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NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

A YOUNG TURK JOURNAL: TERAKKÎ

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
PREFACE	
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I- <u>TERAKKI'S</u> THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	5
1- The Fundamental Ideas in <u>Terakki</u>	5
2- Science Sociale and Prince Sabahaddin	10
3- The Science Sociale View of Ottoman Empire	14
4- The Importance of Science as a Solution	21
5- Common Grounds in Some of the Ideas in <u>Terakki</u>	24
6- The Ottoman Version of <u>Science Sociale</u>	27
7- The 'Distinctive Aspect' of <u>Terakki</u>	31
8- Some General Remarks on <u>Terakki's</u>	33
CHAPTER II- TERAKKI'S FOCUS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	39
1- <u>Terakki</u> and Anatolian Uprisings	39
2- On Decentralization	55
3- Some Socio-Political Concepts in <u>Terakki</u>	60
CONCLUSION	67
NOTES	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79

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## PREFACE

Nowadays Turks are trying to make up for past neglect in terms of research into their histories. This was the preferred attitude of the republican cadres whom the intelligencia were ready to support. In fact, the Ottoman past was a constant reminder of distasteful oriental habits in every aspect of life. Thanks to the Republican Regime, intelligencia found the opportunity to become respectful Westerners with new clothes, new alphabet dressing style, etc. and were moreover fortified with the promise of a better future.

Then, perhaps as a result of the failure to fulfill this promise, Turks felt the need to research into their past. Now, everything was being based on their 'historical origins', institutions seek to gain respectability by stressing their ancient foundation dates. On the other hand, the need to present 'a historical base' for all subjects manifested itself in order to prove 'serious concern' about the area of interest.

The following paper aims to look at one of the Young Turks' journals, Terakki from this critical point of view.

Terakki manifests the ideas of the Prince Sabahaddin\* group. Sabahaddin's ideas are always evaluated as the most distinct example of Young Turk thought. We will try to illustrate that some of Sabahaddin's ideas were common to other Ottoman intellectuals in essence. This is the second aim of the paper.

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\*Sabahaddin was from Ottoman dynastic family through his mother. Ottomans called male descendants of the dynasty as 'Efendi', if they belong to the dynasty through their fathers, or as 'Bey' if they belong to the dynasty through their mothers.

Sabahaddin's real status is Bey. He usually wrote his name as Sultanzade Sabahaddin Bey (Sabahaddin Bey, the son of a sultan), or as Mehmed Sabahaddin.

The foreign press used the title of 'Prince' for him, 'Prince' was supposed as the translation of his dynastic status. Then, Turks also used this title and 'Prince' became a sort of nickname of Sabahaddin. Therefore, we will use this name.

(Ziya Gökalp called Sabahaddin as İnal Sabahaddin. 'İnal' is an old Turkish term, those who have sultan mother were called as like, among Central Asian Turks.

Z.Gökalp, "İngiliz Ahlâkı", Küçük Mecmua, (23 Ekim 1922, pp.1-5).

## INTRODUCTION

The Young Turk opposition against Abdulhamid II, is a well known phenomenon. The Ottoman intellectuals who fought against Hamidian regime abroad, are generally referred to as the 'Young Turks', but in fact, there were some divisions and conflicts among them.

The main division was between Ahmed Rıza's and Sabahaddin's groups. Ahmed Rıza's oppositional activities began in 1889, Paris. He was one of the most important figures in the Young Turk movement.

Prince Sabahaddin came onto the scene in 1900 when he sought refuge in Europe with his father and his brother.

After an attempt to unite all the Young Turks, namely in the First Young Turk Congress, a serious conflict emerged between these two men and his followers.

Terakki was the organ of the Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti (League of Private Initiative and Decentralization) which was founded after the First Young Turk Congress, by Prince Sabahaddin and his followers (1906)(1).

Sabahaddin was the son of Damad Mahmud Pasha who was brother-in-law of Abdulhamid II. The good relations of Damad Mahmud Pasha and the Sultan changed after the Pasha's suspected involvement in a plot against the Sultan (İskaliyeri-

Aziz Bey Komitesi) (2). As a result he was dismissed from the Ministry of Justice. His relations with Abdulhamid II worsened after he attempted and failed to arrange the concession of the Baghdad Railway for Britain. Then, the Pasha fled to Europe in order to oppose Abdulhamid II, together with his sons, Sabahaddin and Lütfullah Beys, in 1900.

The Pasha's flight created hope for union among Young Turks.

His sons benefited from a good Western type education in their early ages. Also, like their father they were against Abdulhamid II's rule. Soon after they fled abroad, Sabahaddin and his brother published a manifesto, stating their oppositional struggle against the Hamidian regime. This was the first political activity of Sabahaddin, whose most important political attempt came after: The First Young Turk Congress. The aim of the Congress was the union of all the opponents to the Hamidian regime. But result was division, as stated above, two distinct groups emerged from this division, Ahmed Rıza's and Sabahaddin's groups.

The main issues of conflict between them were, decentralization and foreign interference. Sabahaddin was advocating for the use of decentralized administration and cooperation with liberal countries against Abdulhamid II. Ahmed Rıza, on the other hand, favors centralization and self determination(3).

After the Congress, Ahmed Rıza constituted the Osmanlı

Terakki ve İttihad Cemiyeti (The Ottoman Progress and Union Committee). The others began to publish a newspaper in Folkstone, the Osmanlı (Ottoman)(4). At this stage Prince Sabahaddin's ideas which subsequently took shape around Edmond Demolins' 'science sociale' thought do not seem to have crystallized. In his early articles in Osmanlı Sabahaddin's ideas seem immature, in comparison with his later studies.

In an article he advocates British friendship simply because England was "great democratic" power(5). In another, he expresses his admiration for American Society, but he describes it with simple concepts like diligence, active life, self-reliance(6).

Meanwhile Sabahaddin attempted to prepare a revolutionary coup against Abdulhamid II, with İsmail Kemal Bey and Recep Pasha. But, they failed to realize this plan and Sabahaddin went back to Paris, where he continued his intellectual activities.

In 1906, Dr. Bahaddin Şakir attempted to unite Young Turks and asked for Sabahaddin's programme. But, the groups of Ahmed Rıza Bey and Prince Sabahaddin never could reconciled with each other, especially the issue of decentralization raising conflict, once again. After a long polemic, Sabahaddin founded his own League, and begun to publish a newspaper, Terakki, as stated above. Terakki published twenty issues till the proclamation of the 1908 constitution. Some of the



members of the League were, Dr.Nihad Reşad, Dr.Sabri, Dr.Rıfat, Miralay Zeki, Hüseyin Tosun, Milaslı Murad, Hüseyin Siret and Fazlı Beys(7).

This study will deal with Terakki and will consider the ideas of Sabahaddin, in order to better explain the ideas in Terakki.

## 1- TERAKKI'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Terakki was not a newspaper in the proper sense. It was rather a pamphlet which put forward a certain point of view concerning the salvation of Ottoman Empire. This fact is seen all through the Terakki issues which are studied. Especially the first issue reflected this character much more than the others. First, the ideas which took place in this issue will be dealt with as the fundamentals of Sabahaddin's and his followers' thought.

### 1.1. The Fundamental Ideas in Terakki

The main purposes of Terakki were stated in its first issue as follows:

- 1- To disseminate science sociale among the people and translate its literature into Ottoman.
- 2- To make the opposition fractions into a body comprising all Ottomans.
- 3- To preserve Ottoman justice in the country and foster the birth of a pro-turc ideology.
- 4- To found orderly organizations in the needy regions of the country(8).

Then, Sabahaddin's article entitled "My letters to our youth" (Gençlerimize Mektublarım) appears in the first page. Here, Sabahaddin talks about the emergence of an 'intellectual vigilance' in the Ottoman society, based on the Ottomans'

relations with the West. He says that, at the end of the nineteenth century some educational institutions were constituted, as an outcome of these relations. Persons who were educated in these institutions and in Western countries, stimulated developments in the Ottoman language. In spite of the institutions of despotic regime, the advances registered by the Ottoman language showed the extent of the capability of Ottoman society, in the field of intellectual development(9).

"... lisanımızın son otuz senelik tarihinin tedkiki naşir-i efkarı olduğu cemiyetin terakkiyatı fikriyeye büyük bir kabiliyeti olduğuna hiç şübhe bırakmaz."(10).

At the beginning, this article seems an ordinary resume of some developments in the field of westernization of the Ottoman Empire. But, according to Prince Sabahaddin, these developments are important because they indicate the capacity of Ottoman society for intellectual development. Of course, it was a reaction against the West which supposed that Eastern people were inferior and incapable of development in any field. But this reaction is more meaningful when we consider its importance for Sabahaddin's ideas. In order to realize his solutions, first, there was need for such social capability. Because, as many other Ottoman Intellectuals, Sabahaddin trusted the intellect as a key to Ottoman salvation.

The second article is entitled (Nesriyat-ı siyasiyyemiz), "Our Political Literature". Here, Sabahaddin elaborates

his ideas. He says that present political literature developed against all pressure and was successful to a certain extent. At least, it encouraged opposition against the despotism of Abdulhamid II. But, what else? The answer to this question is negative. Prince Sabahaddin claims that it is far from being effective as it ought to be.

First of all, as it is also pointed out above, Sabahaddin believes in the power of intellect, so he acclaims the importance of the enlightenment of the people. Through this enlightenment social development would be realized. According to Sabahaddin, the publications of the opposition could not fulfill such an important task just by verbally insulting the "bloody despotic regime". The opposition publications should be circulated all through the country and should be more serious in content. The most important shortcoming is the absence of "sacred intellectual struggle" (gaza-ı fikrî) as a basis in Ottoman political literature. Prince Sabahaddin felt he had such a base. Such a base have to be scientific, casual observations of the events can not have any valid result. Research into society should depend upon a certain principle and should be confirmed through experience, according to the Prince.

Then, he uses a metaphor concerning social and medical methods to solve the problems. The traditional bonesetter's methods are no longer effective for medical problems, because they are not based on scientific principles. Modern medicine has taken its place. In similar fashion, social problems

require solutions based on science(11).

Terakki, supports this argument through an example: The Russian Revolution. In the article, entitled "The Social Meaning of the Russian the Revolution", revolution of 1905 is seen as an unsuccesfull attempt. The Russians' failure to recognize their real problems meant that they could not solve it accordingly. This is the task of scientific research of the society for Terakki. Just as in the case of natural sciences in social matters also problems should be left in the hands of those who can best identify the issues. Only they can solve these problems. Science sociale gave the best identification of the social problems(12).

"Kanun-u tekâmül hadisat-ı tabiiyede olduğu kadar hadisat-ı içtimaiyede de hayatı, muhitinde en iyi tevafûk eden ellere tevdi' ile terakkiyi temin ediyor. Mademki değiştirmek elimizde değil, hedef-i matlube isal edecek yol bizde ise onu bir an evvel keşfedecek takibin çaresine bakmalıyız ..., işte aradığımız yolu yalnız fenn-i içtima keşfede bilmiş olduğu için dergi onu vasıta-ı mümkünerin kaffesiyle vatanımızda neşre çalışacağız."(13).

The foundations of the ideas which were manifested in the first issue of Terakki were seen above. Prince Sabahaddin first set out to prove the intellectual ability of the Ottomans. This fact is important because he then claims that social development would be realized through intellectual enlightenment, to a great extent. Under these circumstances, the most important task is the discovery of the social problems and their solutions. This is not a simple matter of argument, but rather a question of science. To Sabahaddin, social events follow certain laws like natural events. Therefore, there must be a

similar way of discovering those laws. The only reliable way is the scientific way, namely science sociale.

The Russian example shows how science sociale was accurate in its analyses. Russian people pursued liberty, but they could not recognize that real liberty comes after a radical social transformation. Political liberty alone has no meaning. Their main problem stemmed from their social structure which was based on collective property and responsibility. They had to change this structure instead of following ideologies like socialism which tended to restore this structure in a different form(14).

"Asırlarca müddet, tarihin tesisinden beri ayrı kalıbdā dökülen mefkûreler başka bir medeniyete doğru tekamüle başladıkları halde bile gayri ihtiyari o yeni medeniyetin tabiyat-ı maneviyelerine en teva-fîk eden cihetine meylederler."(15).

For this reason, Russian revolutionaries tended to socialism as a solution. They attempted to change only the form of the government, but the problem was deeper, as mentioned above. The form of government had no importance(16).

These are not only the problems of the Russians, but they are also valid for the Ottoman Empire, as long as science sociale keeps its universal validity. Moreover, these two countries have many similarities.

The Main Concepts: Decentralization and Private Initiative.

As stated above, the form of the government is not so

important from the science sociale point of view. This fact also gives us a clue about the Terakki's attitude towards the constitutional monarchy which was the most important claim of the Ottoman opposition, namely Young Turks.

Prince Sabahaddin does not see any difference between constitutional monarchy and despotism as long as they are based on the same social structure. One crucial character of the social structure is its administrative apparatus. Sabahaddin claims that centralization affects every field of the society and leads to despotism(17).

"Bir idare ister bir kiři tarafından gelsin 'hükümdar', ister beşyüz kiři, 'parlemento' neticelerin ikisi de bir kapıya çıkar: İstibdad. Değişen keyfiyet değil, kemiyet."(18).

Decentralization obviously produces a more effective and just rule. Centralization, and the absence of private initiative were the main causes of the Ottoman decline. Hence, decentralization and private initiative would be the basic incentives for social development(19).

These two concepts will be seen again and again in Terakki. They will be more meaningful, if we first look at them within their real theoretical framework, namely within the context of Demolins' science sociale thought.

## 1.2. Science Sociale and Prince Sabahaddin

The two French school of sociological thought, the

Comte-Durkheim school and the Le Play-Demolins school both tended to bring solutions to the social problems of nineteenth century France. Both of them were influential on Ottoman sociological thought. The Ottoman versions of these two schools tended to bring solutions to the problems of Ottoman society which were supposed similar to those of France, to a certain extent. In fact, The Ottoman versions were pragmatic interpretations of the two French schools. The respective representatives of these schools were Ziya Gökalp and Prince Sabahaddin.

Parallel to the school from which he was inspired, Ziya Gökalp's thought emphasizes the importance of community and collective mind. The extent of Gökalp's importance for Turkish sociological thought and then on Turkish Republican ideology roughly related to this basic character of his thought. Perhaps, this also can explain the negligence of Prince Sabahaddin's ideas.

As stated above, Gökalp's ideology was inspired from Durkheim, to a great extent. We do not know just why he chose Durkheim, as the base of his thought. M.E.Erişirgil says that first he was interested in Le Play and Demolins, but his "İttihatçı" (Unionist) friends did not like his concern with those individualist ideas(20). In fact, Gökalp was in a state of intellectual ferment and was interested in various currents of thoughts as he was looking for a solution to the decline of the Ottomans. His final decision Durkheim was in accordance with widespread influence of positivism on



Young Turks' and then on Union and Progress (İttihad ve Terakki) ideology. The reason of this influence can be related to the very basis of positivist point of view in society, namely the idea of social harmony. Some authors claim that the idea of social harmony was in keeping with the "petty bourgeois' dreams of compromise"(21).

The debate concerning the "petty bourgeois" origins of the Young Turks will not be detailed here, but, one should also remember that the emphasis of positivism on social harmony might be attractive for Ottoman intellectuals, for some other reason. We all know that social harmony is the target of many ideologies and all societies stress social harmony as their base. But the Western World could produce social theories which accepted and sometimes based itself on social contradictions. This was the result of the social transformations that Western World experienced. On the other hand, it seems that the Ottomans who did not experience the same transformations, were more inclined to the idea of social harmony.

Interestingly, some of Sabahaddin's ideas also confirm this point. Even Sabahaddin who represents the counter example to Gökalp and his school emphasizes social harmony, with reference to Western societies. In one of his early writings he says that, people who could evaluate humanity in the proper sense accorded their interests with public life and so their efforts become useful for public welfare(22). Later, after he systemized his thoughts around the ideas of

Demolins, he states this point more clearly. He says that, interests of individuals in the Western societies, are in accordance with public interest, because they increase national wealth through private initiative(23).

It has been said that, the Ottoman character of the 'social harmony' idea should be taken into consideration, as one evaluates the extent of Gökalp's influence. For similar reasons, the ideology which gives primacy to society rather than to the individual gained more importance in the personality of Ziya Gökalp. On this crucial point, Prince Sabahaddin has very different stance. His ideology which gives primacy to the individual was quite foreign to Ottoman life(24).

The father of Prince Sabahaddin's famous 'science sociale' thought is Le Play (1806-1882). Le Play believes in the necessity of similar methods of observation in social matters to that of natural matters. Through social observations, he wrote various monographies about different societies. The base of these observations was the family. To him the family as a social unit, corresponds to the atom of physics and to the cell of the biology. Le Play constituted categories in which family organization is related to social organization and geographical conditions.

The followers of Le Play developed and revised his studies. Prince Sabahaddin's ideas are the adaptation of Demolins' ideas who is one of Le Play's followers. Demolins

classifies the societies under two main categories, according to their geographical settling: "societies of collective formation" and "societies of particularistic formation"(25).

The Ottoman society is an example of the collective formation. Prince Sabahaddin claims that the real problem of the Ottoman society is its formation. We see this argument all through Terakki's pages and especially in Prince Sabahaddin's articles.

Terakki is taken as an aspect of opposition and so this study is limited to the articles which appeared in Terakki. But, Prince Sabahaddin's thought at the base of science sociale is the key to Terakki. For this reason, from time to time, Sabahaddin's later studies will be considered.

### 1.3. The Science Sociale View of Ottoman Empire

The general view of Terakki was expressed in the first pages, as seen above. Terakki's ideas on society in general and on the Ottoman society in particular is explained by M.Sabri(26), they are simple reflections of the science sociale point of view(27).

M.Sabri says that similar laws govern nature and society. Societies and nations are successful to the extent of their ability and power in the life struggle. This is the law of development in societies. Societies which are unsuccessful in this struggle become subject to successful ones. The existence or absence of private initiative is

crucial factor for the success of societies. In the case of its absence, people expect everything from powers beyond themselves, such as family, relatives, state etc.

"Tabiat terakkiyi en merhametsiz bir kanun ile istifa-ı tabiiye ile temin ediyor. İstifayı tahrik eden kuvvet de cihad ve cidal... Cemiyet-i beşeriyenin terakkiside aynı kanuna istifa-ı içtimaiyyeye tâbi. Hangi millet nafakasını tedarikte, hayatını müdafada daha büyük gayret daha büyük kabiliyet gösterirse o millet muhitinde kökleşiyor, neslinin istiklalini temin ediyor... İstifa-ı içtimaiyede muvaffakiyetin anahtarı "teşebbüs-ü şahsidir."(28).

The Ottoman society suffered from the absence of this key to success: private initiative. In the pages of Terakki, there is no clear theoretical perspective about the causes of this absence. The science sociale's explanation on historical evolution of societies can be taken as the answer to the question.

Demolins' article entitled "Is There Really Any Advantage in Seizing Power?" (Hakimiyeti ele Geçirmekte Faide Var mıdır?) which was published in Terakki tends to explain historical evolution of societies from the science sociale's point of view.

According to this evolution, the aim is the emergence and success of particularistic societies(29).

Prince Sabahaddin's evaluation of historical development is seen in a later pamphlet against Union and Progress rule. In his sixth letter to the Committee of Union and

Progress, he explains "the great discovery of science sociale". He summarizes the emergence and development of particularistic societies in some parts of Europe(30).

Sabahaddin looks at the Ottoman society from that point of view, in his writings but the attempt to present Ottoman history from this theoretical aspect comes later, by the followers of Sabahaddin(31).

Terakki is more interested in the outcome of the failure of such development in Ottoman society. The failure was the result of the absence of private initiative, in other words, the key of success. The outcomes were centralization and 'fonctionarisme' (memurperestlik). These two, weaken the Ottoman society from day to day.

Terakki published Demolins' article on French society, in order to present the situation better. French society had similar problems with that of Ottoman society, according to Terakki. Thus, Demolins' article would illuminate also the problems of Ottoman society.

Demolins argues that, the abuse of sovereignty caused the decline of France. France developed a centralized state mechanism as early as fourteenth century. At the beginning, this was the result of Roman traditions. The centralization developed gradually and reached its peak during the rule of Louis XIV. The situation was the same under the various regimes such as the Jacobins or Napoléon...

At the end, Frenchmen were subjected to central authority in every field of life through administrative, legislative and military machines. These machines prevented the existence of any local administration and the development of private initiative and such a rule created 'fonctionarisme'. Bureaucratic posts and politics became more desirable targets in the society. Moreover, children were brought up according to the prerequisites of the existing mechanism. Under these circumstances, there was no motivation for agricultural and industrial development, and private initiative could do nothing for the welfare of the society. This, in a nutshell, was the Demolins' interpretation of French society(32).

According to Terakki, these were also the problems of the Ottoman society. At the end of Demolins' article, it was stated that the situation of France shows the negative outcomes of the centralization, the purpose of this translation from Demolins, was to give an answer to the opponents of decentralization(33).

Prince Sabahaddin's article entitled "A Call to the People of the Provinces" emphasizes the same problems for Ottoman society. He again and again repeats that liberty could be realized at the level of social ability (kabiliyet-i iqtimai) which is the product of private initiative. In that case, the individual supports himself and does not rely upon his family, relatives and social relations in general. The sources of wealth were industry, commerce and agriculture which also increase the national wealth in Anglo-Saxon

societies. But, private initiative needs qualities like diligence. Ottomans did not have such a character, as a result of the educational system, they wanted to enrich themselves through usage of the bureaucratic machine, without working. Bureaucrats are accused also because they served the survival of the despotic regime. On the other hand, there was no balance mechanism of personal liberties in society(34).

In short, according to Terakki, the Ottoman society was suffering from the outcomes of centralization. This manifested itself in various ways. First, it is proposed to talk about the social problems which were, Terakki claimed, caused by centralized structure. Of course, it is to be admitted that it is difficult to draw a line between the political and social events of the time.

The two articles which explain the situation of the centralized economic and administrative mechanisms in Ottoman society at that time, are: "The farming out of the tithes"(35) and "Governmental Procedure in Anatolia, the Officials and the Notables"(36).

Terakki presents the farming out of the titles (aşar iltizamı) as robbery of the people and of the Treasury in the following manner. A tax farmer (mültezim) obtains the tax farming right of any place, by tender. Then, a delegation goes to supervise the place which is given over to tax farming. The delegation is constituted of the tax farmer, his secretary, his guards, village imam, and village council of

elders. Usually they reach a compromise in any way and evaluate the revenue of the farmed land higher than its real value. Villagers suffer from this situation and go to the head official of the district (kaymakam) in order to complain. He is usually an ally of the tax farmer and reports the situation in favor of him. Finally, if necessary, tax is collected by force with the help of officials. On the other hand, those who are effective in tax farming auctions (administrative head officials) take a certain share, and even become a partner of the tax farmer. Therefore, the district is farmed out at a rate far below its real value. Secondly, the tax farmer shows his property as collateral in return of tax farming rights, but his property often has less value than the tax revenue. As a result, if he does not pay the price of the tax farm at the end of the year, his property is sold, but does not compensate the farm revenue. In short, the treasury loses revenue in both ways. Moreover, people tend to plant only enough for their survival margin. Because under these circumstances, they do not have any motivation to produce more, as they pay unjust taxes. Even if they have a surplus crop, the absence of roads and other transportation facilities prevent them marketing it to get extra revenue. According to Terakki, this was the terrible economic picture of the country(37).

The other side of the coin was the administrative web(38) in spite of the proclamation of the Tanzimat edict, the notables (eşraf) were still very influential in the



administration of the districts. In fact, Terakki maintains that, it is not sufficient to accuse only the government officials for without the support of these local notables, they can do nothing.

The mechanism of alliance between civil servants and local notables is explained in detail, by Terakki with the emphasis on the fact that this alliance exploited people and country. The example of governor-general (vali) is given. The governor secures his appointment through bribery during his residence in the capital, İstanbul. When he is appointed to the office, he tries to compensate for his expenses. For this purpose, he is ready to make an alliance with local notables. On the other hand, local notables also have great willingness for such an alliance and compete with each other to get the support of the governor general. The compromise that they reach, is worked out at the expense of the people and of the country. They can act as they wish, in accordance with each other. Under these circumstances, people suffer from heavy exploitation, lawlessness, abuses, etc., and can not find any place to complain. Meanwhile, usurers become richer through lending money to villagers and foreclosing on mortgages(39).

In short, through centralized economy and administration, a minority of the people benefited from the country's richness at the expense of its decline. These were the main problems. It is seen that Terakki is very successful in the presentation of social problems in Ottoman society. The solu-

tions that Terakki offered, completes the picture and give a better idea about Terakki's point of view.

#### 1.4. The Importance of Science as a Solution

As it has been stated in the beginning of the study, one of the foundation stones of Prince Sabahaddin's and therefore Terakki's thought was 'science' which was the magic word of the nineteenth century. Sabahaddin thought that Demolins' social theory was real social science. For this reason, it would be the real device for Ottomans. Again, as stated above, science sociale was proclaimed as the only scientific way of explaining societies.

In Sabahaddin's later writings, the point is seen more clearly. In his pamphlet entitled "How can Turkey be saved?", he argues the difference of science sociale and sociology(40). For him, sociology could never be a science, on the contrary, science sociale was the science of social events, beyond dispute.

"... kendine mahsus usulü ile içtimai meselelerin tahliline muvaffak olan ortada yalnız bir ilm-i içtima var...

Sosyoloji yani içtimaiyat ise içtimai hadiseleri yalnız umumi ve vasatî ve ister istemez en sathî bir suretde kavradığı için meşgul olduğumeselelerin ruhuna asla nüfuz edemiyor."(41).

It is obvious that Demolins' thought was important for Sabahaddin and his friends, predominantly because of its 'scientific' character. They were not in a position to dis-

cuss the scientific validity of social theories. Demolins' social theory seemed quite satisfactory to them, as science. In those days, for almost all Ottoman intellectuals, science was the key to rescue the Ottoman Empire. So, it was one of the basis of Young Turk thought, rather than the peculiarity of Sabahaddin(42).

In fact, the rapid development of the West, or in other words, the victory of the West over the East produced admiration to science as the hero of this victory. It is possible to see the importance of science also in Western societies, at that time, but its importance for Ottomans who could not have it, was much greater.

We see this, in the form of admiration to 'technology' at the beginning, during the early attempts of westernization, from seventeenth century onwards(43). Later, we observe conceptual advances. For instance, we see one of Ahmed Mithad's pamphlets in which the idea of control over one's environment, was expressed in the 1880's(44). In fact Ottomans faced to ideas of enlightenment earlier. From Şinasi onwards Ottomans tried to adapt their minds to the new reality which was created by the Western World. But, the ideological and philosophical aspects of intellectual development for the Ottomans was less important than its pragmatic aspect. Their first and foremost concern was to save the declining Empire. Their superficiality was thus, the result of either the existence of such urgent problem, or of their conception of the world which was limited to the Ottoman Empire(45).

This fact was also valid for Prince Sabahaddin and Terakki thought, Science sociale was important, because it was real 'science'. Science was important because it could solve the problems of the Ottoman society as well as it could promote Western Civilization.

"İşte beşeriyetden bir kısmının siyasetle değil mesai-i müstahsile-i şahsiye ile, ulûmla, fûnunla vücûda getirdiği medeniyet-i garbiyenin ihtişam, saadet, parası içinde mesud ve bahtiyar yaşayan Avru pa..."(46).

Parallel to the importance of science, the idea of 'order' and 'lawfull development of society' were basic ideas of Young Turks(47). As seen above, in the beginning of this paper, M.Sabri claimed the existence of orderly progress of societies similar to that of the natural laws(48). The result was the survival of successful ones and the decline of the others. The criterion of success in Demolins' theory is private initiative in particular, and social ability in general. And the law of survival was in accordance with science sociale in the following manner: "private initiative is so important that nations who have it rule over others(49).

Sabahaddin repeats this idea in various ways, also in his later writings. For instance in a letter to the Committee of Union and Progress, he again and again emphasises the law of social progress(50) such laws of social progress which claim the right of survival for succesful societies during certain social progress, are conceptual products of "the succesfull societies". Interestingly, intellectuals of an "unsuccesfull society", namely Ottoman society, never denied these claims. On the contrary, they accepted the rules

of the game from the beginning. Sabahaddin contends the knowledge of these rules as the solution for all the societies' problems. He says that, if there were such laws of social progress and if a particular branch of science, namely science sociale, could discover them, the choice would be simple: nations through the knowledge of social laws, either could have ruled themselves or would have been ruled by those nations which possessed such knowledge.

"Bu içtimai kanunları bilip bilmemek kendimizi onların tesirleri altında bulmaktan asla kurtaramaz. Şu kadar var ki bilmek kendi kendimizi idare etmek, bilmemekse körü körüne idare olunmaktadır..."

İlm-i içtima sayesinde de içtimai hayatın en karışık, en karanlık meselelerini izah ederek istikbal yolculuğumuzu öylece emniyet altına almak mümkündür."(51).

#### 1.5. Common Grounds in Some of the Ideas in Terakki

The ideas in Terakki, seem to have a peculiar characteristic. Because, Prince Sabahaddine was involved in the analyses of crucial social problems, and proposed more radical solutions to them, rather than being limited to daily political problems. He had some novel ideas, for instance, people should have worked to save themselves, because without a social change nothing could be achieved in Ottoman Empire. In one of his articles, he says that, "We have only ourselves to blame for having been exploited this long."(52).

By "we", here Sabahaddin means the Ottoman people, but it is more likely that he felt the meaning of this "we" as

"we intellectuals" rather than "we Ottomans". Because his responsibility as an intellectual was much greater, for him. Ramsaur is right in saying that he was under the influence of "noblesse oblige" feeling(53).

In fact, Young Turks in general were feeling such responsibility as the intellectuals of the society. Perhaps, this is a more general phenomenon which is valid for intellectuals of all societies.

The social position of the Young Turks lent itself much more to such a feeling of responsibility. Those young intellectuals constituted a select minority in society. Perhaps, by saving the Empire from decline they hoped to condone their privileged position. On the other hand, at that time, international atmosphere, was suitable for intellectual heroism, because the excitement of science was still prevalent, in every field. If science solves all the problems, those people who could understand it, should have some responsibility. The group around Terakki defended this idea, more than the other intellectuals, because they felt they had grasped the only science capable of analyzing social events (54).

At the end of Sabahaddin's reply to a non-muslim Ottoman's criticis, he says that, "the intellectuals of both the Muslim and Non-muslim millets have to make a joint effort to right the wrongs of this administration." (55). This idea is seen also in Sabahaddin's later writings.

This point is meaningful for us, because it figures as a common feature in all Young Turks' thought. This similarity is related to the atmosphere in which Ottoman intellectuals lived, as stated above.

On the other hand, such elitism also can be traced back to Ottoman political culture, in general. In the Empire, everything came from above, from the state machinery. Accordingly, all attempts like reform or political changes took place within the framework of this machinery, in various ways like coup d'état, proclamation of edicts and constitutions. All of the Young Turks were criticizing the existing rule, but they themselves were also planning political change through the existing state machine.

Prince Sabahaddin seems quite a distinct example in that sense. Because his ideas seem to consider deeper social problems, he gives major importance to the people and he believes in the impossibility of any progress without social change.

However, at that point Sabahaddin's thought resembled other elitist intellectual currents. He believes that, first, someone should teach the people their problems and their capacity to confront them. This was the main task of intellectuals and education was the main tool. Education was very important, because Sabahaddin and his followers believed that "action usually comes after thought"(56). Therefore, they tended to emphasize the raising of the intellectual standards

of the society.

M.Sabri was stating the main reason of The First Constitution's failure, as the absence of "national intellectual movement"(57). It was now the time to create it. The enlightenment of the people was the main prerequisite of necessary social change(58).

M.Sabri proposed to publish small pamphlets, explaining some important issues to the people, like the meaning and responsibilities of the government, constitutional and despotic regimes, etc.(59).

Usually, the intellectual products of social developments are seen as their reasons. Therefore they are expected to lead to similar developments in other societies. For this reason intellectuals and some politicians tried to spread them. Terakki had such belief and so, it tried to enlighten the Ottoman people, in order to create similar social development to that of West, as if this development was the product of intellectual enlightenment in the West.

#### 1.6. The Ottoman Version of Science Sociale

The committment to the science sociale idea as a solution, required some revisions of it, to make it suitable for Ottoman society. Science sociale claims that peculiar regional conditions create different types of communities mainly, 'communuataire' and 'particularistic' communities. Under these circumstances, there was no chance for Ottoman



society, as long as it could not change its geographical conditions and it is obvious that such change was impossible.

Prince Sabahaddin and his followers claimed that the knowledge of societies and of social progress, through science sociale's analyses, made it possible to change societies through this knowledge. Therefore, a voluntary factor was added to science sociale idea: the confirmity of this new factor to the real theory, is a different subject of argument. But, clearly, it was a necessary revision for its Ottoman version.

"Bu ana kadar beşerin iradesi haricinde husule gelen bir içtimai istihaleyi, bundan böyle beşerin iradesiyle vücuda getirmek imkanını idrak ediyoruz."(60).

Otherwise, there would be no possibility of avoiding Ottoman decline. There is no clear explanation about this voluntary aspect in Terakki's pages directly, but it is possible to detect this view in various articles. In fact, the *raison d'être* of Terakki line stems from the belief to will to power, for a social change.

If the elitist attitude of Sabahaddin is considered, this voluntary aspect become more understandable. Sabahaddin and his friends were seeing themselves as the intellectual guides of society in two ways. On one hand, these intellectuals would be the rulers under the new regime. M.Sabri says that, an enlightened union around the concepts of decentralization, constitutional regime, private initiative, etc. should

be constituted, so that, when the Assembly will be opened, members of it could know what to do(61).

On the other hand, these intellectuals would enlighten the Ottoman people against the political regime of Abdülhamid II. In fact, the union and the power of the people could overthrow the despotic regime. But, this power would be realized through the impositions of opposition publications, in the short run, and through a proper educational programme in the long run.

In fact, a clear distinction of short run and long run policies was not made in Terakki's pages. There is emphasis on the importance of opposition press. The example of the Russian Revolution is given for this purpose. The role of the revolutionary press is exaggerated in the article entitled "The Russian Army and The Revolutionaries"(62). The article claimed that "there is no doubt that the press has been the greatest agent of provocation in the Russian Revolution, and the primary role of publications is emphasized with a footnote to this passage.

"Zaten her milletin tarih-i ihtilâlinde en esaslı, en şerefli roller bugün bazı-larımız tarafından abes ve faidesiz görülen gazetelere, risalelere, edebiyata aiddir. Her yerde ihtilâli hazırlayan, istibdadı sarsan asar-ı edebiyeye ve fen-niye olmuştur."(63).

According to Terakki, the major problem was to make the problems clear in people's minds and to show the solutions. Obviously, Sabahaddin and his friends were expecting

too much from intellectual activities.

Prince Sabahaddin, in his article, "Second Appeal to the People of the Provinces", claims that, to teach reading and writing to the people would make a very important contribution to their liberation. At least, it would help to prevent various abuses and injustices(64).

Such belief intellectual activities should not be suprising, when the general state of Ottoman intellectuals is considered. As stated above, all believed that they were in a position to save the declining Empire through application of some salutary formulae. Enlightenment and education were the main ingredients in this recipe, especially in the recipe of Prince Sabahaddin.

In fact, this was not only the peculiarity of Ottoman intellectuals of the time, but the statesmen who faced the undeniable collapse of the empire sought to rescue it, through similar methods. This attitude can be seen in the policy of reform.

The first reforms were of the military organization and of the education. New military methods were tried and some new schools were founded. When the importance of the new Western technology is considered, these attempts which would bring it to the Ottomans, are understandable.

On the other hand, it is possible to conclude that, Ottomans tried to reorganize the two important aspects of

their system, first of all.

The importance of the military in the Ottoman system is a well known phenomenon. The central point is the importance accorded to education by the Ottoman statesmen who thought that they could realize developments similar to those seen in the West, by the teaching of Western technology and administrative methods in new Ottoman Schools.

This mentality can be related to the importance of ideologies in the Eastern societies, as Gibb claims. He says, that unlike Western societies, in Eastern societies structure is determined by ideologies which are confirmed by educational systems, by new laws, and like(65).

Gibb's well known argument is open to discussion, but it goes some way towards explaining the Ottoman system. The reforming attitudes of Ottoman statesmen from seventeenth century onwards and the trust of Young Turks in intellectual activities relate to their similar Ottoman mentality, to certain extent.

#### 1.7. The "Distinctive Aspect" of Terakki

In as much as this study has dealt with Terakki's ideas and so Prince Sabahaddin's thought in general it also seeks to emphasize the similarities of those Ottoman intellectuals who were called Young Turks, as seen above. This does not mean that we are not concerned with the distinctions between Prince Sabahaddin - Terakki line and the other Ottoman intel-

lectuals. But, the distinctive characteristics of Sabahaddin's thought has been overemphasized.

The aspects of Sabahaddin's thought that have been credited with 'distinctiveness' are those aspects which claim not to be satisfied with superficial political changes but deal with profound social change. This profound social change was needed in order to catch up with a rapidly changing world.

"Rekabet-i ticariye-i âlem şerait-i hâzıra-ı iktisadiyenin tesiri altında baş döndüren bir süratle ilerliyor...

Şimdi yeni ihtiyaçlar ve yeni insanlarla büsbütün yeni bir alem karşısındayız."(66).

This new world required social ability. Private initiative creates this ability, therefore Ottomans should have to bring up a new type of man who had this power of initiative.

"O halde en kat'î bir ihtiyaç mekteblerimiz kelimenin bütün kuvvetiyle adam yetiştirmeye muktedir hale getirecek ve getirmeyi istemiyen şu katil hükümeti kalbinden vuracakmilli bir kuvvet teşkilini emrediyor."(67).

Sabahaddin thinks that the formation of a generation which had private initiative could be realized through appropriate educational institutions. This, of course, meant a new political system which would fulfill this task.

It seems that, Sabahaddin and his friends, convicted that developments similar to those seen in the Western World could be realized by intellectual tools: agitation and training of the people.

This belief is indicative of the fact that Sabahaddin and his friends only had a shallow knowledge of the Western World. They never realized the fact that the Western World had not been created by an "appropriate educational programme".

On the other hand, it is not possible to find any serious economic understanding of this "new world", in spite of the fact that there is so much admiration of it's economic activities. These activities are often emphasized as productivity, unlike Ottoman's "useless political struggles".

In fact, this absence of understanding is common to all Young Turks' explications of society's ills(68).

An interesting explanation concerning economic issues is given in one of Sabahaddin's later studies(69). He says that, in those bad times, agriculture could be very useful for the country. But, the leadership of Young Ottoman intellectuals was needed. They should play the role of the Anglo-Saxon class of gentlemen. Through this way, 'particularistic society' could be formed. These young cadres should be trained in schools like "L'Ecole des Roches" in France. Then, he describes the educational policy of this school which would encourage private initiative.

#### 1.8. Some General Remarks on Terakki's Theoretical Framework

This study has tried to present the ideas which existed in Terakki's pages, accordingly it has dealt with Prince Sabahaddin's thoughts. It has tried trace the foundations of

these ideas.

The ideas in Terakki is important, because it was the first publication which systematically presented the ideas of Prince Sabahaddin's group.

Within the framework of our limited information about Ottoman intellectual life, it can be said that the ideas of Sabahaddin and of his followers were not so novel.

The most striking features of this stream of thought were the radical concepts like private initiative, particularistic society, etc. From the early nineteenth century onwards, we come across similar ideas to those of Sabahaddin's. It has been seen that criticism of the Ottoman economic system using some new concepts, predates Prince Sabahaddin(70). Of course, Sabahaddin's 'private initiative is a more developed concept as a major force of economic development, than early economic concepts like 'say'-û amel', but it was also quite ambiguous. Mardin says that Prince Sabahaddin's thoughts were a more developed kind of Ahmed Mithad's thoughts(71).

On the other hand, very similar ideas were shared by Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, in spite of the fact that he was not a follower of Sabahaddin. In his pamphlet entitled "Fear of Life", he also talks about the same problems, resulting from the same phenomenon: the absence of individual's efforts and initiatives(72).

Sabahaddin was trying to find solution to the decline of the Empire, as many other Ottoman intellectuals. As a result of Demolins' influence on him, he adapted Demolins' social theory as the solution. Of course, this adaptation introduced new concepts and propositions to Ottoman intellectual life, but no more.

Most of the Ottoman intellectuals of the time were the admirers of one or more Western thinkers. Some of them, like Ahmed Rıza were only the admirer of a western stream of thought, Sabahaddin took one step further, by forging quite a successful adaptation of the one thought he admired.

Secondly, also Sabahaddin's thought was pragmatic and took the social development of the West as the only way to go. Science sociale was important as long as it was the only way to activate necessary development and to save the Ottoman society from decline. "Necessary development" was of course a similar development to that of the West. If the West was successful today, the real road to follow, was the road that it walked on first. Therefore, Ottomans should work without any hesitation to resemble the West(73).

This was natural, when the situation of the other societies are considered, when they faced the shock of Western developments. As an Ottoman Prince Sabahaddin was no different and found himself under the same bewildering influences.

On the other hand, usually people hope to realize a certain social system, through a similar way which was



followed by a particular society before. They can not recognize that there is no clearcut way to be followed, in order to realize a certain social system(74). Sabahaddin also seems to have such belief.

The other important point was the ignorance of the societies which were taken as model, by Ottoman intellectuals. It has been stated above that Prince Sabahaddin and his friends did not have an extended idea about the societies they admired, namely Anglo-Saxon societies. Prince Sabahaddin admired Anglo-Saxon societies, but he did not have deliberate information about the development and the working of these societies. Otherwise, he could not present such plans like the realization of a similar society, simply through the leadership of an élite and by education. Moreover, he accepted such ideas like "success through private initiative and diligence" at face value and claimed Ottomans lacked this "positive character trait".

He did not accept such ideas, in order to advocate the West consciously but, rather he accepted these justifications of Western societies, because he believed in them. He was not critical, because he could not be. He just tried to save the Ottomans from decline through realization of a model which appeared to have been successful.

As a result, it can be said that Prince Sabahaddin and his friends did not think very differently from other Young Turks. Any originality that is to be found in their ideas,

come from the concepts and propositions which were adapted from Demolins.

In essence, Prince Sabahaddin was an ordinary Ottoman intellectual who felt responsibility as an intellectual and tried to do something to save the Ottoman Empire. Let aside his political activities, on the intellectual platform he searched for this purpose and discovered a social theory, namely science sociale theory of Demolins, as explained before. As a nineteenth century intellectual, he believed in the power of intellect. And as an Ottoman he believed in the power of the élite in society, in spite of his theoretical belief in the society itself. So, he revised Demolins and formulated a solution like the foundation of a particularistic society through will power. People would realize it by the leadership of the intellectuals.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to talk about the specificity of this "imperial enemy of Turkish despotism"(75), and his followers. An overevaluation of the man and his ideas is only if he is taken out of his historical context.

"Every man has an emotional commitment to history and intellectual commitment to value, and he tries to make these commitments coincide"(76). This is especially valid for Ottoman intellectuals, and Prince Sabahaddin was not an exception. If, we consider this fact, we can better understand Sabahaddin, as a man torn between new values that Demolins'

theory presents and Ottoman values which continued to influence him.

Finally, we should consider the fact that Sabahaddin and his followers were not so conscious about Western social structures to advocate and did not have any serious ideology which could be the foundation of any tradition of opposition, in Turkish Society. The famous division among Young Turks in the First Young Turk Congress is sometimes taken as the origin of the main political fragmentation in Turkey(77). It is better to take the succeeding political divisions, in different contexts. Otherwise, interpretations on Turkish political life will be misleading. Because, Turkey has experienced very complex social and political process. And this process is full of zigzags rather than straight lines. We never deny the existence of continuous lines in this process but in order to understand the process properly, we should be very critical about them.

## 2- TERAKKI'S FOCUS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the first chapter, we have tried to evaluate Terakki's intellectual setting through its point of view on general theoretical matters. Terakki's point of view on daily political events is also another key to the mentality of Sabahaddin and of his followers.

### 2.1. Terakki and Anatolian Uprisings

The most important daily political issues which took place in Terakki were the uprisings, especially Anatolian uprisings.

The Terakki issue dated March 1907 was announcing the good news of uprisings which took place in Erzurum. An article says that revolts in Trabzon, Bitlis and Van followed the Erzurum events. Hopefully, similar movements would break out also around Istanbul. And, if the other provinces would follow Erzurum, the constitutional regime should have to be proclaimed, by the government(78).

Terakki was very hopeful about the influence and results of these movements. In the tenth issue of Terakki, Prince Sabahaddin says that the union of the people in Erzurum saved the country from new cruelty. In fact, Ottoman people were responsible for oppression, because they did not do anything against tyrannical rule. Erzurum took the first step, Ottomans should be united in taking the second step(79).

"...İşte Erzurum hayat ve haysiyete doğru ilk adımını attı. Eğer birleşirsek ikinci adımı birlikte atarsak, şüphesiz ki vatan kurtulacak. Kurtulmak için ittihad edelim..."(80).

It is seen that Terakki gives information about these uprisings in an agitative and didactive manner. Prince Sabahaddin gives the same advice to the people at the end of his article, entitled "Union". He says that people should have resisted the government's demands of tax and military service up until the constitutional regime was proclaimed and decentralization was established.

"Unutmayalım ki hükümet milletin parası, milletin kanıyla hükümet oluyor. O halde vergi ile askeri teftişimize tâbi bir hükümete verelim. Yıldız bu hakkı tanıyıp Millet Meclisini açmadıkça, Kanun-u Esasinin ahkâmını kabul etmedikçe, vilayetlerin idare-i mahalliyesini yine ahali velayetine teslim etmedikçe ne bir para, vergi, ne de bir nefer asker vermemek için ittihad edelim. Ettiğimiz gün, vatanın sahibi, hükümetin amiri, cihanın muhteremi olacağız..."(81).

In the succeeding issue of Terakki, M.Sabri's article on "Anatolian Uprisings" has a more didactive character. He says that the Erzurum incidents created a motivating social influence on conscious elements ("erbab-ı idrak"), this was the beginning of the national awakening that liberals tried to realize for a long time. Then, M.Sabri explains the failures of such attempts like the Tanzimat Edict, the Reforms of 1856 and the First Constitution. According to him, the failure was due to the absence of intellectual development

and individual productivity. And he repeats the science sociale argument on societies that was mentioned in the previous chapter. He concludes that Erzurum Incidents were a very important step in the way of necessary social change(82).

The news of some other incidents are seen in the following issue of Terakki. Under the title of "Anatolian Uprisings", the uprising against the governor general of Bitlis was mentioned. This movement was interpreted as the sign of the "liberal spirit" of the Ottoman people as in the of the previous Erzurum Incident(83).

Terakki continues the agitation for uprisings, as it interprets the new events. It says that people in Erzurum revolted, but the present rule would try to take revenge unless a constitutional regime was established. Then, some new abuses of power on the part of the government are mentioned(84).

On the other hand, Terakki gives the news of some incidents which took place in Aydın and in Muğla. It was stated that, partial resistance was not sufficient, people should have resisted and agitated for the constitutional regime(85). In the sixteenth issue of Terakki the abuses of former governor general of Bitlis are discussed and people are invited to reject his appointment to a new province, Trabzon(86). More theoretical articles have also this agitative-didactive tone. Prince Sabahaddin says that, people should make an effort in order to have a civilized life, but this effort could not be in the form of petitions to the

Sultan(87).

Sabahaddin calls upon the people to resist the government and at the end of the article, explains the abuses of the existing rule in a didactive manner(88). Sabahaddin's "letters to the youth" also have this tone, trying to provoke the people into a union against the government(89).

It seems that especially the Anatolian uprisings had a very important significance for Terakki. It was both an example of resistance and a means of provocation on the road to social resistance through the union of all Ottomans.

In order to evaluate Terakki's attitude better, first, there is need for looking at these revolts. Unfortunately, there is no proper study on these movements and it is not proposed to undertake such research here.

As far as is known, there were numerous movements which manifested discontent in various places of the Empire, during the last years of Abdulhamid II. Terakki gives some limited information on those which took place between the years 1906-1908, in Erzurum, Kastamonu, Trabzon and Bitlis.

According to Terakki, these were the results of the people's awakening against the tyrannic rule of the government. Such a belief is not surprising, given the general aspect of Terakki. For Terakki the increasing pressure over the people and the influence of opposition publications created such movements in some regions of Anatolia. Some new

taxes and unbearable abuses on the part of the government officials and of local magnates which were supported by the center were presented as incidents which provoked the people. At last, people have recognized the bad situation in which they lived, Terakki claims. It was the belief of Terakki that, it had an important role to play although this was not mentioned explicitly.

Prince Sabahaddin points to the role of intellectuals in Anatolian uprisings, in one of his articles.

"...yeni Türklerin içinde ulûm ve funûnuyla, sanayii ve edebiyatıyla terakkiyat-ı hazıra-ı medeniyeyi yakından takip eden ve o terakkiye derin bir muhabbetle merbut olanlar var. Vakıa bunlar küçük bir zümre, fakat mevcudiyetleri bir inkılâb...infilakını göstermiyor mu? Anadolu kıyıamları bunların tesirini ispat etmiyor mu?"(90).

It is seen, only some indirect claims about the role of the League of Private Initiative and Decentralization. At the end of the news from Bitlis incidents, people are called to unite and resist against the government. For this purpose there was need for organization, Terakki says that there were some organizations in various provinces, but these were insufficient.

"İlk icmalimizde neşrettiğimiz programın dördüncü bendi (memleketin nikat-ı muhtelifesinde teşkilat-ı müntezeime ihdası) idi. Cemiyet-i merkeziye programının diğer bendlerinin muhteviyatının tatbik ile beraber bu son maddeye müstesna bir ehemmiyet verdiği için icrası yolunda vesait-i mümkünenin kaffesine tevessül etdi ve bugün vilayetlerimizin bir kısmında muntazam



teşkilata muvaffak oldu. Bunlar hergün büyüyor, çoğalıyor, memleketin şarkından garbına, şimalinden cenubuna doğru müteaddid merakiz-i ittihadiye vücuda geliyor!..."(91).

There is no reliable information about the extent of this group's role in those incidents. There are differing opinion about the role of Prince Sabahaddin's group in Anatolian uprisings.

P.Fesch claims that this group organized the Erzurum uprising(92). A.B.Kuran talks about the role of Hüseyin Tosun Bey who was a follower of Sabahaddin(93). H.Bayur also talks about the leadership of Hüseyin Tosun Bey(94). T.Z.Tunaya states that the League of Private Initiative and Decentralization had branches in Erzurum, Trabzon, İzmir, Alâiye, Damascus, İstanbul(95) and he says that Erzurum branch held the Erzurum incidents(96).

On the otherhand, Mehmed Nusret(97) and Ali Haydar Mithad(98) say that Hüseyin Tosun Bey was not so influential in the Erzurum incidents.

Whether Prince Sabahaddin's group was active directly or indirectly in these uprisings, is unclear. This study focuses rather more on the assesment of the movements as they appeared in Terakki. We believe that, the mentality of this group can be deduced to certain extent from their stance on various political incidents, to certain extent.

First of all, what Terakki claims to be the reason for

these uprisings reflects its image of society, and of social change. Terakki's ideas on social change in accordance with science sociale, has been explained in the first chapter. According to science sociale, political changes do not have any meaning, the only solution is to create a particularistic society which requires radical social transformation.

As Sabahaddin replies to the critics on their understanding of the organization problem, which objects a long process, he talks more directly about effectiveness of their group in the Anatolian uprisings.

"Bazılarımızca böyle bir teşkilatın vücud-  
da gelmesi en aşağıdan otuz-kırk senelik  
mesaiye muhtaç görülüyor, bu doğru olsa  
bile en kısa yol insanı maksada götüren-  
dir. Bununla beraber iki seneden beri te-  
madi edegelen Anadolu kıyıamları yukarıda-  
ki iddiaları kökünden cerh etdi."(99).

Terakki thinks that a radical social transformation would possibly be realized by an appropriate rule. This rule would be realized, first by the overthrow of the existing rule. Sabahaddin calls upon all opponents of the regime to unite, in order to realize this primary goal.

"Hele bir kere memleket canavar pençesin-  
den kurtulsun, hukuk-u ahîre riayet şar-  
tıyla düşündüğümüzü söylemek istediğimiz  
gibi çalışmak hakkını kazanalım... Mede-  
niyet-i hâzıra doğru ve kat'i adımı ata-  
lım..."(100).

Terakki supposes the Anatolian uprisings to be a step in this direction. Moreover, these movements were important because they showed the possibility of people's resistance,

according to Terakki.

"Abdülhamid-i Sâni'yi telgraf başına çağırın, vergi gelirini geri çektiren, soygunculuğa çıkardığı valilerini paçavra gibi birer birer yüzüne çarpan Kastamonu, Erzurum, Bitlis erbab-ı kıyam-ı zeminin milli bir kıyama ne derecelerde müsaide bulunduğunu ispat etdi."(101).

As it was stated before, Prince Sabahaddin and his followers believed that people could be motivated against the present rule if they could be persuaded by publications and by organizations(102). For this reason they believed in their influence on the uprisings. They also believed that people recognized the real character of the existing rule and revolted against it, so uprisings gained political aspect. Terakki was very hopeful about the success of these movements for the proclamation of the Constitution(103).

It is not possible to determine the exact validity of such a judgement with the limited data available. But, there is need to question such a claim, in order to understand Terakki's attitude.

Terakki says that people in Erzurum, demanded the opening of the Assembly, besides the simple economic demands(104). To take this statement as the proof of Ottoman people's conscious resistance to the existing rule, will be misleading.

New taxation seemed to trigger the riots in some areas of Anatolia. As far as we learn from Terakki, some unbearable

abuses of local administrative officials also caused such reactions. For instance, Terakki stresses that the governor general's abuses played an important role in Bitlis incidents. Again, Terakki states that people refused to do military service and as a result, riots took place in Aydın and Muğla, as also stated above.

Such causes alone seem reasonable. In those dark times of the Empire, increasing taxes, administrative abuses, hard and long military service were certainly unbearable. But it does not seem that the, people was motivated only by these problems. Otherwise, the Empire would not know a day of peace in these difficult times. In fact, it is possible to generalize this fact. Upheavals are not the usual outcome of every problem, but rather, they are points in which various and numerous events coincide with each other. This is more valid for great social upheavels, namely revolutions. But, the incidents that dealt with here, were also complex socio - political events.

In the Erzurum region, first, taxes increased, as Terakki states. On the other hand, the government stopped giving passports for Russia, after the Russian Revolution of 1905. This decision created discontent among the people who went to Russia for seasonal employment and among the merchants because the new prohibition hindered the commerce with Russia(105). In addition, the abuses of the governor general, seemed the main target of discontent. Events could also have been influenced by the opposition to the existing regime.

Some sources (especially those sympathetic to Prince Sabahaddin) claim the influence of the League on Erzurum Events, as stated above. In fact, the opposition propaganda was not exclusively the contrivance of Sabahaddin's group. The role of other political exiles in Anatolia is claimed in some sources(106).

According to the Russian consul Skryabin, the discontent in Erzurum increased after the exiles who were involved in the assassination of Ridvan Pasha, arrived there from Istanbul(107). On the other hand, some events should be considered within the framework of local power mechanisms. For instance, we learn from Terakki that cattle dealers and butchers started quarelling in the Erzurum region. On the other hand, people were divided over the grain trade to Russia. Terakki says that the government tried to divide people over this issue. Some merchants were persuaded to export grain to Russia and the needs of the local market could not be sustained(108).

According to Terakki, the government was behind such conflicts among the people. The inside story is not known, but it is obvious that it was not very simple. It seems that some internal conflicts in the region were shown to be the sin of the despotic ruler of the country.

A similar story is seen in the Bitlis incidents. The revolt against the governor general Ferid Pasha is explained by his increasing abuses. Meanwhile, we learn that the last event which triggered the events, related to a sheikh. Terakki

says that Ferid Pasha had been molesting some women, he had lastly focused his attentions on Sheikh Abdülbaki Efendi's daughter-in-law and finally, people had revolted(109).

This event shows that various factors could be influential on the motivation of the people. The importance of local notables, especially in the Eastern provinces of Ottoman Empire, is well known. Therefore as one claims that people revolted against the despotic regime, it is necessary to take into account various factors which played a role in the revolt. Perhaps, the revolt primarily showed the extent of the Sheikh Abdülbaki Efendi's power rather than "the awakening of the liberal, soul of the people", in Bitlis, as Terakki claims(110).

On the other hand, the role of a muslim organization "Life Giver" ("Can Verir") is also claimed(111). There is no satisfactory information about such organizations and their role, but it is useful to be aware of the existence and the probable role of such organizations. In order to better understand the incidents, it is necessary to know the ethno - political composition of those regions.

Some demands made by the people in Erzurum, from the Sultan, gives a better idea of the local situation. These are the abolition of Hamidian kurdish troops (Hamidiye Alayları) and to decrease the tax of exemption from military service (bedel-i askeriyye) which was peculiar to Armenians(112). This does not mean that Armenians prepared the riots in Erzu-

rum. In fact, it is well-known that they had a finger in the pie(113). The other well-known phenomena were the problems relating to the Kurds. Terakki number twelve, informs us that, after a battle with Armenian bandits, a group which was constituted of Turks and Kurds plundered some Armenian villages. Terakki criticizes this movement(114). Under the title of "Kurds", Terakki explains the cruelty of tribal chiefs and the terror which existed among themselves and over the people. Of course, Terakki relates the problem to the despotic regime(115).

These were some snapshots from the socio-political situation of Eastern Anatolia. But, only the complete picture could make them meaningful. Terakki fails or is unwilling to give this complete picture.

It is known that, the Ottoman Empire had enormous problems in every province, during the period covered by this study. Eastern Anatolia was one of the most critical regions of the Empire. The population was constituted of different ethnic groups, mainly Turks, Armenians and Kurds. There were conflicts between urban people and tribal people, also among the local notables. Finally, some of these conflicts coincided with ethnic conflicts. Moreover, it was a region where the Ottoman state never had complete control, especially over the Kurds of the mountains. On the other hand, the region had strategic importance, therefore foreign interests and interferences were always a problem.

The politics of Abdulhamid II period is still a subject of discussion. Here, the argument relating to Terakki is important. Terakki line on the incidents of Eastern Anatolia has been seen. This line also expresses its political evaluation of the period.

Prince Sabahaddin and his followers's ideas were far from being an appropriate evaluation of the period. For this reason, they could easily see the matter in Eastern Anatolia as the struggle between the "bloody officials and other powers of the center" and the people.

At the end of the news that some Turks and Kurds attacked three Armenian Villages, Terakki calls the people to unite against tyrannic government.

"Müslümanlar Ermeni köylerini yağmalamaya  
koşacak yerde Ermenileri kendileriyle  
birlikte hukuk-u Osmaniye'yi müdafaya da-  
vet etseydiler şüphesiz vatanlarına daha  
ciddi bir hizmet etmiş olurlardı. Hiç ol-  
mazsa âlem-i medeniyete bir çapulcu kıya-  
fetinde görünmezdik."(116).

Then, "the murderous games of the government" is explained. According to Terakki, "it is obvious that the present government is seeking, to strengthen itself through the weakness of its subjects, that is why it causes them to decimate one another"(117).

Terakki claims that, the despotic Hamidian regime secured its survival through centralization which benefited from social struggles but never thought that perhaps this



was the only way of survival for any Ottoman Government at that time. S.Duguid interprets the period in a truer light:

"The Hamidian period has achieved the reputation of being the most despotic and centralized era in modern Ottoman history. That it was despotic and that centralization was a major goal cannot be debated but upon investigation it becomes clear that centralization like reform, was subordinate to unity and survival."(118).

Abdülhamid II was not in a position to change the conditions around him, he could simply operate within these conditions. The unattainable level of Western development, backwardness of Ottoman Empire, the dissolution of its territories were beyond his initiative. He had very little opportunity to choose. Under the limited conditions, he chose to depend at least on the muslim part of the Empire, as much as possible, tried to strengthen the state and decrease foreign intervention. Needless to say that, the changes in European balance of power helped him, to employ diplomatic tactics(119).

There was need for diplomatic manoeuvres also within the country, in order to attain a certain minimum of control over the Empire and to prevent foreign intervention. Abdulhamid II benefited from local rivalries, ethnic divisions, conflicts among local notables. He tried to manipulate them "so that no one element become powerful enough to challenge Ottoman sovereignty."(120).

Terakki complains that the government backed the cruel

officials, some notables and the Kurds in the regions of uprisings and led them to act severely. On the other hand, we know that, Kurds were a very important element for Abdulhamid II, in his internal balance of power. The Sultan supported the Kurds against the Armenians who were supported by Britain and created an important threat in Eastern Anatolia.

"In the muslim areas dominated by nomads, ..., the Sultan preferred to delegate many administrative functions to the local chieftains and notables by assigning administrative ranks to them. The general objectives of his policy in the areas varied according to the international political sensitivity of each place. Eastern Anatolia demanded his utmost attention. There the Sultan chose to extend government services and influence through close operation with the local Kurdish chieftains. This enabled him to frustrate the British backed efforts of the local Armenians to create an autonomous Armenia."(121).

Terakki, could not consider these political realities. In one of his articles, Sabahaddin accuses Armenians that they called the foreign intervention(122). But, these political realities are never accepted as factors which were effective on Abdulhamid II's politics, neither in Sabahaddin writings nor in the articles which were published in Terakki.

In fact, Sabahaddin's sympathy for Britain and his good relations with Armenians, are reflected in the issues about ethnic divisions. On the other hand, the general utopian atmosphere concerning Ottoman union is observable in Terakki's political interpretations. M.Sabri is very hopeful about this union, in his pamphlet following upon the Second

Young Turk Congress. He believed that, from that Congress onwards there would be a real Ottoman union and particularistic activities would come to an end. So, he also tried to persuade the people that the Ottoman union would be realized.

"...hükümetin sana dediği gibi karşında bir Ermeni beyliğine çalışan 'Ermeni Çeteleri' yok. Bundan böyle Ermenilerde vatandaşımızı zulümden kurtarmak için bizimle birlikte harb edecekler."(123).

The same unawareness of politics is seen in Terakki's views about the revolts in Arabian provinces. A Terakki issue gives the good news of the riots which took place in Baghdad and Jiddah. People in Baghdad, succeeded in abolishing the tax which was collected for the Hidjaz Railway(124). Then, under the title of "The Question of Syria and Beirut Uprisings", the evils of the government are exhibited, once again. According to Terakki some lawlessness was supported and divisions among the people were provoked by the government. Terakki failed to understand these endless struggles and called for the union of all people, muslim and non-muslim, against the government(125).

It is known that, similar conditions prevailed in both the Arabian and Eastern Anatolian provinces. Arabian provinces had also some peculiar characteristics. These were such regions that Ottoman domination could never be established completely. Instead, Ottomans survived there through protecting some traditional structures(126). A turmoil in these provinces is seen with the decline of Ottoman control.

Naturally, traditional power centers tended towards autonomy, became subject of foreign intervention, latent conflicts came to the surface and all of these factors created problems.

Under these circumstances, we should be very careful as we evaluate. It sees the abolition of the Hidjaz Railway tax, as a success. From a humanistic point of view, it could be a success, but such point of view is not a valid political standpoint. On the other hand, it should be remembered that Abdulhamid II, succeeded in maintaining certain unity through such gestures like constructing the pilgrimage railroad which was Hidjaz Railway without foreign help. It was also a matter of legitimacy, in the eyes of muslim subjects of the Empire.

On the otherhand, Terakki fails to realize that conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Syria, or the other conflicts in other provinces, could not be solved just by the awakening of the people and by their decisions to unite against government.

## 2.2. On Decentralization

It has been said that, one of the basic points of Prince Sabahaddin's thought was his emphasis on the issue of 'decentralization'. Therefore, 'decentralization' is one of the main issues which took place in Terakki.

Sabahaddin defended the idea of decentralization from a theoretical point of view. Because, first of all, "the admir-

able" Anglo-Saxon societies depends upon decentralized administration. It seems that, he started from this point.

Sabahaddin never considered the real conditions of the Ottoman Empire, as he defends the uses of decentralization. He complained that his programme which was based on decentralization, could not be evaluated properly by his opponents(127). As he replied to the criticisms of Bahaddin Sakir(128), in Terakki again, he never argued on the platform of political reality. Their discussion on Sabahaddin's programme, gives a clear idea of the positions(129).

The first article of the programme offers the foundations of administrative decentralization; application of the reforms to all Ottoman subjects and rectification of the Constitution in necessary cases.

The second article talks about the rights of the elected bodies (like municipalities) in decisions concerning local issues. A local assembly would be constituted. Taxation would be determined by local and governmental authorities and a necessary sum of the taxes would be devoted to local expenses.

The third article demands the foundation of a constitutional government which would regulate the relations among the provinces and their relations with the centre. An assembly which was constituted of the elected members of provincial assemblies would be founded.

The fourth article points to the need for the measures of election which would satisfy all Ottoman subjects and prevent divisions among them. The measures should be in such a way that each national group (kavim) would have representatives in proportion with their population in certain region, so the just participation in provincial assemblies would be maintained.

The fifth article offers the equality of all Ottoman subjects in all fields including the right to go to the military schools.

The sixth article proposes to constitute a gendarme organization for internal discipline and order. Each national group would participate in this organization in proportion with its population. Some foreigners would be employed for the training of these gendarmes.

The seventh article says that the administrative and judicial officials other than governor general, governor of sanjak, director of financial administration of province, director of royal register, head of lower court, head of court of appeal, public prosecutor (vali, mutasarrıf, defterdar, defter-i hakani müdürü, bidayet ve istisaf mahkemeleri reisi ve müdde-i umumileri) would be elected by governor general in a proper ratio with the population of different "nations".

The eighth article says that police would be subject to the orders of the administrative officials.

The ninth article relates to the taxes. Taxes would be modified in a proper way and the new taxation system would be maintained by new measures and laws.

The tenth article says that international agreements would be guaranteed.

This programme gives an idea of the idea of decentralization taht Prince Sabahaddin and his followers had in mind. This is not a clearcut and detailed programme, in fact the technical aspect of its applicability is out of the scope of this study. The general outlook is enough to question its political applicability which is more important for the purpose of this study.

Bahaddin Şakir criticized the programme from this point of view. This does not mean that Bahaddin Şakir and the group around Şura-ı Ümmet were completely right. But, at least, Bahaddin Şakir considered some political realities of the time. His argument was centered on the well-known problem of foreign intervention. Although it appeared to be a simplistic approach there was some basis of truth in it. Anybody who knows a little about the world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, easily concludes that this programme was an invitation for foreign intervention. It was not so difficult to realize that every right and autonomy which was given to the millets, was a means of intervention and of independence.

"Bütün bir vilayeti selâhiyet-i tam ile ellerine bırakacağımız şu yetli azalar acaba kimler olacaktır? Bu azalar, Arabistan'da İngilizlerin, Suriye'de Fransızların, Arnavutluk'ta İtalyanların ve Avusturyanın, vilayet-i sittede Avrupalı komitecilerin, Adalarda Yunanistanın, Makedonya'da Bulgaristan ... ilh...taht-ı tesir-i nüfuzunda bulunan ve maksud fikirleri ve ellerinde silahları ve bombaları ve vasıta-i neşrii efkarları olan gazeteleri ve risaleleriyle güneş gibi aşıkâr olan kimselerden mürekkeb olursa ne yapacağız?"(130).

What were Prince Sabahaddin's relations with the British and with the Ottoman millets, is an open question. Under these circumstances, it can only be stated that the idea of decentralization was far from the realities.

Prince Sabahaddin insists on his theoretical platform of discussion in his reply to Bahaddin Şakir. He emphasizes that, decentralization prevents foreign intervention, contrary to Bahaddin Şakir's claims. Because, in order to prevent foreign intervention, there was need for a developed society that only the application of science sociale and decentralized administration could realize.

"Muarizin-i kiram müsterih olsunlar! Müdahale-i ecnebiye ne fen-i içtima, ne devâsi adem-i merkezîyet mukteziyatındandır. Hatta bunlar tatbik edildikleri yerlerde müdahale-i dahiliyeye en kavi bir mania oldukları için haricin müdahalesine karşı en metin bir müdafaa teşkil ederler. ...

Devletlere işimize karışmayın demek için karıştırmayacak bir idareye malik olmalı"(131).

In fact, Sabahaddin was right to a certain extent, as



he claims the importance of social development for a successful foreign policy.

Prince Sabahaddin has been criticised on the ground that he could not realize the political realities, also concerning the issue of decentralization, and so his theories on Ottoman politics remained utopian thoughts. The general thought of Sabahaddin does not constitute a political theory. Rather, one encounters an adaptation of a French school of thought to the problems of Ottoman society. Sabahaddin and his friends were not scholars or thinkers, but they were intellectuals directly involved in politics. Moreover, they had set themselves the urgent task of trying to save Ottoman society. Under these circumstances, the practical validity of their political thoughts takes on a more immediate significance.

### 2.3. Some Socio-Political Concepts in Terakki

According to Terakki, people should found the constitutional regime consciously by force. Terakki's views on the possibility of short-run political change through people's movement, as well as on the question of the Anatolian uprisings as a sign of this change have been examined above. In addition to this, there is the issue of the popular mentality and the socio-political meaning of the state in the Ottoman Empire.

In many ways Terakki diverged from the classical

Ottoman mentality by it's emphasis on "the state for the people" as opposed to the Ottoman conception of "the paternalistic state". In the classical Ottoman concept there was no question of the state's responsibility to it's people or of the people's right of checking the state, in the sense of western bourgeois state.

Prince Sabahaddin says that, taxes were for the construction of the public improvements and this idea is presented in manner unlike the classical Ottoman thought. Then, he accuses the people of not controlling the expenses which were paid out of these(132).

In another article, he accuses the people that they did not question the deeds of the Sultan, in terms of Public welfare.

"...bu menfalar, bu sancaklar, bu vilayetlerden kimse çıkmıpta, yahu ne yapıyorsunuz? Biz seni idaremizin başına koyduk işek, başımıza bir müstebid kesilmen için değil, menafii umumiyemize hizmet için koyduk dememi'!"(133).

The people is assumed to have put the Sultan in office, in order to serve for the common good. Moreover, Terakki tried to provoke the people by saying that the Sultan behaved as if he was irresponsible in his actions(134).

Obviously, Sabahaddin and his friends were under the influence of the Western political concepts relating to the state and people. Those novel ideas about state's and people's positions vis-à-vis each other can be considered as a

development in the Ottoman political thought. Interestingly, Sabahaddin seems to be ignorant of some other political concepts which were also the products of the Western development, such as nationalism.

A non-muslim Ottoman (Nitra) manifests the right of nations to live, in the pages of Terakki:

"...yaşamak hakkı her ferdin hukuk-u tabiyesindendir. Efradın hayatı ise milletinin hayatıyla mukayyid olmasıyla her millet yaşamak hakkı tabiyesine mâliktir."(135).

Nitra also accepted the uses of Ottomanism, as Sabahaddin believed in, but in a different manner. He believed much more in the practical uses of "living together".

As Sabahaddin dreams of the just and peaceful days of the glorious Ottoman Empire, Nitra refuses even the legacy of the Ottoman rule over different nations of the Empire.

Sabahaddin believes that from the reign of Mehmed II onwards, administrative decentralization was applied, a certain autonomy was granted to different millet's. In fact, this policy helped the success of the Ottoman expansion. He claims that if this autonomy and decentralization was also applied in general, Ottomans would develop in an appropriate way(136). The application of the reforms and the constitutional rule which would realize these policies, would solve the Eastern Question, in P.Sabahaddin's mind. Moreover, according to him, the solution of the Eastern Question would

also be a solution for rivalries among the Great Powers(137).

While Prince Sabahaddin was involved in solving the contradictions of the Great Powers, Nitra was even unwilling to compromise on the issue of the mutual coexistence of the Ottoman millet's without serious re-ordering of the ruler - ruled relationships. He questioned the presence of Turks and the legacy of their rule over the other nations. He supposed them to be "conquerors" and concluded that "conqueror" and "conquered" could not live together, in peace. For this reason, he attempted to redefine the relations among different Ottoman nations(138).

Nitra was, at least, some sort of Ottomanist, so he can not be taken as the representative of all non-muslim Ottomans' ideas. There were various ideologies also among the non-muslims. Nitra's ideas have been dealt with because he has a representative article in Terakki. Even this article of a moderate non-muslim, shows the difference between Sabahaddin's and a non-muslim Ottoman's political views. Letting aside, the political situation in the Empire and the attitudes of various millets, this article is enough to show that Sabahaddin and his followers missed the point. In fact, this does not mean that only this group of intellectuals missed the point, obviously, Ottomanism was not an ideology peculiar to Sabahaddin's group.

Nitra was more realistic. As he questioned the legacy of the present Ottoman rule over various millets, he felt

that if a non-muslim subject had power to question it, there was no longer such a legacy.

It has been said above that some new political concepts like nationalism were ignored by Sabahaddin and his followers. In fact, nationalism was a concept which would have helped Prince Sabahaddin to understand some political realities in the form of particularistic nationalism. On the contrary, as stated above, Sabahaddin considered western concepts of state and people, as his own. Unfortunately, he made a wrong choice, because one could not understand the situation of Ottoman Empire at that time, with these foreign tools.

In the Ottoman context, the state was not an institutional body which could be manipulated by the people and it was not responsible to them in that sense. Rather, it was a 'father' who was the 'protector of the people!'. It should be remembered that people (also in the case of Anatolian uprisings) that Terakki talks about) demanded to apply directly to the Sultan, when they rebelled. In the Ottoman Empire, usually people did not rebel against the state, but just the opposite, they wished to demand state's protection. It seems that, M.Fazıl Reşid was not so wrong in saying that people were still the same as in the earlier times of the Ottoman Empire, during the Abdulhamid II period.

"Biz Abdülhamid zamanında, hatırasında bir Kanun-u Esasi lezzeti kalmış bulunan bir millet değil, Topkapı sarayından, Yıldız'a tevcih-i ubudîyyet etmiş bir millet-dik."(139).

In fact, in order to have an idea about any uprising against the state in the Ottoman Empire, first of all, there is need to know people's image of the state. This image should include at least, expectations from the state, the extent of its authority and responsibility and concept at legitimate rebellion against state. Then, of course, there is need to consider the socio-political conditions of the time.

These two preconditions can not possibly be dealt with conclusively within the limits of a short study such as the present one. The former enters the field of popular beliefs in the Ottoman Empire and the latter needs detailed analyses of the socio-political situation of the Empire, in the nearly twentieth century.

It is out of our purpose to assert to what extent this situation had been properly understood by Sabahaddin and his followers. Our intention is only to criticize the ideas in Terakki (which were predominantly Prince Sabahaddin's ideas) in order to point out some discrepancies between the real situation of the Empire, as we see today, and the mind of an Ottoman intellectual (and of his followers) who tried to save it.

This mission of "saving the Empire" is the critical element in Sabahaddin's thinking. However, the necessary analytical categories for the attainment of this aim appears to be lacking, for he does not seem to have understood the true undercurrents of the developments that were taking place.

Instead, he interpreted things as he wished. For instance, he believed in change brought out by the people, so he evaluated the Anatolian uprisings as little revolutions and saw the people as real revolutionaries.

But, in criticizing Prince Sabahaddin thought, one should be wary of being too harsh as even present day intellectuals tend to evaluate events selectively. For instance, a recent publication on the Anatolian uprisings, concludes that the Anatolian people were very revolutionary and the Young Turk movement was the product of mass movement(140).

It is a fact of present day Turkey that all ideologies are looking for a "historic tradition" which is given to an "over-reading of the past". Some look for a tradition of liberalism, some are after an "Anatolian people's tradition of rebellion."

## CONCLUSION

We have tried to present the ideas which took place in a Young Turk journal, Terakki. It expresses the ideas of Prince Sabahaddin and of his followers. So, we intended to give an idea about the mentality of this group of Young Turks, through Terakki. This is not a study on Turkish intellectual history but rather a proposal on "Turkish intellectual sociology" as Mardin calls it(141).

We did not make any distinction between Terakki and Prince Sabahaddin, as we evaluate the ideas in Terakki, because they are mainly Sabahaddin's ideas. Then, we have concluded that Sabahaddin's group had very similar ideas with that of other Young Turks in spite of the fact that Prince Sabahaddin had a novel interpretation of Ottoman System.

He introduced the concepts of private initiative and particularistic society. In that respect, he was an important figure. But, we should not exaggerate this point. As many other Ottoman intellectuals he was a pragmatic thinker who searched for a recipe in order to save Ottoman Empire. He found this recipe in the ideas of Demolins and adapted them to Ottoman case. Demolins gives primary importance to individual and he belongs to such sociological tradition of thought. In this respect Sabahaddin seems very distinctive and radical.

The novelty that Sabahaddin brought to the Ottoman



system were the ideas of decentralization and private initiative as 'ready-made' recipe for the 'rescue' of a polity which had 'failed' to achieve certain (Western) standards. Moreover, he was not thoroughly informed on the Western institutions yet he persisted in judging Ottoman society from the moral, political and sociological standpoint of 'Western success'.

On the other hand, it has been concluded that Sabahaddin could not recognize the political realities of his time. This failure partially can be related to the neglect of politics and the exaggeration of sociological factors. Prince Sabahaddin criticized the overemphasis on politics. He thought that Ottomans failed because they were too much concerned with politics. But, he also failed, this time, because of his overemphasis on sociological factors.

The historical importance of political structure has always had a central position in Ottoman society. The fact that the Ottoman Empire was thought of as a "failure" led to a total rejection of the Ottoman system including the importance of its political structure. This process from Prince Sabahaddin's time onwards, produced the present day line of thinking of political analyses as 'old-fashioned' and on-going emphasis on 'chique' sociological models.

On the other hand, it should never be forgotten that those intellectuals whom we criticize lived in the turmoil of the 1900's and were in many respects, the pioneers of our society, today. Nobody can deny that Turkey has experienced a

very important structural and ideological change. The success of this change can be discussed, but such radical transformations are difficult tasks.

This is the other side of the coin. If we look at it from this perspective, every idea which aimed to transform Ottoman society can be taken an element of the accumulation which created present Turkish society. This is not to talk about the direct influences and contributions of Prince Sabahaddin or any other Ottoman intellectual. Rather, this means the consideration of the atmosphere that they created.

## NOTES

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- (2) İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "V.Murad'ı Tekrar Padişah Yapmak İsteyen K.Skalieri Aziz Bey Komitesi", Belleten, V.8, p.30.
- (3) A.B.Kuran, op.cit.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) M.Sabahaddin, "İngiltere Dostluğu", Osmanlı, No.III, 30 Ağustos 1902, pp.1-2.
- (6) M.Sabahaddin, "Amerika Terakkiyatına Bir Nazar", Osmanlı, No.110, 15 Ağustos 1902, pp.1-6.
- (7) A.B.Kuran, op.cit.
- (8) Terakki, No.1, p.1.
- (9) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektub İntiba-ı Fikrimiz", Terakki, No.1, pp.1-2.
- (10) Ibid., p.2.
- (11) M.Sabahaddin, "Neşriyat-ı Siyasiyyemiz", Terakki, No.1, p.2-4.
- (12) M.Sabahaddin, "Rus İhtilalinin Mana-ı İctimaîsi", Terakki, No.1, pp.4-8.
- (13) Ibid., pp.7-8.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Ibid.
- (16) "Hükümetin şekli esasen her türlü ehemmiyetten arîdir." Ibid., p.7.
- (17) M.Sabahaddin, "Merkeziyet ve Adem-i Merkeziyet", Terakki No.1, pp.9-10.
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) Ibid.
- (20) M.E.Erişirgil, Bir Fikir Adamının Portresi, İstanbul: Remzi Yayınevi, 1984, pp.61-64.
- (21) D.Ergun, Sosyoloji El Kitabı, İstanbul, 1979, p.232.

- (22) "... insanlığı hakkıyla takdir eden adamlar, menfaat-ı şahsiyelerini bu suretle menfaat-ı umumiye ile telif ederek say'larıyla vatanlarını ve dolayısıyla hayat-ı umumiye-i insaniyeti müstefit ederler.". M.Sabahaddin, "Amerika Terakkiyatına Bir Nazar", Osmanlı, No.110.
- (23) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Ahalisini Bir Davet", Terakki, No.12.
- (24) The difference and similarity between Gökalp and Sabahaddin, and extent of their influence are important subjects of discussion. Unfortunately such discussion is out of the limits of this study.
- (25) Z.F.Fındıkoğlu, Le Play Mektebi ve Prens Sabahaddin. İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1962.
- (26) Mekkeleli Sabri was an opponent of Abdulhamid II. He was jailed in 1896 after the unsuccessful coup against Sultan. He fled to Egypt and then to Europe. There, he joined in Sabahaddin's group and became the editor of Terakki. After the Constitution, he wrote in Osmanlı.
- (27) M.Sabri, "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.11, pp.1-5.
- (28) Ibid., p.3.
- (29) N.N.Ege summarizes this article and says that it was published in the second issue of Terakki. We could not find this issue. N.N.Ege, Prens Sabahaddin Hayatı ve İlmî Müdafaaları, İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1977, pp. 117-124.
- (30) M.Sabahaddin, "Altıncı Mektub: İlm-i içtimanın Büyük Bir Keşfi" in N.N.Ege, op.cit., pp.209-216.
- (31) Mehmed Ali Şevki, Osmanlı Tarihinin Sosyal Bilimle Açıklanması, İstanbul: Elif Yayınları, 1968.
- (32) E.Demolins, "Hakimiyetin Suistimali Fransa'nın İnhitatına Sebep Oldu", Terakki, No.3, pp.1-10, Terakki, No.4, pp.4-7.
- (33) Terakki, No.4, p.7.
- (34) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Ahalisini Bir Davet", Terakki, No.12, pp.3-6.
- (35) "Aşar iltizamı", Terakki, No.12, pp.1-3.
- (36) "Anadolu'da Tarz-ı idare-i Hükümet Memurlar ve Eşraf", Terakki, No.10, pp.1-5.
- (37) "Aşar iltizamı", Terakki, No.12.

- (38) "Anadolu'da Tarz-ı İdare-i Hükümet Memurlar ve Eşraf", Terakki, No.10.
- (39) Ibid.
- (40) M.Sabahaddin, "Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabılır? Meslek-i İctimai ve Programı, Merkez-i İstinad" in N.N.Ege, op.cit. (The Pamphlet was written in 1913).
- (41) Ibid.
- (42) Ş.Hanioğlu, Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi, İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981, pp.149-182.
- Ş.Hanioğlu, "Osmanlı Aydını ve Bilim", Toplum ve Bilim, No.27, 1984.
- (43) N.Berkes, Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma, İstanbul: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 1978.
- (44) Ş.Mardin, "The Mind of the Turkish Reformer, 1700-1900", The Western Humanities Review, XVI, 1960.
- (45) The reasons for the lack of philosophical thinking in the Ottoman Empire, is a very important subject of discussion but such discussion can not be detailed here.
- (46) M.Sabri, "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.11, p.4.
- (47) Ş.Hanioğlu, op.cit., p.181.
- Ş.Mardin, "Continuity and Change in the Ideas of the Young Turks", İstanbul: Robert College School of Business Administration and Economics, Occasional Papers, 1969.
- (48) M.Sabri, "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.11.
- (49) Ibid., p.3.
- (50) M.Sabahaddin, "Sekizinci Mektub Meslek-i İctimaimiz ve Terbiyeve Islahat", in N.N.Ege, op.cit.
- (51) M.Sabahaddin, "Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabılır", in N.N.Ege, op.cit., pp.332-333.
- (52) M.Sabahaddin, "İttihad", Terakki, No.10, p.5.
- (53) E.E.Ramsaur, Jön Türkler ve 1908 İhtilali, İstanbul: Sander Yayınları, 1982, p.99.
- (54) M.Sabahaddin, "Rus İhtilalinin Mana-ı İctimaîsi", Terakki, No.1.
- (55) M.Sabahaddin, "Tenkidinizi Okurken", Terakki, No.15, p.9.

- (56) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım-2", Terakki, No.18, p.3.
- (57) M.Sabri, "Anadolu Kıyıları", Terakki, No.11, Footnote 1.
- (58) M.Sabahaddin, "Neşriyat-ı Siyasiyyemiz", Terakki, No.1.
- (59) M.Sabri, Adem-i Merkeziyet ve Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi Cemiyeti Beyannamesi, 1908, TTK Yazmaları, No.129, p.12.
- (60) M.Sabahaddin, "Türkiye Nasıl KurtarılabılırŞ", in N.N. Ege, op.cit., p.344.
- (61) M.Sabri, op.cit., pp.9-10.
- (62) "Rus Ordusu ve İhtilalciler", Terakki, 1 Mart 1907.
- (63) Ibid., p.3.
- (64) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Ahalisini İkinci Bir Davet", Terakki, No.14, p.4.
- (65) H.A.R.Gibb, "The Evolution of Government in Early Islam", in Ş.Mardin, Din ve İdeoloji, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983, p.53.
- (66) M.Sabahaddin, "Tenkidinizi Okurken", Terakki, No.19-20, p.8.
- (67) Ibid.
- (68) Ş.Mardin, "Türkiye'de İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişmesi 1838-1918", Mimeo, Ankara: SBF Maliye Enstitüsü, 1962, p.55.
- (69) M.Sabahaddin, "Yedinci Mektub Meslek-i İctimaimiz Nasıl Tatbik Edilebilir?", in N.N.Ege, op.cit., p.217.
- (70) As Mardin talks about "the sterile economic mind of the Ottomans", he says that, for the first time Reisülküttab Ratib Efendi introduced the concept of 'productivity' to Ottomans, during the reign of Selim III. And he summarizes the development of new economic thinking among the Ottomans.
- Ş.Mardin, "Türkiye'de İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişmesi".
- (71) Ibid., p.57.
- (72) Dr.Abdullah Cevdet, Yaşamak Korkusu, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Cihan, 1326, p.15.
- (73) M.Sabahaddin, "Hıristiyanlar Vatanımızda Adem-i Merkeziyetten Müstefid Olageldikleri halde Müslümanlar Merkeziyetin Mahkumu Oluyorlar.", Terakki, No.6, 10.11.1906.

(This issue of Terakki is not available, for this reason we used in N.N.Ege, op.cit., p.87.

- (74) For instance, steps of the social development in the West, are seen as the phases in the law of that particular development. It is assumed that the same result can be reached through the repetition of same steps, as if these steps were followed consciously before.
- (75) D.Veka, "An Imperial Enemy of Turkish Despotism", Asia, January 1924, pp.32-36, pp.72-73.
- (76) J.R.Levenson, "Introduction", Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, p.1.
- (77) For instance a party in 1984's Turkey could claim that they were descendants of Prince Sabahaddin line.
- "Prens Sabahaddin'den Turgut Özal'a", Yeni Gündem, No.3 (In fact, the reporter who wrote this article proposed such continuity and then it was confirmed by a party member, in an interview. As a result, both of them were glad, one found 'historical origin' of some political trends in Turkey and the other found a political tradition' for his party.)
- (78) "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, 1 Mart 1907.
- (79) M.Sabahaddin, "İttihad", Terakki, No.10.
- (80) Ibid., p.5.
- (81) Ibid.
- (82) M.Sabri, "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.11.
- (83) "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.12.
- (84) "Hükümetin Yeni Bir İhaneti Ahalinin Yeni Bir İttifakı", Terakki, No.14.
- (85) "Anadolu Kiyamları", Terakki, No.12.
- (86) "Trabzon Vali-i Cedidi Ferid Paşa Bitlis'den Niçin Koğuldu?", Terakki, No.16.
- (87) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Ahalisine Bir Davet", Terakki, No.12.
- (88) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Ahalisini İkinci Bir Davet", Terakki, No.14.
- (89) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım", Terakki, No.16.

- M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım II", Terakki, No.18.
- (90) M.Sabahaddin, "Tenkidinizi Okurken", Terakki, No.19-20, p.4.
- (91) "Mülâhaza", Terakki, No.16, p.7.
- (92) P.Fesch, Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdulhamid, Paris, 1907, p.382.
- (93) A.B.Kuran, op.cit., p.221.
- (94) H.Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi, V.II, Section IV, İstanbul, 1940, pp.81-82.
- (95) İstanbul Branch of the League was founded by Cemiyet-i İnkılabiye (Revolutionary Society). It was constituted by the students of Mercan İdadisi. They communicated only with the Paris Branch of the League. After the proclamation of the Constitution, the founders of Cemiyet-i İnkılabiye, constituted Nesli Cedid Kulübü (The New Generation Club) which was on Sabahaddin's line. T.Z.Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, İstanbul, 1952, pp.149-150.
- (96) Ibid., pp.142-143.
- (97) Mehmet Nusret, "Erzurum'da Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Rüsumundan Mütvellit İhtilal", Tarihçe-i Erzurum Yahut Hemşehriler Armağan, İstanbul; Ali Şükrü Matbaası, 1922.
- (98) Ali Haydar Mithad, Hatıralarım, İstanbul: Güler Basımevi, 1946.
- (99) M.Sabahaddin, "Tenkidinizi Okurken"e "Zeyl, Teşkilat", Terakki, No.19-20, p.9.
- (100) Ibid., p.10.
- (101) Ibid., p.9.
- (102) A good example of this attitude is M.Sabri's Manifesto. M.Sabri, "Adem-i Merkezîyet ve Teşebbüs-ü Şahsî Beyannamesi", 1908.
- (103) "Diğer vilayetlerde Erzurum'u takip ederlerse hükümetin Millet Meclisini açmaktan başka çaresi kalmayacak". "Anadolulu Kıyıamları", Terakki, 1 Mart 1908, p.5.
- (104) Ibid.
- (105) Y.A.Petrosyan, Sovyet Gözüyle Jön Türkler, Ankara, 1974, pp.234-235.



- (106) Ibid.
- (107) A.M.Valuskiy, "(Moskova Arşivi Belgelerine Göre) Jön Türk Hareketi Öncesinde Doğu Anadolu'da Ayaklanmalar", in H.Z.Kars, Belgelerle 1908 Devrimi Öncesinde Anadolu, İstanbul, 1984, p.139.
- (108) "Hükümetin Yeni Bir İhaneti Ahalinin Yeni Bir İttifakı", Terakki, No.14.
- (109) "Trabzon Vali-i Cedidi Ferid Paşa Bitlis'den Niçin Koğuldu?", Terakki, No.16.
- (110) "Anadolu Kıyıamları", Terakki, No.12.
- (111) Y.A.Petrosyan, op.cit., pp.234-38.
- (112) A.M.Valuskiy, op.cit., p.138.
- (113) Başbakanlık Arşivi, Babıali Evrak Odası, Dahiliye Giden Evrakı, No.235 963.
- (114) "Anadolu Kıyıamları", Terakki, No.12.
- (115) "Kürtler", Terakki, No.14.
- (116) "Anadolu Kıyıamları", Terakki, No.14, p.8.
- (117) Ibid.
- (118) S.Duguid, "The Politics of Unity: Hamidian Policy in Eastern Anatolia", MES, V.9, May 1973, p.139.
- (119) E.D.Akarlı, "The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politicis Under Abdulhamid II", Princeton University, Ph.D., 1976, p.50.
- (120) S.Duguid, op.cit., p.142.
- (121) E.D.Akarlı, op.cit., p.62.
- (122) M.Sabahaddin, "Tenkidinizi Okurken", Terakki, No.15.
- (123) M.Sabri, Vatandaşlarımıza, Paris, 1908.
- (124) "Kıyıamlar", Terakki, No.11.
- (125) "Fakat niçin Genç Suriyelilerle, Cemiyet-i İslamiye el birliğiyle bütün bu fenalıklara sebep veren hükümet-i hazırayı tebdile çalışmıyorlar?", "Suriye Meselesi ve "Suriye Meselesi ve Beyrut İhtilalleri", Terakki, No.11, p.8, Footnote 1.

- (126) A.Hourani, The Ottoman Background of the Middle East, London: Longman, 1970.
- H.A.R.Gibb, H.Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, V.1, Part 1, Ch.IV, London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- (127) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım II", Terakki, No.18.
- (128) Dr.Bahaddin Şakir was one of the most prominent Young Turks. He fled to Paris in 1906 and organized the group around Şûra-ı Ümmet, He took place in the Committee of Union and Progress. After the Constitution, he took place in the General Center of the Committee. He worked as the organizer of Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa in Eastern Anatolia, during the World War I. Then, he went to Europe with some other Unionist leaders and was killed by Armenians in Berlin, 1922.
- (129) Bahaddin Şakir, Şûra-ı Ümmet, 27 Temmuz 1906, 95.nüsha ilâvesi.
- (130) Ibid., p.2.
- (131) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım II", Terakki, No.18, p.7.
- (132) M.Sabahaddin, "Vilayetler Analisini Bir Davet", Terakki, No.12.
- (133) M.Sabahaddin, "Gençlerimize Mektublarım II", Terakki, No.16, p.3.
- (134) "Mülâhaza", Terakki, No.16.
- (135) Nitra, "Terakki Cemiyeti Muhtırası", Terakki, No.13, p.5. (We could not find information about Nitra. Terakki No. 13 was devoted to his critic of Sabahaddin's Programme, there is no further information about Nitra, also in Terakki.)
- (136) M.Sabahaddin, "Hıristiyanlar Vatanımızda Adem-i Merkeziyetden Müstefid Olageldikleri Halde Müslümanlar Merkeziyetin Mahkumu Oluyorlar" in N.N.Ege, op.cit., pp.79-89.
- (137) M.Sabahaddin, "Şark Meselesi", Terakki, No.9. (This issue is not available, a part of the article is published in N.N.Ege's book on Sabahaddin).
- (138) "... ne beyn-el efrad nede beyn-el milel hakim ile mahkum, fatih ile meftuh kavaid-i hürriyet ve müsavat-ı ceddiye fikriyle birlikte gidemez.". Nitra, op.cit., p.5.
- (139) M.Fazıl Reşid, Son İzah Münasebetiyle Sabahaddin Beyfendi'ye Açık Cevap, Konstantiniyye, 1329, p.4.

(M.Fazıl Reşid was an opponent of Union and Progress rule and he was writing in the newspapers of the opposition, but then he took counter position and decided to support the Union and Progress, to certain extent.).

(140) H.Z.Kars, op.cit.

(141) Ş.Mardin, Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, p.15.

"XIX.yüzyıl Türk düşünce tarihinden bahsetmek mümkün değildir. Ancak bir XIX.Yüzyıl 'Düşünce sosyoloji'sinden bahsedebiliriz".

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Vol.I, Part I, Ch.IV, London:Oxford University Press,  
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## CONTENTS OF TERAKKÎ'S

(Terakki was published twenty issues, fifteen issues are available. These issues have no date and one of them has no number).

### TERAKKÎ No.1

"Gençlerimize Mektub İntiba-ı Fikrimiz"

"Rus İhtilalinin Manâ-ı İçtimaisi"

"Merkeziyet ve Adem-i Merkeziyet"

"Kendimizi Asrımıza Tanıtma"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Son Vukuat-ı Siyasi İcmali

### TERAKKÎ No.3

Bir Tavsiye

"Hakimiyetin Suistimali Fransa'nın İnhitâtına Sebeb Oldu."

"E.Demolins)

Mekodonya'dan Aldığımız Bir Mektub

### TERAKKÎ No.4

"İttihad-ı İslam"

(M.Sabahaddin)

"Hakimiyetin Suistimali Fransa'nın İnhitâtına Sebeb Oldu"

(E.Demolins)

### TERAKKÎ 1 Mart 1907

Rus Ordusu ve İhtilalcılar

Arabistan Vukutana Dair

Anadolu Kıyıları

İstanbul'dan

### TERAKKÎ No.10

Anadolu'da Tarz-ı İdare-i Hükümet Memurlar ve Eşraf

Anadolu Kıyıları

"İttihad"

(M.Sabahaddin)

İsterdim ki

Mekodonya (Fon der Golç Paşa'nın Makalesinden Tercüme)

TERAKKİ No.11

"Anadolu Kıyıları"

(M.Sabri)

Kıyıları

Suriye Meselesi ve Beyrut İhtilalleri

TERAKKİ No.12

Aşar İltizamı

"Vilayetler Ahalisini Bir Davet"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Trablusgarb

Anadolu Kıyıları

Matbuat-ı Cedide

TERAKKİ No.13

"Terakki Cemiyet Muhtırası"

(Nitra)

TERAKKİ No.14

"Vilayetler Ahalisini İkinci Bir Davet"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Anadolu Kıyıları

Kürtler

Hükümetin Yeni Bir İhaneti Ahalinin Yeni Bir İttifakı

Erzurum'daki Dolap Avrupa'da da Dönüyor

TERAKKİ No.15

"Onüçüncü Terakki'de Tenkidinizi Okurken"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Cemiyetimizin Bir Teşebbüsü

Cemiyetimizin Diğer Teşebbüsü

TERAKKİ No.16

Kongre

"Gençlerimize Mektublarım"

"Hayal"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Trabzon Vali-i Cedidi Ferid Paşa Bitlis'ten Niçin Koğuldu?

Mülâhaza

Türkiye'de Fikr-i Meşrutiyet

Erzurum Mevkuflarına

TERAKKİ No.17

Osmanlı Muhalifin Kongresinin Beyannamesi



TERAKKİ No.18

"Gençlerimize Mektublarım II Bizde Tenkid"  
(M.Sabahaddin)

TERAKKİ No.19 ve 20

"Tenkidinizi Okurken"

"Zeyl"

(M.Sabahaddin)

Türkiye-İtalya ihtilafı Bir Hezimet Daha