesi»nin 87 sayılı 1 ve 2. yıl tam koleksiyonu İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi 38 numarada bulunmaktadır.

50 — HİLÂL: 1893-1894 yıllarında Cenevre (İsviçre) ve Paris'te (Fransa) elyazması teksir suretiyle Halil Ganem Bey tarafından çıkarılan gazetenin süresi belirsizdir. Bunların birer beyannâme olması da mühtemeldir. Le Croissant adlı Fransızca gazetenin Türkçe ilâvesi olarak dağıtılmıştır (Millî Kütüphane 1962 SC 171).

51 — HİZMET: Cenevre'de Emrullah ve Nevzad Beyler tarafından çıkarılmış bir gazetedir.

52 — HÜRRİYET: Türk milletinin siyasi haklarını savunmak ve meşrûtiyet rejimini getirmek için 1867 yılına doğru kurulmuş bulunan Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti'nin yayın organı. 29 haziran 1868'de Londra'da 4, Ruppert Street St. James's. W. adresindeki Imprimerie Centrale de la Jeune Turquie matbaasında yayınlanmaya başlayan H., Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti adına çıkmış ilk gazete sayılan ve Ali Suâvi tarafından 31 ağustos 1867'de yayınlanan «Muhbir»'den sonra çıkarılmıştır. Cemiyetin reisi Mısırlı Mustafa Fâzıl Paşa, Ali Suâvi'nin kendisi aleyhinde «Muhbir»'de yayın yapması üzerine Yeni Osmanlılar'ın bu gazete ile alâkasını kesmesini ve H.'in Nâmik Kemal ve Ziya Bey (Paşa)'in kalemiyle çıkmasını istemiştir. Gazete, 20X30 cm boyunda ve haftalıktır. H.'in ilk 10' sayısı dördür sahife, 11'den 63. sayıya kadar sekizer sahife hâlinde çıkmıştır. İlk dört sayısında mes'ul müdür olarak Reşad, 5-63. sayılarda Kemal ve 64-100. sayılarda Ârif imzaları görülmektedir. İlk sayısından 28 şubat 1870 tarihinde çıkan

5. Cab. 42/6/10.
6. Cab. 37/142/10, F.O. note on 'Arab Question'.
7. F.O. 371/2817, file 42608/43776. See Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, 1961, ch. 14, 'Sir Edward Grey's proposal, March 1916'. Also D. Z. Gillon, 'The Antecedents of the Balfour Declaration', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2.
8. Cab. 42/6/9. O'Beirne had shortly before written a memorandum in which he stated that 'an arrangement completely satisfactory to Jewish aspirations in regard to Palestine' would have 'tremendous political consequences', see Mayir Vereté, 'The Balfour Declaration and its Makers' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 56 and 70-1. The article gives the inner history of the telegram of 11 March.
9. F.O. 371/2767, file 49669, Buchanan's telegram, St. Petersburg, 14 March 1916. Gillon, *loc. cit.*, quotes at length from this telegram and the exchanges which followed.
10. F.O. 371/2767, *loc. cit.*
11. F.O. 800/381.
12. *Loc. cit.*, p. 72.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 233.
14. *Op. cit.*, ch. 8; the expression cited above is at p. 142.
15. *The Diary of Lord Bertie of Thame*, ed. by Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox, 1924, vol. II, pp. 123, 312.

KASIM 1994

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 1917/18/19

-Jan Türker  
 -Siyonizm

## 16. Young Turks, Freemasons and Jews

It is related that when Kamil Pasha was Ottoman grand vizier at the beginning of 1913, he complained of lack of support from the British ambassador, Sir Gerard Lowther, and exclaimed in despair: 'Alas, where is White, where is Currie?'<sup>1</sup> Kamil Pasha's bitterness over Lowther's attitude was certainly justified, but it is most doubtful whether his nostalgia for White and Currie has any historical warrant. In fact, whether we look at British policy towards the Ottoman empire from the morrow of the congress of Berlin to the eve of the first world war, or whether we examine the attitude of successive British ambassadors in Constantinople during the same period, our dominant impression is likely to be quite negative. On the very morrow of the Cyprus convention of 1878, by which Britain engaged to join the Sultan in defending Ottoman possessions in Asia 'by force of arms', mutual disenchantment was already apparent. The British government on the one hand found itself unable or unwilling to give financial or other support to Abd al-Hamid, and on the other suspected that the sultan was not in earnest about those 'necessary reforms' which he had bound himself by the Cyprus convention to introduce. By the end of 1879, British influence was at a low ebb in Constantinople, and the pro-Ottoman Layard had, as Salisbury put it, 'lost his temper with the Sultan, and like a Portuguese sailor in a storm is disposed to beat the idol he worshipped'.<sup>2</sup> Anglo-Ottoman relations thereafter remained tepid. The British occupation of Egypt, on the one hand increased Abd al-Hamid's suspicion of his ostensible ally, and on the other considerably decreased British interest in an Ottoman alliance.<sup>3</sup> British attitudes toward Abd al-Hamid became one of increasing dislike and mistrust: he was believed to be cynical about reforms and to propagate a mischievous and possibly dangerous Pan-Islamism. The Armenian troubles of the 1890s served to give him, in addition, a sinister reputation as an unscrupulous and bloodthirsty despot. It was now thought practically useless and morally wrong to have any truck with 'Abdul the Damned', and the 'unspeakable Turk' was undoubtedly the wrong horse to have backed in the Crimean war and in 1876-8. 'I believe,' Salisbury wrote in 1898, 'that under the guidance of Palmerston and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe we made a grave blunder in deserting the alliances of 1805. We sacrificed the alliance of a Power that was growing, for a Power that was evidently decaying.'<sup>2</sup> Fear of Germany finally brought about an

The Redoubt Arab Political Memoirs and  
 Other Studies, London 1974, s. 243-262

II. JÖN TÜRK HAREKETİNİN<sup>1</sup>  
DÖNEMLENDİRİLMESİ

SİNA AKŞİN

II. Abdülhamit'in padişahlığı sırasında 1878 yılında Meclis-i Mebusanın "muvakkaten tatili"nden sonra, yıllar geçtikçe koyulaşan, yetki-lerin büyük ölçüde Saray'da toplandığı bir mutlakiyet düzeni kuruldu. Bu mutlakiyete karşı bazı tepkiler oluşmakta gecikmedi, fakat bunlardan en önemlileri olan Çırağan olayı ile Cleanthi Scalieri - Aziz Bey komitesinin girişimleri V. Murat'ı yeniden tahta çıkarmak amacını güden sınırlı, komplo niteliğinde faaliyetlerdir. Programı ve ideolojik içeriği olan bir siyasal örgütün kurulması ise Mebusanın tatilinden 11 yıl sonraya, 1889 yılına rastlar. Bilindiği gibi o yıl Askerî Tıbbiye'de beş tane öğrenci, sonradan İttihat ve Terakki (İT) adını alacak olan İttihad-ı Osmanî örgütünü kurdular. Böylece Tunaya'nın Yeni Osmanlıları I. Jön Türk hareketi sayarak kullandığı bir deyimle, II. Jön Türk hareketi başlamış oldu. II. Meşrutiyet'in ilân olunduğu 1908 yılına değin İT dışında başka örgütler de kuruldu. Bugüne kadar, II. Jön Türk hareketi birçok yetkili kalemlerce ele alınıp incelenmiştir. Ne var ki, genellikle hareketi dönemlere ayırmak konusu üzerinde fazla durulmadığı söylenebilir. Ben, bu tebliğde bu konudaki bazı düşüncelerimi açıklamak istiyorum.

*Neden 1889?* : İttihad-ı Osmanî örgütünün neden 1889 da, meşrutiyetin fiilen son bulmasından 11 yıl sonra kurulduğu sorulabilir. Ramsaur, bunu, Batı ile temasların artmış olmasına bağlamaktadır. Nitekim ona göre, Askerî Tıbbiye'nin Gülhane'de, demiryoluna yakın oluşu ve bir yıl önce ilk Paris treninin Sirkeci'ye gelmiş olması, bunu simgelemekteydi. Yine Ramsaur, örgütün kurucusu İbrahim Temo'nun daha önce memleketi olan Arnavutluk'a gidip gelirken uğramış olduğu İtalya'da mason localarını ziyaret etmiş olmasının etkileri üzerinde durmaktadır. Tunaya ise 1889'un Fransız İhtilali'nin 100. yılı olduğuna dikkati çekmektedir<sup>2</sup>. Büyük Fransız İhtilali'nin Jön Türkler gibi bir-

<sup>1</sup> T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler* (İst., Doğan Kardeş Basımevi, 1952) s. 102.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks* (Princeton, Princeton U. P., 1957), s. 14-15; Tunaya, a.g.e., s. 102.

## Young Turk Assessments of International Politics, 1906-9

HASAN ÜNAL

Although scholarly interest has focused on the Young Turks' organizational structure and their internal politics, no attempt has been made to analyse the main components, basic motives and aims that influenced the external policies pursued by the Young Turks during their decade in power from 1908 to 1918. Nor has there been any examination of the foreign policy ideas of the Committee of Union and Progress (hereafter the CUP, the strongest Young Turk organization which dominated Turkish politics between 1908 and 1918, and even thereafter) and its assessments of international politics while in opposition prior to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

This dearth of scholarly research can be explained partly by the relative inaccessibility of the Ottoman records which obviously constitute the principal source for the study of these subjects. This may seem a drawback at first sight, but not a fatal one: the archives of the Ottoman Empire began to be sifted through and reorganized in a modern way approximately ten years ago, though substantial sections remain closed pending cataloguing. As a result, large quantities of original documents have been released, which have since enabled a limited number of scholars to produce well-researched studies of aspects of Ottoman foreign policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> It also appears that some scholars seem to have conducted researches into the Ottoman primary sources, and produced studies on the foreign policy of the Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as on the genesis of the Young Turkish organizations even before the process of modernization in the Ottoman archives got underway.<sup>2</sup>

It is, therefore, clear that the relative inaccessibility of the Ottoman archives is part, but only part, of the explanation. A further explanation for the lack of studies on the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire in its dying years lies in over-simplified a priori assumptions about the Young Turks' anglophile leanings. These preconceived ideas seem to have discouraged archival research to such an extent that almost all the writers' on the Young Turk era have focused upon British policy towards the Ottoman Empire, arguing that it was Britain's attitude of indifference tinged with hostility which effectively moulded the foreign policy of the pro-British and anti-German Young Turks. They concluded that it was due to the Britain's cold-shoulder to the Young Turks from

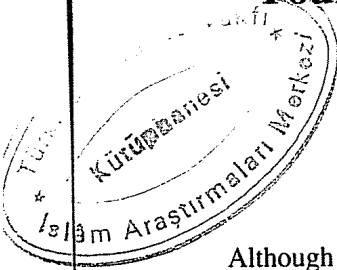
the outset of the revolution of 1908 onwards that the Ottoman Empire was forced into an undesirable dependence upon Germany and Austria-Hungary, which culminated in the Ottoman intervention in the First World War on the side of the Central Powers.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of their questionable merits as accounts of British policy towards the Ottoman Empire,<sup>4</sup> such claims faithfully echo the propaganda put out by the Young Turks themselves, particularly after their final defeat in 1918. Such propaganda was no more than self-justification, and not very informative at that.<sup>5</sup>

The views of the CUP on foreign policy are no exception to the rule of lack of scholarly research. Here again, this is not for want of evidence, but for a priori assumptions about the pro-British and, by implication, pro-French sentiments of the Young Turks. However, the evidence, which is by no means negligible in quantity, seems to suggest that all those over-simplifications are open to challenge.

It appears that following the famous split in the Young Turk movement in 1902,<sup>6</sup> the group around Ahmed Rıza adopted a policy of nationalism as opposed to its previous positivist leanings, and that it transformed itself into a revolutionary organization under the guidance of Dr Bahaeddin Şakir.<sup>7</sup> It also appears that this group, which was to form the core circle of the CUP in later years after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, indulged itself in foreign policy analysis from the Ottoman point of view in its numerous publications. In particular, Ahmed Rıza's *Mechveret Supplément Français* published much commentary on European politics. The conclusions which may be drawn from perusing these journals are reinforced by surviving CUP correspondence and memoirs. These conclusions are also supported by original documents in various archives which cast light upon the CUP's assessments of European politics, as well as upon Ottoman foreign policy-making in the first year following the Young Turk revolution.

From the perusal of these CUP publications from 1902 onwards, two principal observations may be made. First, the CUP exhibited a marked hostility and suspicion towards all the Great Powers and a strong resentment of their interference in Ottoman affairs. Second, even at this stage before its assumption of power, the CUP manifested no special sympathy, as alleged, towards the Constitutional Powers, Britain and France. On the contrary, anti-British statements outnumber statements against any other Power. It may be assumed that this Anglophobia was in part a reaction to the Anglophile sentiments continuously professed by the rival Young Turk group around Sabahattin Bey, but that said, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the CUP's mistrust of Britain was the product of genuine conviction.

Behind the CUP's mistrust of the European Great Powers, especially of Britain and France, lay a belief in their fundamental hostility towards the Ottoman Empire, and towards the Turks and the Muslims in particular. This



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ignored the societies. During the early phase of the Stalin Revolution (1927-1928), when more and more emphasis was being placed on science and technology, the societies still received scant attention. Then, in 1929, the technical associations were liquidated and replaced by trade union sponsored societies. The theoretical orientation of the traditional technical societies was effectively destroyed as the new societies, organized according to branches of the economy instead of by discipline, were forced to adopt trade union methods and goals. They became technical propaganda/popularizing organs of little professional interest to the qualified engineer or technologist. The scientific societies remained independent until 1930. After a frenzied, but unsuccessful campaign to capture them and carry out an internal reorganization, the Bolsheviks liquidated all but none of some sixty national societies. Those remaining were reorganized and attached to various state agencies until 1936 when they were absorbed by the Academy of Sciences.

Both the scientific and scientific-technical societies declined in importance during the post-1936 era. Stalin decreed that all voluntary social organizations were to be restricted to worker mobilization/production emulation activities. Although the societies were strictly controlled by the party, they were no longer an integral part of the scientific-technical community. Essential services once performed by these organizations were transferred to official state agencies.

Today, though the societies have received considerable attention and an increase in material support, their structure, function, and legal position remain much as they were during the Stalinist era.

Microfilm \$4.10; Xerography \$14.40. 320 pages.

X  
**THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION: A STUDY OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE SECOND TURKISH CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME FROM JUNE 1908 TO MAY 1909.**

(Order No. 68-10,576)

Victor Reuben Swenson, Ph.D.  
 The Johns Hopkins University, 1968

The Young Turk revolution in July 1908 brought to an end the system of arbitrary and oppressive government developed by Sultan Abdülhamid during his thirty-two year reign. After 1889, Turkish liberals in European exile were critical of the Sultan's regime, but the actual revolution was carried out in Macedonia by a handful of military officers and civilian officials who belonged to a small and loosely organized revolutionary society called the Committee of Union and Progress. The members of the CUP were moved to act against the Sultan by the conviction that only the reactivation of the 1876 Ottoman constitution could save the empire from destruction. Sultan Abdülhamid, unable to suppress the Macedonian uprising, proclaimed that the constitution was again in force on July 23, 1908.

In the months that followed the key elements of a constitutional and liberal regime were established. Although Sultan Abdülhamid remained on the throne, he was shorn of his arbitrary powers. Under the Grand Vezir, Said Paşa, basic personal guarantees and the rights of assembly and free expression were reaffirmed. Throughout the empire, parliamentary elections were hastily held. In December 1908 the Chamber of Deputies with some 270 members assembled in Istanbul. It began its deliberations and established a rough and ready brand of Ministerial responsibility by ousting the Grand Vezir Kâmil Paşa in February 1909.

The Committee of Union and Progress rapidly expanded after the revolution. Branches of the society were founded in

towns and cities across the length and breadth of the empire, chiefly through the efforts of the emergent Turkish middle class which included educated military officers, civilian administrators, journalists, merchants, teachers and the like. The central headquarters of the CUP retained its secret organization and asserted control over the subsidiary CUP branches in the provinces and over the CUP Political Party of some 160 deputies in the Chamber.

The constitutional and political changes of the new regime did not miraculously solve the critical problems of the Ottoman state. European predations on the empire intensified. Separatist sentiment survived unchecked. No powerful national figure stepped forward to assume political leadership nor did any office or organization emerge to assume vigorous control over the administrative responsibilities surrendered by the Palace. The Committee of Union and Progress attempted to exercise authority over the government indirectly by manipulating the Grand Vezir and other officials. Kâmil Paşa resisted CUP control and was replaced by Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, an inexperienced Vezir who was incapable of accomplishing the Committee's political objectives.

The Chamber of Deputies failed to weld the diverse elements of the empire together in a sense of common purpose. It instead revealed the deep divisions within Ottoman society, between Turks and the minority religious and national elements, and between the pious and conservative Turkish masses and the more westernized Turkish middle class. The Chamber became an arena for doctrinaire disputes between the CUP party and opposition factions whose disagreements were amplified by the newspaper press. In addition, the Chamber was very slow in processing the new legislation held necessary for the re-generation of the empire.

Disappointment over the failures of the constitutional regime was compounded by the inexperience of Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa and the tendency toward dictatorial arrogance of the CUP. In April 1909 the troops of the Istanbul Army Corps rebelled against the anti-religious attitude of their CUP-oriented officers and against the alleged irreligious nature of the constitutional regime. Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa's government resigned in consternation and the CUP deputies fled Istanbul. The Salonika Committee's hold over provincial public opinion and its influence over the civilian and military, however, permitted the CUP to isolate the Istanbul government, to organize an expeditionary force in Macedonia and to march to Istanbul to reimpose CUP control in the name of the constitution. Sultan Abdülhamid was unofficially blamed for the April disturbance and was deposed as a scapegoat for the Committee's failure. Martial law was imposed and the CUP assumed a more direct control over the political life of the empire. Constitutional government, alone, was unable to save the state. The search for a proper formula continued until the collapse of the empire following the end of the first world war.

Microfilm \$6.30; Xerography \$22.30. 495 pages.

**WHIGS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST AND THE MEXICAN WAR**

(Order No. 68-11,368)

Norman Eugene Tutorow, Ph.D.  
 Stanford University, 1968

This dissertation attempts to determine the nature of the opposition of Northwestern Whigs to the Mexican War and to discover whether or not the Northwest was representative of the nation as a whole and whether the Whigs of the Northwest were representative of the Whigs in the rest of the country. This is neither a study of the Northwest nor a narrow analysis

DM- İnceleme Kurulu  
R. Köksalın,

**Sina Akşin**

Jön Türkler

17 6 TEMMUZ 1993

# Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki

Türkiye İyaneet Vakfı İstanbul Şubesi Kütüphane	
Kayıt No. :	13073
Tasnif No. :	956.0743 AKŞ. J



**Remzi Kitabevi**  
Ankara Caddesi, No. 93 — İstanbul

## Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi

Faruk İlikan

Baskıncı Abdülhamid yönetimine karşı hak ve hürriyetlerini elde etmeyi amaçlayan Osmanlı hürriyetperverleri çabalarını İmparatorluk sınırları dışında yoğunlaştırmışlardır. Bu doğrultuda, yürürlükte ama işlerliği kalmamış 1876 Kanun-ı Esasi'sini ihya etmek başlıca hedefleridir. Zaman zaman bir araya gelerek, eylem birliği sağlamak yönünde çaba göstermişlerdir. Bu girişimler bazen başarılı olmuş, bazen de sonuçsuz kalmıştır. Yayımladığımız belgenin konusu, Tunalı Hilmi tarafından ileri sürülen ve Ali Fahri tarafından da desteklenen "Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi"dir.

Kongre, Osmanlı inkılap hareketleri içinde "Akim kalan Brindizi Kongresi"<sup>2</sup> diye anılır. Ali Fahri'ye göre asıl mesele Osmanlılığın geleceğidir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu bir araya getiren "anasır-ı muhtelif"<sup>1</sup> fırkalarının "tahlis-i nefis ile menfaat-i umumiyye ve hususiyyesi arasında bihakkın kâfil olan saadet-i Osmaniyye'nin istihsal ve temini çarelerine safvet ve halisette tevessül etmeleri keyfiyyetidir".

Belirtildiği gibi Tunalı Hilmi tarafından ileri sürülen toplantı önerisinin çoğunluk tarafından benimsenmesine rağmen sonuçsuz kalması üzücüdür. Çünkü "altı yüz ve hele mahsusen iki yüz seneden beri istibdat altında ezilmiş, musned bir itaat ile artık tabiyetleşir gibi olmuş bir halkta mekteplerin tenviden evvel, bu yoldaki neşriyatın matlup olan tesir-i hakikiyi hasıl etmesi asra muhtaçtır. Buna ise ne dahilin, ne de haricin tahammülü vardır".

Birinci Jön Türk kongresinden sonra bu yeni girişimin belgesi niteliğini taşıyan ve şimdiki değin sürdürülen çalışmalarda varlığı bilinen ama yararlanılamayan "Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi" ve "Yine Kongre"yi bu konuda çalışanların istifadesine sunuyoruz.

## Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi!

Muharriri: A. Fahri  
Cenevre'de basıldı  
14 Ağustos 1316

Beyan-ı mazeret ve rica:

Meselenin ehemmiyet ve nezaketi, risalemizi hurufat ile tab için sarfı lazım gelen zamanı bile esirgeyecek derecede bizi isticale mecbur etti. Muttaliin-i kiramın şimdilik taşbasmasıyla iktifa etmeleri rica olunur.

## NOTLAR

<sup>1</sup> Tunalı Hilmi, *Murad*, y.y., 1317.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkılâp Hareketleri ve Millî Mücadele*, İstanbul 1959, s. 247.

## Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi!

[3] Ahrar-ı Osmaniyye'nin "hasta"yı diriltmek için "çare-i acile ve müessire" aramak taraftarlarının ezhanını hassaten bir seneden beri çokça işgal eden, ve bir aralık lisan-ı matbuata da düşen "Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi" bahsini aciz dahi, had ve iktidarımın müsaadesizliğine bakmadan şurada tekrarlamak istiyorum.

Gerek bu mebhasta ve gerek diğer mebahis-i terakki ve selametcûyanede söyleyen veya davet ve icabet eden kimsenin mevki ve derecesinden ziyade söylediği veya davet ve icabet ettiği bahs ve mevkiin mahiyet ve hakikatini [4] piş-i nazar-ı dikkat ve ehemmiyete almak muvafık-ı akl ü irfandır. Yalnız bu mülahaza ile bulduğum ümit ve tesellidir ki, had ve iktidar-ı acizanem ile asla kabil-i kıyas olmayacak kadar büyük olan şu cesaretimin bir küstahlık telakki buyurulamayacağı emniyesini bahs ediyor.

Vakıa beş seneden beri içinde yuvarlanageldiğim mahbes, menfa ve neşriyat âlemlerindeki meşhudat, tecarib, sa'y; bu meselede dahi belki bir rey sahibi olabilmek selahiyetini verir gibi ise de, bu ciheti kaale almaya cidden hicab ederim.

Beş senelik neşriyatın ve netayicinden olan hapis, nefy ve itlafın bütün emal-i Osmaniyye'de ve hassaten İstanbul'umuzda açtığı gözler, tenbih ettiği dimağlar az değildir. Bugüne kadar neşriyatın zararından başka faidesi olmadığı iddiasında bulunanların butlan davalarına en büyük, en celi delil olarak, efkâr-ı umumiyye-i Osmaniyye'nin beş, altı sene evvelki haliyle bugünkü halini tetkik ve kıyas etmek zahmetine katlanmalarını tavsiye ederim.

Ancak; noksanı görüp ikmalî çaresine tevessül, en birinci terakki ve saadet esbabından bulunduğu cihetle, beş sene [5] evveline nispeten bugün, oldukça feyzdar bir "efkâr-ı umumiyye"ye sahip bulunmayı dahi nakıs, eşedd-i ihtiyaç ile muhtaç bulunduğumuz "saadet-i Osmaniyye" için pek nakıs görüyorum.

Bunu derece-i kifayeye isal etmek için neşriyat-ı hazıra dahi, na-kâfidir. Bundan: neşriyata bir derece daha germi ve intizam verilmesi lüzumundan bahs edileceğinin anlaşılacağı semameyi hatırlamak ile tahakkuk eder. Şüphesiz bugünkü neşriyatımız pek intizamsız, pek ruhsuz ve yavandır. Bugün hamdolsun, devrimiz devr-i tefekkür olduğundan, imzayı değil, sözü muteber tutan erbab-ı fikret ve irfanımız sayılacak mertebeden her halde efmundur. Bu halde neşriyatı tanzim ve takviye etmek, torbalarla "laf" yerine hastalığın edviye-i müessesinesini irae ve tertip eder az "söz"leri muhtevi olacak mertebe-i mükemmeliyyete getirmek elzemdir.

Fakat tekrar edeyim; fikr-i acizanemce, ruh-ı mesele, hakiki deva "neşriyat" değildir.

Asıl mesele adeta "hayat-ı Osmaniyye" meselesi, anasır-ı muhtelif-i Osmaniyye fırkalarının hususi marazlarından tahlis-i nefis ile menfaat-i umumiyye ve hususiyeyi bihakkın kafil olan "saadet-i [6] Osmaniyye"nin istihsal ve temini çarelerine safvet ve halisette tevessül etmeleri keyfiyyetidir.

<sup>3</sup> Fransızca "Jön Türk" Türkçe "Genç Türk" tabirleri yanlıştır. Bu tabir bilcümle anasır-ı Osmaniyye efradından müteşekkil bir fırkaya alem olmak itibarıyla "Jön Ottoman" olmak lazım gelir. Nitekim Türkçesi de "Yeni Osmanlılar"dır. [Tunalı]

Avant d'aborder ce sujet délicat et controversé, je voudrais avancer quelques idées préliminaires, vu les mutations rapides que connaît notre environnement intellectuel, politique et économique, au niveau des pays arabes et de la Turquie.

Je commence par la scène intellectuelle et politique turque qui de nos jours, qualifie encore les prises de position arabes et surtout celles de son élite intellectuelle et journalistique, lors de la première guerre mondiale, comme totalement négatives, ce qui explique le dénigrement qui caractérise les écrits des historiens turcs sur ce sujet quasi-présent dans les arrières-pensées et les comportements des dirigeants politiques et des historiens d'aujourd'hui.

Du côté arabe, nous relevons la conception nationaliste avec laquelle les hommes politiques traitent ce sujet, exprimant ainsi les bases constantes de la conviction dont ils ont hérité à travers des écrits politiques, historiques et surtout journalistiques qui se sont attaqués de façon émotionnelle aux dirigeants politiques de l'Etat ottoman de l'époque (2) ; ce sont ces mêmes idées que nous continuons de trouver, de temps à autre jusqu'à ce jour, dans les écrits de la plupart des journalistes arabes; quant aux historiens, il se sont scindés, à leur tour, face à cette question, en deux groupes, le premier tend vers une rationalisation de ce sujet épineux par le biais d'une nouvelle méthodologie historique, mais cela n'a encore qu'une influence très limitée. Quant au deuxième groupe, on peut dire qu'il est encore victime de l'héritage intellectuel et politique qui l'empêche de se libérer de ces entraves (3).

D'autre part, nous avons essayé depuis plus de deux décades d'engager le dialogue et la collaboration scientifique avec les historiens et les chercheurs turcs. Il ne fait pas de doute, pour nous, que nous nous

(1) Cette étude fut publiée in, RHM, nos 65-66, pp. 79-103; la première version de cette étude a été présentée au VI Congrès International d'Etudes Economiques et Sociales de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie, qui s'est tenu à Aix-en-Provence du 1 au 4 Juillet 1992, version que nous avons complétée par d'autres informations intéressantes recueillies dans les Archives du Quai d'Orsay à Paris.

Il est vrai que ce sujet a bénéficié d'un intérêt constant de la part de beaucoup de chercheurs arabes, turcs et étrangers et qu'il existe des centaines d'articles et de travaux sur l'ensemble des questions de ce dossier historique; le but que nous nous assignons dans cette recherche est d'apporter un nouvel éclairage sur quelques aspects historiques que les archives du Quai d'Orsay à Paris nous ont permis d'étudier.

(2) Voir à ce propos notre sixième étude : "Problématiques de la recherche historique sur les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane", pp. 71-77.

(3) Nous l'avons constaté tout récemment lors de la publication in Journal El-Thowra à Damas en date du 17/6/1992, d'un long compte-rendu de la cinquième rencontre de la pensée à Homs sur le thème : La nation arabe sous l'occupation ottomane. Il est à regretter qu'un nombre d'historiens connus continuent, par un discours idéologique à utiliser une méthode que nous pensions révolue afin de laisser la place à une recherche scientifique et objective.

هذا ما وجدته في نسخة من رسالة الامام الشريف عليه السلام  
الى السلطان محمد الثاني في سنة 916 هـ الموافق لـ 1517 م  
فيما يلي نصها: يا مولانا السلطان محمد الثاني  
رحمك الله وبركاته وبعد فقد وردت اليّ كتابتك  
التي فيها ذكرت ما ذكرته في كتابك من ان  
الملك السلطان محمد الثاني قد اصابك  
بمرض شديد وهو مرض الحمى وانه قد  
توفي في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 916 هـ  
وكانت مدة مرضه اربعة اشهر  
وقد اصابه في شهر ربيع الثاني  
سنة 916 هـ الموافق لـ 1517 م  
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وقد اصابه في شهر ربيع الثاني  
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هذا ما وجدته في نسخة من رسالة الامام الشريف عليه السلام  
الى السلطان محمد الثاني في سنة 916 هـ الموافق لـ 1517 م  
فيما يلي نصها: يا مولانا السلطان محمد الثاني  
رحمك الله وبركاته وبعد فقد وردت اليّ كتابتك  
التي فيها ذكرت ما ذكرته في كتابك من ان  
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1908 Jön-Türk İhtilâli

Yayına Hazırlayan  
Osman Selim KOCAHANOĞLU

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MASAMI ARAI 1953 yılında Tokyo'da doğdu. Tokyo Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Asya Tarihi Bölümü'nü bitirdi. 1979-1981 yılları arasında İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde araştırmalarda bulundu. Japonya'da Osaka Şehir Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü'nde dokuz yıl öğretim üyeliği yaptı. 1992 yılından bu yana ise Tokai Üniversitesi Batı Asya Araştırmaları Bölümü'nde doçent olarak çalışıyor. Türk milliyetçiliği üzerine araştırmalarının yanı sıra Arai'nin, Avrupa'da Osmanlı-Türk öğrencileriyle ilgili çalışmaları ve yakınçağ Türk tarihine ilişkin çeşitli makaleleri vardır. Arai, Cem Behar'ın *Klasik Türk Musikisi Üzerine Denemeler* adlı kitabını Japonca'ya çevirerek, *Türk Müziğinde Gelenek ve Çağdaşlaşma* başlığı altında yayımladı.

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MASSAMI ARAI  
Jön Türk  
Dönemi  
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Milliyetçiliği

*Turkish Nationalism  
in the Young Turk Era*

ÇEVİREN Tansel Demirel  
REDAKSİYON Yücel Demirel

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Empire, 33.

<sup>39</sup> Kunt, 'Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity', 239; P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent: A Political History, 1516-1922* (Ithaca and London, 1966), 105.

<sup>40</sup> Hathaway, *Politics of Households*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> The expression refers to homoeroticism and/or bestiality. I owe this interpretation to Dr. Jan Schmidt of the University of Leiden Library. For the incident, see Al-Hallāq, *Tarih-i Mısır-ı Kâhire*, f. 296r-301r; Ahmed Çelebi, Awdah, 251-5. See also Barbara Flemming, 'Die Vorwahhabitische Fitna im osmanischen Kairo, 1711', in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara, 1976); Rudolph Peters, 'The Battered Dervishes of Bâb Zuwayla: A Religious Riot in Eighteenth-Century Cairo', in Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (Syracuse, 1987).

## The Young Turks and the Arab Press

Caesar E. Farah

This paper deals with the remarkable transformation of attitudes in the post-Hamidian era towards the press in general, and the Arabic in particular.<sup>1</sup> Up until the revolution by the Young Turks, Abdülhamid (1876-1909) pursued a policy of watchful patience interfering only when he found it in the interest of the Ottoman state to stop publications injurious to his policy of combating foreign encroachments, which the Arab press in general still deemed an act of tyranny on his part. His official censors (*mektupçus*) kept him informed on the seditious writings of authors influenced by the negativism current in the Western press whose mission it was to counter what they termed a potential showdown with a potentially insurgent Islam.

Ottoman newspaper editors found succour in the French liberal writers who had inherited a campaign against the tyranny of rule from their revolution, in which now liberal Ottoman authors found a good model to emulate. They joined the eastern chorus in denouncing what they termed the tyranny of their ruler. They spoke out in all ardour for a reform of their state of affairs, demanding first and foremost the freedom to express their opinions, regardless of the consequences for their society, by further inviting and encouraging diatribes of the Western press against Islam and its values.

Ottoman reformers dubbed such diatribes liberal, echoing them as if they had received the blessing of their Western supporters to criticize their own society, their Sultan ruler, and the elements within it which they alluded to as reactionaries, thus simplifying the struggle as one between traditional Islamic reaction and European notions of liberalism, guided by unbridled freedom of expression and all the criticism they could muster with but a superficial knowledge of what freedom to speak out entailed. Some writers were mere opportunists, believing that the Sultan would buy their silence by grants of money or appointments. They anticipated rewards in lieu of earned punishment for preaching treason and sedition.

Edited by Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki,  
Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province,  
and the West, vol. I, London 2005, s. 217-240.

ISAM 141783

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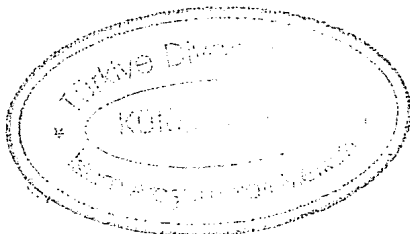
28 MAY 2006

Milena B. METHODIEVA, Akşin SOMEL, *Keeping the Bonds: the Ottomans and Muslim Education in Autonomous Bulgaria, 1878-1908*

The article examines the development of Muslim education in autonomous Bulgaria in the period 1878-1908. It argues that for various reasons the Bulgarians, contrary to their desire, did not succeed in establishing tight control over Muslim schools and the Ottomans emerged as the main agent that influenced their development. As a result, throughout the period under discussion Muslim education managed to retain its Ottoman and Muslim outlook and content. The authors discuss in detail the initiatives of Ottoman support and suggest that they should be interpreted in the context of the major political and ideological tendencies in the Empire at that time.

Milena B. METHODIEVA, Akşin SOMEL, *Maintenir les liens: les Ottomans et l'enseignement musulman dans la Bulgarie autonome, 1878-1908*

Cet article étudie le développement de l'enseignement musulman dans la Bulgarie autonome dans la période 1878-1908. Il démontre que, pour des raisons diverses, les Bulgares, contrairement à ce qu'ils souhaitaient, ne réussirent pas à établir un contrôle étroit sur les écoles musulmanes, et les Ottomans apparaissent comme l'agent principal qui influa sur leur développement. En conséquence, pendant toute la période considérée, l'enseignement musulman conserva ses perspectives et son contenu musulman et ottoman. Les auteurs traitent en détail les initiatives du soutien ottoman et suggèrent qu'il devrait être interprété dans le contexte des tendances politiques et idéologiques majeures de l'Empire à cette période.



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## THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION AND THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION\*

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire were a hotly contested region among the Balkan states. Macedonia above all (Vilayet Salonica and the parts of Vilayets of Monastir and Kosovo in particular) was the centre of numerous Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, Albanian and Aromunian (Vlach) armed committees. Each Balkan state claimed this region for itself and all of them led a hot diplomatic struggle against each other. Consequently the Macedonian Question became the biggest political problem in the Balkans. For the Ottoman Empire the Macedonian Question was a question of existence in Europe. Therefore the Ottoman government tried to stop the national movements by using military measures on one hand, and by implementing administrative reforms prepared by the Great Powers on the other. The Young Turks who began their oppositional movement against the Sultan regime in 1889 aimed at modernizing the Ottoman Empire in order to prevent its dissolution. The Young Turk revolution in 1908 which changed radically the political situation of the Empire took place in Macedonia and had also important impact on the Macedonian Question. During the time of their government from 1908-1912 the

Mehmet HACISALİHOĞLU is Assistant Professor Dr., Department of Political Science and International Relations, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul, Türkiye.  
e-mail: Hacisalihoglu.mehmet@gmx.de

\* I would like to thank Dr. Christine Nölle-Karimi, M. Erdem Kabadayı and Dr. Rositsa Gradeva for their patient stylistic corrections and advice in the preparation of this article.

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D.124



# THE YOUNG TURKS

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THE COMMITTEE OF  
UNION AND PROGRESS IN  
TURKISH POLITICS

1908-1914

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FEROZ AHMAD

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Salonik, den 2. September 1909.

Nach einer Fahrt von 13 1/2 Stunden für 454 Kilometer<sup>1)</sup> traf ich gestern Abend gegen 8 Uhr hier ein. Von Nisch an war die Fahrt abscheulich. Auf dieser viel befahrenen Strecke verkehrt kein Schlafwagen, der einzige durchgehende Wagen ist fast immer voll besetzt. Sind auch die Spaniolen von Salonik, die man als Hauptreisegesellschaft findet, meist viel herumgekommene, einigermaßen abgeschliffene Menschen, so kann es einem doch passieren, daß man mit weniger erfreulichen Exemplaren zusammengesperrt wird, wie das mich traf. Ich mußte unter dem wenig gesitteten Verhalten eines Mannes dieser Gattung und seines Sprößlings, eines wahren Ausbunds von Ungezogenheit, leiden. Da war eine tröstliche Abwechslung das Plaudern mit zwei deutschen Geschäftsleuten, von denen der eine für das väterliche Haus, der andere für sein eigenes Fabrikat die Hauptplätze der Türkei und Griechenlands bereiste. Ich konnte mich wieder daran erfreuen, wie häufig man unter den, von unseren sozialen und intellektuellen Snobs über die Achsel angesehenen „Commis voyageurs“ Männer findet, die mit angenehmen Formen und einer inneren Höflichkeit vortreffliche Beobachtungsgabe und selbständiges Urteil verbinden.

Eine angenehme Abwechslung wurde mir von Üsküb ab zu teil. Zwei bulgarisch sprechende Herren stiegen ein, von denen der eine sich als Bulgare sogleich durch seinen Typ verriet, der andere war unbestimmbar — ich vermute Rumäne. Beide politisierten eifrig. Es bot sich Gelegenheit anzuknüpfen, und mit meinem geringen Russisch konnte ich eine Unterhaltung mit dem Bulgaren führen. Es soll heute eine geheime Konferenz der konstitutionellen bulgarischen Partei beginnen zur Festsetzung einer Konstitution Mazedoniens, zu welcher

Dış kâğıdı cehizler  
RAC.

SANDER YAYINLARI  
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JÖN TÜRKLER  
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# THE YOUNG TURKS Prelude to the Revolution of 1908



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## Sayyid Talib and the Young Turks in Basra

Eliezer Tauber

\* Jön Türkler  
\* Basra

Ottoman Iraq at the beginning of the twentieth century was divided into three provinces: Mosul, Baghdad and Basra. Mosul was the least disposed of the three to participate in the anti-Turkish trends that were current at the time in many circles among the Iraqi Arabs, and it was controlled by families who had supported the deposed Hamidian regime, by conservative Ulama and by Kurds. Baghdad, located between Mosul and Basra, was split between several parties: pro-Turkish, decentralizers and religious leaders who focused on Pan-Islamic and anti-Christian ideas. Basra, which was farthest from the heart of the empire and closest to the independent rulers of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, was the moving spirit in the anti-Turkish reform movement in Iraq. Reforming trends and ambitions for administrative decentralization were common in the period after the Young Turk Revolution in most of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. However, the story of the anti-Turkish reform movement in Basra at that time is completely different from the story of the reform and decentralization movements which arose in the other Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The story of this movement is in effect the story of one individual: Sayyid Talib al-Naqib, the 'strong man' of Basra, whose hometown was transformed by him into the 'Wild South' of Iraq.

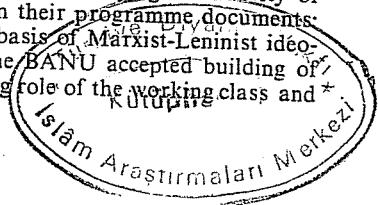
Sayyid Talib al-Naqib (1868?-1929), the young and unloved son of Sayyid Rajab, the Naqib of Basra, began his political career in 1899 when his father sent him to Istanbul to complain about the Vali of Basra who was hated both by Sayyid Rajab and by the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak al-Sabah. He succeeded in the mission. The Vali was ousted, and in his place another Vali was appointed, who was friendly towards both the Naqib family and the Sheikh of Kuwait. From then on the Sheikh of Kuwait supported Sayyid Talib who, helped by the new Vali, began to gain influence and strength. He began to collect money by levying a yearly 'tax' on the town notables. The following year Sayyid Talib took care of another enemy, an advocate by the name of Abdallah al-Ruwanduzi who represented one of his victims. Sayyid Talib sent some of his henchmen to beat up the lawyer. Abdallah did not 'get the message' and continued his activities against him, whereupon his assassination was ordered. The removal of the advocate, who had also been hampering the activities of Sheikh Khaz'al of Muhammara, was most convenient for this Sheikh and pleased him very much. He befriended Talib and gave him funds, ample to finance his personal bodyguards and to improve his extortion methods.

However, the murder of Abdallah al-Ruwanduzi, who was well liked in Basra, caused more than a little bitterness against Sayyid Talib and he, feeling that the ground was giving way under his feet, turned for help to Abu al-Huda, a man who had befriended him on his mission to Istanbul

NOT: Makalenin devamı «BASRA» posetinde dir

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES, C. 25 (5.7) S. 3-22  
1989, LONDON

The new historical conditions and the deep political, social and class changes limited sharply the social and political functions of the other FF parties. Socialism exceeded their ideological programme conceptions, but once having accepted the principles of the political system of people's democracy, non-communist parties easily adjusted to the new conditions, to the socio-political and economic system of socialism. The ideological evolution of the BANU and the BWSDP entered upon its final stage. The attempts at revising the traditional concepts of agrarianism and petty-bourgeois socialism, underlying the activity of the left-wing representatives of these parties, were reflected in their programme documents. Unity of the working class in Bulgaria was achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and tactics in the ranks of the BWP (Communists). The BANU accepted building of socialism as its programme goal and acknowledged the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in the revolutionary process.



## British Policy towards the Young Turk Revolution 1908-1909

(Some Problems)

Božidar Samardžiev

The uninterrupted exacerbation of Anglo-German rivalry had an ever more determining influence on the destinies of the Near East at the beginning of the 20th c. The consolidation of Germany's economic and political-strategic positions in the Ottoman Empire under the regime of Abdülhamid II was at the expense of the rapid decline of Great Britain's traditional influence on the shores of the Bosphorus.

The British ruling circles feared the increasingly more active German penetration in the Ottoman Empire whose vast territories constituted an important part of the strategically most important approaches for Britain which ensured the security of India. The shift of the axis of British attention from Constantinople to Egypt and the Arab territories forced the governments in London to give up the principle of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the century they did not conceal their claims of the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Kuwait. The Red Sea had to be turned into an Anglo-Turkish "lake". A direct confrontation with Germany's claims occurred for the island of Fersan.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting in Reval in June 1908 and its decisions deepened the tendency that had emerged of breaking the Concert of Europe and regrouping the forces into two camps. It gave rise also to a most unexpected result: it accelerated the beginning of the Young Turk Revolution. Although exaggerating the possible negative consequences for the Empire, the Young Turks accurately grasped the tone and spirit of the policy of the Great Powers in connection with the reform campaign in Macedonia. In order to foil the increasingly more drastic forms of foreign interference the "İttihat ve terakki" ("Union and Progress") decided to carry out the revolution, planned since long, in July 1908.

The external factors, of course, served mainly as a protest and catalyst of the outbreak of the Young Turk Revolution. The whole course of the socio-economic and political deve-

<sup>1</sup> См. Шпилькова, В. И. Отношение западноевропейских держав к Младотурецкой революции. — Новая и новейшая история, 1971, № 3, (май—июнь), с. 38.

lopment of the Ottoman Empire prepared the creation of a revolutionary situation and the development of the events in 1908-1909. The objectives of the Young Turk Revolution were directed to the doing away with the corrupt and despotic feudal-monarchist regime of Abdülhamid II and to the introduction in the country of a bourgeois-constitutional government and parliament.

The problems connected with British policy towards the Young Turk Revolution are not unknown to historiography. Tangible contributions to a number of important aspects of the question have been made above all by the detailed studies of three authors: J. Heller,<sup>2</sup> F. Ahmad,<sup>3</sup> and V. Špilková.<sup>4</sup> It is necessary here to mention some more general works dealing in part with the Young Turk Revolution which touch in passing on British policy.<sup>5</sup> From Turkish historiography one should stress the works of S. Akşin,<sup>6</sup> D. Avcioğlu,<sup>7</sup> and H. Bayur.<sup>8</sup>

They all, to a smaller or larger extent, have their place in elucidating particular parts of the above question. In spite of that, a direct work, comprising and synthesizing the principal components of the problem, is still lacking. The subject is complicated and many-sided, it calls for fresh interpretations and conclusions.

This study has a two-way task: (1) to look into some untouched or inadequately elaborated aspects of the great problem (connected e. g. with Ottoman finances, the Balkan Committee, the role of the military in "Union and Progress", etc., and (2) to sum up the basic trends, achievements and failures of Britain's policy towards the Young Turk Revolution up to 1910. We have deliberately not dealt with the Bosnia crisis (on which there is considerable literature) and Britain's attitude to Bulgaria's Independence (it deserves a separate study). In its present form the study has no claims to exhaust all the components of the problem, but only to bring the elaboration of the question to a higher stage. We have used new archival material of British and Bulgarian origin. The British, French and German collections of documents printed, as well as a number of memoirs of contemporaries of the events have been of considerable help to us.

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There is no information which indicates some interest at the Foreign Office in the Young Turk movement prior to July 1908. The British Embassy in Constantinople was completely in the dark about the outbreak of the revolutionary events.<sup>9</sup> It could not supply any information on the question. The revolution caused surprise among the political circles in all European capitals.<sup>10</sup> The diplomats of the Great Powers in the Ottoman Empire, and even the German military instructors, headed by Colmar von der Goltz, were also taken by surprise.

<sup>2</sup> Heller, J. British Policy towards the Ottoman Empire 1908—1914. London, 1983.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad, F. Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks, 1908—1914. — Middle Eastern Studies. Vol. 4. 1966, No. 4. 302—329; I d e m. The Young Turks. The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908—1914. Oxford, 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Шпилькова, В. Ш. Младотурецкая революция 1908—1909 гг. Москва, 1977; I d e m. Отношение западноевропейских держав... 36—49; I d e m. Из истории Младотурецкой революции (Контр-революционный мятеж 1909 и его разгром). — Проблемы освободительного движения и международных отношений в новое и новейшее время. Сборник трудов МГПИ имени В. И. Ленина. Москва, 1973, 132—180.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance Dakin, D. The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897—1913. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1966; The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783—1919. Ed. by A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch. Vol. 3: 1866—1919. New York, Cambridge, 1923; Влахов, Т. Криза в българо-турските отношения 1895—1908. София, 1977; Генцов, Г. П. Източният въпрос. Част втора. София, 1926, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Akşin, S. 31 Mart Olayı. İstanbul, 1972.

<sup>7</sup> Avcioğlu, D. 31 Martta Yabancı Parmığı. Ankara, 1969.

<sup>8</sup> Bayur, H. J. Türk İnkılabı Tarihi. Cilt 2. Ankara, 1964.

<sup>9</sup> Cunningham, A. A. The Wrong Horse? — A Study of Anglo-Turkish Relations before the First World War. — St. Antony's Papers. Number 17. Oxford, 1965, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. e. g. Красный архив. Исторический журнал. Том 6/43. 1930. Москва — Ленинград, 1981, 49—50. Письмо поверенного в делах в Париже Неклюдова от 6 августа (24 июля) 1908 г.

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way to serve and save Iran, too.<sup>357</sup> The Sharīf of Mecca, when he was on good terms with the Sultan, also employed his elevated position to speak up for Pan-Islam. Further, a French document of 1907<sup>358</sup> gives details about a legal expert at the Court of Abdülhamid, called İsmail Hakkı (not the Sultan's adjutant of the same name, mentioned above), who had visited China and Japan on Pan-Islamic missions and claimed to be president of the Central Islamic Committee—about which I have not found any information (if it existed at all). However, these were, most probably, only the tip of the iceberg floating in Pan-Islamic waters.

<sup>357</sup> Pakadaman, 107, for their names.

<sup>358</sup> MBZ, dossier 451 (A. 190), A/190/B107 (24534), French Legation to Netherlands' Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated in The Hague, 19 Dec. 1907. See also below, app. H.

JACOB M. LANDAU

The Politics of Pan-Islam

Ideology and Organization

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## II. *The Young Turk Era: Pan-Islam in Peace and War*

### I. *The Ideological Debate*

With the relegation of Abdülhamid II to a ceremonial role in 1908, by the Committee of Union and Progress ('The Young Turks') and his deposition a year later, Pan-Islam suffered a serious set-back. Although Pan-Islamic activities were continued by the new government, they failed to get the priority treatment which they had rated previously. Moreover, since all the organization of Pan-Islam and much of its ideological propaganda had been centred in the Sultan's palace, the disappearance of Abdülhamid and his trusted advisers from the political scene could not but curtail drastically Pan-Islamic activities.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the attitudes of the new rulers to Pan-Islam (and we shall have more to say about this later), ideological debates went on and intensified, particularly since censorship had become less severe, for a while, under the new regime: liberalism versus authoritarianism, Ottomanism versus nationalism, Islamism (and Pan-Islam) versus Turkism (and Pan-Turkism).<sup>2</sup> A part of the press and special publications—not necessarily government-inspired—continued to argue about the merits of Pan-Islam and the means for achieving world-wide Muslim solidarity and unity, in order to forge the forces which would save the Ottoman Empire. We shall discuss these publications and their arguments generally, then select a few characteristic examples for a more detailed examination.

As we shall see later, Pan-Islam enjoyed only lukewarm sup-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rouire, 'La Jeune-Turquie et l'avenir du Panislamisme', 264 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, ii. 273.



lerin çağdaş medeniyete ayak uydurmalarını önleyen bunlardı. Tarihî gerçeklerin inkârı sonunda Türk milliyetçiliğinin temel özelliklerinden biri oldu. Türk milliyetçiliğinin ideologları –Ziya Gökalp ve Türkiye'nin ilk Cumhuriyet hükümetleri dahil olmak üzere– yeni Türk milletinin Selçuklulara ve Osmanlılara dayanan tarihî kökenlerini bilhassa inkâr etmişler ve bu sayede Avrupalıların “Osmanlı”, “Türk” ve “Müslüman” olan her şeye vurdukları utanç damgasından kurtulmak istemişler, milletin hanedan-saltanatla özdeşleştirilmesine engel olmaya, irredentizmi kökünden söküp atmaya ve milleti istikbale doğru yöneltmeye çalışmışlardır. Devlet böylece milleti tarihinden koparmış veya George Orwell'in deyimiyle, şimdiki zamanı kontrol edebilmek için tarihi silmiştir.

Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'nde resmî milliyetçilik Osmanlıcılığı ve İslâmcılığı reddetmiş, fakat sırası geldiğinde taleplerine o hayati desteği sağlayabilmek için Türklerin İslâmî ve İslâm-öncesi geçmişlerine geniş atıflarda bulunmaktan da geri kalmamışlardır. Milliyetçiler özellikle eski Türklerin doğuştan modernist ve demokratik eğilimlere ve saf bir etnik kültüre sahip olduklarını fakat dünyaya (Batı'ya) ayak uydurmalarına ve millî devletlerini kurmalarına imparatorluğun hanedan rejimleri ve İslâm tarafından engel olunduğunu ileri sürmüşlerdir. Daha da kötüsü, Cumhuriyet Osmanlı hanedanının Türklerle etnik bağlılığını kullanarak onları sürekli olarak imparatorluğun ve İslâm'ın yüceltilmesini hedefleyen anlamsız hizmetlere koştuklarını ve bilimi özümsemelerine ve ilerleme kaydetmelerine engel olduklarını iddia etmişlerdir.

Bugün bu görüşler sayıları gittikçe artan aydınlar tarafından çürütülmektedir. Çünkü Avrupa'yı ve gerçek entelektüel mirasını sağlıklı bir şekilde kavramış olmaları kendi yakın tarihlerini serbestçe ve objektif bir şekilde yeniden gözden geçirmelerini ve Osmanlı-İslâm geçmişi olmadan bugün tanıdığımız şekliyle bir Türk milletini hiçbir zaman ortaya çıkmış olamayacağı sonucuna varmalarını sağlamıştır. Bu yeni yaklaşımlar Avrupa'nın damgasını taşır: Tabii sömürgeci Avrupa'nın değil, evrensel görüşlü, objektif ve hümanist Batı'nın. Türkiye bugün kendisine empoze edilen ve 1960'a kadar süren tarihî unutkanlık dönemine kıyasla çok daha modern ve Avrupalıdır, çünkü demok-

rasi sorgulama ve araştırma özgürlüğünün önündeki engelleri kaldırmış ve Türkleri tarihî Osmanlı-İslâm köklerini aramaya sevk etmiştir. Bu arayış ne geçmişe özlemin sonucuydu, ne de modernliğin ve Atatürk'ün inkârı anlamını taşıyordu; Türklerin kimliğinin kaynaklarına yönelen sağlıklı bir araştırma ve sorgulamaydı. Bugün Türkiye'de sorulan temel sorulardan biri, “Biz kimiz?” veya “Biz nasıl bir milletiz?” sorularıdır. Bu arayışın had bir safhaya gelişi, birkaç kuşak Türk'ün Avrupa'yı ve medeniyetini benimsemelerinden ve onun bir parçası olduğuna inanmalarından, fakat buna rağmen başlangıçta Avrupa Birliği'ne (belki de Müslüman olduklarından dolayı) alınmamalarından sonraya rastlar. (Türkiye'nin adaylığı ancak 1999'da, o da büyük baslıklardan ve AB'nin katı giriş şartlarını yerine getireceğine söz vermesinden sonra kabul edilmiştir.)

Merhum Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal pek okunmayan kitabında, Türklerin Avrupalı olduklarını kuvvetli delillerle ispat etmeye çalışmıştır. Sezgisi doğrudu ama bu amacını gerçekleştirmek için gerekli entelektüel yetiştirme tarzından ve birikimden yoksundu. Gerçekten, Türk tarihini şartlandıran Avrupa ile sürekli bir etkileşim içinde bulunmuş olmasıdır ve bu da Müslüman kalan “yeni bir Türk insanının” yetiştirilmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Başkaları daha değişik kuramlar geliştirerek Osmanlıların Türk etnik kökenlerini kabul etmediklerini, çünkü eski Türklerin göçebe ve kabile hayatını hor gördüklerini ve ayrıca otantik etnik Türk kabileleri sayılan Türkmen-Oğuzlarla Osmanlı yönetimi arasında sürekli bir çatışma bulunduğunu iddia etmişlerdir.<sup>1</sup>

## JÖN TÜRKLER VE OSMANLILIK

Sultan Abdülhamid'in istibdat rejiminin yıkılışı ve Türk milliyetçiliğinin doğuşu 1908 Jön Türk İhtilâli'ne atfedilmiştir.<sup>2</sup> Başta Paris ve Ce-

- 1 Turgut Özal, *Turkey in Europe and Europe in Turkey* (Lefkoşe, Kıbrıs, 1991). Türklerin kendi kendilerini nasıl gördükleri için bkz. Demirtaş Ceyhan, *Ah Şu Biz "Karabrykl" Türkler* (İstanbul, 1992). Özal'ın kitabı aslında Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın memurları tarafından yazılmış, ancak kendisi tarafından yakından gözden geçirilmiştir.
- 2 İhtilâd ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin oluşumunu ve liderlerinin felsefesini ayrıntılı bir biçimde inceleyen en son kitap için bkz. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York,

popülizm- mahallî kültürle özdeşleşmeyi de beraberinde getiriyordu ki bu da etnikti. Folklor ve ikinci sınıf Türk şairlerinin tercih ettiği *hece* veznine duyulan ilgi Arap nazım vezni olan *aruz*'u itibardan düşürdü. Nitekim, *hece* sonunda Türkçenin "millî" vezni olarak kabul edildi. Bu doğal gibi görünen dilsel ve edebî gelişmenin arkasında patlayıcı siyasi potansiyeli olan bir sosyal faktör yatıyordu. Konuşma Türkçesini destekleyenler çok geçmeden kültürel hemşerileri olan köy ve kasaba "Türklerinin" aynı zamanda nüfusun en az gelişmiş kesimi olduğunun farkına vardılar. Her halükârda, hükümetten hoşnutsuzluk ve Abdülhamid'in istibdatına gittikçe dozu artan eleştiriler karşısında, Türk dili ve edebiyatına duyulan ilgi ve merak bir çeşit edebî popülizm veya Osmanlılık ile İslâmcılığın uygun bir legalite kılıfı oluşturduğu üst siyasi düzen ve mutlakiyetin dolaylı bir eleştirisi şekline bürünmüştü. Böylece, Türklerle Araplar arasındaki siyasi yabancılaşma, yükselen Türk etnik folk kültürü ile kurulu düzenin Arapların hoşuna giden kozmopolit İslâm-Osmanlı (Türk) kültürü arasında ortaya çıkan ve gittikçe artan gerginliklerin bir sonucu olmuştur. Yaşayan toplumu konu alan konuşma Türkçesini ve modern edebiyatı savunmak kurulu düzeni eleştirmenin uygun bir aracı oldu ve son tahlilde etnik Türk milliyetçiliğinin davasını destekledi. Halk ve elit kültürleri arasındaki karmaşık ve muğlak çatışmayı ancak devlet çözebilirdi ve nitekim sonunda Türklerin yanında yer alarak çözdü. Devlet, modern bir millet yaratmak için şart olan çeşitli etnik, kültürel ve tarihî faktörleri bir araya getirerek bir Türk milleti yaratmaya karar vermek suretiyle Arap milliyetçiliğini açığa çıkarmak zorunda bırakmıştır.

### JÖN TÜRK İHTİLALİ

Jön Türkler 1908'de anayasal düzeni yeniden kurmak ve imparatorluk toprakları üzerinde yaşayan bütün etnik gruplara ifade özgürlüğü tanıyarak bunu "ideal" bir şekilde yapmak amacıyla iktidara gelmiştir. Araplar, Hıristiyanlar ve Yahudiler Osmanlılığı kendilerini istedikleri gibi geliştirmek ve eninde sonunda özerklik kazanmak için bir vasıta olarak algıladılar. Jön Türkler çok geçmeden bu "Osmanlılık-

ğın" Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun parçalanmasına ve tasfiyesine yol açacağını ve "Türlere" kalsa kalsa çok az bir toprak kalacağını anladılar. Böyle olunca da Jön Türkler (İttihadçılara) ne yönetecekleri bir ülke ne de icra edecekleri bir meslek kalacaktı! (Sultan ile İtilaf Devletleri arasında imzalanan 1920 Sevr Antlaşması işte tam bunu yaptı ve Türklerle sadece Anadolu'nun kuzeybatı köşesini bıraktı.) Jön Türkler Osmanlılığın kendilerine özgü bir versiyonunu geliştirerek Arnavutları, Rumları ve diğer küçük grupları yavaş yavaş Türkleştirilmekte olan tek bir homojen Osmanlı milleti içinde birleştirmeye çalıştı. Jön Türkler başlangıçta Sait ve Kâmil Paşa'lar gibi idarî yetenekleri ve Abdülhamid'e karşı tavırlarıyla tanınmış eski zaman bürokratlarıyla birlikte hükmettiklerinden ve bu paşaları sadrazam yaptıklarından, Osmanlı eski kodamanları nüfuzlarının bir kısmını muhafaza edebildiler ve bu Jön Türklerin 1912 seçimleriyle iktidardan uzaklaştırılmalarına kadar devam etti. Ocak 1913'te Jön Türkler Balkan Harbi yenilgisinden sonra düzenledikleri bir darbeyle yeniden iktidara geldiler. Yeni hükümet devletin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ayakta kalmasının ve etnik Türklerin kaderinin bir Türk çekirdeğinin, yani etnik kökenine bakılmaksızın Türklükle özdeşleşmiş bir grubun yaratılmasına ve devletin belkemiğini oluşturmasına karar verdi. Ama henüz bu görevi üstlenecek tam oluşmuş bir Türk milleti olmadığından, İttihad ve Terakki liderleri ellerindeki bütün devlet imkânlarını kullanarak bunu yaratmaya karar verdiler. Devlet artık İslâm veya Osmanlı ideallerine değil Türk milletine (henüz Osmanlılık ve İslâmcılık kisvesi altında olsa da) hizmet edecek ve bu millet ortak bir İslâm-Osmanlı deneyimini paylaşan ve Anadolu'da yaşayan grupların bir karışımından oluşacaktı. Asırlık iktidar ve otorite gelenekleri akşamdan sabaha bir kenara itilmiş ve Osmanlı-İslâm kalıbından bir Türk milleti çıkarılmıştı. Milliyetçiliğin bir Müslüman eleştirmeni Müslüman devletin değişen rolünü en güzel şekilde ifade etmiştir: "Milliyetçilik... tek bir kaynaktan aşılmalıdır: siyasi iktidarın kontrol ve manipülasyonu. Anlaşılmaması gereken nokta şudur ki Devlet her toplumda iyinin de kötünün de tek ve nihai kaynağıdır...Müslüman Devleti İslâm'ın temel ve ayrılmaz

sözde Rusya Türklerinin birliğine karşı çıktığı için ve son olarak da bunun için gerekli şartları haiz olmadığı halde üniversitede öğretim üyeliği yaptığı için amansızca eleştirildi. Ancak şunu belirtmek gerekir ki, Togan'ın tarih araştırmasına ileri ve olgun yaklaşımını alkışlayarak ona 1926'da İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde görev veren Türkiye'nin önde gelen Türk tarihçisi Mehmed Fuad Köprülü olmuştur. Togan'ın asıl "kabahati", konferansa katılmak isteyenlere doldurmaları için verilen anket formlarını eleştirmiş olmasıydı. Togan bu konferansın tartışmalı tarihî metodolojisine itiraz etmiş ve yeni rejim tarafından yasa dışı ilan edilmiş olan Nakşibendileri oldukça olumlu bir tarzda tasvir etmişti. Sonradan Togan, üniversitedeki görevinden istifa etti ve Almanya'ya giderek doktorasını tamamladı ve fahri profesör oldu. 1939'da Türkiye'ye dönerek önde gelen tarihçilerden biri olarak kabul gördü. Aslen Başkır olan Togan bir süre için Bolşevik İhtilali'nin ilerici yönlerine sıcak baktı ve Başkırda'nın başkanı olarak 1917 Müslüman Kongresinde Kazan'ın liderliği altında birleşik bir Türk-İslâm varlığını kabul etmedi. Togan bölgesel özerklik lehindeydi ve Başkırda ile diğer Türkî bölgelerin bağımsızlığını istiyordu. Tarihin ne acı bir cilvesidir ki Togan 1944'te tutuklanarak "pan-Türkçü" ve "ırkçı" olmakla suçlanıp on yıl hapse mahkûm edilmiştir.<sup>28</sup>

Bu arada Charles Seignobos'un (1854-1942) siyasi tarih üzerine çalışmaları -Fransız okulları için yazdığı kolay anlaşılır ders kitaplarında sosyal ve ekonomik tarihe önem verdi- Türkçeye çevrilip aydınlar arasında rağbet gördükçe, siyasi tarih ve millî tarih metodolojisine ilgi de arttı. Devlet nihayet araya girerek Türklere kim olduklarını söyledi, "millî" kökenlerinin Orta Asya'da olduğunu anlattı. Tarihin şartlandığı ve halkın kabul ettiği, kendine has güçlü özellikleri olan bir Türkük ile devletin yapay olarak algıladığı ve yorumladığı etnik kimlik ara-

sında uzun süreden beri var olan çatışma nihayet açığa çıkmıştı. Bu çatışma hâlâ laikliğe karşı dinî irtica kisvesi altında devam etmektedir.

## JÖN TÜRKLER VE TÜRKLÜK

Jön Türklerin "Türkçü" politikası önce Abdülhamid'in saltanatı döneminde "Türklük" ile ilgili entelektüel ve lengüistik gelişmelerin ışığı altında değerlendirilmelidir. Abdülhamid'in tahttan indirilmesi ve Jön Türklerin iktidara gelmesi etnik Türklüğün gelişmesine birdenbire son vermedi. Hükümetin arkasındaki asıl güç olan İttihad ve Terakki henüz Türkçülüğü bir ideoloji olarak benimsememiş ve hattâ desteklememişti. Ne de olsa, Jön Türk "İhtilâlî" "millî bir ihtilâl olarak başlamadı. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, Avrupa'da sürgünde olan Jön Türkler daha ziyade Anayasayı yeniden uygulayarak ve parlamentoyu yeniden toplantıya çağırarak Osmanlı birliğini güçlendirmek peşindeydiler. Partilerinin adı bile -İttihad (yani Osmanlıların birleşmesi) ve Terakki (yani ülkenin ilerlemesi)- Osmanlı siyasi ve felsefî pozitivist görüşlerini ifade ediyordu. Osmanlılığı ve İslâmcılığı hiçbir zaman bir kenara atmadılar, Osmanlılıkları suyuna tirit olsa bile... Jön Türklerin politikasını etkileyen ve sonunda Türklüğü siyasallaştırmalarına yol açan daha temel faktör devletçilik-bireyselcilik (liberalizm) veya merkezîyetçilik/adem-i merkezîyetçilik kavgasıydı. Bu konu daha önce de Namık Kemal ve Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin modernist yazılarında da ele alınmıştı. Damat Celâleddin Paşa ile Abdülhamid'in kızkardeşi Seniha Sultan'ın oğlu olan Prens Sabahaddin (1899'da ailece Avrupa'ya kaçarak ölmek üzere olan İttihad ve Terakki'yi canlandırdılar) adem-i merkezîyet, liberalizm ve özel teşebbüsü savunan grubun lideriydi; *Meşveret*'i çıkaran Ahmed Rıza'nın başını çektiği grup ise devletçiliği ve pozitivismi savunuyordu. Ahmed Rıza bir miktar etnik bilinç sergilemesine rağmen -bazıları kendisini yalnız olarak "Türk" milliyetçisi sayarlar- Türklüğü Osmanlılığının ve devletçiliğinin gizli bir parçasından ibaret. Dışardaki Türkler başlangıçta milliyetçilikle pek ilgilenmediler. Avrupa'daki belli başlı düşünce akımlarının hepsi üzerine uzun boylu yazıp çizdiler, ama kendi etnik "Türklükleri" üzerine tartışmaya gir-

28 Bkz. Tuncer Baykara, *Zeki Velidi Togan* (Ankara, 1989); Zeki Velidi Togan, *Tarihî Usul*, 2. baskı (İstanbul, 1969); Togan, *Türklüğün Mukadderatı Üzerine* (İstanbul, 1977); ve Togan, *Hatıralar* (İstanbul, 1969). Togan'ın bibliyografyasında 337 kitap adı vardır. 1908-öncesi dönem için bkz. Ş. H. Takizade, "Les Courants politiques dans la Turquie," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 21 (19113): 179-222.

### Sonuç Yerine

Konuya ilişkin bu nitelikte bir devletler uygulamasının, Genel Kurul kararı ile öngörülen çerçevede olduğu, dolayısıyla bir teamül kuralının bulunduğu iddia edilemez. O halde, uydular aracılığıyla yürütülen uzaktan algılama faaliyetlerinin günümüzdeki düzeni, İlkeler kararında yer verilen ve zaten, yerleşik uluslararası uzay hukukunun birer beyanı niteliğindeki ilkeleri dışında, hukuksal anlamda oluşmuş değildir.

## Postelinde → KARL SÜSSHEIM-İBRAHİM TEMO MEKTUPLAŞMASI VE JÖN TÜRK HAREKETİ\* ❄

M.Şükrü HANIOĞLU

### I.Temo'nun Mektupları ve Önemi

Ünlü müsteşrik Karl Süsseim'in evrakı, son dönem Osmanlı-Türk tarihinin araştırılması bakımından da büyük önem taşımaktadır. Profesör Barbara Flemming, 1968 yılında Süsseim evrakının varlığına işaret etmiş<sup>1</sup>, daha sonra Wiesbaden ve Princeton'da yapılan bilimsel kongrelerde Süsseim'in evrakını kullanmış ve tanıtmış, 1979 yılında ise Süsseim üzerine yazdığı ve müsteşrik hakkında elde bulunan en önemli biyografi olan makalesi ile konuya dikkat çekmiştir<sup>2</sup>. Son olarak ise konu üzerinde detaylı bir çalışmayı sürdüren Jan Schmidt, sözkonusu evrak üzerine dikkat çekici bir tebliğini neşretmiştir<sup>3</sup>.

1878 yılında Nürnberg'de doğan Süsseim, 1902-1906 yılları arasında burslu öğrenci olarak İstanbul'da yaşamış, Doğu illeri üzerine olan bilgisini geliştirmesinin yanısıra, *al-Urada fi'l-hikayat as-Salçukiya*'nın neşri üzerine çalışmalarını sürdürmüştür. Jön Türk İhtilâli sırasında Kahire'de bulunan Süsseim, burada Jön Türk hareketinin müessislerinden, fakat o dönemde siyasal faaliyet bakımından önemli rol oynamayan Doktor Abdullah Cevdet Bey ile tanışmış ve dostlukları, *İctihad* sahibinin 1932 yılındaki vefatına kadar sürmüştür. 1911 Ekim ayında Münih Üniversitesi Felsefe Fakültesi'ne Müslüman Halklar Tarihi ve Türk Dili, Privatdozent'i olarak tayin olan Süsseim, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Münih Postüberwachung'un da mütercim kadrosunda çalışmış, savaşın bitiminden bir yıl sonra ise üniversitesinde profesörlüğe yükselerek dersler vermeyi sürdürmüştür. 1933 yılında Nasyonal-Sosyalistlerin iktidara gelmesi sonucunda pek çok diğer Yahudi profesör ile birlikte Süsseim da görevinden kovulmuş, 1941'de ise İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi'ne ge-

- M.Şükrü HANIOĞLU-İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi
- Bu belge konusunda yardımlarını esirgemeyen Prof. Dr. Barbara Flemming'e teşekkür borçluyum.
- 1 Bkz. Barbara Flemming, "Türkische Handschriften in Deutschland," *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band. XIII, 1 (Wiesbaden: 1968). Bu malzeme ile ilgili değerlendirme için ayrıca bkz. Hanna Sohrweide, "Türkische Handschriften und einige in den Handschriften enthaltene persische und Arabische Werke," *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band. XIII, 3 (Wiesbaden: 1974).
- 2 Barbara Flemming, "Zum 100. Geburtstag 21. Juni 1878/1978: Karl Süsseim 1878-1947," *Der Islam*, 56(1979), ss.1-9.
- 3 Jan Schmidt, "The Importance of Süsseim Papers For Modern Turkish History," *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Republic*, ed.by. E.van Donzel, (Leiden: 1989), ss.107-118.

*Almayspek*  
*güç*  
*to h*

**SHÜKRÜ** (i.e. **SHÜKRİ**) **BEY**, Ahmed (1875-1926), son of Ibrāhīm, Young Turk politician, was born in Kastamonu, near the Black Sea, into a poor family.

Shükrü graduated from the teachers' training college in Istanbul and started out on a career in education, serving both as a teacher himself and as director of education. He joined the underground opposition movement of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihād ve Terakkî Cem'iyeti* [q.v.]) before the constitutional revolution of July 1908. After the revolution, he served as the district governor of Siroz [q.v.] and spent some time at the home office, but he came to the fore as Minister of Education from 1913 to 1918. During this time he was very successful in raising the number of schools (including those for girls) and enlarging and improving the University and the teachers' training establishments (from 1915 onwards, with the help of German specialists). He also devoted much attention to the publishing of teaching materials. He came into conflict with the *Sheykh* al-Islām *Khayrī Efendi* when he tried to unify all education under the jurisdiction of his ministry and put an end to the independent status of the *Atokāf* schools, but gradually got his way. Some enlightened Ottoman educators such as *Khālide Edib* (*Adıvar*) accused him of being interested in quantity, i.e. in raising the number of pupils, rather than in quality.

After the First World War, he was among the first prominent Young Turks to be deported by the British, first to Lemnos (May-September 1919) and thence to Malta, for internment there. Together with fifteen others, he escaped in September 1921 and made his way back to Turkey. After his return, he first served on the provincial council in Izmit and was then appointed governor of Trabzon province by the nationalist leadership in Ankara. In April 1923 he played a prominent role in the attempts of a group of former Unionists led by *Qara Kemāl*, the former party boss in Istanbul, to revive the C.U.P., which had been disbanded in 1918. Nevertheless, in August 1923 he was elected to the second Grand National Assembly as representative of Izmit in the interest of *Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paṣhā's* People's Party (*Halk Fırkası*).

In November 1924 he resigned from this party to be among the founders of the opposition Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkīperwer Djumhuriyyet Fırkası*), which was closed down by the Kemālist government in June 1925. In 1926 he was among those accused of planning to assassinate the President of the republic. He was tried and convicted by the Independence Tribunal and hanged in Izmir on 13 July 1926.

*Bibliography*: Halide Edib [*Adıvar*], *The memoirs of Halide Edib*, London 1926; İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları 1920-1973*, Ankara 1973; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Malta sürgünleri*, Istanbul 1976; Hakkı Devrim *et alii* (eds.), *Türkiye 1923-1973 ansiklopedisi*, iii, Istanbul 1973; Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl mahkemeleri*, Izmir 1988. (E.J. ZÜRCHER)

**SHÜL**. 1. The name of a land and a city in China mentioned in the mediaeval Arabic geographer *Qudāma b. Dja'far* [q.v.], 264, here borrowing material from the lost part of his predecessor Ibn *Khurradādhbih* [q.v.]. According to *Qudāma*, Alexander the Great, in company with the Emperor of China, went northwards from China and conquered the land of *Shül*, founding there two cities, *Kh.mdān* and *Shül*, and ordering the Chinese ruler to place a garrison (*rābita*) of his troops in the latter place.

*Khumdān* is well-attested in other Islamic sources (e.g. *Gardīzī*; *Marwāzī*, tr. Minorsky, 25-6, comm. 71,

84), and usually identified with the capital of the T'ang dynasty, Č'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu, lying on the Weiho, a right-bank affluent of the Huang-ho and already mentioned in a 6th century Byzantine source as *Χουμαδάν* or *Χουβδάν*, cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 84, comm. 229, 231. *Shül*, however, has not been satisfactorily identified. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 90, and *Erānshahr*, 316, saw in it Turkish *çöl* "steppe, plain, desert", a translation of Chinese *sa-čü* "sandy settlement", the *Sachiu* in Tangut of Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*<sup>3</sup>, i, 203, 206). But according to Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 420, *çöl* is a loanword from Mongolian not traceable in Turkish before the Čaghatay period. One might conceivably identify *Shül* with the *Čülig* of the Orkhon [q.v.] inscriptions, a country listed as one which sent representatives to the Kaghan *Ishtemi's* funeral, and, if the list is in geographical order, *Čülig* lay between Korea and China (Clauson, *loc. cit.*). Finally, one may remark that the suggestion at the end of the *EI*<sup>1</sup> art. *shül* that the *Shül* of the Arab geographers may refer to a colony of Soghdians is dubious; one might more pertinently mention that the town of *Kāshghar* [q.v.] in eastern Turkestan appears as *Shu-lê* in Chinese and *Shulig* in Tibetan (cf. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, comm. 280, who also notes at 225 various emendations that have been made of the reading *sh.w.l*). It seems impossible to reach any certainty regarding the whole question.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. A Lur tribe of southern Persia [see *SHÜLISTÂN*].

**SHÜLISTÂN**, literally, "land of the *Shül*" [see *SHÜL*. 1. above], a district, formerly a *bulūk*, in the southern Persian province of *Fārs*.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the *Shül*, the period of their rule (from the 7th/13th centuries), and the period of its occupation by the *Mamassanī* Lurs about the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

During the *Sāsānid* period, the district was included in the *kūra* of *Shāpūr-khūra*. The founding of its capital *Nawbandagan* (*Nawbandjān*) is attributed to *Shāpūr I*. This important town situated on the road from *Fārs* to *Khūzistān* was taken by 'Uṯmān b. Abi 'l-'Aṣ in 23/643 (Ibn al-Aṯhīr, iii, 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians and geographers [see further, *NAWBANDAJĀN*]. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river *Zohra*, which flows through *Zaydūn* and *Hindiyan*. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (151) the river of *Nawbandjān* bears the name *Kh'ābdān*. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsiri*, ii, 326; the principal water-course comes from the direction of *Ardakān* and is now called *Āb-i Fahliyan* or *Āb-i shūr*.

The description of *Fārs* (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of the Atabeg *Čāwulī* (early 6th/12th century) does not yet know the expression *Shūlistān*, that is to say, "the country of the *Shül*". This last tribe at first inhabited *Luristān* [q.v.], of which the half was under its rule about 300/912. The great chief (*pišhwā*) of the *Shül* was *Sayf al-Dīn Mākān Rūzbihānī*, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the *Sāsānids*. We may here mention that the *Rūzbihānī* figure among the Lur tribes. At the same time as this *pišhwā*, *Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī* mentions a governor (*hākīm*) of the *wilāyat* of the *Shül*, who was called *Nadīm al-Dīn*. From the year 500/1106, the Kurd tribes and others from *Djabal*

*TMM*  
*Jan Ford*  
*Siyasetcisi*

Author: AUDEH, NABEEL

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Title: THE IDEOLOGICAL USES OF HISTORY AND THE YOUNG TURKS AS A PROBLEM FOR HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION: CONSIDERATIONS OF CLASS, RACE, AND EMPIRE IN BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE YOUNG TURKS, 1908-1918. (VOLUMES I AND II)

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Abstract: This study examines British Foreign Office alienation from the Turks during the Ottoman Empire's constitutional period from 1908 to 1918. It contends that England's diplomatic establishment tended to regard the Ottoman Empire, along with the British Empire's colonial holdings in the East, as the patrimony of the English gentleman abroad. It demonstrates that this elitist outlook generated the close parallel which existed between attitudes inspired by class and by race among British policy-makers in this period. It concludes that peculiarly British considerations of class, race, and empire played an important ideological role in the articulation and perpetuation of an essentially confrontational, imperialist Foreign Office policy posture towards the Young Turks during the years under review. Finally, an analysis of English-language scholarship on the Young Turk years reveals the intimate relationship existing between ideology and historiography, and, consequently, the fact that this extremely seminal period in Middle Eastern history remains one of the most problematic for purposes of objective historical interpretation.

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Stojan Makedonski

## LE REGIME JEUNE-TURC ET LES DEUXIEMES ELECTIONS PARLEMENTAIRES DE 1912 EN MACEDOINE ET THRACE ORIENTALE

Le problème des élections parlementaires de 1912 en Macédoine et en Thrace orientale se trouve étroitement lié au régime jeune-turc. Ce problème revêt une importance essentielle sur l'attitude de celui-ci envers les populations non turques de l'Empire et en particulier envers la population bulgare.

Dès l'époque des premières élections parlementaires de 1908,<sup>1</sup> immédiatement après la révolution jeune-turque, le parti „Union et Progrès“ (İttihad ve terakki),<sup>2</sup> qui cependant ne possédait pas le contrôle absolu du pouvoir, réussit grâce à de nombreuses violations de la Loi, surtout par le découpage des circonscriptions électorales,<sup>3</sup> à empêcher l'élection de députés bulgares proportionnellement à l'importance numérique de la nation bulgare.

Comme résultat de ces élections, le parti „Union et Progrès“ s'assura une majorité absolue au parlement nouvellement élu: 150 des 288 députés élus étaient membres de ce parti.<sup>4</sup>

Durant la période s'étalant entre l'ouverture du Parlement, le 2 novembre 1908, et sa clôture, le 5 janvier 1912,<sup>5</sup> se produisirent des événements qui se répercutèrent sur le cours de l'activité parlementaire. Le parti jeune-turc „Union et Progrès“ essaya de réaliser par voie législative une certaine partie des revendications inscrites à son programme correspondant le mieux aux conceptions de ses dirigeants.

Les tout premiers mois de l'existence du nouveau régime indiquaient déjà que les personnalités dirigeantes du parti n'avaient guère l'intention de tenir leurs engagements sur une série de questions importantes et essentielles à l'existence de l'Empire, telles les questions nationale, agraire, ouvrière et autres. Cela s'expliquait par le fait que les Jeunes-Turcs reflétaient objectivement les intérêts de la bourgeoisie turque et de l'aristocratie foncière, et que la direction du parti se trouvait aux mains d'officiers, de fonctionnaires, de gros propriétaires fonciers et de représentants de l'intelligentsia bourgeoise.<sup>6</sup> Le mouvement jeune-turc revêtait un caractère bourgeois et nationaliste étroit, poursuivant un objectif: rénover et renforcer l'Empire ottoman et non pas libérer les nationalités qui se trouvaient en son sein.<sup>7</sup> C'est précisément cette ligne de conduite qui rétrécissait davantage encore la base sociale du

mouvement. Celui-ci fut critiqué par les groupements de la réaction féodale et clérical, réaction qui percevait dans ses initiatives insignifiantes dirigées contre le régime absolu du sultan Abdul-Hamid II, une atteinte aux fondements séculaires de l'Empire.

Dès la fin de 1908, une opposition se forma au parlement contre la majorité jeune-turque à la tête de laquelle se trouvait le parti Ahrar, formé des représentants des cercles féodaux à orientation nettement proanglaise.<sup>8</sup>

C'est des éléments réactionnaires extrémistes, partisans de l'ancien régime et adversaires de la Constitution, que fut formé le parti „Union des Musulmans“ (İttihad ve Mohammedi). L'organe de ce parti, le journal „Volkan“ qui paraissait sous la rédaction de Vehdeti efendi, menait une campagne acharnée contre les Jeunes-Turcs.

Dès l'ouverture du Parlement, l'activité des Jeunes-Turcs qui y étaient en majorité fut entravée par l'opposition toujours croissante. La vote de la Loi sur la Presse qui en limitait la liberté<sup>9</sup> exacerba la lutte entre les Jeunes-Turcs et la réaction extrémiste de droite qui atteignit à son point culminant le 13 avril 1909. Les émeutes contre-révolutionnaires qui, à l'instigation des partisans du sultan, se déclenchèrent à cette date, aboutirent, comme on le sait, au détronement d'Abdul-Hamid II.

L'activité des Jeunes-Turcs au Parlement s'orienta désormais vers la consolidation de leur pouvoir. Cela appert du vote de la Loi sur la promotion des grades, ouvrant ainsi la voie aux jeunes officiers, principal appui des Jeunes-Turcs. Rien ne fut cependant entrepris au sujet d'un des problèmes le plus important — le problème agraire. Dans son élaboration, en dépit de ses promesses antérieures à la révolution, le parti des Jeunes-Turcs s'inspirait des intérêts des gros propriétaires fonciers. La grande propriété foncière fut maintenue. Le régime féodal était toujours en vigueur dans les campagnes turques.<sup>10</sup> Sous la pression de la gauche de l'Organisation révolutionnaire intérieure macédonienne et de Thrace orientale (VMORO), les Jeunes-Turcs avaient consenti en 1908 à inclure dans leur programme la promesse de distribuer la terre aux paysans. Deux mois plus tard, cette promesse s'était déjà évanouie. La politique agraire des Jeunes-Turcs s'était simplement limitée à substituer l'impôt en numéraire à l'oşur, dîme sur les produits agricoles.<sup>11</sup>

La politique réactionnaire des Jeunes-Turcs envers la population rurale en Macédoine se manifesta par l'expulsion de celle-ci des terres des çiftlikçi (gros propriétaires fonciers). Les paysans des villages de Maçukovo et de Bajalci, de la région de Gevgeli, ceux du village de Ilidzievo, région de Salonique, et d'ailleurs, furent chassés des terres qu'ils cultivaient. Dans de nombreux villages de la kaza de Voden, les paysans furent maltraités par les çiftlikçi et il leur fut interdit de travailler leurs terres. Des faits semblables se produisirent dans les régions de Serrès, Drama et Nevrokop.

Aussi le problème agraire demeura-t-il non réglé.<sup>12</sup>

Le même sort fut réservé à la question ouvrière. Les grèves renforcées d'août 1908 aboutirent à une solution non satisfaisante — le vote de la Loi sur l'interdiction des grèves dans les établissements d'utilité publique.<sup>13</sup> Avec cette Loi fut votée la

<sup>8</sup> Le parti Ahrar (des libéraux) ne réussit pas à se consolider comme force politique indépendante, voir Г. З. Алиев. *Op. cit.*, p. 130; А. Н. Мандельштам. *Младотурецкая держава*. М., 1915, с. 11—16.

<sup>9</sup> Ali Cevat Bey. İkinci meşrutiyetin ilâhi ve otuz bir mart hadisesi. Ankara, 1960, p. 179.

<sup>10</sup> Г. З. Алиев. *Op. cit.*, p. 161 sq.

<sup>11</sup> Ю. А. Петросян. *Младотурецкое движение*. М., 1972, с. 307.

<sup>12</sup> Хр. Христов. *Аграрните отношения в Македония през XIX в. и началото на XX в.* С., 1964, с. 176 sq.

<sup>13</sup> La loi fut adoptée par le gouvernement sous la pression des Jeunes-Turcs dès octobre 1908, voir А. А. Алимов. *Революция 1908 г. в Турции*. — Сб. Пробуждение Азии. М., 1935, с. 48—49; А. А. Гусейнов. *Профсоюзы в Турции*. М., 1975, с. 10.

VARIA TURCICA  
XIII

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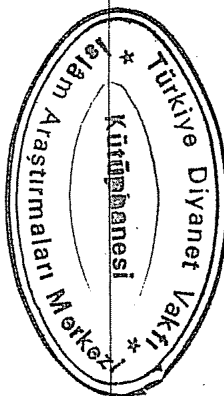
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perspective. They no longer simply are sudden expressions of political freedom, but rather appear as the logical consequence of a specific economic crisis.

A second possible interpretation deriving from the new data on economic conditions is less traditional and deviates significantly, both from the accepted Ottoman historiographical tradition and the other two schools. Food shortages and rising prices loaded that extra bit of straw onto the backs of Ottoman cultivators and workers. Long exploited by factors such as the tax system and foreign intervention, the populace responded to the 1907-1908 crises with increasing violence. In this view the bread riots so far reported, as well as the conscript revolts around Izmir, merely are dull reflections of a vast upsurge in unrest. As the summer of 1908 approached, uncertainty and popular violence increased. The officers, observers of these mass actions, feared a violent overthrow of the existing government and the consequent loss of their own position as members of the Ottoman elite. Hence, the officers intervened to prop up a government which they believed was too weak to avert the social revolution. The elites—the constitutional government and the CUP—then grappled with the popular forces and for a time were forced to allow strikes and some wage increases. The details are still unclear, but the skilled workers in many cases appear to have been satisfied by such raises. The workers thus were split; the elites then deployed army and naval forces, asserted their own interests, and imposed anti-strike legislation on the working population.

The unskilled elements among the workers continued to agitate, however, and their dissatisfaction helps explain events such as the April 1909 attempted counter-revolution. In this case the Sultan unsuccessfully sought to use the "Moslem fanatics and rude Kurds"—read disenchanting unskilled workers and day laborers—to regain power. The *ulema* abandoned Abdul Hamid and cooperated with the CUP to repress the counter-coup because the latter had proven its ability to defend elite interests. The elite then safely deposed the autocrat and, to maintain themselves in power, imposed stringent controls in the form of suspending the various parliamentary rights granted by the restoration of the Constitution.

I hope the preceding comments will serve to stimulate further inquiries into the nature, causes and consequences of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. It seems clear that we need to probe more deeply beneath the surface of accounts that explain political behaviour solely in modernist and/or religious terms. To date, these reports have been taken too literally and have proven to be unsatisfactory explanations. New, more penetrating questions are required if we are to perceive this late Ottoman revolution as the complex phenomenon it is, an event with a social, economic—as well as political—context and significance.



DONALD QUATAERT

WORKERS, PEASANTS AND ECONOMIC  
CHANGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1730-1914, s. 49-62. DN: 34760

## THE ECONOMIC CLIMATE OF THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908\*

This revolution did not come from below, from debased city mobs or ignorant peasantry, but from above, from all that is best in Turkey.<sup>1</sup> (1909).

It is a sign of the times that, whereas it has been impossible in the past to bring the Turkish masses into line against the throne, because to them it represented an intangible idol, semi-religious, semi-political, they have been awakened by their suffering into a nation of solidarity, the underlying element of which is a new-born spirit of criticism in regard to the Sultan-Caliph.<sup>2</sup> (September 1908)

On a dit partout—et tout le monde l'a cru—que le *blé* faisait absolument défaut en Turquie et que la famine était à nos portes.<sup>3</sup> (January 1908)

A profound disequilibrium, arising from the industrialization of Europe and its quest for raw materials, foodstuffs and markets, confounded the world in the early 20th century. From a global perspective the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, as well as World War I, are European indicators of a more widespread inability among social and political systems of the underdeveloped states to absorb the onrush of economic and technological change. In China, Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Mexico, outbreaks of violence, varying in intensity and outcome, proclaimed the universality of the strains accompanying the deepening European economic penetration of the world.

\*My thanks to Leo Grebler, Andreas Tietze and the colloquium group of the University of Houston History Department for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. I also am grateful to the staffs of the Deutsche Bank Archives (Frankfurt/M), Zentrales Staatsarchiv (Potsdam and Merseburg), and the Başbakanlık Arşivi (Istanbul) for their assistance and cooperation. A version of this paper was presented to the 1978 Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association.

<sup>1</sup>E.F. Knight, *The Awakening of Turkey. A History of the Turkish Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1909), 114.

<sup>2</sup>A. Rustem Bey de Bilinski, "The Turkish Revolution," *The Nineteenth Century and After*, LXIV, September, 1908, 354.

<sup>3</sup>*Revue commerciale du Levant*, bulletin mensuel de la chambre de commerce française de Constantinople (hereafter *Revue*), Nr. 250, 1/1/1908, 192.

begründet

von

**Klaus Schwarz**

herausgegeben

von

**Gerd Winkelhane**

**Sabine Prätor**

## **Der arabische Faktor in der jungtürkischen Politik**

**Eine Studie zum osmanischen Parlament  
der II. Konstitution (1908–1918)**

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Tas. No:	320.9560743 PRA.A

13 MART 2002

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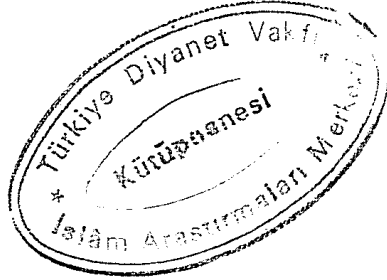
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İSVİÇRE'DE  
JÖN TÜRK BASINI VE  
TÜRK SİYASAL HAYATINA  
ETKİLERİ  
(1889 - 1902)

Muammer GÖCMEN	
Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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**KİTABEVİ**

Çatalçeşme Sk. No: 29/13 Cağaloğlu/İST.  
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Author: ERBILGUL, FAHRE ABDULLAH  
Title: ITALIAN COLONIALISM, THE YOUNG TURKS AND THE LIBYAN RESISTANCE,  
1908-1918  
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- Libya  
- Young Turk

Subject: HISTORY, MIDDLE EASTERN (0333); HISTORY, EUROPE (0335)  
Abstract: This dissertation is intended to balance the existing historical writings in favor of Italy by emphasizing the Arab and Ottoman sides that were often ignored and/or distorted by modern scholars. It provides new detail regarding the methods, and patterns of Italy's colonial activities in Libya and traces their various diplomatic, cultural, economic and military developments. Besides the Italian technological, financial and military superiority over the Ottoman state and the Arab inhabitants, Italy's colonial activities had the full support of the big European powers. Italy also received indirect assistance when the First Balkan war was declared and received further assistance during World War I when the Franco-German camp drew a portion of the resistance into their conflict with the British over Egypt and gave the desperate Italian troops in Cyrenaica a breathing room. The study found that Italy's colonial holdings in 1918 were much smaller than those of the initial stage of the Italian landings on the Libyan coast during 1911-1912. This was the result of a determined Arab resistance against Italian colonialism. Although official Ottoman attitudes and responses towards Italy's activities in Libya were colored by weakness, moderation, indifference and/or political opportunism, the study attributes the Libyan resistance as well as its continuity to a number of interacting factors. They included the local military traditions, the civil and military achievements of the Ottoman system, the short lived Arab-Turkish cooperation of 1911-1912, the cultural and ethnic unity of the local population, the flexibility of the Libyan social system and the simplicity of the domestic economy which was governed by a fluid ownership of land and water resources, mutual and cooperative practices and institutions, active involvement of all able individuals, rotational division of labor and responsibilities and lack of reliance on outside markets. The study further asserts that the Libyan resistance had an inseparably mixed ideology of religion and nationalism that manifested itself by the emergence of Arab nationalist ideas, the use of "God and the Fatherland" as the motto of the resistance, the division of military leadership between Arabs and Turks during 1911-1912, the continuity of the resistance after the Turkish withdrawal and the establishment of the Tripolitanian Republic in 1918. Considering the moral and material support of the Arab-Muslim people, it is perhaps fair to conclude that the Libyan resistance was the first real manifestation of the Arab national struggle against 20th century western colonialism. (Abstract shortened with permission of author.)

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Konu: 30 Aralık 1999 tarihli Seminer

Amsterdam 31 Aralık 1999

Hollanda Türk Akademisyenler Birliği Vakfı kurulduğu tarihten itibaren bir taraftan Hollanda'da kültürümüzün kurumlaşması diğer taraftanda da göçmenlik ve azınlıktan kaynaklanan problemler, müslüman azınlıklar ve İslam üzerine çeşitli çalışmalar gerçekleştirmektedir. Bu bağlamda literatürümüze 14 ayrı Hollandaca ve Türkçe yayın kazandırmıştır.

Yine bu doğrultuda Doç. Dr. Nadim Macit 30 Aralık 1999 tarihinde Vakfımızın üyelerine ve Türk Akademisyenlerine yönelik "Jön-Türklerin Din ve Siyaset Yorumları" konulu tartışmalı bir seminer vermiştir.

Saygılarımla,



Drs. Veyis Güngör  
Hollanda Türk Akademisyenler Birliği Vakfı  
Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı

## JÖN-TÜRKLERİN DİN VE SİYASET YORUMLARI

Doç.Dr. Nadim Macit\*

### 1. Dini Yorumun Dünyevileşmesi

Modernleşmenin başlaması ile birlikte geleneksel dini-siyasi kültürel kodun hem yapısal hem de işlevsel anlamda değişime uğradığı söylenebilir. Aslında bu durum, modernleşmenin tabiatına uygun bir gelişmedir. Artık din bizzat bilginin kaynağı değil, bilginin nesnesidir. Bir "anlam dünyası" olarak görülen din, kurgulanan bir yöntemle kişinin anladığı ve kendi yararına kullandığı şeydir. Dinin siyasete malzeme yapılmasının temelinde dinin bir bilgi nesnesi ve toplumsal birlikteliği sağlamada önemli bir aygıt olarak görülmesi yer almaktadır. Dini mitsel evrenin mahsülü gören A. Rıza, zihnen bu evrene ait olan kişileri yönlendirmek ve toplumsal birlikteliği sağlamak için, dinin toplumsal içeriğinden yararlanmanın önemini zaruretini dile getirir. Çünkü onun zihin dünyasında dinin yeri, tarihsel şartların ona ne ölçüde ihtiyaç duyduğu ile sınırlıdır. Tarihsel evrimini tamamlamamış bir toplum için ise din gereklidir.

Jön-Türk'lerin sık sık sünni ulemeden aldıkları fetvalar ile Sultan'ın yönetimden azledilmesi gerektiği fikrini yaymaları, dinin, siyasi bağlamdaki rolünü göstermesi açısından oldukça önemlidir. Bu zaman zaman yönetimin meşruiyetinin islami açıdan yitirilmiş olduğunu, hatta "Şura-yı Ümmet" in cumhuriyet olduğunu dile getiren makaleler ve fetva kitaplarının derlenmesi şeklinde de karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda İslam, mevcut siyasi düzeni çürütmek, önerilen siyasi görüşü meşrulaştırmak için kitleyi bazen muhalefete bazende kabule iten bir siyasal araç olarak işlev görmektedir.

Ulemanın, farklı öncüllerden hareket ederek yönetime getirdiği eleştiriler, farklı anlamları içerse de, sözün "kullanılması" dediğimiz bağlamda muhalefeti güçlendirmek için çok etkin bir araç olarak görülmüş ve fırka tarafından desteklenmiştir.<sup>1</sup> Osmanlı devlet sisteminde kendine özgü duruşu ve argümanları olan Ulema'nın "Cemiyet-i İlmiye" adı altında doğrudan İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin fikirlerini yansıtan bir muhalefet hareketi oluşturması mevcut yöntemin müstebid olduğuna inanmalarından dolayıdır.<sup>2</sup> Ulema ile İttihat ve Terakki arasındaki ilişki "bilim ve siyasi muhalefet" konularında yakın görüşleri paylaşmalarına dayanmaktadır. Ancak farklı versiyonları olan bu hareketin muhafazakar kanadında yer alanlar, bu teşkilat içinde giderek erimişlerdir. Çünkü, ittihatçıların dini temaları işleyen dergileri çıkarmadaki amaçları siyasi hareketi meşrulaştırmaya ve halktan gelen tepkileri önlemeye yönelik olduğunu gösteren önemli veriler bulunmaktadır. Daha sonraki süreçte ulema'nın sadece siyasi hareketi destekleyen konuma düşürülmesi bunun en önemli kanıtıdır.

\* Gazi Üniv. İlahiyat Fak. Öğretim Üyesi

1- Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılap tarihi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., Ank., 1991, c.1, Kısım:1 / s. 329

2-Jön- Türkler 1895 tarihinden itibaren çeşitli tarikatlarla ilişkiler kurarlar. Özellikle siyasi sistem tarafından muhalefete itilmiş tarikatlara yönelmeleri muhalefet hareketini güçlendirmek açısından iyi bir seçimdir. Bektaşiler, Melamiler, Mevleviler ve Bahailer ortak muhalefet hareketini oluşturmada öncelikli yere sahiptirler. Yine Tunali Hilmi Bey'in "İkinci Hutbe" ve benzeri risaleler ile devletin çok ciddi sıkıntılar içinde olduğu ve bu duruma düşmede ulemanın da rolünün olduğu dile getirilerek siyasi harekete destek vermenin dinen bağlayıcı ve zaruri olduğu özenle vurgulanmaktadır. Geleneksel dini düşüncede yer alan kavramlar ve bunların dayandıkları dini referanslar modern siyaset düşüncesinin verileri ile yeniden okunmakta ve II. Abdülhamid yönetiminin dine, dolayısıyla Allah'ın rızasına aykırı olduğu temellendirilmektedir. (Bkz. Y. Hikmet Bayur, a.g.y. ve dv.) Bu aykırı söylemlerin bir arada bulunması felsefi geleneğimizin ve otoriteye karşı olan tutkuñluğumuzun ne kadar problemli olduğunu göstermek açısından oldukça ilginçtir.

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ÉCONOMIE  
ET SOCIÉTÉS  
DANS  
L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN  
(Fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> - Début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)

Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (1<sup>er</sup> - 5 juillet 1980)  
Publiés par Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT et Paul DUMONT



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GABRIËL BAER

erupted in times of weakness of the central authority, but on the other hand, the central government became technically and militarily much more superior to the fellahs than it ever had been, and therefore the chances of the fellahs' success had diminished, if there ever had been such chances.

G.B.

Colloques internationaux du CNRS  
N° 601 - Économie et Sociétés dans l'Empire Ottoman  
(fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup>-début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)

Feroz AHMAD

THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE YOUNG TURKS  
1908-1918

Résumé. - La révolution constitutionnelle de juillet 1908 souleva de grands espoirs dans tout l'Empire ottoman et, en particulier, la paysannerie en attendait des réformes qui mettraient fin à l'exploitation dont elle faisait l'objet de la part des propriétaires terriens et de l'État. Cependant, les Jeunes Turcs n'entendaient pas modifier le *statu quo* dans les campagnes, car cette exploitation était précisément la base principale des revenus de l'État. De plus, les propriétaires avaient une puissance trop considérable pour qu'on pût les défier, en particulier dans un système parlementaire qu'ils contrôlaient. C'est pourquoi les Jeunes Turcs adoptèrent une ligne de moindre résistance et continuèrent la politique du Tanzimat en promulguant des lois qui renforçaient la position des propriétaires terriens et le contrôle qu'ils exerçaient sur la terre. Ils encouragèrent aussi les fermiers à utiliser les méthodes modernes et à augmenter leur production, tant pour les besoins intérieurs du pays que pour l'exportation. Mais les fermiers turcs se révélèrent incapables d'affronter la concurrence des blés américains et russes et refusèrent d'investir pour se moderniser, préférant se contenter des revenus de leurs fermages en maintenant les paysans dans un système de relations « féodales ». Comme les capitulations leur interdisaient de relever le prix du blé, les Jeunes Turcs essayèrent de développer le commerce intérieur en construisant des routes et des chemins de fer. Pour lutter contre la crise de la main-d'œuvre, ils encouragèrent la mécanisation et, pendant la guerre de 1914-1918, instaurèrent même le travail obligatoire. Le résultat en fut des souffrances accrues pour la paysannerie qui, plus que jamais, se trouva opprimée par l'État. Mais la guerre provoqua une demande considérable de produits agricoles et les nouveaux fermiers capitalistes, y puisant un accroissement de prospérité, parvinrent à constituer une puissante force politique, comme on le vit sous la République.

The Young Turk revolution of July 1908 aroused great hopes in town and country as revolutions, or radical changes of régime are apt to do. In both cases these hopes were largely disappointed as the governments of the new régime did little to satisfy the expectations of the urban poor or the peasantry. Not that the peasants were particularly demanding, judging by their complaints to Ahmed Şerif, a journalist who toured Anatolia during 1909-1910. He does not even mention any signs of peasant militancy, except indirectly when he relates incidents of banditry which were quite widespread in Anatolia during this period<sup>1</sup>. A year after the restoration of the Constitution, nothing seemed to have changed for the better. The reply of an old peasant, responding to Ahmed Şerif's questions as to how the State treated the peasantry, and whether they were happy with the newly restored liberty, deserves to be quoted at length as an illustration of the prevailing situation in the countryside:

Liberty [he said] was a word we only began to hear recently. But from what we have heard, and from some activities, we understand that it is something worthwhile... But we thought that everything could be rectified; taxes would be collected justly and peacefully [i.e. without coercion]; murderers and thieves in the village would be reformed; our children who go to military service would not be kept hungry and naked for years, but would be discharged in time; officials would

1. Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 1977, pp. 25-6, 156, 217 et 321. Originally published as articles in *Tanin*, an Istanbul daily, these articles were collected and published in 1910. Çetin Börekçi's 1977 edition is more complete as some articles were left out of the first edition.

Jön Törkler

# The Origins of Arab Nationalism

Edited by

Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson,  
Muhammad Muslih, and Reeve S. Simon

20 ARALIK 1993

Jon Türkler

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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## 30 C. Ernest Dawn

- maries of Young Turk policy and action in Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* 2:275, 282–83, 285–87, 300. It is the only treatment that has extensively utilized Turkish legal and political documents (I owe the references to Turkish laws and CUP programs in Tunaya cited here and in n. 71 to this work). For Turkish legislation (July 10, 1908 to November 1, 1909), see Adrien Biliotti and Ahmed Sedad, *Legislation Ottomane depuis le retablissement de la constitution 24 Djemazi-ul-ahir 1326–10 Juillet 1324/1908* (Paris: 1912), vol. 1.
73. *al-Muqtabas*, 1 (1324/1906): 430, 493–94; 4 (1327/1909): 30–31, 110–11, 502; 6 (1329/1911): 51–2; 7 (1330/1912): 402.
  74. *al-Muqtabas*, 5 (1328/1910): 512; 6 (1329/1911): 51–52, 7 (1330/1912): 30–31, 376.
  75. *al-Muqtabas*, 1 (1906): 432–33; 4 (1327/1909): 237–38, 6 (1329/1911): 52; 7 (1330/1912): 34.
  76. *al-Muqtabas*, 4 (1327/1909): 238–39; 5 (1328/1910): 512, 514–25; 6 (1329/1911): 52; 7 (1330/1912): 31, 55, 161–68.
  77. Hakim, *Dhikrayat al-Hakim*, 1:136. The poet is identified as Ibn al-Wardi.
  78. *al-Muqtabas*, 7 (1330/1912): 30.
  79. Mandel, *Arabs and Zionism*, pp. 85, 110–12, 130, 179, 219.
  80. Khalidi, *British Policy*, pp. 233–35, 264–65.

## TWO

### The Young Turks and the Arabs Before the Revolution of 1908

M. Şükrü Hanioglu

Of the many secret groups of revolutionaries that had relations with the Young Turks before the 1908 revolution, the most important were the various Arab committees. Yet contrary to popular belief, these relations did not produce positive results. Influenced by the ideas of Turkish nationalism and Ottomanism, even before 1908, Young Turkish groups considered the Arab committees to be separatist organizations. (See C. Ernest Dawn, this volume, on this point.) In their publications, the Young Turks claimed that all ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire were equal, that there was no difference between Arabs and Turks, and that it was normal for all groups to desire to develop their ethnic cultures.<sup>1</sup> But in the confidential correspondence of some of the important members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) the opposite attitude can be seen through the use of such derogatory phrases for Arabs as “the dogs of the Turkish nation” in the private letters of two key members of the Central Committee of the CUP, Dr. Nâzım Bey, one of the reorganizers of the CUP in 1906, and Ishak Sükûti, one of its five founding members.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that they were of the same religion as the Arabs was not significant to the Young Turks. They saw themselves as bringing civilization to the tribal society of the Arabs and protecting it against Western imperialism. Indeed, when an Arabic-language newspaper claimed that “North Africa was conquered

# ENCYCLOPAEDIC SURVEY OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

Vol. 19  
Islamic Influence in the World

*Edited by*  
**MOHAMED TAHER**

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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262 *Islamic Influence in the World*

eighteenth century. there seems to have been a number of Muslim musketeers and gunners besides some Portuguese, engaged as regulars in the Burmese army.

This period of Burmese Muslim history came to a close with the beginning of the sixteenth century and the advent of European traders in eastern waters. The Portuguese were the pioneers and in their train came the Dutch, the English and the French. With the beginning of their struggle for the Eastern trade, Muslim traders began to lose ground until by the beginning of the next century, their commerce had dwindled into insignificance. What little part they played in the commercial history of the subsequent age, will be related in another article.

MADDE YA İZLENİMLERDEN  
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## The Young Turks and the Arabs 1909-1912

TAGELSIR AHMAD HARRAN

[Abstract: The period 1909-1912 occupies an important place in the history of the Turkish-Arab relations. It marks the beginning of the end of four centuries of Ottoman rule in the Arab lands.]

From 1909 until 1911 the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), the political organ of the Young Turks, remained in effective control of the Ottoman Empire, and the centralist and repressive policies which its leaders tried to impose on the subject peoples of the Empire, created a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among those peoples and led some of them to seek alternatives to the Ottoman rule. The Arab grievances against the Young Turk regime stemmed from the pursuit of such policies. The failure of the Arab leaders, who were mainly Syrians, to redress these grievances was to generate a movement for administrative reforms in the Arab provinces, a process which was to culminate in the demand for a decentralized form of government. The rejection of this demand by the Young Turks was ultimately to lead to the appearance of a separatist movement among the leaders of the Arabs, and in the end to the loss of the Arab provinces.

With the crushing of the April counter-revolution, the deposition of Sultan Abdul-Hamid, and the accession of his brother Muhammad Rashad, the CUP assumed more direct responsibility in the government of the Empire. On the pretext of suppressing the reaction, and assisted by the declaration of martial law in the capital and its neighbourhood in April 1909, the CUP was able to purge the city of political opponents, and to secure ascendancy in the Empire. Throughout the year 1909 the

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Namık Kemal ve Ziya Paşa

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Jan Turek

## Yeni Osmanlıların Türk Eğitim Tarihine 'Eğitim Görüşleri' Yönüyle Katkı ve Etkileri (1860-1875)

MUSTAFA GÜNDÜZ

### Giriş

III. Selim zamanında başlayan ve II. Mahmut döneminde hızlanan Batı karşısında yeni bir mevzi alma ve devletin kötü gidişine çare arama siyaseti, 19. yüzyılın ortalarına doğru 'ne olacak bu Devlet-i Âliye'nin hali, Devleti Âliye'yi içinde bulunduğu tehlikeden kurtarmanın yolu nedir' gibi sorular doğurdu. Bu soruyu soranlar doğal olarak devlet içinden, 'devletlü' olanlardı. Zira Batı toplumlarındaki gibi bir sınıfsal yapı, belli sınıfın çıkarlarını savunan, meşruiyetini temel bireysel hak ve özgürlük iddialarından alan, devlete karşı ama devlet için mücadele eden bir sınıftan (burjuvaziden) söz etmek imkânsızdı. Devletin içinde bulunduğu durumun ne olacağı sorusuna cevap aramak görevi Tanzimat'ın ilanından 20 sene kadar sonra bir grup aydının, 'Yeni Osmanlıların' cevaplamaya çalıştıkları bir sorun olarak basında yer aldı. Yeni Osmanlılar devlet içinden, devleti savunan 'devletlü' insanlardı.<sup>1</sup> Grubun önde gelenlerinin hem babaları hem de kendileri devletin memurları, bürokratları idiler. Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Mustafa Nuri, Ahmetbeyzâde Mehmet, Paşazade Ayetullah, Reşat Bey ve Mustafa Refik hemen hepsinin babası devlet memuruydu. Namık Kemal'in

<sup>1</sup> "Batı ile Osmanlı [aydını] arasındaki önemli bir fark: Batılı entelektüelin hep devletin dışında kalması, buna karşılık Osmanlı münevverinin mutlaka şu ya da bu biçimde bürokrasi içinde yer alması veya buna çabalamasıdır(...) Batı entelektüeli, bir birey olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve bu nedenle de temel mücadelesi bireysel haklar yönünde olmuştur. Oysa Osmanlı aydını hiçbir zaman, bireysel hakların hak olduğunu aklına getirmemiştir." Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, "Osmanlı Aydını", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (Bundan sonra TCTA) C.1, s.58.

pays forment des divisions culturelles dirigées par un seul centre en Occident, vers lequel ils sont orientés. Si on parlait en Occident de l'acculturation dans ces pays, on la définirait par l'influence française ou anglaise. C'est aussi le cas pour la Turquie, dont l'acculturation s'est d'abord faite par l'influence française, et plus tard, par celle des Anglo-Saxons. Dans l'histoire de la Turquie, l'influence germanique s'étale sur une période d'une quarantaine d'années. Mais il serait difficile de parler de l'influence de la culture allemande durant cette période. En fait, la culture de la Turquie ottomane orientée vers un seul centre aurait pu s'enrichir avec les éléments de la culture germanique. Les pays d'Europe occidentale ou la Russie par exemple adoptèrent mutuellement leurs cultures nationales respectives. La philosophie et la philologie allemandes, la littérature et l'historiographie françaises, les littératures russe, anglaise etc. étaient les piliers de la culture européenne. Dans le but d'élargir la *Weltanschauung* de l'intelligentsia, la Turquie ottomane du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle avait besoin de ces divers éléments européens. Mais ce n'est sûrement pas dans la sphère culturelle que l'influence germanique put s'exercer. Il n'y avait qu'une poignée d'écoles allemandes et l'on traduisait rarement des œuvres littéraires ou philosophiques allemandes. À tel point que les Turcs connurent Kant et Goethe à travers leurs traductions françaises, ce qui a abouti, ironiquement, à des erreurs de traduction : donnons ici l'exemple d'un concept bien connu de Kant, à savoir "l'idéalisme transcendantal". Ni l'historiographie allemande, ni la philosophie et la littérature allemandes ne furent introduites dans ce pays. Un article inédit de K. Kreiser révèle que seul un petit nombre de dictionnaires et de manuels de grammaire médiocres ont pu être publiés durant cette période. L'instruction allemande était aussi insignifiante. Pendant la période en question, on ne trouve aucun étudiant turc dans les listes d'inscription des facultés de Philosophie, de Droit et de Médecine en Allemagne.

L'influence culturelle germanique durant cette période se limitait en fait à quelques éléments tels la moustache style Kaiser Wilhelm, très répandue parmi les gentlemen, les opérètes foraines de Beyoğlu, les mots allemands tels *erste Klasse*, *Vortrag*, *Backenbart*, etc... L'influence de la culture germanique en Turquie fut minime par rapport aux dimensions qu'elle a atteintes dans les pays balkaniques. Cette influence a cependant connu un essor dans les années 1930, suite à la vague d'immigration formée par les intellectuels fuyant le régime hitlérien.

i. O.

Jos. Tuckler  
- Sijonizm

İngiliz / Rus  
Kültürleşme / Medenleşme

Jacob M. LANDAU

## LES JEUNES-TURCS ET LE SIONISME : UNE RECONSIDÉRATION

L'histoire ne nous a encore pourvus d'aucune étude définitive sur l'attitude adoptée envers le Sionisme par les Jeunes-Turcs ou, plus précisément, par le Comité Union et Progrès (C.U.P.)<sup>1</sup>. Cet article ne prétend pas donner une réponse définitive sur ces attitudes mais essaiera plutôt de décrire et d'analyser leurs caractéristiques les plus prépondérantes. Ceci nous apparaît comme particulièrement nécessaire car aussi bien les témoins oculaires que les analystes conséquents diffèrent considérablement dans leurs interprétations. La plupart des positions adoptées sont en fait diamétralement opposées.

Une école de pensée maintient que les Jeunes-Turcs étaient essentiellement d'ardents pro-sionistes, ouvertement ou non. Cette approche a été largement caractéristique de certains opposants du C.U.P. pendant la décennie au cours de laquelle ce parti occupait une place centrale dans la vie politique ottomane. L'affirmation exprimée par cette tendance peut être résumée par l'argument non fondé que les sionistes furent à l'origine du complot contre le Sultan Abdülhamid II, pour le punir de son refus d'accorder à Herzl une charte sur la Palestine. De manière à appuyer cette revendication, ses partisans exagérèrent considérablement l'implication juive dans les stades préparatoires de la révolution des Jeunes-Turcs ; argument qui a été replacé dans une perspective historique adéquate par un récent article de feu David Farhi<sup>2</sup>. Ils ont aussi exagéré la participation juive aux activités du C.U.P., argument qui a déjà été réfuté il y a vingt

1. Deux livres sur le C.U.P. doivent être mentionnés plus particulièrement : Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks ; The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914* Oxford, 1969 ; et G. Z. Aliyev, *Türkiye v pperiod pravlieniya Mladoturok (1908-1918 gg.)* Moscou, 1972. Les deux ne se réfèrent point au Sionisme. Je n'ai pas réussi à consulter V. I. Shpilkova, *Mladoturjetskaya ryevolutsiya 1908-1909 gg.* Moscou, 1977.

2. David Farhi "Yehudey Saloniqi bē-Mahapekhat haTurkim haTz'irim", *Sefunot*, 15 (1981), pp. 137-138.

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Edhem Eldem (Edit), Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottomane et la Turquie Moderne, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 18-29 Janvier 1985. Recherche sur la Ville Ottomane, Istanbul 1991, 5, 385-396

کوچ‌نشین، ۷۷).

جنگ ۱۳۵۹ش/۱۹۸۰م ایران و عراق نیز تأثیر مخرب مضاعفی بر تغییر شکل ساختار و نظام کوچندگی ترکاشوندان داشت و چنان‌که گذشت، آنان را برای ادامه حیات اجتماعی خود ناگزیر از اسکان در زیستگاه‌های موقتی در دهکده‌ها و برپایی اردوگاه‌های فصلی در اطراف شهرها و روستاهای بزرگ کرد (اهلرس، ۱۷۵).

جمعیت و معیشت: اهلرس جمعیت ترکاشوندان اطراف مراتع الوند کوه را حدود ۳۰۰ چادر نوشته است (همانجا). طبق سرشماری ۱۳۶۶ش جمعیت عشایر کوچنده ترکاشوندان، ۵۵۹ خانوار و ۳۸۹۹ تن بوده است که بین استانهای همدان، کرمانشاه، خوزستان، لرستان و ایلام ییلاق و قشلاق می‌کرده‌اند (سرشماری، کل کشور، ۲۲). در ۱۳۷۷ش جمعیت ترکاشوندان کوچنده ۹۱۹ خانوار و ۶۰۲۲ تن گزارش شده است که میان استانهای همدان، کرمانشاه، لرستان، ایلام و خوزستان پراکنده بوده‌اند (سرشماری، استان لرستان، ۱۴-۱۵).

امروزه ترکاشوندان در روستاها و حاشیه شهرها بر روی زمینهای محدود به کشت و ورز اشتغال دارند و به کارگری و مشاغل کم‌اهمیت شهری سرگرم‌اند (برقی، ۲۷؛ اهلرس، ۱۸۸). برخی از دامداران ترکاشوندان تا ۱۳۴۸ش/۱۹۷۰م از راه فروش محصولات لبنی و نیز پشم و چادرهای دستباف از سوی بز، و گلیم و قالیچه زندگی می‌گذراندند (همو، ۱۷۸؛ برای اطلاع بیشتر از چگونگی گذران معیشت و وضع اقتصادی ترکاشوندان، نک: برقی، ۱۱-۱۹).

زبان: برخی زبان ترکاشوندان را یک گویش لکی (امان‌اللهی، قوم لر، ۱۷۶؛ اهلرس، ۱۷۵) و برخی دیگر، به واسطه همسایگی آنها با ایل کرد «جُمور»، گویشی کردی آمیخته با لغات لری دانسته‌اند (برقی، ۳). از این رو، برخی ترکاشوندان را از لحاظ قومی در گروه‌های کرد طبقه‌بندی کرده‌اند (فیروزان، ۱۹).

مآخذ: امان‌اللهی، سکندر، قوم لر، تهران، ۱۳۷۰ش؛ همو، کوچ‌نشین در ایران، تهران، ۱۳۶۷ش؛ برقی، محمد، چادرنشینان دامدار ایل ترکاشوندان، همدان، ۱۳۵۶ش؛ دولتیاری، روح‌الدین، لرستان سرزمین تاریخ کهن، تهران، ۱۳۷۵ش؛ سرشماری اجتماعی-اقتصادی عشایر کوچنده (۱۳۶۶ش)، نتایج تفصیلی، کل کشور، مرکز آمار ایران، تهران، ۱۳۶۷ش؛ همان (۱۳۷۷ش)، استان خوزستان، تهران، ۱۳۷۸ش؛ همان، استان لرستان؛ فرهنگ جغرافیایی شهرستانهای کشور، شهرستان همدان، سازمان جغرافیایی نیروهای مسلح، تهران، ۱۳۸۰ش؛ فیروزان، ت. «دربارۀ ترکیب و سازمان ایلات و عشایر ایران»، ایلات و عشایر، تهران، ۱۳۶۲ش؛ قراگوزلو، غلامحسین، مکتبانه تا همدان، تهران، اقبال؛ نیز: Ehlers, E., «The Turkashvand of Western Iran», *The Nomadic Peoples of Iran*, eds. R. Tapper and J. Thompson, London, 2002. مصومه ابراهیمی

ژرکان جوان، عنوانی که عموماً بر هر نهضت و جریان

به تدریج به قشلاقات بازمی‌گردند. مناطق ییلاقی ترکاشوندان در کیوارستان، موزلان، خاکو، ابرو، و ارکانه، ارزانفود در بخش مرکزی شهرستان همدان قرار دارد (همانجا؛ فرهنگ، ۱۲۸). زمان آغاز کوچ به قشلاق به کیفیت و غنای مراتع و علوفه در ییلاق بستگی دارد. سالی که مراتع در ییلاقات خوب و پر بار است، کوچ به قشلاق دیرتر صورت می‌گیرد. گروهی از کوچندگان برای خرید «جار» (کشتزارهای درو شده) برای چرای دام زودتر از دیگران کوچ می‌کنند (برقی، همانجا). برخی از ترکاشوندان در میان راه ییلاق به قشلاق در مناطقی مانند صحنه و کنگاور و روستاهای اطراف آن تا آخر زمستان، حتی گروهی تا اردیبهشت ماه، اقامت می‌گزینند و برخی دیگر تا خوزستان پیش می‌روند (همانجا). فاصله میان ییلاق و قشلاق ترکاشوندان را در گذشته بیش از ۲۵۰ کم، و زمان کوچ را هفته‌ها ذکر کرده‌اند (اهلرس، همانجا؛ برای اطلاع بیشتر از چگونگی مسیر و زمان کوچ ترکاشوندان، نک: برقی، ۶).

مراتع و زمینهای چرای ترکاشوندان در استان همدان با مراتع همسایگان ترکشان، ایل یاریم طاغلو (یاریم طوقلو)، مشترک است. نواحی جنوب و شرق دامنه‌های الوند به یاریم طاغلوها، و غرب و شمال آن به ترکاشوندان اختصاص دارد (اهلرس، همانجا). استمرار رواج دامداری در میان ترکاشوندان چادرنشین به چرای بستگی داشت و همین امر همواره مشکلاتی توأم با خطر در زندگی آنها پدید آورده بود، چنان‌که سرانجام به فروپاشی نظام کوچندگی منجر شد و آنان به ناگزیر اسکان یافتند. اهلرس به نقل از کدخدای رحمتیها فروپاشی اتحاد و انسجام ایلی طوایف ترکاشوندان را نتیجه تبدیل چراگاه‌های آنها در گیلان غرب به زمینهای مزروعی دانسته است (ص ۱۷۷). بلکه می‌شو مردم‌شناس که در ۱۳۴۹ش/۱۹۷۰م در میان ترکاشوندان به تحقیق پرداخته است، چادرنشینان لر را به سبب داشتن گله‌های فراوان احشام، مالدار و ثروتمند، و ترکاشوندان را به سبب نداشتن مرتع متعلق به خود برای چرای گله‌هایشان «نادار» می‌داند (نک: همانجا). در حدود سال ۱۳۳۴ش/۱۹۵۵م روستاییان همسایه ترکاشوندان، حق چرای دامها تعیین کرده بودند که پرداخت آن برای ترکاشوندان مشکلات فراوانی به بار آورده بود (همو، ۱۷۸، ۱۷۶).

عوامل چندی، از جمله اجرای اصلاحات ارضی دولت در منطقه و تغییرات سیاسی، اقتصادی و اجتماعی بعد از ۱۳۵۴ش/۱۹۷۵م، همچنین رشد جمعیت شهرها و روستاها و گسترش آنها به سمت نواحی کوهپایه‌ای، دیگرگونی‌هایی در زندگی ایلات و طوایف کوچنده منطقه پدید آورد. تقسیم زمینهای چرای مراتع میان ایلات و طایفه‌ها موجب درگیری‌هایی میان ترکاشوندان و بهاروندان و همسایگان آنها شد (همو، ۱۷۷؛ نیز نک: امان‌اللهی،

Young Ottomans, who saw to it that the first constitution of the empire emphasized Ottomanism as its ideological basis.

Among the leaders of the Young Ottomans, Namik Kemal proved to be the most influential. Later generations, and especially the Young Turks who emerged after 1889, embraced his image and his fervent patriotism.

See also **Pan-Islam; Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa.**

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Murat C. Mengüç

## YOUNG TURKS

Young Turks is the term generally applied to the opposition to the Ottoman sultan Abdulhamit II's rule (Ar., 'Abd al-Hamid, 1876-1908). Although the foundations of the movement can be traced back to 1889, it only became politically active prior to the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Its members at the time forced the reinstatement of the constitution and the parliament after thirty years of autocracy. Between 1908 and 1918 it was the Young Turks who governed the Ottoman Empire.

The Young Turks belonged to the generation following that of the Young Ottomans, whose legacy was the constitutional era inaugurated in December 1876. But when in February 1878 Sultan Abdulhamit II dissolved the parliament and embarked on absolute rule, an opposition slowly began to form underground. In 1889 a group of students from the imperial Medical School formed an alliance called the Association for the Union of Ottomans. By 1895 they had changed their name to the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP). The CUP was mostly active in Europe and Egypt. Its members came from diverse backgrounds, ethnically and professionally. Due to Abdulhamit's autocratic rule, many educated Turks, Greeks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, and Armenians came to support the idea of Ottomanism, a nineteenth-century ideology that combined Ottoman culture and Islam with modern nationalism. In 1902 the First Congress of Ottoman Liberals was held in Paris where the opposition to the sultan came into the open.

In 1906 some military officers and government officials formed another group called the Ottoman Freedom Society,

in Salonika. They joined the CUP in 1907 and because of their reputation for action these men became the ruling faction. From then on the new coalition was named the Committee for Progress and Union (CPU). In the same year, between 27 and 29 December, the Second Congress of Ottoman Liberals met in Paris and resolved to topple Abdülhamit II from power.

By the spring of 1908 those CPU members who had served in the Ottoman army in Macedonia began to act more openly. They reacted to Abdülhamit's efforts to discipline and spy on their activities by assassinating inspectors and others loyal to the sultan. In July, Adjunct Major Ahmed Niyazi Bey and later Enver Bey renounced their loyalty to the sultan and took their troops into the mountains to engage in guerilla activity. Later, the special military commander sent to take control of the Macedonian army was assassinated by a CUP member. The CPU further pressured the sultan with a series of telegrams threatening to occupy the capital if the constitution were not reinstated. In July 1908, Abdülhamit felt obliged to reinstitute the 1876 constitution, inaugurating the second constitutional era, also known as the Young Turks' revolution.

The event was celebrated by every ethnic group that stood to acquire greater security. Yet when the parliament began meeting, the division among the Young Turks's supporters became clear. Two major factions were identified: unionists CPU and the liberals. The unionists favored a strong centralized state to achieve modernization and progress. The liberals wanted a decentralized and autonomous polity benefiting non-Muslim and non-Turkish groups. The multireligious and multinational population of the empire eventually forced the Young Turks to adopt a middle way, which has been called Ottomanism. Meanwhile, Turkist and Islamist thinkers were still involved in the government.

In April 1909 an insurrection led by an Islamist organization made it clear that Muslim influences were strong among the unionists. But in 1912 a military coup brought the liberals into power. Meanwhile the demographics of the empire were changing: the Ottoman army had suffered repeated defeats in the Balkans, and during its last withdrawal from 1911 to 1913, the empire lost almost all of its remaining European lands and one-quarter of its population. The unionists took advantage of the political turmoil and in January 1913 took over the government once and for all. By June, they had eliminated the liberal opposition.

Throughout World War I, with the deportation and ethnic cleansing of Armenians and the arrival of Turkish people from the Balkans and Caucasus, the empire population became increasingly Muslim-Turkish and Arab. The unionists started to rely more on religion. Their pan-Islamism was often aimed at appeasing Arab constituencies who were displeased with the empire.

## Notes on the Young Turks and the Freemasons, 1875-1908

M. Şükri Hanioglu

+ John Törköl  
+ Masonluk

Historians of the age of Abdulhamid II have tended to lump all opposition to the Hamidian state under the generic rubric of 'Young Turk opposition'. This usage has created confusion. The fact is that the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP) which initiated the era of Young Turk rule in 1908 was not alone in opposition to Sultan Abdulhamid II between 1875 and 1908. Indeed, a careful scrutiny of the evidence shows that the CUP did not become a prominent actor until 1894/5 and that its earlier activities were quite insignificant. More important in these first phases were such lesser known associations as the Turco-Syrian Committee, *le Parti Constitutionnel en Turquie* and the *Cemiyet-i Ilmiye* which was led by a number of influential *ulema*. Especially worthy of mention are the activities of high-ranking government and extra government groups – provincial governors, Palace officials and the Freemasons.

My intent here is to unravel one strand of this opposition by reconstructing the activities of one of the most decisive elements, the Freemasons.

Freemason organizations were, without doubt, among the most important organizations active in the period 1875-1908. This group has already been the subject of several articles and has been discussed at some length in a book.<sup>1</sup> In none of these studies, however, has much attention been paid to their activities before 1902. Instead, the focus has been on relations between the Freemasons and the *Hurriyet Cemiyeti* (founded in 1906) and on their subsequent impact on the political life of the Ottoman Empire after 1908. It is noteworthy that during the trial of the assassins of Mahmud Shevket Pasha (murdered 11 June 1913) the conspirators claimed that their aim had been to recapture power which had been too long in the hands of the Freemasons.<sup>2</sup> This statement should alert us to the fact that the activism of the Freemasons antedates the foundation of the *Hurriyet Cemiyeti*. Indeed, it can be traced back to the 1870s.

It is a well-established fact that a number of prominent Tanzimat statesman and dignitaries who were Freemasons played a crucial role in bringing Sultan Murad V to the throne for a brief period in 1876.<sup>3</sup> A key figure in this process was Cleanthi Scalieri. An Istanbul Greek by birth, Scalieri was inducted into the ranks of the French Masonic Lodge of the Ottoman capital, L'Union d'Orient, in 1865. Ten years later, he had already reached a position of high authority in the Paris branch of the Union.<sup>4</sup> Drawing upon his close friendship with the heir-apparent Prince Murad, and his understanding of the fanciful political aspirations of eastern Masonry, Scalieri devoted himself to the establishment of a new Byzantine state.<sup>5</sup> The new state was to unite Turks and Greeks under the

shadow of an enlightened Ottoman Sultan. Here is one contemporary Greek account of Scalieri's role in these events:

...Scalieri won the trust and friendship of Murad Efendi, heir apparent, because of his gentle character and their warm relations. While in Istanbul, he [Scalieri] observed the ill-will and disunity which were obstacles to the progress of these two nations [Greece and Turkey]. Under the influence of Masonic ideology, he came to believe that the cooperation of these two peoples could bring an end to the Eastern Question.

The cooperation and friendship of these two nations and the realization of a new Byzantine state required immense efforts and a candidate to embody this ideal. To this end, there was none more suitable than Murad Efendi. He possessed a noble temperament, was favorable to the idea of freedom, was capable of hard work, and was ready to bestow freedom upon his people through the Constitution. In addition to this, Murad had the quality of being a Freemason. It was therefore not difficult for Scalieri to prepare the prince for his ideas. Having obtained the authorization of the French Obedience, Scalieri convened the notables of the lodge of Proodos of which he was the president, and inducted Murad on 20 October 1872. Later, he introduced Prince Nureddin and other dignitaries of Turkish society to this lodge. Earlier, on 14 May 1872, Scalieri obtained the permission of the French Obedience of Proodos for the publication of a Turkish pamphlet – a complement to two Greek ones – which made clear his aims. Then, following a rebellion, Murad Efendi, the nephew of Sultan Abdulaziz, ascended the throne on 18 May 1876. Upon his accession, he took steps to enact the Constitution and other related reforms. The preliminary measures in the implementation of these policies were undertaken by Scalieri who was assisted by our brother Francis L. Aimable then a lawyer in Istanbul and later mayor of Paris, by our brother A. Holinsk, a former diplomat, by the former Grand Vizir Midhat Pasha, by S.G. Eliot then English ambassador in Istanbul, and by our brother Malkum Iranian ambassador.

Furthermore, we had to contend with the reaction of the populace. For this reason, it was necessary to teach the basics [of our program] to a group which had influence over the population. But we also had to win more adherents. With this in mind, Scalieri established under the auspices of the French Obedience the *Envar-i Sharkiye* lodge which conducted its affairs in Turkish. The lodge became famous by virtue of its membership which included several distinguished politicians and high ranking religious officials. From this nucleus the faction of the Young Turks was born.<sup>6</sup>

Other sources attest to the veracity of this account in an indirect fashion. Hence we learn that 'first the Young Turks entertained good relations with some Greek notables but then they began to apply their own program ...'.<sup>7</sup> Such statements point to the fact that Scalieri's leadership

# İslâm'a karşı yobazlık

Yazan : Hasan BAĞCI

**D**ÜNYA ve insanlık yaratıldığından beri her devirde birbirine zıt fikirler, cereyanlar yaşayagelmış, birbirleriyle çarpışmış ve hatta feci ve korkunç sahnelere sebep olmuştur. Görünüşte İlahî fikirden başka bir fikir ve Hz. Âdem ile Hz. Havva'dan başka bir insan olmadığı zannedilen ilk insan ve ilk Peygamber, insanlığın atası Hz. Âdem (A.S.) devrinde de (inancımıza göre) bir şeytan mefhumu ortaya çıkmış ve Hak ile bâtil, ilk mücâdelesini sahneye koymuştur. Bilinen kadarıyla bütün dünya mahdud birkaç kişi arasında paylaşıldığı Hz. Âdem'in çocukları devrinde de bu zıt fikirler belirmiş ve ilk kanın akmasına sebep olmuştur. Gece ve gündüz, devirleri yiyip tüketirken daha feci ve yürekler acısı nice fâcialarla karşılaşmıştır... Bütün bu fâcialar da her devirde bir küfür yobazının elleri altından çıkmıştır... Meselâ : Hz. İbrahim devrinde Nemrut, Hz. Musa devrinde Fir'avn ve Hz. Muhammed (S.A.V.) devrinde de Ebû Cehil ve benzerleri bu mücâdelenin iplerini çekmekten ve oyunlarını devam ettirmekten zevk almışlardır.

Her devirde bu böyle olduğu gibi zamanımızda da aynı yolu tâkip eden bir çok cereyanların fikir hokkabazları mevcuttur. Bunlar, daha ziyade bir mevzûda birkaç makâle veya fıkra yazmak cesâretiyle kalem oynatmaya başlayınca kalemsör kesilir, kendilerini her mevzûda otorite ve hele hele dîni mevzûlarda «Kadîl-Kudât» hisseder, fetvâ vermeye kalkışır...

Türkiyemizde son yıllarda cesâretini artıran türlü akımlar arasında bir de hakikî Türk görünme, dîni ve Allah'ı bir tarafa atma hastalığı türemiştir. Hakikî Türk rûhunun şiddetle nefret ettiği bu tarz hastalıklarda, yine ve maalesef son yıllarda biraz bolca yetiştiğimiz «yarım münevverler» arasındadır.

Onlar, «ben akılsızım», «ben vicdansızım», «ben hırsızım» cinsinden acı bir yoksulluğun ifâdesi olan bu tuhaf övünmeleriyle sevinedursunlar; beri yanda dünyaya hatta fen sahasındaki buluşlarıyla ışık vermiş hakikî mütefekkirlerin dâima insanlığı Allah'a götürme yollarını aydınlatmak için çalıştıkları görülür.

Memleketimizde «Ötügen» isimli aylık bir Türkçü dergi yayınlanmaktadır. 1970 yılı Mart 3. sayısının, 2. sayfasında «ATSİZ» soyadlı bir yazar, 3., 4. ve 5. sayfelerinde aleyhimizde «Türkçülüğe Karşı Yobazlık» başlığı altında «OKU»nun 93. sayısındaki «Bunları Biliyor musunuz?» köşesinde çıkan :

«Oldukça cins bir fikir adamı olarak yaratıldıktan sonra dünyalar arası büyük muhâsebede ölüm dönemecini kıvrılamayan ve inkâr uçurumuna yuvarlanan Ziya Gökalp'in, İslâm'ın içinden değil, sadece İslâm'ın yerini almak üzere icad ettiği «Türkçülük» yolunda ne büyük bir Yahûdî himayesi göreceğinden veya Yahûdîlere ne zengin bir istismar sahası açtığından gâfil bulunduğunu... biliyor musunuz?» fıkramızı diline doladıktan sonra veryansın etmiştir...

Sahasının dışında mefkûremize saldırmak sûretiyle makâlemizin başlığını hak eden sayın Atsız'ın ya-

## CESÂRET

Mustafa VARLI

(Geçen sayıdan devam)

Ondan uzaklaştım. Allah'a kâsem ederim ki; kendisinden ayrıldığı zaman yeryüzünde ondan daha fazla sevdiğim kimse yoktu.

Nefsine hâkim olanlardan bir diğeri de Ca'fer-i Sâdık'tır. Hikâye edilir ki : Bir kölesi eline su dökerken ibriği kabın üzerine düşürdü; korkudan yüzünde âdetâ kan kalmadı. Ca'fer ona öfkeli nazarlarla bakınca köle; «Efendim!» diye söze başladıktan sonra «Öfkeyi yenenler» âyet-i kerimesini okudu. Ca'fer (R.A.) :

- Öfkemi yendim, deyince köle :
- «İnsanları da affedenler» âyetini okudu.
- Seni affettim.
- «Allah iyilik yapanları sever».
- Git!.. Sen, Kerim olan Allah rızası için hürsün, dedi.

İnsanı hemeinsinden korkmaya sürükleyecek hiç bir sebep yoktur. Korku, aslı olmayan bir vehme dayanır. Hele insan, konuşurken kendine güvenirse, demek istediğini bilir, düşüncelerini nasıl ifade edeceğini kavrar ve nazariyyesini akıl ve mantıkla nasıl ispatlayacağını düşünerek hareket ederse; kendi kendine güvenebilir, bütün za'flarını yenebilir, dilediği kimse ile karşılaşabilir, edep ve ahlâk ile süslü kaldığı müddetçe istediği kimseye hitab etmekten çekinmez... Çünkü o, kendi kendine güvenmiştir; akli sağlam çalışır, düşünceleri mantikidir. Bütün bunlardan dolayı o, çürük bir fikre dayanan delili ileri sürmede acele etmez, kendisine yaramıyacak şeylere ehemmiyet vermez. Şayet sen, demek istediğin şey hakkında kendi kendine güveniyorsan; yalnız bununla seni dinliyenlere tesir edebilirsin.

Bir gün Hz. Ömer (r.a.) yoldan geçerken aralarında Abdullah bin Zübeyr'in (1) de bulunduğu bir çocuk topluluğu yolda oynuyorlardı. Çocuklar Hz. Ömer'i görünce etrafa kaçtılar. Ortada yalnız Abdullah kaldı. Hz. Ömer :

- Niçin arkadaşlarınızla kaçmıyorsunuz? deyince :
  - Bir suç işlemedim ki senden korkayım, yol da dar değildir ki sana yol vereyim, cevabını verdi.
- (Devamı var)

(1) Abdullah bin Zübeyr bin Avvam'dır. Yezit zamanında halife olduğunu iddia etti. Şam'dan başka bütün bölgeler kendisine biat etti. Hicrî 73 senesinde de öldürüldü.

.....  
zısında o kadar çok hatâ vardır ki; bunları teker teker düzeltmek, bir ortaokul talebesinin kompozisyonunu düzeltmeye benzeyeceğinden, biz, mefkûremiz yönünden sâdece bizi ilgilendiren ve pek mühim hatâlarını yüksek müsaadeleriyle düzelterek cevabımıza başlayacağız.

(Devam edecek)

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## Türkçülüğe Karşı Yobazlık

ATSIZ

Oku, no 99, 100, 101'de cevap var 1970

Fatih çağından sonra "medrese"nin Türk fikir ve siyaset hayatına hâkim olması ile başlayan din taassubu, türlü iç kavgalara ve kan dökülmesine sebep olarak günümüze kadar gelmiştir. Din tâginleri arasında Ebussuud gibi müsamahalı ve akılları bulduğu gibi, her türlü fikir değerinden mahrum ve devleti ilâhî fıkâh fetvalar vermekten çekinmeyen Birgili Mehmed gibi yobazlar da gelip geçmiştir. On sekizinci asrın sonlarında devletin bütün kuruluşları ile birlikte "medrese" de soysuzlaşmış ve hele "Tanzimat"tan sonra, din bilgisi öğrenmek isteyenlerin değil, asker kaçaklarının barınağı haline gelmiştir. Kütüphanelerimizi dolduran eserlerin son 100-150 yılda yazılanlarına bakmak, fikir alanındaki yozlaşmayı reddi imkânsız tanıklarla ortaya koyar.

Halbuki daha önceleri böyle bir taassup yoktu. Büyük bir isâm mücahidi olan Fatih, İslâmiyette haram sayılan resmini yaptırmak için İtalya'dan ressam getirttiği gibi Fatih'in babası olup Haçlılar'a karşı büyük gazaları ile tarihe geçen İkinci Murad da bir aralık tahtı bırakıp Manisa'ya çekildiği zaman kadınlardan mürekkep musiki heyetleri arasında ünyadan zevk almış, o çağın bilginlerinden Şükrullah'a musiki risaleleri yazdırmış, şarap içmiş, fakat vatan tehlikeye girince de bütün bunları bırakarak yine ordunun ve devletin başına geçmekten geri kalmamıştır.

Bu büyük gazinin zamanında, hicri 843 te (milâdî olarak 14 Haziran 1439-1 Haziran 1440 arasında te-kabül eder) yazılan bir tarihi takvimde Çengiz Ügedey, Mengü, Hülegü gibi müslüman olmayaz büyük Türk hakanları rahmetle anılmıştır.

Üzerine çektiği mütefrik Haçlı ordularına yenen Yıldırım Bayazıt'ın içkiye düşkünlüğü de meşhurdur.

Orhan Gazi ise, kendisiyle birlikte Rumlar'a karşı savaşan dervişlerden Geyikli Baba'ya, içki içtiğini bildiği için şarap göndermiştir.

Bütün bunlara rağmen kimse bu hükümdarların Müslümanlığına toz kondurmamış, konduzmuşdur. Ana gizgillere bakılmış, teferruatla uğraşarak im-suzluğuna kimse kapılmamıştır. Çünkü Murad Beğ'in, Yıldırım'ın şarap içmesi veya Orhan Beğ'in bir dervişe içsin diye şarap göndermesiyle ne dünya yıkılmış, ne dine zarar gelmiş, ne de Müslümanlık kuvvetinden bir şey kaybetmiştir.

Şarap içen, fakat canını ortaya koyarak Rumlar-la savaşan Geyikli Baba, beş vakit namazı Esırma-dığı halde tefecilikle milleti soyan, yalan söyler ve

iftira atan bugünün soysuzlarından elbette çok yük-sék olduğu gibi, şarap gönderen Orhan Gazi de gün-ümüzün şarapsız Arap hükümdarlarına göre elbette bin kat yararlı, faydalıydı.

Bugünkü Türkiye, yüzyıl önceki Türkiye'den çok ilerdedir. Ozamanki gerilikle şimdiki ilerliği karşılaştırmak için vereceğim tek örnek, nerden nereye geldiğimizi göstermesi bakımından çok ibret vericidir.

Bugün Süleymaniye Umumi Kütüphanesi adı altında toplanmış bulunan 100 kadar ayrı kütüphane-den biri de Hüsrev Paşa Kütüphanesi'dir. Hüsrev Paşa Kütüphanesi'ndeki 807 numaranın 13 üncü mükerrerinde 60 yapraklı bir kitap vardır. Bu kitap İkinci Mahmud çağındaki Osmanlı ordusunun kuruluşuna, nizamlarına, istihkaklarına dair bir eserdir. İşte bu eserde "her orduda bir müşirle üç ferik bulunması ve ferikler arasında okur-yazar ve kâr-âşinâ olanların erkân reisi olması gerektiği" yazılmaktadır.

"Müşir", Osmanlı ordusunda bugünkü orgeneralin karşılığıdır. "Ferik"ler de korgeneral ve tümgeneral lere mukabildir. "Erkân reisi" demek "kurmay başkanı" demektir. "Kârâşinâ" iş bilir, aklı eren anlamında kullanılmıştır.

Demek ki feriklerin, yani kolordu ve tümen komutanlarının bile okur-yazar olmadığı bir devre yaşanmıştır ki bugünkü ordumuzda asubayların bile lise ayarında öğrenimli olmaları karşısında korkunç bir hâdisedir.

Fakat bu kadar ileri gidiz, üniversiteler, ağır sanayi başlangıcı bizi bir yandan da tarihimizde görülmeyen medik fikir düşkünlüklerine uğramaktan koruyamamaktadır.

İlkönce "Ticânilik" diye tarikat mı mezhep mi ne olduğu anlaşılmayan bir garabet türedi ve baskının, memleketi kurtarmak için yaptıkları tek hareket Atatürk büstlerini kırmaktan ibaret kaldı. Arkadan Nurculuk çıktı. Said-i Kürdî adında cahil bir Kürdün Nur Risâlesi diye yazdığı herzeler odalarda toplanarak okunarak feyz alındı ve bu adamın medresede ancak üç ay kadar okuyarak bütün ilimleri ve fenleri yuttuğu müridleri tarafından iddia edildi. Derken bir de Süleymanlılık peyda olarak ötekileri bastırdı. Bunlar, İmam-Hatip Okulları öğrencilerini kâfir sayacak kadar sapıttılar. Bunlardan başka Bîbâze, Kamariye adlı bir takım guruhlar da işi cinayete kadar vardırıdılar.

body of executive power above and beyond the specific grants is held to be a violation of the original intent of the Constitution.

Close examination of the views of the Framers of the Constitution makes it clear that they did not intend a Chief Executive with powers of the nature of the royal prerogative. British executive power as applied to the colonies had long been a source of grievance. With Independence the reaction was to so limit the governors of the states as to make explicit the rejection of anything like British executive authority. The same pattern appears in the limits and controls placed upon the Confederation Congress in the exercise of what were considered as its executive functions. The delegates to the Convention of 1787 were well aware that this background prohibited the creation of an executive that would appear to threaten a recrudescence of prerogative executive authority.

The proceedings of the Federal Convention give evidence that while the delegates were agreed upon the necessity to create a stronger executive than those subsisting in the states, they did not intend a prerogative executive. Most of the powers granted to the President had their counterpart in the grants given the governors of the states, or in those powers held by the Confederation Congress. The central theme in the building of the executive office was not to give the President powers of a content and nature different from these, but to make sure the powers would be applied independently of the encroachments of what was feared as an otherwise all-powerful national legislature. Views expressed during the contest over Ratification serve to support this interpretation.

Nevertheless the powers of the presidency have come to take on much of the force and content associated with the royal prerogative. Unwittingly the Framers created an office uniquely capable of meeting the crises which demand decisive action. More than this, it is the executive branch which is capable of providing the sense of direction without which Congress tends to lose its way. And, as his election has come to depend upon the direct expression of the popular will, it is the President from whom the public has come not only to expect but to demand leadership. Thus he has been expected to call forth resources not suspected to exist in the office. But these great powers have accrued not as the result of deliberate creation by the Framers, but as a matter of growth to which the office has proved fitted to respond.

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THE YOUNG OTTOMAN MOVEMENT: A STUDY  
IN THE EVOLUTION OF TURKISH POLITICAL  
THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(L. C. Card No. Mic 59-278)

Serif Arif Mardin, Ph.D.  
Stanford University, 1958

One of the problems of political theory which has not yet been systematically investigated is the process by which Western political conceptions have become accepted in countries having remained outside the main stream of Western political development. Turkey, which in the last century and a half has evolved from a theocratic state

into a lay constitutional republic is a concrete case of the need of such investigations. The Turkish Republic created in 1923 under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk was not established as the result of a sudden change of heart on the part of Turkish political leaders, but was the fruit come by a long evolution. One of the characteristics of this evolution has been the replacement of old Turkish conceptions and ideals of government by their Western equivalents, and a key point in this process has been the Young Ottoman Movement, active in Turkey from the early 1860's to the late 1870's. An investigation of the ideas of the Young Ottomans as well as an analysis of the extent to which they were influential and a survey of the problems they encountered on their way, is therefore the foundation on which other studies regarding the political westernization of Turkey will have to be laid. This dissertation attempted to achieve such a perspective.

The method used in trying to solve this problem was to survey the literature published by the Young Ottomans and in particular the ideas they expressed in their mouthpiece the *Hurriyet*. It was thus attempted to pinpoint the problems they tackled and the proposals they made their solution. The same was done for thinkers outside the Young Ottoman group to contrast or to show the similarities of their approach with that of the Young Ottomans. Survey of the whole spectrum of Turkish political ideas in the 1860's and 70's was thus achieved.

Upon investigation it was found that the Young Ottoman movement can be explained in the light of two elements which stood in the background of Turkish history up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of these was Islamic political theory and the other the Ottoman historical experience including governmental organization and "political behaviour." Of these two basic elements Islamic theory was based on a theocratic conception of the state which indissolubly joined political and religious leadership, gave no place to the private wishes of the individual in the shaping of the political system and philosophically was devoid of and opposed to a conception of self-moving social or historical processes. Thus by itself there was nothing that made for a rapprochement between Islamic and Western political theory, the latter being based on opposite premises. The opportunities for such a "rapprochement" were provided by other developments. One of these was the process of decline of the Ottoman Empire. To put an end to it Sultans and statesmen at various times endeavored to adopt the ways of the West, first in military affairs and thereafter, when Balkan nationalism began to speed-up the decay of the Empire, in administrative and governmental affairs.

A second force pushing in the direction of Westernization was the rise of a new bureaucratic class created by the Turkish reformers mentioned above. Their abuses created a need for a restraining framework. For the Young Ottomans such a framework was best provided by the principle of responsible government and European parliamentary institutions. Parliamentary government rather than other solutions was adopted by them because certain practices of the Ottoman state had made the idea of popular control of government not entirely alien to the Turks.

Finally the process of disintegration to which the Ottoman Empire was subject and the progressive separating-out of various national groups from the body of the Empire made the Young Ottomans turn inward to a



EWS

connexion between domestic and foreign political events is amply demonstrated. For the Ottoman Empire these were tremendous times: that the Empire managed to survive the ordeal of the years from 1908 to 1913 is little short of a miracle.

From Dr. Ahmad's study a number of significant points emerge. They do not so much radically upset our previous understanding of the Young Turk revolution as refine it in a number of important respects.

In the first place, we have a much clearer picture now of the intricate politics of the period, a much more precise knowledge of the principal groups contesting power, and a deeper understanding of the roles they played. One particularly revealing section is the discussion of the role of the senior army officers in uneasy unison with the CUP after the 1909 counter-revolution. Another important point that emerges is the *political* character of much that occurred. For instance, the point is well argued that the 1909 counter-revolution was more political than religious in significance. Then again, we are alerted to the social factors underlying the revolution. The Unionists were new men, recruited from a wider social background than their rivals, the Ottoman liberals, and consequently less experienced, less confident in the legitimacy of their power, more tenacious in its possession, and more ruthless in its exercise. But, we are told, they were really 'by and large conservative in outlook with little or no interest in promoting social change' (p. 16). This is an intriguing point. The Young Turks, it is claimed, shared the same values as the Young Ottomans of earlier decades, but not their superior social position. Yet one cannot help but feel some unease here. Surely, the Young Turks were more positivistic in outlook than the Young Ottomans, more inclined to re-order society than to liberalize it. Differences in social position are often, if not necessarily, related to differences in values. To assert the opposite calls for rather more substantiation than the author devotes to it.

Finally, we see from Dr. Ahmad's study how persistently the CUP strove to establish a legitimacy for their rule—and on the whole with much political acumen. We see how they relied first on respected Ottoman statesmen and then on the army. They sought also to buttress their position by leaning on the questionable legitimacy of an elected legislative assembly. Not content with these supports, they also endeavoured to create a local organization in order to provide roots in society and they made good use too, of the Ottoman public's demand for release from foreign aggression and national self-abasement. In these ways they slowly achieved a hold over government only removed by defeat in the

*Don  
Turk*  
FEROZ AHMAD: *The Young Turks: the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics, 1908-1914.* xiii, 205 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. 50s.

The 1908 Young Turk 'revolution', as we call it, began with a violent demonstration led by young officers against a government both inefficient and arbitrary, but in fact did not achieve the level even of a *coup d'état*. The demonstration was effective, but only to a degree. The Committee of Union and Progress, which came to lead the movement, forced the restoration of the suspended 1876 Constitution and set itself up as watch-dog over a government composed of seasoned Ottoman ministers still working under the authority of the Sultan. The immediate effect of the 1908 movement was not sudden change, but the inauguration of a half-decade of political crisis. A bitter political struggle now began among various socio-political groups, a struggle made all the more bitter because what was at stake was not just power, but authority. The 1908 revolution introduced a prolonged crisis of legitimacy.

The intricacies of this perilous course of politics are skilfully described by Dr. Ahmad. For the information from which his account has been distilled he has examined a wide range of source material including Foreign Office and embassy and consular archives, private papers, memoirs of Turkish statesmen, and the Turkish press of the period. In the light of a wealth of illuminating detail he analyses the antecedents of the 1908 revolution, the counter-revolution of 1909, the relations of the military and the CUP, constitutional reform, the growth of opposition to the CUP, their overthrow in 1912, and their speedy return. We are then shown how the Unionists consolidated their power and, finally, the general character of their political struggle. Most important, the close

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