

THE PORTRAIT OF A LATE OTTOMAN ISLAMIST INTELLECTUAL AND
STATESMAN: SAİD HALİM PASHA (1864-1921)

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ABSTRACT

THE PORTRAIT OF A LATE OTTOMAN ISLAMIST INTELLECTUAL AND STATESMAN: SAİD HALİM PASHA (1864-1921)

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This study basically focuses on analysing the political-bureaucratic career and personality of Said Halim Pasha, as well as his political and social thought, within the political and intellectual background of Sultan Abdülhamit II (1876-1908) and the Second Constitutional Monarchy. It analyses the basic concepts of Said Halim's social, political, and religious thought, both as a member of the House of the Khedive in Egypt and as an Ottoman statesman and intellectual and examines the impact of his influence on Turkish intellectual life. The first section, generally designed as a background chapter, deals with the stages of development of the Islamist movement in the late Ottoman period, both politically and intellectually. The second section analyses Said Halim Pasha's life, political and bureaucratic career within the political-historical developments of the period. Said Halim Pasha was a respected and talented statesman and politician and, above all, an influential Islamist thinker. The following section therefore provides a critical analysis of his social thought. The ideology of Islamism that Said Halim Pasha placed at the base of his social, political, and religious thought and how this ideology should be reflected in the social sphere are analysed in this section. The fourth chapter focuses on Said Halim Pasha's

political ideas. It tries to understand and analyse the scope and possibilities of Said Halim's ideal Islamic political system, which believed in the supremacy of the Sharia. The final chapter deals with Said Halim's understanding of religion and his thoughts on the Westernizing movements both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Islamic world.

Keywords: Said Halim Pasha, Portrait of Islamist, Intellectual Islamism, Statesman, Late Ottoman Empire

ÖZ

SON DÖNEM OSMANLI İSLAMCI BİR ENTELEKTÜEL VE DEVLET ADAMININ PORTRESİ: SAİD HALİM PAŞA (1864-1921)

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Bu çalışma, Said Halim Paşa'nın siyasi-bürokratik kariyeri ve kişiliğinin yanı sıra siyasi ve toplumsal düşüncesini Sultan II. Abdülhamit (1876-1908) ve İkinci Meşrutiyet'in siyasi ve entelektüel arka planı içinde ele almaya çalışmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, hem Mısır'daki Hidiv Hanedanı'nın bir mensubu olarak ve hem de bir Osmanlı devlet adamı ve entelektüeli olarak Said Halim'in toplumsal, siyasi ve dini düşüncesinin altında yatan temel kavramlar analiz edilmiş olacak ve kendisinin Türk fikir hayatında ne tür etkiler yarattığına bakılacaktır. Giriş bölümünden sonra gelen ve genel olarak bir arka plan bölümü olarak tasarlanan tezin birinci bölümünde, Osmanlı'nın son dönemindeki İslamcı hareketin hem siyasi hem de entelektüel açıdan gelişim evreleri ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde Said Halim Paşa'nın siyasi ve bürokratik hayatı, dönemin siyasi-tarihi gelişmelerinin arka planında incelenmektedir. Said Halim Paşa'nın 1864'te Mısır'da başlayan hayat hikayesinin Roma'da 1921'de bir Ermeni militan tarafından gerçekleştirilen suikastla son buluşuna kadar geçen safhası incelenmektedir. Said Halim Paşa saygın ve yetenekli bir devlet adamı ve siyasetçiydi ve her şeyden önce etkili bir İslamcı düşünürdü. Bu yüzden takip eden bölüm, Said Halim Paşa'nın toplumsal

düşüncelerinin eleştirel bir analizini içermektedir. Said Halim Paşa'nın kendi toplumsal, siyasi ve dini düşüncelerinin temeline koyduğu İslamcılık ideolojisi ve bu ideolojinin toplumsal alana nasıl yansıması gerektiği bu bölümde incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümü, Said Halim Paşa'nın siyasi fikirlerine odaklanmaktadır. Şeriat'in hakimiyetine inanan Said Halim Paşa'nın ideal İslami siyasi sisteminin kapsamı ve imkanı anlaşılmalı ve analiz edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Son bölüm Said Halim Paşa'nın din anlayışı, din ve ilerleme ilişkisi hakkındaki düşüncelerini ve hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hem de İslam dünyasındaki Batılılaşma hareketlerine karşı tutumunu ele almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Said Halim Paşa, İslamcı Portresi, Entelektüel İslamcılık, Devlet Adamı, Son Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

TO MY FATHER, MOTHER and MAVİŞ

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xvi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Literature Review	5
1.1.1. Works on Said Halim Pasha	5
1.1.2. General Works on Islamism and Islamists	10
1.2. Primary Sources	13
1.2.1. Said Halim Pasha’s Own Works.....	13
1.2.2. Other Primary Sources.....	23
1.3. Chapter Organization	25
2. ISLAMISM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE	29
2.1. The Rise of Pan-Islamism As a Political Ideology.....	29
2.2. Islamism As An Intellectual Movement.....	58
3. THE LIFE OF SAİD HALİM PASHA IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT	73
3.1. Life and Early Political Career	73
3.1.1. Birth of Said Halim Pasha, His Family and Education.....	73
3.1.2. First Official Ranks and Services	78
3.1.3. Said Halim Pasha’s Relations with the Committee of Union and Progress	81
3.2. The State Services of Said Halim Pasha Until His Grand Vizierate	89
3.2.1. Mayor of Yeniköy and Membership of Senate (<i>Meclis-i Ayan</i>).....	89

3.2.2. Chairman of the Council of State.....	100
3.2.3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.....	103
3.3. The Period of Said Halim Pasha’s Grand Vizierate	109
3.3.1. Recapture of Edirne	114
3.3.2. Issue of the Aegean Islands.....	117
3.3.3. Changes in the Government.....	120
3.4. The Role of Said Halim Pasha in the First World War	122
3.4.1. The Ottoman-German Alliance (August 2, 1914)	122
3.4.2. The Entry of the Ottoman Empire into the War	134
3.5. The Issue of the Armenian Relocation	144
3.6. The Resignation of Said Halim Pasha from the Grand Vizierate	152
3.7. Life of Said Halim Pasha After The Grand Vizierate	155
3.7.1. The Ottoman Parliamentary Investigation and Trial	155
3.7.2. Said Halim Pasha in Exile.....	160
3.7.3. The Assassination of Said Halim Pasha.....	169
4. THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF SAİD HALİM PASHA.....	174
4.1. Said Halim Pasha’s Views on Islamism and Islamization	174
4.2. Religion, Human Beings and Natural Laws	181
4.3. Man’s Social Duties and Responsibilities	186
4.4. The Social Order Based on Islamic Ethics	189
4.4.1. Freedom	190
4.4.2. Equality/Inequality.....	192
4.4.3. Cooperation/Solidarity	194
4.4.4. Correlation Between Social Duty/Right and Freedom	196
4.5. Women’s Rights and Freedoms.....	200
4.6. Education	205
4.7. Eastern/Islam and Western /Christian Societies	209
4.7.1. The Corruption of Ottoman Society	209
4.7.2. The Evolution of The Western Society.....	217
4.7.3. The Clash of Eastern and Western Civilizations	224
4.7.4. Democratic and Aristocratic Characteristics of Islamic and Western Societies	230

5. THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SAÏD HALÏM PASHA	235
5.1. The Concept of Sovereignty	236
5.1.1. National Sovereignty	236
5.1.2. Sovereignty of the Shari`at	240
5.2. The Structures of Western and Islamic Political Systems.....	243
5.2.1. The Western Political System.....	243
5.2.1.1. The Parliament	243
5.2.1.2. The Legislative Power	245
5.2.1.3. The Executive Power	247
5.2.2. The Structure of the Islamic Political Regime.....	248
5.2.2.1. The Parliament	249
5.2.2.2. The Legislative Power	252
5.2.2.3. The Executive Power	254
5.2.2.4. The Presidency	256
5.3. The Functions of Political Parties in the Islamic Regime	260
5.3.1. The Ottoman Constitutional Monarchy and the Constitution of 1876	263
5.3.2. The Political Parties in the Ottoman Empire	273
5.4. The Senate (Assembly of Notables; Meclis-i Ayan).....	278
5.5. Nationalism-Islamic Universalism	280
6. THE RELIGION AND THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS IN SAÏD HALÏM PASHA`S THOUGHT	287
6.1. Religion	287
6.1.1. Religion and Fanaticism (<i>Taassub</i>)	287
6.1.2. Relationship Between Religion and Progress.....	291
6.2.2. The Role of Intelligentsia in the Westernization Process.....	303
6.2.3. The Adoptable Aspects of Western Civilization	311
6.3. The Decline of the Muslim World	314
7. CONCLUSION.....	334
REFERENCES.....	347
APPENDICES	
A. FIGURES	373
B. CURRICULUM VITAE	377

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKGÇE ÖZET	379
D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU.....	404

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, on April 6, 1921.
İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025219..... 373
- Figure 2. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B.
Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025285..... 374
- Figure 3. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B.
Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025287..... 375
- Figure 4. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B.
Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025799..... 376

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Osmanlı Arşivi
Comp.	: Compiled
CUP	: Committee of Union and Progress
ed.	: Editor
n.d.	: No date
No.	: Number
p.	: Page
pp.	: Paper Page
Prep.	: Prepared
TBMM	: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi
TDV	: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Trans.	: Translated
TTK	: Türk Tarih Kurumu
TYB	: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği
Vol.	: Volume

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a spectre has been haunting Turkey - the spectre of Said Halim Pasha. All the powers of Turkey have entered into a holy alliance to inflesh this spectre. Some municipalities, some magazines with a “conservative” worldview, some academicians and some non-governmental organizations associated with the government are important components of this deep cooperation. Over the past five years in particular, these powers have worked feverishly to inflesh the spectre of Said Halim Pasha - partially succeeded in this endeavour - with some success, through intensive symposiums, articles in special issues of journals and master’s and doctoral thesis. With the influence of the political, social and cultural atmosphere of the period created by the current government, Said Halim Pasha’s personal character, his role in the political-bureaucratic life of the late Ottoman Empire, and his intellectual identity his thoughts on religion, society and especially Eastern (Islamic) and Western (Christian) civilizations have recently come to the fore again and became the focus of political, cultural and intellectual circles.

The purpose of this study is to present a critical account of the political-bureaucratic career and personality of Said Halim Pasha, as well as his political and social thought, within the political and intellectual background of Sultan Abdülhamit II (1876-1908) and the Second Constitutional Monarchy. In a way, this study tries to position Said Halim Pasha politically and intellectually in the context of the conditions of his time by analysing his political life, thoughts, and intellectual identity in depth. However, this study analyses the basic concepts underlying Said Halim’s social and political thought. This study attempts to show whether and to what extent the Western mentality had an influence on the world of thought of Said Halim, one of the most important representatives of the ideology of Islamism.

Based on Said Halim Pasha's thoughts, this study will also provide an overview of the current state of Ottoman modernization and the fundamental problems of the Islamic world in general and the Ottoman Empire in particular. Therefore, it tries to discuss whether Said Halim's goals for Muslim societies to overcome the problem of general decadence have been properly understood. Furthermore, one of the important objectives of this study is to analyse whether the ideology of Islamism, which forms the basis of Said Halim Pasha's social and political thought, is capable of responding to the impositions of the Western imperialism. In other words, this study attempts to show whether Said Halim's idea of the ideal Islamic social structure and the ideal Islamic political order offers a real solution both to the destruction caused by the imperialist attacks on the Muslim world and to the existing religious, social, political, and economic problems of the Muslim societies of the time. In addition to these, a detailed examination of Said Halim's thoughts on the nationalist movement that spread almost all over the world at the end of the 19th century and his attitude towards the separatist-ethnic nationalist movement, which is perceived as a great threat to the Islamic world, are among the important objectives of this thesis. The last but not the least, this study will also reveal - both as an Ottoman-Egyptian and Islamist intellectual - Said Halim Pasha's thoughts and comments on the nature and path of modernization of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world.

Analysing the thoughts of a prominent Islamist intellectual such as Said Halim will be a beneficial study for the history of thought in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, as he occupies an essential place among the intellectuals who have contributed to shaping Ottoman-Turkish political and socio-cultural history. In this regard, the administrative and political duties he undertook and the thoughts and studies he wrote down are sufficient reasons to certify his importance. In addition, Said Halim had a significant and unique position among the Islamist intellectuals of his time and came to the forefront by influencing them in one way or another with his thoughts and writings. Said Halim's thought and style were unique due to his successful fusion of traditionalist, reformist, and modernist ideas.

Said Halim Pasha was a respected and talented statesman and politician, and above all, he was an influential Islamist thinker. Among the Islamist thinkers of the Second

Constitutional Monarchy (1908-1918), Said Halim could be described as a traditionalist-modernist-reformist thinker. He was fully committed to traditional values and defended their preservation. In his view, traditional and moral values were also products of Turkish-Islamic history, and their preservation was necessary to maintain the social structure. Said Halim was not only the agent of change but also the guardian of tradition. Said Halim was also a modernist. He had a Western style of discourse and style. In particular, he effectively used Western concepts such as democracy, parliament, presidency, and separation of powers to explain his political ideas. Said Halim also advocated the revival of true Islam, free from pre-Islamic tradition, and that Muslim societies should return to the essence of Islam. This reflects his reformist attitude. It is this idea that underlies his ideology of Islamization. Then, it is possible to define Said Halim Pasha as a Western type of conservative thinker. Because abovementioned characteristics demonstrate that Said Halim attempted to overcome general political, social, and economic problems of Islamic world by resorting to the common Turkish-Islamic tradition-culture and Western development experience. He did not reject the traditional experience and the development model of the West; he wanted to make use of both.

At the core of Said Halim's ideology is the principle of Islamization, a reformist tenet. He argued that Muslim societies should purify themselves of their pre-Islamic heritage and return to the essence of faithful Islam and that they should be fully Islamized in political, social, moral, and especially religious terms. His ideas about innovations (*bid'at*) and superstitions and returning to the essence of Islam reflect the views of Ibn Taymiyah. In this context, it is quite clear that Ibn Taymiyah inspired Said Halim in his Islamic reformist approach. Ibn Taymiyah also supported the idea that Muslims should return to the essence of Islam that prevailed during the time of the Prophet and his companions.¹ One should not get the idea that Said Halim Pasha was *Salafi*. Although he defended an Islam free of innovations and superstition, he did not reject the traditional values derived from religious beliefs and principles. *Salafi* thought, on the other hand, is a reaction to traditional way of believing and understanding of Islam.

¹ Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*, With an Annotated Translation of *His Kitab Īqtida As-Sirat Al-Mustaqim Mukhalafat Ashab Al-Jahim*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 11-87.

Said Halim's rational-analytical approach to Muslim and Western political, social, religious, and moral structures and institutions in their historical and sociological contexts is an important feature that distinguishes him from other conservative Islamist thinkers. In fact, he followed a different path to understand the clash of the Western and Muslim worlds, unlike traditionalist Islamists, who generally preferred to expound the relations of these two worlds by using religious discourse and technological and financial arguments.

Said Halim maintained his belief in the possibility of a different existence against the imperialist and liberalist impositions of the West on Muslim societies and the threat of divisive ethnic nationalism, even at a time when Muslim societies were disorganized and in decline. In fact, he did not distance himself from Western socio-political concepts, values, and institutions that were almost universally accepted at the time. On the contrary, he encouraged the use of concepts and values that could be used in the Islamic order by blending them with his own beliefs and cultural values. He even preferred to use Western political concepts directly. In this respect, he inherited a different legacy from the Western thinkers of his time, who were alienated from the Islamic intellectual tradition and society.

Moreover, based on these thoughts, it is essential to analyse the thoughts of Said Halim Pasha, who was active among the Islamist thinkers of the late Ottoman period. He was a person who knew very well the Islamic world as well as the Western world because he had studied politics there. Said Halim, who analysed Western and Muslim societies with the eyes of a sociologist, was a thinker who reflected on the problems of the Islamic world and tried to find solutions to them. Although a century has passed since his death, the issues he discussed are still relevant and being debated today.

As for the method of the study, written document analysis, one of the qualitative research methods, was used in this study. The entire thesis is based on the study of Said Halim Pasha's handwritten works and an in-depth analysis of his thoughts. Thus, the thesis tries to penetrate Said Halim's world of thought through his thoughts, concepts, and style. Based on analysing of Said Halim works, this method

will be useful to understand, give the meaning, and explain as much as possible about his political-bureaucratic career and intellectual identity.

1.1. Literature Review

1.1.1. Works on Said Halim Pasha

The literature review shows that the personality, political-bureaucratic career and thought of Said Halim Pasha, who is considered one of the pioneers of Islamist thought in the late Ottoman period, have not been studied in detail. Although some studies have been conducted on the life, works and ideas of Said Halim Pasha, who played an important role in shaping our recent history, these studies are both insufficient in quantity and unsatisfactory in quality. Therefore, these studies are not sufficient to recognize Said Halim in all aspects. Moreover, these studies have not been subjected to serious criticism and there are major inaccuracies in the information provided. The insufficiency of research on Said Halim Pasha's political and intellectual identity in the last century indicates that his thoughts have been ignored. It is not easy to explain the neglect of a statesman whose name is widely known and who served as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire during a major event such as the First World War. This study will include not only the political career and attitudes of Said Halim, but also his position and importance in Ottoman-Turkish intellectual history. Accordingly, this study will be a significant contribution to the cultural and political history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

Said Halim Pasha and his ideas, which occupy an important place in Turkish political and intellectual history, were forgotten from 1921, when he was assassinated, until the 1980s. Said Halim Pasha's name and thoughts were brought back to the agenda only after M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ's translation of Pasha's works and thoughts from Ottoman Turkish into contemporary Turkish, published by *Tercüman* Newspaper Publications, was incomplete and erroneous. Studies on Said Halim Pasha have increased especially with the effect of the political conjuncture prepared by the post-modern coup of 28 February 1997. It was after this that he began to occupy the agenda of the conservative community. At a time when the Islamic-conservative

segment of society was intimidated and attacks on religious values intensified, the number of master's and doctoral theses on Said Halim Pasha and his thought increased.

Mustafa Ertuğrul Düzdağ has published Said Halim Pasha's work entitled *Buhranlarımız*, which was published in Ottoman Turkish in 1919, by adapting it to modern Turkish only. In his study, Düzdağ also included some notes written or said by various contemporary statesmen and thinkers about Said Halim Pasha.² Düzdağ's study is an important and valuable work as it introduces Said Halim Pasha and his works for the first time in modern Turkish. Ertuğrul Düzdağ published an updated edition of the same work in 2020.³ In contrast to the first edition, this latest edition includes Said Halim's work entitled "İslam'da Teşkilat-i Siyasiye", which was published in *Sebilürreşad* in 1922. In addition, Düzdağ's study includes notes written by various historians and thinkers on Said Halim's political and intellectual identity, a very short biography of Said Halim Pasha and a few pages introducing Said Halim's works. Apart from the editor's additions, this work is a translation of Said Halim Pasha's *Buhranlarımız* into modern Turkish. Like M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, N. Ahmet Özalp published a book in 2003 which is a compilation of Said Halim Pasha's works. As the title suggests, this work includes a short biography of Said Halim Pasha and the translation of his works into modern Turkish.⁴ The only work that contains detailed information about Said Halim Pasha's political life and bureaucratic career was published by M. Hanafi Bostan. Published in 1992, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür Said Halim Paşa* is based on Bostan's master's thesis written in 1986.⁵ Despite the title, the study does not analyse Said Halim Pasha's ideas and world of thought, but rather his political-bureaucratic career and the political developments of his time. Bostan therefore excludes Said Halim's intellectual identity and his place in the Islamist movement from the scope of his research.

² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhranlarımız*, (Prep. By M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ), (İstanbul: Tercüman, (n.d.).

³ M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (Ed.), *Said Halim Paşa-Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2020).

⁴ N. Ahmet Özalp (Ed.), *Said Halim Paşa-Bütün Eserleri*, (İstanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2003).

⁵ M. Hanafi Bostan, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür, Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık, 1992).

An important study on Said Halim Pasha is Kudret Bülbul's master's thesis written in 1994. This thesis was later published as a book in 2015 under the title *Siyasal Bir Düşünür ve Devlet Adamı Said Halim Paşa*.⁶ This study focuses only on Said Halim Pasha's criticism of the Ottoman Constitution and the Ottoman constitutional system. As the title of the work suggests, the study is limited to some of Pasha's political thoughts. Therefore, the work is incomplete in terms of reflecting Said Halim's political and intellectual identity as a whole. Moreover, in terms of method and style, Bülbul's study is not prepared from a critical perspective, but with a historical approach that aims to describe and understand the subject as it is.

Another interesting study of Said Halim Pasha is Ahmet Şeyhun's book. Originally written as a dissertation in 2002, it was published as a book in 2003 under the title *Said Halim Pasha: Ottoman Statesman and Islamist Thinker (1865-1921)*.⁷ The book was also translated into Turkish and published in 2010.⁸ In this study, which consists of three chapters, Şeyhun tried to examine Said Halim Pasha's thought from a critical point of view, but he could not successfully reflect his critical approach. This is because, in terms of method and style, a descriptive and, in some parts, a narrative attitude prevails throughout the work. Despite the title of the work, Said Halim Pasha's thoughts could not be reflected much in the work. As Şeyhun describes Pasha's political life and other developments of the period in detail, the chapters on Said Halim's world of thought and ideas are overshadowed by the political-historical developments of the time. Although it is an important and valuable study of Said Halim Pasha, this work has not been able to present Said Halim's political and statesman like identity and his intellectual identity as one. Moreover, although Şeyhun deals with a subject related to the intellectual history of the late Ottoman period, his study has remained within the boundaries of political history.

⁶ Kudret Bülbul, *Siyasal Bir Düşünür ve Devlet Adamı Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: Tezkire Yayıncılık, 2015).

⁷ Ahmet Şeyhun, *Said Halim Pasha: Ottoman Statesman and Islamist Thinker (1865-1921)*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2003).

⁸ Ahmet Şeyhun, *Said Halim Paşa: Osmanlı Devlet Adamı ve İslamcı Düşünür (1865-1921)*, (Trans. By Derya Göçer), (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2010).

Said Halim Pasha has a very important and respected position among the late Ottoman intellectuals with his political life and thoughts. Therefore, different departments have conducted studies on his thoughts. One of these studies is the Ph.D. thesis entitled “Yaşadığı Dönemdeki Fikirler Işığında Said Halim Paşa ve Düşünceleri”, which was conducted by Ferhat Ağırman at Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Sciences in 2007.⁹ Ağırman tried to examine Said Halim’s views in the light of the intellectual movements of the time, but he did not use a critical perspective. The study is mainly based on a descriptive and narrative style. Ağırman does not critically analyse the results of the study and provides incorrect information about the political developments of the late Ottoman period. More importantly, despite the title of the study, Ağırman fails to present both Said Halim’s political life and his thought in an effective manner and fails to show where Said Halim, as an intellectual, was positioned both within the Islamist movement and among other intellectual movements of the period.

Due to the political and social conjuncture, studies on Said Halim Pasha and his world of thought have intensified recently. In this regard, as an important journal of language, literature, and social sciences, *TYB Akademi*,¹⁰ prepared a special issue for Said Halim Pasha in 2011. The journal contains many articles and reviews about Said Halim Pasha and his thoughts. The articles mostly focus on the impact of Said Halim Pasha’s thoughts on the present day. Therefore, it is an incomplete study in terms of reflecting both the political and intellectual identity of Said Halim Pasha.

In its 48th issue, the journal *Tezkire Dergisi*,¹¹ which analyses conservative ideas intensively, devoted a section consisting of three articles about Said Halim in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Said Halim Pasha’s birth. Although it does not contain many studies on Said Halim and his world of ideas, it is quite

⁹ Ferhat Ağırman, “Yaşadığı Dönemdeki Fikirler Işığında Said Halim Paşa ve Düşünceleri”, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), (İzmir Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2007).

¹⁰ *TYB AKADEMİ*, “Said Halim Paşa”, No. 3, September 2011.

¹¹ *Tezkire Dergisi*, “İslamcılık, İmkan ve Muhasebe – Said Halim Paşa’nın Doğumunun 150. Yılı Anısına”, No. 48, 2014.

significant that *Tezkire* does not leave out Said Halim Pasha on the 150th anniversary of his birth.

Another important periodical known for its Islamic publications *Umran*, dedicated its 328th issue, published in December 2021,¹² to Said Halim Pasha with the main title ‘‘Vefatının 100. Yılında Said Halim Paşa’yı Yeniden Düşünmek’’. This issue of the journal, which contains the works of many authors, is rather small in quantity and inadequate in quality to honour and introduce Said Halim Pasha.

One of the other important studies on Said Halim Pasha in 2021 is the book titled ‘‘Said Halim Paşa Kitabı-Osmanlı Sadrazamı ve Düşünür’’¹³ published by Zeytinburnu Belediyesi. His work is the proceedings of the symposium organized by the Zeytinburnu Belediyesi to mark the 100th anniversary of Said Halim’s death. The book contains many important studies on the political and social thought of Said Halim Pasha. However, it seems inadequate in terms of positioning Said Halim politically and ideologically, and in terms of reflecting Pasha’s religious, social and political thought in a holistic way.

Another small, but comprehensive study of Said Halim Pasha was published by Vahdettin Işık in 2021.¹⁴ Instead of a detailed history of Said Halim Pasha’s thought, Işık’s work contains only encyclopaedic information on his biography, thought and works. In this study, Işık focuses on describing Said Halim’s life and works in general and introducing the reader to the Pasha and his works general in the light of the information available in the literature.

¹² *Umran*, ‘‘Vefatının 100. Yılında Said Halim Paşa’yı Yeniden Düşünmek’’, No. 328, (December 2021).

¹³ Asım Öz (Prep.), *Said Halim Paşa Kitabı-Osmanlı Sadrazamı ve Düşünür*, (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2021).

¹⁴ Vahdettin Işık, *Said Halim Paşa, Bir Islah Düşünürünün Hayatı, Düşüncesi ve Eserleri*, (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınevi, 2021).

Another of the studies on Said Halim Pasha is the doctoral thesis entitled “İslâmcı Düşünür Said Halim Paşa ve Siyasi Düşünceleri” written by M. Edip Beki in 2021.¹⁵ As the title suggests, this dissertation focuses on presenting Said Halim Pasha's political thoughts in a holistic manner. Both the political and intellectual dimensions of Said Halim Pasha were complementary; however, Beki excludes his social thoughts from the scope of research. As a result, this study does not fully reflect Said Halim's political and intellectual identity. Moreover, Beki's study lacks a critical approach in terms of method and style. In some parts of the study, Beki merely quoted the discourses of some scholars on Said Halim's political thought, without making any comments himself.

Another important periodical known for its Islamic publications, the Journal of *Muhafazakar Düşünce*, dedicated its 62nd issue, published in January 2022¹⁶ to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Said Halim, to Said Halim Pasha. The studies in the journal generally emphasize the conservative aspect of Said Halim's social and political thoughts. This issue of the journal also shows how much the spectre of Said Halim Pasha occupied the last period of Turkey.

Between 1986 and 2023, a total of 22 academic theses were written on Said Halim Pasha. Only 2 of them are doctoral theses (mentioned above), the others are at master's level. Almost half of the master's theses were conducted between 2018 and 2023. It is very important in terms of showing that Said Halim Pasha's identity as a politician-statesman and his thoughts have occupied the agenda intensely in the recent period.

1.1.2. General Works on Islamism and Islamists

The Islamist movement was one of the most influential political and ideological movements that dominated the intellectual environment of the Second Constitutional

¹⁵ Mehmet Edip Beki, “İslâmcı Düşünür Said Halim Paşa ve Siyasi Düşünceleri”, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), (İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi, 2021).

¹⁶ *Muhafazakar Düşünce*, “Bir Osmanlı Münevveri Said Halim Paşa”, No. 62, January 2022.

Monarchy. It has an ideological and political character like that of Ottomanism, Westernism, Turkism and decentralization movements. The Islamist movement has been the subject of many academic studies in the last sixty years. It was Tarık Zafer Tunaya who effectively analysed the Islamist movement with his work entitled *İslamcılık Cereyanı-İkinci Meşrutiyet'in Siyasi Hayatı Boyunca Gelişmesi ve Bugüne Bıraktığı Meseleler*, published in 1962.¹⁷ This work by Tunaya was published for the second time in 1998 in three volumes.¹⁸ Tunaya analysed Islamist thought as a political and intellectual movement from the Second Constitutional Monarchy to Republican Turkey. In this study, Tunaya, who tried to trace the continuity of the Islamist movement from the late Ottoman to the Republican period, presented a very brief summary of the political and social thoughts of Islamist thinkers such as Said Halim Pasha, Ahmed Naim, Mustafa Sabri, Mehmet Akif and Musa Kazım Efendi, especially in the first volume of the work.

Despite its brevity, Niyazi Berkes has written a very good critique of the Islamist movement. In his study entitled *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, first published in 1964, Berkes analysed political and social movements such as Westernism, Turkism and Islamism.¹⁹ This work did a very good work of analysing the ideological debates between the various intellectual movements, but as it was designed as an overview of the intellectual history of the late Ottoman Empire, it only superficially touched on Said Halim and his ideas.

Another important study of the Islamist movement was published by İsmail Kara, entitled *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler-Kişiler*. First published in three volumes between 1986 and 1997, Kara's work, although far from a critical approach, was a valuable and quite comprehensive work. This work by İsmail Kara, which was

¹⁷ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslamcılık Cereyanı-İkinci Meşrutiyet'in Siyasi Hayatı Boyunca Gelişmesi ve Bugüne Bıraktığı Meseleler*, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1962).

¹⁸ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslamcılık Cereyanı-İkinci Meşrutiyet'in Siyasi Hayatı Boyunca Gelişmesi ve Bugüne Bıraktığı Meseleler*, Vol.I-III, (İstanbul: Yenigün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık A.Ş., 1998).

¹⁹ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (London: Hurst & Company, 1998).

last republished in 2021,²⁰ contains short biographies of Islamist thinkers of the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the Republican period and short chapters from the works of these thinkers. In this study, Kara tried to draw attention to the continuity in the Islamist movement from the Second Constitutional Monarchy to the Republican period. Another notable work by İsmail Kara is his book entitled *İslamcuların Siyasi Görüşleri*, published in 1994. This work was last republished in two volumes in 2020.²¹ In contrast to the work mentioned above, Kara tried to present the political and social ideas of Islamist thinkers from a more critical perspective. However, in this work, which he enriched with excerpts from the writings of Islamist thinkers, he was only able to present a general assessment of the Islamist movement. Despite the size of the work, he was not able to analyse the world of Islamist thought in detail. As a result, Kara was only able to deal with a very limited part of Said Halim Pasha's works and only touched on his thoughts superficially. İsmail Kara has recently published another interesting work entitled *Müslüman Kalarak Avrupalı Olmak-Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinde Din Siyaset Tarih Medeniyet*.²² This work consists of revised and classified versions of his long articles on contemporary Islamic and contemporary Turkish thought. The work consists of four chapters, in which the articles on concepts, themes, intellectuals and books are grouped together. In the first chapter, Kara discusses the history of Islamism and its main issues. In this chapter, Kara focuses on how and with what arguments the caliphate and Islamic scholarship, the authority of Islamic scholarship and Islamic history have been sidelined in the past and present. The second part of the work deals with the questions of history and civilization, and the questions and debates of Islamic science. The third part deals with philosophy and Sufism. The fourth part of the study, which is of interest to us, focuses on the intellectual biographies and views of three important thinkers and scholars, Said Halim Pasha, Elmalılı Hamdi Efendi and Nurettin Topçu. In fact, İsmail Kara has only briefly touched on the biographies

²⁰ İsmail Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler-Kişiler*, Vol.I-III, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2021).

²¹ İsmail Kara, *İslamcuların Siyasi Görüşleri*, Vol.I-II, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2020).

²² İsmail Kara, *Müslüman Kalarak Avrupalı Olmak-Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinde Din Siyaset Tarih Medeniyet*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017).

of Said Halim and other thinkers and has only presented their main works. This work, collection of articles, which provides indirect information about Said Halim Pasha, is not satisfactory in terms of fully revealing Said Halim's career and his intellectual identity.

In 2021, Ahmet Şeyhun also published a study on the Islamist movement and other intellectual movements in the period of the Second Constitutional Monarchy.²³ In this work, Şeyhun attempts to critically examine the politics and ideologies such as Ottomanism, Westernism, Turkism, Islamism and Positivism that competed in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Şeyhun discusses the main representatives of each ideological movement and presents short biographies of these thinkers, followed by short excerpts from some of their works. He has analysed only Said Halim Pasha as an important representative of the Islamist movement. However, in this rather comprehensive study, he focuses only on some of Said Halim's views on Islamic political and administrative organization and touches superficially on his thoughts. Şeyhun includes some chapters from Said Halim's work entitled *Les institutions politiques dans la societe musulmane*, which was later published in *Sebilürreşad* under the title ‘‘İslam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye’’.

1.2. Primary Sources

1.2.1. Said Halim Pasha's Own Works

This study is mainly based on the works of Said Halim Pasha as primary sources. Said Halim Pasha published his works in French between 1910 and 1921. His works were also translated into Ottoman Turkish and published during his lifetime in an Islamist journal, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, later renamed *Sebilürreşad*. His first work was a pamphlet entitled *Le Fanatisme Musulman sa signification reelle*, published in French under the pseudonym ‘‘Mohammed’’ in Paris in 1910.²⁴ This study was

²³ Ahmet Şeyhun, *Competing Ideologies in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic, Selected Writings of Islamist, Turkist, and Westernist Intellectuals*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2021).

²⁴ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman sa signification reelle*, (Paris: Librairie Recueil Sirey, 1910).

translated into Ottoman Turkish by Tahir Hayreddin and published under the title “Taassub-ı İslami Ma’na-yı Hakikisi” in *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)* in 1910.²⁵ This article was also published as a pamphlet under the title *Taassub* in 1917 in Istanbul under the signature of “Mehmed”.²⁶ For this study, I have used the French and Turkish versions of this book.

Said Halim dealt with the causes of the enmity between the East (Islamic world) and the West (Christian world), and he analysed the historical roots of this hostility. He tried to expound the religious, economic, and social reasons behind the Western view of “the West and the rest,” especially in the context of the relationship between the West and the Islamic world, which lasted until the recent period. In this work, Said Halim stressed that the attacks of the Christian West on the Islamic world since the time of the Crusades to establish their colonial order had shackled the economic and technical development of Muslim societies. However, he pointed out that the Islamic world had once illuminated the path of the Europeans, but now it had attacked the East for the sake of humanity and civilization. In his study, Said Halim expressed that the West's religious hostility towards the East since the Crusades was replaced by colonialism with the development of materialist thought. He wrote that with the rapid growth and intensification of colonialism, Christian knights were replaced by colonial soldiers. In other words, the hostility of the West towards the Eastern Muslim world did not diminish or disappear; it simply took on a new form over time. Muslim lands were now seen as markets to satisfy Europe’s imperialist ambitions. Said Halim argues that Europe misunderstands the Muslim world and criticizes the Islamic world for not presenting itself more accurately to the West. More generally, the book questions the veracity of Western accusations of religious bigotry against Muslims.

²⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslâmi Ma’na-yı Hakikisi”, (Trans. By Tahir Hayreddin), *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)*, Vol.IV, No: 90, 13 Mayıs 1326[26 May 1910], pp. 208-213.

²⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917]).

Said Halim's second book is *Mukallidliklerimiz*, published twice in 1910²⁷ and 1913²⁸ under the pseudonym "Mehmed". In this book, Said Halim examined the crises caused by the Ottoman search for a new order based on imitation of the West. He assessed why imitative arrangements would not succeed and how they would deepen the existing crisis. In this context, he focused on the cultural and especially religious differences between the Western and Eastern communities and the clash between these two civilizations. He affirmed that it is unfavourable, even hazardous, to adopt the West's political and social values and institutions because of the different and incompatible political and social structures. In the book, Said Halim also discussed the amendments to the Ottoman Constitution (*Kanun-ı Esasi*) in 1909 and the role of the Ottoman Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) and Ottoman political parties in the transformation of Ottoman political life during the period of Second Constitutional Monarchy. He argued that the amendments resulted in an overly populist and extremely liberal constitution. He pointed out that the rights and freedoms granted by the constitution were too much for Ottoman society, which was not yet familiar with the system and did not know what rights it had. Said Halim also strongly criticized the functions of Ottoman political parties, arguing that political parties were artificial results of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. In this regard, he believed that the Ottoman political parties accelerated the political and social division of the Ottoman Empire due to their harmful ideological goals. This was because the Ottoman minorities could pursue their destructive aims through parties established under a legal mask and the protection of legislative immunity. Said Halim also believed that the hostile discussions of different Ottoman political parties in parliament undermined the political and cultural integration of Ottoman society.

Another of Said Halim's books used in the study is *Meşrutiyet*, published in 1913, again under the signature of "Mehmed".²⁹ This work contains Said Halim's assessments of the incompatibility of the constitutional monarchy and the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 with the social and political structure of Ottoman society and

²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1326[1910]).

²⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1329[1913]).

²⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1329[1913]).

his criticism of the socio-political reflections of the constitutional monarchy. In the book, he claimed that the constitutional system in the Ottoman Empire could not produce the expected results. He also explained that the parliamentary system in the West was the result of political struggles between social classes. In the Ottoman Empire, where there were no social classes, similar processes were unlikely to take place. In this case, adopting the Western parliamentary system by imitation did more harm than good to Ottoman society. Moreover, according to him, the Ottoman Constitution was a big mistake because it was never compatible with the political and social structure, spirituality, beliefs, and traditions of the Ottoman Empire. He admitted that the constitution was created by the Ottoman authorities regardless of the Ottoman political-administrative structure and socio-cultural values. Furthermore, Said Halim claimed that Ottoman political unity was based on the principle of Islamic unity and brotherhood, not on the principle of nationality as in European Christian governments. A constitutional and parliamentary system belonging to Europe, whose political unity was made up of homogeneous elements, was harmful to the Ottoman Empire, whose political unity was based on the unity of non-homogeneous elements. He believed that imitating the political organizations of Western nations and not paying attention to the special situation of political relations in the Ottoman Empire would eventually lead to the disintegration of the Ottoman political unity. Said Halim underlined that the drafters of the Ottoman Constitution and the constitutional system made an obvious mistake by imitating Western political values and institutions.

Another important study of Said Halim Pasha is *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, published in 1916 under the pseudonym “‘Mehmed’”.³⁰ This booklet was also serialized with the same title in *Sebilürreşad* in 1918 under the pseudonym of “‘Prens Mehmet Said Halim Pasha’”.³¹ In this study, Said Halim evaluates the nature of the social structure and discusses the problems of not taking this nature into account. The study also explains the differences between the nature of the political and social structure within

³⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1332[1916]).

³¹ Said Halim Paşa, “‘Buhran-ı İctimaimiz’”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 374, 17 Teşrinievvel 1334[17 October 1918], pp. 180-182; Vol.XV, No: 375, 24 Teşrinievvel 1334[24 October 1918] pp. 200-204; Vol.XV, No: 376, 31 Teşrinievvel 1334[31 October 1918], pp. 215-219.

the framework of concepts such as rights, freedom, duty, equality, and solidarity, and provides inspiring comments on the possibilities of managing successful social change. Said Halim remarked the importance of knowledge of the political and the social, while stressing the importance of morality and virtue before knowledge. In his work, he also pointed out that with the infiltration of materialism into social life, Muslims began to seek their salvation in materialism and neglected religious and spiritual-moral values. Furthermore, Said Halim harshly criticized the intellectual class who believed that the salvation and happiness of the Ottoman state and society would be realized through the application of materialism, which they considered to be the main source of Western progress. According to him, the materialist movement only prepared the socio-spiritual corruption of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world. Said Halim affirmed that for Ottoman society and Muslim societies in general to become stronger and progress, they must overcome their moral deficiencies and give more importance to Islamic rules and spirituality.

Another study of Said Halim Pasha is *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, published in 1917 under the pseudonym “Mehmed”.³² This pamphlet was also published under the same title in *Sebilürreşad* in 1919 under the signature of “Prens Said Halim Paşa”.³³ This pamphlet explains the morbid state in which the Ottoman intellectuals were exposed to Western admiration and insists that independence will be in danger if the intellectuals do not overcome their alienation from their own society. Furthermore, Said Halim emphasized in the pamphlet that in order to reform society, it would not be a solution to destroy the existing institutions and values and replace them with institutions and values that are the product of a different historical-social structure; instead, it would be more reasonable to complete the deficiencies and seek reform in order to obtain a better one. However, Said Halim, who claimed that the intelligentsia is addicted to excessive Western admiration and has lost its personality under the influence of Western civilization, criticized that the intellectual class has adopted the understanding that it is necessary to become Westernized and imitate

³² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917]).

³³ Said Halim Paşa, “Buhran-ı Fikrimiz”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 386, 9 Kanunisani 1335[9 January 1919] pp. 383-385; Vol.XV, No: 387, 16 Kanunisani 1335[16 January 1919], pp. 398-400.

Western civilization instead of resorting to reforming the socio-cultural structure. In addition, Said Halim argued that intellectuals despised their own spiritual and moral values, social and political laws, and values; in fact, they were alienated from their own civilization and values. As a result of the alienation of the intellectual class, which sought to blindly imitate the West, from its own culture and society, society had been deprived of the leadership of the intelligentsia.

In this book, Said Halim also claimed that the real cause of the painful crisis in which the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world were desperately struggling was the desire to embrace Western civilization unconditionally and to move away from their own civilization. Since pro-Western thinkers took such a path, they made themselves refugees intellectually and strangers spiritually in their own country. This pamphlet attempts to explain the reasons for this situation.

I used the book entitled *İnhitat-ı İslam Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiyye*, which was published in 1918 with the signature “Mehmed”.³⁴ This pamphlet was also serialized in *Sebilürreşad* in 1918 under the title “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin Esbab-ı İnhitâtı”.³⁵ Said Halim Pasha focused on the causes of the decline of Muslim societies. In his study, he stated that the backwardness of the Muslims became evident only after they fell under the foreign yoke. More importantly, the Christians were the first to notice the backwardness of the Muslim world and to inform the Muslims about it. Moreover, Said Halim argued that this kind of question was a false one: Why has Islam prevented Muslims from progressing like Westerners? Seeking answers to the wrong questions leads to the wrong solutions, he said. So, the question should be: why have Muslim societies been unable to benefit from the infinite blessings of their religion? In fact, Said Halim did not want to get into a metaphysical debate on this issue. He pointed out that the successes and failures of civilization, like any historical-social event, should be approached in a multidimensional way.

³⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Amire, 1334[1918]).

³⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin Esbab-ı İnhitâtı”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 369, 12 Eylül 1334[12 September 1918] pp. 84-86; Vol.XV, No: 370, 19 Eylül 1334[19 September 1918], pp. 104-106; Vol.XV, No: 371, 26 Eylül 1334[26 September 1918], pp. 123-126.

In the book, Said Halim explained that one of the major factors in the decline of Muslim societies was the intense religious enmity between the Islamic world and Christian societies. The endless wars stemming from religious difference between Christians and the Islamic world that resulted from this hereditary enmity visibly hindered the material and moral progress of Muslim societies. Moreover, Muslim nations have not considered the ever-changing needs of the times and have failed to interpret religious rules and values effectively to meet the new needs that come with change. Another important reason is that Muslim societies have not completely shed their pre-Islamic lifestyles and cultural characteristics. The influences of pre-Islamic life prevent Muslim societies from living Islam in the true sense and prevent the formation of Islamic solidarity that should be established against common enemies. In the book, Said Halim affirmed that the Islamic world must first establish a unity of Islamic purpose between Muslim society and the intelligentsia, based on common feeling, history, and tradition so as to get rid of its backwardness. According to Said Halim, the only salvation lies in Islam. Every member of the Islamic community should strive to be a good Muslim, even the best of Muslims. Describing the Islamic world as one big family, Said Halim strongly suggests that Muslim societies should be in full solidarity with other Muslim societies and ensure unity and integrity within themselves. He pointed out that this is how Muslim societies will be able to free themselves from foreign yoke and move forward.

Said Halim's other important book that I have used in this study is *İslamlaşmak*. This study was translated from French by Mehmet Akif and published in *Sebilürreşad* in 1918.³⁶ This article was later published as a pamphlet in 1921 under the pseudonym "Prens Mehmed Said Halim Pasha".³⁷ This study deals in detail with the ideology of Islamization, which forms the basis of Said Halim Pasha's political and social thought. According to Said Halim, Islamization consists of four fundamental pillars, each of which interacts with the others. At the root of these principles is the Islamic

³⁶ Said Halim Paşa, "İslamlaşmak", (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 378, 15 Teşrinisani 1334[15 November 1918] pp. 255-257; Vol.XV, No: 379, 21 Teşrinisani 1334[21 November 1918], pp. 272-273; Vol.XV, No: 380, 28 Teşrinisani 1334[28 November 1918], pp. 288-293; Vol.XV, No: 381, 05 Kanunievvel 1334[05 December 1918], pp. 304-305.

³⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, (Dar'ül-Hilafe: Hukuk Matbaası, 1337[1921]).

belief system (*itikadiyat*). This belief is embodied in Islamic ethics as a holistic way of life. The embodiment of this ethic is the Muslim personality, which is the fulcrum of Islamic civilization. Said Halim underlined that a person who claims to be a Muslim must feel, think and act according to the principles of Islam. According to Said Halim, Muslim individuals who have adopted the Islamic faith and morals form the third pillar, the Muslim society. The entire order of Muslim society is shaped by these principles. The fourth principle, which meets the needs of social life and ensures the continuation of the existing order, is politics. In Said Halim's idea of Islamization, politics is not an element that determines the dynamics of life. The existence of politics depends on the existence of the other three fundamental principles. In this book, Said Halim Pasha gave such a general outline that Islam has its own faith, a morality based on this faith, a social life arising from this morality and, consequently, the political principles that this life requires. Moreover, Said Halim pointed out in the book that both Ottoman society and Muslim societies were moving away from Islam day by day. One of the most important factors in their departure from the religion was the harmful legacy of pre-Islamic life. Said Halim also stressed that the steps towards westernization and other reforms also played a role in the drift of Ottoman society away from Islam. Instead of seeking salvation in Islamic life, morality and politics, Ottoman authorities and intellectuals sought it in Western values and institutions. They believed that the only way to save society from collapse was to imitate the West, and they made society believe it. Said Halim emphasized that Muslim societies had to undergo a complete Islamization process so as to revive the essence of Islam. This would give them an important chance to progress both materially and spiritually. Meanwhile, it is important to note that for Said Halim, Islamization meant the full implementation of Islam's principles of faith, morality, life, and politics. In fact, Said Halim saw Islamism as a religious and cultural movement rather than a political ideology. In other words, Islamism meant the adoption of pure Islamic faith and Islamic solidarity among Muslim societies.

Said Halim Pasha's other major work, *Les institutions politiques dans la societe musulmane*, which deals with his social and especially political thoughts, was

published in French in Rome in 1921 while Said Halim was in exile.³⁸ In this work, Said Halim used the pseudonym “Le Prince Said Halim Pacha; ancient Grand Vizier”. This last work of Said Halim was republished as a pamphlet a year later by Orient et Occident in Paris under the title *Notes Pour Servir a la Reforme de la Societe Musulmane*.³⁹ In 1922, Said Halim's work was translated from French into modern Turkish by Mehmet Akif and published in *Sebilürreşad* under the title “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye”.⁴⁰ This work by Said Halim Pasha was adapted into modern Turkish by N. Ahmet Özalp and published as a separate book in 1987 under the title of *İslam ve Batı Toplumlarında Siyasal Kurumlar*.⁴¹ This article was also translated into English and published in 1927 in Pakistan in the Journal of *Islamic Culture* under the title “The Reform of Muslim Society”.⁴² In this study, Said Halim dwelt on the basic principles, bodies and institutions through which the Islamic political order should take shape in the age of nationalism. He clarified the presidency, national sovereignty, parliament, and the powers and limits of the legislative and judicial branches. Said Halim considered the president or the head of state as the head of the executive. However, he advocated the principle of the separation of powers. Said Halim envisaged a committee of Islamic scholars to monitor the actions of the executive and legislative powers. In the book, Said Halim also criticized the principle of national sovereignty, arguing that sovereignty should not be based on power. Said Halim’s ideal Islamic political system, political-administrative sovereignty, is based on the supremacy of Shari’at, the body of

³⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Les institutions politiques dans la societe musulmane*, (Rome: Imprimerie Editrice Italia, 1921).

³⁹ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir á la Reforme de la Sociéte Musulmane*, (Paris: Extrait De La Revue Orient et Occident, 1922).

⁴⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye”, (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XIX, No: 493, 26 Şubat 1338[26 February 1922], pp. 264-265; Vol.XIX, No: 494, 11 Mart 1338[11 March 1922], pp. 275-277; Vol.XX, No: 495, 27 Mart 1338[27 March 1922], pp. 2-5; Vol.XX, No: 496, 08 Nisan 1338[08 April 1922], pp. 16-17; Vol.XX, No: 498, 22 Nisan 1338[22 April 1922], pp. 38-39; Vol.XX, No: 499, 27 Nisan 1338[27 April 1922], pp. 50-51; Vol.XX, No: 500, 06 Mayıs 1338[06 May 1922], pp. 62-63; Vol.XX, No: 501, 13 Mayıs 1338[13 May 1922], pp. 74-75.

⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslam ve Batı Toplumlarında Siyasal Kurumlar*, (Prep. By N. Ahmet Özalp), (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 1987).

⁴² Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of Muslim Society”, *Islamic Culture*, Vol.I, No: 1, (January 1927). pp. 111-135.

Islamic rules. The head of state must obey the rules of the Shari'at, and he must also implement and preserve the Islamic political system. According to his approach, sovereignty is a duty, not a right to rule. He also compared the Western political structure with his ideal Islamic system. On this point, Said Halim believed that Islamic political principles and institutions were different from the political principles and institutions that had emerged as the Western experience, and that this difference stemmed from both the principles of religious faith and different social and historical experiences. As for the direction of Western and Muslim societies, he noted that 'if all roads lead to Rome for Western societies, all roads lead to Mecca for Muslims'. And yet, as in some of his other works, Said Halim expected the intelligentsia to recognize this reality.

The seven treatises mentioned above, written by Said Halim Pasha, were also published as a single book in Ottoman Turkish in 1919, entitled *Buhranlarımız*.⁴³

Apart from these sources, I have mainly used the memoirs of Said Halim Pasha. He started to write his political memoirs, but he could not finish them due to his assassination by an Armenian terrorist in Rome in 1921. A part of his memoirs was published in the 29 June 1922 issue of *Sebilürreşad* under the title "Türkiye'nin Harb-i Umumi'ye İştirakindeki Sebebler".⁴⁴ His complete memoirs were published in 2000 under the title *L'Empire Ottoman et la Guerre Mondiale*.⁴⁵ This memoir was also translated into Turkish in 2019 under the title *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Savaşı*.⁴⁶ This memoir tells the story of the Ottoman Empire's entry into World War I and its eventual collapse through the testimony of Said Halim Pasha. His accounts provided valuable information, especially for the chapter focusing on Said Halim's political career and the historical events of the period.

⁴³ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhranlarımız*, (İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1335[1919]).

⁴⁴ Said Halim Paşa, "Türkiye'nin Harb-i Umumi'ye İştirakindeki Sebebler", *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XX, No: 507, 29 Haziran 1338[29 June 1922], pp. 149-154.

⁴⁵ Said Halim Pasha, *L'Empire Ottoman et la Guerre Mondiale*, (İstanbul: Les Editions Isis, 2000).

⁴⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Savaşı*, (Trans. By. Fatih Yücel), (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2019).

I have also used the study which includes Said Halim's answers to the questions of the High Court between 6 November and 19 December 1918. Said Halim's written replies were serialized in the *Vakit* Newspaper. These serials were included as a chapter in the book published in 1933 under the title *Harp Kabineleri'nin İsticvabı*.⁴⁷

1.2.2. Other Primary Sources

As mentioned above, Said Halim Pasha was appointed to important positions in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and served the Empire as a successful politician and statesman. In fact, he played an important role in the political and diplomatic history of the empire, especially in the last decade. Said Halim, who took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in January 1913 and became both Minister of Foreign Affairs and Grand Vizier in June 1913, had a successful political and diplomatic career and played an important role in the political and diplomatic destiny of the empire, especially in the last decade. Accordingly, in order to better determine Said Halim Pasha's political-bureaucratic position and to effectively understand, define and explain his intellectual identity as much as possible, archival documents from the period in which he lived, and the works and memoirs of other political and intellectual contemporaries were also examined and analysed. So, I have made use of *Sicilli Ahval Defterleri* (Official Records of Ottoman Officials), *Osmanlı Salnameleri* (Ottoman Annuals), *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Merkezi'nin 1906 -1907 ve 1907-1908 Senelerinin Muhaberat Kopyası*, (Defter I-II), ((The Copy of the Correspondence of the Committee of Union and Progress between 1906 -1907 and 1907-1908 (Book I-II)] and other archival documents as primary sources. In addition, I have used the diplomatic documents published by the British and Russian governments to shed light on this period, which was quite complicated in terms of political and military developments. Apart from these, I have enriched the study with almost all local and foreign secondary sources. In addition, in order to make the study more qualified, I have used the published memoirs and diaries of many Ottoman politicians and statesmen, high-ranking soldiers, thinkers and clerics of the

⁴⁷ "Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı", *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, (İstanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1933), pp. 246-333.

period such as Talat Pasha, Cavit Bey, Cemal Pasha, İbrahim Temo, Mehmed Reşid, Ahmet İzzet Pasha, Mahmut Şevket Pasha, Avlonyalı Ferit Pasha, Tahsin Pasha, (Abdülhamit II's Chief Chamberlain), Ali Fuat (Türkgeldi) Bey, Celal (Bayar) Bey, Ali Fethi (Okyar) Bey, Rıza Tevfik, Halit Ziya (Uşaklıgil), Şeyhülislam Cemaleddin Efendi and the Armenian Patriarch Zaven Efendi. I have also made use of the memoirs of some Western diplomats, such as Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador in Istanbul just before the outbreak of the First World War, and bureaucrats, such as Sergei Sazonov, the foreign minister of Tsarist Russia. In addition, I have used the works of prominent figures such as Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur⁴⁸, Charles R. Buxton⁴⁹ and Edward Frederick Knight⁵⁰, who closely followed developments in the Ottoman Empire and published the most important political developments of the last period.

I have also used important periodicals of the time such as *Beyanü'l-Hak*, *İslam Mecmuası*, *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)* and *Yeni Mecmua* to analyze Said Halim's social and political thoughts and to compare his ideas with those of some other intellectuals. Furthermore, in the section analysing Said Halim's political life and other political developments of the period, I have included important periodicals of the period such as *İkdam*, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (the official Ottoman newspaper) and *Tanin*.

Apart from all these, many secondary sources dealing with the last period of the Ottoman Empire from political, economic, military, and ideological aspects have been used in this thesis.

⁴⁸ Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908*, (New York: Russell&Russell, 1970).

⁴⁹ Charles R. Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909).

⁵⁰ Edward Frederick Knight, *Turkey; The Awakening of Turkey; The Turkish Revolution of 1908*, (Boston, Tokyo: J.B. Millet Company, 1910).

1.3. Chapter Organization

The first chapter, generally regarded as a background chapter, deals with the emergence and development of the Islamist movement in terms of both the political and intellectual manner in the late Ottoman period. First, the chapter focuses on the emergence of pan-Islamism and its development into an ideology, as well as the pan-Islamist policies of Sultan Abdülhamit. The Pan-Islamist movement spread more rapidly, especially after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, and became an important political ideology that would ensure the survival of the empire during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II. In this context, the sultan sought to ensure the unity and integrity of the empire through his pan-Islamist policies toward Muslims in North Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Far East. The second sub-heading of this section deals with the intellectual dimension of the Islamist movement. The emergence and development of Islamism as an intellectual movement during the period of the Second Constitutional Monarchy is discussed in detail. In this context, the main themes in the thoughts and writings of figures such as Said Halim Pasha, Mehmet Akif (Ersoy), Babanzade Ahmed Naim, Şeyhulislam Mustafa Sabri Efendi and Şeyhulislam Musa Kazım Efendi, who analysed Islamism intellectually, are the main topics of this chapter.

In the second part of the study, Said Halim Pasha's political and bureaucratic life is examined at the background of the political-historical developments of the period. Said Halim's political and statesmanlike career, from his membership of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) to his appointment as Grand Vizier, is examined in detail in the context of other political developments. Special attention is given to Said Halim's relationship with the CUP, which supported his rise to many political and administrative positions. The fact that Said Halim, a patriotic thinker, cooperated with the Unionists, whom he saw as the only force that could ensure the survival of the empire and the salvation of the Islamic world, regardless of ideological differences, is of particular importance in the political alliances of the period. This chapter also includes Said Halim's diplomatic struggles with the great powers over major political issues, such as the problems in the Balkans and the Armenian question concerning the eastern provinces of the empire just before the First World

War. Said Halim Pasha's interrogations in the Ottoman Parliament on 6 November - 19 December 1919, his exile to Malta by the British at the end of 1919, his life in exile there and finally his assassination by an Armenian terrorist on his return to Rome are analyzed in detail in this chapter. Since this chapter focuses on Said Halim Pasha's political-bureaucratic career in the context of the political developments of his own time, it naturally has a certain political-historical character. Therefore, Ottoman archival sources and British and Russian diplomatic documents have been used as much as possible to analyse and interpret the political atmosphere of the time.

The third chapter contains a critical analysis of Said Halim Pasha's social thought, which is one of the main chapters of this study. Firstly, the foundations of Said Halim Pasha's ideology of Islamization and his political stance on pan-Islamist ideology was examined in this section. Said Halim's idea of Islamization was analysed through his own works. Said Halim Pasha's entire religious, social, and political thought is attributed to the ideology of Islamism. Said Halim's understanding of Islamism is independent of the political dimension. In other words, he could not believe that the Islamist movement could be realized through a political or military initiative. Like Muhammad Abduh, he saw Islamism more as a cultural movement. For this, education and moral training are very important factors. Moreover, according to Said Halim Pasha, the Islamic world should undergo a total Islamization process in every aspect. In this context, he believes that the individuals of the Muslim society should live, believe, think, and do politics in a Muslim way. As for the main social thoughts, Said Halim, who desires a social structure dominated by the Shari'at, or rather a social structure determined by the Shari'at, discusses the position of human beings in relation to religion and natural law, and the responsibility of human beings to fulfil their social duties. Said Halim stressed that human beings have no rights from birth and that every right can only be acquired through the successful fulfilment of a social duty. He stated that equality, justice, freedom, and solidarity are the basic dynamics of an Islamic social system. In this context, he emphasized that Muslim societies already have a democratic character because the basic features of the Western system of democracy, such as equality, freedom, and justice, are much more perfectly implemented in an Islamic society.

Said Halim also pointed out that Ottoman society, especially in the late Ottoman period, placed too much emphasis on education and knowledge and ignored social moral values. He underlined that society should attach importance to moral values along with knowledge and education, otherwise cultured, knowledgeable but morally corrupted people would corrupt the structure of society. This chapter also contains Said Halim Pasha's view of the historical development of Western societies and his thoughts on the hereditary enmity between the Muslim East and the Christian West. In other words, this chapter examines the religious, political-historical, and economic reasons that Said Halim analysed in relation to the conflicts between the Muslim East and the Christian West, which have undergone different processes of social evolution. In addition, this chapter will show that his detailed religious-sociological analyses of the conflicts between Christian Western societies and the Islamic world prove that Said Halim had a good knowledge of history and a good power of observation, as well as a deep sociological capacity for analysis.

The fourth chapter, entitled "The Political Ideas of Said Halim Pasha", the critical analyses of Said Halim Pasha on political organization in Islamic system are presented. This chapter also includes Said Halim's ideas on national sovereignty and the sovereignty of the Shari'at in an Islamic administration. Believing that the ideal political system, as well as the social system, is based on the rule of the Shari'at, Said Halim's thoughts and analyses on the structure and functioning of the ideal Islamic political system he described are among the important topics of this chapter. The Western concepts and institutions mentioned by Said Halim Pasha, who compares the ideal Islamic political and administrative structure with the Western political and administrative structure while trying to prove that the Islamic political order is much more perfect, are also included in this chapter. Furthermore, Said Halim discussed the state, head of state, caliphate, the legislative power, executive power, representative system, parliament, and the Senate. This chapter also involves Said Halim's ideas on the functions of political parties in the Western and Ottoman-Islamic political systems and his criticism of the Ottoman political parties, especially during the Second Constitutional Monarchy, for their harmful political and social effects. In addition, this chapter focuses on Said Halim's thoughts and comments on the relationship between nationalism and Islamic universalism. The chapter also

investigates whether Said Halim Pasha's political thoughts are limited to a national framework or whether they encompass the whole Muslim world.

In the fifth and last chapter of the study, entitled "Religion and the Westernization Process in Said Halim Pasha's Thought", deals with Said Halim Pasha's understanding of religion, his thoughts on the relationship between religion and progress, and his attitude towards the Westernization movements in both the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world. This section discusses how the need for westernization arose in both Ottoman and Muslim societies and the nature of the attempts at westernization. It also examines the position of the intellectual class in society and the role that intellectuals should play in the process of westernization. It also analyses the views of Said Halim, who argued that Muslim societies were much more advanced than Western civilization in terms of social, moral, cultural, and other spiritual values derived from Islam, on the ways in which the Islamic world could benefit from Western civilization. Furthermore, in line with Said Halim Pasha's analyses, this chapter emphasized the reasons for the general decline of the Islamic world and the solutions he proposed to overcome this crisis.

The conclusion part tried to identify the general results of the dissertation and to present analytical assessments of Said Halim Pasha's political-bureaucratic and intellectual identity.

As the last comment, it should be noted that there has been no extensive and detailed study of Said Halim Pasha. Although some researchers and scholars have indirectly touched on Said Halim's thought in the context of Islamism and have conducted studies that focus on only one dimension of his intellectual identity, they have not yet been able to produce holistic studies that fully reflect his political-bureaucratic career, his thought, and his position among Islamists. This study attempts to analyse Said Halim Pasha's identity as a politician and statesman as well as his social, political, and religious thoughts within the framework of the integrity of knowledge and to determine his position within the intellectual movements of the late Ottoman Empire, especially within the Islamist movement.

CHAPTER II

ISLAMISM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1. The Rise of Pan-Islamism As a Political Ideology

Although there is no complete definition of Islamism as an ideology, Islamist movement has two significant aspects. From the intellectual framework both in the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world, Islamism is a modernist movement that encompassed the intellectual and scientific studies and efforts resorted In the second half of the 19th and early the 20th centuries in order to make Islam as a whole with respect to belief, worship, morality, philosophy, politics and education dominate life again and to save it from imitation, superstitions and innovations (*bid'at*). In other words, it is possible to define Islamism from the intellectual aspect as the desire to bring Islam back to the centre of life with its principles on faith, worship, morality, philosophy, politics, and education. Apart from these ideals, it was also main goal for intellectual Islamism to produce religious, political, and scientific solutions for the decline of Muslim world. From the political perspective, it is activist movement that included all of the proposals and solutions put forward to liberate the Muslim societies from Western exploitation and the oppressions and arbitrary implementations of their rulers, and to unite the Muslim peoples around Islamic ideal.⁵¹ Indeed, Pan-Islamism as an political ideology undoubtedly focused on flourishing the Muslim countries materially and morally just like their Western contemporaries and to overcome the backwardness of the Islamic world. As will be seen in the following, the idea of Pan-Islamism emerged both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Islamic world as a reaction against the increasing hegemony and

⁵¹ M. Cengiz Yıldız, “Osmanlı’nın Son Dönemindeki Üç Düşünce Akımının Sosyolojik Analizi: Batılılaşma, İslamcılık ve Milliyetçilik”, *SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No:4 (1999), p. 286; Azmi Özcan, “İslamcılık”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.23, (İstanbul: TDV, 2001), pp. 62-65.

exploitation system of Western imperialists over the Islamic world since the 19th century.

One of the goals of Pan-Islamist movement was to resuscitate the weak spirit of unity among the Muslim societies and to unite them around a leader. Therefore, Muslim peoples would be able to achieve material development through their solidarity and efforts. While those who advocated Pan-Islamism used the concept of ‘nationality’ in the sense of “Islamic nation”, they also emphasized the importance of the “homeland.” In fact, they aimed at strengthening the loyalty of all Muslims within the disintegrating state to the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Pan-Islamists, so as to gain the support of Muslim communities outside the Ottoman Empire, tried to reintroduce the traditionally known idea of “Islamic brotherhood” to the society.⁵²

Various Muslim intellectuals and activists outside the Ottoman Empire brought the issue of Islamic unity to the agenda long before the Ottoman intellectuals and scholars and advocated Islamism as a political movement. Pan-Islamists, who emerged in various Islamic countries, succeeded in influencing Ottoman intellectuals and scholars with their discourses and attitudes from the second half of the 19th century. Especially Jamal ad-Din Afghani (1839-1897) encouraged Sultan Abdülhamit II to establish a political Islamic unity.

In fact, Jamal ad-Din Afghani was one of the pioneers of Pan-Islamist movement in the 19th century in Muslim world. On the one hand, Afghani tried to awaken national consciousness and strengthen patriotism in order to liberate certain Muslim countries from foreign yoke, on the other hand, he endeavoured to establish solid ties and to provide multi-faceted solidarity, among all Islamic countries. Thus, he expected to achieve the ideal of a Muslim unity by acquiring freedom and independence together. Jamal ad-Din Afghani decided to publish an Arabic newspaper and he invited Mohammad Abduh, who was his follower and friend from Egypt to Paris from Beirut, where he was in exile at that time. Then, they started to publish journal called *Al-Urvetü'l-Vüska* and Abduh became the editor-in-chief of the magazine. Indeed, it

⁵² Yıldız, *Ibid.*, p. 290.

was the most influential Islamic magazine of its time published in Arabic. The thoughts in the articles belong to Afghani, and the language and wording reflected Abduh's style. Mirza Muhammed Bakır, one of Afghani's close friends, followed foreign newspapers and translated articles concerning Muslims and the Eastern world. *Al-Urvetü'l-Vüska*, whose first issue was published on March 13, 1884, could only be published totally eighteen issue due to various pressures and obstacles. Nevertheless, the magazine was closed on October 16, 1884, when the last issue was published, especially because of severe pressures from Britain. In fact, the British government banned the journal from delivering Islamic countries such as Egypt, Iran, and India. When the journal was closed, Mohammad Abduh returned to Beirut, but Afghani stayed in Paris for a while.⁵³

Jamal ad-Din Afghani and Mohammad Abduh wanted to draw the attention of the entire Muslim world to three important issues with the help of the magazine. The first of these was the full and true application of Islamic principles based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, Muslims' practice of the Qur'an without interpretation and deviation, and the struggle against non-Islamic thoughts and beliefs that hindered the Islamic thought movement. The second most important issue, emphasized Jamal ad-Din Afghani, was Pan-Islamism, or Islamic unity. He called for the ulema and the Muslim peoples to unite and abandon racial and denominational differences. All Muslim countries, advised Afghani, should awake, and engage in material and moral struggle against the imperialist European states, especially the British, and should strive for the resuscitation of Islamic brotherhood. The third important issue included by the *Al-Urvetü'l-Vüska* in its columns was the main causes of the backwardness of the Islamic world. In this connection, the Islamic world, pointed out Jamal ad-Din Afghani, regressed due to reasons such as the separation of Muslims, the weakening of their power, the ignorance of the rulers. Additionally, he remarked that Muslims' ignorance of the true Islamic understanding and knowledge because of preoccupation with misgivings and Muslims' indifference of the essential Islamic principles played significant role in the Muslim decline. There is no doubt that Afghani, through the journal, aimed to raise Islamic awareness of the Muslim societies and tried to ensure

⁵³ Cemaleddin Afgani and Muhammed Abduh, *El-Urvetu'l-Vuska (1884), Büyük Kurtuluş Mücadelesi*, (Trans. By İbrahim Aydın), (İstanbul: Bir Yayıncılık, 1987), pp. 27-28, 33-35.

great political, social, and religious reforms convenient the necessities of the time in Islamic countries.⁵⁴

Jamal ad-Din Afghani had remarkable views and proposals on political, social, cultural issues. The imperialist Western powers, he thought, were not more intelligent and capable than the Eastern states; however, they discovered the secrets of power and dominance, and used them appropriately. In fact, acknowledged Afghani, they had perfect political, social, and economic order, and they acted patiently and steadily. Due to their political and financial superiorities, noticed Afghani, the imperialist Westerners took over the role of protectorate on the Eastern societies, namely Muslims; however, he said, their purpose was not to protect Muslims and not to encourage their development. On the contrary, he claimed, they wanted to prolong the period of mentioned patronage over the Muslim world. In fact, the colonists, according to Afghani, put forward deceptive reasons when forcing the doors of Islamic and Eastern countries; they talked about protecting rights, suppressing social turmoil and sedition, protecting minorities, realizing freedom and justice, and spreading civilization. Nevertheless, he drew attention that all of these were deception, and their main goal was undoubtedly to disintegrate and exploit the Muslim countries.⁵⁵

Afghani said that within the framework of progressive activities, such as publishing newspapers and magazines, transferring the science and cultural values of advanced countries to the developing ones by opening various schools and imitating the West in urban planning, architecture, dress, and lifestyle either led to wrong results or did not meet the real requirements of the Muslim world. Since the disease was in the mentality, belief, and morality of Muslim societies, argued Afghani, the remedy was to imbue Muslims with pristine Islamic values and the Qur'an in terms of mentality, belief, and morality, which set Muslims as an example and dominion over the world. In addition, Jamal ad-Din Afghani believed that this evolution would be possible

⁵⁴ Afghani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30-33.

⁵⁵ Muhammed Mahzumi Paşa, *Cemaleddin Afghani'nin Hatıraları*, (Trans. By Adem Yerinde), (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2010), pp. 103-12; Hayreddin Karaman, "Efgāni, Cemāleddin", *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.10, (İstanbul: TDV , 1994), p. 461.

through widespread education, starting with women and families. This common education, he declared, would be carried out by voluntary and devoted individuals and institutions. He said “well-educated mothers would be the first teachers and trainers of their children.”⁵⁶

As mentioned above, the idea of Pan-Islamism; or Islamic unity took a very important place in the reform program of Jamal ad-Din Afghani. He might be not the inventor of the idea of Islamic unity, but he was the organizer, revitalizer, and expander of this thought. In fact, the Islamic world of his time faced with the fragmentation, resulting in weakness and defeat, and the colonialist Western powers focused on devastating the Muslim societies. The fact that the only solution to protect both the Ottoman lands and other Islamic countries in general was the unity and solidarity in the face of imperialist threats. The existing circumstances prompted important thinkers such as Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, Namik Kemal and Ali Suavi and administrators like Sultan Abdülhamit II to ponder upon and write about the Islamic unity and the chronic crisis of the Muslim world. Although it is not definitely known when Afghani started to ponder upon the issue of Islamic unity, the letters written by him for Abdülhamit II in the 1870s demonstrated that he had at least dwelled on the subject since that date. In addition, his ideology of Islamic unity was more comprehensive and deeper; however, its form also changed according to the conditions.

Afghani encouraged Muslims to jihad and struggle to remove colonialists from the Islamic world, which in turn they exploited the Muslim countries and constantly hindered their efforts to progress and establish a life founded on the tenets of Islamic faith. He urgently invited Muslims to build Islamic unity fastening each of them. The Islamic unity, according to Afghani, based on three pillars: religious bond, pilgrimage, and caliphate. The religious ties were the most important unifying factors for various Muslim societies. The unity of the Muslim community (*ummah*), he stressed, could only be achieved by this religious bond. He also stated that the Islamic community and civilization in history were established with the bond of

⁵⁶ Afghani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 87-99; Karaman, *Ibid.*, p. 462.

Islam. In addition, Afghani thought that Europeans spread the ideas of atheism and irreligiousness just to corrupt the minds of the peoples who cling to Islam. However, keenness for unity, protecting personal sovereignty and protecting the Muslim lands are the basic characteristics of all Muslim peoples. In his writings, correspondences and speeches, Jamal ad-Din Afghani as a man of action, constantly encouraged Muslim world to come together and constitute a common front against their colonial enemies. He also called for the Ottomans to support the Indian Muslims. In the context of Islamic solidarity, Afghani urged the Muslims in Iran and Afghanistan to unite against their common enemies, particularly the British.⁵⁷ As will be seen later, Afghani suggested to Sultan Abdülhamit II that the Ottoman Empire should unite with Afghanistan and Iran so as to create a strong Islamic unity and solidarity against the Western imperialists.

Jamal ad-Din Afghani considered the factor of nationalism as useful, even as necessary to some extent. However, he remarked, if the national sentiments overshadowed or eliminated the religious ties, it would be even insufficient and dangerous for the national unity. In fact, he encouraged national awakening and feelings within the framework of this understanding, but he did not advocate the narrow racial currents such as Arabism and Turkism. The national sentiments, believed Afghani, would be beneficial as long as nationalism served the purpose of religious solidarity of the Muslim societies. In addition to these, Muslims, he desired, should keep hold of the Islamic bond, and should be brothers; however, they should behave fairly towards people of other religions and beliefs. As a matter of fact, Afghani underlined, it was the main duty of the Muslim peoples to create the peace environment, tranquillity, and virtue on earth.⁵⁸

As for the second important pillar of Islamic unity, uttered Afghani, it was pilgrimage to Mecca. He labelled the cities of Mecca and Medina as the spiritual centre of Islamic unity. From this point of view, the benevolent scholars in Islamic

⁵⁷ Afgani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32; 112-118; 136-137; 167-174, 175-182; 221-226; Muhsin Abdülhamid, *Cemaleddin Afgani, Hayatı ve Etrafindaki Şüpheler*, (Trans. By İbrahim Sarmış), (İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları, 2017), pp. 19-20, 42-46; Karaman, *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵⁸ Afgani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

countries, thought Afghani, should establish centres serving to lay the foundations of Islamic unity and the Hejaz should be their coordination centre. The Muslim representative of the centres, according to him, should come together here every pilgrimage season to ponder upon common issues, exchange ideas and share working.⁵⁹

As for the Caliphate, as third significant pillar of Pan-Islamism, Jamal ad-Din Afghani considered the Caliphate as the single authority centre required for a political, military, economic and cultural unity in the Muslim world. According to him, the true example of Caliphate was experienced during the period of the first four caliphs between the dates 632-661 in Islamic calendar. As part of the leader of all Muslims, the Caliph, remarked Afghani, should have the most appropriate characteristics in terms of intelligence, virtue, and administrative capacity. In addition, he stressed that the Islamic administration was carried out with the participation of the representatives of the Muslim community; or (Ummah) and it should be based on the consultation. Afghani also complained about that the existence of more than one government in the Muslim world prevented the emergence of unity. Taking into consideration of developments in the past, Jamal ad-Din Afghani came to the following conclusion: “If the Ottomans had orientated to the Islamic world instead of the Balkans and Europe, had established the centre of its government in the Hejaz, and had made Arabic the official language, Muslims would most probably achieve the Islamic unity under their Caliphate and today there would not be an Eastern question.”⁶⁰ Consequently, the Caliphate, underlined Afghani, was an important factor in the goal of an Islamic union which in turn would strengthen Muslims, ensure their independence and freedom, and compete with the nations of the world in civilization.

It was time, thought Jamal ad-Din Afghani, to transform the Muslim solidarity into a Islamic power by adjoining the borders from Edirne to Peshawar with the peoples ruled by the Qur’an, and the precepts of Shari’at. However, underlined Afghani, this

⁵⁹ Afghani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, p. 182; Karaman, *Ibid.*, pp. 462-63.

⁶⁰ Muhammed Mahzumi Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 179-99.

unification did not mean gathering all Muslims in a single state. He was already aware that such a movement was impossible in existing circumstances. In fact, he called for the unity of consciousness and common goal for an Islamic cooperation and solidarity based on the Islamic principles. In this regard, he said that:

*“I am not saying that all Muslims should be under the authority of a single person, or that all Muslim countries should be gathered under a single government. Admittedly, this is quite difficult. But I want the Qur’an and Islamic unity should be the only source of authority for all Muslim peoples. I desire each Muslim country should have a ruler, but each of them should protect the Muslim governments. Because it is possible for a Muslim country to survive with the existence of another Islamic country. It should not be forgotten that this is the basis of religion and that the necessities of the age require the unity and solidarity of Muslims.”*⁶¹

It is apparent that Afghani envisaged a federative Caliphate system, on which various autonomous Muslim governments depended. In this context, under the leading of Ottomans, Jamal ad-Din Afghani proposed an Islamic union consisting of about ten provinces. Namely, he said that depending on the Ottoman caliphate, local governments should be established in Yemen, Hijaz, Syria, Anatolia, and the Balkans and each had appropriate rulers (for example, Ottoman princes, viziers, Zaydi imams in Yemen, Hashemite descendants in Hejaz, Egyptian Khedive). Furthermore, he argued that once this union could be established, Afghanistan, Iran, Indian Muslims, and other Muslims in South Asia as well would soon join this Muslim union; in this way, the main goal of Muslim solidarity would be achieved. This suggestion, he believed, was the most realistic and applicable Islamic unity.⁶²

Pan-Islamism, according to Afghani, was not limited to just a certain political stage; on the contrary, as one of the basic principles of Islam, this unity was a necessary element in terms of religion, politics, and civilization. As can be seen, Afghani’s understanding of Pan-Islamism represents the national-Islamic personality of Muslim societies, and attitude of the resistance to foreign invasion and exploitation. It is also

⁶¹ Afgani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, p. 32; Abdülhamid, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47; Karaman, *Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁶² Muhammed Mahzumi Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 192-95; Afgani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, p. 46.

possible to interpret that his views on Islamic unity reflects the declaration of independence, freedom, and self-confidence of whole Muslim world.

Jamal ad-Din Afghani, indeed, influenced many politicians and intellectuals and played significant roles in changing governments. Moreover, he raised awareness of many traditionalist scholars getting stuck in narrow patterns and provided them with wider perspective on life, religion, and science, and also made indelible impressions in the minds of many intellectuals. In addition to all these, it should be admitted that with the help of his political/religious discourses and attempts, Jamal ad-Din Afghani, as political figure, also tried to prepare the ground for the Shiite-Sunni rapprochement and affected them as part of administration style at least in the idea. Consequently, Jamal ad-Din Afghani was the first true Muslim modernist to make a general call the Muslim world for raising political, intellectual, religious, and moral standards in order to stop the incursions of the Western powers.⁶³

One of the important thinkers and scholars embracing the idea of Pan-Islamism was Mohammad Abduh (1849-1905), who was both student and friend of Jamal ad-Din Afghani. The Islamic belief system, argued Abduh, should be set free from the chain of imitation; or *taqlid* (strict adherence to precedent) and that Muslims should comprehend the Islamic principles from its first sources by resorting the method of the *Salaf* at the time when the conflicts had not yet arisen. The name *Salafi* stressed the group's adherence to the doctrines and practices of the first generations of Muslims after the Prophet, rather than to the later formulations of Islamic law (*Fiqh*) which were then generally accepted. Those groups who advocated imitation, remarked Abduh, claimed that only *Salaf* members or first-generation Muslims could truly learn and implement the tenets of the Qur'an, and that future generations should follow them without question. Touching upon the close relationship between religion, reason, and science, Abduh harshly criticized these imitators and Islam, he pointed out, was a rational religion. In fact, he defined the religion as a set of rational concepts which could both be comprehended by the mind and pass through the filter of logic. In addition, he drew attention that the holy book, the Qur'an advised people

⁶³ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam & Modernity, Transformation of An Intellectual Tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 48-51.

to research God's creations using their minds. To him, a true Muslim was the person acting with his mind and giving priority to rational explanations and interpretations. As a result, this understanding of religion prompted him to cleanse Islam from all kinds of innovations (*bid'at*) and superstitions, which were misunderstood and practiced for a long time.⁶⁴

Mohammad Abduh undoubtedly aimed to reactivate the function of religion in changing world conditions by strengthening the relationship of Islamic principles with reason and science. Though the method of the imitators contradicted the true tenets of Islamic faith, Abduh, therefore, rejected the arguments of the pious conservative scholars, who supported to teach the Islamic sciences with the traditional method. Additionally, stressed Abduh, Islam forbade Muslims to adhere to the traditions, customs and practices inherited by their ancestors. Islam, according to him, considered those, who blindly follow the path of their fathers as stupid and levity. In addition, according to the religion of Islam, he noticed, the priority in time did not mean superiority in mind or wisdom. In other words, the previous and next generations were equal in critical intelligence and natural abilities. Abduh, thus, underlined that the next generations were also capable of better comprehending and interpreting the essence of the Qur'an and the essential Islamic principles.⁶⁵

The abovementioned statements demonstrate that Mohammad Abduh advocated the modern interpretation of the Islamic principles by the new generation. However, he refused the ignorant imitation and fixed ideas of the narrow-minded conservative Muslim scholars, who specialized on the Islamic law.

⁶⁴ Muhammed Abduh, *Tevhid Risâlesi*, (Trans. By Sabri Hizmetli), (Ankara: Fecr Yayınevi, 1986), pp. 49-50, 54, 62, 73-88, 194-95, 225-29; Muhammad Abduh, *The Theology of Unity*, (Trans By Ishaq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg), (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966), pp. 13, 15, 22, 29-40, 66, 151-54; Mark Sedgwick, *Muhammad Abduh (The Makers Of The Muslim World)*, (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), pp. 42-43, 68-71; Osman Keskiöğlü, "Muhammed Abduh", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.18 No.1-4 (1970), p. 120.

⁶⁵ M. Sait Özervarlı, "Muhammed Abduh", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.30, (Ankara: TDV, 2020), pp. 483, 485; Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt, A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated By Muhammad Abduh*, (New York: Russell&Russell, 1968), pp. 128-132; Abduh, *Tevhid...*, Ibid., pp. 50-52, 54, 73-88, 194-198; Abduh, *The Theology...*, pp. 13, 15, 22, 29-40, 66, 151-54; Sedgwick, Ibid., pp. 42-43, 68-71.

Advocating the pure understanding of Islam just as it was in the first centuries, Muhammad Abduh also prompted the necessity of a new religious and social construction process which would appeal to realities of the day. This evolution, believed Abduh, would be possible not through a political revolution, but through education and culture; by raising a strong generation, who was both religiously well-educated and equipped with the knowledge of the age, and who would contribute to the flourishing of the Muslim societies. Moreover, he offered different education models according to various layers of the Muslim societies.⁶⁶

On the one hand, Muhammad Abduh pointed out the spiritual and symbolic role of the Caliphate in the Ottoman Empire, as the protector of Muslims, he, on the other hand, considered the concept of Pan-Islamism as a religious-social unity based on close relation, solidarity, and cooperation among Muslim societies instead of as a political unity. Because he tried to realize the issue of reforming the Muslim societies through science and religion. In this connection, Abduh argued that the Muslim world would be evaded from the decline and put-up resistance against the imperialists' order of exploitation thanks to a gradual religious-social reform. In fact, his religious-social reform covered the adoption and implementation of pristine Islamic faith and principles being in force during the time of the Prophet. In other words, Abduh tried to resuscitate pure Islamic lifestyle in the period of the Prophet. In addition, he emphasized that it was required to raise Muslim generations who would understand and apply the practical principles of religion according to the conditions of the day. These well-educated summoners sent to various Islamic regions, he thought, could be influential to awaken the Muslim individuals, and to explain and to warn them about world and religion issues. In this way, the mentioned Muslim summoners, Abduh noticed, would be able to solve religious and social issues with their rational interpretations rather than imitative principles.⁶⁷

From this point of view, Mohammad Abduh followed different path from his master, Jamal ad-Din Afghani. As seen above, while Afghani associated the salvation of the

⁶⁶ Özervarlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 483, 485.

⁶⁷ Özervarlı, *Ibid.*, p. 485; Abduh, *Tevhid...*, *Ibid.*, pp. 201-213; Keskiöglü, *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 118.

Islamic world with the political unity and integrity, Abduh grounded it on education and training, and moral facts; he never talked about politics in his sermons and lectures. Abduh always avoided from politics, politicians and he saw the politics as an obstacle to religion and science. His sufferings from politics and politicians of his time probably played an important role in avoiding from politics, politicians, and in his denigration them.⁶⁸ However, Afghani did not approve of a religious-social renaissance. He considered this method as a numbing of efforts and as a giving up of the political and social struggle. He also interpreted this as a renunciation of revolts, which in turn would begin everywhere, against the imperialists and the oppressive rulers.⁶⁹

Considering the conditions of the period, it is apparent that Abduh's method was more acceptable and reasonable. Because European imperialist powers had dominated almost all Islamic countries not only militarily but also politically and economically. As such, the Muslim societies had not a chance of success against their powerful enemies. Apart from these, at the very beginning, Abduh had already tried to reach his goal by resorting political methods like Afghani; however, since he witnessed the collapsing of Afghan's political method, he started to support Pan-Islamism through religious, social, and educational aspects.

Mohammad Abduh's ideas served as a bridge between conservative Islamists such as the conservative scholars; or *Ulema* and pro-Western intellectuals. While Abduh won the sympathy of conservative Islamists for defending Islamic values against Western reforms, he also gained the respect of Western intellectuals with his patriotic attitude and enlightened-progressive rhetoric. However, as a conservative-modernist thinker,

⁶⁸ Abduh, *Tevhid...*, Ibid., p. 63. Exiled from Egypt in 1882 on the grounds that he supported the revolt initiated by Urabi Pasha against the British in Egypt, Abduh went first to Damascus and then to Beirut. Little is known of how he spent his time in Damascus. He moved from Damascus to Beirut in 1883. Although the exile period was three years, he remained for six years in Beirut. He joined a small group of other Egyptian exiles, and was welcomed by local progressive intellectuals in Beirut. Abduh got the chance to meet some important members of the Afghani group. Thus, he established contact with Afghani and moved to Paris. In 1884, Abduh started to publish *Urvetü'l-Vüska* together with Afghani in Paris. Abduh decided to stay away from political developments and politicians completely in 1885 and never got involved in politics again. For detailed information, See Sedgwick, Ibid., pp. 39, 42-43, 48-51; Keskiöglu, Ibid., pp. 113-115.

⁶⁹ Abdülhamid, Ibid., p. 20.

Mohammad Abduh's ideas laid the groundwork for the birth of a secular life in Egypt, and many of his followers, such as Qasim Amin and Farid Wajdi, became advocates of secular life in Egypt in the future.⁷⁰ In fact, Abduh unwittingly subjected the Islamic principles to the devastating effects of modernism by criticizing the traditional Islamic expositions of conservative scholars. A. Hourani made the following striking remarks on the subject:

*“Without intending it, Abduh was perhaps opening the door to the flooding of Islamic doctrine and law by all the innovations of the modern world. He had intended to build a wall against secularism, he had in fact provided an easy bridge by which it could capture one position after another.”*⁷¹

In spite of his radical ideas, Mohammad Abduh's reformism and rational interpretations, which envisaged a synthesis between Islamic thought and the Western modernization, were continued by his students, Muhammed Ferid Vecdi, Mustafa el-Meragi, Mustafa Abdürrazık and Mahmud Şeltut. The views of Abduh were also influential on Ziya Gökalp and other modernists around *Islam Mecmuası*, as well as on the Islamist group around and *Sebilürreşad (Strat-ı Müstakim)*, especially Mehmet Akif, and even on secular Westernists such as Abdullah Cevdet and Celal Nuri in the *İctihad* group.⁷²

Rashid Rida (1849-1935), a follower of Mohammad Abduh, tried to maintain the efforts of Jamal ad-Din Afghani and Abduh in order to put the Islamic principles to an active and respected position in society, and to prevent sectarianism. Rida devoted most of his life to propagating a revivalist interpretation of the Islamic faith and institutions and to expounding Islam in a way that would find remedy to the problems of his day. Indeed, he was much more specific and systematic than Abduh to elaborate the principles of Islamic law and politics. However, as Abduh thought, Rashid Rida certainly did not consider Pan-Islamism as a political formation or movement, which envisaged to reunite all parts of the Muslim world into a single

⁷⁰ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 145, 159, 160, 164.

⁷¹ Hourani, *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

⁷² Özervarlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 485-486.

state. According to Rida, a single Muslim state seemed impossible due to the existing political circumstances in the Islamic world. Moreover, Rida who did not believe a political achievement, proposed a religious and social reform program for revival of the Muslim world, just as Abduh thought. In that context, Rashid Rida declared that it is was definitely necessary to develop the religious and social situation of the Muslim societies in order to regulate the political situation in the Muslim world. Therefore, first of all, it was required to initiate a religious and social reform, Rida stressed. Especially, the education, asserted Rida, was the best way to achieve an Islamic revival in terms of political, social and religious development. Because he defended that only Muslim generations, which were capable of ensuring the social transformation, could grow up in an improved and modernized education system.⁷³ Efforts on the path of Pan-Islamism, underlined Rashid Rida, should be in the direction of spiritual unity instead of the political unity; because the movement of the political-Islamic unity would both confront Muslims with European states, and provoke the hostility of non-Muslims living in Islamic countries. Accordingly, there were two aspects of Islamic unity in the views of Rashid Rida: The first one was the aspect that connected and united Muslims with the bonds of faith and brotherhood. The second was the aspect that bound Muslims and members of other societies with a fair law applied equally. Therefore, explained Rida, the aim of the reform along with the Pan-Islamism was to unite all Muslims on a faith, a foundation of moral values, and a ecclesiastics law in which no foreign law was implemented.⁷⁴ In his words, Rashid Rida expressed it as follows that “Islamic unity meant, in essence, the agreement of hearts of those who accepted each other as believers and dwelt together in mutual tolerance, and the active co-operation of all in carrying out the commandments of religion.”⁷⁵

Attached great importance to the Caliphate and the protection of the political existence of the Muslims in unity, Rashid Rida advocated the continuation of the

⁷³ M. Sait Özervarlı, “Reşid Rıza”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.35, (İstanbul: TDV, 2008), p. 15; Reşid Rıza, *Gerçek İslam’da Birlik*, (Trans. By Hayreddin Karaman), (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2012), pp. 152-153.

⁷⁴ Rıza, *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

⁷⁵ Hourani, *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Ottoman rule for the benefit of the Muslim world in the beginning. Although he was against the sultanate in principle, he was aware that the integrity of the caliphate and the Muslim peoples were protected thanks to the Ottoman administration. In fact, he thought, the Ottoman Empire relatively prompted the Muslim world to defend itself against foreign pressures. In time, the views of Rashid Rida changed, and he did not consider the Ottoman Sultan as real Caliph. By the way, according to Rida's doctrine of caliphate, Caliph was not an absolute ruler, and he had no spiritual power on the Muslim peoples. The essential function of the Caliphate, he declared, was not to rule but make laws, and keep watch over their implementation. In addition to this, he stressed that it was also the duty of the Caliph to protect Islam from innovations and promote its laws and beliefs with the help of the Islamic scholars and the process of consultation (*Shura*). Rashid Rida started to publish articles to prompt the Committee of Union and Progress after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy with the hope of the administration based on freedom and council. On the other hand, he criticized some practices of the Unionists on the ground that they pursued the Western and Turkist policies, and prevented some positive political initiatives, and lastly, they tried to prioritize the Turkish peoples instead of the Muslim peoples. Ultimately, Rashid Rida, who lost his trust towards the Unionists, got in touch with Sharif Hussein, who wanted to establish an independent state in Arabia. Nevertheless, Rida also opposed Sharif's attempts to Caliphate when he realized that he had made a secret alliance with the British.⁷⁶

Rashid Rida, as a modernist thinker, took part in the modernization movement which started to develop in religious thought in the Islamic world from the 19th century on, and he spent all his life to defend the necessity of Islamic modernization that would remove the current backwardness of the Muslim societies and prompt to progress of them, but that would not harm Islamic beliefs and values. In this regard, the education and institutionalization, put forward Rashid Rida, were the most important means for the radication of religious and moral principles in the society. He saw

⁷⁶ Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform, The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 159, 164-65, 175-78, 181; Hourani, *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241; Reşid Rıza, *İttihad-ı Osmani'den Arap İsyanına*, (Trans. By Özgür Kavak), (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2007), pp. 11-14; Rıza, *Gerçek İslam'da...*, pp. 168-180; Özervarlı, "Reşid Rıza", p. 16.

them as the basis of the development of individual and social life. He remarked that there was a need for distinguished scholars, who did not get stuck in tradition, did not fall into the admiration of the West, and took care of the interests of the Muslim peoples. Accordingly, Rashid Rida protected not only the methodology derived from tradition, but gave also great importance to the understanding of *ijtihad* and invention, taking into account the needs of the age. For this reason, he did not refrain from entering into rational and scientific explanations on matters other than the principles of basic belief and worship and criticized the conservative scholars; or the members of *madrasah*, who insisted on maintaining the traditional understanding of education and science. In addition to this, Rida struggled on every occasion with pro-Western intellectuals who tried to completely ignore Islamic sciences. In this regard, Rashid Rida accused the imitator scholars of dividing Muslims into camps around their sectarian views, and of causing the of causing to hinder the Muslims from active participation in social issues, and of encouraging the society to side with despotic rulers. He also blamed pro-Western Muslim intellectuals for following the Europeans without questioning or evaluating, and for taking an interest in the superficial culture of the Westerners without delving into their ideas and mentality. According to Rashid Rida, pro-Western thinkers suffered from weakness of personality due to their inferiority complex and humiliated themselves in front of Westerners. In this context, he pointed out that Japanese students in Europe studied seriously on the European sciences and contributed to their country. In this sense, Muslim youth, affirmed Rida, should follow the example of Japanese.⁷⁷

As it can be understood from the above, like Afghani and Abduh, Rashid Rida was one of the important thinkers in the movement of thought which advocated the synthesizing of the understanding of the “pure Islam”, which was experienced in the early periods of Islam, with the positive values of modern civilization. However, while Jamal ad-Din Afghani and Mohammad Abduh strictly put emphasis on “reason and science” in their writings, the aspiration for the early Islamic understanding was more intense in the views of Rashid Rida. The axis of his ideas

⁷⁷ Özervarlı, “Reşid Rıza”, pp. 15-16. For detailed information about thought of Rashid Rida, See Hourani, *Ibid.*, pp. 229-244.

constituted the concept of ‘‘reform’’ (*ıslah*), which he used in the sense of correcting and renewing the political and social institutions of Muslims along with their religious understanding.⁷⁸

As for the Ottoman Empire, many Ottoman intellectuals dwelled on the issue of Pan-Islamism and proposed different paths so as to resuscitate the Islamic consciousness. Undoubtedly, many Ottoman intellectuals from various ideologies such as Westernist, Turkist and Islamist, directly or indirectly benefited from Jamal ad-Din Afghani and Mohammad Abduh’s conversations, writings, and thoughts in the context of propagating the Islamic unity. For example, some Young Ottomans, Turkists such as Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul) Bey, Yusuf Akçura Bey, Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey, Islamists such as Ahmet Hamdi (Akseki) Bey and Said Nursi, intellectuals such as Seyyid Bey and Şemseddin (Günaltay) Bey were impressed by ideas of Afghani. Furthermore, Abduh’s reformist and rational interpretations, which envisaged a compromise between Islamic thought and Western modernization, were influential on Ziya Gökalp and other modernists around *İslam Mecmuası*, as well as on the Islamist group around *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)*, especially Mehmet Akif, and even on secular Westernists such as Abdullah Cevdet and Celal Nuri in the *İctihad* group.⁷⁹

In the Ottoman Empire, the Tanzimat reforms could not produce the expected political and economic successes, and at the same time, Islamic ideas, discourses, and propagandas, developing from the first years of the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz, began to revive in the empire. In that period, the atmosphere of freedom of thought started to expand despite the political turmoil and international troubles of the Ottoman Empire and also authorities and intellectuals began to put Islamic concepts and values to forefront. Especially, the years 1871-1876 was a period when the political demands including the constitutionalism by the Young Ottomans intensified. With the effects of general conditions of the period and the political and financial pressures of the developments in the 1870s, more emphasis was put on

⁷⁸ Rıza, *İttihad-ı Osmani'den...*, p. V; Hourani, *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁷⁹ Karaman, *Ibid.*, p. 463; Özervarlı, ‘‘Muhammed Abduh’’, pp. 485-486.

religion in the social field and on the caliphate in the international arena. In fact, both the idea of Islamism and other movements of thought (Westernism, Turkism) that developed in the same period were potentially present in the Young Ottomans movement. Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha and Ali Suavi, one of the leading names of the Young Ottomans, considered Islam as a guarantee against the possible loss of identity in the modernization process carried out by the state. They also felt the need to dwell on the concept of an “Islamic nation” based on the idea of unity of Muslims in faith and geography in the face of ethnic nationalist ideologies in the West.⁸⁰ It is clear that the Islamism in the thought of the Young Ottomans had a cultural-intellectual character and they sought an Islamist cultural revival.

Despite the modernization efforts of Ottoman statesmen during the Tanzimat period, the economic and political collapse of the empire became more noticeable especially in the last years of Sultan Abdulaziz’s reign. Moreover, Ottomanism, an ideology that was the main starting point of the Tanzimat reforms and aimed to unite the different elements living in the empire under one roof, was not very popular among the Christian subjects in the Balkans. In the 19th century, nationalist movements in the Balkans, which emerged because of the economic, social and cultural change and transformation in the Balkans, triggered a series of insurrections Bosnia-Herzegovina (1875) and Bulgaria (1876). Russia was also instigating these rebellions and they inspired the Serbians and Montenegrins to revolt. Accordingly, these revolts revealed the failure of the ideology of Ottomanism, which envisaged the fusion of elements.⁸¹ Especially at the end of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, the empire lost vast territory in European side. As a natural consequence of the loss of land, there was a large-scale Muslim-Turkish migration from these regions to Anatolia.⁸² In addition to the insurrections in the Ottoman Empire, the Muslim geography was exposed to

⁸⁰ Özcan, “İslamcılık”, pp. 62-65; İlhan Kutluer, “İslamcılık”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.23, (İstanbul: TDV, 2001), pp. 65-67.

⁸¹ For the reasons for rising nationalist movements in the Balkans, See Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Vol.I, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 171-298.

⁸² For detailed information on the migration of the Muslim population from the Balkans to Anatolia in this period, See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 18-86.

European colonialism in the 19th century. Since the 1860s, the Muslim-Turkish khanates in Central Asia came under the rule of Russia. Even, Russia occupied Turkmen lands and settled in Central Asia completely between 1881-1884. The intense Muslim migration from the Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire occurred as result of the expansionist policies of Tsarist Russia. The Russian expansionism in the Central Asia reflected only one dimension of the colonial invasion of Europe.⁸³

Apart from Russian invasions in Central Asia, the African lands of the empire also faced the invasions of the European colonial powers towards the end of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, France occupied Algeria in 1830 and Tunisia in 1881 and established its own administration in the mentioned regions. Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 and Sudan in 1898. The local Muslim resistance against the British led by Urabi Pasha in Egypt and Mehdi in Sudan was violently suppressed by the British forces. In addition, the British started to establish its own hegemony over India from the 1850s and consolidated their influence there towards the end of the century. In this period, the Netherlands took over the administration of the Indonesian islands. In short, towards the end of the 19th century, many Muslim regions and countries came under the domination of European colonialism.

Muslim peoples developed a consciousness of solidarity against the attacks of Western imperialists threatening their independence. In this period, the Ottoman Empire, as the only Muslim state that preserved its independence politically, if not economically, against the European imperialists, became the natural leader of all Muslim peoples. In other words, the Ottomans had the hope of salvation for Muslims living under Western imperialism in Asia and Africa. In the last years of Sultan Abdulaziz, Muslims in Kashgar started local resistance against Russia and China. For this reason, Yakup Bey, the Emir of Kashgar, asked for help from the Ottoman

⁸³ For detailed information on Russia's expansionist policies in Central Asia, See Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*, (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 20-63, 75-99; Mehmet Saray, *The Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism: A Study of the Turkmen People and their Incorporation into the Russian Empire*, (Ankara: TTK, 1989), pp. 94-155, 183-217. For a good study on the heroic resistance of the Muslims of the Caucasus against the Russian invasion, See Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*, (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

Empire. As a potential leader of the Muslims, the Ottoman government sent 200 rifles and three cannons to Yakub Bey in 1874 so as to strengthen the resistance of the Muslims. The government also assigned Turkish officers to train his army in Kashgar. The British authorities took kindly to the Ottomans' moral, and material help and support to Kashgar Muslims because Britain was very uncomfortable with Russia's expansionist policies in the mentioned region and wanted to restrain Russia's ambitious in the region.⁸⁴

The loss of large lands in the Balkans after the defeat in the War of 1877-1878, Russia's ambitions in Central Asia, France's occupation of Tunisia and Britain's invasion of Egypt prompted Sultan Abdülhamit II to seek the way of salvation through unity and solidarity among Muslims. Thus, he had no choice but to put emphasis on Islamism as the means for bringing about the unity of Muslim subjects and thereby maintaining the integrity of the empire. In addition to the international developments, the political, economic, social, and cultural changes and transformations already dragged Muslim subjects into establishing solidarity. Especially, the cruelty against the Muslim population in both Caucasus and Balkans raised the religious consciousness of all Muslims and that religious consciousness quickly turned into political one among. Undoubtedly, among all Muslims, in the second half of the 19th century, there was a clear desire to unite and oppose against European imperialism. Under these conditions, the Sultan used the state apparatus to ensure that the movement of Islamism took on ideological dimensions throughout the empire. It is noticeable that Sultan Abdülhamit II's Islamist policies had two distinct dimensions and aims related to the Muslims within and without the Ottoman Empire. He constantly highlighted Islamic values and discourses within the empire to build social unity and to preserve the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire facing with the attacks of the imperialist powers and the threats of nationalism. On the other hand, he also resorted to the caliphal title to solidify overseas Muslims; in this way, he would thwart imperially ambition of great powers over Muslim lands. Having a

⁸⁴ Louis E. Frechtling, "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Eastern Turkistan, 1863-1881", *Journal of The Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (2011,) pp. 471-474, 476, 479-489; Tsing Yuan, "Yakub Beg (1820-1877) and the Moslem Rebellion in Chinese Turkestan", *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1961), pp. 138-167.

completely realist point of view, the Sultan would benefit from pan-Islamic policies to ensure the survival of the Ottoman Empire, at least under current conditions.⁸⁵

Sultan Abdülhamit II was a statesman who fully comprehended to be strong in domestic politics in order to pursue a successful foreign policy. He thought that the first condition for the implementation of the foreign policy of the empire was the creation of an accord and union among the Muslim members of the empire.⁸⁶ For the implementation of Islamist politics within the Ottoman Empire, Sultan Abdülhamit II looked for a social base on which he would build his internal policies. As a result of the social and economic developments experienced with the Tanzimat, a social stratum preserving its basic cultural and traditional values and being far from state control to some extent, emerged in the Ottoman Empire. The leaders of this society were notables; or *Eşraf*. Most of them adhere strictly to the old Islamic-Ottoman traditions; on the other hand, the same group seemed to be open to accepting science and technology with a pragmatic approach, as it would be beneficial. Moreover, meaning of Islam was expanded to include social, economic, political, and cultural fields and became a common ideology among this new social group who shared the same culture and values. To take support for his Islamist politics within the borders of the empire, Sultan Abdülhamit II set out to base his policies on new social group and he tried to transform the religious-traditional consciousness of this social class, which was modern in terms of economic relations and traditional in terms of culture and value, into political consciousness. Thus, Sultan tried to win the goodwill of the provincial notables.⁸⁷

It is a fact that Abdülhamit gave importance to the clergy so as to eliminate the existing political differences among Muslims and to create a cohesive national-religious community. The Sultan politically benefited from some clergy and orders'

⁸⁵ Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 20-22; 176-181; Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism, Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877-1924)*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 50-51.

⁸⁶ Cezmi Eraslan, *II. Abdülhamid ve İslam Birliği*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2018), p. 205.

⁸⁷ Kemal H. Karpat, 'Pan-İslamizm ve İkinci Abdülhamid: Yanlış Bir Görüşün Düzeltilmesi', *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, No. 48 (Haziran 1987), pp. 24,30; Karpat, *The Politicization...*, p. 175.

sheikhs to solidify the foundations of Islamic culture among the Muslim population. During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, clergymen such as imams, preachers and orators were at the forefront in enlightening the Muslim people about Islam and gaining their support and devotion to religion and the state. The Sultan wanted to create a strong bond between himself and the clergy. It became a tradition to give gifts of 30,000 *куруş* to mosque servants, preachers, orators, and teachers every year. Madrasa students were sent to Anatolia every three months to enlighten and preach the Muslim people, and their expenses were covered by the state. In addition, the Sultan constantly gave instructions to the government on issues such as ensuring the livelihood of the madrasa teachers, allowing them to engage in religious science and train students, and establish libraries.⁸⁸

In addition, Sultan Abdülhamit II benefited from the leaders of the orders, who had an important position in the society, both as a consultant and as a tool of his Pan-Islamic policies. The Sultan especially paid attention to members of the crowded sects such as Mevlevi, Kadiri, Rufai and Halveti, and he covered the food and light expenses of the lodges and made many donations to their lodges. As the caliph, Abdülhamit II restored the dervish lodges and the tombs of the prominent sheikhs and provided income for them. In the following years, the Sultan personally met some orders' sheikhs with wide influence in Arabia and Africa and bestowed them with medals and ranks. The most well-known of the orders were Sheikh Hamza Zafir Efendi of Şazeli order, Sheikh Abulhuda Efendi of Rufai order, Seyyid Ahmed Esad Efendi of Feraset-i Şerife, Sheikh Rahmetullah and Seyyid Hüseyin El Cisir. It is noticeable that Sultan Abdülhamit II tried to give an international identity to the Ottoman caliphate and establish his political authority beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire through the services and support of these sheikhs and orders. In fact, these influential figures played an important role in increasing Abdülhamit's caliphal influence and prestige overseas Muslim by contributing to pro-Ottoman literature and encouraging pro-caliph feelings with their disciples sent to various

⁸⁸ Eraslan, Ibid., pp. 215-17. “*Dersiam efendiler neşr-i ulum-i diniyye ile meşgul olup, Devlet-i Osmaniyye'nin devam ve bekası İslamiyetle kaim olmasına...*”, See İ.HUS., 156 - 68, H-24-06-1325. For the supportive activities of religious scholars to Pan-Islamist policy, See Gökhan Çetinsaya, “II. Abdülhamid'in İlk Yıllarında İslam Birliği Hareketi (1876-1878)”, (Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1988), pp. 62-64, 109-112.

Muslim lands. Truthfully, the main executives of the policy of Islamic unity in practice were religious sects and religious scholars, who secretly carried out their activities.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Sultan Abdülhamit II was affiliated with Sheikh Hamza Zafir Efendi of Şazeli order, who had a widespread and effective organization especially in North Africa, and had a lodge built for him next to Yıldız Palace.⁹⁰

Among the orders's sheikhs, the most active and influential one was Sheikh Abulhuda Efendi al-Sayyadi of the Rufai Order in Aleppo. Abulhuda wrote many books and booklets (212 titles of books were attributed to him) defending the legitimacy of Sultan Abdülhamit's assumption of the caliphate and calling upon the Muslims to rally behind him and be submissive to him. Abulhuda had a personal interest in the survival and strengthening of the Hamidian regime specially in Syria. Thus, he defended the Sultan's claim to the supreme caliphate and to call upon Arabic-speaking Muslims to support it. Moreover, he played important role in introducing the content and goal of Pan-Islamist among the Muslim population and he was very active to organize the *tarikats* around this policy in other Arab provinces. It is seen that mentioned orders and sheikhs supported the Pan-Islamist policy of Sultan Abdülhamit II by contributing to pro-Ottoman literature and encouraging pro-caliph feelings with their disciples sent to various Muslim lands.⁹¹

During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II authorities paid special attention to the printing of religious books. Religious books were generally published in the official printing house (*Matbaa-i Osmani*) under state control. The government ordered the banning of publications promoting Christianity and western culture. The Sultan ordered the regular maintenance of religious buildings such as mosques, madrasahs, and lodges. Particular attention was paid to the cleanliness and orderliness of mosques and their surroundings. As the centre of the Sultanate and caliphate, the

⁸⁹ İhsan Süreyya Sırma, II. *Abdülhamid'in İslam Birliği Siyaseti*, (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2016), p. 50, 54-58; Eraslan, *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212; Özcan, *Pan-Islamism...*, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁰ Sırma, *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 61; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid (Hatıralarım)*, (Ankara: Selçuk Yayınları, 1986), pp. 24-25.

⁹¹ Butrus Abu Manneh, "Sultan Abdulhamid II and Shaikh Abulhuda Al-Sayyadi", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (May 1979), p. 140; Osmanoğlu, *Ibid.*, p. 25; Özcan, *Pan-Islamism...*, pp. 52-53.

social life of Istanbul was organized within the framework of Islamist politics. In other words, Islamic life had been tried to dominate every aspect of social life. For example, the sale of alcohol was prohibited in the Muslim quarters of Istanbul. The Sultan also took Islamic measures to protect the general morality in order for the people to unite on the basis of religion. The Sultan encouraged people to do collective worship on religiously important days and nights, especially the government prohibited young people from doing religiously forbidden doings. Also, the government reminded women not to wear clothes contrary to Islam and manners. In addition to these, Abdülhamit II aimed to regulate the educational institutions and the content of the curriculum as modern and Islamic as possible. The Sultan showed great interest in teaching religious and moral sciences in schools and in selecting teachers of good character.⁹²

As another way of putting the Islamist politics into practice, Sultan Abdülhamit II tried to preserve the loyalties of Arab tribal leaders by appointing mostly Arab-origin civil servants to high positions in the public office; thus, he intended to consolidate his authority in the Arab world and integrate the Arab provinces more effectively into the Ottoman system. To provide the support of Arabs to the Ottoman-Islamic unity, Abdülhamit II gave high ranks to the governors of the Arab provinces and extended public services in Syria and Iraq. He had permanent or temporal Arab notable guests residing in the imperial guesthouse and serving the Sultan as consultants. Their meals were sent from the palace kitchen. Moreover, the Sultan established many tribal schools and a boarding school in İstanbul for the children of Arab tribal sheikhs to study, and their children went to school for free and gave scholarship to them from the Privy Purse. The Sultan was also privately corresponding with some Arab sheikhs. He widely used the expressions such as caliph and the ruler of Muslims, *Amiru'l-Muminin* because of their religious and

⁹² Eraslan, *Ibid.*, pp. 217-229, 234; Sirma, *Ibid.*, p. 25; Osmanoğlu, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

political connotations. By this policy, Abdülhamit II believed that he won the hearts of the Arab sheikhs and religious people.⁹³

In fact, Sultan Abdülhamit II wanted to utilize Jamal ad-Din Afghani (1839-1897), a well-known figure in the Muslim world, as a tool for his Islamist policy. The Sultan specially wanted to take the loyalties of Shiite religious scholars and Muslims to the Ottoman caliphate through the support of Afghani. In addition, some political writers and clergymen in Istanbul started to defend the idea of Islamic unity in order to protect the Muslim culture and identity against Western imperialism. Indeed, as mentioned above, Afghani made serious theoretical contributions to Islamic thought, and as an activist, he served to expand and develop political Islamism. His main point of departure was the unity and solidarity of all Muslims against the imperialist encroachment that enslaved the Muslim world. Afghani had constantly made propaganda to spread anti-imperialist ideas and attitude over the Muslim world. In a letter written by Afghani to Abdülhamit during the 1877-78 war, he proposed to form an Islamic alliance consisting of Afghanistan and Iran under the leadership of the Ottoman Empire against Russian expansionism. So indeed, the idea of the Islamic union put forward by Afghani was considered as the first concrete step for its realization.⁹⁴ Afghani also plans to get the support of the British against the expansion of Russia in Central Asia with the help of the Muslims in India. His ultimate goal was to pit the British against the Russians and make them fight each other. Thus, the two imperial powers would weaken and their hegemony over Muslims would be eliminated.

⁹³ Engin Deniz Akarlı, “Abdulhamid’s Islamic Policy in the Arab Provinces”, *Türk-Arap İlişkileri: Geçmişte, Bugün ve Gelecekte*, (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1980), pp. 53-54; Karpat, *The Politicization...*, p. 175; Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm...*, p. 48.

⁹⁴ Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani: A Political Biography*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 85-95, 129-39, 140-42, 374-83; Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm...*, pp. 59-60; Afgani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 221-26; Muhammed Mahzumi Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195; Abdülhamid, *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. For detailed information on the Ottoman Empire’s efforts to ensure the support of the Shiite clergy and other Muslims in Iran and Mesopotamia, See Selim Deringil, “Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (August 1991), pp. 346-359.

In the early 1890s, Jamal ad-Din Afghani was invited to Istanbul, but he was placed under surveillance because his activities aroused suspicions in Sultan Abdülhamit II. The most important of these suspicions about Afghani was that he was trying to declare an Arab Caliph in cooperation with the British and the Egyptian Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha. While Afghani was carrying out his Pan-Islamic activities in Istanbul, he was rather restricted. The Sultan just allowed his correspondence with the ulama in Iran and Iraq to gain the support of the Shiites for Islamist politics. However, Jamal ad-Din Afghani died by cancer in Istanbul in May 9, 1897. Subsequently, his Persian and Arab followers alleged that he was poisoned by the Sultan; however, it was probably part of the mythology about Afghani's life.⁹⁵

Apart from clergy, sects, notables and tribes, Sultan Abdühamit II also benefited from ambassadors and delegations to implement a successful Pan-Islamic policy. Being aware that it is not possible to unite all Muslims in the world, the Sultan sought to utilize the power and influence of the caliphate against imperialists such as Britain, France and Russia by establishing spiritual authority over Muslims in Asia and Africa, and he also wanted to use it as a threat risk against the pressures of mentioned imperialists on the empire when appropriate. For this reason, he sent many delegations and ambassadors to different regions of the world such as India, China, Japan, Afghanistan, Java, Central and Southeast Asia and East and North Africa. The delegations conveyed the greetings and favours of the Caliph-Sultan to the Muslims. In return, Muslims living in these regions sent letters and telegrams to the Sultan expressing their loyalties and supports to himself as Caliph and the state. Additionally, many delegations from Muslim lands came to Istanbul and received the congratulations and gifts of the Caliph-Sultan Abdülhamit II.⁹⁶

There is no definite agreement on the content, goals, and scope of Sultan Abdülhamit II's Islamist policies; however, some authors put forward various views about the scope and aims of his Islamist implementations. Jacob Landau described the sultan

⁹⁵ Keddie, *Ibid.*, pp. 383-84, 420; Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm...*, p. 60; Abdülhamid, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁹⁶ Eraslan, *Ibid.*, pp. 310-24, 325-55, 356-70, 376-382; Çetinsaya, *Ibid.*, pp. 34-46, 57-61, 84-101, 108-109; See Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm...*, pp. 39-45, 65-68. For the telegrams involving loyalties of Indian Muslims to the Caliph, See Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm...*, pp. 60, 75-78, 78-88, 89-111, 111-15.

and his government as the main architects of the policy of Islamic unity. He also clearly stated that Pan-Islamism was “*the main ideology of the empire*” during the reign of Abdülhamit. According to him, the aim of the Sultan’s Islamist policy was to unite all Muslims in the world around a common cause.⁹⁷ However, this opinion was not supported by Engin Akarlı who argued that “Abdülhamit was realistic enough to know that the task of protecting all the Muslims was beyond the capacities of the Ottoman State. He hoped that at least the Muslims living within Ottoman borders could be rallied around the common cause of self-protection.”⁹⁸ According to Akarlı, if Abdülhamit “*pretended to be the leadership of all Muslims*”, that was only to eliminate the external pressures on the empire of the European powers, which had a very large Muslim population in their colonies.⁹⁹ In other words, the Sultan used the power of the caliphate in the international arena as a threat to the imperialist powers.

Supporting Akarlı’s views, Caesar Farah also wrote in his article that “Abdülhamit preferred to use the sword of Islam, like the sword of Damocles, to frighten and intimidate his enemies, more specifically to scare off the vultures of imperial Christendom, rather than to combat them when his military power was far from adequate for the task.”¹⁰⁰ On this point, Karpát dwelled on that Sultan Abdülhamit II considered Islamism as a means to establish political unity and solidarity among Muslims living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Despite some events and implementations, he never used Islamism to unite all Muslims around the world. He also knew that as it was impossible to unite all Muslims of the world, Pan-Islamism

⁹⁷ Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam, Ideology and Organization*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 9-72.

⁹⁸ Engin Deniz Akarlı, “Problems of External Pressures and Budgetary Deficits in the Ottoman Politics under Abdulhamid II (1876-1909): Origins and Solutions”, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), (University of Princeton, 1976), p. 60.

⁹⁹ Akarlı, *Problems...*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁰ Caesar Farah, “Reassessing Sultan Abdülhamid II's Islamic Policy”, *Arabs and Ottomans: A Checkered Relationship*, (Ed. By Caesar E. Farah), (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2002), p. 359.

could also prevent his main goal of creating a coherent Ottoman-Muslim community.¹⁰¹

As a prominent intellectual of the Ottoman Empire, Yusuf Akçura also made significant remarks about the scope and outcomes of Islamism. He said that with the unity of all Muslims in the world, it would enable the Ottoman Empire to prepare a force based on religion that could preserve its existence among the great forces emerging with the unity of the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Slavic, and Latin races. In this way, a power would have been created which would dominate a large part of Asia and more than the half of Africa.¹⁰² The explanations of Akçura indicated that the scope of Islamism contained all Muslim geographies in the world.

Yusuf Akçura, who thought that Ottoman statesmen in the Tanzimat period had failed to create an Ottoman nation because of opposition of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, pointed out some drawbacks about the outcomes of this policy. He considered Islamism less suitable for rejuvenation of the empire than Turkism. In this regard, he claimed that there were some important domestic and foreign obstacles for Ottoman statesmen to practice the Pan-Islamist policy. Firstly, in the case of the application of the policy of Islamism, religious discord and enmity could increase among the Ottoman subjects; thus, the non-Muslim subjects and the regions where they were mostly inhabited could be lost. This situation could result in decline of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, Pan-Islamist policy would bring general division between Muslims and non-Muslims Turks, and brotherhood based on gender would be destroyed by the religious controversy.¹⁰³ In addition to internal obstacles, Yusuf Akçura also indicated some external difficulties, which were considered more

¹⁰¹ Karpas, "Pan-İslamizm ve İkinci Abdülhamid...", p. 35.

¹⁰² "Daha mühimmi, yeryüzündeki bi'l-cümle Müslümanların git gide kuvvetlenmek üzere ittihadı ve böylece Anglo-Sakson, Cermen, İslav, Latin belki ırk-ı asfer itthadlarıyla zuhur edecek büyük kuvvetler arasında muhafaza-i vücud eyleyebilecek din üzerine müstenid bir kuvvetin hudüsü için hazırlanacaktır. ...Asya'nın büyük bir kısmıyla Afrika'nın nısfından ziyadesine hakim, manevi bir şahıs yaratılmış olacaktır..." See Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Kadir, 1327[1911]), pp. 24-25.

¹⁰³ "...bu siyasetin tatbiki halinde tebaa-yı Osmaniye arasında dini nifak ve adavetin tezayidi, böylece gayr-i Müslim tebaa ile onların ekseriyetle meskun oldukları aksam-ı memalığın ziyayı ve binaenaleyh devlet-i Osmaniye kuvvetinin tenakusu iktiza edecekti." See Akçura, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

important that internal ones. He draws attention that the Pan-Islamist policy was restricted because of enmity of the European imperialists to this ideology. In fact, most of the Muslim powers gradually came under the control of Western imperialist powers and these imperialists had Muslim subject in their colonies. Therefore, Akçura declared that most of the European imperialist powers would strongly withstand the implementation of the Islamism by the Ottoman Empire, which as a major Muslim state, could politically affect the loyalty of Muslim elements in their colonies.¹⁰⁴

In fact, Sultan Abdülhamit II's tendency to the Pan-Islamist policy was a reflex against the political conjuncture of the period. He sought the support of Islamic ummah as a reaction against the financial, political, and military pressures of imperialist European powers. The Sultan was undoubtedly extremely rational and pragmatical statesman and he had a realistic approach about foreign politics. Therefore, he was most probably aware of that the Ottoman Empire was not powerful enough to implement an Islamist policy uniting all Muslims.

Sultan Abdülhamit II's Pan-Islamist policy benefiting from many scholars, sheikhs, and Afghani, was limited and superficial. In other words, he did not intend to form a political-military Islamic front against the Christian domination. It is important to stress that the whole aim of the Caliph-Sultan was to take advantage of the authority of the caliphate to receive the spiritual support of Islamic countries and thus to protect the Ottoman lands and the unity of the Muslims living on these lands. That is, Abdülhamit II's priority was to maintain the survival of the empire and he pragmatically focused on a policy to protect the existing structure of the state. Accordingly, a worldwide Pan-Islamism policy most probably undermine his main goal.

¹⁰⁴ Akçura, *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

2.2. Islamism As An Intellectual Movement

Undoubtedly, the period of Second Constitutional Monarchy was a turning point for the intellectual Islamist movement. During this period, Islamism developed as an important intellectual-religious movement represented by various members of the Ottoman intelligentsia. After the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, many important scholars and thinkers, who had not formed an independent group in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II due to the political and administrative conditions of the period, contributed to the Islamist movement by their articles and books. With the atmosphere of free thought and press along with the Second Constitutional Monarchy, they found a free environment to be organized and started to disseminate their thoughts intensely and systematically in newspapers and journals such as *Sebîlürreşâd (Sırat-ı Müstakim)*, *Beyânülhak*, *Livâü'l-İslâm*, *Hikmet*, *İttihâd-ı İslam*, *Tasavvuf*, *İslam Mecmuası*, and *Volkan*.¹⁰⁵ Through their ideas, the Islamist intellectuals tried to pave the way of realizing an “Islamic renaissance”. In this way, Islamists would show both an effective reaction to the threats posed by the modern European civilization against Islamic world and would ensure the survival of the Ottoman Empire, the last great power of Islamic civilization in the world. That is, this movement envisaged a modernization under the guidance of religion Islam. Moreover, the representatives of the movement argued that the wrong understanding and practice of religion subjected Muslims to laziness, ignorance and superstition and directed them to imitate the Western lifestyle. Muslims came to denying their original identity. In other words, the main reason of backwardness in Muslim world was to become distanced from the truth of Islam. In this case, the solution was to return to the truth of Islam; that is, to become Islamized. Accordingly, the main target of the Islamist movement was to return to essence of Islam and to carry out an Islamic modernization.¹⁰⁶

The intellectual Islamists mainly focused on answering following questions; why the Islamic world is materially and spiritually in a bad situation and how to be get rid of

¹⁰⁵ Özcan, “İslamcılık”, pp. 62-65; Kutluer, “İslamcılık”, pp. 65-67.

¹⁰⁶ Kutluer, “İslamcılık”, pp. 65-67.

it, what are the values that contributed to superiority of the West's and are they exist in Islam or not, what is the nature of the relationship between reason and narration, what kind of the administration, law and economic order Islamic religion envisions, whether the sultanate, caliphate and constitutionalism have a relationship with religion, what should be taken from the Western civilization or not be taken.

Intellectual Islamists were also in search of finding answers and evidence from the Qur'an and hadith to strengthen their views of religion-world, nature, and politics. In fact, they tried to interpret Islamic doctrines with naturalistic and deterministic comments in parallel with the spirit of time; thus, these thinkers expected to prove that there was no conflict between science-religion and reason-narration. Furthermore, they considered Sufism and sects as outcomes of misinterpretation of Islam. They thought that sects became nests of inertia and laziness; that they ignored the free will of human; that they distorted concepts such as trust in God and asceticism from their true meanings, and that they produced superstitious beliefs.¹⁰⁷

One of the most important figures among intellectual Islamists was Mustafa Sabri Efendi (1869-1954), who had an extremely conservative understanding of Islam. He argued that Muslims should not be influenced by Western technological advances and the rise of their material advancements. As a matter of fact, he emphasized that the mortal and temporary worldly successes, superiorities, and technical advances of the Western nations were worthless in the sight of God [*Allah*]. Sabri said that because of the successes of the Europeans, the Muslims should not underestimate their religious doctrines. It is important to underline that Mustafa Sabri stated that Muslims were not against their material progress just like the Westerners, but he pointed out that the development of Muslims should not destroy or distort the Islamic life. He believed any progress that did not comply with the principles of Islam would be more harmful rather than well-being for Muslims. In this circumstances, Mustafa Sabri clearly underlined that Muslims should remain in misery rather than benefiting from the technological developments of the West by falsifying religious beliefs.

¹⁰⁷ Özcan, "İslamcılık", pp. 62-65.

Briefly, he advocated that Muslims should achieve their technical and economic development without compromising of Islamic life.¹⁰⁸

Mustafa Sabri also defended the constitutional government with his articles in *Beyan'ül-Hak* and emphasized that an Islamic government should be a representative one. He considered the Constitutional Monarchy as the administration which Islam has been trying to achieve for years. Sabri clearly wrote that freedom, which has been the legitimate property of Islam for a long time, was recovered and returned to its original owners with the Constitutional Monarchy.¹⁰⁹ According to Sabri, the constitutional administration was clearly superior to absolutism, and the essence of constitutional administration was already derived from Islamic principles. Therefore, he argued that each of the Islamic governments, which was dependent on the Sharia laws, should be regarded as constitutional government.¹¹⁰

One of the most enthusiastic and influential spokesmen of intellectual Islamists was Mehmet Akif (1873-1936). In his poem entitled “*Süleymaniye Kürsüsü*”, he presented an effective and emotional description of the misery, ignorance and collapse existing in the entire Muslim world. In the same poem, Akif also provided a dark and disgraceful portrayal of the Ottoman Empire under the oppressive rule of Sultan Abdülhamit II where only sycophants could promote to high ranks. Akif even labelled mentioned period as tyranny, disgrace, darkness, and ridiculousness.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ “*Ben Müslümanların maddeten ve ahlaken inhitatını ve belki kısmen iflasını inkar edenlerden, ve buna çaresiz olacak intibah/uyaniş ve teceddüt yollarının önüne set çekmek isteyenlerden değilim. Ancak buna çare olacak diye açıktan veya gizliden İslam'ın tahrip veya tahrifine lüzum gösterilirse o zaman ben, Müslümanların bu hal-i sefalette kalmalarını, haklarında daha hayırlı görürüm.*”; See Mustafa Sabri, “Terakki Edelim, Fakat Müslüman Kalmak Şartıyla”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XVII, No. 431-432, 24 Temmuz 1335 [24 July 1919], pp. 113-114.

¹⁰⁹ “... ve İslamiyetin senelerden beri aşık-ı visali bulunduğu idarenin İdare-i Meşruta olduğunu yar ve ağyara anlatarak...”, See Mustafa Sabri, “Beyanü'l- Hak'ın Mesleği”, *Beyanü'l- Hak*, No. 1, 22 Eylül 1324, [5 October 1908], p. 3; Also See İsmail Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler-Kişiler*, Vol.II, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2021), pp. 924-926.

¹¹⁰ Mustafa Sabri Efendi, *Dini Müceddidler, Yahud Türkiye İçin Necat ve İ'tila Yolları Bir Rehber*, (İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1338[1922], pp. 80, 81, 82, 91.

¹¹¹“Ne felâket, ne rezâletti o devrin hâli!
Başta bir kukla, bütün milletin istikbâli,
İki üç kuklacının keyfine mahkûm olmuş:
Bir siyâset ki didiklerdi, emînim, Karakuş!

Moreover, Mehmet lamented about the complete deterioration under the corruptive influence of local traditions and loss of pristine qualities of Islam. Akif also complained that regions of Bukhara and Samarkand, where the most important scientists and scholars of the Islamic world such as Ibn Sina emerged in the past and where the best observatories of the world were constructed, sunk to the most infamous deterioration due to the destructive effects of local customs. In addition, he stressed that bigotry, immorality, and vulgarity ruled over in the mentioned regions. For this situation, Mehmet Akif blamed the ulama who withstood every beneficial development as impious innovation (*bid'at*) and who hindered the progress of Muslims.¹¹² He also urged decadent Islamic ummah to emulate the Japanese so as to achieve the European civilization; namely, “modern civilization”. According to him, the Japanese duly protected the virtues of the religion of Islam and Muslims. In other words, they were able to practice Islamic principles, such as righteousness, diligence, courage, and loyalty more effectively than Muslim peoples. In fact, the Japanese adopted the values, which formed the essence of Islam. So, Akif thought that it was as if the religion of Islam was prevailing in Japan under the name of Buddhism.¹¹³ Mehmet Akif also called for Muslim peoples to protect their

Nerde bir maskara sivrilse, hayâsızlara pîr,
Haydi Mâbeyn-i Hümâyûn'a!... Ya bâlâ, ya vezîr!’’ See Mehmet Akif Ersoy, *Safahat*, (Prep. By M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ), (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), p. 146.

¹¹²“O Buhârâ, o mübârek, o muazzam toprak;
Zilletin koynuna girmiş uyuyor müstağrak!
İbni Sînâ'ları yüzlerce doğurmuş iklim,
Tek çocuk vermiyor âgûşuna ilmin, ne akîm!
O rasad-hâne-i dünyâ, o Semerkand bile;
Öyle dalmış ki hurâfâta o mâzîsiyle.
...Ya ta'assubları? Hiç sorma, nasıl maskaraca?
O, uzun hırkasının yenleri yerlerde, hoca,
Hem bakarsın eşi yok dine teaddisinde,
Hem ne söylersen olur dîni hemen rencide!
Milletin hayrı için her ne düşünsen: Bid'at;
Şer'i tağyîr ile, terzîl ise -hâşâ- Sünnet!
Ne Hudâ'dan sıkılırlar, ne de Peygamber'den.
Bu ilimsiz hocalardan, bu beyinsizlerden
Çekecek memleketin hâli ne olmaz, düşünün!
Sayısız medrese var gerçi Buhârâ'da bugün...” See Ersoy, *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

¹¹³“Sorunuz, şimdi Japonlar da nasıl millettir?
Onu tasvîre zafer-yâb olamam, hayrettir!
Şu kadar söyleyeyim: Dîn-i mübînin orada,
Rûh-i feyyâzı yayılmış, yalnız şekli: Buda.
Siz gidin, safvet-i İslâmı Japonlarda görün!
O küçük boylu, büyük milletin efrâdı bugün,

independence and urged them to provide unity and solidarity against the imperialist aggression of the Europeans. He believed that Islam was the only common basis for the Muslim elements from different ethnic background. Akif also cautioned Muslims not to support ethnic nationalism which is potentially as harmful as a quake for Islam. Moreover, if the Muslims acted together, the ambitions of the imperialists could not do harm them. In this regard, Akif reprimanded Turkish, Arab, and Albanian nationalisms as destructive ideologies.¹¹⁴

Although Mehmet Akif encouraged Muslims to carry out the scientific and technological modernization, he took a firm stand against the European style modernization, especially about moral values. Giving priority to educational reform, Akif remarked that Muhammed Abduh's reformist approach would be a more reasonable strategy for Islamization rather than Cemaleddin Afghani's revolutionary attitude.¹¹⁵ It is important to stress that like many other Islamist intellectuals, he also did not believe that Muslims in the world would not improve themselves by following the stages of progress of European nations. He thought that each society had different kinds of lines to develop materially and morally.

Another important thinker among the intellectual Islamists was Babanzade Ahmed Naim (1872-1934). He was distinguished by his severe criticisms on nationalism, especially Turkish nationalism. For Ahmed Naim, nationalism was a innovation (*bid'at*) originated in Europe. He defined nationalism as a contagious and fatal disease which recently infected the Muslim world. Ahmed Naim clearly expressed that "nationalism as the most formidable blow to the survival and stability of Islam

Müslümanlık'taki erkânı siyânette ferîd;
Müslüman denmek için eksiği ancak tevhîd.
Doğruluk, ahde vefâ, va'de sadâkat, şefkat;
Âcizin hakkını i'lâya samîmî gayret'' See Ersoy, Ibid., pp. 153-154.

¹¹⁴“İşte Fas, işte Tunus, işte Cezâyir, gitti.
İşte İrânı da taksîm ediyorlar şimdi.
Bu da gâyetle tabî'î, koşanıdır meydan;
Yaşamak hakkını kuvvetliye vermiş Yaradan.
Müslüman, fırka belâsiyle zebun bir kavmi,
Medenî Avrupa üç lokma edip yutmaz mı?
Ey cemâat, yeter Allâh için olsun, uyanın...
Sesi pek müdhiş öter sonra kulaklarda çanın!” See Ersoy, Ibid., p. 162.

¹¹⁵ Ersoy, Ibid., pp. 401-405.

and to the welfare and happiness of the Muslim.” According to him, it would be insanity for Muslims to claim different national/ethnic identities other than Islam, such as Turkishness, Arabness, Kurdishness, and Circassianess especially at a moment when almost all Islamic lands lost their religious values and when the enemies’ aggressive attacks penetrated heartlands of Islam. Naim thought that supporting the nationalist movement was highly unpatriotic attitude.¹¹⁶ Ahmed Naim divided the supporters of Turkist movement into two categories such as “pure Turkists” and “Turkist-Islamists”. Pure Turkists, he wrote, wanted to distinguish themselves completely from the Islamic tradition so as to form a new identity with new ideal. Accordingly, their basic aim was to get rid of the Islamic past and to create a new Turkish nation with a new faith, tradition and custom. For this group, the important thing was the consciousness of Turkishness; Islamic ties came after. In addition, pure Turkists argued that it was necessary not to stay away from European civilization in order to “become contemporary”. Even, in Europe, religious rules no longer determined the boundaries of social life, and in fact, it was already outdated. Therefore, they strictly said that these people should be Turk first and then Muslim. However, Ahmed Naim equated the ideal of pure Turkists with atheism and he condemned them for putting forward Turkishness rather than the Islamic case.¹¹⁷ The second group, the Turkist-Islamists, gave up neither the idea of Islam nor Turkish nationalism. They, however, wanted to combine Islamic principles with the Turkish ideals. Turkist-Islamists complained about the poor situation of the Turkish element, but they did not want push aside the Islamic community as well. In other words, Turkist-Islamists intellectuals desired that not only the Islamic elements belonging to different ethnic groups should not be pushed away, but also wanted that conditions of Turkish elements should be developed. The most basic discourses of the Turkist-Islamists were gathered at the point that the Turkish community would strengthen the Islamic world and that the cause of Turkism was not against the religion of Islam. In their thoughts, both ideals did not pose a problem to each other.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ “*Bu da sâika-i cehl ile Avrupa’dan istiâre ettiğimiz muzır –ve fikr-i âcizânemce– vücûd-ı İslâm’ın dâ’ü’s-selâ denecek kadar mühlik bir bid’at-i ecnebiyyedir.*” See Ahmed Naim, *İslam’da Dava-yı Kavmiyet*, (Dar’ül-Hilafe: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matbaası, 1332[1916], pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁷ Ahmed Naim, *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁸ Ahmed Naim, *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

In fact, Ahmed Naim did not approve of the views of the Turkist-Islamists and even he found their ideals unrealistic. According to him, one could not stay loyal to two different ideologies at the same time, and even the cause of Turkism was the opposite of Islamism. Therefore, the Turks could not look at to *Kaaba* and the *Turan* at the same time. In that case, the Turks had to leave *Turan* behind as they did a thousand years ago and maintained to pay their attention to the *Kaaba*. would either return to the Kaaba -as they had been - and leave Turan behind, or face into Turan and forget about the Kaaba.¹¹⁹ Ahmed Naim expressed that a Muslim needed to know the Shari'at of Muhammad, but rather the Law of Genghis. Also, a Muslim, Naim wrote, should not pride on the idolatry of the past.¹²⁰ It is clearly seen that Ahmed Naim challenged with the representatives of Turkist-Islamists who encouraged the Turks to take pride in their pre-Islamic ancestry, culture, and tradition. He anticipated that Turkist-Islamists should always talk to Turks about their Islamic ties and should not remind them of their Turkishness.

With his extreme Islamist attitude, Ahmed Naim denied the existence of a separate Turkish ethnicity even within the Islamic identity and blamed Turkist intellectuals for inventing an imaginary concept of Turkishness. According to him, the Turks were convinced that their ancestors were Kara Khan, Bozkurt Khan, Oguz Khan, Genghis Khan, Hulagu Khan'', and they believed this. He said that many of the Turks thought that they were the true children of polytheists. In addition, Ahmed Naim refused to accept a Turkish history independent of Islamic history and denied the existence of Turkish nation. He claimed that ''for over a thousand years, the Turkish elements have completely lost all their ethnic identity except their language because of constantly intermingling with various races.'' Ultimately, according to Ahmed Naim, the intellectuals should act in the name of Islam, not Turkishness.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ ''Zîrâ cihetler yekdiğere zıddır. Ân-ı vâhidde her ikisi birden görülemez. Türkler ya Ka'be'ye dönüp -bin yıldan beri olduğu gibi- Turan'ı arkada bırakacaklar, ya Turan'a bakıp Ka'be'yi unutacaklar.'' See Ahmed Naim, *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

¹²⁰ ''Cengiz'in yasasını bilmek, İlhan'ın yurdunu tanımak, Altınordu'yu anmak bize lâzım değil. Mâzideki işrâk ile tefâhur edilmez. Bize Şer'-i Muhammedî'yi, İslâm yurdunu, mücâhidîn-i İslâm'ı bilmek, tanımak lâzım.'' See Ahmed Naim, *Ibid.*, p. 18.

The issue of nationalism was also on the agenda of other important Islamists and was discussed in detail. In this regard, Şeyhulislam Musa Kazım Efendi also took an stance against nationalism. He argued that the assertion on ethnicity and national identity (*iddia-yı kavmiyyet ve gender*) should be banned to reinforce the feelings of brotherhood among the people and the future of the Muslim ummah. He already thought that one of the most important principles of Islam is brotherhood. It is the first and most essential principle for the life and survival of a nation. “This is because man is civilised by nature and is exposed to many needs, yet he is incapable of providing even one of the things he needs alone. Therefore, there is a great need to establish a very sincere brotherhood between the members of a nation that wants to live.” He said, otherwise, it would not be possible for Islamic ummah to maintain its survival against the external attacks.¹²²

Mehmet Akif also emphasized the issue of ethnic nationalism and described nationalism as an earthquake and a seed of discord that destroyed the foundation of the unity and solidarity of the Islam ummah. According to him, assertion on Albanian, Arabism or Turkishness would not produce any benefit for the development of the Muslims. Accordingly, he warned Muslims to stay away from ethnic nationalist ideologies.¹²³ In addition, Akif, in other poem, clearly expressed his negative attitude against nationalism. On this point, he expressed that assertion on

¹²¹ Ahmed Naim, *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12. Also See Ahmet Naim, “İslâm’da Dava-yı Kavmiyet: Ta’kîb ve Tenfiz Mecmûası Sâhibi Nüzhet Sâbit Beyefendi’ye”, *Sebîlürreşâd*, Vol.XII, No: 293, (10 Nisan 1330[23 April 1914]), pp. 114-128. Thoughts of Ahmed Naim particularly on nationalism revealed that he was a very traditional Islamist.

¹²² Musa Kazım, *Külliyat-Dini, İçtimai Makaleler*, (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1336[1920]), pp. 283-284; Musa Kazım, “İslam’ın Necatı-İslam ve Terakki-3”, *İslam Mecmuası*, Vol.I, No. 3, 27 Şubat 1329[12 March 1914]), p. 75. Also See, İsmail Kara, *Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler-Kişiler, Vol.I*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2020), pp. 126-127.

¹²³“Ayrılık hissi nasıl girdi sizin beyninize?
Fikr-i kavmiyyeti şeytan mı sokan zihninize?
Birbirinden müteferrik bu kadar akvâmı,
Aynı milliyetin altında tutan İslâm’ı,
Temelinden yıkacak zelzele kavmiyettir.
Bunu bir lâhza unutmak ebedî haybettir.
Arnavutlukla, Araplıkla bu millet yürümez..
Son siyâset ise Türklük, o siyâset yürümez.
Sizi bir âile efrâdı yaratmış Yaradan;
Kaldırın ayrılık esbâbını artık aradan.” See Ersoy, *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

ethnicity or nationality had no place in religion Islam. He clearly wrote that asserting the nationality was nothing but blasphemy.¹²⁴

Another important figure among the intellectual Islamists was Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi (Yazır). He came to the forefront with his thoughts and comments on caliphate, constitutional monarchy, and legislation in the Islamic system. From its earliest days, Islam, as a religion, had not presented a certain form of government concerning to administrative system. Accordingly, intellectual Islamists in the Second Constitutional period concluded that the sultanate system was not the only legitimate form of government. In this context, Muhammed Hamdi argued that the caliphate was a kind of proxy, and in reality, the proxy was given by the Muslim ummah. Therefore, the sovereignty of the nation was theoretically above the power of caliph. In this case, the caliph in a constitutional regime was just a head of the government, and his rights and authority were limited to executive function while legislation and jurisprudence belonged to other powers. In addition to these, Muhammed Hamdi pointed out that the caliph did not have authority over Muslims in foreign countries. Overseas Muslims were attached to the caliph with spiritual feelings, not political ties.¹²⁵ Unlike the traditional understanding of the caliphate as a proxy for God or the Prophet, Muhammed Hamdi presented completely new approach to the characteristics of caliphate and scope of the caliphal authority power. In this manner, he noticed that the caliph just represented the people's authority. As it is understood from his last comments on the authority of caliphate that Muhammed Hamdi described a portrait of "national caliph". Meanwhile, most of the intellectual

¹²⁴“Hani, milliyyetin İslâm idi... Kavmiyyet ne!

Sarılp sımsıkı dursaydın a milliyyetine.

“Arnavutluk” ne demek? Var mı şeriat’te yeri?

Küfr olur, başka değil, kavmini sürmek ileri.” See Ersoy, Ibid., pp. 183-184.

¹²⁵ “Halife bir taraftan kendisine biat ümmetin vekaletini diğer taraftan kendisinin de efrad-ı tebaa gibi tebaiyyet ve tatbik memur ve mecbur olduğu kanunun vazı’ ve şari’nin hasbe’l-icra niyabetini haiz bulunur. Ve hiçbir vakit re’y-i müstebidiyle o kanunu tecavüz edemez. Ederse hakimiyet-i millet hükmünü icra eyler. Binaenaleyh İslamiyetteki hilafet kanun-ı şeri’in kuvve-i icraiye riyasetinden başka bir şey olmadığı cihetle riyaset-i ruhaniyeye müşabeheti yoktur. Hilafet bir hükümet-i meşruta-i İslamiye reisi demektir. Bunun için memalik-i ecnebiyede bulunan Müslümanlara velayeti yoktur. Fakat Müslümanlar manevi bir hiss-i merbutiyet duyarlar.” See Küçük Hamdi, “İslamiyet ve Hilafet ve Meşihat-ı İslamiye”, *Beyanü’l-Hak*, Vol.I, No. 22, 16 Şubat 1324[1 March 1909], p. 513; Kara, Ibid., Vol.I, pp. 480-481. Also See İsmail Kara, *İslamcılarının Siyasi Görüşleri*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2020), pp. 142-143.

Islamists in that period supported this new approach concerning to the position of the caliphate. They probably wanted to prepare the ground for strengthening position of new situations like the 1876 Constitution and the Ottoman Parliament. On the other hand, some of the intellectuals Islamists, like İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, maintained their classical viewpoints and argued that the Ottoman caliph was the caliph of all Muslims and the Sultan of all Ottomans. İsmail Hakkı considered the Islamic Caliphate as the religious leader and sultanate of the earthly affairs. According to him, the Islamic Caliphate is also the highest and best of civilised governments and the one that carries out the main services of the state. Additionally, İsmail Hakkı affirmed that leaders in Islamic countries could only be called sultan, sovereign or ruler, but they could not be caliph. He thought that there could be several sultans, sovereign or ruler, but there was only one caliph for the Islamic world.¹²⁶

In addition to his comments on caliphate, Muhammed Hamdi wrote some articles glorifying constitutional regime, constitution, and political legitimacy. He claimed that Constitutional Monarchy was not contradictory with the Islamic principles; contrarily, Islamic norms embraced equality, freedom, justice, and general constitutional order as the lost values of Islam. According to Hamdi, “the *Kanun-ı Esasi* was also in compliance with the honourable Shari’at because the Ottoman authorities had designed the constitution in the guise of Islam.”¹²⁷

Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, one of the first-generation Islamist intellectuals in the Second Constitutional Period, dealt with the superiority of West all over the world population and Westernization attempts of Islamic world. He

¹²⁶ “Hilâfet-i İslâmiyye, siyâdet-i dîniyye ve saltanat-ı dünyeviyyedir, hükûmât-ı mütemeddinenin efdali ve menâsıb-ı dîniyyenin ecellidir, adl ü takvâ ile müesses ve kavânin-i dîniyye ü zevâbit-ı şer’iyye ile mukayyedir; halîfe şerâyi’-i ilâhiyye ve kavânin-i mer’iyye dâiresinde âmir ve mutasarrıftır, hâl-i sulhte nâsın âmiri ve hâl-i harpte kumandanıdır.*Tevâif-i müluk-ı İslamiyye gelince onlara yalnız emir, melik, sultan, hükümdar, padişah denir fakat halife itlak olunmaz. Halife bir olur, emir, sultan, melik, hükümdar, padişah müteaddit olabilir.*” See İzmirli İsmail Hakkı “Hilâfet-i İslamiye”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.III, No. 56, 17 Eylül 1325[30 September 1909], pp. 49-51. Also See Kara, *İslâmcıların Siyasî...*, Vol.I, pp. 142-148.

¹²⁷ “...*Şeriat-i İslamiye maşuk-ı kadimi olan hürriyet ve meşrutiyeti derağuş etti. Ona olan muhabbet ve samimiyetini yar ve ağyara tefhime çalıştı. Kanun-ı Esasi muvafık-ı şer’i şerifdir denildi, hemen harz-ı can bilindi. Şüphesiz ki Kanun-ı Esasi kisve-i Şeri’iyyeye bürünmese idi ne bu ihtirama nail ne bu i’tisama mahal olurdu.*” See Küçük Hamdi, “Makale-i Mühimme”, *Beyanü’l-Hak*, Vol.I, No. 18, 19 Kanun-ı Sani 1324[1 February 1909], pp. 400-401.

explicitly stated that Muslims did not have a problem with the material civilization of Europe. However, after reminding that the spiritual civilization of Europe was in misery, he noticed that the Western-based moral values, which affected the Ottoman and Islamic countries, would not enhance European but would bring its decline.¹²⁸ By following to some extent the reformist approach of the Afghani-Abduh, Ahmed Hilmi complained about the current understanding of religion and the scientific tradition of the Islam ummah, which did not meet the needs of the modern age. Thus, he encouraged Muslims to carry out reforms in terms of both religious and scientific aspects.¹²⁹

According to Ahmed Hilmi, materialism was prevailing in Europe and development of Europe was just related to material progress. Spiritual misery also reached its limit. He said that for humanity, there was no other place other than this vulgar environment, no existence other than materiality, and nothing but benefit. Felicity just consisted of satisfying the senses by having material needs.¹³⁰

Ahmed Hilmi wrote that Europeans did not give the civilized elements that would contribute to development to the Muslim world; on the contrary, they tended to transfer social factors that would cause weakness and debauchery. In addition to these, he harshly criticized the westoxicated Muslims. On this point, he resented that the Muslim world did not turn towards the Europeans' trade, economic and agricultural methods, and social organizations, which would form the basis for growth and development. He regretted that the Muslims were willing to imitate the disgusting values of Western civilization. In short, according to him, Muslims aspired to the evil and useless elements of Western civilization, which were as

¹²⁸ “Biz Avrupa'nın maddi medeniyetinin en samimi takdirkarı ve hayranlarındanız. Avrupa milletlerinin bugün ulaştıkları sınıai her mütefikiri hayran bırakacak bir azamettir. Lakin menevi medeniyetinin düştüğü zilletin en aşağı derecesi tarihte misli görülmeyen bir esfeliyettir. Avrupa medeniyeti, manevi boyuttan cesametli bir çöküş, büyük bir inkıraz karşısında bulunmaktadır.” See Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda Âlem-i İslâm ve Avrupa, Müslümanlara Rehber-i Siyaset*, (Kostantiniye: Hükümet Matbaası, 1327[1911]), pp. 5-7, 10-11, 66-69.

¹²⁹ Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *Tarih-i İslam*, Vol.II, (Konstantiniye: Hükümet Matbaası, 1327[1911]), pp. 650-665.

¹³⁰ Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda...*, pp. 7-8; Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık...*, Vol.I, pp. 80-82.

dangerous as cholera and the plague.¹³¹ Ahmed Hilmi also interpreted it as the suicide of Muslims that they took the disgraces of the West, rather than taking the virtues and effective elements which led to the rise of Western civilization.¹³²

Apart from these, Ahmed Hilmi criticized the Islamic ummah's current understanding of religion and the scientific tradition, which did not meet the needs of the modern age. He thought that those who have been engaged in religion for centuries have not only been heedless and distant from the realities of the age but have spent all their efforts and dedication to keep the Islamic community outside of the modern age.¹³³

Ahmed Hilmi claims that the great majority of Muslims were politically dependent on foreigners, they were completely subjugated with respect to economy, and they were diseased in terms of science and education.¹³⁴ Therefore, he emphasized the need to initiate a general reform process that would free Muslims from this situation. Furthermore, by following to some extent the reformist approach of the Afghani, Abduh and Seyyid Ahmed Han, he insisted that reforms should be made not only in terms of the religious mentality but also the approach to scientific knowledge.¹³⁵

On the same issue, Musa Kazım Efendi, who believed that Muslims should develop themselves scientifically, technically and in every field in terms of the development of Islamic ummah, drew attention to the fact that among the existing religions, there is no religion based on moral, social, administrative, and political principles as Islam. He also noticed that the religion of Islam does not prevent progress; contrarily, it encourages progress and development. He insisted that Islam contains all the values

¹³¹ Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda...*, pp. 66-68; Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık...*, Vol.I, pp. 82-83.

¹³² Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda...*, p. 68.

¹³³ Ahmed Hilmi, *Tarih-i İslâm*, Vol.II, pp. 650-651.

¹³⁴ “*Bugün Müslümanların ekseriyet-i azimesi siyaseten tabi’ ve iktisaden mana-yı tamıyla esir, ve marifeten mariz ve alidirler.*” See Ahmed Hilmi, *Tarih-i İslâm*, Vol.II, p. 653.

¹³⁵ Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık...*, Vol.I, pp. 67-71; Ahmed Hilmi, *Tarih-i İslâm*, Vol.II, pp. 657-658.

and principles such as work, produce, think, consultation, freedom, justice, equality, and fraternity, required for the progress and civilization of a nation.¹³⁶

Musa Kazım Efendi stated that the Europeans did not attach much importance to religion and morality, but their civilization was at a very advanced level in the field of technique and science. Therefore, he emphasized that Muslims should prepare strong forces against the enemies of Islam, and that it is religiously obligatory for Muslims to have all the war equipment they have. Because Musa Kazım wrote that one of the principles of the Shari'at regarding the world is to prepare strength. Moreover, according to him, it is not possible for Muslims to progress without knowledge and science. Therefore, Muslims, he said, also need to develop science, education, art, industry, trade, and agriculture in order to progress. Because it is religiously obligatory for Muslims to learn the knowledge and wisdom necessary for the strengthening of the Muslim world.¹³⁷ Musa Kazım also took negative attitude to the Western civilization in terms of spiritual values. As a matter of fact, he dwelled on the concept of civilization in relation to religion in his studies and he criticized Western civilization especially in terms of the idea of social justice.

As another Islamist thinker, Mehmed Ali Ayni, who translated some Western works on philosophy and psychology into Turkish, discussed the successes of classical Turkish-Islamic thought on logic, morality, and mysticism in various monographs. He also witnessed that the pessimistic and atheist trends developing in the West affected Ottoman society and especially the youth. In his work called “*Reybîlik, Bedbinlik, Lâilâhîlik Nedir?*”, M. Ali Ayni analysed and criticized the sceptic, pessimistic and atheist ideas put forward by Tefik Fikret in terms of scientific,

¹³⁶ “*Edyan-ı mevcude içinde din-i İslam kadar ahlaki, içtimai, idari, siyasi esaslara istinat etmiş bir din daha mevcut olmadığını... ; Din-i İslam mani-i terakki imiş, ne büyük iftira! Ne azim bir bühtan! Zira din-i İslam mani-i terakki değil bi'l-akis emr-i terakki ve saik-i taalidir. Çünkü bu din bir milletin temeddün ve terakki etmesi için iktiza eden usul ve esasatın cümlesini havidir....*” Musa Kazım, *Dini İçtimai Makaleler (Külliyat)*, (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1336[1920], pp. 278-279. Also See Musa Kazım, “İslam’ın Necatı-İslam ve Terakki-1”, *İslam Mecmuası*, (30 Kanunusani 1329[12 February 1914]), pp. 1-2.

¹³⁷ Musa Kazım, *Dini İçtimai...*, pp. 284-285; Musa Kazım, “Kuvvet Hazırlamak-2”, (Ed. By Eşref Edib), *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.III, No. 56, 17 Eylül 1325[30 September 1909] pp. 52-53; Musa Kazım, “Kuvvet Hazırlamak-2”, (Ed. By Eşref Edib), *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.III, No. 59, 8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1325[21 October 1909], pp. 99-100. Also See Kara, *Türkiye’de İslamcılık...*, Vol.I, pp. 127-134.

philosophical, and moral aspects. M. Ali Ayni considered scepticism as a terrible disease that killed people slowly. In addition, he claimed that hesitant people could not take responsibilities of sceptical people and could not act, which created many social disadvantages. He also suggested that scepticism hindered progress by causing laziness. The second important issue that M. Ali Ayni criticized was pessimism. Pessimism emerging as a philosophical movement in India consisted of complaining about material and spiritual sufferings. Another important issue Ayni focused on is atheism. Ayni underlined that Tevfik Fikret glorified atheism in his poems and that he described atheism as a quite normal thought. Therefore, Mehmed Ali Ayni reacted against Tevfik Fikret, who attributed the superstitious myths of Greek mythology to the society of his time. Ayni opposed Tevfik Fikret's attempts of labelling of the society as atheist and emphasized that people actually loved and adhered to the God. Additionally, Ayni reiterated that most scholars and philosophers, except for some minority people, respected and glorified the God.¹³⁸

Mehmed Ali Ayni also dwelled on various philosophical subjects such as dictionary of philosophy, history of philosophy, Islamic Sufism, moral values, literature, and politics. He made very important contributions into the intellectual life of his period with his evaluations and criticisms of various philosophical works produced in last period, including the studies of Islamist thinkers such as İsmail Fenni, M. Şemsettin (Günaltay) and İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, whose studies were largely based on Western sources.¹³⁹

Although Islamist thinkers had partially different approaches when dealing with many different issues, it is seen that they essentially had common acceptances that constituted their cultural identities and atmosphere of thought. For this reason, Islamists were almost unanimous in defending the opinions that wisdom was the lost

¹³⁸ Mehmet Ali Ayni, *Reybilik, Bedbinlik, La-İlahilik Nedir? - Tevfik Fikret'in Tarih-i Kadimi'ne Bir Cevab*, (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Sudi, 1927). pp. 45-66; Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık...*, Vol.II, pp. 618-624.

¹³⁹ For M. Ali Ayni's some compiled philosophical articles, See Mehmed Ali Ayni, *İntikad ve Mülahazalar - Dini, Felsefi, Tasavvufi, Ahlaki ve Edebi*, (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Sudi-Orhaniye Matbaası, 1339[1923]).

property of Muslims, that Islam did not hinder development, that the elements that gave superiority to European civilization were mainly derived from Muslims, that working hard for a person was essential, that Muslims must be strong, that unity and brotherhood were indispensable. In addition to these, Islamists adopted common goals such as making Muslims have a pure and firm belief, reforming education and fighting against imitation, creating an active Muslim type by changing the existing moral forms that lead society to foziness and inertia, and developing a new and comprehensive idea of jihad.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Kara, *Türkiye 'de İslamcılık...*, Vol.III, pp. 63-66.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE OF SAİD HALİM PASHA IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3.1. Life and Early Political Career

3.1.1. Birth of Said Halim Pasha, His Family and Education

Mehmet Said Halim Pasha was born in Cairo at *Şubra* Palace on 19 February 1864 (11 Ramadan 1280). He was son of Vizier Halim Pasha (1830-1894), the member of the Council of State, and the grandson of Mehmet Ali Pasha of Kavala (1769-1849), the founder of modern Egypt.¹⁴¹

Mehmet Ali Pasha was born in 1769 in Kavala in Greece. There are different accounts about the ethnic origin of Mehmet Ali Pasha. Although some of the sources indicated that the lineage of Mehmet Ali Pasha depended on Arab ethnicity¹⁴² or some of them asserted that Mehmet Ali Pasha was Albanian origin,¹⁴³ he was

¹⁴¹ B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri* (Register of Events, B.O.A., DH. SAİDd. 25/121), No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-1; *Milli Nevsal*, (İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi, 1338 [1922]), pp. 242-243. There are different accounts about the birthdate of Said Halim Pasha. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal showed Pasha's birthdate as 1863. See İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol. IV, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), p. 1893. Ercüment Kuran wrote the birthdate of Said Halim as 1865. See Ercüment Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması ve Milli Meseleler*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2013), p. 184. Ahmet Şeyhun indicated Pasha's birthdate as 28 January 1865. He claimed that this data was given by Princess Zeynep Halim, daughter of Abbas Halim Pasha and niece of Said Halim Pasha. See Ahmet Şeyhun, *Said Halim Pasha: Ottoman Statesman and Islamist Thinker (1865-1921)*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2003), p. 45. Additionally, the birthdate of Said Halim Pasha was written as [1]866 on his tombstone. My data is based on the records of *Sicill-i Ahval*.

¹⁴² Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks, The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 130.

¹⁴³ Muhammed Hanefi Kutluoğlu, "Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.25, (Ankara: TDV, 2022), p. 62. Enver Ziya Karal, without providing any source, claimed that Mehmet Ali Pasha was not Albanian origin and the ancestors of Mehmet Ali Pasha migrated from Arapgir in Malatya, not from Konya. See Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol.V, (Ankara: TTK, 2007), p. 125.

Turkish origin migrated from Konya to settled permanently in Kavala, in modern-day northern Greece which was part of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, Tahsin Banguoğlu, Macedonian origin, stated that there was not even one Albanian village or family within the borders of Kavala and Drama. He also added that the Kavalalı family was not Albanian origin. Also, Turkish families in Kavala had not allowed their daughters to get marry with Albanians; however, Mehmet Ali Pasha and his children got married to Turkish girls.¹⁴⁵ In addition, according to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, one of the famous Ottoman authors of the last period, Mahmud Kemal İnal, who served as a civil servant in Egypt, Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Celal Bayar and Yusuf Akçura who lived in Egypt, Mehmet Ali Pasha and his family had Turkish ethnic origin. Even most of the Egyptian princes from the family of Mehmed Ali Pasha considered themselves a Turkish family.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, Mehmet Ali Pasha, during his governorship of Egypt, designed Turkish as the official language in the schools he opened, in the government offices and his palace, and banned speaking of Arabic in the palace, and published *Vaka-yı Mısriyye* as the first Turkish newspaper in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁷

On 28 May 1866, Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz (1861-1876) issued an imperial edict (*ferman*) which gave to İsmail Pasha (1863-1879), uncle of Said Halim Pasha, the right to assume the rule of the Egypt.¹⁴⁸ The Sultan, with this edict, changed the law of succession based on primogeniture, giving the right to govern to the oldest

¹⁴⁴ Khaled Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali: From Ottoman Governor to Ruler of Egypt*, (Oxford: Oneworld Academic, 2009), p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ M. Hanefi Bostan, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür, Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık, 1992), p. 18.

¹⁴⁶ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, *Tarih-i Cevdet, (Tertib-i Cedit), Vol.VII*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniyye, 1303), pp. 186-187; Osman Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol.II, (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), pp. 513-519; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Vol.II/2, (Ankara: TTK, 1983), p. 319; Celal Bayar, *Ben de Yazdım*, Vol.IV, (İstanbul: Sabah Kitapları, 1997), p. 130; Yusuf Akçura, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Dağılıma Devri*, (Ankara: TTK, 1988), p. 89.

¹⁴⁷ Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 18; Nesimi Yazıcı, “Vakay-i Mısriye Üzerine Birkaç Söz”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, No. 2, 1991, p. 267.

¹⁴⁸ İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Vol.IV, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1972), pp. 206-207; Zuhuri Danişman, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, Vol.XII, (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danişman Yayınevi, 1966), p. 155. For the English translation of the edict changing the succession system in Egypt, See Thomas Erskine Holland, *The European Concert in the Eastern Question, a Collection of Treaties and Other Public Acts*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. 114-116.

member after the death of the ruler and depriving the other males of the family of claiming to the throne. In other words, the throne passed directly to İsmail Pasha's descendants, not to the eldest surviving member of the house of Mehmet Ali Pasha. The political interests of İsmail Pasha triggered such a change in Egypt. He pursued to ensure his gradual transition from hereditary governorships to the monarchy in Egypt. As soon as Ismail Pasha was appointed as the governor of Egypt, he came to Istanbul to pay his deep respects to Sultan Abdulaziz. He gave very valuable gifts to the Ottoman state officials. He presented his special steam-powered yacht to the Sultan. In fact, the close relations with the Ottoman palace, gold bars, amazing, wonderful, and very expensive gifts paved the way for changing succession system in favour of İsmail Pasha, who was enterprising, head-hunter and extremely cunning. He did not tire of plotting; in short, he was an exceptional manipulator.¹⁴⁹ As a result of the modification in succession system, Halim Pasha, younger son of Mehmet Ali Pasha and father of Said Halim Pasha, had been deprived of his right to assume suzerain of Egypt. Moreover, twelve days after the imperial edict, on 8 June 1866 the Sultan gave *title of Khedive* to İsmail Pasha and he became the first Khedive of Egypt.¹⁵⁰ In the wake of this appointment, Khedive İsmail Pasha grew away from

¹⁴⁹ Danişmend, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, pp. 206-207; Danişman, *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p. 155; Karal, *Ibid.*, Vol.VII, pp. 39-40; Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East*, (New York: Viking, 1991), p. 88. “*İsmail Pasha won many supporters in Istanbul from the Palace to the Sublime Porte thanks to his inexhaustible gold and won the favour of Sultan Abdulaziz. In addition, being one of the Sultan's beneficiaries, he behaved in a friendly manner to all officials of the Chamberlain and the Sublime Porte from the highest to the smallest ranks, and sweetly addressed them: My comrade of door (Kapu Yoldaşım)! In the meantime, it was in this way that he gained privileges one after the other.*” See Danişmend, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, p. 207. Also See Danişman, *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p. 156. There is another anecdote that reveals Ismail Pasha's close relationship with the palace: Khedive İsmail Pasha had a young and exceptionally beautiful daughter whose name was Princess Tevhide. Sultan Abdulaziz had heard of her beauty, saw her photograph, and wanted to marry her. However, the Grand Vizier Keçecizade Fuat Pasha prevented this marriage on the pretext that if such a marriage occurred, Khedive Ismail Pasha, whose ambitions would never end, would make a new demand every day; so, the Ottoman Empire would fall out with the Egyptian Khedivate. There was another thesis put forward by Fuat Pasha: He said that if Sultan Abdulaziz wanted to marry another woman after a while after marrying Princess Tevhide, she would not agree, and this would also cause conflicts between the Ottomans and Egypt for no reason at all. Sultan Abdülaziz carried a grudge against Fuat Pasha. See Müfid Ekdal, *Prences Ela, 18 Defter, Bir Ömür*, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2000), pp. 33-34. Also See Danişman, *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, pp. 156-157; Karal, *Ibid.*, Vol.VII, p. 42. If such a marriage had happened, a strange situation would arise as the Khedive of Egypt would become the father-in-law of the Ottoman Sultan.

¹⁵⁰ Atilla Çetin, “İsmail Paşa, Hidiv”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.23, (İstanbul: TDV, 2001), pp. 117-118; Danişman, *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, pp. 156-157; Karal, *Ibid.*, Vol.VII, pp. 41-43; Mansfield, *Ibid.*, p. 88. Egypt emerged as an important province under the rule of Mehmet Ali Pasha (1805-1849). After losing his physical and mental health, Mehmet Ali Pasha transferred his powers to his eldest son, İbrahim Pasha, in 1847. However, İbrahim Pasha (1798-1848) succumbed to a fever in 1849 and

Halim Pasha, who reacted to changing of succession and started to struggle with the Khedive for the matter of succession. He attempted a coup to overthrow the current Khedive. The coup was failed, and Halim Pasha and his family were forced to leave Egypt.¹⁵¹

Halim Pasha and his sons Said Halim and Abbas Halim¹⁵² Pashas moved to Istanbul. Upon arrival, Halim Pasha bought a mansion in Balta Limanı. He also constructed a small residence on the doorsteps of the forest across his residence. This structure was called as *Süngerli Köşk* because of the characteristics of its marble walls. Halim Pasha also built a hunting lodge in Alemdağ. Sultan Abdulaziz appointed Halim Pasha as the civil servant of the Council of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükela*) on 27 September 1870; later he was entrusted as a member of the Council of State.¹⁵³

Mehmet Ali Pasha followed him within a few months, 2 August 1849. Then, Abbas (1844-1854), the son of Tosun Pasha and the eldest grandson of Mehmet Ali Pasha, replaced him as the Governor of Egypt. Upon the death of Abbas in 1854, Said Pasha, uncle of Abbas, was appointed as the governor. After his death in 1863, İsmail Pasha, son of İbrahim Pasha, became the Governor of Egypt. Sultan Abdulaziz granted an edict to İsmail Pasha on 28 May 1866, and abolished the system of primogeniture (*ekberiyet*), the eldest surviving member of the dynasty became governor, which had come into force in 1841. Instead of this, İsmail Pasha guaranteed the right to assign a male member of his family as the heir to the throne; that is, the governorship of Egypt passed to İsmail Pasha's family. Therefore, even Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, brother of İsmail Pasha, lost his chance to become Khedive. Also, Halim Pasha and his two sons, Said Halim and Abbas Halim Pashas, could not be Khedive. That's why, the relations of İsmail Pasha with his brother Mustafa Fazıl Pasha and his uncle Halim Pasha broke up. See Danişmend, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, pp. 206-8; Mansfield, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-62, 86-7. For detailed information about the reign of Khedive İsmail Pasha, See Charles Mismar, *Hatırat-ı Alem-i İslam, İstanbul, Girit, Mısır, Cezayir*, (Trans. By Mehmed Rauf), (Bursa: Matbaa-yı Vilayet, 1327), pp. 195-281; Sir Auckland Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, (London: Seeley & Co. Limited, 1906), pp. 8-11; İbrahim Muhammed is-Sanafiri, "Osmanlı-Mısır İlişkileri 1863-1882", (Unpublished PhD Dissertation), (İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Fakültesi, 1993), pp. 22-55; Mansfield, *Ibid.*, pp. 87-92.

¹⁵¹ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 45; İnal, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, p. 363.

¹⁵² Said Halim Pasha had three brothers and four sisters. His brothers were Abbas Halim, İbrahim Halim and Mehmet Ali Halim pashas. His sisters were Zehra, Nazlı, Emine and Rukiye Hanım. Princess Emine married the Stockholm Ambassador Şerif Pasha, who was opposed to the Committee of Union and Progress. Rukiye married Nusret Bey, Sadullah Pasha's son. See Münevver Ayaşlı, *Dersaadet*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2005), pp. 91-93, 195, 203; Asaf Tugay, *İbret-Abdülhamid'e Verilen Jurnaller ve Jurnalciler*, (İstanbul: Okat Yayınevi, n.d), p. 105; Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 127-228; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), p. 213.

¹⁵³ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 45; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.I, p. 363. After Halim Pasha came to Istanbul, he was given the rank of vizier and in 1870 he was appointed as a civil servant to the Council of Ministers. Later, he became the member of the Council of State. He died on 3 June 1894 in his farm in Alemdağ and he was buried in Sultan Mahmud's Mausoleum. He was resentful of Sultan Abdülaziz (like his cousin Mustafa Fazıl Pasha) due to the change in the succession method in Egypt and he worked for the crown prince Murat Efendi to accede to the throne. Halim Pasha and a few others had gone to Europe for a loan agreement on behalf of Murat Efendi, but they failed and returned. They

As member of a dynasty, Said Halim learned Arabic, Persian, French and English, among other things from his tutors at his father's mansion. He properly spoke and wrote Arabic and Turkish. Moreover, when he was fourteen-fifteen, Prince Said Halim and his younger brother Abbas Halim went to Genova to further his education. Said Halim resided five years in Switzerland, and he studied political science in Swiss University. After completing the higher education, Said Halim and his brother Abbas Halim returned to Istanbul in 1885.¹⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the father of Said Halim Pasha, Halim Pasha died in 1894 and the following year, Said Halim married Princess Emine Tosun granddaughter of Mehmed Said Pasha, who ruled Egypt between 1854-1863 and himself son of Mehmed Ali Pasha. Said Halim had two sons from this marriage: Prince Mehmed Halim (b. April 1896) and Prince İbrahim Halim (1898-1964). However, Princess Emine Tosun died during the First World War.¹⁵⁵

wanted to use this money to continue their secret plans concerning the succession of Murad Efendi to the throne. Due to the dethronement of Sultan Abdülaziz, he has become a suspicious character in eyes of Sultan Abdülhamit II. Later he was able to remove this suspicion. Even Sultan Abdülhamit II thought of bringing him to the Egyptian Khedive. Halim Pasha was also influential in the dismissal of Grand Vizier Mithat Pasha. See İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, "Abdülhamid-i Sani'nin Notları", *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, Vol.XVI, No.13 (90), (1 January 1926), pp. 63-65; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.I, p. 363; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1967), p. 43; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Son Sadrazamlar ve Başvekiller*, Vol.IV, (İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1944), pp. 355-356. Halim Pasha also founded the Mason organization named *Kadim ve Makbul İskoç Riti Şura-yı Ali-i Osmani* in 1861. See Celil Layiktez, *Türkiye'de Masonluk Tarihi, Vol.I-Başlangıç, 1721-1956*, (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1999), p 31. Moreover, Halim Pasha was a very talented person in painting and music. He was expert at playing the old style tanbur. He notated the rare and precious works of his time and tried to preserve those excellent works. He used to make excellent *fasıls* with the prominent music connoisseurs and his children. See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1931; Layiktez, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-6; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol. IV, p. 1893; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 19; Kuran, *Ibid.*, p. 184; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p 46. Rıza Tevfik wrote in his memoir that he started to teach Said Halim Pasha in his own mansion. He said that "Pasha liked to talk about Turkish literature and especially about philosophical and social issues." Rıza Tevfik also compared the knowledge of French between Damat Ferit Pasha and Said Halim; ans expressed that "Damat Ferit Pasha reads, writes and speaks French; however, the Egyptian Said Halim Pasha's French was much higher." See Rıza Tevfik, *Biraz da Ben Konuşayım*, (Prep. By Abdullah Uçman), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p. 44.

¹⁵⁵ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p 46; Celaleddin Paşa (Velora), *Madalyonun Tersisi*, (Prep. by Samih Nafiz Tansu), (İstanbul: Gür Kitabevi, 1970), p. 111.

3.1.2. First Official Ranks and Services

After Said Halim and his brother Abbas Halim returned to Istanbul in 1885, their father Halim Pasha presented them to Sultan Abdülhamit II (1876-1909) with these words; “*I brought two slaves for your Majesty*”.¹⁵⁶ Sultan Abdülhamit II granted Said Halim Pasha and Abbas Halim Pasha the order of *Refia-i Mir-i Mirani* and the second rank *Mecidi Order*¹⁵⁷ on 13 May 1888. The decree issued for these ranks was published on 14 May 1888.¹⁵⁸ Eight days later, twenty-five-year-old Said Halim was appointed as a member of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) on 21 May 1888.¹⁵⁹

According to the records of *Sicill-i Ahval*, it was stated that Said Halim Pasha did not commit any crime during his civil service. The Chairman of the Council of State, Arifi Ahmed Pasha (1830-1895),¹⁶⁰ expressed that Said Halim continued to work without interrupting his duty and competently since the day he was appointed.¹⁶¹

Apart from abovementioned orders and ranks, Sultan Abdulhamid II bestowed series of honours and decorations to Said Halim Pasha for his success in his civil service life in a short time. On 23 February 1889, he was awarded by the second rank order of Ali-i Osmani (*ikinci rütbeden Nişan-ı Ali-i Osmani*); and on 22 April 1892, the first rank order of Ali-i Osmani (*birinci rütbeden Nişan-ı Ali-i Osmani*). Said Halim Pasha was working in the finance department of the Council of State at this period.

¹⁵⁶ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁷ *Mecid-ı Nişanı* was one of the Ottoman medals and it was named as “*Mecidiye Nişanı*” among the people. It was produced in 1852 and its name was attributed to Sultan Abdulmecid (1839-1861). This decoration was given to those who served well lifetime. They had ranks from the first to fifth and there were also type of *Murassa*. Different amounts of fees were charged according to each rank. See Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol.II, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), p. 428.

¹⁵⁸ B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., İ.DH., 84856; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-15.

¹⁵⁹ B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., İ.DH., 85010; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-6.

¹⁶⁰ Arifi Ahmed Pasha was an Ottoman statesman who served as grand vizier for two months and twenty days between 29 July 1879 and 18 October 1879 during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II. See Cevdet Küçük, “*Ârifi Ahmed Paşa*”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.3, (İstanbul: TDV, 1991), p. 371.

¹⁶¹ “*Paşa-yı muma-ileyh me'mur buyurulduğu günden beri hüsn-i devam ile ibraz-ı liyakat etmektedir*”. See B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-6.

Due to his outstanding success in this department, he was also rewarded with the medal of Sultan Mecid (*Murassa Mecid-i Nişan-ı Zi-Şanı*) on 25 November 1899.¹⁶² Eventually, Said Halim was promoted to the rank of *Rumeli Beylerbeyi* on 21 September 1900.¹⁶³

All these honours and decorations were bestowed upon Said Halim by Sultan Abdulhamid II due to his desire to gain the pasha's loyalty and to prevent him from joining the opposition.¹⁶⁴ As a matter of fact in this period opposition to Abdülhamit II was growing day by day. Secret societies were being organized both abroad, especially in Paris, Brussels, Geneva, and Cairo, as well as within the empire to overthrow the sultan. The most important of these societies was the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress (*CUP*), which had been founded by a group of medical students, who were İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükuti, Abdullah Cevdet and Çerkez Mehmed Reşid, on 2 June 1889 under the name of the Committee for Ottoman Unity (*İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti*). The aim of the members of the CUP, known as Young Turks (*Jeunes Turcs*) in Europe, was to bring down the Hamidian regime and proclaim the constitution.¹⁶⁵ In other words, they dedicated themselves to undermine the rule of Abdulhamid II by restoring the constitution and to renovate the empire so that it could perform its functions in the modern period.

¹⁶² B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-4; BOA, ŞD.SAİD, 19/17; İ..MTZ.(05)TAL., 4/274; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1893.

¹⁶³ BOA, *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; BOA, DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-2; *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1320), p. 166. Enver Ziya Karal claimed that upon the dismissal of Khedive İsmail Pasha in 1879, Abdulhamid II was considering appointing Said Halim Pasha as the Khedive. However, after Khedive İsmail Pasha, his son Tevfik took his place. Karal also wrote that the Sultan and Urabi Pasha, who fought against Khedive Tevfik Pasha, endeavoured to set Said Halim up on the Egyptian throne in 1880. See Karal, *Ibid.*, Vol.VIII, pp. 90-91. However, these claims are not true because Said Halim Pasha had been in Switzerland for his education during those dates and his father Halim Pasha was also alive. In addition, Abdulhamid II desired to replace Khedive İsmail Pasha with Halim Pasha. See, Pakalın, *Sadrazamlar...*, Vol.IV, pp. 355-56.

¹⁶⁴ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁵ Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, (Ankara: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), pp. 173-74; Doktor İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Anıları*, (İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım, 2013), pp. 26-28; Cevri (Mehmed Reşid), *İnkılâb Niçin ve Nasıl Oldu*, (Mısır: Matbaa-i İctihad, 1909), pp. 26-27.

Upon being revealed the secret committee at the end of 1894, one of the students at the School of Medicine and Law were arrested on the grounds that they formed a secret society. After this alarming event, some students fled to Switzerland. As a matter of fact, the committee had accelerated its activities since then.¹⁶⁶ Despite Sultan Abdülhamit's efforts to suppress opposition movements, the Young Turk movement spread to various levels of the Ottoman society and extended the scope of its membership. In time, the movement attracted new adherents from diverse groups including the army, *İlmiye*, and civil bureaucracy.

Extremely disturbed by this suffocative environment, Said Halim Pasha lost interest in public affairs and started to neglect his duties in the Council of State. Therefore, Said Halim decided to withdraw to his mansion called *Saidhalimpaşa Yalısı*¹⁶⁷ in Yeniköy, which he had built according to his own pleasure.¹⁶⁸ The Pasha began to engage in things that would satisfy his ideas and artistic pleasures. He devoted most of his energy and time to contemplate, conduct Ottoman-Islamic history and institutions, and strived to find out the crisis of contemporary Muslim society. Additionally, Said Halim enjoyed collecting ancient Ottoman-Islamic items. Thus, he made his mansion into a museum with the most beautiful and precious goods. Due to his strong interest in music, he highly valued good old musical pieces. He made too much self-sacrifice in order to collect valuable musical works. Moreover, Said Halim, like his brother Abbas Halim, patronized famous artists and always provided them with moral and material supports.

¹⁶⁶ Hanioglu, *Ibid.*, p. 178; Leskovikli Mehmed Rauf, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Ne İdi?*, (Dersaadet: Ahmed Saki Bey Matbaası, 1327[1911]), pp. 26-27.

¹⁶⁷ *Saidhalimpaşa Mansion (Saidhalimpaşa Yalısı*; also called *Aslanlı Mansion*), was built by Khedive Abbas Halim Pasha in the second half of the 19th century in Yeniköy (Boğaziçi) in Istanbul. The mansion was designed in accordance with the second empire style. The influence of western eclecticism can also be seen in the building. Fortune Games Limited Company, founded by the Tourism Bank in 1969, started its operations here. See *Meydan Larousse, (Büyük Lügat ve Ansiklopedi)*, "Said Halim Paşa", Vol.XVII, p. 206. For further information on the Saidhalimpaşa Mansion, See Ömer Faruk Şener, "Geçmişten Günümüze Said Halim Paşa Yalısı", (Unpublished Master's Thesis), (Isparta Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2019).

¹⁶⁸ Eşref Edib interpreted the situation as follows: "... *Serbest-i efkara sahip bir alemde büyüdüğü için pek tabiidir ki İstanbul muhit-i istibdadına hiçbir zaman uyamayacak, teveccüh-ü şahaneye mazhar olamayacak idi. Nitekim çok geçmeden menkubin meyanına dahil oldu.*" See Eşref Edib, "Alem-i İslam İçin Pek Büyük Bir Ziya - Prens Said Halim Paşa Hazretleri'nin Şehadeti", *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XIX, No: 492, 16 Kanunisani 1338[16 January 1922], p. 256.

At a time when almost every moral and material values were faded away, the Ottoman tradition, Islamic culture and civilization lived with all its vitality in Pasha's mansion which was full of precious works. In fact, everything belonging to the Islamic-Ottoman past was shining like a star in Pasha's house.¹⁶⁹

Even his intellectual activities of Said Halim did not get lost in the shuffle by the watchful censors of Abdülhamit II's autocratic rule which was intolerant of any activity raising the doubts of the sultan. Especially, after having rewarded the rank of *Rumeli Beylerbeyi*, Said Halim Pasha became one of the respectable figures of the palace and the sultan. Consequently, some informants (*jurnalci*) who were jealous of Pasha reported him to the sultan in 1900 on the grounds that he had weapons and illegal documents in his mansion. For this reason, Pasha's mansion was searched and those who came to the mansion were put on probation. Said Halim, who was disturbed by these events, forced to leave the country in 1903. Grand Vizier Avlonyalı Mehmed Ferid Pasha (15 January 1903 - 23 July 1908)¹⁷⁰ tried not to execute the order of Sultan Abdulhamid II but could not convince him. Upon these developments, he firstly went to Egypt and later went to Europe.¹⁷¹ Meanwhile, there is not any information in the records of *Sicill-i Ahval* about the removal of Said Halim from Istanbul.

3.1.3. Said Halim Pasha's Relations with the Committee of Union and Progress

The Young Turks, who engaged in fierce opposition activities against the Hamidian regime, experienced a setback between 1897 and 1899, because of approaching of

¹⁶⁹ Eşref Edib, *Ibid*, p. 256.

¹⁷⁰ M. Kemal İnal wrote that Said Halim took offence Ferid Pasha because he thought that this event was arranged by Ferid Pasha although they had had relations once. See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.III, p. 1622. For detailed information about Avlonyalı Ferid Pasha, See Abdülhamit Kırmızı, *Avlonyalı Ferid Paşa, Bir Ömür Devlet*, (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014).

¹⁷¹ Kudret Bülbül, *Siyasal Bir Düşünür ve Devlet Adamı Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: Tezkire Yayıncılık, 2015), p. 55; Şeyhun, *Ibid*, p. 48; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 22. “... *Yalısında evrakı muzır ve esliha bulunduğu dair erbabi meşedet tarafından verilen jurnallar üzerine yalısı taharri ve gelüb gidenler terassud edilmek suretile iz'âcatda bulunulduğundan Mısra, daha sonra Avrupa'ya gitti.*” See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1893.

[Mizancı] Mehmed Murad Bey¹⁷² to Sultan Abdulhamid II's cause and the victory over the Greeks in 1897, increased the prestige of the Sultan and consolidated his position.¹⁷³ However, towards the late of December in 1899, a distinguished member of the dynasty, Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha (1853-1903), husband of Seniha Sultan, Abdülhamit II's sister, moved to Paris with his two sons Sabahaddin and Lütfullah so as to join the Young Turk movement.¹⁷⁴ In fact, their arrival to Paris changed the conditions and their joining to opposition dealt a severe blow to the Sultan's prestige. In reaction, the Sultan intensified his control over the high bureaucracy and his close entourage.

In the meantime, the Young Turks were experiencing an internal crisis in 1902-1907 in Europe. Prince Sabahaddin attempted to challenge the with leadership of Ahmet Rıza's in the movement.¹⁷⁵ While Ahmed Rıza was advocating the state intervention to ensure a strong centralized administration and economic development, Sabahaddin Bey was stressing that the policy of decentralization coordinated with a liberal economic system could resuscitate the empire. Believing that societies based on individualism improve and societies based on communal systems stagnate, Sabahaddin Bey, therefore, claimed that the government should implement an individualistic system, promote private initiative, and follow a decentralized political system, in which each local government should administer its own province in order

¹⁷² Mizancı Murad had been the natural leader of the Young Turks in Europe until he was persuaded by Abdulhamid II to return to Istanbul in return for the Sultan's promise of reforms. He was a Pan-Islamist and in his writings, he advocated the idea of a constitutional Islamic regime. See *Mizan*, "Dindarane Bir Teşebbüs", No:96, 9 Ramazan 1306[9 May 1889], pp. 930-931. However, Mizancı Murad was against the parliamentary regime and the re-enactment of the 1876 Constitution in the early stages of his intellectual life. He believed that the salvation of the Muslims and the survival of the Ottoman Empire could only be achieved by a strong caliph eventually brought him to reconciliation with Sultan Abdulhamid II. For detailed information, See Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), pp. 100-102. Unlike Mizancı Murad, Ahmed Rıza was uncompromising in his struggle against the Abdulhamid autocracy. He continued the Young Turk cause with the ideas he spread through his journal of *Meşveret*. See Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁷³ Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2000), p. 76; Hanioglu, *Ibid.*, pp. 306-308.

¹⁷⁴ Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz...*, pp. 86-87. Sabahattin Bey's brother, Prince Lütfullah, while trying to enter Istanbul secretly a was arrested by the agents of Abdulhamid II. The Sultan forgave Lütfullah Bey and forced him to live in Istanbul. See Mardin, *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹⁷⁵ Mardin, *Ibid.*, pp. 291-292.

to rescue the empire from the brink of destruction.¹⁷⁶ In addition, Sabahaddin Bey did supported the idea of resorting to foreign intervention to bring down the regime of Sultan Abdulhamid II. In contrast with Sabahaddin Bey, Ahmed Rıza envisioned the unification of all elements in the Ottoman Empire and wanted the improvement through reform. Additionally, he feared the possible disintegration of the empire; thus, he firmly opposed to call for any foreign assistance. These dissenting views ultimately caused discontent and created a dilemma in the Young Turk Congress of 1902. The Young Turks were divided into two branches: the first gathering around Ahmed Rıza and the second revolving around Prince Sabahaddin Bey. Thereupon, Sabahaddin Bey set to publishing his journal called *Terakki* in 1906 in order to propagate his ideas and established his association recognized as the League of Private Initiative and Decentralization (*Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti*).¹⁷⁷

Meanwhile, the nationalities of the Ottoman Empire had different goals; the leaders of Armenian, Albanian, Greek, Arab communities expected radical reforms in favour of their communities. They also noticed that foreign intervention in their favour seemed impossible due to the lack of consensus among the great powers after the rising of the Germany as a threatening factor against the concert of Europe. They, for this reason, decided to cooperate with the Unionist movement against the rule of Abdulhamid II by the beginning of 1900s in the hope of reform. Both Muslim and non-Muslim, however, could dissent from a joint program; their only common ground was to restore the constitution. As for the matter of method, Armenian organizations like Dashnaksutyun (the Armenian Revolutionary Federation) and Hunchak (the Social Democrat Hunchak) Committees, which were against the Sultan and sought for independent Armenia, also supported Prince Sabahaddin's main idea of decentralization. As Sabahaddin Bey, they also wanted to invite the foreign

¹⁷⁶ Prens Sabahaddin, *Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi ve Tevsi-i Mezuniyet Hakkında Bir İzah*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-yı Kütüphane-i Cihan, n.d.), pp. 2-5.

¹⁷⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution, The Young Turks, 1902–1908*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 85, 95-97; Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz....*, pp. 287-288.

intervention to bring down the Sultan.¹⁷⁸ During that period, the solidarity a-between the nationalities and the CUP was strengthened. Nevertheless, after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, the nationalities in the Ottoman Empire started to oppose the centralization policies of the CUP. Each of them tended to resort different methods to gain their own independency.¹⁷⁹

After being removed from Istanbul in 1903, Said Halim Pasha went to Egypt and built a palace for himself on Champalion Street by the Italian architect Antonio Lasciac. Also, Pasha himself became the biggest shareholder of Societe Belgo-Egyptienne de Ezbekie, which was established in 1899 Uzbekie, a district of Cairo.¹⁸⁰ He established direct and close relations with the Young Turk movement and provided financial support for Ethem Ruhi (Balkan) Bey to publish the *Ottoman Newspaper*.¹⁸¹ Probably, Said Halim already kept indirect relations with the Young Turks while he had been still in Istanbul. Verily, his brother Mehmet Ali Halim Pasha was one of the organizers of the Young Ottoman Congress (*Yeni Osmanlı Kongresi*) held in Brindisi, Italy in 1899. In addition, according to a letter written from Paris, by Ahmet Rıza Bey on 24 October 1901 to Şerif Pasha, the Ambassador of Stockholm, Ahmet Rıza had had a meeting with Abbas Halim Pasha.¹⁸² It seems that not only Said Halim, but his brothers were also actually in contact with the Young Turks.

¹⁷⁸ Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities, Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908–1918*, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2014), p. 6; Hanioglu, *Preparation...*, pp. 95-97; Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz...*, pp. 287-288.

¹⁷⁹ For further information on the relations of the CUP with the minorities, See Lütfi Özarlan, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti: Türkler, Kürtler, Ermeniler, Rumlar ve Diğerleri*, (İstanbul: Resse Kitabevi Sahaf, 2016); Tunay Şendal, “II. Meşrutiyet Sonrası İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Osmanlı Azınlıkları Arasında Yaşanan Siyasi Ayrılığın Analizi”, *Ankara Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No. 2 (2019), pp. 11-31.

¹⁸⁰ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49. Said Halim’s palace in Cairo is house to the *Nasiriye School*. See “The Grand Vezir's Townhouse” by Samir Raafat, *Cairo Times*, 7 June 2001, <http://www.egy.com/landmarks/01-06-07.php>.

¹⁸¹ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak...*, p. 387; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁸² Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), pp. 236, 335.

Under the reign of Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha II (1892-1914), Egypt became a shelter for the Young Turk opposition against the Hamidian regime during this period. It was a very suitable centre for the relationship between Said Halim and the Young Turk movement.

Said Halim Pasha travelled to Europe many times to meet the members of the committee. When he went to Paris in winter of 1905 so as to collaborate with Young Turks, he became official member of the CUP. Furthermore, according to the correspondence of the CUP, Said Halim undertook the responsibility of inspectorship in the CUP in 1906.¹⁸³ It was written in the declaration concerning the internal organization of the CUP -numbered 45 and dated on 20 July 1906- that the inspection unit was created so as to provide the harmony and to organize the order among diverse branches of the committee, and inspector could be changed every six months. It was reported that this inspection duty was under the responsibility of a very important person from Ottoman (*Ekabir-i Osmaniye'den*), but the name of Said Halim Pasha was not written directly.¹⁸⁴ However, in the letter written by Dr. Nazım (1872-1926) and Dr. Bahaddin Şakir (1874-1922) to Ahmed Ferid (Tek) Bey (1878-1971) in Egypt on 27 July 1906, and his inspectorship was clearly stated.¹⁸⁵

In the meantime, Said Halim Pasha resided in Egypt as the inspector of the CUP in this period. He received a letter signed by Dr. Nazım and Dr. Bahaddin Şakir on 7 November 1906. In the letter, it was expressed that the duration of inspectorship assigned to him at the end of April in 1906 had expired; however, the committee had decided at the meeting on 2 November 1906 to entrust the duty to Said Halim

¹⁸³ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 48; Eşref Edib, *Ibid.*, p. 256; Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması...*, p. 184. Also See Vahdettin Işık, *Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), p. 32. A. Bedevi Kuran emphasized that the title of "Inspectorship" given to Said Halim Pasha was just a garnish and worthless rank. See Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 421.

¹⁸⁴ *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Merkezi'nin 1906 - 1907 Senelerinin Muhaberat Kopyası*, (Defter I), 20 July 1906; [20 Temmuz 1906]; No.45, pp. 69-70. "Merkez-i cemiyetin muhtelif kollarının ahvalini teftiş etmek ve şu'abat-ı cemiyet arasında ahenk ve intizamı tesis eylemek ve altı ayda bir münavebe ile tebdil eylemek üzere bir de müfettişlik vazifesi ihdas edilmiştir. Şimdiki halde bu vazife ekabir-i Osmaniye'den bir zatın uhdesindedir."

¹⁸⁵ Defter I, 27 July 1906; [27 Temmuz 1906]; No.48, pp. 74-75. "Müfettişlik vazifesini kabul eden ve beyannamede ekabir-i Osmaniye'den diye işaret edilmiş zat Prens Said Halim Paşa'dır."

again.¹⁸⁶ He also continued to provide financial and mental supports to the activities of the Young Turks both in Egypt and Paris, and interoperated with them to promulgate the Constitutional Monarchy.¹⁸⁷

In an undated letter addressed to Inspector Said Halim Pasha, Dr. Bahaddin Şakir asked him to provide financial aid to expand the scope of committee's activities.¹⁸⁸

In another letter sent from Paris on 28 November 1906, it was noted that the two hundred francs sent by Said Halim had been received and that three-week negotiation summary of the committee was also sent.¹⁸⁹

Said Halim Pasha sent a letter to the centre of the CUP in Paris on 1 December 1906 and asked what kind of services were expected from the followers of the committee in Egypt. Dr. Nazım and Dr. Bahaddin Şakir replied to Pasha's letter on 9 December 1906 on behalf of the committee. Dr. Bahaddin Şakir, who was working on the formation of a new network, he asked Pasha to create a branch in Cairo. The centre demanded him to mediate to collect money from wealthy Egyptian notables. In addition, it was requested from Said Halim to publish an Arabic supplement to *Şura-*

¹⁸⁶ Defter I, 7 November 1906, No.205, p. 156; Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 421. “Zat-ı devletlerinin müfettişlik vazifesini deruhde buyurmaları Nisan'ın evahirine müsadif olduğu için altı aydan ibaret olan müddet-i memuriyet-i devletleri mah-ı halin ibtidasında hitama reside olmuştur. Memuriyet-i mezkurenin tekrar uhde-i samilerinde kalmasına rızayı hamiyetperverlerini istizan vazifesi cemiyetimizin 2 Teşrin-i Sani 1906 tarihindeki ictimaında acizlerine havale edilmiştir. Her halde emr-u irade efendimizindir.” See Defter I, November 7, 1906; [7 Teşrin-i Sani 1906]; No.205, p. 156.

¹⁸⁷ Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 56; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 57. A. Bedevi Kuran said that “in fact, the Young Turks were mostly assisted by the princes of Egypt, namely Khedive family.” See Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 429. In this point, M. Kemal İnal expressed that “he (Said Halim Pasha) materially and spiritually assisted those who endeavoured for the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy.” See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1893. Ercüment Kuran also expressed that “Said Halim Pasha, who took a stand against Abdulhamid II's despotism, gave financial support to the Young Turk movement.” See Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması...*, p. 184.

¹⁸⁸ “Muhterem efendimiz; ... Kuvve-i mâliyemizin adem-i müsaadesi bazı teşebbüslerimizin kuvveden fiile çıkarılm asına mâni oluyor. Âmal-i vatanperveranenin husule gelmesi için Mısır'da meftun-u dirayet ve hamiyetiniz olan akraba ve ahibbanız nezdinde vesatet-i devletlerinin bi-dirîğ buyurulmamasını müsellimimiz ve medar-ı ihtihacımız olan hissiyat-ı vatanperveranemizden rica ederiz.” See Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 421.

¹⁸⁹ Defter I, 28 November 1906, No.216, p. 184; Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 422. “Muhterem efendimiz; Lütfen gönderilen iki yüz frankın ilm-ü haberiyle Cemiyetin üç haftalık müzakere hülâsası leffen takdim olunur. İhtiramat-ı faikamızın kabulünü rica ederiz efendimiz.” See Defter I, 28 November 1906; [28 Teşrin-i Sani 1906]; No.216, p. 184.

yı Ümmet, which had published in the favour of the CUP in Egypt.¹⁹⁰ Said Halim Pasha refused the request of the central committee on the grounds that the free spirited and unconformable behaviours of the Young Turks in Egypt would not produce any benefit for the cause and Egyptians would show no interest to it. Additionally, he said, Egyptians did not pay attention to politics and the elite segment of the society was merely focused on its national politics, which consisted of “driving the British out of Egypt.” The Egyptian nationalists, in accordance with their policies, relied on the Ottoman government and the caliphate; therefore, they would not take side of the Young Turks.¹⁹¹

Said Halim also wrote that an Arabic edition of *Şura-yı Ümmet* would would not produce any fruit for the abovementioned reasons. In fact, he articulated that an Arabic supplement would not be useful to the non-Arabs because the vulgar Arabs would not understand anything from this edition. The Arab elite, as mentioned above, were already occupied with another political struggle. Pasha thought this attempt would become idle as well. He, however, promised financial support for the CUP’s initiatives.¹⁹² The central committee sent a letter to Said Halim on 11 January 1907, and it repeated the necessity of opening a branch of the CUP to take support of patriotic Turks living in Egypt. The committee especially insisted on an Arabic supplement for *Şura-yı Ümmet* so that it would help to boost the CUP’s image in Cairo.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Hanioglu, *Preparation...*, p. 164; Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 422. “Mısır şubesinde beklenen diğer bir hizmet de neşriyatımız içinde Mısırlıları ve Arapçayı mütakellim Osmanlıları müstefid edecek makale ve beyannamelerimizi Arapçaya tercüme ettirip Mısır gazetelerinden biri vasıtasıyla veya ayrıca Cemiyet namına neşretmektir. Şura-yı Ümmet’e Arapça bir ilave çıkarmak ve Süveş gibi geçit mahallerde evrakın intişarına hizmet edecek ve memurlar tedarik etmek de Mısır şubesinin hidematından ma’dut olmalıdır.” See Defter I, No.222, 9 Kanun-ı Evvel 1906[9 December 1906], pp. 191-192.

¹⁹¹ Hanioglu, *Preparation...*, p. 165; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁹² Hanioglu, *Preparation...*, pp. 164-165.

¹⁹³ Defter I, No:250, 11 Kanun-ı Sani 1907[11 January 1907], pp. 232-233. “...Arapça neşriyatımıza gelince: Zat-ı biraderileri Mısır’da Arapça neşriyatımızdan -Abdülhamid aleyhinde olması itibariyle iş görmek şöyle dursun mazarrat husule geleceğini bildiriyorsunuz. Neşriyatı biz, cahil ve mutaassıb fellahlar için yapmayıp belki Mısır’ın okur-yazar kısmı ile asıl Türkiye’deki Arab vatandaşlarımız için yapmak istiyoruz. Biz, neşriyatımızda bu su-i tefekkürü izale için uğraşacağız. Bizim ta’rizimiz makam-ı hilafete olmayıp sırf o makam-ı alinin ulviyetini izaleye çalışan Abdülhamid’e olduğunu göstermeye gayret edeceğiz.” See Defter I, No.250, 11 Kanun-ı Sani 1907[11 January 1907], p. 233.

Despite of disagreement arising from establishing a CUP branch and publishing an Arabic supplement of *Şura-yı Ümmet* in Egypt, Said Halim Pasha provided full support to the Young Turk movement in terms of financial donation. In his memoirs, Ahmet Rıza wrote that last year he went to Egypt to collect money and five thousand francs were collected there thanks to Said Halim Pasha. Ahmet Rıza also confessed that only after receiving this money, Dr. Nazım Bey was sent to the country and Enver Pasha and Niyazi Bey were able to start their rebellion against Sultan Abdulhamid II in Resne.¹⁹⁴ Meanwhile, not only Said Halim, but also his brother Mehmet Ali Halim Pasha and Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha II gave financial support to the initiatives of the Young Turks. Indeed, Said Halim Pasha and his brothers were wealthy because their father Halim Pasha had left a considerable amount of money to them. In this sense, the CUP leaders obtained more supports from Egyptian princes and other Egyptian notables.¹⁹⁵ Although some authors stated that Said Halim also provided intellectual assistance to the CUP in addition to financial donation,¹⁹⁶ they did not give any explicit information about his intellectual support.

Undoubtedly, the cooperation between the CUP and Said Halim Pasha, despite their ideological differences, is a completely different issue from a political point of view. Their opposition to the regime of Sultan Abdülhamit II and his policies can be shown as the most basic and concrete reason that encouraged them to cooperate against Hamidian regime. Nevertheless, their opposition to the common enemy was not enough to bring these two ideologically different parties together. Unionists and Sad

¹⁹⁴ Ahmet Rıza, *İlk Meclis-i Mebusan Başkanı Ahmet Rıza Bey'in Anıları*, (Prep. by Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu), (İstanbul: Çağdaş Matbaacılık, 2001), pp. 23-24. Ahmet Rıza mentioned that other members of the Khedive family also financially supported the Young Turk movement in exile. For example, Princess Nazlı, five hundred francs a year alone; Princess Enise Hanım, wife of Mehmed Ali Pasha, son of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, two thousand; Princess Emine Hanım two thousand francs for once. Mehmed Ali Pasha would also give two hundred francs a month for the publication of *Meşveret*. See Ahmet Rıza, *Ibid.*, p. 24. Also See Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.1/I, pp. 306-307.

¹⁹⁵ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, pp. 365, 429; Cemal Kutay, *Prens Sabahattin Bey, Sultan II. Abdülhamit, İttihat ve Terakki*, (İstanbul: Ercan Matbaacılık, 1964), p. 173; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 25; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.1/I, pp. 306-307.

¹⁹⁶ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1893; Eşref Edip, *Ibid.*, p. 256; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 25; Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Halim Pasha had different and strategic basic motives for cooperating and acting together.

3.2. The State Services of Said Halim Pasha Until His Grand Vizierate

3.2.1. Mayor of Yeniköy and Membership of Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*)

In the years of 1903-1908, the Hamidian regime encountered a series of important events which had conclusive impact on deposing the Sultan. The great powers put pressure on the Ottoman government to take steps making reforms in Macedonia. In 1904, an international gendarmerie force consisted of British, French, Russian, Austrian, and Italian officers was sent to Macedonia so as to assist the Porte in maintaining law and order. The following year mentioned powers offered to the Ottoman government to establish a financial control over the region. Upon rejection of the Sultan, same powers occupied the buildings of customs and post in Midilli and Limni islands in order to enforce the Sultan to admit their terms.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, the great powers compelled the Ottoman government to implement reforms in the eastern region of Anatolia in which Armenians lived.

This violation of the empire's independence by foreign powers and the sultan's impotency in the face of their interventions created tension in army circles. For this reason, many officers came to believe that military intervention was necessary so as to save the empire from total destruction.

Meanwhile, the Young Turk movement had started to have a transformation from intellectual cause into a political struggle since 1906. Young Turks held their second congress in Paris on 27-29 December 1907 in order to eliminate the conflicts and to unite all opposition organizations such as Ottoman Freedom Society, Sabahaddin Bey's League of Private Initiative and Decentralization, and the Dashnaksutyun Committee under a common revolutionary program against the Hamidian regime. In the congress, circle of Prince Sabahaddin and the Armenian revolutionary

¹⁹⁷ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 56; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.I/1, p. 182.

organizations gained the upper hand; thereby, they achieved to obtain confirmation for various violent measures to dethrone Sultan Abdulhamid II and to replace the existing Ottoman government by a representative one.¹⁹⁸

Towards the end of 1906 a series of mutinies had broken out in the Ottoman army in various parts of the empire. Most of the rebellions stemmed from long overdue payments and they increased in 1907 in Anatolia with the participation of civilians due to the corruptive practices of the local district governors. The mutinies ultimately reached their peak in June 1908. Those series of minor mutinies paved the way for arrival of Constitutional Monarchy.¹⁹⁹ During the period of June-July, the revolutionary movements in Macedonia gained speed and the Sultan lost his control on the developments. As one of Abdulhamid II's most loyal generals Şemsi Pasha was charged with the suppression of the revolt in Macedonia, but he was killed on 7 July 1908 at Manastır. The Palace responded to this challenge by sending two divisions from Anatolia to Salonica. However, the Muslim population in the region also rebelled against the rule of Abdülhamit II. Eventually, the uprising turned into a demonstration in support of the CUP. The representatives then dispatched many telegrams to the Sultan asking him to re-enact the Constitution of 1876 and open the Ottoman Parliament.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908*, (New York: Russell&Russell, 1970), pp. 126-127; Arsen Avagyan; Gaidz F Minassian, *Ermeniler ve İttihat ve Terakki, İşbirliğinden Çatışmaya*, (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2005), pp. 23-24; Hanioglu, *Preparation...*, pp. 191-197. Ahmad, *the Ottoman Nationalities...*, p. 11.

¹⁹⁹ Ramsaur, *Ibid.*, p. 130. For the detailed narration of these mutinies, See Aykut Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), pp. 35-101. "Since the beginning of July 1908, news of discontents and rebellions among the soldiers of the Third Army, headquartered in Salonica and throughout Macedonia, had become ordinary. The spread of revolutionary propaganda among the young officers and the constant revolts led to further disobedience. At this very moment, the news of meeting on the future of Macedonia, which were held in Reval on 9-11 June 1908 between the King of England and the Russian Tsar, were heard in public, and this news created excitement especially among the people and the army in Macedonia. This meeting constituted an additional and powerful reason for the CUP, which had always opposed the administration of the country in line with foreign interests, to overthrow the absolutist rule." See Kansu, *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁰⁰ Charles R. Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), pp. 61-63; Kansu, *Ibid.*, pp. 127-129.

The CUP proclaimed the Constitution in Manastır on 23 July 1908, and then within a few hours in Macedonian cities such as Skopje and Serres. Chief Inspector Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha (1855-1923) reported the situation to the Palace. Thereupon, the Sultan accepted the fait accompli and gave the necessary instructions for the official announcement of the Constitution on 24 July 1908. Upon the recent developments, Grand vizier Avlonyalı Ferit Pasha resigned, and the Sultan assigned Küçük Said Pasha (1838-1914) to establish new cabinet and he carried out his duty until 4 August 1908.²⁰¹

Said Halim Pasha returned to Istanbul from Egypt after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy on 23 July. The CUP did not forget Said Halim Pasha, who had close relations with them and supported them financially and ensured that he was appointed to high positions day by day. Pasha would eventually rise to the rank of grand viziership. Undoubtedly, the Pasha's the education, social status and personality also played an important role in his rising.²⁰²

Although he had been expelled abroad, his membership of the Council of State continued; however, on 3 September 1908, he was dismissed from this duty due to the scarcity of staff after regulations exercised by the Council of State.²⁰³ Said Halim, having been suspended from his position in the Council of State, was elected as the Mayor of Yeniköy from the list of the CUP in the municipal elections held in

²⁰¹ Edward Frederick Knight, *Turkey; The Awakening of Turkey; The Turkish Revolution of 1908*, (Boston, Tokyo: J.B. Millet Company, 1910), pp. 200-206; Buxton, *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. After restoring the Constitution, Bulgarian, Greek and Vlach gangs organized victory celebrations in the city that stunned European observers. Bandits, which had been enemy each other, “*joined in peaceful processions through the streets, they shook hands, they kissed each other, they sat together in the cafes, they danced and sang with the mixed populace of Jews, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Turks. ...The famous chiefs, Apostol, Sandansky, and the rest, whose names had been a terror, but who represented, or had once represented, a genuine native rebellion against a tyrannous government, were feted and applauded.*” See Buxton, *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71. Also See Kansu, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-136.

²⁰² Bülbül, *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

²⁰³ “*Şura-yı Devletçe icra kılınan tensikatta kadronun darlığına mebni kadro harici bırakıldığı...*” See B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-15; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1893.

1908.²⁰⁴ Said Halim Pasha said the following words while starting his duty as the Mayor of Yeniköy:

“Municipality means to bring civilized life and modern vehicles to the people and not to leave the people living in that place in deprivation. If our Constitutional Monarchy would be honoured in the consciousness of our people, it would be possible with the proper performance of this duty. In this respect, I consider my election to the Municipal Presidency in the Bosphorus, which I like so much, as the loftiest duty.”²⁰⁵

Despite Said Halim’s efforts, Hüseyin Kazım Kadri Bey, who served as the Mayor of Istanbul during the period of 27 July 1911–27 August 1911, did not deem him very successful in his duty and dismissed him in 1911. Later, Said Halim was appointed to the second president of the Committee of the Communal Municipality (*Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye*).²⁰⁶

On 15 December 1908, Sultan Abdülhamit II nominated Said Halim as one of the members of the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*), consisting of 39 people, with a salary of 10.000 *kuruş*. In addition to this position, he was elected to the membership of the Association for Islamic Education (*Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye*, named Darüşşafaka Association in 1953) on 29 January 1909. He was also among the founders of the National Defence League (*Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*), founded on 1 February 1913.²⁰⁷ In March 1909, Said Halim was also appointed to the board of manager of the National Bank of Turkey (*Banque Nationale de Turquie*).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*, (Dersaadet: Selanik Matbaası, 1327), p. 216; *Milli Nevsal*, p. 242; Işık, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰⁵ Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁰⁶ Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyete Hatıralarım*, (Prep. By İsmail Kara), (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2018), p. 150; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Milli Nevsal*, p. 242; Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁰⁷ B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-2,13; *Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye Salnamesi*, (Darü'l-Hilafeti'l-Aliyye: Hükümet Matbaa-i İslamiyesi, 1332), p. 31; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 26; Işık, *Ibid.*, p. 33; Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Ibid.*, p. 177. The National Defense League, operating in the Ottoman Empire between 1913 and 1919, was established by the people in the top of the administration in order to find solutions to the economic, social and political problems that emerged as a result of the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, and to support the fighting army, away from political groups and concerns. It carried out activities such as helping the families of soldiers on the front, establishing hospitals in war zones, and recruiting volunteer soldiers. The activities of the association set an example for the civil resistance organizations in the National Struggle and many activities carried out during the Turkish period. For further information on the association, See Nazım

Meanwhile, Sultan Abdulhamid II assigned (Kıbrıslı) Kamil Pasha to establish the government on 7 August 1908 after the resignation of Küçük Said Pasha on 4 August 1908. In February 1909, Kamil Pasha, who resented the interventions of the CUP in his government policies, replaced the Ministers of War and Navy with those who were loyal to him in order to curb the power of the CUP. However, Kamil Pasha failed to obtain vote of confidence in the Parliament, and he tendered his resignation to the Sultan on 13 February 1909.²⁰⁹ The following day, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha formed new government and the rivalry between the CUP and the Ottoman Liberal Party (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*) came to the boil. Both parties launched harsh attacks over press and the animosity among them reached zenith on 13 April 1909 (31 March corresponding to 13 April in Rumi calendar) when an insurrection broke out among the ranks of the army troops stayed in İstanbul. Founded on 5 April 1909, the Union of *İttihad-ı Muhammedi* also emerged as an Islamic opposition to the CUP. This union had a press organ named *Volkan*, whose editor-in-chief was Derviş Vahdeti from Cyprus. His real name was *Derviş* and he adopted *Vahdet* as a pseudonym. Some sources claim that Dervish Vahdeti was an agent of British Intelligence Service.²¹⁰ He harshly criticized the secularist policies of the Unionists and supported the restoration of Islamic law. In his writings, Vahdeti also advocated

H. Polat, *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991); Ayşe Zamacı, “Müdâfaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti ve Faaliyetleri”, (Unpublished Phd Thesis), (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2015).

²⁰⁸ The National Bank was established in 1909 with the British Government encouragement and promoted also by the CUP to counterbalance the French supported Ottoman Bank. The CUP tried to restrain the strong dominance of Ottoman Bank over the financial and economic life of the empire. Despite more than ninety-five percent of British capital, the National Bank was put on the record as the British-Ottoman joint foundation. For further information on the bank, See Marian Kent, “Agent of Empire? The National Bank of Turkey and British Foreign Policy”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol.18, No. 2, 1975, pp. 367-371.

²⁰⁹ İhsan Güneş, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Hükümetler: Programları ve Meclisteki Yankıları, (1908-1923)*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), p. 59; Sina Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001), p. 110-113; Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, pp. 33-35. For detailed information about the events, See Francis McCullagh, *The Fall of Abdul Hamid*, (London: Methuen and Co. LTD., 1910), pp. 31-40.

²¹⁰ Necdet Aysal, “Örgütlenmeden Eyleme Geçiş: 31 Mart Olayı”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, No.37-38, (May-November 2006), p 18. A. Emin Yalman stated: “*Derviş Vahdeti, who was a drunken scrivener from Cyprus, was chosen by the British Intelligence Services and trained as a revolutionist. He was put on the stage with the aim of founding and carrying out Volkan and the Union of İttihâd-ı Muhammedi and setting the thames on fire.*” Aysal, *Ibid.*, p. 18; quoted from Ahmet Emin Yalman.

the constitutional regime and praised the political thoughts of Prince Sabahattin Bey. Although the Union of İttihad-ı Muhammedi was publicly founded a few weeks before the Mutiny; as a matter of fact, it had guided events for months before and it was one of the main provocateurs of the 31 March Incident.²¹¹

Under this suffocative political atmosphere, the mutiny started with soldiers of the Rifle Division which had been brought from Salonica to Istanbul revolting towards the morning of 13 April in 1909. The *softas* also joined the mutiny and began to shout in favour of the Sultan Abdülhamit II and Shari'at and demanded the resignation of Ali Rıza Pasha, Minister of War, and Ahmet Rıza, President of the Parliament. Upon those developments, the government of Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha resigned, and the Sultan asked Tevfik Pasha to establish immediately new cabinet on 14 April 1909.²¹² On 16 April 1909, under the command of Mahmud Şevket Pasha, the *Hareket Ordusu*, consisted of mostly troops of the Third Army and volunteers, took action and started to move towards Istanbul so as to suppress the mutiny and restore the order. On 24 April, the *Hareket Ordusu* started to occupy the city after political solution was not obtained. The army suppressed insurrection in spite of initial resistance of rebel troops and ensured its control in the capital.²¹³ Aykut Kansu considered the 31 March Incident as a “counter-revolutionary coup d’Etat” and claimed that the intention of mutineers was “to restore monarchist regime”.²¹⁴ Said Halim Pasha also advocated this thought, and he wrote in his book titled, *Mukallidliklerimiz (Our Imitations)*:

“It was certain that our glorious army prevented the creature Sultan (Sultan Abdulhamid II) from regaining the autocracy and domination he had slip through his bloody hands. In this way, we were able to compensate for our ignorance and inexperience in the political field. Otherwise, it was certain from our personal experience that our country, which was already in

²¹¹ Sina Akşin, *Şeriatçı Bir Ayaklanma - 31 Mart Olayı*, (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1994), pp. 34-35; McCullagh, *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²¹² Aykut Kansu, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey, 1908-1913*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 78-85.

²¹³ Akşin, *Şeriatçı...*, pp. 202-15; Kansu, *Politics...*, p. 113. For detailed account of mutiny, See McCullagh, *Ibid.*, pp. 118-138.

²¹⁴ Kansu, *Politics...*, p. 77.

disaster, would be the scene of horrific conflicts and our freedom would be drowned in blood.’’²¹⁵

Akşin refuted the counter-revolution argument regarding the 31 March Incident. According to him, there is no clear evidence that the mutiny of 13 April was carried out to restore Abdülhamit II’s despotism. tyranny. In addition, the Liberal (*Ahrar*) Party, which was one of the triggers of the revolt and wanted to enthrone Crown Prince Reşad Efendi, was completely hostile to Sultan Abdülhamit II. Lastly, in the course of mutiny, the soldiers did not organize massive demonstrations for or against the Sultan, but only isolated incidents.²¹⁶ Moreover, in her memoirs Ayşe Sultan Abdülhamit II’s daughter, wrote that her father described the troops as ‘‘disobedient’’ and compared them with the ‘‘rebellious janissaries.’’²¹⁷

The suppression of the 31 March mutiny created new power balance in the empire. the government declared martial law and the *Union of İttihad-ı Muhammedi* was abolished on 25 April. On the same date, Derviş Vahdeti was sentenced to death and was executed two months later. Moreover, the Liberal Party was banned by military authorities. After heated discussion, the Ottoman Parliament decided to depose Sultan Abdulhamid II from the throne on 27 April 1909 and later he was exiled to Salonica.²¹⁸ In this way, the CUP silenced the Islamist and liberal opposition.

Said Halim Pasha’s cooperation with the CUP, despite ideological differences, is an important issue that should also be examined from a political perspective.

²¹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1326 [1910]), p. 3. Although the severe language of Said Halim against Sultan Abdulhamid II was kept in the Ottoman Turkish version of the work (‘‘hakan-ı mahlukun dest-i huninden kaçırdığı’’), Ertuğrul Düzdağ later removed this harsh expression in another edition and he preferred as a slight language instead (‘‘eski hakan Abdülhamid’in elinden kaçırdığı’’). See M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (Ed.), *Said Halim Paşa-Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2020), p. 75.

²¹⁶ Akşin, *Şeriatçı...*, pp. 273-275. Ali Cevad Bey, the last Head Clerk of Sultan Abdulhamid II, remarked that Sultan acted very cautiously during the rebellion in order not to provoke the mutineers and not turn them against him. See Faik Reşit Unat (Ed.), *İkinci Meşrutiyetin İlanı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1985), p. 56.

²¹⁷ Osmanoğlu, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²¹⁸ Akşin, *Şeriatçı...*, pp. 222-24; McCullagh, *Ibid.*, pp. 265-271; 279-286; Osmanoğlu, *Ibid.*, pp. 149-157.

Incidentally, it is necessary to touch on this subject here. Some prominent political and military peoples of the period claimed that Said Halim Pasha collaborated with the Unionists due to his ambition to gain political position and power. As a matter of fact, Hüseyin Kazım Kadri argued that Said Halim Pasha joined with the Unionists in order to become the ‘‘Khedive of Egypt’’. In this regard, Kadri wrote in his memoirs that ‘‘*Said Halim Pasha was a noble, intelligent, and far-sighted man by nature and creation. But there was no limit to his ambitions. He spent all his wealth on members of parliament to become the Khedive of Egypt.*’’²¹⁹

As for the CUP, the Unionists may have had such ideas. In fact, the governorship of Said Halim in an important province like Egypt would be in the interests of the Unionists. Because he was a Unionist and was loyal to the CUP and loyal to the Ottoman Empire and was a reliable person who would protect the interests of the Empire. Moreover, the people of the region would accept and embrace Said Halim Pasha, who also belonged to the Kavalalı dynasty. However, even if the Unionists had a plan to make Said Halim the Khedive of Egypt, it is not proven that they obviously had such an intention.²²⁰

Despite all these claims, however, it seems unlikely that Said Halim had any inclination to attain social or political position and rank and to become Khedive of Egypt. Firstly, Said Halim knew the temperament of the Unionists from the start. He had also witnessed their seizure of power through bloody conflicts and struggles. He also knew that the bandit-like Unionists ruled the state with the same mentality. Therefore, Said Halim Pasha knew that he could not bargain with the Unionists for any political office or rank. Hüseyin Kazım Kadri Bey also confirmed Said Halim's

²¹⁹ Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Ibid.*, p. 181. He argued that Said Halim Pasha collaborated with the Unionists because of his political interests and ambition for power. However, when assessing these allegations, it should be remembered that Hüseyin Kazım Kadri Bey had been forced to resign from the CUP during Said Halim Pasha's presidency and that Hüseyin Kazım Kadri Bey had previously dismissed Said Halim Pasha from his position as mayor of Yeniköy.

²²⁰ In a telegram sent by Enver Pasha to Cemal Pasha in early 1917, the issue was put more clearly: ‘‘*Sait Halim will be withdrawn, Talat will be Grand Vizier, you and I will stay in our posts.... If we conquer Egypt in the future, we will make Sait Halim the Khedive of Egypt.*’’ See Bleda, *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, p. 297; Ziya Şakir, *Ibid.*, p. 53; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1908; Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 80.

views on the Unionists.²²¹ In addition, from the Balkan Wars to the First World War, Said Halim Pasha was concerned with maintaining the status quo of the Ottoman Empire, and he took political steps that focused on preserving the existing borders of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha, who pursued a policy of armed neutrality, would both preserve neutrality and save the country from the catastrophe of war by refraining from aggressive political-military moves. He made this clear in parliamentary inquiries: He said:

*“Let’s remain practically neutral. I beg you, let’s leave the conquests of Turan and Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria and so on. ... Let’s protect our borders and in this way we will remain neutral. I fought and fought hard, but you know what the result was.”*²²²

As can be seen, Said Halim Pasha, who viewed political and military developments from a realist perspective, had no imaginary goal of incorporating British-controlled Egypt into the Empire. Therefore, it does not seem logical for Said Halim Pasha to negotiate with the Unionists on behalf of the Khedive of Egypt. In the final analysis, it is clear that Said Halim had no intention of reconquering Egypt, becoming Khedive of Egypt, or attaining any political or bureaucratic position or rank, even if the Unionists wanted him to do so.

Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha, who was well-off and well educated, was indeed a man of nobility and dignity, a gentle and honourable man. It seems highly unlikely that he had any intention of gaining political or social status and increasing his popularity in society. If his work in money and intellect for the abolition of tyranny and the establishment of constitutionalism can be attributed to his love for the state and the nation, the fact that he undertook “a great burden of Grand Viziership” can

²²¹ Said Halim Pasha said to Hüseyin K. Kadri Bey: “*You forget who these men (the unionists) are, and you talk as if they were statesmen who have been in government for many years, who have experience and who understand many things. The men you are dealing with are nothing but revolutionaries. It is useless to talk to such men about the methods of government and the wisdom of politics. It is inconceivable that you do not understand this.*” See Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Ibid*, p. 180.

²²² *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, p. 251; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali'ye sevkleri hakkında Divaniye mebusu Fuad Bey merhum tarafından verilen tahrir üzerine bera-yı tahkikat kura isabet eden Beşinci Şube tarafından icra olunan tahkikat ve zabtedilen ifadatı muhtevidir*, (İstanbul: Meclis-i Mebusan Matbaası, 1334[1918]), pp. 10-11.

be attributed to his “desire to serve the Empire and the Muslim world.” As narrated M. K. İnal:

*“If his bearing the burden of the Grand Vizier’s office was born out of his ambition for glory, he did not need glory. As a respected ‘Prince’, he was acceptable to everyone. If he had aspired to receive the title of the most illustrious highness by virtue of Grand Viziership, he already had that title by birth. If he wanted to benefit from a salary, his own wealth was far from being worthy of a salary.”*²²³

In fact, his main concern was to preserve the integrity of the Empire, which he saw as the last and only Islamic state to revive the spirit of the Muslim ummah in the world. He emphasised this point in his memoirs and in his parliamentary interrogations.²²⁴ Mehmed Selahaddin Bey also affirmed that Said Halim Pasha tried to serve the state by cooperating with the Unionists and by assuming the Grand Viziership.²²⁵ These statements by Selahaddin Bey, who in his memoirs was very critical of Said Halim Pasha and the policies of his cabinet, are very important. It is very significant that even an opponent of Said Halim and his cabinet claims that Said Halim undertook this heavy burden to serve the state and the Ummah. It is certain that from the day of his appointment as Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha’s primary goal was the survival of the Ottoman Empire, the last great Islamic state. In this regard, he believed that the CUP, which penetrated all political, military, and economic spheres of the state, could save the Ottoman Empire from disintegration. Accordingly, he collaborated with the Unionists - despite ideological differences - with the belief that the CUP was the only political-military power that could save the state.

As far as the Unionists were concerned, the CUP's collaboration with Said Halim Pasha was based on very different reasons. As mentioned above, he belonged to a

²²³ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1918, 1921.

²²⁴ *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, pp. 249, 251; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali'ye sevkleri...*, pp. 10-11; *Said Halim Paşa, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 38.

²²⁵ Related to this issue also See Mehmed Selahaddin, *Bildiklerim - İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Maksad-ı Tesisi ve Suret-i Teşekkülü ve Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye'nin Sebeb-i Felaket ve İnkısamı*, (Kahire: Emin Hindiye Matbaası, 1334[1918]), p. 114.

dynasty and was quite wealthy and prosperous. The Unionists needed Said Halim's financial support to continue their opposition to the Hamidian regime at home and abroad. In fact, his financial support enabled the Unionists to easily maintain and expand their opposition activities in various parts of the Empire.

The reason why the Unionists collaborated with Said Halim after taking political and military power with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy was that they wanted to use his political and bureaucratic experience and knowledge of state administration to compensate for their inexperience in politics and state administration. Said Halim Pasha was indeed an experienced statesman and politician, a recognised nobleman and an intellectual. For this reason, the Unionists chose him as Inspector and later as President of the Committee. In the following period, the Unionists reappointed him as Grand Vizier to compensate for their inexperience in state administration. In this way they increased the prestige and popularity of the society and the Unionist government in the society and strengthened their legitimacy. Meanwhile, the support of the Unionists was of course important in the rise to the position of Grand Vizier of Said Halim Pasha, who had close ties with the Unionists and supported them mainly financially. However, Said Halim's education, social status and personality also played an important role in his political and bureaucratic rise.

Said Halim also pointed to their lack of experience in state government. Said Halim Pasha said:

“It was assumed that these men, who made the revolution and overthrew Abdülhamit II, would be able to rule the country. No one thought that these men did not come to rule the country, but perhaps to overthrow Abdülhamit II, and that they were prepared to do so.”²²⁶

In addition, Said Halim Pasha, unlike Mahmut Şevket Pasha, had a benign character, which meant that he would not stir up controversy with the CUP. In fact, the Unionists were also looking for a submissive statesman to work with. Indeed, Said

²²⁶ Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 1999), p. 689.

Halim was in the position of the big brother who gave the community credibility with the outside world and above the factions within the community.

3.2.2. Chairman of the Council of State

In line with the official career, Said Halim Pasha obtained high position in the committee. The CUP convened a secret congress in Salonica in 1909 to deal with the issues such as the oligarchy of the association and the political involvement of the soldiers.²²⁷ Said Halim attended this congress and became one of the prominent members of the committee. He also actively participated in initiatives of cancellation of the Parliament by the committee in 1912. After dissolution of the parliament, Said Halim also worked for some committee members' inclusion into the cabinet.²²⁸

On 22 January 1912, Said Halim was assigned as the Chairman of the Council of State, from which he had been previously removed, with a same salary particular to his Senate membership; thus, he entered the cabinet of Mahmud Şevket Pasha.²²⁹ As the chairman of the Council of State, Pasha undertook some duties regarding the foreign problems of the state. On the behalf of the Ottoman Empire, he had some meetings with the representatives of the Balkan states and great powers regarding the Balkan issues.

On 29 September 1911, the Ottoman Empire waged war on Italy, which desired to annex Tripoli, the last piece of land of the empire in the African Continent. Grand Vizier (Küçük) Said Pasha sent Said Halim to Lausanne in Switzerland on 3 July 1912, under the pretext of change of place, so as to pursue peace negotiations with

²²⁷ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi-1908-1918*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1988), p. 28.

²²⁸ Cavit Bey, "Meşrutiyet Devrine Dair Cavit Bey'in Hatıraları", *Tanin*, No.4454-61, 31 October 1943, p. 2, Episode [*Tefrika*] 61; Cavit Bey, *Ibid.*, *Tanin*, No.4454-66, 5 November 1943, p. 2, Episode[*Tefrika*] 66.

²²⁹ B.O.A., B.E.O., 4059/304378; B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/51; B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121. For the list of cabinet, See B.O.A., B.E.O., 3993/299430.

the Italian representatives.²³⁰ Pasha, who had been allowed one month, started secret talks with Italian delegates in Lausanne on 12 July. However, during this period the opposition campaign towards the CUP was highly increased and the political conditions compelled the pro-Unionist (Küçük) Said Pasha's cabinet to withdraw from the power. (Küçük) Said Pasha, thus, tendered his resignation on 17 July 1912 due to the severe political and press pressure. Succeeding him, Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha formed his cabinet on 21 July 1912. His government contained important three former grand viziers such as Kamil Pasha, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, Avlonyalı Ferit Pasha and his son Mahmut Muhtar Pasha was assigned as the Minister of Navy; so, his cabinet was called as the *Grand Cabinet* or *Cabinet of Father-Son*. Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha thought that it was ill-timed to maintain the negotiations with Italy; hence, he did not renew delegation power of Said Halim Pasha. Consequently, Pasha had to leave Lausanne on 28 July, without getting any results from the negotiations.²³¹

Meanwhile, upon the fall of the government of (Küçük) Said Pasha, Said Halim Pasha had officially resigned from the chairman of the Council of State on 22 July 1912. According to İnal, Said Halim was nominated as the general clerk of the CUP at the congress of in 1912 in Istanbul. However, Tunaya claimed that Pasha was assigned not as a general clerk, but as a general member of the committee centre.²³² In addition to his de facto activities in the CUP, Said Halim sustained his financial support to the committee. For instance, he donated 2000 golden liras to *Tanin*, which

²³⁰ B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8-57; B.O.A., HR.SFR.3., 655/8-9. “... *Kabine azasından olan sadr-ı hazır Said Halim Paşa'yı zahirde tebdil-i hava ve hakikatte İtalyanlar ile müzakere-i sulhiye icra etmek üzere evvelce İtalya garbındaki Lozan Kasabasına göndermiş ise de müzakerat-ı sulhiyenin neticelenmesi iyice bir zamana mütevakkıf olub...*” See Şeyhulislam Cemaleddin Efendi, *Hatırat-ı Siyasiye*, (Dersaadet: M. Hovagimyan Matbaası, 1336[1920]), p. 36. Also See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1894. For detailed information about the Tripoli War, See İsrail Kurtcephe, *Türk-İtalyan İlişkileri (1911-1916)*, (Ankara: TTK, 1995); Hale Şıvgın, *Trablusgarp Savaşı ve 1911-1912 Türk İtalyan İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1989).

²³¹ Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 60; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 27; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/1, p. 133; Hüsamettin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası*, (Prep. By Samih Nafiz Tansu), (İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2011), p. 97. For the protocols between the Ottoman Empire and Italy in Lausanne, See B.O.A., HR.SYS., 2898/20-1-13.

²³² B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1894; Tunaya, *Ibid.*, Vol.III, p. 240.

was the media organ of the committee, in order to keep up its publications. He also served as the chairman of the board of directors of the life insurance company by name of *İhtiyat-ı Milliye*.²³³

Meanwhile, an important threat aroused from Balkans; Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro were for the first time joined in a Balkan alliance and started to fight together against the Ottoman Empire. They demanded that Rumelia be divided into autonomous administrations based on nationality. Firstly, Montenegro launched an attack on the empire on 8 October 1912 and the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek forces followed suit on 13 October 1912.²³⁴ Moreover, Russia and Austria, who thought that the Ottoman Empire could defeat the Balkan alliance, issued a statement on 8 October 1912 on behalf of all European great powers, and declared that at the end of the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states, they would not accept the change of border in Rumelia and that the status quo would be preserved in the Balkans.²³⁵

In addition to these challenges, the war with Italy for Tripoli, which started on 29 September 1911, had ended yet. The Ottoman government got stuck in very difficult situation and the army could not maintain its struggle in various fronts. It is obvious that the conditions were compelling the empire to conclude a peace treaty with Italy. Eventually, Ottoman Empire had to sign the Treaty of Uşi with Italy on 18 October 1912 and the government was constrained to leave Tripoli to Italy. By the way, the Italians not only received Tripoli and Cyrenaica, taking advantage of Balkan wars, but also kept the Dodecanese Islands, which had been occupied previously.²³⁶ The Ottoman government could not offer resistance to Italians owing to war with Balkan states; more importantly, the naval force of the empire was not powerful enough to protect the mentioned islands.

²³³ Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Tunaya, *Ibid.*, Vol.III, pp. 293-294.

²³⁴ Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, Twentieth Century, Vol.II*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 97.

²³⁵ Ahmet Halaçoğlu, “Balkan Savaşları (1912-1913)”, *Türkler*, Vol.13, (Ankara 2002.), p. 536.

²³⁶ Jelavich, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 97.

In the Balkans, the Ottoman army had to fight on two different fronts like the eastern front (Thrace) with Bulgarians and the western front (Macedonia and Albania) with all the allies. The army also waged war at sea with the Greek navy. On 23 October 1912, the Ottoman army were defeated by the Bulgarian forces, and they began to advance towards Çatalca. The Ottoman army urgently established a line of defence in Çatalca, which was the last line of defence for Istanbul. Furthermore, Serbian forces entered Skopje, the capital of the former Serbia on 23-24 October 1912. The Greeks captured Selonica on 8 November and they also occupied the islands of Bozcaada, Lemnos, and Thasos with their navy without encountering any resistance. On the other hand, Montenegro also began to besiege Shkodra. In this way, the Balkan alliance, in a short time, brought all of Rumelia under their controls. The public opinion watched the course of events in the Balkans with growing anxiety. Due to these failures both in Tripoli and Balkans, the cabinet of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha resigned on 29 October 1912. On the same day, Sultan Mehmet Reşat (1909-1918) entrusted (Kıbrıslı) Kamil Pasha with forming new cabinet.²³⁷ The newly formed Kamil Pasha cabinet asked the Bulgarian government to sign a ceasefire and an armistice was signed on 3 December 1912. Bulgaria also signed the armistice on behalf of Montenegro and Serbia. However, an armistice was not signed with Greece due to excessive demands. Then, the negotiations for peace started with the help of great powers in London.²³⁸

3.2.3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Kamil Pasha was an opponent of the Unionists, and they did not deal with each other any time. His appointment also ended goodwill and triggered animosity and

²³⁷ Halaçoğlu, *Ibid.*, pp. 536-537; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100; Güneş, *Ibid.*, p. 139. The government of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha did not realize that the Balkan nations had united against the Ottoman Empire. Even, relying on the assurance given to Gabriel Noradunkyan (1852-1936), the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, by Russia, which underhandedly supported the Balkan alliance, would not go to war, the Ottoman government discharged trained 120 battalions in Rumelia. See Cevdet Küçük, “Balkan Savaşı”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.5, (İstanbul: TDV, 1992), p. 24.

²³⁸ İlker Alp, “Balkan Savaşları’nda Türk ve İslâm Dünyasından Gelen Yardımlar”, *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 7, No.2, (December 2018), pp. 276-77; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

suspicion on political scene. Thus, the Unionist wanted to ensure the full support of the army. With the decision of committee centre, Said Halim Pasha and Talat Pasha visited Kamil Pasha on 6 November 1912 to propose Mahmut Şevket Pasha to the Ministry of War instead of Nazım Pasha, who was known to be an opponent of the CUP, but they could not get a fruitful result from this meeting.²³⁹ During this period, the Unionists started to work on a coup plot against the government. Therefore, they tried to obtain Minister of War Nazım Pasha, who had relations with the *Halaskaran Zabitan*.²⁴⁰ Said Halim Pasha also involved in this plan and as an old friend of Nazım Pasha he oversaw this task. Said Halim and Talat Pasha held some meetings with Nazım Pasha at mansion of Said Halim and other places to prejudice him against Kamil Pasha and in order not to oppose the coup. At the end of the bargains, Said Halim could achieve that Enver Pasha was appointed as Army Chief of Staff of the Army Corps (*Kolordu Erkan-ı Harp Reisliği*) and Cemal Pasha was appointed as General Inspector of Range (*Menzil Müfettiş-i Umumiliği*). In this way, most of the military circles in Istanbul fell into the hands of the CUP.²⁴¹ While the negotiations about Balkan issue were continuing, the committee members concentrated on a military intervention with the advantage of military power and set to work for

²³⁹ Cavit Bey, ‘‘Meşrutiyet Devrine Dair Cavit Bey’in Hatıraları’’, *Tanin*, No.4454-157, 7 February 1944, p. 2, Episode [*Tefrika*] 157; Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, pp. 16-17.

²⁴⁰ After the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the use of military power by the Unionists as an element of political pressure drew the reaction of a group of officers in the army. For this reason, opponent officers began to organize in May-June 1912 as opposition group. Eventually, the *Halaskaran Zabitan* group, whose main purpose was to keep the military away from politics, was established by middle-ranking officers such as Erkan-ı Harb Kolağası Kastamonulu Hilmi, Cavalry District Governor Manastırlı Recep, Navy Major İbrahim Aşki, Captain Kudret under the chairmanship of Erkan-ı Harb Major Kemal (Şenkıl). As the high-ranking officers, Mirliva Ferit Pasha, Erkan-ı Harb Mirliva Nazif Pasha, Zeki Pasha, Yaver Pasha and Ahmet Abuk Pasha were included in this group. This group also obtained support of Prince Sabahattin Bey. The Halaskar Zabitan group did not contact with the Freedom and Entente Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*) but received support from important individuals such as Kemal Mithat and Mahir Sedat and Rıza Nur. It was also claimed that the Naval Minister Hurşit Pasha was involved in this group. For detailed information, See Kenan Olgun, ‘‘Asker-Siyaset İlişkilerinde Bir Dönüm Noktası, Halaskar Zabitan Grubu ve Faaliyetleri’’, *İlmi Araştırmalar*, No. 7, İstanbul 1999, pp. 159-161; Cemal Kutay, *Türkiye İstiklal ve Hürriyet Mücadeleleri Tarihi*, Vol.XVII, No. 23, (İstanbul: Alioğlu Yayınevi, 1961), pp. 9857-9858. For further information on Freedom and Accord Party, See Ziya Şakir, *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Partisi, Nasıl Doğdu, Nasıl Yaşadı, Nasıl Battı?*, (Prep. By. Serkan Erdal), (İstanbul: Akıl Fikir Yayınları, 2011).

²⁴¹ Tevfik Çavdar, *İttihat ve Terakki*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), pp. 71-72; Galip Vardar, *İttihat ve Terakki İçinde Dönerler*, (Prep. By Samih Nafiz Tansu), (İstanbul: Yeni Zamanlar Yayınları, 2003), p. 148; Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, pp. 226-227; Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, pp. 17-18; Rıza Tevfik, *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

making detailed plans, and long discussions about their strategies. Meantime, the rumours, which the cabinet of Kamil Pasha consented to cede Edirne to the Bulgarian government, also prevailed among the public opinion. On the other hand, Enver Pasha and most of the young officers were in favour of the war and they wanted to liberate Edirne from Bulgarians. These kinds of rumours triggered the Unionists to go into action accordingly. Eventually, they executed a military intervention to the Sublime Port on 23 January 1913 and in this turmoil Minister of War Nazım Pasha was killed by Yakup Cemil, a politer of the committee. As a result, Kamil Pasha had to resign from the grand vizierate by force of arms.²⁴²

After the government of Kamil Pasha was forcibly removed by the military coup, the Sultan assigned Mahmut Şevket Pasha to form the new government. He also assumed the Ministry of War and the following day, submitted list of his cabinet to the Sultan.²⁴³ The members of new government were mostly from Unionists. On the same day, Said Halim Pasha entered to Mahmut Şevket Pasha's cabinet as the Chairman of the Council of State in consequence of being re-appointed by the Sultan with a salary of 15.000 kuruş.²⁴⁴ Upon refusal of İbrahim Hakkı Pasha duty of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Sultan assigned Said Halim as the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 27 January 1913 with a salary of 15.000 kuruş.²⁴⁵

As soon as Said Halim Pasha came to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he responded to the joint note, which had been given by the great powers to the government of

²⁴² Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 72-74; Vardar, *Ibid.*, p. 148-153; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117. "Talat Pasha, Enver Pasha, Sait Halim Pasha, Hacı Adil, Ziya Gökalp, Major İsmail Hakkı, Fethi (Okyar) Bey, Mithat Şükrü Bey, Cemal Pasha, Dr. Nazım, Kara Kemal and Mustafa Necip attended to the secret meetings about the organization of the military coup. Sait Halim Pasha and Fethi Bey acted hesitantly by saying to wait for a suitable time, but Enver Pasha influenced the decision of the coup by saying "the conditions are ready, why we are waiting for" with his usual assertiveness." See Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 72. Rıza Tevfik expressed that meetings about the organization of the coup were held in the mansion of Said Halim Pasha. See Rıza Tevfik, *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71. A. Bedevi Kuran also wrote that the military coup was planned in the mansion of Said Halim. See Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz...*, p. 389.

²⁴³ Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 228; Kutay, *Türkiye İstiklal ve...*, pp. 9949-53; B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/79.

²⁴⁴ B.O.A., B.E.O., 4059/304378; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-15.

²⁴⁵ B.O.A., B.E.O., 4138/310295; B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/80; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-15; B.O.A., *Sicill-i Ahval Defteri*, No. 25, p. 121.

Kamil Pasha on 17 January 1913 in order to conclude a peace treaty with Balkan states. Said Halim Pasha rejected this note on 30 January 1913.²⁴⁶ According to the response note, the government of Mahmut Şevket Pasha consented to cede the part of the right bank of the Meriç River, excluding Edirne. The islands necessary for the security of Anatolia would be left to the Ottomans, and the decision about other islands, which were under occupation, would belong to the great powers on condition of considering the security of Anatolia. In return of these, the great states would not prevent the Ottoman Empire to determine its own customs duties. In the note, it was also stated that foreigners in Anatolia would be subject to the same taxes, which Ottoman citizens paid, and foreign post offices would be closed, and capitulations would be abolished.²⁴⁷

The great powers rejected the Ottoman government's response to the joint note. Then the Bulgarians restarted to bombard Edirne because the ceasefire ended on 4 February 1913. The Bulgarian forces moving in the direction of Çatalca were repulsed between 18-25 March. The Ottoman forces, who could not resist any longer, withdrew and, Edirne fell into the hands of the Bulgarians on 26 March 1913. Bulgarian army immediately moved towards Çatalca. The King of Bulgaria Ferdinand I (1887-1918) had declared in a speech that “we will jump the Çatalca fence and enter Istanbul.”²⁴⁸ However, this dream of the king did not come true due to the heroic defence of the Ottoman army against the Bulgarian forces on the fortified lines of Çatalca. After stopping the Bulgarians, the Ottoman government urgently offered a ceasefire, and then great powers reported the four-point peace terms to the Sublime Porte on 31 March. The Ottoman government accepted the terms on 1 April and a ceasefire was declared between the Turkish-Bulgarian forces on 16 April 1913. After negotiations in London, the Treaty of London was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Balkan alliance on 30 May 1913. This agreement

²⁴⁶ Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 240-41, 280-281.

²⁴⁷ Stanford J. Shaw-Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol.II, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 295-296; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 280-281; Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 230.

²⁴⁸ Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, *With the Turks in Thrace*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1913); pp. 231-232; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

determined Midye-Enez line for the Ottoman territory in Europe; that is, the cabinet of Mahmut Şevket Pasha agreed to cede the west of the mentioned line to Bulgarians, which meant that Edirne was handed over to Bulgaria. The Ottoman government finally renounced all its rights over Crete and left it to Greece. As an important issue, the division of Macedonia remained unsolved. Albania gained its independence; the great powers would determine borders of Albania and solve all problems related to this country. The fate of the Aegean islands was left to the hands of the great powers.²⁴⁹ So, the first period of the Balkan wars was over; the entire Balkan lands were almost lost, and specially Edirne, the historical capital of the Ottoman Empire, was ceded to Bulgarian government. The defeats in the Balkans deeply damaged the prestige of the Ottoman Empire in international arena and brought the government of Mahmut Şevket Pasha into discredit. In general, the public opinion in the empire was so depressed.

With the establishment of the government by Mahmut Şevket Pasha, the opponents took action to undermine the grand vizier. Especially, Kamil Pasha, Prince Sabahattin and their supporters made various conspiracy attempts to overthrow the Unionist-based government. The first of these was initiated by some officers, including Prince Sabahattin's clerk Saffet Bey and Abuk Ahmed Pasha, Sabahattin's uncle.²⁵⁰ Moreover, Şerif Pasha in Paris and Kamil Pasha in Cairo had a great influence on the conspiracies prepared for the Unionists. As soon as Kamil Pasha arrived in Istanbul on 28 May 1913, he was taken into custody at his home by the Istanbul Guard Commander Cemal Pasha and was removed from Istanbul three days later.²⁵¹

Although Cemal Pasha prevented many coup preparations of the Freedom and Accord Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*) by intervening in time, the Grand Vizier

²⁴⁹ Shaw-Shaw, *History of...*, Vol.II, p. 296; Jelavich, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 99; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 284-314.

²⁵⁰ Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 30; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, (Prep. by Alpay Kabacalı), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), pp. 29-36.

²⁵¹ Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 39-45; Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, p. 129.

Mahmut Şevket Pasha was gunned down on 11 June 1913, at Bayezid Square, while he was going from the Ministry of War to the Sublime Porte.²⁵² In his work, Ali Birinci argued that the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha may have been organized by the Unionists. He thought that during the period of his grand viziership, Mahmut Şevket Pasha's relationship with the Unionists was deteriorated day by day. Ultimately, he became the strongest obstacle; actually, the only rival, of the CUP on the way to direct power.²⁵³ It is worth emphasizing that the Unionists had organized a coup on 23 January 1913 to restore the political and military order of the empire, which had plumed the depths long ago. The apparent reason for the coup had been the liberation of Edirne from the Bulgarians, but they had failed in retrieving the city. For this reason, the CUP came under heavy criticisms of political and press environments. Essentially, the failure was belonged to both sides, the grand vizier, and the Unionist officers. Most importantly, as A. Birinci pointed out above, the Unionists and Mahmut Şevket Pasha could not get along very well. The incompatibility between those in power affected many political and military developments. In fact, Mahmut Şevket Pasha did not trust the Unionists much and always underestimated them.²⁵⁴

It is certain that the disharmony and antipathy between the Grand Vizier Mahmut Şevket Pasha and the CUP members, who resented his arrogant behaviours, deteriorated the political and military situation of the empire. Mahmut Şevket

²⁵² Mustafa Ragıp Esatlı, *İttihat ve Terakki Tarihinde Esrar Perdesi*, (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2004), pp. 15-17; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7; Okyar, *Ibid.*, p. 196. For detailed account of the events, See Cemal Kutay, *Türkiye İstiklal ve...*, pp. 9982-9989.

²⁵³ Ali Birinci, *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası, 2. Meşrutiyet Devrinde İttihat ve Terakki'ye Karşı Çıkanlar*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2020), pp. 220, 228. Also See Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 77. M. Ragıp Esatlı also mentioned these kinds of rumors. "Mahmut Şevket Pasha had prevented many young Unionists to rise in the high positions and to administer the state as they wished." That is why, the Unionists enabled the murderers to assassinate M. Şevket Pasha because they did not provide security of life of M. Şevket Pasha. See Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

²⁵⁴ Mahmut Şevket Pasha wrote in his diary that he reprehended Talat Pasha, who was one of the persons tried to prevent the grand vizier's attempts on peace. He said to Talat Pasha as follows: "You are narrow minded. You are incapable of determining the situation in this restriction. You do not have an envionred opinion. You are semi-scholar. This country is mostly damaged by these kinds of people." See Mahmut Şevket Paşa, *Sadrızam ve Harbiye Nazırı Mahmut Şevket Paşa'nın Günlüğü*, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988), p. 18. Also, for his harsh treatment of Cemal Pasha, See Mahmut Şevket Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Pasha's absence from the political scene made them free; however, they preferred to rule the empire under the shadow of a respected figure like Said Halim Pasha.

On 20 June 1913, Lütfi Fikri Bey, in a letter sent to Said Halim Pasha, expressed that the revenge of Nazım Pasha was taken by the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha, and he asked the Pasha to drop the subject. These statements give the impression that the assassination was organized by the Freedom and Accord Party.²⁵⁵

The assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha was the last climax of the ongoing conflict between the Unionists and their political rivals, especially Liberals represented by the Freedom and Accord Party. It seems that the Unionists might not have directly organized the assassination of the grand vizier, but they made important contribution to the elimination of Mahmut Şevket by not taking any measures to protect him.

3.3. The Period of Said Halim Pasha's Grand Vizierate

On the day Mahmut Şevket Pasha died, Cemal Pasha called Said Halim Pasha and some other ministers, informing them of the incident, and asking them to take a decision on what should be done. Ministers immediately decided to send a delegation consisting of Şeyhulislam Esad Efendi and the Minister of Justice İbrahim Bey to Sultan Mehmet Reşad and the delegates gave information about the course of the event. They informed the Sultan about the decision of the council of ministers that the Grand Vizier should not be empty even for a moment and recommended that

²⁵⁵ Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 240; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 31. Ali Birinci does not consider the claim of revenge of Nazım Pasha as a credible claim because he said that all of those who had engaged in the assassination were not associated with the Freedom and Accord Party. See Birinci, *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227. Moreover, according to him, although the Istanbul Guard Commandery had learned the day of the assassination before, it did not take any measures to protect Mahmut Şevket. That is, the Unionists deliberately ignored the assassination. See Birinci, *Ibid.*, p. 228. On the day of the assassination, 15 June 1913, Istanbul Guard Cemal Pasha went to the Ministry of War and mentioned that there were some rumours about assassinations these days, it would be appropriate for them to act vigilantly. He also said that he gave special instructions to the aides who accompanied Pasha. Mahmut Şevket Pasha replied as follows; “*Man, never mind... Whatever will be will be. What can we do? The will belongs to the God.*” See Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 46. Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov stated that Mahmut Şevket Pasha was sacrificed and Said Halim Pasha was suitable for the position of grand viziership. See B.O.A., HR.SFR.1., 169/46.

Said Halim Pasha be appointed as the grand vizier. Also, on the day of the incident, Talat Pasha reported Ali Fuad Bey, Head Clerk of Chamberlain (*Mabeyn*), that the CUP offered the Minister of Foreign Affairs Said Halim Pasha to the position grand vizierate.²⁵⁶ The Sultan wanted to bring Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha (1855-1923), the ambassador of Vienna, to the grand vizierate;²⁵⁷ however, he entrusted Said Halim as the regent of grand vizierate (*sadaret kaymakamı*) on 11 June 1913 so that the office of the grand vizierate would not be empty until he arrived.²⁵⁸

When the Sultan requested that Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha be appointed Sadaret and Said Halim Pasha be retained as Foreign Minister, Said Halim did not take kindly to the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government that would be established by Hüseyin Hilmi. Sultan Mehmet Reşat consulted the issue with Halid Hurşit, Chief Chamberlain, and Tefvik Bey, the second Chamberlain and Ali Fuad Bey. In the meeting held on 12 June 1913, Halid Hurşit Bey took a positive attitude towards the appointment of Said Halim as Grand Vizier. The CUP also put pressure on the palace. However, the Sultan realised that he had no choice but to do what they wanted. He finally appointed Said Halim Pasha as Grand Vizier on 12 June 1913, while retaining the post of Foreign Minister.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp İştiklerim*, (Ankara, TTK, 2010), p. 100; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33. No one among the Unionists objected to the grand vizierate of Said Halim Pasha. See Vardar, *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁵⁷ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 100; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1894. Ali Fethi (Okyar) Bey wrote that the Sultan was considering the Ambassador of London Tefvik Pasha for the position of grand vizierate, not Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha. See Ali Fethi Okyar, *Üç Devir'de Bir Adam*, (Prep. By Cemal Kutay), (İstanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1980), p. 196.

²⁵⁸ B.O.A., B.E.O., 4182/313597; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-10; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 100; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1894. “*Vezir-i mealisemirim Mehmed Said Paşa, Sadrîâzam ve Harbiye Nazırı Mahmud Şevket Paşa'nın bu kerre vuku'ı şehadeti nezdimizde teessür ve teessifü mucib olmuş ve sadaret kaymakamlığı rütbe-i samiye-i vezaretle uhdenize tevcih kılınmış olduğundan vükelâyı hazıramız ile bil'ittifak ümur ve mesalih-i devletin hüsn-i tedvir ve temşitine sarf-ı mezid-i itina olunması hasafet ve hamiyetinizden muntazardır. Cenab-ı Hak, tevfikat-ı samedaniyesine mazbar buyursun âmin.*” 6 Receb 1331 ve 29 Mayıs 1329, Mehmed Reşad. See *Sebilürreşad*, “Hatt-ı Hümayun Suret-i Münifesi”, Vol.X, No: 249, 6 Haziran 1329[19 June 1913], p. 252; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1490, 30 Mayıs 1329[12 June 1913], p. 1.

²⁵⁹ B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-10; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1894-1895. “*Veziri mealisemirim Mehmed Said Paşa, Mesnedi sadaret bu kerre asaleten uhde-i revviyetin ize tefviz kılınmış ve meşihat-ı İslâmiyyede dahi Mehmed Esad Efendi ibka edilmiş olmasile heyet-i vükelânın bi'tteşkil tasdikimize arzını irade eylerim. Nuhbe-i amalimiz, milletimizin selâmet ve sadetinden iba ret olduğundan Rabbimiz tealâ ve tekaddes hazretleri bu maksadı temin edecek hidemata cümlelerinizi muvaffak buyursun âmin bi-hürmeti seyyidilmürselin.*” 7 Receb 1331 ve 30 Mayıs

Five days after his appointment, Said Halim Pasha submitted his cabinet list to the Sultan on 17 June 1913. The cabinet list, approved by the Sultan on the same day, consisted of the following names:

Mehmet Said Halim Pasha (Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs), Esad Efendi (Şeyhulislam), Ahmet İzzet Pasha (Minister of War and Deputy Commander-in-Chief), Çürüksulu Mahmud Pasha (Minister of the Navy; retained), Talat Pasha (Minister of Internal Affairs), Halil Bey (Head of the Council of State), Rıfat Bey (Minister of Justice; retained), Osman Nizami Pasha (Minister of Public Works), Süleyman Bostani Efendi (Minister of Commerce and Agriculture), Hayri Bey (Minister of Education; retained). Hence, for the first time since the CUP had been founded formed a cabinet its own request. The opposition, on the other hand, was crushed so that it could no longer straighten its head.²⁶⁰

Although Said Halim Pasha was a prominent member of the CUP, he cannot be considered a typical Unionist. His appointment as the grand vizier has been interpreted in different ways. Feroz Ahmad interpreted that the appointment of Said Halim Pasha as grand vizier was designed to appease Arab sentiment in the empire. He continued:

*“It turned out to be the longest grand vizirate of the Young Turk period, and, significantly, terminated only after the outbreak of the Arab revolt. It was no accident that at a time when the Turkish government was accused of pursuing a policy of Turkification, its Grand Vizier was an ardent Islamist who wrote only in French and Arabic.”*²⁶¹

1329, Mehmed Reşad. See *Sebilürreşad*, “Hatt-ı Hümayun Suret-i Münifesi”, Vol.X, No: 249, 6 Haziran 1329[19 June 1913], p. 252.

²⁶⁰ B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/87. Also See Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 79; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 103. For the copy of the telegram sent by the Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha about the program of his government, See B.O.A., HR.SFR.3., 694/29. . Cemal Pasha wrote that the government of Said Halim Pasha exactly accepted the political program of the M. Şevket Pasha cabinet; that is, it pursued the aim of “*avoiding conflicts with the external as much as possible and devoting all national force to internal reform.*” See Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

²⁶¹ Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, p. 137. Also See Feroz Ahmad, “Said Halim Pasha, Mehmed”, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World*, Vol.3, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 459-460. Here it should be remembered that Feroz Ahmad considered Said Halim Pasha to be of Arab origin.

In addition, Ahmad stated that the CUP's desire to pursue an Islamist policy during this period also became influential in the appointment of Said Halim. The CUP was looking for a way to win Muslim geographies' loyalty. However, it is important point that Said Halim was not appointed as Grand Vizier not just to take the support of Muslims. If that were so, his Grand Viziership should have ended immediately after the Arab revolt. Here it should be highlighted that Said Halim's grand vizierate terminated much later from Arab revolt.

Sina Akşin, on the other hand, he did not strongly agree with Ahmad's views. He expressed: "*It is debatable to what extent Said Halim, like Şevket Pasha, can be considered Arab. Moreover, it has not probably been proven that the CUP took the Arabs into account when bringing the Pasha to the Grand Viziership.*"²⁶² According to him, the fact that Said Halim was appointed as the Grand Vizier, who had a qualification that gave the CUP external credibility and assumed the function of a supra-factional elder brother internally. In addition, the fact that Pasha was far from authoritarian tendencies and that his "brotherhood" would not be as annoying as Mahmut Şevket Pasha played an important role in his appointment. Akşin said that "*in a society dominated by feudal values, it would be beneficial for someone like Said Halim Pasha to become the Grand Vizier, with a hoary, showy, and dignified person.*"²⁶³ M. Şükrü Bleda, on the other hand, expressed that financial supports of Said Halim to the Unionists became influential in his appointment as Grand Vizier.²⁶⁴

Some of the authors did not deem Said Halim worthy of the Grand Viziership. For example, Samiha Ayverdi said for Said Halim that:

"The Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha was an Egyptian prince, had a fantasy of European society. This man, who was the grandson of a rebellious soldier who once deprived of the dignity, life, and property of the Ottoman Empire,

²⁶² Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 253.

²⁶³ Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, pp. 253-254.

²⁶⁴ Mithat Şükrü Bleda, *İmparatorluğun Çöküşü*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1979), p. 83.

*reconciled with the Unionists, whom he once criticized fiercely, and settled at the head of the state like a meteorite, without knowing where he fell from.’*²⁶⁵

Hasan Amca commented the appointment as follows:

*“Who is this Said Halim Pasha? What are his traditions? How can he be such a Grand Vizier for no reason? He is not a man of the Unionist notables. He is not from a respected, privileged family, he has not served the country in the least, has not reached the slightest rank, how can become a Grand Vizier?”*²⁶⁶

Although Said Halim Pasha was not a statesman who fully shared the views and ideals of the Unionists, the CUP formed “its own cabinet” and gained control for the first time in this period.²⁶⁷

None of the comments made regarding the Grand Viziership of Said Halim Pasha are solely explanatory and it can be said that different factors, such as Said Halim’s financial support to the CUP and his reputation stemmed from his affiliation of the dynasty and his wealth, had a different degree of influence on his appointment. In addition, the lack of an eligible person embracing everyone within the committee might have been effective in this appointment.

Curiously enough, even at a time when the Unionists established their own power, they preferred to rule the empire indirectly through Said Halim Pasha. The reason for this was that they were lower ranks in the hierarchy of the Ottoman ruling class and even Ottoman society in general. Indeed, many Unionist leaders and members grew up relatively modest strata of society. The transformations since the Tanzimat period,

²⁶⁵ Ayverdi, *Ibid.*, p. 717.

²⁶⁶ Hasan Amca, *Doğmayan Hürriyet, Bir Devrin İcyüzü 1908-1918*, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989), p. 128.

²⁶⁷ “The direct power of the CUP began with the Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha. Until then, the Unionists had been in power indirectly.” See Ahmet Turan Alkan, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Devrinde Ordu ve Siyaset*, (İstanbul: Ufuk Kitapları, 2001), p. 218. Sina Akşin and Tefik Çavdar also agreed on that the period of full power of the CUP started with the Grand Vizierate of Said Halim Pasha. See Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 139; Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 79. Contrary to them, Y. Hikmet Bayur considered Talat Pasha as the first real grand vizier of the CUP. See Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.III/4, p. 329.

perhaps even earlier, had paved the way for emergence of an elite with land-rich, semi-aristocratic and wealthy merchant families.²⁶⁸

As for the matter of the establishment of Said Halim Pasha's government, it marked a new era in the late Ottoman history. The hegemony of the Sublime Porte over politics came to an end with his cabinet. Said Halim Pasha's cabinet commenced the period of single-party rule, which would last for five years. As a matter of fact, the CUP, suppressing all opposition elements, completely dominated political, military, and economic life of the Ottoman Empire until 1918.

The first action of the Said Halim Pasha's cabinet was to investigate those who had involved in the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha. The Court Martial (*Divan-ı Harbi Örfî*), which had been established for the investigation, sentenced some of the defendants to death and life imprisonment, some of them to temporary hard labour and exiled most of them to Sinop. The Court sentenced to death in absentia some important figures such as Şerif Pasha, Prince Sabahattin Bey, Gümülcineli İsmail Hakkı, former Minister of Internal Affairs Reşit (Rey) Bey and District Governor Zeki Bey (Vahdettin's brother-in-law) etc. Many people, including Damat Salih Pasha, the son of Tunisian Hayreddin Pasha (1820-1890), one of the former grand viziers, Munip Bey, Director of the Political Department of the Police, Miralay Fuat, Captain Çerkez Kazım and Topal Tevfik, were also sentenced to death. They were executed on 24 June 1913 in Beyazid Square.²⁶⁹

3.3.1. Recapture of Edirne

As mentioned above, the Balkan states fell into conflict over the division of Macedonian lands. Serbia and Greece, who could not agree with Bulgaria on the partition of Macedonia, launched a sudden attack on 2 July 1913. As a matter of fact, Romania also entered the war against Bulgaria in the hope of gaining territory from

²⁶⁸ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁶⁹ Birinci, *Ibid.*, pp. 226-28; Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 79; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 91-6; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 52-56; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 127-129; Celaleddin Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 206-216.

the Bulgarians. Encompassed from far and near, the Bulgarians began to reduce the number of their military forces in Edirne.²⁷⁰ Events were developing in such a way that enabled the Ottoman authorities to retrieve the city. Some of the leaders of The CUP wanted the army to march towards Edirne. There were also reasons for this because Bulgaria had not withdrawn its armies to the Midye-Enez line, which was the border, as per the peace treaty. Enver Pasha tried to persuade the military circles, and Talat Pasha tried to persuade the cabinet members about military action. Talat Pasha, Said Halim, Şeyhulislam Esad Efendi, Minister of War Ahmet İzzet Pasha supported to be taken back of Edirne. The Chairman of the Council of State, Halil (Menteşe) Bey and Minister of Foundations, Hayri Bey abstained. Cemal Pasha together with Mithat Şükrü Bey later could convince the cabinet members to launch a military operation to save Edirne.²⁷¹

Despite the opposition of the great powers, the government of Said Halim Pasha took a decision for operation on 13 July 1913 and on the same day, the Sultan approved the government's decision. On 20 July 1913, the government also sent notes to the envoys of the great states informing that the Ottoman government just wanted to retrieve Edirne and the army would not be exceed the right side of Meriç River. So, the army immediately began its forward march. While the forces under the command of Fethi Bey were liberating Kırklareli, the forces under the command of Enver Pasha entered Edirne on 23 July 1913, on the fifth anniversary of the revolution.²⁷²

The seizure of Edirne and Eastern Thrace by the Ottoman government caused general indignation among the great powers. Russian authorities began to confer on the measures to be taken to restore the treaty violated by the Ottomans. Serge Sazonov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, explicitly told Turhan Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador in St. Petersburg, that Russian government could not consent to a

²⁷⁰ Mahmud Muhtar, *Maziye Bir Nazar*, (Prep. By Erol Kılınc), (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1999), p. 183; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 400-12; Çavdar, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁷¹ Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 421-25; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 170-175; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

²⁷² Çavdar, *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80; Ahmad, *The Young Turks...*, p. 132; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, p. 184; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, p. 176.

violation of the Treaty of London signed 30 May 1913. In a similar manner, Britain and France took hostile attitude towards the Ottoman Empire. They remarked that the Ottoman government had to be strictly complied with terms of the London Treaty. They also reported that the Ottoman government should adhere to the Midye-Enez line and the empire should return Edirne to Bulgaria. Nevertheless, the government of Said Halim Pasha successfully defied the intense diplomatic pressures by the great powers and resisted their threats of sanctions and military intervention.²⁷³

Contrary to appearances, the great powers were not united in their policies towards the Ottoman government. Only Russia supported resorting to coercive measures, including military intervention. In this sense, the Russian government offered a joint naval demonstration against the empire. The British and French did not advocate the Russian proposal during that time. In addition to this, the Russian government brought forward another proposal supporting the use of financial boycott against the Ottoman Empire. The great powers also rejected this offer. Berlin announced that the Germany government opposed to joining in a joint naval demonstration. Even, the German authorities informed that they would take no part in any hostile demonstration against the Ottoman Empire. The same disposition prevailed in Italy. According to notification sent by the Russian Ambassador in Rome to Sazonov, the Italian government would not take part in coercive measures against the Ottoman government. During this period, Italy did not want to dissent the Ottomans.²⁷⁴

Despite of the discord among great powers, they decided to resort a diplomatic action on 7 August 1913 and issued a collective note the Sublime Porte, demanding that the Ottoman government comply with the terms of the Treaty of London. This note was underestimated by the government, which confirmed its intention to keep Edirne. Said Halim Pasha cabinet completely rejected the note on 11 August 1913. In fact, during that period, the cabinet showed firm determination to retain Edirne and obtained the result desired. At the end of August, the great powers advised Bulgaria

²⁷³ Serge Sazonov, *Fateful Years, 1909-1916*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927), pp. 99-100; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 416-17, 448; *British Documents On Origins Of The War, 1898-1914*, (Ed. By G. P. Gooch, [at. al]), Vol.IX, Chapter 2, (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1934), No.1174.

²⁷⁴ Sazonov, *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100; *British Documents..*, No.1174, 1175, 1248.

to start peace negotiations with the Ottoman government to save its army from complete destruction. The Bulgarian government therefore sent a delegation to Istanbul on 3 September 1913 to commence direct negotiations with the empire. Ultimately, the government signed the Istanbul Treaty with Bulgaria on 29 September 1913. In accordance with this treaty, Edirne, Kırklareli and Dimetoka were left to the Ottoman Empire and the Meriç River was accepted as the border between the two states. Dedeğaç and Western Thrace were ceded to Bulgaria.²⁷⁵

Due to the success in recapturing of Edirne, Said Halim Pasha was awarded with Jewelled Order (*Murassa İmtiyaz Nişanı*) on 26 November 1913. Sultan Mehmet Reşat himself wore this Order on Said Halim in a special ceremony.²⁷⁶

3.3.2. Issue of the Aegean Islands

Italy, which occupied the Aegean islands during the Tripoli War in 1911-12, agreed to give these islands to the Ottoman Empire with the Treaty of Uşi on 18 October 1912. However, the Ottoman government faced the attacks of the Balkan states during this period. A few days after the agreement with Italy, Greece, was eager to take the Aegean islands under its domination, occupied the Lemnos Island on 21 October. From this date until 24 November 1912, Greece started to occupy many islands such as Gökçeada, Taşoz, Semendere, İpsara, Bozcaada, Nikarya, Midilli and Sakız. Mentioned islands, which had been under Ottoman rule for centuries, were under Greek occupation within a month.²⁷⁷ The Ottoman and Greek navies fought against each other on 16 December 1912 and 18 January 1913 for the mentioned islands. However, the Ottoman navy was defeated by the Greeks. The great powers, who witnessed the weakness of the Ottoman Empire against the occupation of the Aegean islands, sent a note dated 17 January 1913 clearly asking from the empire to

²⁷⁵ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, pp. 416-17, 448, 484-91; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, p. 184; *British Documents...*, No. 1254, 1258.

²⁷⁶ B.O.A., İ.MBH., 13/102; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-1,11; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 110; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1896.

²⁷⁷ Bilal Şimşir, *Ege Sorunu - Belgeler, Vol.I (1912-1913)*, (Ankara: TTK, 1989), pp. LIII-LIV; Şimşir, *Ege Sorunu - Belgeler, Vol.II, (1913-1914)*, (Ankara: TTK, 1989), p. XVIII.

give the authority to them so as decide on the future of the Aegean islands. Thus, the Ottoman government accepted to leave the future of the Aegean islands to the decision of the great powers in the Treaty of London signed between the Balkan states and the Ottoman Empire on 30 May 1913.²⁷⁸

In February 1914, the representatives of great powers carried out long negotiations about the islands in a conference in London, and eventually they declared that they agreed to leave all Aegean islands, which had been occupied by the Greek navy, to Greece except of Gökçeada, Bozcaada and Meis islands with a note dated 13 February 1914.²⁷⁹

The Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Said Halim Pasha welcomed to be ceded back of Gökçeada, Bozcaada and Meis islands in the note he gave to the great powers on 16 February 1914, and stated that he would make efforts to have his rightful and legitimate demands accepted for the other islands.²⁸⁰ In addition, Said Halim Pasha sent a circular to Tevfik Pasha, Ambassador of London, on 21 February 1914, informing that the government had decided to discuss the Aegean Islands issue directly with Greece and requested not to take any action in this regard.²⁸¹

Said Halim immediately got in contact with M. Panas, the Greek Ambassador of Istanbul, on 24 February and told him that the government had decided to deal with the Aegean islands issue with the Greek government without intermediary states. In this period, M. Panas did not look very warmly to Said Halim's offer and he expressed that he had no authority to enter any negotiations on this issue. The ambassador also emphasized that the islands issue had been solved by the great powers. Even he did not desire the Aegean Islands issue to come to the fore again.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 461, 651-654; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/2, p. 313.

²⁷⁹ Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vo.II, pp. 392-394; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁸⁰ Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/3, p. 249; Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 402.

²⁸¹ Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 418.

²⁸² Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 427-428; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/3, p. 249.

However, when the Austrian Crown Prince was shot in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, Greece's ally Serbia was faced with war. In this case, it was impossible to support Greece. Feeling himself lonely in the region, on 12 July 1914, Greek Prime Minister Venizelos (1864-1936) decided to discuss the island issue with the Ottoman government in Brussels. However, with the effect of the political and military conflicts in Europe, Said Halim delayed his meeting with Venizelos in order to gain time and reach an agreement on the islands in favour of the empire.²⁸³

The negotiations between Said Halim Pasha and Venizelos had been planned to be held in Brussels and for the end of July in 1914 but this meeting could not hold at the appointed place and time. Indeed, Venizelos was so eager to talk with Said Halim about Aegean islands; therefore, he stated that the negotiations should not be postponed further. Said Halim Pasha stated that he could not leave Istanbul due to his excessive busyness. Eventually, Venizelos and Said Halim Pasha agreed that Turkish and Greek delegates negotiated in Bucharest and in his telegram dated on 11 August 1914, Said Halim Pasha informed Galip Kemali (Söyemzoğlu) Bey (1873-1960), Ottoman Ambassador of Athens, about the demands of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, he demanded to be ceded the islands of Lemnos, Midlli, Sakız and Sisam to the Ottoman rule. Furthermore, the Ottoman government would give independence to mentioned islands and would appoint a Christian governor to administrate.²⁸⁴

After mid-August 1914, negotiations between Turkish and Greek representatives had begun in Bucharest. Talat Pasha, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and Halil (Menteşe) Bey, the President of the Ottoman Parliament, represented the Ottoman government in the meetings. Greece was represented by Alexandre Zaimis, Ex-Prime Minister, and Nikolas Politis, General Secretary of Foreign Ministry. However, no results were obtained from the negotiations. Said Halim Pasha considered the proposals of Greece, which did not intend to make concessions, insufficient; therefore, he

²⁸³ Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/3, pp. 269-272; Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 578, 590-592; Eşref Edib, *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁸⁴ Şimşir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 607, 610-612.

informed Halil Bey that the negotiations would be delayed. On 10 September 1914, the Turkish and Greek delegates met for the last time and postponed the talks indefinitely.²⁸⁵

3.3.3. Changes in the Government

Said Halim Pasha was elected as the chairman of the CUP at the congress of 1913. However, on 19 October 1913, Pasha left his presidency to Talat Pasha under the name of deputy general.²⁸⁶

After the recapture of Edirne, the prominent members of the Cup tried to take over the army completely by retiring some old officers. The Cup was considering Enver Pasha or Cemal Pasha for the Ministry of War, but their ranks was not sufficient to be appointed to this office. For this reason, the Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha, and the Minister of the Navy Çürüksulu Mahmut Pasha prepared an interim law. According to this law, one or two years would be added to ranks of the army-navy officers, who showed heroism and made self-sacrifice in the Tripoli and Balkan wars; and three years for those who achieved outstanding success in the mentioned wars. Sultan Mehmet Reşad approved the law on 2 November 1913. In this way, Enver Pasha was promoted to the rank of colonel (*miralay*) on 18 December 1913.²⁸⁷ With a memorandum dated 21 December 1913, he was also promoted to the rank of brigadier (*mirliva*) by rising one more level due to his overachievement in the Balkan wars. Eventually, upon the suggestion of Said Halim Pasha, Enver Pasha was appointed as Minister of War on 4 January 1914 and the Chief of General Staff on 8

²⁸⁵ Şimşir, Ibid., Vol.II, pp. 614, 615-620; Bostan, Ibid., p. 40; Halil Menteşe, *Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi Reisi Halil Menteşe'nin Anıları*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1986), pp. 220-211.

²⁸⁶ Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, Ibid., p. 177; Esatlı, Ibid., p. 268; Vardar, Ibid., p. 116; Tunaya, Ibid., Vol.III, p. 205.

²⁸⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1631, 22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1329[4 November 1913], p. 2; *Düstur* (Tertib-i Sani), Vol.V, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1332), p. 864; Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Makedonya'dan Ortaasya'ya: Enver Paşa*, Vol.II, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet, 1998), p. 430.

January 1914.²⁸⁸ In addition to these, Cemal Pasha, who had been appointed as the deputy to the Ministry of Public Works on 19 November 1913, was also promoted to the rank of brigadier on 5 January 1914. He was eventually nominated to the Ministry of the Navy on 11 March 1914: instead of Çürüksulu Mahmut Pasha. On the same day, the Sultan appointed Çürüksulu Mahmut Pasha as the Ministry of Public Works.²⁸⁹

Another important change in the cabinet happened in the Ministry of Finance. Said Halim Pasha entrusted Cavit Bey as the Minister of Finance on 10 March 1914, upon the resignation of the Minister of Finance Rıfat Bey. Since Cavit Bey had been abroad, Talat Pasha carried this duty by proxy until he came to Istanbul. Moreover, Mustafa Hayri Efendi was appointed as Şeyhulislam on 16 March 1914 instead of Şeyhulislam Esad Efendi, who had resigned from his post.²⁹⁰

After Enver Pasha and Cemal Pasha assumed the offices of War and the Navy, they retired many generals, senior officers, and subordinate officers in order to rejuvenate the army. Among those who were retired, there were those who did not serve the Constitutional Monarchy, those who openly opposed the CUP, and those who did not have enough military capabilities. Elderly officers constituted the majority of those who were retired.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/92; B.O.A., İ.HB., 149/13; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218; Vardar, *Ibid.*, p. 325; Aydemir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 430; Kutay, *Türkiye İstiklal ve...*, p. 10048. Also See M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Enver Paşa”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.11, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), p. 262.

²⁸⁹ B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/96; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1672, 6 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329[19 November 1913], p. 1; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1689, 23 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329[5 January 1914], p. 1; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1753, 26 Şubat 1329[11 March 1914], p. 1; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 99; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 111; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²⁹⁰ B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 8/95; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, (Prep. By Hasan Babacan and Servet Aşar), (Ankara: TTK, 2015), p. 604; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 43; Müftizade, “İstanbul Medreseleri”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XXI, No: 542-543, 5 Temmuz 1339[5 July 1923], p. 176.

²⁹¹ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 111; Vardar, *Ibid.*, pp. 326-19; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

3.4. The Role of Said Halim Pasha in the First World War

3.4.1. The Ottoman-German Alliance (August 2, 1914)

The Ottoman government had unofficially suggested making alliance to German government during the Balkan Wars, at the end of 1913, but Germans had not shown an interest in forming alliance in that period and they preferred to delay the offer of alliance. Germany had not turned to an alliance with the Ottoman Empire because of its strengthless and failure in the Balkan Wars. In that period, the Germans most probably realized that a weak empire would not be a support for Germany, but a clear burden on its shoulders. However, the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by a Serbian in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. The political horizons were covered with dark and dangerous clouds after this assassination, which foreshadowed a great war in Europe. The relations between the Allied powers (Britain-France-Russia) and the Triple Alliance (Germany-Austria-Hungarian-Italy) had already become tense due to the political and financial and military antagonism. In contrast with the politics of Russia, Germany and Austria were trying to take support of the Balkan states by gaining over Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria.²⁹²

Due to its isolation, the Ottoman Empire was left out of the two sides that represented almost all of Europe. To get rid of this situation, the empire had to join in one of the mentioned sides. However, there was no complete consensus on finding allies in the cabinet. Most of the ministers in the cabinet of Said Halim Pasha took a stance on the side of the Allied powers. Therefore, the government initially attempted to form an alliance with Britain and France; in that regard, Cemal Pasha assigned to meet the French government. The Ottoman government instructed him that he would demand the territorial integrity, the abolition of the capitulations and the return of the Aegean islands to the empire. On the other hand, Cemal Pasha could not find a serious interlocutor in France to explain the instructions of the

²⁹² David Fromkin, *Europe's Last Summer: Who Started the Great War in 1914?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), pp. 118-128; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, pp. 516-517; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

government. By using a very polite language Monsieur Viviani, the French Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, told Cemal Pasha that he was very busy, and he could meet with Monsieur de Margerie, the director of political affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁹³ The fact that the French Prime Minister did not allocate time for Cemal Pasha meant that the Ottoman Empire was of no importance for France. The negotiations with Monsieur Margerie did not come to fruition.

Britain, which did not take kindly to the offers of the Ottoman Empire to form alliance, expected the Ottomans to remain completely neutral in the war. Moreover, the seizure of the dreadnoughts of Reşadiye (ordered in 1911) and Sultan Osman (ordered 1913) by the British authorities despite being paid their costs, paved the way for both the Said Halim Pasha government and the Ottoman public opinion to move away from the Allied powers and get closer to the Triple Alliance. Mentioned war ships were purchased with money collected by donations from the people throughout the empire to ensure Ottoman naval supremacy over Greece in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean and to secure the return of the Aegean islands on the Ottoman coast. The Ministry of British Navy feared that especially Sultan Osman, equipped with very powerful and highly modern equipment, would pose a danger to the British navy if it were included in the Ottoman navy and was transferred to the Germans. For this reason, the British Foreign Office advised Winston Churchill (1874-1965), Minister of the Navy, to seize the ship before the Ottoman crew took over, even after the final payment was made. Upon the warnings, the Ministry of the Navy decided to seize the ships on 28 July 1914 and published the decision a day later.²⁹⁴

The cabinet of Said Halim Pasha naturally objected to the situation and demanded the refund of the amount paid. However, the authorities in London, through Tefvik Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador in London, announced that they would neither pay any money nor deliver the ships until the war was over. In addition to this, they

²⁹³ Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 124-128; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, pp. 551-558; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, p. 234.

²⁹⁴ Stanford J. Shaw, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Savaşa Giriş*, (Ankara: TTK, 2014), pp. 545, 547.

emphasized that even the refund and the delivery of the ships depended on the Ottoman Empire's remaining neutral in the war and not helping Germany and Austria-Hungary.²⁹⁵ Even though, this event did not completely break the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, it damaged it a lot. Said Halim Pasha and his cabinet was now convinced that an alliance with the British was very difficult. As a result of these developments, the Unionists sought to use the media to turn Ottoman public opinion against Britain, and they succeeded.²⁹⁶

Because of its isolation, Said Halim Pasha affirmed that Turkey was excluded from the two parties representing almost all of Europe. It had to join one of them. He also realized that it was not possible to join the Allied Powers due to the distance of Britain and France and the existence of Russia, which was considered as the most hated enemy by the Ottomans. In this case, there was only one option left: to be a part of the Triple Alliance. Said Halim believed that “Germany was increasingly concerned with the fate of the Ottoman Empire and that its interests lay in maintaining the integrity of the Empire, not in its disintegration.”²⁹⁷ To be more precise, like the members of the CUP, Said Halim also looked for a protector rather than an ally because he was aware of the fact that a possible great war would result in devastating effects for the empire; even if it would not be involved in. Under these

²⁹⁵ Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 548. The Ottoman people reacted strongly to that event. Crowds of protesters marched to the British embassy in Istanbul and showed their anger by throwing garbage through its railings. British citizens were subjected to harassment and occasional attacks. British commercial foundations were plundered in Izmir. For detailed account of the events, See Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 548.

²⁹⁶ Mehmed Selahaddin, *Bildiklerim - İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Maksad-ı Tesisi ve Suret-i Teşekkülü ve Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye'nin Sebeb-i Felaket ve İnkısamı*, (Kahire: Emin Hindiye Matbaası, 1334[1918]), pp. 99-100.

²⁹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı*, (Prep. by Fatih Yücel), (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2019), pp. 14-15. In fact, Germany did not have a policy that would disrupt the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire or weaken it during this period. In any case, Germany's geographical position and its naval power were not suitable for capturing the Ottoman Empire as a colony. Germany considered the Ottoman Empire as a connection point with the East. The Ottoman Empire had to become strong for the interests of Germany. Therefore, it was the main aim of Germany to maintain the independence of the Ottoman Empire to consolidate Germany's economic and political situation. See Erol Ulubelen, *İngiliz Belgelerinde Türkiye*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2006), pp. 165-6; Jean Pichon, *Cihan Harbinin Şarka Ait Kaynakları*, (Trans. By Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın), (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1939), pp. 175-176; Rosa Luxemburg, “Alman Emperyalizminin Harekat Alanı: Türkiye”, *Berlin-Bağdat Alman Emperyalizminin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, (Ed. By Lothar Rathmann), (Trans. By Ragıp Zarakolu), (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1982), p. 157.

conditions, the Ottoman government had no choice but to get closer to Germany and in a meeting with Wangenheim, the German Ambassador in Istanbul, Said Halim Pasha repeated the empires' offer to form an alliance with Germany. The Ambassador replied that a possible alliance with the Ottoman government was compatible with his opinion, but that his government was not in favour of such an idea. However, he added that he would recommend this to his government on all occasions.

Germany initially distanced itself from the alliance, but the political and military conditions changed after June of 1914. Then, Germans as well started to consider making alliance with the Ottoman Empire necessary and compatible with their interests.²⁹⁸ Therefore, Wangenheim reported on 22 July 1914 that German government assigned him to make an alliance agreement with the Ottoman Empire on equal terms. A treaty, especially on equal terms seemed very suitable with the political and military interests of the empire. Due to the threat of Tsarist Russia to destroy the Ottoman Empire and the imperialist approaches of Britain and France against the empire, the government of Said Halim Pasha reacted to the Germany's offer positively. According to him, an alliance with Germany was indeed the most desirable thing for the Ottoman and "in the political atmosphere created by the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, rejecting Germany's offer of alliance would ultimately be an irritating and at the same time an irreparable mistake for Turkey (the Ottoman Empire)."²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ In fact, the rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and Germany began during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II. Until the outbreak of World War I, Germany strengthened its relations with the Ottoman Empire through the construction of railroads and financial aid on the one hand, and the reorganization of the Ottoman army on the other. In the end, although Germany failed during the reign of Abdülhamit II, it did succeed in penetrating the political and military spheres of the Ottoman Empire during the Second Constitutional Monarchy period. The developments following the assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary in Sarajevo paved the way for the emergence of a general belligerency in Europe. The Ottoman Empire, which did not want to be alone in the international arena and whose alliance attempts with Britain and France failed, tightened its relations with Germany and tried to accelerate the alliance process. For detailed information See Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95-96.

²⁹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 14-17; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, pp. 632-633; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 134-136. Before the Wangenheim's official proposal, Said Halim Pasha had requested a permission from Sultan Mehmet Reşat in order to form an alliance with Germany. On 18 July 1914, the Sultan authorized Said Halim Pasha so as to make a defense agreement with Germany against a possible attack by Russia. See Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 16; Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 651. "*Rusya Devleti'nin*

Fuat Türkgeldi narrated Said Halim's attitude towards the Ottoman-German alliance that “*Despite the defeats we faced, could not succeed even though we applied to all sides to find an ally, and even applied to the Greece. Now an opportunity arose to be involved in the Triple Alliance. This will save the future of the state.*”³⁰⁰

In this regard, Talat Pasha commented the situation:

“*The Grand Vizier (Said Halim Pasha) asked our opinions about the treaty offer of Germany. We all shared the common opinion that to preserve its existence, it was necessary for Turkey (the Ottoman Empire) to make an agreement with such a European state. Turkey (the Ottoman Empire) could only ensure its existence and development with the help of a state which was so advanced in terms of science, art, industry, and trade. ... Our thoughts were that a general war would not break out and that once we concluded this treaty, we will be protecting our state from all kinds of dangers.*”³⁰¹

Furthermore, when Halil Bey, the President of the Ottoman Parliament, was informed about the alliance, he explained his thoughts to Said Halim Pasha as follows: “*Since all our attempts to form an alliance with the British and the French were unsuccessful, if you succeed in making a defensive alliance with Germany purely against Russia, you would serve the country.*”³⁰² Believing that the Ottoman Empire's lost places in the Balkan Wars would be regained, Enver Pasha insisted on making an alliance with Germany the most. The Germans also knew how dominant Enver Pasha was in the government. For this reason, they were writing *Enverland*

tecavüzat-ı muhtemelesine karşı Almanya ile tedafüü bir ittifak akdine, Sadrazam ve Hariciye Nazırı Mehmed Said Paşa mezundur, 18 July 1914.” See Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz...*, p. 424. Bayur indicated the date of this permission as 12 July 1914. See Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, p. 632. A. Fuat Türkgeldi did not give an exact date but he just mentioned a day in the month of Ramadan. See Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 114. It looks like that Said Halim was expecting to receive an offer from Germans this time, or he would officially ask them to conclude an agreement.

³⁰⁰ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³⁰¹ Talat Paşa, *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, (Prep. By Alpay Kabacalı), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021), pp. 25-26.

³⁰² Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 187.

instead of *Ottoman* on the ammunition boxes sent from Germany to Istanbul.³⁰³ Additionally, Cemal Pasha had also remarked that “he would approve a German-Ottoman agreement that would save Turkey from being alone.”³⁰⁴ The German alliance, which was signed as a result of the dangerous and political and military conditions of the period, was welcomed by the notables of the Unionists, especially Said Halim Pasha. As can be seen from the above statements, they considered the outbreak of a general war affecting the whole world as a very remote possibility. Therefore, they accepted Germany’s offer with a clear conscience. In addition, German Empire had been acquiring railway concessions for years and did not want to leave them in the hands of the British or the French. The Ottoman Empire was a very suitable bridge for Germans to compete with the British in the Far East. In addition, the Ottoman Empire’s involvement in the war would lighten Germany’s war burden, which was spread over a wide geographical area during the First World War. The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, did not want to remain isolated in the international arena on the eve of an all-out war and was looking for a protecting power to protect it. For the Ottoman Empire, to be neutral was to be eliminated. Especially statesmen such as Said Halim Pasha aimed to gain the support of a state that would protect it in the international arena without entering the war. As it is seen that alliance with Germany was not a choice for the Ottoman cabinet, it was about necessity.

Said Halim Pasha wanted to carry out the negotiations personally. He probably took into account that the leading members of the CUP had no experience in governing the state and were ignorant of the finesse of diplomacy and politics. Then, he immediately started official talks with Ambassador Wangenheim on 27 July 1914. Meanwhile, the cabinet members except for the Grand Vizier, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha and Halil (Menteşe) Bey, the President of the Ottoman Parliament, did not know the alliance attempts. Cemal Pasha, Cavit Bey and Şeyhulislam Mustafa Hayri

³⁰³ Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerimiz ve Geçirdiklerimiz, Vol.I*, (Prep. By Erol Şadi Erdinç), (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş., 1997), pp. 253-254.

³⁰⁴ Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Efendi were informed about the developments after the treaty had been signed.³⁰⁵ It was decided on 1 August for the mutual signatures for the treaty. However, the final draft of the treaty had a few spelling errors, so the signature was left for the next day. Thus, the alliance agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Germany was signed by Said Halim Pasha and Wangenheim at Said Halim's Mansion on 2 August 1914, when Germany declared war on Russia. The important articles of this agreement were as follows: “1) The parties would undertake full neutrality in the war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. 2) If Russia actually intervened against Austria-Hungary, and thus Germany had to enter the war, then it would also constitute a reason for the Ottoman Empire to enter the war. 3) If the war broke out, Germany would leave its military delegation under the command of the Ottoman Empire. The empire would provide this military delegation with a de facto influence in the administration of the army, as was agreed directly between His Excellency the Minister of War (Enver Pasha) and His Excellency the Head of the Military Committee (Liman Von Sanders). 4) Germany would undertake to defend with arms if the Ottoman lands were threatened. 5) The treaty would enter into force as soon as it was signed between the parties and would remain in force until 31 December 1914. 6) If one of the parties did not invalidate this agreement before the expiry, the agreement would again remain in force for a period of 5 years. 7) This treaty would be ratified by the Ottoman Sultan and the German Emperor within one month after its signature. 8) This agreement would be kept confidential and could only be announced with the consent of both parties.”³⁰⁶ In terms of the stance of the Ottoman Empire, the agreement seemed not an offensive; contrarily, a defensive alliance formed to protect itself against possible Russian attack. Said Halim Pasha and other members did not consider that this alliance would drag the empire into war. Further, for Said Halim Pasha, it did not matter if the peace continued, or a war broke out in

³⁰⁵ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 26; Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 187; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 613-614; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, p. 629; Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi*, (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1981), p. 409.

³⁰⁶ Ulrich Trumppener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire 1914-1918*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1968), pp. 23-24; Rifat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih: 1789-2014*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2005), pp. 464-65; Kazım Karabekir, *Birinci Cihan Harbi (Birinci Cihan Harbine Neden Girdik)*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1994), pp. 69-76; İhsan Sabis, *Harb Hatıralarım*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1990), pp. 106-07; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, pp. 642-643; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 614; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231; Rathman, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the future, because the Ottoman Empire had ended its loneliness. Therefore, the alliance with Germany was of great importance for the empire.³⁰⁷

The first two articles of the treaty clearly show that the text of the treaty had been prepared before the German-Russian war broke out; however, it was signed without any changes after the war started. A question arose here: Did the Ottoman statesmen know about the declaration of the German-Russian war at the time of the signing of this treaty? Germany's declaration of war on Russia was made on 1 August 1914 towards evening. The Ottoman-German treaty was concluded on 2 August before noon; that is, 16-17 hours after the declaration of war.³⁰⁸ In respect thereof, Said Halim Pasha affirmed in his interrogation in the Ottoman Parliament that:

*“Yes, sir; (the treaty) is before the mobilization and the basis of the negotiation is elder. We heard the announcement of the war either on the first or the second day of August. Therefore, this alliance was not made to lead us to the war, as is supposed.”*³⁰⁹

Talat Pasha also said in his memoirs that the treaty was concluded before the Germans' declaration of war against the Tsarist Russia: He wrote about the issue that *“the treaty eventually took a definite shape and was signed by the Grand Vizier and Wangenheim. Likewise, an agreement was made with the Austrian ambassador. Shortly after that, war broke out between Germany and Russia.”*³¹⁰

However, the statements of Cavid Bey and Halil Bey indicated the opposite. On the signing day, Cavid Bey, who went to Sait Halim Pasha's mansion to sign draft of a law, gathered in a room with Said Halim, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha and Halil Bey, and the Grand Vizier had him read the text of the treaty without saying anything. After explaining these, Cavit Bey made the following statement in his memoirs:

³⁰⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 17-18.

³⁰⁸ Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, p. 644.

³⁰⁹ “Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”, *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, (İstanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1933), pp. 254-255; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşaların kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali'ye sevkleri...*, p. 12.

³¹⁰ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

“After reading this, they asked about my opinion. I said that what I read aroused great astonishment in me, that I was hesitant, and that I could not give a vote on such an important issue so quickly. I implied that I was not at all satisfied with what had been done. Other friends were also happy. We were allied with the great state! Meanwhile, one of our friends turned to me and said: ‘If such an alliance were offered before the war, would you hesitate to accept it? And since you would not have hesitated then, there is no harm in accepting it now.’ In response, I said that there are difference between the time before and after the war, and that if such an offer was made even before the general war, I would not recklessly accept an agreement that would attach us to solely the German government.”³¹¹

The statements of Cavit Bey show that Said Halim, Enver, Talat Pashas and Halil Bey knew that the war between Germany and Russia had started when the Ottoman-German treaty of alliance was signed. This was also confirmed by the memories of Halil Bey. In respect thereof, he narrated that *“after the signing of the treaty, Weber, the Chief Translator of the Embassy, who came with the German Ambassador, said, Since the emperor had declared war, you got rid of your commitment.”³¹²*

To put it more precisely, he wanted to explain that the Ottoman Empire was not obliged to participate in the war. Since the declaration of war had been made by Germany, it meant that, according to the defence treaty, the empire was not required to participate in the war.

According to the accounts given by Cavit and Halil Beys, it is certain that the four Ottoman statesmen who signed the treaty were informed about the war between Germany and Russia at the time of the Ottoman-German alliance. It is certain that mentioned alliance was concluded at a time when it would be beneficial for Germany and harmful for the Ottoman Empire. What were the motives that pushed Said Halim Pasha and other statesmen to sign deliberately the alliance treaty despite German declaration of war against Russia? The first one would be getting rid of isolation in the international arena. As mentioned above, the government of Said Halim Pasha

³¹¹ Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, pp. 614-615. Also See “Cavit Bey’in İsticvabı”, pp. 21-22.

³¹² Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 187.

was in search of a strong European ally which would protect the empire from disintegration against the other great powers. It should be remembered that Said Halim Pasha had believed that Germany's offer to ally "would save the future of the Ottoman Empire." For this reason, the issue of alliance should be evaluated in terms of the psychology of the Ottoman authorities and the conditions of the period. When Said Halim and the prominent Unionists, who had seen the possibility of a great war as far away, realized that the war was at the door, they focused only finding a European state that would defend the empire (at a time when Britain and France did not care). Another reason pushing for an alliance with Germany despite the declaration of war was the obligation of the empire to be involved in the war only in the face of an attack by Russia, in accordance with article 3. The Ottoman authorities probably thought that the declaration of war had been made by Germany; in that case, they did not have to go to war.

On the night of 2-3 August 1914, Enver Pasha, Cemal Pasha, Talat Pasha, Cavit and Halil Bey gathered at Said Halim Pasha's mansion and took the decision of general mobilization, taking into consideration the political and military tensions between the European powers. On 2 August 1914, the government suspended the parliament indefinitely and set to work for some military preparations.³¹³ This meant that the government of Said Halim Pasha began to implement armed neutrality. After the alliance treaty, British Ambassador Louis du Pan Mallet and French Ambassador Louis Maurice Bompard, who visited Said Halim Pasha on 3-4 August 1914, reported that their governments were in hostility with Germany and Austria-Hungary and asked about the attitude of the Ottoman government. Thereupon, he told them that the Ottoman government had decided to maintain complete neutrality.³¹⁴ However, just a few days after the signing of the treaty, the German and Austro-Hungarian ambassadors asked the Grand Vizier to declare war on Russia. He replied that this was out of the question and the mobilization had just started. On the pretext of the vastness of the territory of the country and the transportation difficulties, he

³¹³ Trumpener, *Ibid.*, p. 23; Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 178; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II. p. 615; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 142; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, p. 647.

³¹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 18.

explained that it took a long time to complete the mobilization and as a result, *the Ottoman government had to strictly maintain its neutrality until then*. He thought that treaty with Germany was not of such a nature as to require the empire to enter the war. In addition, Said Halim Pasha paid attention that the attitudes of Bulgaria and Romania in the event of the Ottoman Empire's inclusion in the war concerned both themselves and the empire. Accordingly, without being sure of them, he warned Germany and Austria-Hungary that the participation of the Ottomans in the war would be against the interests of all parties.³¹⁵

The cabinet of Said Halim Pasha decided to send Talat Pasha and Halil Bey to Sofia to negotiate with Bulgarians on 15 August. The Bulgarian authorities said that if Bulgaria attacked Serbia, they would face the danger of Romania, and that unless Romania guaranteed complete and absolute neutrality, they could not put their neutrality at risk. The Ottoman representatives could not make Romania accept the demands of Bulgaria and they returned without any agreement.³¹⁶

The general mobilization of the Ottoman Empire also alarmed Russia. Upon the mobilization decision of the Ottoman army, Mikhail Nikolayevich Giers, the Russian Ambassador in Istanbul, sent a confidential telegram to Serge Sazonov, the Foreign Minister of Russia, regarding the situation in Istanbul. Giers reported that he had sent General Maksim N. Leontyev, the Russian Military Attache in Istanbul, to meet with Enver Pasha, Minister of War, on 5 August 1914. Enver Pasha had met with General without informing any member of the government and told to him that the mobilization of the Ottoman army was never against Russia, and that the Ottomans were ready to withdraw some troops from the 9th and 11th Corps at the Caucasus border if it would be compatible with the interests of Russia and it would make it relief in terms of the Caucasus border. Enver Pasha had also added that the Ottoman Empire was not dependent on anyone and would act in accordance with its own interests. Furthermore, he had mentioned that if Russia demanded to use the Ottoman

³¹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 18-19; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 26; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 256.

³¹⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 20; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 29; Halil Mentеше, *Ibid.*, p. 210; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II. p. 620; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 289-291.

army for its own purposes, it would be possible. In return for this, Enver Pasha had demanded some concessions in the Aegean Islands and Western Thrace.³¹⁷

On the same day, in the second secret telegram sent to Sazonov, Giers narrated another meeting between General Leontyev and Enver Pasha. According to telegram, the General had expressed he was astonished that the officers of the German military delegation remained in the Ottoman army. Thereupon, Enver Pasha had said that he did not hold them by force, but that there was no concrete reason to ask them to leave before the political situation became clear. Enver Pasha had undoubtedly known that the German government aimed to pull the Ottoman Empire towards its axis by keeping its officers in the Ottoman army. Enver Pasha had strictly emphasized that the empire would act only by considering its own interests.³¹⁸

Giers deemed Enver Pasha's attitude was significant. He was conscious of the need to have friendly relations with the Sublime Porte, especially during war because the empire controlled the Straits, which was very strategically important to Russia. Therefore, he drew Sazonov's attention to the fateful consequences of pushing the Porte into the arms of the German Empire.³¹⁹ Nevertheless, Sazonov ignored Giers's warnings because he did not want to form an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. In his telegram sent to Giers on 15 August 1914, he stated that Russia could guarantee the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire if the Sublime Porte admitted demobilizing its army and abolished all economic, railway and other concessions of Germany in Anatolia.³²⁰ Apparently, Sazonov's offers were not acceptable to the Ottoman government. Since he was not inclined to make an alliance with the Ottoman government, he might have deliberately imposed heavy conditions. The policy of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs was oriented towards saving time

³¹⁷ *Rus Dışışleri Arşivi'nin Gizli Belgelerinde Osmanlı'nın Cihan Harbi'ne Girişi*, (Trans. and Prep. By Azad Ağaoğlu), (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2018), No.628, pp. 27-28.

³¹⁸ *Rus Dışışleri Arşivi'nin...*, No.629, p. 28. Hüsametdin Ertürk claimed that Said Halim Pasha had been informed about the secret meetings of Enver Pasha with Russians. See Ertürk, *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³¹⁹ *Rus Dışışleri Arşivi'nin...*, No.628, 630, 650,652, pp. 27, 30, 32, 27, 37, 39, 55-56.

³²⁰ *Rus Dışışleri Arşivi'nin...*, No.1896, p. 58.

until Russian the Black Sea fleet was to be sufficiently strengthened. After being included in the Ottoman naval forces, *Yavuz* and *Midilli*, better armed than Russian warships, gained superiority to the Ottoman fleet over the Russian one in the Black Sea. The Russian authorities were so anxious about this situation. Sazonov already allowed General Leontyev continued to negotiate with Enver Pasha to gain time, without making any binding statements.³²¹

As for the Ottoman perspective, Enver Pasha's proposals to the Russian Military Attache can be interpreted firstly as a tactical step to conceal the alliance with Germany. Secondly, he might have desired to appease the Russians who were suspicious of mobilization. In other words, Enver Pasha made such suggestions in order to prevent the Russians from a sudden counterattacking by taking advantage of unfinished mobilization of the Ottoman army. The aim was purely to play for time by stalling the Russians. Lastly, Enver Pasha might have intended to decrease increasing German influence in the empire.³²²

3.4.2. The Entry of the Ottoman Empire into the War

Although a very short time had passed since the signing of the alliance, German Ambassador Wangenheim and Austrian Ambassador Marki Pallavicini began to press heavily on Said Halim Pasha to be included the Ottoman Empire, which had not yet completed its mobilization, in the war as soon as possible. Even, Wangenheim one day told Said Halim that if the Ottoman government insisted on remaining neutral, German officers in the Ottoman army would leave the country for Germany. According to him, the German officers did not want to stand by with folded arms there and they desired to fight for their country.³²³ It is probably that the German and Austrian ambassadors were acting by instructions received from their military authorities. On the other hand, the Allied ambassadors did not seem very

³²¹ *Rus Dışişleri Arşivi'nin...*, No.1705, 1873, pp. 34, 54-55; Sazonov, *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

³²² Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.III/1, pp. 35-38.

³²³ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 20-21.

pleased with the situation. They were constantly complaining about the violation of the absolute neutrality they wanted so much.

Despite all these pressures, Said Halim Pasha was not in the mood to join at the beginning of the war, and he was firmly convinced that the empire would maintain its complete neutrality. However, on 10 August 1914, the refuge of German cruisers, *Goeben* and *Breslau*, by escaping from the British Navy in Dardanelles undermined seriously the policy of neutrality followed by Said Halim Pasha. Indeed, these ships could enter straits with the permission of Enver Pasha.³²⁴ This news shocked Said Halim when he heard it because this event, which made him very sad, constituted a situation that violated the empire's impartiality. Moreover, Said Halim, describing the distress caused by these unexpected arrivals of German ships, warned Enver Pasha not to repeat similar events.³²⁵ The Grand Vizier and some ministers believed that *Goben* and *Breslau* had to either leave the Dardanelles within 48 hours or surrender their weapons and weapons, in accordance with the rules of neutrality. This offer greatly angered Wangenheim, and he declared that the Ottoman authorities, as allies, had no right to such behaviour. Finally, upon Halil Bey's proposal, the council of ministers decided that the Ottoman Empire would purchase these two German ships. Upon the approval of the parties, the government declared that the empire bought two battleships for eighty million deutsche marks and included them in the Ottoman navy. The cabinet named *Goeben* as *Yavuz* and named *Breslau* as *Midilli*. Moreover, Admiral Souchon, the commander of the German ships, entered the service of the Ottoman Empire with the title of the first commander of the Ottoman navy.³²⁶

³²⁴ Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, pp. 555-569; Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, p. 98; Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey, A Diplomatic History 1913-1923*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1931), pp. 93-96. Talat Paşa narrated the situation as follows: “*While the Council of Ministers was meeting at Said Halim Pasha's mansion, Enver Pasha, who was a little late, laughed and said that a new child had been born; that is, Goeben had entered the Dardanelles at that moment. The Grand Vizier was very excited. Male servant reported that the German ambassador had arrived shortly after. Until that moment, none of us knew about Goeben's arrival.*” See Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 27. Also See Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³²⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 21; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 254.

³²⁶ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Halil Mentеше, *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 285-86; Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 22-23; Trumpener, *Ibid.*, p. 32; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 618; “Cavit Bey'in İsticvabı”, pp. 27-28; Bleda, *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146, 148.

The news of purchasing aroused the Allied powers, and they again demanded the empire to remain impartial and to remove the German military officers. In addition, on 17 August 1914, the ambassadors of Britain, France and Russia visited Said Halim Pasha and promised that if the Ottoman Empire remained neutral until the end of the war, its territorial integrity would be preserved in return. Thereupon, Said Halim commissioned Cavit Bey to conduct negotiations with the ambassadors. The Ottoman government demanded the territorial integrity, the abolition of the capitulations and the return of the Aegean islands. If the great powers gave their guarantee, the Ottoman Empire would also maintain its neutrality. However, no results were obtained from the negotiations and other contacts.³²⁷

Coming under attack from different fronts in Europe, Germany started to force the Ottoman Empire to enter the war as soon as possible in order to alleviate the war burden. Germans also claimed that the Ottoman Empire predominated the Russia in the Black Sea thanks to the *Yavuz* and *Midilli*; for this reason, they saw no harm immediate entry of the empire in the war. On the other hand, the ambassadors of Allies did not grant the commitment that the Ottomans wanted, but they were pressing the empire for the removal of the German officers from the country. Thereupon, Said Halim Pasha cabinet decided to send Halil Bey and Hafız Hakkı Pasha to Berlin on 22 October 1914 to explain to the Germans that the Ottoman government was not pro-war.³²⁸ It had been planned that Halil Bey would leave for

³²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 23-24; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, pp. 622-623; ‘‘Cavit Bey’in İsticvabı’’, pp. 48-50; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.III/1, pp. 147-149; Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 84; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 254-255; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, pp. 234-240; Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195; Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102. Mehmed Selahaddin Bey said that Said Halim Pasha’s cabinet should had accepted British promises that if the Ottoman Empire remained neutral, they would respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire after the war. Furthermore, according to him, the state had shed enough blood because of the internal events following the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the Balkan Wars. Participating in a war at a time when it could no longer tolerate the bloodshed and when it was impossible for the Ottoman Empire to gain any benefit from it would only cause the needless deaths of millions of people and plunge the state into millions of lira of debt. See Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97, 101-102.

³²⁸ Halil Menteşe *Ibid.*, p. 205; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 30; Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 37; Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 92.

Berlin on 1 November 1914, the second day of Eid. Meanwhile, on 30 October 1914, a day before the Eid, Enver Pasha informed that there was an incident between Russian navy ships and Ottoman ships a few miles offshore the Bosphorus, but he could not get detailed information yet. A few hours later, Cemal Pasha, Minister of Navy, submitted the report of Admiral Souchon about the Black Sea incident to Said Halim Pasha that the Ottoman fleet, including *Yavuz* and *Midilli*, had confronted with Russian fleet, engaging to line mines in entrance of the Bosphorus on 29 October 1914. Admiral Souchon had warned the Russians to withdraw, but they had opened fire to the Ottoman ships. In response to this, with instructions of Admiral Souchon, the Ottoman Navy bombarded Russian coastlines and sank the Russian transport ships in the ports of Sivastopol, Novorossisk and Odessa.³²⁹ Said Halim Pasha complained that he had been not informed about the course of the events and they played with the life of the country. He thought that this case had been intentionally prepared. In fact, Said Halim was again faced with a *fait accompli*, and he claimed that “he could not accept that this unfortunate event would occur without the knowledge of Enver, Cemal and Talat pashas.” Like Said Halim, Cavit Bey also pointed out that “he believed my friends - namely Cemal, Talat and Enver - had known that this event would take place today. Because they did not show any signs of haste and excitement. What they claimed as a remedy was the recall of the ships.”³³⁰

In his memoirs, Cemal Pasha expressed that Enver Pasha had informed him about events of the Black Sea five or six hours ago and he blamed the German Admiral for the incident. Talat Pasha conversely said that none of them knew about the incident,

³²⁹ Trümpener, *Ibid.*, p. 40; Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, pp. 643-644; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.III/1, pp. 238-240; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 360-365; Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 206; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 30; Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 37-38; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, p. 251; Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, p. 98; Ziya Şakir, *Yakın Tarihin Üç Büyük Adamı: Talat, Enver, Cemal Paşalar*, (İstanbul: Akıl Fikir Yayınları, 2011), p. 50.

³³⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 37; “Said Halim Paşa’nın İsticvabı”, p. 249; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 672. According to narration of M. Şükrü Bleda, when Said Halim was informed about the event, he reacted like that “*What a disgrace, how could the Russian coastlines be bombarded without informing me as a grand vizier?*”. See Bleda *Ibid.*, p. 81. “*Said Halim Pasha went to German ambassador Wangenheim and said that he knew nothing about the attack, and that neither the Ottoman government nor he was responsible for it, and that it was the work of only a few tricky deputies.*” See Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 646.

but he, like everyone else, believed that Enver Pasha knew about the incident beforehand. However, he wrote that Enver Pasha took an oath and assured that he was not aware of the incident.³³¹ On the other hand, there were important statements declaring that Enver Pasha was aware of the Black Sea incident and all doubts about the incident were gathered on him.³³² Additionally, although Halil Bey asserted in his memoirs that Enver Pasha was not informed about the incident beforehand, Bülbül wrote that Enver, Talat and Cemal pashas organized the incident in the Black Sea; even, Enver Pasha personally gave the order of attack to Admiral Souchon. His order had been published in the documents section of the 7th issue of the German political journal *Politische Wissenschaft* in 1929. Enver Pasha ordered Souchon “to search for the Russian fleet and to attack it wherever he found it so as to ensure superiority in the Black Sea without waiting for the declaration of war.”³³³

In fact, it is unlikely that Cemal Pasha as the Minister of the Navy, and Talat Pasha, who was the main pillar of the government as Minister of Internal Affairs, were unaware of this event.³³⁴ There is no doubt that the Black Sea incident had made the

³³¹ Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 159-160; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 30. Halil Menteşe, Galip Vardar and Hüsametdin Ertürk claimed that Enver Pasha was not responsible for the Black Sea incident. See Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 208; Vardar, *Ibid.*, p. 359; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³³² “*It is a fact that neither of us was aware of the organization of the evil Black Sea incident that brought us into the war. Of course, we cannot say the same for Enver Pasha. It is certain that he arranged this event. Although he claimed that this fait accompli is beyond his knowledge, we must believe that this is not true.*” See Bleda, *Ibid.*, p. 77. For the similar accounts, See Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 92-94; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 372-374.

³³³ Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 208. “*Donanma Kumandanı Amiral Souchon Cenablarına, Mahrem - “Türk donanması Kardeniz'in bahr-i hakimine sahip olmalıdır. Rus donanmasını arayıp onu nerede bulursanız ilan-ı harb beklemeden zaptediniz.*” Enver. See Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 74; Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 643; Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...*, p. 656. Also See Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 93. On this point, Karl Dönitz stated that it was Admiral Souchon who ordered the attack on Russian bases in the Black Sea, but he did not give any information about whether Souchon acted alone or together with Ottoman statesmen. See Kraus Karl Dönitz, *Şanlı Yavuz and Midilli*, (Trans. by Mehmet Çağrı-Güray Yalavaş), (İstanbul: Demir Yayınları, 1974), p. 118.

³³⁴ Cemal Paşa wrote in draft of his memoirs following statements: “*... At present, thanks to Yavuz and Midilli, we dominate the Russian navy Black Sea. If we wait another six months, we will have completely lost control of the sea, as the Russians will add a dreadnought to their Black Sea navy. Therefore, if we manage to squeeze most of the Russian navy at any point in the Black Sea and eliminate many Russian ships these days, we will maintain the dominance of the Black Sea for a long time.*” See Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 157. The above plan, in which Cemal Pasha's memoirs were drafted, consists precisely of what the Ottoman navy under the command of Admiral Souchon tried to do in Black Sea. Cemal Pasha had wanted to implement this plan around 21-22 October 1914.

war a fait accompli.³³⁵ Another important issue here is that the influence of the German General Staff on the Ottoman army and navy in this period was an undeniable fact. It was uncertain that what extent the Ottoman military authorities acted independently. Of course, Enver Pasha believed that the war would end in a short time and that the Ottoman Empire should enter the war on the side of Germany as soon as possible in order to obtain the war booty it wanted. However, beyond any doubt, the actions of Enver Pasha and some of the other Ottoman military dignitaries were controlled and canalized by German authorities. In this sense, there are statements that prove these claims.³³⁶ Furthermore, In the telegram sent to the Russian Ambassador to Rome by Russian Foreign Ministry, which was captured by the Special Organization (*Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*), there were following expressions:

*“Great Britain, France and our continuous and insistent attempts on the Porte could not be effective, so Turkey fell into the German brigandage. ... But unfortunately, in the early hours of the morning on 29 October 1914, the bombardment of our Odessa and Sevastopol ports by German warships flying the Turkish flag, and the fact that this disastrous assassination was carried out while there was no provocation and friendship continued, dragged Turkey into an endless adventure.”*³³⁷

In addition to this, in the telegram sent to Russian General Staff on 30 October 1914, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov clearly said that “all signs indicate that the attack of Turkish fleet to our ships and shores in the Black Sea was the German

³³⁵ Selahattin Bey argued that since the CUP was condemned to serve Germany’s ambitions and was obliged to act with them at all costs, it was naturally obliged to take part in a war in which Germany was involved. According to him, the alliance between Germany and the CUP was known to the highest members of the organisation and kept secret from the others. Therefore, to enter the war on the side of Germany, the CUP had to leave the state and the nation in the face of a fait accompli. For further information, See Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

³³⁶ In this regard, Cavit Bey said: “Admiral Souchon was implementing only the orders of the German General Headquarters. Our flag on the battleships was nothing but an ornament; the administration, command and command were in the hands of the Germans.” See ‘Cavit Bey’in *İsticvabı*’, p. 30. In addition, Admiral Souchon himself said to Cemal Pasha that he was directly subject to the orders of the German General Headquarters. Later, Cemal Pasha told this to Cavit Bey. See ‘Cavit Bey’in *İsticvabı*’, p. 35. “A German Admiral, who took his orders from the German Emperor and whose name was not even known by our nation, left us in front of a fait accompli.” See Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 258-259.

³³⁷ For all content of the telegram, See Ertürk, *Ibid.*, p. 144-145.

commanders' intrigue.³³⁸ As it is seen that even Russian authorities had been aware that the military positions of the Ottoman Empire came under the influence of Germany. It has now come to light that the Black Sea incident took place on the orders of Enver Pasha as well as on the pressure of the Germans.

It is obvious that Said Halim Pasha was completely ineffective in the Black Sea incident. As the Grand Vizier, the fact that he was unaware of the event, dragging the empire into war is perhaps as terrifying as the state's entry into the war. However, it should not be deduced that he was not a great statesman or a powerful politician. Under the extraordinary conditions of the period and at a time when the military authorities were extremely active, it is natural that Said Halim Pasha could do nothing. Even if there was someone else instead of Said Halim, he would certainly face the same fate. Because this period evolved into a process in which politics and diplomacy were put aside and weapons appeared. In addition, the Unionists tried to manage the empire with their own methods and did not inform the grand vizier of many developments concerning the state. On the contrary, many times they pushed the grand vizier to face fait accompli. For them, it was very important how few people knew about the decisions made and how quickly they acted. As a matter of fact, Said Halim Pasha drew attention to this issue in his interrogation in the Parliament.³³⁹

As a result, the Black Sea incident caused to collapse the policy of armed neutrality that Said Halim had pursued with great difficulty for three months, the most

³³⁸ *Rus Dışişleri Arşivi'nin...*, p. 128.

³³⁹ Said Halim Pasha said that “*Based on my experience today, my belief is that the Grand Viziership - which I have experienced very painfully - cannot do anything. It depends on the mercy of the ministers because the ministers do whatever they want, and the grand vizier is never aware of them.*” See “Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”, pp. 251-252. Liman Von Sanders explained his feelings about Said Halim as follows: “The Grand Vizier Prince Said Halim Pasha, combined the attitude of the Asiatic grand seignior with that of the modern diplomatist. Like all the other ministers he spoke French perfectly and had most engaging manners. This small and very lively gentleman showed himself later every inch a man and frequently and with consummate tact checked extravagant tendencies of the Young Turks until he had to relinquish his post in February 1917. It is hard to understand why in the spring of 1919 the Allied included this highest Turkish dignitary among the personages sent into captivity to Mudros, though he was of moderate views and of irreproachable character. Liman Von Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey*, (Annapolis: The United States Naval Institute, 1927), p. 4.

plausible and yielding very beneficial results. As mentioned before, the developments in the Black Sea took place on the eve of religious feast. Said Halim Pasha, who learned the situation later, did not attend the feast ceremony in the palace on the pretext of his illness³⁴⁰ and decided to resign from the grand viziership.

Thereupon, all the ministers went to his mansion to dissuade him from resigning, and they achieved this. In this regard, Said Halim mentioned that “he resigned, but he did not withdraw because he noticed that after his leaving, the Grand Vizierate would probably not be in competent hands and the country would remain in a more dangerous situation.” For this reason, Said Halim Pasha withdrew his resignation on the condition that these kinds of events not reoccur and try to resolve the incident through peaceful means.³⁴¹

During his inquisition, Said Halim Pasha strictly emphasized that “he was not pro-war” but the conditions pushed the empire into the war. Cavit Bey as well confirmed the explanations of Said Halim in his interrogation. He pointed out that “Said Halim Pasha was as anti-war as he was, if not more than him. He repeated this at every turn.” Another part of his explanation, Cavit Bey expressed that “Grand Vizier told me that entering the war would be a murder and that he would not be a party to this murder.”³⁴² However, Said Halim in his memoirs wrote that “the Ottoman Empire had entered the war because its neutrality would only end with its dismemberment.”

³⁴⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 38; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 116. When Said Halim learned about the incident, he became ill; thus, he sent the following special letter to the Head Clerk of Chief Secretary of the Chamberlain regarding his illness: “*Na-gehan duçar olduğum rahatsızlıktan dolayı bugün hakpa-yı seniyye-i cenab-ı mülikanede arz-ı tebrik ve ruhsal avdiyet zimmında sara-yı hümayuna gelmeyeceğimden böyle mahrumiyet-i azimiyeden fevk'al-ade me'yus ve mükedder olduğumun gayr-i felekmertebe hazret-i hilafet-i penahice arz-ı mütemennadır efendim fi Teşrin-i Evvel 1330 [Ekim 1914] Sadrazam Said Halim*” See B.O.A., HSD., A.F.T.E., 15/322-5.

³⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 38-39; “Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”, pp. 249, 252; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 116; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 29; See Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 109; Mahmud Muhtar, *Ibid.*, p. 251. Mahmut Kemal İnal claimed that Said Halim withdrew his resignation upon the Sultan's insistence. “*Zat-ı şahane, suret-i mahremanede dâvet etdi, gıtdim. Hadiseden ve isti'faden müteessifane bahs ederek 'beni ancak siz tanırırsınız, sizi de ben tanırım. Sizin vücudunuzla müteselli oluyorum. Siz çekilirseniz ben kime söz anlatırım? Böyle vahim bir günde beni, şunun bunun elinde bırakmamanızı, isti'fanızı geri almanızı rica ederim' dedi. Yüzümü öpdü. Padişahın şu kal-u halinden fevkalâde müteessir oldum. Bu iltifat ve itimadı hümayunlarına karşı nefis-i bendegânemi feda etmeğe mecburum dedim ve isti'fadan vaz geçdim.*” See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1898.

³⁴² “Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”, pp. 246-247; Cavit Bey'in İsticvabı”, pp. 45, 64.

Additionally, Fuat Türkgeldi touched on important anecdote about Said Halim's attitude. He narrated that Said Halim said: "*We should have entered the war, but not at the time they (Germans) determined, but at a time we would determine.*"³⁴³ Said Halim's desire to remain impartial does not seem very convincing. He also knew that for the Ottoman Empire had no other choice but to go to war in the end. Because, on the one hand, there was pressure from the Germans, on the other hand, the Allied powers did not give a definite commitment that they would protect the territorial integrity of the empire. There was no way to stay out of the war under these conditions. Said Halim probably wanted to detain both the Germans and the Allies with his discourses of neutrality in order to enter the war as late as possible.

Said Halim Pasha wanted to maintain neutrality of the empire despite the incident in Black Sea; so, he asked Russia to be resolved the incident through peaceful manner. In this respect, Said Halim Pasha met with the Russian Ambassador Giers on 30 October 1914 in his own mansion. In the telegram sent to Sazonov on the same day, Giers narrated the meeting as follows:

*"The Grand Vizier said that he was greatly affected by the attack of the Ottoman navy and that the attack was carried out against the orders of the Sublime Porte. He promised to bring the Germans into line. When I said that I had been ordered to leave the country and had to obey the order, he said that he would contact Petrograd directly in hopes of resolving the issue. I doubt his power, not his goodwill, and I think the fall of both the Grand Vizier and Cavit is not far off."*³⁴⁴

It is obvious that Said Halim might have still thought he could maintain peace and neutrality despite the conflict between the Ottoman and Russian navies, and he was striving for this. In addition, Russian officials were aware that there was no harmony in the Ottoman cabinet and that the Grand Vizier was pushed into loneliness. The ambassador's statements also indicated that Said Halim Pasha was not given the opportunity to put into practice what he wanted to manage the state properly.

³⁴³ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 33; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

³⁴⁴ *Rus Dışişleri Arşivi'nin...*, p. 129.

As an irreparable process was entered, Said Halim's proposals were not received positively by Russia. Despite all the efforts of Said Halim, the reply from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that it was too late for negotiations. The ambassadors of the Allied powers explicitly stated that the continuation of the peace situation depended on the removal of the German military delegation and all the German ships with all their officers from the border. However, Talat Pasha thought that *“it was not within the power of (the Ottoman) government to be able to fulfil this condition.”*³⁴⁵ Accordingly, the British, French, and Russian ambassadors also informed that they received instructions from their governments to return to their countries and demanded their passports from the Ottoman government. On 31 October 1914, the Russian ambassador, and on 1 November, the British and French ambassadors, Mallet and Bompard left Istanbul. It was now certain that the Ottoman Empire was at war with Britain, France, and Russia. Thereupon, Oskan Efendi, Minister of Post and Telegraph, and Süleyman Bostani, Minister of Agriculture and Trade, took an attitude in favour of peace; Çürüksulu Mahmut Pasha, the Minister of Public Works also stated that he had been not informed about important issues and the cabinet members did not trust him. So, these members of the cabinet resigned from their posts. Cavit Bey did not attend the meeting and told Talat Pasha that he would resign.³⁴⁶ Minister of Finance Cavit Bey wrote in his memoirs that after withdrawing his resign, Said Halim Pasha asked him about the possibility of establishing a peace cabinet: Cavit Bey replied:

*“He told him that such a government was not possible for two reasons. First of all, this would require the approval of the CUP's central committee, which was openly pro-war; Secondly, such a cabinet could not have survived without the participation of Enver and Talat.”*³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Talat Paşa, Ibid., p. 31. Also See Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 647.

³⁴⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 38-39; *“Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”*, p. 249; Cavit Bey, *“Birinci Cihan Harbine Türkiye'nin Girmesi, Maliye Nazırı Cavit Bey'in Notları”*, *Tanin*, No.4454-439, 19 November 1944, p. 2, Episode[*Tefrika*] 43; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 673; Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, p. 647; Karabekir, Ibid., Vol.II, p. 372; Ziya Şakir, Ibid., p. 50; Talat Paşa, Ibid., p. 31; Cemal Paşa, Ibid., p. 161-162; Yalman, Ibid., Vol.I, pp. 258-259. On 8 November 1914, Abbas Halim Pasha, the Governor of Bursa and brother of Said Halim Pasha, was appointed as the Minister of Public Works. See Sabis, Ibid., Vol.II, p. 108; Cemal Paşa, Ibid., p. 163.

³⁴⁷ Cavit Bey, *“Birinci Cihan Harbine Türkiye'nin Girmesi, Maliye Nazırı Cavit Bey'in Notları”*, *Tanin*, No.4454-440, 20 November 1944, p. 2, Episode [*Tefrika*] 44; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.II, p. 675.

On 2 November 1914, Russia, and on 5 November, Britain and France declared war on the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government, on the other hand, published the imperial decree about the declaration of war against mentioned powers on 29 October 1914. On the same day, the government also issued a declaration of Sultan Mehmed Reşad addressing the army and the navy.³⁴⁸ The Ottoman Empire fought on seven different fronts in the WWI. It was not successful in the Caucasus, Canal and Palestine fronts located within its borders. Outstanding successes were achieved on the Front of Dardanelles. In addition, great successes were achieved in Kut'ul-Amare in the Front of Iraq.³⁴⁹

3.5. The Issue of the Armenian Relocation

The Armenian relocation was one of the most important implementations of the government of Said Halim Pasha during the WWI. Armenian organizations, such as Dashnaksutyun, Hunchak and Ramgavar Committees considered the WWI as an opportunity for their independence and united at the point of joint action for the establishment of an independent Armenia. They were considering obtaining their independence under the protection of the Allied powers. Before the mobilization of the Ottoman army, the Ottoman government had been informed about the secret correspondence that the Armenians would cooperate with the great powers to ensure their independence. In fact, with the beginning of the war, while the Armenians in Russia took part in the Russian army; some of the Armenians in the Ottoman army also escaped and joined the Russians with their weapons and ammunition, and some

³⁴⁸ Shaw, *Birinci Dünya...*, pp. 656-657; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 260; Sabis, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p. 113-114; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 384, 395-396, 446-450; Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, p. 96. *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.1990, 17 Teşrin-i Evvel 1330 [30 October 1914], p. 1; *Ceride-i İlmiye*, Vol.I, No.7, Muharrem 1333[November-December 1914], pp. 433-436. On 23 November, the Jihad Fatwa was published in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Tatar, and Urdu. See *Ceride-i İlmiye*, pp. 437-453; Karabekir, *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp. 451-464; Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.III/1, pp. 320-324.

³⁴⁹ Ryan Gingeras, *Fall of the Sultanate, The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1922*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 101-249; Joseph Pomiankowski, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Çöküşü*, (Trans. By Kemal Turan) (İstanbul, Kayihan Yayınları, 2014), pp. 63-401. For detailed account of WWI, See Norman Stone, *World War One: A Short History*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008); Dukakinzade Feridun, *Büyük Harb - Türk-Cebheleri*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Askeri Akademiler Kumandanlığı Matbaası, 1927); Bayur, *Ibid.*, Vol.II/4, III/1, Vol.III/4.

of them started harmful actions in the Eastern region of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, they spied for the Russian forces and left the Ottoman army between two fires by destroying the supply and communication routes. In addition, Armenians raided villages in Eastern Anatolia, tortured and massacred Muslim-Turkish people.³⁵⁰ Especially, after the disaster in Sarıkamış in January 1915, the Ottoman Empire felt indefensible through the Eastern region, in which a sizeable Armenian population resided. Hereupon, Enver Pasha had a meeting with Zaven, Armenian Patriarch of İstanbul. Enver Pasha told him that “it was clear from the official reports that the Armenians, who had fled to the countryside with their weapons, attacked the villages and killed the officials while the Ottoman Empire was waiting for their loyalty in this war, and that he should give good advice from now on. Enver Pasha also openly told the Patriarch that if this movement became general, the government would have to take the most severe measures. The Patriarch mentioned that those who attempted to commit these various disgraces were members of the Committee; even, he expounded that he would advise the Armenian people to maintain their loyalty from now on, regardless of the Committee’s actions.”³⁵¹

Despite moderate approach and recommendations of the Ottoman government, immediately after the start of the war, uprisings provoked by the Armenians began in the provinces of Muş, Bitlis and Van. Thereupon, Said Halim Pasha also warned the Armenian Patriarchate, the leaders of the community and the Armenian deputies to give up detrimental movements. However, the Armenians, acting with the incitement the great powers and different Armenian organizations, continued their irritating activities against the empire. As a response to these practices, the government of Said Halim Pasha, issuing a circular on 24 April 1915, decided to close the Armenian committees engaged in harmful activities, to arrest their members and to confiscate their documents. Furthermore, the government decided to collect the weapons of the

³⁵⁰ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermenilerin Sevk ve İskânı (1878-1920)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007), pp. 95-96; Berna Türkdoğan, *1915'ten Günümüze Tehcir*, (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006), pp. 81-82; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.

³⁵¹ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Armenians who cooperated with the mentioned Armenian committees and to send them to the Martial Court.³⁵²

In February-May 1915, Armenians broke out in large revolts in Zeytun, a district of Maraş, and Van. The rebellion started in Van in mid-April 1915 grew and the Armenian rebels captured the city in May. They killed the officers and gendarmes in and around Van, carried out various attacks police stations, post offices and Turkish houses and burned official buildings.³⁵³ For these reasons, on 27 May 1915, Talat Pasha, the Minister of Internal Affairs, submitted a bill to the government asking for legislation of a law to deport the Armenians dwelling in regions contiguous to the battlefields to the other zones of the empire. The areas were located mainly in the eastern and south-eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, the government of Said Halim Pasha officially enacted the law of Dispatch and Resettlement (*Sevk ve İskan*) on 1 June 1915. The visible purpose of the law to restrain the Armenians in the mentioned provinces from collaborating with hostile powers, especially with Russian military forces and undermining the Ottoman military operations. At the bottom of the law, there were the signatures of Sultan Mehmet Reşad, Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha and Minister of War Enver Pasha.³⁵⁴

Armanian Patriarch Zaven visited to Said Halim Pasha to get his assistance in stopping the deportation of his community. During his meeting with the Grand

³⁵² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermenilerin Sevk ve İskânı*, pp. 125-126.

³⁵³ Hikmet Özdemir, “Çatışmalar”, (Ed. by Hikmet Özdemir.), *Türk-Ermeni İhtilafı: Makaleler*, (Ankara: TBMM Yayınları, 2007), pp. 199-202; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri*, (İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2004), pp. 54-56. For detailed account for the rebellion in Van, See Nejat Göyünç, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Emeniler*, (İstanbul: Gültepe Yayınları, 1983), pp. 12-13; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

³⁵⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.2189, 19 Mayıs 1331 [1 June 1915], p. 1; M. Serdar Palabıyık, “Ermeni Sorununa Giriş: Başlangıcından Lozan Antlaşması’na Kadar”, (Comp. By Ömer Engin Lütem), *Ermeni Sorunu: Temel Bilgi ve Belgeler*, (Ankara: Terazi Yayıncılık, 2007), p. 21; Göyünç, *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; Halaçoğlu, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62, 63. Armenians deported from the provinces of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum, were relocated to the southern part of Mosul, Deyr-i Zor and the Sanjak of Urfa, excluding the centre. It was decided that the Armenians sent from Adana, Aleppo and Maraş would be resettled in the eastern part of the Syrian province and the eastern and southeastern parts of the Aleppo province. For detailed information See *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermenilerin Sevk ve İskânı*, pp. 155-157; Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, (İstanbul: Remzi Yayınevi, 2005), pp. 308-309; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Sürgünden Soykırıma Ermeni İddiaları*, (İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2008), p. 36; Göyünç, *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

Vizier, the Patriarch talked about the deplorable condition of the Armenians, who suffered from the difficulties and misery of the relocation and mentioned his grief. He also informed him of the community's anxiety and stated that the Armenians were very discouraged by the recent developments. He complained about that "his people had been scattered in the mountains and the deserts and condemned to die through starvation." In addition, Zaven told Said Halim Pasha that if the empire continued to relocate the Armenians, the community would annihilate. In his response, Said Halim said that he agreed with him on the wretched condition of the Armenian community, but the reason for this situation was the destructive activities of the Armenians against the Ottoman government and the intervention of the great powers acting on their behalf. He also expressed that Armenian population had taken up arms against the Ottoman government despite the empire's project of reforms in the provinces, in which Armenians dwelled. Zaven, although admitting existence of some isolated movements of insurrection, rejected decisively the condemnation of a general uprising against the Ottoman Empire and he stressed that reports being sent to grand vizier were exaggerated and wrong. In his answer to Zaven, Said Halim Pasha stated there were battalions (*taburs*) a regular army formed by Armenians along the entire frontier that was preparing to fight against the Ottoman government by cooperating with the enemy for a long time. Patriarch again told him that more than a million people, including old people, women, and children were annihilated in the deportations. He also expressed that he would personally prefer to the massacres in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, in which at least the lives of women and children were spared. To these condemnations, Said Halim Pasha responded that the Ottoman government had no intention of annihilating the entire Armenian subject of the empire. He stated that the government had to take necessary measures so as to hamper the Armenians rebellious from cooperating with enemy powers. He also added that the Armenian subjects of the empire became the instruments of Russians and the British. Said Halim strictly put emphasis on that "it was a simple precautionary measure (*tedbir*) and not a punishment", (*ceza*). The Grand Vizier clearly stated that the decision of government on the relocation of the Armenians was an irreversible, and this decision was necessary (*zaruri*); nevertheless, he remarked

that helping the migrating people and providing them with comforts were also the government's duty.³⁵⁵

Said Halim Pasha was convinced of the relocation of the Armenian subjects in the empire due to their subversive activities against the Ottoman government. He thought that the government resorted legitimate right against their harmful movements. However, he certainly stressed on that aim of the Ottoman government was not an extermination of the Armenian people. In this respect, during his interrogation, Said Halim Pasha explained that “the deputy commander-in-chief of the army (Enver Pasha) said that there would be a danger to the army in the region where the Armenians were located, and they wanted to transfer them to other parts of the empire.” Additionally, he affirmed that “he did not know that the relocation would give rise to massacres and insisted that bad condition of the Armenians was caused by the mis implementation of the relocation orders.” Interestingly, Said Halim also explained during the same interrogation that “after the massacre of the Armenians, investigation commissions were formed; they carried out their duties well. However, the Minister of Internal Affairs prevented him from realising the results of the investigations to the public despite all his insistence. It became evident that nothing would come out of the mentioned investigations if Talat Pasha remained as the Minister of Internal Affairs.”³⁵⁶ It is obvious that Said Halim Pasha, approving the decision on deportation of the Armenians, obviously held Talat Pasha responsible for exposing them to bad conditions.

The statements of Said Halim Pasha clearly show that Talat Pasha played crucial role in deportation of the Armenian subjects in the empire. However, Talat Pasha in his memoirs confessed that he was against the Dispatch and Resettlement law in 1915. He stated that:

³⁵⁵ Zaven Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, (Trans. from the Armenian by Ared Misirliyan), (Princeton: Mayreni Publishing, 2002), pp. 77-79.

³⁵⁶ “Said Halim Paşa'nın İsticvabı”, pp. 290, 293.

“Thereupon, (revolts of Armenians for independence) a report was prepared at the general headquarters about the deportation of Armenians and submitted to the council of ministers. I was against the full implementation of this law. The gendarmery were completely and the police were partially recruited into the army service and were replaced by militias. I knew that if the migration were done in these roads, there would be very bad results. Therefore, thinking ahead, I insisted that this law not be implemented, and I succeeded in delaying its entry into force.”³⁵⁷

Even though, Talat Pasha insisted that the mentioned law was prepared based on the Armenians’ revolts, the Ottoman army’s difficult situation because of Armenians’ attacks, and the massacres they committed against the Muslim-Turkish people and bad scenes he witnessed through reports, it does not seem very convincing that he was opposed to the law. In addition, stating that “he was against the full implementation of the law” does not mean that he completely rejected the law. Talat Pasha also put the responsibility for the events, which took place during the Armenian deportation, on the militia forces replaced by the gendarmery and the police forces. In this respect, Talat Pasha in his memoirs expressed that it was understood from the official investigation documents and the information given by the eyewitnesses that “some unscrupulous, depraved and niding people wanted to take advantage of the situation personally and were active in committing such murders.” He also added that “the deportation, which was essentially nothing more than a military measure, took the form of a disaster in the hands of unscrupulous and characterless people. It was not his intention to hide these movements. He just wanted to say that it was unfair and arbitrary to blame whole members of the government, the CUP and those, who had nothing to do with, for this incident.”³⁵⁸

So indeed, the cabinet of Said Halim Pasha tried to preserve not only the lives of Armenians but also their estates. For this matter, the government established the Immigrant Commission (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*), the Directorate of Settlement and Immigrants (*İskân-ı Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdüriyeti*), the Abandoned Property Commissions (*Emval-i Metruke Komisyonu*) and some local commissions to protect the property and other belongings of the Armenians. On 29 May 1915, the Ministry

³⁵⁷ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

³⁵⁸ Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

of Internal Affairs decided to meet subsistence and settlement expenses of relocated Armenians by the allocation of the Immigrant Commission. In addition to these, the Said Halim Pasha's cabinet informed the District Governor of Maraş on 1 June 1915 that the debts of the relocated Armenians would not be collected.³⁵⁹

The Ottoman government also planned to send the patients, women and children by train, and the others by mule, horse-drawn vehicle or on foot, depending on their endurance. In addition to all these measures, the government gave a total of 3.166.900 kuruş direct cash aid to Armenians in 1915, except for food, shelter, transportation and health expenditures.³⁶⁰ According to a special instruction issued on 26 September, 1915, those who attacked people in the camps or convoys during the deportation would be punished immediately and if necessary, they would be sued for to the Martial Court.³⁶¹

According to the 1914 census before the WWI, the total Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire was shown as 1,229,007. McCarthy showed the Armenian population as 1.698.303 in 1914. Servet Mutlu also showed the Armenian population as 1.667.228 in his study.³⁶² Göyünç indicated that the numbers of Armenians in the empire in 19th century was 1.161.169.³⁶³ According to Halaçoğlu, the number of Armenians subjected to deportation had been determined as approximately 500,000 in some sources. Those who reached the resettlement place were shown as

³⁵⁹ Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri*, p. 237; *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermenilerin Sevk ve İskânı*, pp. 154-157.

³⁶⁰ Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri*, p. 240.

³⁶¹ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermenilerin Sevk ve İskânı*, pp. 274-75; M. Serdar Palabıyık, *1915 Olaylarını Anlamak: Türkler ve Ermeniler*, (İstanbul: BETA Basım YayınDağıtım, 2016), pp. 42-44.

³⁶² Abdullah Demir, "Hukuk Tarihi Açısından 1915 Ermeni Tehciri", *Hukuk, Ekonomi ve Siyasal Bilimler Aylık İnternet Dergisi*, 72, 2008, p. 16; Justin McCarthy, "Osmanlı Ermeni Nüfusu", (Ed. by Türkkaya Ataöv), *Osmanlı'nın Son Dönemlerinde Ermeniler*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), p. 68; Servet Mutlu, "Osmanlı Nüfusu", (Ed. by Hikmet Özdemir), *Türk-Ermeni İhtilafı: Makaleler*, (Ankara: TBMM Yayınları, 2007), p. 376.

³⁶³ Göyünç, *Ibid.*, p. 41.

382,148.³⁶⁴ Surely, it was ill-thought to claim that 1.5 million Armenians were killed in the Ottoman Empire in 1915.

Despite of the important precautions, some disastrous events happened during relocation of the Armenians. However, both Armenians and Turks were responsible for the events in this period because there was a mutual massacre. So, the issue was the struggle of the two sides. When the WWI began, the bodyguards of the Dashnaksutyun and Hunchak Committees, who led the Russian armies, had put the Turks in Erzurum and Van to the sword and bayoneted them. Accordingly, the Turkish people started to counterattack against them. If there was a crime, it had to be charged to both groups. Furthermore, Russian-made weapons, pistols, bombs, and heaps of bullets were captured after raids on Armenian houses and churches in various Anatolian towns. They even used their religious shrines in a way that was harmful to the Turkish people.³⁶⁵

The events of 1915 are interpreted as “genocide” but, a document that openly declared the genocide intent of the Ottoman administration could not be revealed.³⁶⁶ In the eyes of Patriarch Zaven, all Turks were criminals who participated in the Armenian massacre. During the Armistice period, the Patriarch prepared a list of the people he considered responsible for the Armenian events and gave it to the Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha, and these people were executed without a proper trial. Kemal Bey, District Governor of Bogazlıyan, a province in Yozgat today, and Nusret Bey, the Governor of Urfa, were two important people on Zaven’s list and executed.³⁶⁷

It is obvious that the disasters that took place during the relocation process were undesirable events that no one could interfere with. These developments were out the

³⁶⁴ Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri*, pp. 97-98. In another source, the number of Armenians deported is recorded as 702,900. See Gürün, *Ibid.*, p. 325.

³⁶⁵ Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 341.

³⁶⁶ Palabıyık, *1915 Olaylarını...*, p. 52.

³⁶⁷ Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 341.

control of Said Halim Pasha cabinet, due to the effects of the war conditions. For this reason, it is wrong to hold all cabinet members responsible for the incident, just as there is no single person responsible. The execution of the deportation was well planned, but the difficulties brought by the war made it difficult to fully implement. Clearly, the disasters were because of extraordinary circumstances, not deliberately encouraged by the Ottoman government. In addition, not only Armenians, but also Turkish people were seriously affected by the events happened in this period. During the deportation carried out under extraordinary conditions, hunger, disease, poverty, and general inadequacy shook Turkish people as well as Armenian subjects. In addition, the real estate's left behind by the deported Armenians were recorded and taken under the protection of the state; a significant amount of money was allocated from the war budget for the deportation; the state tried to ensure the security of the Armenians within the bounds of possibility; and finally, the presence of Armenians who had successfully completed the deportation process and were settled, and all of these measures prove that the Ottoman government had no intention of destroying Armenians completely.

3.6. The Resignation of Said Halim Pasha from the Grand Vizierate

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Talat Pasha, tried to bring Halil Bey, the head of the Parliament of Parliament, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to strengthen his influence in the cabinet. However, Said Halim did not want to leave this supervision. Said Halim Pasha was able to learn the plans of the Allied powers from his friends in the Foreign Ministry of Egypt due to the weakness of the Ottoman intelligence agency. Therefore, Said Halim did not want the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs to fall into the hands of unqualified persons. He even learned the plans of the Allied powers to attack Dardanelles through his friends in Egypt. As a matter of fact, Said Halim Pasha resigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs due to Talat Pasha's insistence and pressure. Halil Bey was appointed instead of him on 24 October 1915.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.III, p. 151; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1904-1905; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 66. In this regard, Halil Menteşe wrote in his memoirs the following words: In October 1915, I was entrusted as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The next day, I went to visit Said Halim

Being described as a noble, old-headed, foreign language-speaking person, who could deal with foreign ambassadors, Said Halim Pasha began to lose his weight on the CUP. In fact, with his withdrawal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Said Halim also fell out with other ministers and this situation began to steal his thunder in the cabinet. Although Said Halim was the grand vizier, he was not informed about the general affairs. More precisely, he was left alone in his cabinet.³⁶⁹

It was only a matter of time before Said Halim Pasha resigned. The CUP could not expect that Said Halim Pasha, who continued his work during period of the peace without making major mistakes, was able to do his duty in the course of war, when extraordinary decisions had to be taken quickly. In fact, the notables of the Unionists had approved Talat Pasha to form the cabinet at the meeting on 31 January 1917. In a telegram sent by Enver Pasha to Cemal Pasha at the beginning of 1917, this issue had been put forward more clearly that “*Said Halim will be withdrawn, Talat will be the grand vizier, you and I will stay in our posts.... If we take Egypt in the future, we will make Said Halim khedive in Egypt.*”³⁷⁰

These lines indicate that Enver Pasha was thinking of winning the war even in 1917. As a matter of fact, Said Halim Pasha resigned from the post of grand vizierate on 3 February 1917 on the pretext of his bad health condition and Sultan Mehmet Reşat accepted his resignation without any entreaty for dissuasion.³⁷¹ On the following day,

Pasha’s mansion to thank him. Pasha said that “*I sincerely wished you to be the minister of foreign affairs, but it should not be like this manner.*” In response, I said that “*I had accepted this duty because of your high trust in me. I see that it had been done against your consent. I absolutely do not accept it. I said excuse me.*” Then he said, “*this is fait accompli. It is not right to break it. I also know that you were working to prevent this. I have no indignation against you personally. You are welcome, continue with your duty.*” See Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁶⁹ Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 294, İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1907. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi stated that Said Halim could no longer stay in the post of grand vizier and said the following: “In the beginning, his Excellency sent me to the Sublime Porte, I would always come across one or two of his cabinet members. Afterwards, no one was visiting him. In time, his nerves were increasingly shot. See Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁷⁰ Bleda, *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83; Esatlı, *Ibid.*, p. 297; Ziya Şakir, *Ibid.*, p. 53; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1908; Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³⁷¹ B.O.A., HSD., A.F.T.E., 15/322-3; B.O.A., DH.SAİD.MEM., 27/13-6. The imperial edict about the acceptance of resignation: “*Esbab-ı sıhhiyesinden dolayı mesned-i sadareten afvınız hakkındaki*

Talat Pasha was appointed as the Grand Vizier by being given the rank of vizier. Talat Pasha's appointment brought the CUP triumvirate into power in name as well as fact. With the appointment of Talat Pasha as the Grand Vizier, this office was united with centre of the CUP.³⁷²

Various comments were made about Said Halim Pasha's resignation. One of the first comments made regarding the resignation of the Pasha was that the Pasha was unable to fulfil the Sultan's orders due to his elderliness and some forgetfulness.³⁷³ Shaw interpreted this event as that "*Grand Vizier Said Halim resented the manner in which his colleagues had pushed the empire into war and, after several unsuccessful efforts to counteract the power gained by Enver, he resigned.*"³⁷⁴

Said Halim Pasha interpreted the reason for his resignation; "*I had resigned because irresponsible people intervened in the affairs of the state and their illegitimate actions had not been stopped.*"³⁷⁵ It is clear that Said Halim Pasha resigned from

istirhamını teessüfle kabul ve is'af edildi. Makam-ı sadarete tayininizden beri selamet-i mülk ve devlet emrinde ve bahusus Edirne meselesiyle düvel-i merkeziye ile akd-i ittifak hususunda masruf olan mesaii reviiyyet mendaneniz nezdinizde daima rehini takdir olacağından hakkınızdaki teveccüh ve mehabeti şahanemizi bu vesile ile de teyit eylerim." Mehmed Reşad 22 Kanun-i Sani 1332 [4 February 1917]. See B.O.A., HSD., A.F.T.E., 15/322-3; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1908-09. "*Zat-ı Şahane, esbabı istifasını istifsar için Başmabeynci Tevfik Beyi yalısına gönderüb fakat istifanın adem-i kabulünde ısrar etmemesini kendisine tenbih eylemiş ve makam-ı sadarete Talat Beyi intihab eylemiştir.*" See Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁷² B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 9/1; Shaw-Shaw, *History of...*, Vol.II, p. 324; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1908; Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, p. 114; *İkdam*, 5 February 1917. The list of cabinet: Mehmed Talat Pasha, Grand Vizier; Musa Kazım Efendi, Şeyhülislam (Minister of the Foundations); Enver Pasha (Minister of War); Cemal Pasha (Minister of Navy), Ahmed Nesimi Bey (Minister of Foreign Affairs); Halil Bey (Minister of Justice); Şükrü Bey (Minister of Education and Post, Telegraph); Ali Münif Bey (Minister of Public Works); Şeref Bey (Minister of Commerce and Agriculture). See B.O.A., İ.DUİT., 9/1.

³⁷³ "*Zat-ı Şahane, evvelleri Said Halim Paşayı pek severdi. Hattâ kendi hafidesi ile müşarün ileyhin küçük mahdumunun [Ömer Bey] akidlerini icra etdirmişti. Fakat Said Halim Paşanın biraz nisyani galib olduğundan ve sonraları elinde iktidar kalmadığından hünkârın arzuları icra edilemez oldu, Zat-ı Şahane de bundan müriifeil olarak 'o, bizim dediklerimizi yapmaz' diye arzu ettiği şeyleri Talat veya Enver Paşalara söylemeğe başladı.*" Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁷⁴ Shaw-Shaw, *History of...*, Vol.II, p. 324.

³⁷⁵ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1907. According to the statement the Pasha gave in his trial at the Court Martial, the only reason for his resignation was Talat Pasha's actions to come to the grand vizierate. See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1907. Talat Pasha, who had Said Halim Pasha removed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this time coveted the office of grand vizierate. See Esatlı, *Ibid.*, pp. 270-273.

grand vizierate due to the pressure and disregard of the CUP. He was a statesman who had grasp of statecraft both theoretically and applicatively. Thus, he could not endure the way that the prominent figures of the CUP administered the state as brigands. It was explicit that as being experienced bureaucrat, Said Halim did not want to confront the fait accompli of the committee. The other side, the CUP started to feel itself ready to take the power directly; thus, the committee no longer need Said Halim in the administrative position. However, they allowed Said Halim to keep his position in the committee as a good image towards outside.

Talat Pasha asked Sultan Mehmet Reşat to reward Said Halim Pasha with an imperial edict for his services in the recapture of Edirne. Thereupon, the Sultan honoured him with the imperial edict dated 4 February 1917.³⁷⁶ After Said Halim resigned from the Grand Vizierate, he kept his membership of the Senate. At the same time, Said Halim did not break his ties with the society by being appointed as a general member of the CUP in the congress in 1917. Ultimately, Said Halim Pasha's grand viziership lasted for 3 years, 7 months and 21 days in total and it was the longest grand viziership from 1908 to end of the sultanate.³⁷⁷

3.7. Life of Said Halim Pasha After The Grand Vizierate

3.7.1. The Ottoman Parliamentary Investigation and Trial

After Said Halim Pasha left the grand viziership, he withdrew to his mansion at Yeniköy and he spent most of his time to think and to write about the social and political problems of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim world. He penned most of his works such as *Meşrutiyet*, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, *Taassub*, *İntihat-ı İslam Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiyye and İslamlaşmak* between 1917 and 1918.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 127; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1908-1909.

³⁷⁷ *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, 1333-1334*, (Dersaadet: Hilal Matbaası, 1334[1918]), p. 107; Tunaya, *Ibid.*, Vol.III, p. 241; Danişmend, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, p. 434.

³⁷⁸ Eşref Edib, *Ibid.*, p. 258; Düzdağ, *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

Upon closing the war, Grand Vizier Talat Pasha resigned on 8 October 1918, but this situation was kept secret until 14 October, when Sultan Vahdettin (1918-1922) appointed Ahmet İzzet Pasha as grand vizier and he established his cabinet on 15 October. The Ottoman government ceased the war by signing the Armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918. Seeing their lives in danger, Enver Talat and Cemal Pashas fled abroad in the night of 2-3 November 1918 in a German submarine.³⁷⁹ Although Sultan Vahdettin advised Said Halim Pasha to leave the country, he refused it. On the contrary, when Said Halim realized that the CUP was disintegrating, he tried to establish a party called the Conservative Party (*Muhafazakaran Fırkası*), but his attempt was unsuccessful.³⁸⁰

On 28 October 1918, Iraqi Deputy Fuat Bey submitted a 10-article motion to the Presidency of the Ottoman Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) about the trial of Said Halim Pasha and Talat Pasha cabinets in the High Court (*Divan-ı Ali*). In addition, at the seventh meeting of the Senate on 4 November 1918, Çürüksulu Mahmut Pasha, the Vice Chair of the Senate, also proposed to trial of cabinet members before a high court; to investigate the alliance agreement with Germany on 2 August 1914, other secret political documents. In the same meeting, Said Halim Pasha demanded the Chairman of the Senate to establish a high court to judge his deeds and actions. Thereby, in the same session, a special eight-member committee was formed to investigate those requests.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3368, 15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1334 [15 October 1918], p. 1; Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, Vol.I*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2004), p. 25; Ahmet İzzet Paşa, *Feryadım*, Vol.II, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2017), pp. 19-24; 32-33; Okyar, *Ibid.*, pp. 251-52; *İkdam*, No.1797, 4 November 1918.

³⁸⁰ Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³⁸¹ Fuat Bey's 10-point motion: **1-** Entering the war without reason and untimely, **2-** Giving incorrect information to the Ottoman Parliament about the reasons for the declaration of war and the course of the war, **3-** Rejecting the advantageous offers of the Allied Powers after the mobilization and before the declaration of the war and dragging into the war without securing a promise or guarantee from Germany and without providing any benefit, **4-** Entrusting the war efforts in the hands of incapable officials who committed terrible acts contrary to war strategy on every front and usurped the life of the nation for the sake of their personal benefit, **5-** Issuing laws, regulations and orders which were completely against the clarity and spirit of the Ottoman Constitution, **6-** Not informing the nation on time about the course of the war, **7-** Refusing the peace offers repeated by the Allied Powers during the war years (especially after the dissolution of Russia) and thus pushing the country to the edge of

Then, the commission decided to combine the motions of the Ottoman Parliament and the Senate and submitted the issue to a special department of the Parliament called the Fifth Branch (*Beşinci Şube*) for examination. From 5 November 1918 to 21 December 1918, the Fifth Branch heard the defences of all members of the war cabinets, except for Enver, Cemal, and Talat Pashas, and Şeyhulislam Hayri and Musa Kazım Efendi who had fled the country.³⁸² The Fifth Branch firstly heard the defence of Said Halim Pasha on 9 November 1918 and posed him the ten motions which Fuad Bey had asked.

Said Halim Pasha confirmed that the empire entered the war untimely but did not enter the war without any reason. He expressed that the cabinet gave correct information to the parliament and the cabinet did not leave the administration of the war in the hands of incapable officials, and the government obeyed the orders, regulations, and spirit of the Ottoman Constitution. Said Halim also stated that the government informed the nation on time about the course of the war. He denied that his government had refused the peace offers repeated by the Allied Powers during the war years and thus pushing the country to the edge of disaster. He also emphasized that the cabinet had tried to prevent profiteering and abuses during the war. As for censorships, Said Halim accepted that his cabinet had put political and military censorship on the press and had restrained European newspapers from circulating in the country because of war conditions. He thought that these were natural measures which would be applied in every condition of warfare. Lastly, Said Halim Pasha emphasized that he struggled with every kind of administrative chaos in

disaster, **8**-Putting the national economy into danger by not preventing profiteering and abuses during the war, **9**- Violating the freedom of communication and press by political and military censorships without relying on any law and preventing European newspapers from circulating in the country, **10**-Encouraging administrative chaos in the country by collaborating with some brigands who ruined freedom of life, property and honor, See “Divaniye Mebusu Fuat Bey’in Taktiri”, *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, pp. 5-11; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali’ye sevkleri...*, pp. 5-6.

³⁸² *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, pp. 3-4; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali’ye sevkleri...*, p. 7.

the country during his grand viziership and his cabinet had not tolerated brigands who ruined freedom of life, property, and honour.³⁸³

Due to the desertion of Enver, Cemal and Talat Pashas, Ahmet İzzet Pasha was subjected to pressure from the palace and submitted his resignation to Sultan Vahdettin on 8 November 1918. The new government was formed by Tevfik Pasha on 11 November 1918.³⁸⁴ Two days later, the occupying troops of Allied powers entered Istanbul and the existing power structure began to change dramatically. The Allied tried to establish their complete control over the Ottoman administration. The invaders began to settle in important positions in the capital, such as ports, railway stations, barracks, hospitals. Also, a new opposition arose within the Parliament, opposing the Tevfik Pasha Government. Founded on 8 November 1918 *Teceddüd Fırkası* became the representative of the new opposition. Essentially, this party was an extension of the CUP, and most of its members were Unionists. Tevfik Pasha government, under difficult conditions, could hardly get a vote of confidence from the parliament on 19 November 1918. The government began censoring the press on 2 December – this was one of the ten allegations brought against Said Halim Pasha's government in the Ottoman Parliament.³⁸⁵

The government Tevfik Pasha issued a decree on 25 December 1918 designed to interrogate those involved in the Armenian deportation and established the special Court-Martials on 8 January 1919.³⁸⁶ On 21 January 1919, the British High Commissioner, through Damat Ferit Pasha, asked Sultan Vahdettin to punish the criminals who mistreated the British prisoners of war during the war. Upon this

³⁸³ For detailed information about Said Halim Pasha's replies in the Ottoman Parliament, See *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, pp. 246-333; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali'ye sevkleri...* pp. 9- 40; Erol Şadi Erdiç, *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Yargılamaları, Vol.I*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018), pp. 7-59; Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, *İttihat-Terakki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması*, (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1998), pp. 57-109; Düzdağ, *Ibid.*, pp. 281-293.

³⁸⁴ Necati Çavdar, *Son Osmanlı Sadrazamı Ahmet Tevfik Paşa*, (Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi, 2016), p. 281; Nurten Çetin, *Son Sadrazam Ahmet Tevfik Paşa*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2015), p. 193; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3392, 12 Teşrin-i Sani 1334 [12 November 1918], p. 1.

³⁸⁵ Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 108; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 124; Tunaya, *Ibid.*, Vol.III, p. 9.

³⁸⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3430, 28 Kanun-ı Evvel 1334 [28 December 1918], p. 2; *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3445, 14 Kanun-ı Sani 1335 [14 January 1919], p. 2.

request, on 30 January 1919, the government arrested thirty Unionist members, including Ziya Gökalp, Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) Bey, Emmanuel Karasu, Mithat Şükrü (Bleda) Bey, İsmail Canbulat Bey, Hüseyin Kazım Kadri Bey, Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Kara Kemal and Rahmi Bey (former governor of Izmir).³⁸⁷ On 1 February 1919, the Allied authorities also presented the Ottoman government with a list of twenty-three people whom the government brought to trial. The next day, the government arrested thirty-two people who were allegedly committed war crimes, including Said Halim Pasha. Apart from Britain, the French High Commissioner to Istanbul, General Franchet D'Esperey, demanded on 12 February 1919 that the Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha surrendered a group of Ottoman intellectuals and politicians, such as Said Halim Pasha, Şeyhulislam Hayri Efendi, Ömer Naci, Cavit Bey and Yunus Nadi, to the occupying forces. However, Tevfik Pasha rejected these demands of the French.³⁸⁸ General D'Esperey repeated his request on 24 February 1919. Ultimately, the government drafted a decree on 1 March 1919, to put former cabinet members on trial. However, the Sultan refused to sign this bill on the grounds that it did not comply with the constitution. Thereupon, Tevfik Pasha tendered his resignation on 3 March 1919.³⁸⁹

Sultan Vahdettin appointed Damat Ferit Pasha as grand vizier on 4 March 1919. Many members of the Freedom and Accord Party were included in the new cabinet. The new government launched a repressive and harsh operation against any nationalist opposition in the hope of attaining moderate peace terms at the Peace Conference in Paris.³⁹⁰ As a first action, the new government established a court

³⁸⁷ Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri...*, p. 157; Gotthard Jaeschke, *Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı Kronolojisi, Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar*, (Ankara: TTK, 1989), p. 15; Okyar, *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71; Bostan *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82; *İkdam*, 31 January 1919. See also Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁸⁸ Gotthard Jaeschke, *Kurtuluş Savaşı İle İlgili İngiliz Belgeleri*, (Trans. by Cemal Köprülü), (Ankara: TTK, 2011), p. 176; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 82-83; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁸⁹ Çavdar, *Son Osmanlı Sadrazamı...*, pp. 404-05; Çetin, *Ibid.*, p. 323; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94.

³⁹⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3488, 5 Mart 1335 [5 March 1919], p. 1. For the list of the cabinet, See *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3489, 6 Mart 1335[6 March 1919], p. 1; Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri...*, p. 201. Said Halim Pasha described Damat Ferit Pasha “*as the most incompetent and ridiculously criminal head of government in the history of the civilized world.*” According to Said Halim Pasha, Damat Ferit’s incompetence and his submissive attitude to Britain were the main points that led to the fact that he could not obtain more beneficial peace conditions for the Ottoman Empire at the Paris Conference of 1919. See Said Halim Pasha, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 44.

martial war with a decree issued on 8 March 1919 to prosecute the Unionist politicians and former officials accused of committing war crimes and the Armenian deportation. Two days later, the government arrested twenty people, including Said Halim Pasha, who was responsible for mentioned crimes. These persons were taken at their homes and detained at the General Directorate of Police. According to Said Halim, this arrest was contrary to the Ottoman Constitution (*Kanun-ı Esasi*). All the detainees were transferred to Bekirağa Bölüğü, which was a military prison used for political prisoners for a long time in the courtyard of the Ministry of War.³⁹¹

The trials of Said Halim Pasha, the ministers of the Unionist cabinets and the members of the committee centre began on 28 April 1919, under the chairmanship of Ferik Nazım Pasha. Said Halim and five other persons were judged by death. The head of the court first questioned Said Halim Pasha and during the trial, his lawyers Hasan Hayri Tan and Celalettin Arif Bey were also with him. Said Halim and all the other defendants firmly denied the accusations regarding the Armenian deportation. On 13 May 1919, an Armenian named Aşçıyan was appointed as the investigating judge of the court. The trials did not yield any results and the prisoners continued to be detained at Bekirağa Bölüğü. Mustafa Kemal Pasha visited his friend Ali Fethi (Okyar) Bey in the jail on 14 May 1919; he also visited Said Halim Pasha and other Unionist prisoners.³⁹²

3.7.2. Said Halim Pasha in Exile

On 15 May 1919, the Greek army, with the cheering of local Rums, invaded Izmir and persecuted the Muslim population, under the control of the Allied forces.³⁹³ The rising reactions and demonstrations against the occupation of İzmir caused Damat

³⁹¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3493, 11 Mart 1335[11 March 1919], p. 2; Jaeschke, *İngiliz Belgeleri*, p. 177; Eşref Edip, “Tevkifata Dair”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XVI, No:396-97, 13 Mart 1335[13 March 1919], p. 80; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351; M. Zekeriya Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2001), pp. 73-74; Okyar, *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279; Bleda, *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

³⁹² Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, 86; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1910; Bayar, *Ibid.*, Vol.V, p. 1510; Jaeschke, *Kronolojisi*, p. 27. For more information about the trials of the unionists, their responses to the charges brought against them, and the defense of their lawyers. See “İttihad ve Rüşdî'nin Muhakemesi”, *İkdam*, No: 7995, 13 Mayıs 1335[13 May 1919], p. 1.

³⁹³ Refik Bey, *İzmir Fecayii*, (İstanbul: n.p., 1919), Bilge Umar, *İzmir'de Yunanlılar'ın Son Günleri*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1974); Türkmen Parlak, *İşgalden Kurtuluşa*, (*Yunan Ege'ye Nasıl Geldi, Yunan Ege'den Nasıl Gitti*), Vol. I-II, (İzmir: Duyal Matbaacılık, 1982).

Ferit Pasha's government to resign on 16 May 1919, but Sultan Vahdettin again assigned Damat Ferit to form the government on 19 May. In this period, Damat Ferit's cabinet and the Allied forces were quite set aback from the demonstrations held both in Istanbul and in different parts of Anatolia due to the occupation of Izmir. Under these conditions, it became impossible to imprison the Ottoman notables blamed for war crime and Armenian deportation. The government and the occupying forces could not dare to release the prisoners; if released, they would either hinder the government or join the Anatolian resistance. Therefore, the British authorities in Istanbul decided on 19 May 1919 to deport most of the Unionists, including Said Halim, to Malta island.³⁹⁴

In order to implement their decisions to exile the detainees, the British and the French forces took Bekirağa Bölüğü under their controls on 22 May 1919 and sixty-seven Unionist prisoners, including Said Halim Pasha, set off for Malta by the ship called *Princess Ena* on 28 May 1919. However, British authorities left some leading figure of the CUP on the Mondros Harbour in Lemnos Island on 29 May 1919. Those people called "very important persons" by the British were consisted of twelve exiled people: Said Halim Pasha (Former Grand Vizier), Abbas Halim Pasha (Former Minister of Public Works), Mithat Şükrü (Bleda) Bey (Secretary General of the CUP), Halil (Menteşe) Bey (Former Minister of Justice, President of the Ottoman Parliament), Hacı Adil Bey (President of the Ottoman Parliament), Ali Münif (Yeğenağa) Bey (Former Minister of Public Works and Governor of Lebanon), Ziya Gökalp (Sociologist and Writer), Kara Kemal (Former Food Minister), Şükrü Bey (Former Minister of Education), Hüseyin Tosun Bey (Deputy of Erzurum), Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey (Mudarris and Writer), Mahmut Kamil Pasha (Former Commander of 5th Army). After landing, the ship continued its way with the other captives and eventually reached the Island of Malta on 2 June 1919.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No.3553, 20 Mayıs 1335 [20 May 1919], p. 1; Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri...*, pp. 323-324; Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 213; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 2040-2041; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 359-360.

³⁹⁵ Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985), pp. 99-102, 107-110; Yalçın Toker, *Malta Sürgünleri'nden Portreler*, (İstanbul: Toker Yayınları, 2006), pp. 72-73; Serpil Sürmeli, "Bekirağa Bölüğü'nden Malta Adası'na Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Anıları", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol.17, No: 49, Ankara, 2001, p. 107; Eşref Edip, "Tevkifata...", p. 80; Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Mütareke ve Sürgün Hatıraları*, (Prep. By Ertan Eğribal-Ufuk Özcan), (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi,

Said Halim Pasha had stayed on the island of Limnos for approximately four months until he was exiled to the island of Malta with his 11 other friends on 22 September 1919. Said Halim sent a letter dated 4 June 1919 to the British Commander General Blumberg in Limnos. In this letter, he expressed “his deep and unshakable gratitude to the British government for putting an end to the persecutions he suffered at the hands of the present Ottoman government (Damat Ferit Pasha cabinet), blinded by indescribable political passions. He requested that he should not be considered a prisoner of war and be allowed to live freely outside of Turkey.” Said Halim requested from the general to convey his demands to the competent authorities. In fact, demands of Said Halim Pasha was conveyed to London and his situation was discussed. This former Grand Vizier was not at all considered as dangerous to British interests in Turkey. British Foreign officials said that “he had essentially been just an instrument of the CUP”. They described him soft, weak, and well-behaved. However, they thought that his release would be “a dangerous example.” As a result, Said Halim Pasha would remain in exile.³⁹⁶

Additionally, Said Halim wrote another letter on 20 July 1919 to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George in which he praised Britain’s role and its contributions to the development of the Muslim world. The Pasha expressed that “Young Turkey was born because of Western intellectual and ideological influences.” Hence, “she was a devoted admirer of Britain, to which both Western civilization and the Muslim world owed their developments and progresses.”³⁹⁷ In the rest of his letter, Said Halim also remarked that Turkey had known that she had to go through a long period of peace in order to recover itself after a series of military defeats, but that the Sublime Porte

2013) pp. 85-87; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 528-529; Ertürk, *Ibid.*, pp. 360-363. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi wrote that the Sultan had not been aware of this event, but the Grand Vizier Damat Ferit had been aware of everything. Lütfi Simavi also stated that it was later revealed that the grand vizier had been aware of the situation. See Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219; Simavi, *Ibid.*, p. 238. Before the exile, Crown Prince Abdülmecid Efendi personally told M. Kemal İnal that if Damat Ferit Pasha died without seeing Said Halim Pasha hanged, his eyes would remain open. See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 2042.

³⁹⁶ Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, p. 255.

³⁹⁷ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 127; Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94. “*Young Turkey was born from Western ideas and conceptions. She therefore naturally feels a great and sincere admiration for modern Western civilization, particularly for Britain to which the Muslim world is indebted for its recovery and its active progress.*” See Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 127.

could not resist the forces which dragged the Ottomans into this hellish war. Despite all this, he also emphasized that Young Turkey was aware of the constructive role of Britain in Egypt and believed that Britain would ensure the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

As understood from Said Halim Pasha's statements, he believed that Western ideas dominated Turkey's world of thought, but these ideas stand in stark conflict with his writings and memoirs. In his works, he harshly criticized British colonial ideas policies against Muslims and blamed Britain for the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In his memoirs, he stated that the essence of Britain's Middle East policy was to destroy the empire and establish dominance over the entire Muslim world.³⁹⁸

Bilal Şimşir described Said Halim as a coward and spineless person based only on the letters mentioned above.³⁹⁹ However, it is not ethical attitude to make such an ascription about the character of Said Halim Pasha by looking just at the style of his letters. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that he wrote these letters at a time when he had been under arrest and under oppression of the British forces that were waiting to make a decision about his destiny. Said Halim naturally used extremely smarmy language toward Britain as he strove for his life during that time. Accordingly, it would be fairer to make assertive remarks about Said Halim by considering the conditions he had experienced. As mentioned above, Pasha took a completely opposing stance against the imperialist policies of Britain, especially on the Muslim geography, before and after the war. In brief, it would not be appropriate attitude to make harsh judgments against Said Halim's character and to make such easy preconceptions about his personality.

Said Halim Pasha's second destination in exile was the Island of Malta. The British authorities transferred him and other eleven mentioned people from Lemnos to Polverista Camp in Malta on 22 September 1919 as prisoners of war. Pasha's exile

³⁹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, pp. 91-93, 98.

³⁹⁹ Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 254-262.

number in Malta was 2755 and his crime was bullying against Armenians.⁴⁰⁰ Said Halim spent his spare time in Malta playing chess, tennis, and bridge with his friends, and playing the oud (*Ud*). He read the newspapers *Times*, *Tan* and *Maten* allowed, and almost every day, he would go from room to room to made political conversations about the past with his friends.⁴⁰¹

Said Halim Pasha and his brother Abbas Halim, like other detainees, were financially straitened trouble. To get rid of this situation, Said Halim and Abbas Halim demanded 100 British liras each month from the income of their goods in Egypt. They demanded this money not only for themselves but also to help their fellow prisoners in need, but the British authorities did not allow them to get their money. In line with the orders of the British commander, no one had too much money would not carry. The prisoners were entitled to spend only two British pounds for a week. After a while, Said Halim Pasha and the prisoners were transferred from Polverista Camp to Verdala Barracks. It was a large building located next to Polverista. Said Halim and his brother Abbas Halim were living in the room called “the Chamber of the Princes” on the third floor of the barracks.⁴⁰²

Said Halim Pasha wrote a long letter to Mr. Lloyd George (1863-1945), who served as prime minister in Britain in 1916-1922, on 12 August 1919. It was important because it touched on the great events of the recent past. After saying that he was serving as Ottoman Grand Vizier at the time of Turkey’s entry of war and that he was Egyptian, he narrated how Turkey had entered the world war. In brief he said: “When the Great War broke out, Turkey was far from the dream of conquest. In this war, it was feared that Russia would want to realize its centuries-old ambitions, seize Istanbul, and put an end to the existence of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey was alarmed.” As the Grand Vizier, Said Halim had believed that only with the help and support of France and Britain, and especially Britain, Turkey could be saved from

⁴⁰⁰ Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 498-511; Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 107, 228, 237; Bleda, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴⁰¹ Sürmeli, *Ibid.*, p. 115; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 536.

⁴⁰² Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 547-549; Bleda, *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132; Bostan *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

such a disaster. While trying to maintain its neutrality on the one hand, Turkey had applied to the helps of two great states on the other. He had asked them to “separately guarantee the territorial integrity of Turkey after the war.” Britain and France, on the other hand, wanted to give joint assurances with Russia. The fact that Russia had been included as a partner in such a guarantee created great suspicion. The trouble had been even greater. However, he had continued his efforts for neutrality. He had tried to withstand pressure from Berlin and Vienna to bring Turkey into the war. Thereupon, the Germans had prepared the known conspiracy: They had brought the Goeben and Breslau battleships through the Dardanelles and had created the “Black Sea Event”. Thus, they endangered Turkey’s neutrality. Said Halim Pasha mentioned that he had resigned because he could not prevent Turkey from entering the war, but the Sultan had not accepted the resignation. Then, he started to tell his negotiations with Wangenheim, German Ambassador, and how he signed the Turkish-German alliance. On that point, he wrote: “*Although it seemed contradictory, I can say that Turkey had sought a German alliance because of the need to defend itself against the constant Russian attacks.*”⁴⁰³

This was the first and last political letter sent by Said Halim Pasha to the British from the exile camp. His following letters were not of this nature; they were about his life in exile. As it is seen that Said Halim explained his role in entry of the empire into the war. To be more precise, he wrote this letter for the purpose of defending himself. He tried to convince the British that he had no responsibility for events dragging the empire into the war. Also, it can be inferred from his narration that the fait accompli of Germans and the CUP and the threat of Russia had not allowed him to manage the political and military developments as he had wished.

After Said Halim Pasha was exiled to Malta, he also wrote a petition to Lord Plumer, the Governor of Malta. In his petition dated 4 November 1919, Pasha complained about his living conditions. He said that “he had been detained in Mondros since 30 May 1919 and at Polverista prison camp in Malta since 21 September 1919 although he was not a prisoner of war.” In addition, the Pasha emphasized that “his brother

⁴⁰³ Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 256-258.

Abbas Halim Pasha and himself were descendants of Mehmed Ali Pasha, founder of Egyptian Dynasty, and cousins of current ruler of Egypt.” He also paid attention that he had been the ex-Ottoman Grand Vizier, his brother was the Minister. Considering this situation, he requested to be allowed to live with his brother in a hotel, not in a prison camp. Said Halim failed receiving any response to his petition.⁴⁰⁴ This time, he tried other ways; he put in Papacy as intermediary in February 1920. Thereupon, on 17 February 1920, Vatican Foreign Secretary Cardinal Gasparri formally applied to Britain, saying it was the Pope’s request. He asked from British authorities “to be treated in accordance with social status of Said Halim Pasha, if there was no possibility of his complete release.”⁴⁰⁵ Then, British granted a degree of privilege to Said Halim upon his incessant petitions.

Said Halim Pasha concentrated his efforts to acquire Egyptian citizenship in the second half of 1920. In this respect, he repeatedly appealed to the Egyptian Prime Minister and the British authorities, and he emphasized that he had been Egyptian-born, Prince of Egyptian Dynasty, and a citizen of Egypt until 1914. So, he insisted that the Egyptian citizenship should be granted to him again.⁴⁰⁶ By adopting Egyptian citizenship, he most probably thought that he would come under British protection and be freed from exile. Moreover, he would be able to protect his inheritance in Egypt and make better use of his assets when he became an Egyptian.

Apart from these letters, Said Halim penned 38-page letters to US President Wilson and British Prime Minister Lloyd George in English, and to French Prime Minister Clemenceau in French, and sent them with the help of Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey during the period of negotiations about the Treaty of Sevres in August of 1920. However, he did not receive any reply to these letters, only an official letter was submitted stating that the letter sent to the Prime Minister of France had reached him. In the letters, Said Halim Pasha touched significant points the role of the Ottoman Empire in the world history. In this respect, he stated that “the Ottoman Empire had been a worldwide

⁴⁰⁴ Jaeschke, *İngiliz Belgeleri*, p. 180; Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 258-259; Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴⁰⁵ Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, p. 259.

⁴⁰⁶ Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 259-260.

state. There was no other state, which would be replaced its place. The Ottoman Empire had succeeded in ruling masses of people with diverse ethnicities, religions and languages and had respected for their culture, lifestyle, and belief. In fact, the system of the empire was more successful than the promises of the League of Nations.” Said Halim Pasha also attracted attention that “the Balkan War had been a murder designed to put an end to the dreams of the Christian nations of Slavic origin and the Greeks, who had claimed to be the heirs of Greek civilization. The same truths would be appeared in other countries taken from the hands of the Ottoman Empire unjustly and without reason with more calamitous events soon.” Then, Said Halim started to mention his efforts to form an alliance with European powers. As a Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, he tried to seek all possibilities to make an alliance with Britain and France and his cabinet really desired to get such an alliance. In addition, he said that “they needed tranquillity and support to consolidate the Constitutional Monarchy. However, all of these had been begrudged from us. The Ottomans had been pushed into the WWI by fait accompli. The most vital territories of the empire, including Istanbul, the capital and centre of the Caliphate, had been left to the Russian occupation by secret agreements. Why was the state and nation now seen as perpetrators of war in the face of the legitimate defence of these places?” According to Said Halim Pasha, the being Ottoman was pushed into an artificial rivalry by coercion and unjustness of the Britain and France. He also accused the mentioned great powers of committing mistakes against not only for the Ottomans, but also for the world and humanity. He wrote that “those who had held the fate of the Ottoman Empire in their hands during the years 1914-1918 were ready to account for their practices. If they had made mistakes and they were guilty, they would be punished. However, the total condemnation of the whole Ottoman people did not comply with the alleged principles of justice and rights.” Said Halim Pasha finished his letters with following expressions:

“The world will seek the Ottoman Empire a lot, and the inadequate, artificial states established in places taken from it will not be able to perform a useful and honourable service neither to the people entrusted to their administration, nor to the other world states. The fight for domination and separation over these lands will not end. Those who are responsible for sin

are those who commit the mistake without knowing or ignoring these truths.'⁴⁰⁷

In these letters, Said Halim Pasha, after summarizing the historical developments, emphasizes the indispensable position of the Ottoman Empire in the world system and why it would not be possible to achieve world peace without the Ottoman Empire. He then goes on to evaluate in detail how the wars and anarchy that could occur in the event of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire by the colonialist states would bring disaster to humanity. Said Halim explains the impossibility of any other state to fill the void that would be created by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and states that even if a century passes, the people living in the Ottoman geography will be devastated by poverty and conflicts. Said Halim predicted that the problems arising from existed conditions, which at first seemed to favour the colonialists, would one day affect the Westerners as well. In addition to all these, with these letters, Said Halim Pasha revealed the evil intentions of big powers on both the destiny of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world. He intentionally tried to draw President Wilson's attention on imperialist policies of the Britain and France against the Near-Middle East and Africa. He clearly explained that Britain and France would destroy not only the Ottoman Empire but also the order throughout the Ottoman geography. Verily, he made crucial points about offensive political attitudes of mentioned European powers towards the East and Africa.

Said Halim Pasha stayed in Malta until on 29 April 1921. In the London Conference (21 February - 12 March 1921) held after the First Victory of İnönü, the exchange of prisoners was discussed between England and the Ankara Government. With the agreement signed on 16 March 1921 between Bekir Sami (Kunduh) Bey (1865-1933), who was as the representative of the Ankara Government, and Robert

⁴⁰⁷ “*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu cihan çok arayacak ve onun elinden alınmış yerlerde kurulan kifayetsiz, sunî devletler, ne idarelerine tevdi ve emanet edilmiş halka, ne de devletler manzumesine faydalı, şerefli bir hizmet ifâ edemeyecekler. Bu topraklar üzerinde hâkimiyet ve iftirak kavgası son bulmayacaktır. Günahın mes’ulleri de bu hakikatleri bilmeden veya unutmuş olarak hatayı irtikâb edenlerdir.*” For detailed information about the letters, See Cemal Kutay, “Said Halim Paşa’nın Malta’dan Başkan Wilson, Loyd Corc ve Clemanso’ya Uyarma Mektupları”, *Tarih Sohbetleri*, No.8, (İstanbul: Sontelgraf Matbaası, 1968), pp. 157-161.

Vansittart on behalf of Britain, it was decided to release sixty-four Turkish captives in exchange for twenty-two British prisoners.⁴⁰⁸

3.7.3. The Assassination of Said Halim Pasha

The exchange of prisoners was delayed due to political and military developments. Finally, after Said Halim Pasha was released on 29 April 1921, he first went to Sicily and then to Naples. He resided there in the same house with his brother Abbas Halim Pasha for a while. Later his brother went to Switzerland. While some friends of Said Halim had returned to Istanbul from Italy, neither the Ottoman government nor the British government allowed him to return to Istanbul. Likewise, he could not go to Egypt, which was under British occupation. Said Halim eventually went to Rome and rented a mansion and settled there.⁴⁰⁹

While Said Halim Pasha had been in exile in Malta, the Dashnaksutyun Committee sent a letter announcing that he had been sentenced to death. While driving in front of his house on 6 December 1921, on Tuesday evening, Said Halim Pasha, at the age of 57, was killed by Arshavir Shiragian, an Armenian militant and member of the Dashnaksutyun.⁴¹⁰ The funeral of Said Halim was brought to Istanbul on 29 January 1922 and with a ceremony, he was buried next to his father's grave in Sultan Mahmut II's Tomb.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Jaeschke, *İngiliz Belgeleri*, pp. 189-190; Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, p. 262; Yalman, *Ibid.*, Vol.I, pp. 624-625, 651-652; Ağaoğlu, *Ibid.*, pp. 141-143; Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁰⁹ Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 128; Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104; Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, p. 262; İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1912; Danişmend, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, pp. 466-467; *Milli Nevsal*, p. 241. Abbas Halim Pasha returned to Istanbul and provided financial assistance to the National Struggle. See Bostan *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴¹⁰ For a detailed narration of the assassination plan, See Arshavir Shiragian, *Bir Ermeni Teröristin İtirafı*, (Trans. by Dr. Kadri Mustafa Orađlı), (İstanbul: Kastaş Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 177-187; Hasan Aksu, "Osmanlı Basımında Said Halim Paşa Suikastı", (Unpublished Master's Thesis), (Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, 2018).

⁴¹¹ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1912; Bostan, *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105; Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 262-263. According to information in *Milli Nevsal*, Said Halim was buried on 28 January 1922. See, *Milli Nevsal*, p. 241.

It is obvious that the assassination of Said Halim Pasha in Rome was directly related to his attempts to find financial support for the war of independence in Anatolia. Said Halim is known to have openly supported the national struggle in Anatolia from the very beginning. In fact, according to Shiragian's confessions, Said Halim tried to borrow 2 million pounds sterling from Italian banks to buy weapons to be shipped to Anatolia. He was going to sign a contract with the Italian banks on December 6, 1921; however, Shiragian acted quickly and killed him the day before.⁴¹² In addition to this, it is estimated that the driving force for the assassination of Said Halim Pasha was the British Intelligent Service. In this regard, Galip Kemali (Söylemezoğlu) Bey stated that the warning letters that Said Halim sent to the American, British, and French heads of state had a great impact especially on America. Moreover, as Said Halim told Kuşcubaşı Eşref Bey, America was unaware of the intrigues of the European states. The British got Said Halim killed due to fear of revealing the truth to the American public opinion.⁴¹³

According to Mahmut Kemal İnal, Ali Kemal Bey (1869-1922), one of the leading liberals of the time and one of the political opponents of the CUP, wrote that Said Halim was a victim of Pasha's own ambitions and the political manipulations of the CUP. According to Ali Kemal, "Said Halim, who was not of significance at all, had been assigned as the grand vizier by the CUP because of his family and personal wealth. He thought that Said Halim had acted like a puppet manipulated by Unionist leaders like Talat Pasha during his tenure as Grand Vizier."⁴¹⁴

In fact, Ali Kemal Bey's severe criticisms of Said Halim Pasha do not reflect the truth. When his life story is taken into consideration as a whole, it will come out that Said Halim was not a puppet of the CUP or a show manager. An experienced statesman with a high education background, he always struggled with restraining the nationalists and centralists within the committee during his active duty.

⁴¹² Shiragian, *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179. Also See Işık, *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 44. In his memoirs, Shiragian gave the date of the assassination as 5 December 1921. See Shiragian, *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 201.

⁴¹³ Bostan, *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴¹⁴ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1915-1916.

It must be confessed that Said Halim Pasha remained relatively passive against the many political and military implements of the CUP. He refrained from intervening in their practices; probably he feared of losing his life by the committee members. He also had valid reason to think so, because he witnessed the murder of former Minister of War Nazım Pasha and the assassination of Grand Vizier Mahmut Şevket Pasha in the Bayezid Square. So, Said Halim might not dare to stand against the demands and pressures of the CUP.

Apart from this possibility, the conditions of the great war also exerted influence on Said Halim and his cabinet's implementations. During the war period, when the army was extremely active, the civilian administration was also under the control of the military force. In this regard, Said Halim said that "the military authorities increasingly sought to control the civilian administration."⁴¹⁵ Since the Second Constitutional Monarchy, military officers had already had a dominant role over the civil administration. The military pressure was causing difficulties for Said Halim Pasha at the point of applying the requirements of politics and diplomacy. Although Said Halim handled everything skilfully in peacetime, he could not do much in the extraordinary situations like the war conditions.

Both prominent persons of the period and Said Halim Pasha admitted in his statements during parliamentary interrogations that himself and the cabinet were under the influence of the Unionists.

In fact, Said Halim Pasha, who was described as a noble, old-fashioned, spoke foreign languages and could deal with foreign ambassadors, began to lose his weight in the CUP. More importantly, between the moral penetration of Talat Pasha and the military power of Enver Pasha, he found himself in a very disastrous situation. In fact, Said Haim was caught between the pressure and restraint of the CUP on the inside and the German empire on the outside during the period of war.⁴¹⁶ Especially after his resignation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Said Halim fell out with

⁴¹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu...*, p. 37.

⁴¹⁶ Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 102-103.

other ministers and his authority in the cabinet was shaken. Although Said Halim was the Grand Vizier, the Unionists did not inform him of the true nature of things and kept the general affairs from him. More precisely, Said Halim was left alone in his cabinet.⁴¹⁷

In this regard, Mehmed Selahaddin Bey narrated that:

*“Soon after the declaration of war, Said Halim Pasha began to feel that the war would have disastrous consequences and began to search for peace solutions. However, he could not get the Unionist leaders to admit it and was forced to resign. If Said Halim Pasha had thought that he would not be able to act freely as long as there was the CUP, and that he would be a toy in the hands of the Unionists, he would have abstained from the Grand Viziership.”*⁴¹⁸

Said Halim Pasha also drew attention to this issue during his interrogations in the parliament after the armistice.

*“Based on my experience today, I am convinced that a Grand Vizier - I have experienced this in a very bitter way (!) - cannot do anything. It is at the mercy of the ministers. Because the ministers do whatever they want, and the Grand Vizier knows absolutely nothing about them.”*⁴¹⁹

It is obvious that Said Halim’s theoretical knowledge of politics and diplomacy was not very effective in practice. He was afraid of doing illegal business. The Unionists, on the other hand, acted without paying attention to any procedure, even in state administration. So, the constant conflict between the Unionists, trying to rule the empire with a manner of brigandage, and Said Halim Pasha, preferring to play politics according to the rules and wanted to solve problems through diplomacy, became unavoidable.

⁴¹⁷ İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, pp. 1907, 1922-1923; Akşin, *Jön Türkler...*, p. 294. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi stated that Said Halim could no longer stay in the post of grand vizier and narrated the following: “In the beginning, his Excellency sent me to the Sublime Porte, I would always come across one or two of his cabinet members. Afterwards, no one was visiting him. In time, his nerves were increasingly shot. See Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴¹⁸ Mehmed Selahaddin, *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114; Also See İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol.IV, p. 1921.

⁴¹⁹ Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı, pp. 251-252; *Said Halim ve Mehmed Talat paşalar kabinelerinin Divan-ı Ali’ye sevkleri...*, p. 11.

Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha could not act independently and govern the state properly due to the constant fait accompli of the Germans from outside and the Unionists inside. He already resigned when he realized he could not endure anymore. It is also important to underline that even if there was someone else as a grand vizier instead of Said Halim Pasha, he would still go along with the Unionists. It would not be possible for him to take a step without being aware of them. If he were to act independently, he would be probably eliminated by the CUP. The ongoing warfare already was not suitable for such an opposition movement anyway. It is clear that Said Halim tried to serve the state despite all the pressures and interventions of the Unionists.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF SAİD HALİM PASHA

4.1. Said Halim Pasha's Views on Islamism and Islamization

Said Halim Pasha revealed as clearly as possible what he understood from the phrase “Islamization” since it is open to different meanings. He wrote that Islam had its own beliefs, a moral order based on these beliefs, and a social life arising from its morality. As a natural consequence of this unity, it had a set of policy rules that were completely unique to itself and were necessary for the society. In other words, Said Halim noticed that this religion of prosperity and salvation derived its morality from its belief, its social order from its morality, and its politics from its social order. In this regard, he believed that Islam was the most perfect and advanced religion of humanity in terms of these principles, which constituted an excellent unity.

Said Halim Pasha made interesting description of Islam in his own way. He wrote about the essence of Islam as follows: “*Indeed, Islam is most correctly a religion of humanity, a way of humanity with its unique belief, moral system, political and social principles.* It is the most perfect religion that contains everything necessary for people to be happy, and satisfying their social tendencies, and desire for progress. It is the most natural basis, guide, and explanation of the inner conscience of human. Islam is so straight, righteous, and so fair and it is the sum of the main factors which that direct and manage human life. Islam has gathered material sciences based on experience and metaphysical beliefs and theories; that is, it involves all truths that could be comprehended by human logic, or not. In virtue of mentioned features, Islam is such a whole that it is impossible to break up, and that a person has to comply with the whole in order to ensure his happiness.”⁴²⁰ These interpretations

⁴²⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, (Dar’ül-Hilafe: Hukuk Matbaası, 1337[1921]), p. 4; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Amire, 1334[1918]), p. 18; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin Esbab-ı İnhitâtı”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 370, 19 Eylül 1334[19 September 1918], p. 106.

indicates that Said Halim put Islam in centre of a human's life, and he saw it as indispensable condition for human's material and spiritual welfare.

Said Halim Pasha also noticed that Islam was neither idealist nor positivist, but it included both. Claiming that Islam had the characteristic of only idealism or positivism was to deny a fact. Because, argued Said Halim, that the just idealist view would not provide any benefit, nor could it exist. It was the same for positivism, which was considered completely separate from idealism. Said Halim remarked that one of them was the result of the other.⁴²¹

Attributing the salvation and happiness of Muslim peoples to complete Islamization of them, Said Halim Pasha said that Islamization meant the full application of the Islamic principles belonging to the faith, morality, life, and politics. Additionally, Said Halim stressed that the Islamic doctrines would be interpreted in the most appropriate way for the needs of the period and environment.⁴²²

Said Halim Pasha argued that a Muslim should live and practice Islam in its full sense. He openly pointed out that people who adopted different ideas and followed different ideologies in terms of moral, political, and social life were not true Muslims. In this respect, he said that

“A man who claimed himself as a Muslim must feel, think, and act in accordance with the principles of Islam he believed. He continued, unless he did not completely adapt himself to the morals, life, and politics of Islam, his confess of being Muslim would not gain anything and would not bring any happiness. A Muslim, asserted Said Halim Pasha, who believed in the Kant's or Spencer's views on morals, and accepted French style in social life, and British method in politics, was totally clueless person no matter how knowledgeable he was.”⁴²³

Said Halim referred the important point that a Muslim person must feel, must think, and must behave as true Muslim. He, in this way, drew attention that a Muslim could

⁴²¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 4-5.

⁴²² Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 5.

⁴²³ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 5.

not live with many incompatible ideas and ideologies denying and clashing Islamic principles.

After explaining the term Islamization in this way, Said Halim Pasha explained his views on the most basic beliefs of Islam. In this regard, he expressed that a Muslim was, first of all, a pure believer and a true believer. Also, the first condition of faith was faith in God because it was necessary to believe in the one-true God to glorify him. Said Halim asserted that as human knowledge based on experience and science was improved, faith in God would also increase. The best of Muslims was those who have believed with the strongest conviction and the strongest proofs. According to him, the only value that gave man the honour of human being responsible for certain duties and made him superior to all living creatures was the power of faith. The faith of Islam, continued Said Halim, was belief in the supreme truth that was both apparent and hidden. The religion of the Muslim was not under the pressure of other man or ideology and Islam had neither a spiritual class nor clergy. It left the right to be a leader only to the most virtuous, wisest, and most learned people.⁴²⁴

According to Said Halim Pasha, belief was a fact; unbelief was even a faith. Because one must believe in something else to deny one thing. He wrote on the subject as follows:

“Irreligiousness was an intellectual and spiritual collapse which resulted from some reasons of throwback or a defective moral training. This would also cause the individual to fall morally and the society to fall apart.” He noticed that it was the norm that “in order to deny one thing, one must believe in the truth of another thing; that is, one must believe even in order to deny it.”⁴²⁵

As for the Pan-Islamism, Said Halim Pasha interpreted Pan-Islamism as a collective voice of the progress and libertarian ideas of Muslim societies. In other words, the concept of Pan-Islamism for Said Halim, meant religious-social unity based on cooperation and solidarity among Muslim societies instead of the political unity of

⁴²⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 6-7.

⁴²⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 7.

Muslim societies or states. It can be said that Pan-Islamism in the views of Said Halim was not a combative, reactionary, and aggressive movement. Therefore, his Pan-Islamist thoughts did not have goals such as gathering Muslim societies around a single authority/state and committing massacres against the infidels. Said Halim Pasha drew attention to the significant point that the European imperialist powers misunderstood the nature, scope and aims of the Pan-Islamic movement. Accordingly, they ascribed it to the potential threat and made Muslim lands main target of their imperialist policies. It is apparent that Said Halim Pasha dealt with the Pan-Islamist movement from an intellectual and cultural point of view. His expressions reflected the feelings of Muslim intellectuals who expected the revival and salvation of the Muslim world in a political, economic, and social development and in an environment of freedom.⁴²⁶

Said Halim undoubtedly aimed with Pan-Islamism at an Islamic reform that would enable all Muslim societies to raise their intellectual capacities and abilities and would prompt Muslims to get rid of the chains of ignorance and slavery and improve their material-spiritual conditions. Meanwhile, Said Halim encouraged a religious-cultural awakening not only against foreign powers, but also against the despotic rulers of Muslim countries so that he thought that the Muslim world was exploited not only by the Western imperialists but also by his absolute rulers. Authoritarian Muslim rulers, he asserted, suppressed Muslim peoples, and prevented their development; for this reason, they caused Muslims peoples to keep in ignorance and seized their freedom. Said Halim, therefore, wrote that Muslim administrators were at least as responsible as European colonialists for the backwardness and decline of Muslims. The whole Muslim world, he continued, should unite and fight against all Muslim tyrants, including even the Caliph, as well as the Western imperialists. In the sight of Said Halim Pasha, Muslim rulers, including the Caliph, who divested the Muslim people of the most fundamental right to freedom and hindered their development, were extremely harmful and needed to be expelled.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 4-5, 8-12.

⁴²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 8-12; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 18, 21; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...’”, Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 105-106; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akvam-ı

While Said Halim tried to prove that the Pan-Islamist movement did not actually have any hostile feelings and aims towards Europeans, he at the same time criticized the animosity of the Westerners against the Muslim world. According to Said Halim, Islamic unity aimed at the development of Muslim societies and intended to liberate Muslim individuals more, just as the Westerners who had experienced many revolutions in the name of freedom and progress in the past. Hence, he emphasized that it was not fair to interpret the Pan-Islamist movement as fanaticism and Westerners had no right to harbour a contempt against the Islamic revival.⁴²⁸

Said Halim Pasha claimed that the Muslim world met scholastic ideas as a result of the relations established with the Christian clergy during the Crusades, and that the scholastic ideas of the Europeans affected the Islamic intellectual life and prevented its development. However, he believed that the Pan-Islamist reform, whose basis was completely Islamization, would stop the decline and collapse of the Muslim world and restore Islamic civilization to its former power and glory.⁴²⁹ The nature of Pan-Islamism in views of Said Halim actually represented the modern Islamic reform of the Muslim societies. In this context, he thought different from Afghani, who dealt with the Pan-Islamism movement as a political ideology that united the Muslim world and encouraged them to defend themselves against the attacks of Western imperialist countries. The Pan-Islamism, thought, was an important path, which would lay the foundation for the reawakening and progressing of Muslim societies. His approach, in fact, reflected the Pan-Islamist attitude of Mohammad Abduh, who regarded the liberation and development of Muslim societies as a religious reform rather than an anti-imperialist struggle against European powers. As mentioned before, making no concessions from the anti-imperialist tendency of Afghani at the beginning, Abduh adopted a different method of salvation and progress than his

İslamiye'nin Esbab-ı İnhitatı'', *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XV, No: 371, 26 Eylül 1334[26 September 1918], p. 123.

⁴²⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 18, 21, 29-30; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 105-106; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 123, 125-126.

⁴²⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 18,21, 29-30; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 105-106; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 125-126; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 15-16.

teacher. In this context, Abduh, who prompted Muslims to show the necessary determination and effort in order to reach the high level of civilization which they had before, proposed a gradual intellectual and religious-social reform in various fields and contributed actively to some of them.⁴³⁰ First of all, he emphasized that religious thought should be freed from the chain of imitation and that religion should be comprehended with the method of the *Salaf* at the time when there were no conflicts, and with the first sources. According to Abduh, it had become an urgent need to train scholars who were in direct contact with the Qur'an and Sunnah (*the total words and actions of the Prophet*) and the works of the early period, and who make judgments based on evidence, and who were open to scientific criticism and discussion, and who were far from sectarianism. This issue, he said, was also important in terms of preventing superstitions from Islam.⁴³¹

In fact, while Mohammad Abduh tried to resuscitate the Islamic lifestyle in Muslim societies, he encouraged them to take beneficial aspects of Western civilization. As a matter of fact, Muslims could not ignore the Western civilization with its advanced economic, technical, and scientific developments. Abduh engaged to find solutions to the problems of the Islamic world with his reformism and rational interpretations, which envisaged a synthesis between Islamic thought and Western modernization. Thus, it is significant to remark once again that Said Halim's intellectual and cultural Pan-Islamist ideas were to some extent based on Abduh's theories on Islamic unity.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Islamic world lost its unity and integrity, declined in science and technology, weakened economically. Moreover, Westerners colonized most of the Islamic countries, brought them under their political and cultural domination. It was also a time when ignorance, innovations and superstitions alienated Muslims from the essence of Islam. The above-mentioned Islamist thinkers aimed to prevent the internal collapse of the Islamic world and to save the Muslim societies from the yoke of the Westerners, who enslaved Muslims in their exploitation system. In fact, the Islamist movement was correlated with the Western

⁴³⁰ Abduh, *Tevhîd...*, pp. 49, 50-52, 54, 194-98; 220-29; Abduh, *The Theology...*, pp. 13, 15, 22, 66, 123-32; 132-51, 151-54.

⁴³¹ Abduh, *Tevhîd...*, pp. 73-88; Abduh, *The Theology...*, pp. 29-40.

imperialist domination; namely, the efforts of the colonial Western powers to dominate other parts of the world by using their political, economic, and high-tech advantages led to the emergence of the Islamist movement in the Islamic world. In addition, since the rise of European societies was associated with the age of modernity, the Pan-Islamist movement, both politically and intellectually, was interpreted as the reaction to the effects of modernity on Muslim societies. Ira Lapidus made important comments on the subject and wrote:

*“In the modern crises of both the 18th and 19th centuries and the 20th century, a major Islamic response has been to reaffirm the fundamentals of Islamic morality, purify the practice of Islam from later additions, motivate people to enter communal and political movements to defend the interests of the community, and establish Islamic states in place of corrupt local leaders or foreign rulers. Earlier reformism and contemporary revivalism represent a parallel response to the deeper forces transforming the world order in the 19th and 20th centuries. In both cases Islamic revivalism represents not a return to the past but a form of modernity.”*⁴³²

It is seen that the author interpreted the Islamic revivalist movement both as a reaction to the impositions of modernity - the autocracy of the state and capitalist economic development - and as a cultural expression of modernity.

Indeed, the Islamist thinker and intellectuals who confronted these challenges of their time desired to modernize the Muslim societies by maintaining of being Muslim despite the realities of modernism. It was not possible for them to ignore the growing pressure to modernize in the face of the Muslim world. For this reason, they encouraged Muslim societies to keep up with the conditions of the age while preserving their Islamic beliefs and values. Therefore, the emergence of the Islamist movement was a natural result of the political, economic, and technological developments of the period.

⁴³² Ira Lapidus, “Islamic Revival and Modernity- The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.40, No. 4 (1997), pp. 454-455.

4.2. Religion, Human Beings and Natural Laws

Said Halim Pasha thought that the whole social structure of Islam is based on the basic principle of the absolute supremacy of the Sharia; set of Islamic laws and rules, and the true Islamic community, he said, is dependent only on this religious domination. He also stated that man is subjected to the social laws and that the source of social and moral laws is based on the divine authority. To express it in his own words:

*“...the principle of the sovereignty of the Shari’at is the recognition of the fundamental truth that all existence, of whatever nature, is subject to the natural laws which are particular to it, and consequently, that the social existence of men is subject to the natural social laws, as their physical existence is subject to the natural physical laws. ...The whole social work of Islam rests upon the fundamental principle of the sovereignty of the ‘Shariat’. The Muslim society is the one that is subject to this sovereignty. The Shari’at is the set of natural ethical and social truths that the Prophet revealed to us in the name of the Creator, on which human happiness depends.”*⁴³³

In addition, Said Halim Pasha thought that the rule of Shari’at, which is the standard of ethical and social truth, meant the supremacy of moral and social laws which were natural, unchangeable, and not dependent on human’s pleasure and will, and which are no different from the natural laws prevailing in the entire universe. At this point, *“the Shari’at, pointed out Said Halim, is in perfect harmony with the laws of nature”* and even *“the Shari’at is nothing less than the laws of nature revealed to humankind by the Prophet.”*⁴³⁴ It should be noted that the Islamic interpretation of natural laws is quite different from that of the West. In the West, it is thought that the natural law as an order of existing things is autonomous from the will of the divinity;

⁴³³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XIX, No: 494, 11 Mart 1338[11 March 1922], p. 275; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir à la Reforme de la Société Musulmane*, (Paris: Extrait De La Revue Orient et Occident, 1922), p. 5; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of Muslim Society”, *Islamic Culture*, Vol.I, No: 1, (January 1927), pp. 112-113.

⁴³⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 275; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 5; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 112-113.

in other words, the divinity itself leaves the natural law alone.⁴³⁵ Contrary to the interpretations in the West, Said Halim Pasha based the source of the natural law upon the divine power. Indeed, the Islamic body of rules, he asserted, constitute natural law itself.

Emphasizing that man was surrounded by social and physical laws, Said Halim also articulated that regardless of its characteristic, no force could compel a man to be subject to the pleasure and the will of another human being, group, or community. The human being, he wrote, could be surrendered only to the absolute power of its Creator, who is manifested in the universe by its eternal natural laws.⁴³⁶

Said Halim Pasha also considered the supremacy of the Sharia as the dominance of divine power, which is the natural guardian of moral values and social justice, and as well as the dominance of science, reason, and wisdom. According to him, “*Shari’at has no supernatural character as people represent it as having.*” Therefore, he emphasized that “*it is neither spiritual nor priesthood, as many claim, but on the contrary, it is completely innate and natural, like all other natural laws.*”⁴³⁷ As can be understood from these statements, Said Halim accepted the Shari’at as the most appropriate set of rules for the wellbeing of humanity.

In his article, called “*İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye (Islamic Political System)*”, Said Halim also referred to the role of Islam in the intellectual development of people:

“*...in this way, Islam put an end to systems, which are based only on custom or reason and, which were full of superstitions, dogmatism, and deviances leading people for centuries and, which did great things in the formation and evolution of societies. ...Besides, Islam enabled humanity to be saved from*

⁴³⁵ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 86-89.

⁴³⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 275; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 6; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 113.

⁴³⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 276; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 6; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 113.

*the mind's delusions and heresy, which keep from developing of man's fundamental intellectual capacities...'*⁴³⁸

In fact, it is possible to interpret his statements that Islam eliminated ancient superstitions and prejudices and enabled human beings to use their intellectual skills without any hindrance. In other words, he implied that the advent of Islam played very important role in emergence of a scientific revolution in favour of Islamic ummah.

And yet, continued Said Halim Pasha, even though man has proven his ability to discover laws of nature laws such as physics and chemistry, and to understand them objectively, he has failed to find out moral and social laws by his own efforts. The reason for this, he argued, is that human cannot remain objective while trying to examine and to understand the laws concerning humanity. In this regard, Said Halim wrote that:

*“The question now arises as to why the revelation of the Cheriatic took place. These faculties of observation and reasoning which are sufficient for man to discover the physical and chemical laws, why do they not succeed in making him comprehend the ethical and social laws? Well, it is obvious that there is an essential difference between the two categories of human knowledge. Indeed, the former, in so far as they concern man, offer a certain basis for study only from the point of view of his physical being. They are thus of a purely objective order. As for the latter, they are related to the man as a moral, conscious, and sociable creature. Therefore, they are of a sentimental, spiritual, psychological order; that is, they are eminently subjective, and do not offer a ground for positive order. Man has the necessary independence and objectivity of mind to draw correct conclusions concerning facts and phenomena which occur mechanically outside his will and over which his personal particularities and innate tendencies have no control. He can derive some rules and even some laws from them that correspond to the truth. This is something undebatable. Regardless of the conditions, all observations and discovering of human as social and moral being can never be available for real discovery of social and moral laws. For these observations and ratiocinations cannot be get rid of man's inadequacy or imperfections forever.”*⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, pp. 275-76; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 6-7; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 113.

⁴³⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 276; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 7-8; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 114.

It can be deduced from mentioned statements, Said Halim acknowledged that man is equipped with two different kinds of knowledge: Divine knowledge and human knowledge. Divine knowledge is objective, which is not subject to the pleasure and will of man, nor is it dependent on the good or bad morality of his morals. Therefore, it is quite natural for a person to examine the events taking place around himself with an impartial eye and reach some truths and laws of nature. In other words, Man can investigate and understanding events, which are not subject to their own will, with an impartial and independent perspective. Nevertheless, human knowledge is subjective. When a person attempts to make moral and social inferences under the influence of his own feelings and thoughts, the situation would become completely reversed. Because under any conditions, personal observations and investigations of person are never suitable for discovering social and moral laws in a real sense since they cannot be free from subjectivity. In fact, human as a social being fails to investigate and understand the social and moral laws truly because human beings surround with their own imperfections, preventing them to reach true and complete results.

Related to the issue mentioned above, Said Halim Pasha indicated that the Western civilized nations are the most vivid proof for the natural incapacity of man to discover the truth. According to him, while Westerners' knowledge of scientific laws has increased so much that they have not ever seen in any other period of history, the same nations are in an astonishing level of ignorance and unawareness towards the moral and social laws.⁴⁴⁰ For this reason, Said Halim wrote that “*just because of man's inherent incapability, the Prophet communicated social and moral laws to humankind and left the task of discovering other natural laws to people with their own efforts and tools.*” He also argued if the Prophet had not informed the people, they would not have been able to recognize forever the fundamental social and moral laws on which happiness of human depends. Moreover, the Prophet urged Muslims not to hesitate to take wisdom which is the legitimate property of a Muslim and he also encouraged Muslims to learn and discover the scientific knowledge and to go

⁴⁴⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 276; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 8; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 114.

even unto China, in order to obtain it.⁴⁴¹ From these orders and advices of the Prophet, concluded Said Halim, that “*Shari’at; or Islam, has given physical sciences an exceptional importance and Islam makes mentioned sciences the essential factors of human’s happiness.*”⁴⁴²

In addition, Said Halim Pasha attracted attention to important points in the context of the relationship between religion, society, natural laws, and morality. The social lesson of Islam, he stated, informs that a natural Islamic society; that is, a society in compliance with natural, moral, and social laws, is based on the principle of absolute domination of the Sharia. On this issue, Said Halim also asserted that:

*“Islam teaches us, besides, that the happiest society is that which best knows and best applies, not only the moral and social laws, but also the physical laws; in other words, the society which is built upon the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the Shari’at and which can best obey the totality of the Creator’s will.”*⁴⁴³

It is clear that Islamic natural law, claimed Said Halim, is nothing but the revealed law of God and the immanence of God in nature.

Said Halim Pasha remarked that even if the man’s happiness, brought by just social and moral truths, became genuine, permanent, and unchangeable, it would be still incomplete materially. He stated, on the other hand, that the material welfare and felicity, given by the sciences based on only physical laws, would be deprived of both social happiness, prosperity, and spiritual pleasures.⁴⁴⁴ It is understood from this that Said Halim righteously thought that neither social and moral facts and values, and nor physical laws independently would provide happiness and provide the social

⁴⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...,” Vol.XIX, No: 494, pp. 276-277; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 8; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 114.

⁴⁴² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...,” Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 277; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 8; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 114.

⁴⁴³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...,” Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 277; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 8-9; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 114-115.

⁴⁴⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...,” Vol.XIX, No: 494, pp. 277; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 9; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 115.

wellbeing expected. That is, he expressed that the mentioned laws and values interact with each other, and that the material and spiritual prosperity of a society is based on total harmony of the social, moral rules and the laws of nature.

Said Halim Pasha remarked that the crisis in which the Islamic community was caught stems from its ignorance of the natural material laws. This ignorance pushes Muslims to material misery by preventing them from benefiting from the blessings of nature, ultimately deprives them of political independence. Said Halim, the depression that the Western society is exposed to stems from its ignorance of natural-moral laws, which causes it to suffer in a constant social crisis. Comparing Islam and Western societies, Said Halim Pasha thought that Muslims are deprived of material well-being, and the Westerners could not reach the complete spiritual prosperity; they are, therefore, deprived of social well-being.⁴⁴⁵ As can be seen, Said Halim Pasha made mention of a social and natural order dominated by the Shari'at. According to him, "natural laws" and "ethical and social laws" that dominate the universe came from the same divine source. In other words, Said Halim asserted that like social and moral laws, the physical laws are also included in the principles of Shari'at, and they are all in harmony with each other in terms of representing the God's supreme will. However, there is a difference in the way these laws were observed and understood by human beings. While man can remain impartial in investigating and comprehending natural laws, he cannot achieve it when examining social and moral laws. Because man himself is involved in and directly affected by the social and moral orders. Therefore, the Prophets explained these laws to people on behalf of the Creator and drew the limits of the mentioned laws.

4.3. Man's Social Duties and Responsibilities

While emphasizing the importance of social structure, Said Halim Pasha expressed that people needed to learn that there were social issues which were completely different from, and even more important than the political and administrative issues.

⁴⁴⁵ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XIX, No: 494, pp. 277-278; Said Halim Paşa, "İslâm'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye", *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XX, No. 498, 22 Nisan 1338[22 April 1922], p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 28; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 127.

As a requirement of strong social structure, people should know that they were responsible for social duties which have not been even thought of. “Understanding and fulfilling social duties, he expressed, depended on teaching why social ties are necessary for the community. Therefore, it should be known that the transformation of a human community into an organized society depends on the common feelings and customs of the individuals, their unity around the same goal, with ideas and beliefs that are compatible with each other. So, it is essential to comprehend thoroughly that the loss of this unity would lead to the destruction of the society by eliminating any possibility of progress. Because the progress of humanity could only be possible if people live in a society.”⁴⁴⁶ With respect to the establishment and sources of social ties, Said Halim Pasha stated that:

*“The ties of society arise from the life spent together in the past and the spiritual and intellectual inheritance left from the ancestors. In other words, it is consisted of the totality of traditions and conventions, which are the outcome of man and time. We must also know that these ties cannot be replaced by any other bonds that people can imagine.”*⁴⁴⁷

Accordingly, he said that respect to the past, traditions, morals, and customs is one of the basic social duties. The members of the society should believe that a society leaving such ties would also break from social ties and turn into a primitive human community.

According to Said Halim, members of the society should also become aware of that the common morality and faith, which ensures the unity of goal, is derived from religion of Islam, and therefore, it is the most important social duty of people to perform the religious practices, and to show respect to the religion and to devote themselves to it. In this regard, the revival of artistic activities, he thought, is one of the fundamental social duties of individuals and he drew attention to the fact that fine arts should be assumed as the most important social elements since they would arouse the common feelings and pleasures among people. According to him,

⁴⁴⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaacılık, 1332[1916]), p. 12.

⁴⁴⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 12.

“*artistic influences mean the manifestation of common feelings and pleasures, and they are communal values. So, we should learn that promoting our own fine arts, our own music, our own architectural style, and our own works of art is one of our social duties.*”⁴⁴⁸ These views indicate that Said Halim kept himself away from imitation, even against it. He urged individuals to follow and adopt their own social traditions and customs rather than imported values so that they could construct a durable social order. Additionally, he tried to show that a social structure could survive only with the help of its authentic values. It is most probably that Said Halim warned the Muslim people against the social influences of Western nations.

With a very realistic approach, Said Halim Pasha mentioned that a society could not be permanent only with the social ties of the time; it should also have the power to satisfy its needs apart from adapting its movement to the necessities of the time. Moreover, he specifically stated that a society should try to evolve to ensure its existence and continuation, and it should also respect the past and determine its future while following its current policy.⁴⁴⁹

Said Halim Pasha importantly indicated that:

“*Our social duties are included in our religious duties; therefore, while we perform our religious duties, we also fulfill our social duties. However, we have lost this opportunity since we started to neglect religion and spirituality by seeking salvation and salvation in material things. Our social duties, which we were unaware of, remained unimplemented.*”⁴⁵⁰

Said Halim Pasha dwelled on the role of the religion in maintaining social ties and carrying out social duties. In fact, he tried to indicate that the religious principles and practices enabled members of the society to protect their social ties and to establish a consolidated social basis. Moreover, Said Halim Pasha said that a human, in fact, fulfil his social duties without realizing it while performing his religious obligations.

⁴⁴⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁴⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 13-14.

In brief, Said Halim Pasha counted the common past, unique traditions, morals, religious beliefs and practices, fine arts, music, and original architectural style, as the reflection of common feelings and pleasures, as the most significant bonds which ensure the unity and solidarity among the individuals of a society. As the primary social duty, accentuated Said Halim, every one of the societies must learn, adopt and transfer the material and spiritual values, as the building blocks that hold the society together, to the next generations. To build a society on solid foundations, individuals must guide their social duties and ties and be united around the same goal with common customs, ideas, and beliefs. In addition to these, members of a society must determine their directions suitable for the conditions of the period in which they lived and constantly progress to ensure social peace.

4.4. The Social Order Based on Islamic Ethics

Said Halim Pasha, as mentioned above, presented an Islamic-based ethical and social system. The Islamic Shari'at is a set of ethical and social natural facts. The social structure of Islam has based on the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the Shari'at. The ideal Islamic nation: or *Ummah*, he underlined, was the society that obeyed and complied with its sovereignty. A Muslim, thought Said Halim, regards the moral, social, and political maxims and traditions of Islam as the life-giving principles that constitute his spiritual being and organize his social organization, and shows reverence and devotion to them.⁴⁵¹

Said Halim underlined that the social principles of Islam have complete integrity because they are derived from Islamic ethics. It does not divide people into aristocratic and democratic classes. In other words, the Islamic social structure does not divide the members of society into an elite class, some of whom has special rights, and a despised and wretched class, deprived of even the most natural rights.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 19; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 106.

⁴⁵² Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 19; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 106.

Expressing the necessity of a totality of Islamic thought, which was the main pillar of the social system based on Islamic morality for the happiness of humanity, Said Halim Pasha underlined that the principles of freedom, equality/inequality/justice and cooperation/solidarity should be realized in order for this social system to take place. He wrote that by instituting the sovereignty of the Shari'at, Islam established the principle of true equality, truest liberty, and there with the principle of true human solidarity, thus creating the highest and truest social ideal.

Said Halim, therefore, summarized all social and political activities of a person getting as close as possible to a goal which arise from essential principles of freedom, justice, and cooperation and which included all moral, spiritual, social, and political perfection.⁴⁵³

Said Halim Pasha thought that morality was not just individual it was also a social phenomenon and had an active role in ensuring social peace and harmony. For this reason, the rules of society arising from the Islamic moral values had to be based on the principles of freedom, equality, and cooperation among people.

Consequently, Said Halim said that Islamic morality of society had built the principles of freedom, equality, and cooperation in the name of right, wisdom and justice among people. Said Halim lastly emphasized that every individual in an Islamic society would strengthen his solidarity with the society by complying with Islamic moral structure.

4.4.1. Freedom

Said Halim Pasha stated that the Islamic social morality required complete personal freedom. He elaborated on this issue: The Islamic social morality was completely based on the principle of full and wide personal freedom since the search for truth and its application could only be possible with the free movement and development

⁴⁵³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No: 494, p. 275; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 5; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 112.

of all moral and intellectual features of man. Moreover, Islamic moral values, argued Said Halim, made people accept this freedom because of belief in God. According to him, freedom was an output of humanity's efforts to seek the truth and find justice.⁴⁵⁴

Islamic morality, asserted Said Halim, imposed the duty of being free on person to expand his capacity for development as much as he could. In other words, according to Islam, freedom was not a political right that people were free to use or not, or that the legislator; that is, the state, could give and take whenever it wants. Muslims, he believed, were obliged to know, and apply the truth in all their experiences. Thusly, every Muslim was obliged to be as free as he could. According to Said Halim, freedom was not a choice, but it was a responsibility which was given to a Muslim by the religion he accepted and the morality he adopted as a guide.⁴⁵⁵ In addition, Said Halim Pasha once again expressed the same truth as follows: “*The most sacred duty of a Muslim is to be free, and unless there is freedom, neither true happiness nor true progress is possible.*”⁴⁵⁶

As can be inferred from the expressions of Said Halim that freedom for a Muslim was more of a duty than a right. So, a Muslim had to be free. Even if he was not free, he was responsible for gaining his freedom, and if he was free, he had to protect his freedom. Even the state had no authority to restrict human freedom. To the extent that Muslim's freedom was restrained, his possibility to discover and apply the truth would also diminish. This approach was completely opposite to Islamic moral values. Said Halim Pasha's opposition to Sultan Abdülhamit II may be based on this definite belief in freedom. This belief spread to Europe under the influence of the French Revolution and became a common feature of the Ottoman intellectuals through Westernization.⁴⁵⁷ However, not only the effect of ideas arisen by the French Revolution, but also Said Halim's free-spirited personality was also influential in his

⁴⁵⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XIX, No: 493, 26 Şubat 1338[26 February 1922], p. 264.

⁴⁵⁷ İsmail Kara, "Said Halim Paşa'nın Hayatı ve Görüşleri I, İslamlaşmak", *Fikir ve Sanatta Hareket Dergisi*, No: 11-12, (January-February 1980), p. 21.

antagonism against the Sultan. As mentioned before, Said Halim was born and grew up in an extremely free environment and developed himself. Undoubtedly, Pasha's background constantly encouraged him to maintain his freedom.

4.4.2. Equality/Inequality

According to Said Halim Pasha; equality was to recognize the right of personal qualities to develop in complete freedom, and the right of everyone to progress freely according to his own desires and talents. His statements can be interpreted as it was possible for some individuals in the society to have special abilities and talents, and there should be no obstacles to the development and evolution of these abilities, and everyone should be treated fairly. The following words of Said Halim were quite remarkable in terms of revealing his approach to equality/inequality:

“While the Islamic morality accepted the existence of complete freedom among people as a necessity due to researching and implementing the truth; on the other hand, for the same reason, it also approved the ‘inequality’ that would arise among people because of the differences of their natural and personal abilities. Because inequality in a correct and logical context was also a natural consequence of freedom and equality.”⁴⁵⁸

Said Halim, who said that being free of everybody meant equality of everybody, wrote that freedom and equality would lead to love and cooperation among people. The freedom, wrote Said Halim, required everyone to benefit freely from the acquisition of their hands, and people expected to be rewarded and their efforts encouraged by the freedom. Ultimately, the individual who raised and developed in this way would serve the common goal of Islam as much as he could. Freedom, he claimed, also gained accuracy and intelligibility in this respect.

It is understood from the views of Said Halim that the morality of Islam demanded equality among individuals and considered it as reasonable for some individuals to go one better than others since it was quite natural in terms of Islamic moral values. As a matter of fact, what ensured happiness and prosperity in society was personal

⁴⁵⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 8-9.

abilities and superiorities. The society has appreciated, has respected, and has not hesitated to entrust a task to the one who has risen in his own right.⁴⁵⁹ Said Halim thought this was an important factor contributing to the social justice in society. In these circumstances, the inequality coming from equality, the pressure arising from freedom developed and strengthened solidarity in the society, wrote Said Halim. Referring to the fact that personal superiority could be achieved within the framework of Islamic moral values, Said Halim emphasized the following in this regard:

*“Personal superiority in the Islamic community could only be achieved by better understanding and implementing Islamic principles. Since this advancement was succeeded by complying with the conditions demanded by Islam, it also ensured the development of freedom, equality, and cooperation; otherwise, it could not be effective.”*⁴⁶⁰

Said Halim Pasha made a distinction about equality/inequality in the political and social field. He asserted that the desire of the people was equality in politics but inequality in social life. Accordingly, the political administration, which undertook the task of ensuring political equality, must also fulfil social inequality among people. He noticed that unless this important duty was carried out, the society would not maintain its progress. As a matter of fact, Said Halim drew attention to the fact that if personal superiority and virtues has disappeared and the individuals has not used their rights and fulfilled their duties and responsibilities in spite of legal equality in a society, the development of the society would become impossible, and the equality would inevitably turn into a social disaster. bring be a social destruction. Because the devastations dragging a society into depression, argued Said Halim, might not only arise from inequality among individuals, but also might stem from equality. Although the Islamic society ensured equality and freedom among people, it also paid attention to the protection of natural imbalances between individuals. With respect to this, Said Halim noticed that an unjust inequality would also create problems. He wrote that inequality would become a social disaster if it reached a

⁴⁵⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 11.

degree that was contrary to justice by preventing individual abilities from developing in complete freedom.⁴⁶¹

At this point, Said Halim Pasha indicated that the social crisis of the western societies was caused by inequality, and the social crisis of the eastern Islamic countries was due to equality. For this reason, while the western society moved towards populism, the Ottoman society tended towards the educated-cultivated structure by increasing inequalities.

Additionally, Said Halim expressed that the scope of freedom and equality in any society depended on the degree of social morality of the individuals. Therefore, this was directly associated with the social and ethical principles on which the society was based. From this perspective, inequality in the West, he declared, reached unjust levels.⁴⁶²

4.4.3. Cooperation/Solidarity

Said Halim Pasha wrote that Islamic morality set the principles of freedom, equality, and cooperation, which were intricate, among people for the sake of truth, wisdom, and justice. As mentioned above, the Islamic morality both demanded equality among individuals, and considered it as natural for some people to develop than others. This situation, thought Said Halim, prompted cooperation, which was another Islamic moral principle. In these circumstances, he explained that the weak and backward people could receive support, and those who were not restrained could maintain to progress in the free environment.⁴⁶³

Said Halim Pasha wrote that the Islamic society, like all societies, consisted of three parts, such as high, middle, and common people. He argued that the moral duty of all three layers was to be worthy of and enjoy as much freedom as possible. Said Halim,

⁴⁶¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1332[1916], p. 17.

⁴⁶² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁶³ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 9.

at this point, associated freedom, and equality with the social cooperation/solidarity. Namely, he said that a person could protect his own freedom on condition that he showed respect to the freedom of others. Since mutual respect for rights would ensure the establishment and development of equality among individuals, the Islamic community had to protect and expand the individuals' freedom and equality. Social necessity with this social benefit yielded the result of social cooperation. In fact, Said Halim could explain how solidarity of faith turned into social solidarity. In this way, the cooperation created by belief became "social solidarity" after going through some phases.⁴⁶⁴

Said Halim Pasha, who did not believe in the unlimited freedom and equality in any way, stated that there were limits to freedom and equality in Islamic society. The freedom and equality of a Muslim was the result of his obligation to develop and progress. Accordingly, the level of freedom and equality of individuals would be determined in proportion to the moral and spiritual maturity which the members of the Islamic society could reach. For this reason, Said Halim implied that the higher the ethical and spiritual level of the society meant the greater the freedom and equality as well as perfect welfare and happiness. On the contrary, low moral and spiritual levels corresponded to insufficient levels of the social equality and freedom, as well as the less prosperity and happiness.⁴⁶⁵

Said Halim Pasha dwelled on the importance of scope of freedom, equality, and cooperation. He wrote in this context that:

*“Every individual will learn that the degree of his own freedom and happiness will be as much as his own moral and spiritual value. Freedom means ‘development and happiness’. A person cannot be free and happy unless he shows respect the others’ freedom and happiness. In that case, Islamic cooperation is an important condition of progress and happiness. It is a condition as important as freedom.”*⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 10.

⁴⁶⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 10, 28, 32; Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 29.

Said Halim also claimed that no other force could restrict or prevent a Muslim's freedom other than his own fault and incompetence. This freedom, he continued, could continually increase to the extent of the individual's ability to grow, but never exceeding it. Said Halim noticed also that if the degree of freedom were greater than the individual's ability, it would become a transfigured dictatorship and it would not be a right worthy of respect. He attributed the reasons why political and social revolutions with the aim of providing more freedom and equality did not occur in Islamic societies to the above explanation.⁴⁶⁷ Because Muslim people have known that Islamic morality has offered enough freedom and equality proportional with persons' ethical and spiritual sufficiency.

Consequently, Said Halim Pasha stated that Islamic morality established the principles of freedom, equality, and cooperation in the name of right, wisdom, and justice among people. In other words, he implied that those who followed this divine order would be rewarded and those who disobeyed would be punished. Expressing the morality of society arising from the Islamic belief in this way, he accentuated that every individual in an Islamic society would provide his integration with the society by complying with this moral structure.

4.4.4. Correlation Between Social Duty/Right and Freedom

Said Halim Pasha expressed that man had social duties, which were the most significant among his public responsibilities, and he dealt with the relationship between duty and freedom as follows: He wrote that whoever pronounced the word duty also expressed the meanings of right and freedom. Thus, just as there were political rights and freedoms, there were also social ones. The laws, claimed Said Halim, were born of rights and duties, and social laws, like political laws, also emerged from these sources. Moreover, he said while social laws established and protected society, political laws regulated the conditions of society and ensured its progress.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 26.

According to Said Halim, who divided freedom into two as social and political, the most distinctive feature of social freedoms was that they were acquired in proportion to what degree they were deserved. In other words, social freedoms could be obtained in return for the fulfilment of a social duty. Therefore, it can be inferred that social freedom was outcome of a social duty. Said Halim said that a greater ability in the fulfilment of duty gave man a greater freedom. Thus, social freedom was deserved as a sign of appreciation of proven capability. Said Halim found it necessary, and he remarked that this prudential social principle would curb the social freedom to directly affect the existence of society and prevented some important mistakes that might cause the society's disaster in this regard.⁴⁶⁹

Said Halim Pasha touched upon an important point in the context of natural rights and freedoms. He, like Rousseau, criticized the theory of natural rights, especially the right of being born free. For him, “*nothing is more false and anti-liberal than defending the idea that human beings possess certain natural rights.*” The only thing which he perceived as natural is human's ability to adapt himself to his environment. In his words, he wrote that:

*“People generally believe it to be a sign of great liberalism to claim that human beings come into the world with certain natural rights, including the right to be free. But nothing could be further from the truth, or even further from liberalism. Man has no natural rights. The only natural right he possesses is the faculty of adapting himself to his environment, that is, of observing the natural laws to which his moral and physical existence is subject and of conforming to them, in other words, of fulfilling his duties.”*⁴⁷⁰

Man, continued Said Halim, acquires rights by his own efforts such as by receiving a thorough education and acquiring many virtues. He said that:

⁴⁶⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁷⁰ Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 115-116; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 10. Also See M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Said Halim Paşa-Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2020), pp. 226-227.

*“It is by fulfilling his duty that he acquires the right to be upheld; it is by practising virtue that he acquires the right to be respected; and it is by conforming to his moral and social duties that he earns the right to a certain measure of liberty, the worth of which is very exactly determined, by the intrinsic moral and social value of the duties he fulfils and the manner in which he discharges them.”*⁴⁷¹

In a word, by fulfilling the social and moral duties demanded by the society, man acquires freedom whose extent is determined according to the social and moral values of the duties he fulfils. As for political freedoms, they were the opposite of social freedoms. There was no need for merit in order to gain political freedoms. Because political freedoms arise not from the individual's power to do something, but from the need or desire to have the right and freedom to do them. Because political freedoms arise not from the individual's power to do something, but from the need or desire to have the right and freedom to do them.⁴⁷²

Said Halim Pasha thought that the freedom to do something did not endow a person with the capacity and power to do that thing. At best, it helped to prepare the possibility of gaining mentioned capability and power. However, this opportunity did not always provide the required competency. According to him, this competence and power could either be earned or not. He stressed on that adequacy and power were not gained; the freedom was lost.

Said Halim asserted that political issues were related to the form and conditions of the society. In this respect, the abuse of political freedoms did not directly affect the existence of the society. Therefore, political freedoms, wrote Said Halim, were far from profound effect on society than social freedoms did.⁴⁷³ Moreover, Said Halim claimed that a society can compensate for the damages caused by political wrongdoings and evils as long as it is able to fulfil its social duties properly.

⁴⁷¹ Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 116; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 10-11; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 227.

⁴⁷² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 27.

⁴⁷³ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 27.

It does not appear possible to agree with the views of Said Halim Pasha on political and social freedoms because they seemed to lose validity. Nowadays, all kind of political decisions directly affected the society. In other words, people from the variety levels of the society can directly feel the positive or negative aspects of political decisions and the politicians can easily dominate the peoples.

Said Halim also indicated important point that since political freedom was not subject to a condition such as being deserved, it was gained for the benefit of some and to the detriment of others, like everything that was obtained by force or force. He thought that:

“The political struggles recorded in the history of nations and their adverse effects arose from this nature of political freedoms. However, there was no example of hatred and discord emerging from people’s social freedoms. On the contrary, social freedoms have always connected people to each other, while political freedoms separated them.”⁴⁷⁴

As a result, it can be deduced from this detail that social duties in social life required freedom, and political freedoms in political life necessitated duty. Said Halim was also critical of the fact that social freedom was something deserved, while political freedom often remained undeserved. In respect to the issue Said Halim said that *“while a greater competency in the social field provided a wider freedom, the freedoms in the political field required the fulfilment of many more political duties. Thusly, political freedom often waited to be deserved.”⁴⁷⁵*

Said Halim Pasha, who expressed that there was fundamental difference between social and political freedoms, claimed that social duty could be very diverse depending on whether the morality of the society was corrupted or strong.

⁴⁷⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 28.

⁴⁷⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 28.

Additionally, he was very sure that the basis on which social freedom was depended, like its original nature, was unchangeable.⁴⁷⁶

Said Halim Pasha thought that a social duty could only be carried out by a social means. For this reason, the attempt of the executive power to prevent social disobedience movements through its officials led to an increase in public discontent every time. In other words, getting rid of a social disorder by measures such as police force could cause to reinforce the social crisis without being aware of it. In this respect, Said Halim argued that feminist movement skilfully took advantage of this situation. According to Said Halim, interventions towards social disorders should be carried out again through social means: he proposed the establishment of a ‘social protection association’ consisting of men and women who could gain the trust and respect of their citizens and who could do their duty of defence and guidance against the society. In addition to this, he thought that the executive power should enlighten the public conscience with sermons, orations, and books, suggesting that social turmoil be urgently prevented before destroying social structure.⁴⁷⁷

4.5. Women’s Rights and Freedoms

Said Halim Pasha considered the claims of some women about freedom were one of the most dangerous consequences of the Ottoman social corruption. He claimed that some women wanted to abandon the veil, to meet with men permanently, and to spend their life like Western women in freeness. Married women, he continued, did not want to accept the dominance of their husbands, and young girls could not tolerate parental tutelage. Briefly, women now wished to be free, to act as they want, and not to be held accountable to anyone for what they do. Said Halim expressed that some men as well supported such claims and requests of these feminist women. These men, too, insisted that unless the intolerable tyranny of men was ended and women’s expectations were satisfied, modernization and progress in the country could not be achieved and social life could not be established. According to Said

⁴⁷⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 28.

⁴⁷⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 34-35.

Halim, men who had such an idea thought that their ideal Western civilization progressed because of the superiority of women in Western societies and their complete freedom. Said Halim challenged with this idea and drew attention that:

*“If this were true, it would constitute an important event that disproved the history of nations. Because no civilization has ever started with the freedom of women; on the contrary, historical events reveal that all civilizations were destroyed with the seizure of full freedom by women.”*⁴⁷⁸

It is clear point that Said Halim confessed that the Ottoman feminism was one of the main reasons for Ottoman social dissolution. He thought that feminist claims that emerged by taking advantage of the weakening of the power of social sanction could only survive with the continuation of this weakness. Said Halim more importantly mentioned that feminist movement asserted to have emerged from Western feminism because it wanted to hide its illegitimate source.

In spite of his negative attitude against the feminist discourses, Said Halim Pasha, who thought that everything was an element of civilization according to its characteristics and abilities, expressed that “there is no doubt that women have very important role as paramount elements of civilization, and this cannot be objected to in any way.” Furthermore, Said Halim said that everything, even an ordinary stone - when used in a useful work such as hospital construction - would serve human civilization. He, however, wrote that the usefulness of something on the path of civilization and progress depended on the knowledge and skill of those who would lead it to this path. Because using something for the purpose of civilization and progress required deep knowledge and skill. In this context, Said Halim was doubtful about ideas of those who wanted freeness for Turkish women because he believed that they fell under the spell of the Western ideas and did not know how women, who were a valuable element of civilization and happiness, could be beneficial for society.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 23.

⁴⁷⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 23-24.

Said Halim Pasha admitted that he was not against women's freedom; however, many people misled the desire for liberty many times. Because, he said, "*it had always been thought to be a supreme duty that should be appreciated and encouraged.*" Said Halim expressed that those who really needed more freedom could get it without attacking anyone. He claimed that the freedom needed or demanded always came into existence on its own when man provided the balance between his work and his possibility to receive freedom. Said Halim wrote that "*the freedom that determined the place and status of women in social life in the West came into existence only in this way.*" In other words, the attainment of freedom emerged spontaneously in the natural flow of life and in harmony with the social ground.⁴⁸⁰

Said Halim Pasha supported his thought by exemplifying the living conditions of peasant women engaged in agriculture. He wrote that the freedom of women, which was equivalent to that of men in the field of agriculture, had never been demanded by anyone in Turkish society because women in the rural engaged in the same job as men. Therefore, he said that the need for freedom was at the same level for both sides. It was clear that the women's freeness in village life came into being spontaneously because of the nature of the work done.⁴⁸¹

Said Halim Pasha saw the inequality of freedom between men and women as the natural result of social process. Therefore, the inequality of freedom between men and women in Muslim society was not the result of usurpation that had arisen to the detriment of women and without any reason. "This inequality, claimed Said Halim, was a natural consequence of the differences in the duties that men and women had to carry out in our society." This difference in the duty always changed according to the necessities of social strata. In other words, he was of the opinion that inequality in social freedom would vary according to work and environment. For Said Halim, in the poor classes, where women worked as much as men to help family needs, mentioned difference was indistinguishable, while it gradually increased in the

⁴⁸⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 24.

⁴⁸¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 24-25.

higher strata of the society. He also stated that differences in the unequal social freedom reached the peak in the highest social strata, where women were completely unemployed. Said Halim certainly said that a woman who wanted a freedom equal to men's freedom in the face of the necessities of the social situation had to deserve it by carrying a duty, just like the desperate farmer woman.⁴⁸²

Said Halim also drew attention to the fact that all abuses, from the least important to the most dangerous, arose from an undeserved right or an illegitimate freedom. In this case, he warned that when the libertarian's claims and demands put forward on behalf of women, especially in the Ottoman society were fulfilled, it would devastate the social order.⁴⁸³

According to Said Halim Pasha, social duty could vary depending on whether the morality of the society was corrupted or perfect. He, therefore, wrote that the society might want attractive things, entertainment, pleasures from women, as well as intellectual and moral qualities and virtues. As a matter of fact, Said Halim noticed that:

“The degree of woman's freedom in a society could not be a measure of neither the greatness of that society nor the value of women in society. In order for appreciating the value and nature of both, it had to be known what this freedom was in return for.”⁴⁸⁴

Dealt with the issue of women's freedom in the context of the social and political freedoms discussed above, Said Halim wrote that those who advocated women's rights and freedoms made demands of a social rights and freedoms instead of requesting certain political rights and freedoms as European women wanted. However, he remarked that social rights and freedoms, like social changes, did not emerge with legal regulations and in a sudden way. They, he continued, could be

⁴⁸² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 25.

⁴⁸³ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 26.

⁴⁸⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 28-29.

obtained, developed, and changed in parallel with the duties carried out in the society.⁴⁸⁵

Said Halim also made significant remarks on the freedom of Ottoman women. He mentioned that Ottoman women benefited from a greater freedom compared to fifty years ago from his time; however, this freedom did not come about because of women's wishes, it was the result of the progress of thoughts and mentality arising from the requirements of the new lifestyle in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, in the natural course of social development, he said, Ottoman women would obtain greater freedom, which would be in harmony with the level of social progress. Said Halim claimed that each generation would have the right of freedom at the degree that they deserved, and he also adopted an optimistic attitude towards that this freedom would be in accordance with the moral and mentality which would set an example for future generations.⁴⁸⁶

It is seen that Said Halim envisaged that the progress on women's freedom in the Ottoman Empire would take place in the natural flow of social development. Therefore, the idea of increasing the status of the women in the Ottoman society similar position of the Western women by ignoring the natural flow of time and social conditions, was nothing but an arbitrary and bad move that would damage the social structure.

Said Halim Pasha also mentioned that Ottoman women demanded new rights for the benefit of their role in the social life with the assumption that they would bring a greater happiness to the society. However, a society, he emphasized, would not accept and not fulfil other than the rights obtained. In this respect, Said Halim thought that "as long as the majority of the society believed that women's requests would endanger the existence of the society, as they saw it contrary to their social and moral mentality, feelings, ideas, and traditions, they would certainly reject them.

⁴⁸⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁸⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 28-29.

By acting in this way, the society would only do its duty.’’⁴⁸⁷ It can be deduced from views of Said Halim that he was of the opinion that requests of feminists should not be given as long as they were against the belief, morals, customs and traditions of the society. He probably considered it as necessity to ensure social peace.

Briefly, it is clear that Said Halim Pasha was not against women’s freedom and enhancements their conditions. He was, however, aware of that like everything else, the demands for freedom would also change according to time, environment, social, intellectual, and political conditions. He was believing that women would realize their wishes by the social progress and every beneficial movement would happen in its natural course.

4.6. Education

Said Halim Pasha strongly criticized the modern educational institutions opened in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. He argued that these Western-style schools prepared the ground for the collapsing of Ottoman society over time. According to him, ‘‘in a century when positive sciences became prevalent, authorities could not comprehend that morality and knowledge, education and training were separate fields by introducing of the new teaching method, which was accepted as the only means to give the children talent and sense of proportion. He claimed that the new method was built on physical sciences only with the admiration of the new Western mentality; that is to say, it remained just an unfruitful imitation. The simplicity of the results in the educational system, wrote Said Halim, was more than enough to discredit this method. In addition, Said Halim thought that this new method established with the aim of ‘‘education reform’’ produced a more effective result never expected: It disrupted the society as well as the family. Because ‘‘in this new and scientific method in education, children were taught to follow nothing but the only physical science and reason.’’ That’s why, it took away new generations from the morals and trainings.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁸⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 6.

According to Said Halim Pasha, it was the lack of wisdom which prevented the Muslim society from advancing and updating itself for centuries. He said that there were two forms of ignorance as old and new one. The old one, he argued, was indifference to the advances that formed society's fields of thought and experience in the past. As for the second one, the new ignorance was that people were little and superficially aware of the new scientific and cultural developments, which they were completely unfamiliar with in the past.

Said Halim Pasha thought that the most distinctive feature of ignorance in his time was to resemble a cover with a deceptive shell made up of a lot of false information; and therefore, as if it looked like real science and information. Strictly recommending keeping away from information pollution, Said Halim claimed that this was the most harmful form of ignorance. Because this situation always prevented Muslim people from serious and beneficial attempts, degraded their value in the eyes of the world of civilization, and introduced them incapable of following the progress of the time. Said Halim insisted that Muslim people had to have a goal in their educational system. With respect to this, he wrote that “*Our current backwardness is due to our ignorance about the goal we are trying to achieve.*”⁴⁸⁹

Said Halim Pasha admitted that education played a very important role in the development of a society and its attainment of high welfare; however, knowledge was not everything for him. Said Halim expressed that the morality and education came before science and knowledge. He wrote about this issue as follows:

*“... we still know the cause of all our disasters from just our ignorance and we insist on it. We do not find any deficiency in ourselves other than the lack of knowledge. In other words, we suppose that we have only a lack of knowledge in ourselves. We do not think that knowledgeable people can also do evil, and we assume knowledge and creativity to cure everything.”*⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 10.

⁴⁹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 20.

Said Halim also wrote that scientific gains would only be beneficial to the extent that they could eliminate moral deficiencies in the society. Otherwise, the knowledge would do nothing but encourage and increase the bad inclinations and could be disadvantage to the people. He emphasized that it was the spiritual and social order; or, the morality rather than the reason and knowledge would determine the individual's course of action, inculcate his actions and deeds, prevented him from evil. Intelligence and knowledge, he continued, were only secondary tools and education was valuable to the extent that it developed the society from the ethical aspect.⁴⁹¹

Said Halim Pasha also mentioned the vital importance of method and target in education. He put emphasis on that randomly obtained information did not give a person a power, competence, or talent. Ideas acquired without method and purpose would only raise people who have wrong opinions. They would inevitably be harmful to their environments.⁴⁹²

Said Halim indicated that the value of the methods to be followed for training and education would be as much as the degree of service for the realization of the purpose of Islam. He thought that the value of a training method would be measured according to the purpose to be achieved through that method. Because 'method', wrote Said Halim, meant the whole of the tools used to make the individual able to perform a certain task and achieve a certain purpose. Then, "if there was no specific purpose, there would be no real training." With respect to this, Said Halim gave an example as follows. He claimed that English, French, or German training methods were good since their purpose was to raise a good English, a good French, a good German, and they were successful at it. From this perspective, he concluded that any nation's method of education would not be suitable for another one.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 22.

⁴⁹² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917] p. 6.

⁴⁹³ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 29-30.

As for the education method of the Western nations, Said Halim Pasha stated that they designed their education methods to raise the best and most perfect Christians. In other words, he focused on that the main characteristics of their own education methods was first “national”.⁴⁹⁴

For Said Halim Pasha, the essential goal of education in Muslim world should be to educate individuals with strong spirituality and perfect morality. He said in his own expressions that:

*“First of all, the most severe and urgent need is to shape the nation/ummah with a high moral and spiritual education. Taking its principles directly from the realities of Islam, this education should be in a way that responds to the needs of the time in the most perfect way.”*⁴⁹⁵

What Said Halim clearly insisted on was that the education method should serve the purpose of Islamic faith. He elaborated his ideas as follows:

*“According to the understanding of Islam, raising a good Muslim means that he is dignified in all respects; attained a high understanding, a high wisdom. It means raising a good Turk, a good Arab, a good Persian, or a good Indian who does not seek his own happiness in the misfortune of others or the humiliation of others.”*⁴⁹⁶

Said Halim also underlined that Islamic education provided the individuals with a complete freedom to achieve dignity by developing and applying their spiritual abilities. It would not dwell on race and nationality. Said Halim Pasha brought forward that Islamic education would teach individuals the truths proven by science and experience to save people from ignorance and heresy. These would also show people the ways to benefit from the endless blessings and beauties of nature. Furthermore, while Islamic education method would indicate to man all the wisdom, truths, and morals of Islamic life, he would also learn the unity of Almighty God in

⁴⁹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 30.

⁴⁹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 29.

⁴⁹⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 30.

the universe, he thought. Thanks to such education, he continued, hope and love would replace fear, and sincerity would substitute for hypocrisy.⁴⁹⁷

Consequently, Said Halim Pasha stated that for the society to fully gain its strength and vitality, authorities must prioritize ethical issues, virtue, and decency in education system rather than science and knowledge. He strictly noticed that knowledge in education was the means and training was the main goal. The purpose, he claimed, was to raise enlightened, virtuous, and faithful individuals who were full of new ideas, love of work, love of duty, unshakable determination and perseverance. Only those who had moral virtues and dignity could establish perfect social orders, he expressed. Happy and strong nations, he wrote, could be formed by perfect societies.⁴⁹⁸ Therefore, the aim of education should be raising of moral and virtuous generations.

4.7. Eastern/Islam and Western /Christian Societies

4.7.1. The Corruption of Ottoman Society

Said Halim Pasha stated that the late Ottoman society went through one of the most dangerous crises and that the society seemed to have turned into a primitive community. The social structure, which suffered from the disorder in addition to the deterioration of basic factors such as morality, tradition, and belief, was on the verge of devastation. He reproached that every member of the society did what he wanted carelessly. Many of them tried to impose their shortcomings, disgraces, and depravity, which they proudly exhibited, as one of the virtues of civilization or at least its necessary consequences. He also criticized that there was no objection that would invite them to a moderate path and compel them to adopt public morality and conscience.⁴⁹⁹ That is, Said Halim implied that the no one accepted social deterioration and they considered the corruption in the society as normal issue.

⁴⁹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 33-31.

⁴⁹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 3.

Said Halim Pasha, questioning how the Ottoman society, which was once so strong and vigorous, deteriorated to such a degree in such a short time, dwelled on examining the causes of existing situation. Said Halim's comments on Ottoman society, in a way, also offered a sociological analysis of the social collapse of the Islamic world. In this respect, it is necessary to deal with his views on the Ottoman social structure in a wide perspective.

Said Halim Pasha divided the factors that paved the way for the collapse of the Ottoman social structure into two groups as external influences and internal factors. According to him, the most important external influence was the penetration of Western political power and civilization. He argued that due to the gradual weakening of the Ottoman system, the political and economic influence of the West, especially France and England, became more effective and took the form of intervention in the internal affairs of the empire. In this way, the general situation, which was constantly getting worse and mixed, turned the attention and care of Ottoman administrators and political leaders to Europe. Said Halim said that they saw there a magnificent civilization, full of splendour, brilliance and pleasure. They, he continued, were dazzled by the shined beauty of this grand civilization. They assumed that the works and products of this civilization were the causes that created it. Said Halim criticized that they believed that applying the morals and lifestyle of the West to the homeland would be a solution to their problems. He drew attention that "the aim of civilization remained only to behave like European the Ottoman society since France was the place where Western civilization appeared with all its delicacy and brilliance at that time." Said Halim also reproached that Ottoman society aspired to imitate of French morals and customs, and to adopt of their ideas, even their shortcomings. With Said Halim's own words:

*"In those times, speaking French instead of Turkish, living as an atheistic and dissolute person and consuming wealth in gambling became the most common habits and they were esteemed as the highest attitudes and actions. These habits were also assumed as the criteria that separated civilized people from uncivilized ones."*⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 4-5.

Undoubtedly, Said Halim Pasha evaluated the Ottoman society as “Frankish society” under the domination of the Latin mentality due to the social corruption. People, no longer, counted religion, traditions and customs as harmful obsolescence averting innovations, which cause the collapse of the country, claimed Said Halim. He complained about that these basic principles of society were the target of violent attacks in the name of civilization and patriotism.⁵⁰¹

As the rivalry of Europeans on penetrating into the Ottoman society expanded with the participation of other western countries in the long run and the aim of modernizing just with the French style turned into adopting and imitating various cultural and traditional values of the western nations. Said Halim Pasha claimed that the young people, who went to Europe for education or civil service adopted Western morals and mentality, started to spread ideas that harmed the essence of Ottoman society when they returned. In addition, he wrote that each of the European countries tried to gain loyalties and admirers from the Ottomans in order for them to strengthen their positions. With respect to this, Said Halim elaborated his claims as follows:

“There were many young people who went to western countries for education or as an embassy officer and returned with their foreign moral values and lifestyles. Apart from these, each of the various Europeans established financial institutions or educational organizations in our country to obtain followers, supporters, and puppets, who helped them to disseminate their detrimental ideas.”⁵⁰²

Additionally, Said Halim Pasha drew attention that the highest and most enlightened social class of the Ottoman society soon lost its dignity and honour by adopting and imitating of the Latin-based style. Therefore, society, he asserted, started to hate, and bear enmity against this intellectual class. Furthermore, Said Halim deplored that the empire was deprived of the high class, which was assumed as the protector of its traditions and civilized life, and as the organizer of national morality and life. For this reason, he asserted that the other part of the Ottoman society could not follow

⁵⁰¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 5.

⁵⁰² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 5.

the passage of time as they were away from the intellectual class, which was the guide and support of them. Over the years, the common people could not keep up with the needs of the time.

Said Halim Pasha also alleged that the penetration of Western ideas and mentality into Ottoman society caused polarization in the society. On the one hand, the high and intellectual class, who accepted everything permissible, adopted, and imitated various values of foreign nations in the most extreme way, on the other hand, some intellectuals and the rest of the people resisted all kinds of reform movement and innovation with an incomparable rigidity. Traces of fierce hatred of reform and a sense of fear towards modernization prevailed everywhere, narrated Said Halim. He also cited that the Ottoman society was in such a bipolar at the time when the new educational institutions with modern training methods and techniques were established.⁵⁰³

Moreover, Said Halim Pasha expressed that nothing could stand against the knowledge, desire, and efforts for reformation of the new generation, who relied on just the guidance of science and reason. He harshly expostulated those values such as tradition, character, obedience, and ethics, which were among the essential social principles, were not deemed worthy of showing respect and devotion. He complained about collapse of the Ottoman family structure. He wrote, related to this issue, that the respect of the son and the dignity of the father disappeared since the son's too restricted knowledge and the father's outdated knowledge, which had reduced to the level of ignorance, began to conflict each other. Under these conditions, "a strange situation occurred as the son with his audacity and assertive attitude, overcame his father, who had lost his dominant role in family, and assumed the status of the head of the family," told Said Halim. Thus, this situation shook the foundations of the Ottoman family from the bottom. In addition, he criticized that "the Ottoman society, which had survived for centuries despite the most severe disasters, was

⁵⁰³ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 5-7.

corrupted by a few generations of students who studied in Western style education system.’’⁵⁰⁴

It can be seen that Said Halim Pasha tried to tell that the Ottoman society in a state of collapse tried in vain to establish a new society on the ruins of the past. The members of the society, he continued, were aware of negative social results of Western influence now, but they were contented with watching the process helplessly because of weakness. Said Halim drew attention to the fact that the Ottoman society, just like the intellectual class, or even lower than it, was dragged into an irreversible depression.

Describing the external factors that the Ottoman society was exposed, Said Halim Pasha also dwelled on two issues as the internal reasons for the degeneration and collapse occurred in the Ottoman society and its inability to preserve its existence. One of them was the special structure of the Ottoman social system and the other was the basic mistakes made at the point of improvement of the country.

In this regard, Said Halim put forward that, like other nations, the Ottoman Empire was governed by a decentralization system for as long as social conditions required. However, when the state needed to be arranged according to the new principles, the decentralized administration was replaced by the political and administrative centralization. Sultan Mahmut II created a staff of civil servants to meet the needs of this new administrative system. According to him, the Sultan established this cadre of officials as a mighty and solid line that would take over all ranks and power tools. Said Halim sarcastically wrote that this distinguished class of officials emerged as a requirement of the centralization was not responsible for anything other than “being an obedient instrument of the power gathered in the person of the Sultan.” Said Halim Pasha commented that:

“Although they might have an administrative merit, they did not have any social value. Because this layer of civil servants did not acquire the ethical and intellectual virtues such as independence, stability and tradition which

⁵⁰⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, p. 7.

*were necessary for forming a high social class with the necessary qualifications.’*⁵⁰⁵

Said Halim Pasha explained his statements as follows. He pointed out that the civil servants did not have any social importance since they generally offered their absolute allegiance to the ruler in exchange for the glory, wealth, influence, and power. That is to say, officials were naturally deprived of the necessary independence. In addition, the fate of officials, as asserted Said Halim, depended on the favour of his superior or the will of the ruler, and the new officials took the place of the old ones in every change of reign. So, they were also deprived of continuity and stability. On the other hand, Said Halim claimed that the most common habits officials consisted of rivalry, obedience and selfishness pertaining to civil servants. Lastly, officials’ spiritual and intellectual levels were not high; their intellectual qualifications were in accordance with the level of their civil service.⁵⁰⁶

Emphasizing that the civil servant-intellectual class of the Ottoman society had no social value at that time, Said Halim remarked that very valuable personalities emerged from the mentioned class; however, they could not be useful to the country in proportion to their power and virtues due to the hostile competition, contempt, and envy they faced. He also asserted that the competence of this elite-official class dominating the fate of the homeland for a century, was not much different from its social value. Because, he said, public officers never dared to take a real responsibility on themselves due to the discouragement pertaining to the bureaucratic entourage. Said Halim also humiliated the civil servant-elite class by claiming that they preferred the establishment of foreign institutions because of their lack of comprehending of matters of country, to the lack of determination and adequacy. To him “*the civil servants failed to understand that the institutions of a country were the most precious and valuable national heritage, and that the abandonment of national institutions meant the renunciation of national existence.*”⁵⁰⁷ For these

⁵⁰⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 9-10.

reasons, the head of state dignitaries of the central administration in the Ottoman Empire was not improver, but inventor of harmful reforms due to their ignorant adoption of the Western system, told Said Halim.

Said Halim Pasha considered the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II as the turning point of the social collapse of the Ottoman Empire since with the end of Hamidian regime, the elite social class emerging in his time also disappeared. The country fell into a complete interregnum, he wrote. On this point, Said Halim, who brought forward that the Ottomans constituted an elite class according to their needs in every era, expressed that the Constitutional Administration, born in 1908, also had to seek tools, which meet properly to its civil, political, and administrative needs and the desire for development. Moreover, Said Halim proposed the establishment of an elite class to guide the Ottoman statesman and the society in terms of politics, administration, and social order. He stated that:

*“For this reason, there should be an elite class, consisted of people who had distinguished themselves with their personality, morality, and intelligence, those who had material and spiritual wealth, artisans and virtuous individuals who want to enlighten the consciences and ensure common progress.”*⁵⁰⁸

However, Said Halim also underlined that the mentioned distinguished class could not be easily obtained like civil servants since the formation of such a class needed a long time. He, therefore, claimed that the Ottoman Empire would not be able to get rid of its current social situation until it reached this elite class. Accordingly, the Ottoman authorities, he suggested, had to prevent, and correct the mistakes made in the past as much as possible so that the current social decline did not turn into an impossible and dangerous situation. Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha advised the authorities to strengthen social ties, to determine appropriate policies according to the necessities of the time, and to take concrete steps to development until the elite class which was assumed as “the protector of the Ottoman social order.”⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 11.

⁵⁰⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 13.

Said Halim Pasha stated that the materialist mentality dealt the final blow to both the Ottoman society and the Isam society in general. Therefore, he attacked the intellectuals of the period since they had introduced materialist ideas in the Ottoman society. In his words:

*“If some intellectuals had not transferred materialist ideas from the West, assuming that they were doing the greatest service to the country, it would never have arisen spontaneously and would have remained unknown to our society forever.”*⁵¹⁰

Regarding the influence of materialism on the Ottoman Empire, Said Halim Pasha claimed the disasters that befell the country due to social backwardness paved the way for emergence of some reformers. However, he censured that these newly emerging reformists were neither more capable nor more educated than those who once had pushed the Ottoman society into ignorance and moral depravity. Therefore, they sought the salvation of the society by applying the materialism, which they supposed to be the main source of Westerners’ development, to the Ottoman social structure. In addition, newly emerging intellectuals, told Said Halim Pasha, assumed that the favour and assistance of the European great states, which had guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman lands, could only be sustained by the application of the theory of materialism. Thereby, it became more popular in the empire. However, their attempts of propagating materialist ideas in the empire only triggered the current corruption of Islamic Ottoman society, he told.⁵¹¹

It is clearly seen that Said Halim Pasha thought that the collapse of the Ottoman social structure was the result of the materialist mentality. Supposed by the reformers to be the main reason for the development of the country, Materialist reform only brought the collapse of the society based on religious structure to its final point,

⁵¹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 14. For further information on development of materialism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, See Süleyman Hayri Bolay, *Türkiye’de Ruhçu ve Maddeci Görüşün Mücadelesi*, (İstanbul: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2018); Mehmet Akgün, *Materyalizmin Türkiye’ye Girişi*, (İstanbul: Elis Yayınları, 2014).

⁵¹¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 15.

asserted Said Halim. He also confessed that materialist reform attempts turned out to be a fundamental mistake for the Ottoman society.

4.7.2. The Evolution of The Western Society

In his article entitled *İslam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye*, Said Halim Pasha offered a detailed critique of Western social systems. He said that social orders, institutions, and social lifestyles of the West, were in a constant change. Interestingly enough, Said Halim asserted that social development in Western society occurred as a result of many unscientific predictions, research and experiences. Therefore, Western society, which did not have a definite and unchangeable goals and targets, was always dragged by sudden needs, temporary situations, and some wrong ideas, he said. In other words, goals of Western society altered with the change of its material needs, feelings, and technical knowledge. Going further, Said Halim claimed that unlike the Islamic world, the West never had a planned and fixed social idea capable of inspiring and guiding the progress of the society. Accordingly, its ever-changing social ideas were produced and transformed by its social evolution which in turn was shaped by its material progress. That is, the West, noticed Said Halim, followed, and subordinated to the variable developments and ideas emerging as a result of its social transformation. In other words, “*the progress of the Western society in the material field determined its intellectual ground and mentality.*”⁵¹²

Said Halim Pasha brought forward that if a social purpose did not have a definite shape and this target did not provide the social development, it would be concluded that this goal was not real and such an aim was not based on social and natural facts and needs. These realities and needs, he argued, did not conform to people’s aspirations; on the contrary, like natural events, they imposed themselves on people and guided them in their actions. Based on this idea, Said Halim inferred from that the Western society of his time had not yet reached that its ideal stage where its ethical and social principles would take their immutable form. His own words,

⁵¹² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye”, *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XX, No: 496, 8 Nisan 1338[8 April 1922], p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 20-21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 123.

“then, the Western society has not yet found its real and permanent moral and social principles that will provide complete order and stability to human societies.”⁵¹³

Moreover, Said Halim Pasha drew attention to the fact that the current continuing changes in the social system of the West reflected the extremely unstable nature of its social order. He attributed the cause of instability to the continual conflicts happened among different social classes consisting of Western societies due to their varying needs and desires.⁵¹⁴ Undoubtedly, Said Halim was aware that mentioned struggles among the social groups were a direct consequence of the material and technical transformation of the Western society.

In Western societies, stated Said Halim Pasha, social ideas alter according to the needs and interests of the ruler or ruling classes. Therefore, existing social thought and ideas, he emphasized, represented the values of predominant figures of society and social groups and the dominant members of society just focused on ensuring their own welfare which was always acquired at the expense of other social classes. In the context of how dominant classes in Western society shaped thought and mentality, Said Halim also addressed to the power struggles between the Church and the kingdom in the West. From their first formation, Western societies were dominated by the spiritual authority; the Church itself, he said. Later, this sway passed into the hands of the Royalty, and henceforth became a temporal power.⁵¹⁵

As rightly expounded by Said Halim Pasha the rivalry and political struggle between the Papacy (the Church) and Royalty constituted the cornerstone of political and social developments in the West throughout the Middle Ages. In this regard, Said Halim alleged that the rise of the Church undermined the ability to adapt of Christian societies. He also described that the Church’s spiritual power all over the Christian society paved the way for the animosity of social classes and led to harsh conflicts

⁵¹³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16.

⁵¹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 123.

⁵¹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, pp. 16-17; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 20-21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 122-123.

between the Church and aristocracy, the aristocracy, and the bourgeoisie, and finally the capitalist bourgeoisie and the working class. These conflicts also happened among other societies sticking to Christianity and among various Christian churches, underlined Said Halim. Meanwhile, Said Halim admitted the formation of similar divisions in Islamic world; however, he uttered that dominant spirit of cohesiveness and egalitarian tenets of the Islamic Shari'at restrained the emergence of such Church order within Islam. Said Halim also believed that Islamic societies had a greater degree of social harmony and tranquillity.⁵¹⁶ In his other study, he underlined that “*after being honoured with Islam the Orient did not recognize the clergy, the nobles, or any other arbitrary privilege. It established a world of true justice, natural equality, and sincere brotherhood among all people, regardless of ethnicity.*”⁵¹⁷

The grasp of the power struggle between the Church and the kingdom by Said Halim Pasha and his perspective on the struggle indicated his ability to comprehend the main characteristic of European history from the beginning to the early medieval period. With that being said, he mistakenly described temporal rulers of the Medieval West as secular. The situation in the Middle Ages was not actually what he claimed. Indeed, in this period, both the Church and the kings in their struggles for power claimed the divine authority to prove the legitimacy of their own administrations. Just as the Papacy which declared itself as the proxy of God, the medieval monarchs also introduced themselves “King by the will of God” and tried to legitimize their rule by God’s grace. No doubt, this presented the nucleus of medieval royal theocratic government. For this reason, in essence the political and legal frameworks of both the Papacy and the kings in medieval Europe were Christo-centric; that is, they shared a theoretical standpoint. More clearly, it was the standard medieval

⁵¹⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, pp. 16-17; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 20-21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 122-123. For further information on the political struggle between spiritual and temporal powers in the West in the medieval periods, See J. A. Watt, “Spiritual and Temporal Powers”, J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, c. 350-c. 1450, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 367-423; Also See Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*, (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1964); Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, (London: Routledge, 2010).

⁵¹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 5-6.

doctrine that royal power and priestly power were two separate but cooperating authorities divinely.⁵¹⁸

The monarchical rule, uttered Said Halim Pasha, ultimately paved the way for the emergence of an expanding merchant class engaging in industry and trade. With their extremely selfish and indifferent attitudes towards spirituality, this bourgeois, he continued, also favoured the cultivation of the so-called “democratic ideas and administration” and the democratic regime thus emerged. Said Halim wrote down that this merchant class was. In this period, which constituted the last stage of the evolution of Western societies, affirmed Said Halim, was labelled by a prodigious economic development by means of the material wealth of bourgeoisie. He also noticed that the prevalence of material issues and vast economic progress in the West overshadowed social and spiritual values. Said Halim, thought that the materialist mentality was the most important of the latest developments in the West. By no means, moral and social values, he stressed, were more important for true happiness of men.⁵¹⁹

Said Halim Pasha affirmed that he general welfare incited utmost the greed of individuals to earn money and live in high as dissolute persons and the self-interest became the natural issue. People began to chase, he told, the jobbery and the greed to exploit others to an unimaginable extent. The members of the society, with the desire to satisfy all material pleasures, shared the belief that everything they would do to achieve their aspirations was permissible, he wrote. In addition to these, he uttered that the extraordinary development of industry in the West was a result of the spread of the capitalist system and its industry constituted the basis of its almost entire

⁵¹⁸ Walter Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: Middle Ages*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 53-55. According to this doctrine which would prevail in the Western world until the French Revolution in 1789, sovereignty was considered to belong only to God and could be entrusted by God to religious or temporal rulers in order to order lives of men and to govern them fairly. In fact, this doctrine was first expounded suggested by St. Augustine (354-430) with detailed explanations in his famous work, *City of God*. See St. Augustine, *The City of God, Vol. I*, (Trans. By Marcus Dods), (New Yor: Hafner Publishing Company, 1948), pp. 177-179. Also See Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of Saint Augustine*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 172.

⁵¹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 20-21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 122.

social and economic structure. Said Halim Pasha expounded it in his own words “*The prodigious rise of industrialism, which we are witnessing today, a development without parallel in history, is the result of this evolution. Industrialism is the foundation on which the entire Western social structure rests.*”⁵²⁰

Said Halim’s comments on the evolution of Western social and economic history explicitly proved the impact of Marxist history writing on his understanding of history.

After emphasizing the importance of the role played by the mercantile class in the historical evolution of Western society, Said Halim Pasha underlined the growing power and influence of the working class as a social and political reality in West. Although, he stressed, the capitalist bourgeoisie was vanguard of the industrialization in the West, it was the labour of the working class who was realized and sustained this phenomenon of industrialization. In a word, the industrialization, he affirmed, became stronger and widespread thanks to the efforts of the proletariat. Therefore, the working class, noticed Sad Halim, obtained an equal importance to the bourgeois class in the Western society. Being not contented with, the proletariat, he told, desired to take over political power by eliminating the capitalist-bourgeois rule and by abolishing the institutions of the bourgeois regime to establish its own authority and construct its own institutional structure.⁵²¹

After underlining that the constant struggles among social classes prevented the formation of real and immutable morals and social principles, Said Halim Pasha emphasized that Western societies were deprived of a perfect and constant social happiness due to the lack of these principles. The Western corrupted social structure challenging with fluctuations, he uttered, satisfied only one part of the society, and ignored the other part, and bestowed privilege upon certain layers of the society at the expense of others. Additionally, Said Halim affirmed that the more injustice an

⁵²⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 122-123.

⁵²¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 21; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 123.

administration did to the society, it would not be permanent. The injustice and inequity, he continued, brought oppression and violence, and these cruelties would overthrow the administration that caused them. Therefore, he stressed that the “state” was constantly criticised in the Western society due to the mentioned shortcomings and mistakes. Accordingly, claimed Said Halim, unlike the Islamic world, the “state” in the West has never been able to imbue a sense of trust and respect to the Western society.⁵²²

Said Halim Pasha, who thought that the ever-changing political and social structure would be no benefit of the West, underlined that the constant change of the Western administrations and structures reflected different stages of its aspects of injustice and oppression. Whether the kingdom, he claimed, would replace with the papacy and the seculars take the place of priests, or whether democracy would eliminate the noble class and socialism and capitalism; the newcomers would substitute of the previous ones and bring oppression and injustice to future generations, just like formers. No matter how strong and materially developed the Western society was, argued Said Halim Pasha, with the unstable character it could never find enough social peace and happiness, not achieve the social stability it desired.⁵²³

Commenting on the instability and diversity of Western political ideas, Said Halim Pasha also maintained his critical stance in his analysis of the conceptions of liberty and equality in the West. He declared that it is a kind of illusion to accept that individuals in the Western society of his day enjoyed a degree of freedom and equality never offered by any society in the history. As a matter of fact, stressed Said Halim, the level of freedom and equality that an individual has in any society has been determined by the level of social justice reached in that society. That particular

⁵²² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 21-22; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 123.

⁵²³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 16; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 22; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 124.

social justice, he affirmed, could be ensured by the social solidarity and by the stability of the social system.⁵²⁴

The social solidarity in the West, believed Said Halim Pasha, only exists among members of particular social classes, to the detriment of the whole society. In fact, the Western society, he asserted, was founded on the privileges and inequality of individuals and classes. Besides, the general rivalries and hostilities among social classes and the unstable social structure did not provide the chance of the real freedom and equality aspired by individuals in the West, he declared. Moreover, Said Halim affirmed that many centuries in the history of Europe passed with anti-liberal and anti-egalitarian practices. Therefore, Said Halim underlined that the age-old values, mentality, and social injustice of Western society could not be easily changed by so-called liberal laws. In a word, it required more than so-called laws to alter the Western social values and mentality with deep-rooted anti-liberal and inegalitarian prejudices. However, continued Said Halim, the real change in Western society could be experienced with the implementation of appropriate moral education, performed with patience and intelligence on future generations along with social and moral principles. He also said that the meticulous implementation of such a curriculum would set free individual in the West from the prejudices of his traditionally adopted class and caste and would eliminate social class rivalries. In this way, continued Said Halim, mentioned moral education would provide liberty and equality, and lead the West to the true and natural social justice that it has been seeking for a long time. Likewise, with such moral education, one would adopt the idea that all people were equal regardless of their social position or ethnic origin; that is, it was only by personal talents which they would distinguish themselves and make them superior to others.⁵²⁵

It is clear that Said Halim's interpretations of Western social, political and economic history explicitly demonstrated his familiarity with Marxist understanding. He also

⁵²⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 17; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 22-23; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 124.

⁵²⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 496, p. 17; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 23-24; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 124-125.

interpreted the evolution of Western societies in terms of social class struggles. This shows that he was influenced by the Marxist understanding of history.

4.7.3. The Clash of Eastern and Western Civilizations

Said Halim Pasha was undoubtedly one of the most important and well-known of the critics of the Western society. It can be said that Said Halim was a typical Islamist among the intellectuals of his time; however, his strong sociological comments and analysis on the Western social structure and its institutions distinguished him from others.

In fact, Said Halim Pasha was an intellectual who recognized very well the West since he had the opportunity to observe their lives closely in terms of social, political, economic, legal, moral systems and values during the period of his studentship in Europe. After witnessing the development of the West, he concluded that it was urgent need of rising to the level of these technologically advanced nations.

Claiming that if there had been cooperation between the East and the West instead of enmity, both sides would have gained a lot, Said Halim Pasha in his works dwelled on the reasons for this clash, occurred in the historical process. In fact, he affirmed, the Muslim East, as the apostle of solidarity and human brotherhood, had shed a wealth of fruitful light on the Christian and barbarian West; it had generously made a powerful contribution to the birth and development of Western civilization. Because, Said Halim said, Western civilization developed in an environment where the moral level was inferior to that of the peoples of the East, free from all ecclesiastical influence and where a higher conception of humanitarian principles had made minds more tolerant and generous. Furthermore, the Western societies thrived on the hatred engendered by religious struggles “*between peoples with primitive instincts, rudimentary conceptions, an essentially material character, and a distinctly oppressive and aggressive spirit.*” Consequently, he wrote, from the point of view of human reason, the eminently beneficent role of the East must have created numerous affinities, indissoluble communities of ideas and feelings between these two parts of humanity, where civilisation was transmitted from one to the other and manifested

itself in its ultimate forms. However, Said Halim pointed out that the West found itself under the exclusive rule of an intolerant Christian clergy – so as to preserve the full power of the dogma of a religion of which they were the over-zealous defenders - did not hesitate to extinguish the light of those very souls who had entrusted themselves to their holy guidance. As a result, he remarked that “*a bitter and senseless religious rivalry*” has sown the seeds of discord and hatred in a place where fraternity and solidarity should have flourished.⁵²⁶

However, Said Halim Pasha put forward that when destiny called upon Europe to enlighten the world, it plunged the whole world into darkness by giving free rein to the religious hatred of its spiritual leaders and the plundering instincts of its temporal rulers, “worthy and close descendants of the barbarians who had just shared the spoils of the Roman Empire.” He also said that the West, advancing in time, did not treat the world like the East. It extended its aggression far beyond the Islamic world, embracing the Buddhist Far East and the pagan Westmost in its worldwide oppression. Thus, he noticed, the Westerners disconcerted peace and tranquillity everywhere and upset the political and social equilibrium, which so many earlier civilisations had painstakingly built up through centuries of effort. Additionally, declared Said Halim, it was the East that suffered most from Western aggression, by virtue of its proximity. Since it was “both Islamic and the repository of countless riches created by a flourishing civilisation, it was inevitably doomed to incur the wrath of the Christian Church and the greed of the lords and warrior hordes of the West.” In addition to all these, he argued, the wars followed one another without a break. The Muslim world, whose very existence was threatened, had to devote all its energies to repelling the invaders and lost interest in everything to satisfy the imperative needs of the endless wars that devastated its territories. Then, expressed Said Halim, “these conditions imposed absolute submission of Muslim societies to their rulers, whose authority soon became arbitrary and degenerated into blind despotism.” He continued that the East was thus forced by the West to return to a

⁵²⁶ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman sa signification reelle*, (Paris: Librairie Recueil Sirey, 1910), pp. 6-8; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917]), pp. 3-4; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami Manay-ı Hakikisi”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.IV, No: 90, 13 Mayıs 1326[26 May 1910], pp. 208-209.

social and political state it had already passed. As a result, its intellectual and civilizing momentum slowed and finally came to a complete halt.⁵²⁷

Said Halim claimed that the innumerable persecutions and ravages of the Westerners naturally made the Easterners hated. Besides, when Western civilisation later developed, the Easterners remained suspect for a long time in the West, which rejected it like everything else that came from there. Because, as Said Halim narrated, while the East recognized the West only by its crusaders, priests and warriors, the West came to know the East only by those it sent to plunder the East. By this way, the European mentality was thus distorted for generations by the false accounts and writings of its spiritual and temporal leaders.⁵²⁸ According to Said Halim, for Europeans, the Muslim has become the prototype of a despicable and evil being his religion the most pernicious invention of an impostor worthy of his proselytes. So much so that, he claimed, “*for the well-born European, the Muslim, whoever he may be, is still today an inferior being, whose highest manifestations of conscience are still officially and publicly interpreted in the most disgusting way.*”⁵²⁹ In fact, Said Halim stated that the evolution of ideas, which completed the progressive decline of Christian dogma, modified the form of this hereditary hatred. However, he pointed out, what religious hatred lost in intensity was amply compensated for by the development of the instinct for domination and exploitation; or, “colonialism”, thanks to the outrageous materialism which gradually took hold of men’s minds and finally subjugated them completely. With the development of colonialism mentality in the West, Said Halim drew attention that the holy martyr of the faith was replaced in European worship by the discoverer of continents and the colonial caste was replaced by the arrogant, plundering and cruel knight of

⁵²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 8-10; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 4-5; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-1 İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 209.

⁵²⁸ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 5; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-1 İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 209.

⁵²⁹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 5; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-1 İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 209.

adventure.⁵³⁰ Under these conditions, argued Said Halim, the West assaulted the East not for the sake of crucifix; the East was exposed the violent attacks by the Westerners on the behalf of humanity and civilization. After underlining the religious and socio-economic causes of the West and the East, Said Halim affirmed that:

*“It is true that the East is no longer attacked in the name of the cross, but it is still attacked in the name of civilization and progressive humanity; the Muslim is no longer pilloried for his religion, but nevertheless treated as a beast of burden necessary for European exploitation.”*⁵³¹

All these demonstrate that, asserted Said Halim Pasha, deep-rooted hostile feelings of the West about the East did not change too much. For him, all these successive transformations were merely the different forms taken by the ancient animosity that divided the Western and the Eastern worlds. In other words, the old enmity between the West and the East merely took a new form with the emergence of the colonialist policies.

It is an important point that with the advent of colonialism, the religious reasons for enmity between the West and the East did not disappear; political-economic reasons were added to the religious reasons for enmity. Also, it does not seem reasonable for Said Halim to attribute the reason for the West's attacks on the East since the Crusades to religious motives alone. Although religious reasons for invading the East were emphasised at the time of the Crusades, political and economic reasons were also at the heart of these campaigns. Apart from these, At the time of the Crusades, religious and spiritual leaders used religious grounds to mobilize Westerners against the East to benefit from its riches, while colonialist attacks, based on economic and political grounds, were carried out in the name of civilisation and freedom. Due to the socio-political conjuncture of the period, Westerners began to exploit the East materially and morally by hiding behind the ideals of civilization and humanity.

⁵³⁰ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 5-6; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, pp. 209-210.

⁵³¹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 5-6; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, pp. 209-210.

The main reason, which caused to permanent clash between the Christian West and the Islamic East, was the physical and spiritual existence of Islam and Islamic world. It is apparent that all animosity of the Westerners against the Muslim world centred upon eliminating their resistance against the imperialist aggressions of the West. In this sense, Said Halim sarcastically stated that the essence for the hostility of the West towards the Islamic world was that the East was trying to prevent their policy of ‘civilizing’ the world. As a matter of fact, he made remarkable comments on this subject:

*“We can therefore assert, without fear of committing a slanderous injustice, that the enmity of the West towards the East is in reality no more than the disguised manifestation of the dull irritation which Europe feels at its powerlessness to annihilate for ever our Islamic individuality, which has rendered the efforts of its Crusaders without any appreciable effect, which has rendered sterile its work of conversion to Christianity, and, finally, its so-called humanitarian and civilising policy in the East.”*⁵³²

It is clear that, stressed Said Halim, what drove Europe to all kinds of violence against the Islamic world, with disconcerting eagerness, was its profound aversion to the spiritual individuality of Islam, formed under the influence of Islamism and inspired by its spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice.

Said Halim Pasha thought that the Eastern-Islamic individuality was so different from the West in mentality and ideals; and also, despite its passive appearance, this active and militant Eastern-Islamic individuality was the natural enemy of Western domination in the East. He also described “the Islamic individuality as an unfortunate enemy of the West; however, it was implacable one, constantly drawing strength from its own setbacks, burning despite everything.” Said Halim remarked that Islamic individuality had absolute faith in the ultimate triumph of its cause, which was that of true progress in the East and its emancipation from the Western yoke.⁵³³

⁵³² Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 27; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

⁵³³ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 27-28; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213.

In his study, Said Halim overemphasized that his purpose in examining the negative attitude of the West towards the East (*Islam*) and its prejudiced stance against Islamic world was not to stir up resentment and hatred, but to confront dangerous errors that prevent the establishment of normal relations between two considerable parts of humanity. He also pointed out that two different worlds, which the destiny has condemned to live side by side and have an equal interest in knowing and understanding each other. Therefore, it was very important to overcome some of the wrong ideas and prejudices which in turn prevented the good relations between the two great parts of the world, stressed Said Halim.⁵³⁴

Apart from all these, Said Halim Pasha thought that it would be unfair to place all the responsibility for so many errors and clashes of two worlds solely on the shoulders of the West; on the contrary, this responsibility must be widely shared by the East. He claimed that if Europe failed to grasp the truth about us, it was up to Muslim societies to make them better known. Said Halim affirmed that the West was unable to recognise the Islamic world because it did not make enough effort to introduce itself. Yet, it was its duty to introduce itself more clearly to the West. In this regard, Said Halim thought that “it was only by working to dispel errors and misunderstandings that man would work for the salvation of his fellow men. And, for happiness based on the error or misfortune of his neighbour would be only misfortune in disguise.” He also declared that the true and lasting happiness to which people should aspire was one in which everyone would have a fair share, based on the truth that could only be revealed through open and honest discussion.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 28; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213.

⁵³⁵ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 28-29; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 13-14; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213.

4.7.4. Democratic and Aristocratic Characteristics of Islamic and Western Societies

Said Halim Pasha thought that the social principles of Islam have complete integrity because they are derived from Islamic ethics. It does not divide people into aristocratic and democratic classes. He also asserted that Islam, by its very nature, respects the principles of equality and justice among its members, the social principles of Islam do not allow the formation of an elite class, some of whom have special rights, and an inferior and unfortunate class, deprived of even the most natural rights. However, he continued, Islamic principles enabled individuals who did not have equal abilities to rise depending on their own intelligence, effort, and work. In a word, the Islam allowed and even encouraged individuals to compete in proportion to their special personal abilities. In this case, Said Halim drew attention to the natural division of Islamic society into strata such as upper, middle and commons. On this subject, Said Halim Pasha used a Western style phrase to explain his thoughts: “It can be said that the Islamic society is both ‘democratic’ and ‘aristocratic’ at the same time. With its thoughts and feelings of solidarity, justice, freedom, equality, and humanitarianism, it is democratic. With its obedience to the law, customs, traditions and those in power, and the respect to personal superiority, virtue, and knowledge, it is also aristocratic.”⁵³⁶ As it can be seen, asserted Said Halim Pasha, the democratic and aristocratic hallmarks already existed in an ideal Islamic society. All Muslim societies, he affirmed, should further develop these democratic and aristocratic values, and apply them properly.

By comparing the democratic and aristocratic values in the Islamic society with those of the Western civilization of his time, Said Halim believed that the values in the Muslim society were much more perfect. Western nations, he uttered, were in a transitional period between the past organization of the feudalism which in turn was the source of their aristocracy, and the ideas of democracy and equality. By constantly amending their social organizations, he asserted, the Westerners were

⁵³⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 20; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 106. Alo See Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 10.

tried to reach the ideal social structure of Islam.⁵³⁷ Said Halim Pasha implied that the change and transformation in Western societies would become permanent; thus, they could never build the ideal social system which was already existed in Islamic society.

Rejecting the idea that the on the path of development and innovation of a nation must not result in democratization, Said Halim Pasha thought that Islam already encouraged Muslims to build a democratic lifestyle. In this regard the duty of the notables and intellectuals of his day, he stressed, was not to adopt the new kind of democracy, but to ensure the development of the existing understanding of democracy in Islam.⁵³⁸ Said Halim mentioned two types of democracy. One was the Western style of democracy, which is still valid today. This kind of democracy, he said, was a result of the Populism. The Westerners, he claimed, considered the populist movement as a way of solution to eliminate the social inequality. Said Halim asserted that “today’s Western-type democracy system is the outcome of long conflicts between a deep-rooted aristocratic structure in the West and the egalitarian people, and this struggle has resulted in favour of egalitarians.” The other democratic system which he mentioned was the type of Islamic democracy. It was based on mainly solidarity. In this system, affirmed Said Halim, it required to protect the poor and the needy, and their rights. Also, Islamic democracy in terms of social equality tried to provide common happiness by improving the material and spiritual conditions in which people live.⁵³⁹

Said Halim Pasha thought that the Islamic society equally met the democratic and aristocratic needs. The political and social organization of the Muslim community, he claimed, could only be destroyed by corrupting of any of these two elements in the balance. In other words, Said Halim demonstrated that if the feelings of solidarity, equality, and justice, constituting the basic principles of Muslim society were shaken, the society would lose its democratic characteristics. Likewise, if the obedience to

⁵³⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 22; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 123.

⁵³⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 20.

⁵³⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 11.

the law and tradition decreases, the obedience and respect towards the rulers diminishes, moral and intellectual virtues are not appreciated, and the superiority of science and ability is discredited, the Muslim society would be deprived of its aristocratic features, he asserted. In addition to these, the loss of the characteristics of both elements in the Muslim society caused to complete corruption of the society. Therefore, Muslims, pointed out Said Halim, should try to reinforce and develop the democratic and aristocratic values of the society according to circumstance.⁵⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Said Halim thought that the spread of democratization in Islamic society would not take place as in Western nations. In a word, Islamic society, he indicated, would follow different process from the process in the West in terms of the development of democratic values and spread of democratization. In this regard, democratization in the Islamic society, he claimed, would not take place by attacking and suppressing the aristocracy, and struggling with the elite class as in the West. Thus, there was no need for a class struggle in Islamic society. Because he thought that the people, who had the same rights, had nothing to ask from the upper strata. The democratic level of the Islamic society could be improved through the amendment of popular ideas, feelings and traditions that already existed in the upper class. The rise of the aristocratic level, affirmed Said Halim, could only be possible by maintaining the respect to upper class by lower class, and aiming to reach to the level of upper class and keeping the traditions alive and sustaining. in the lower/popular strata and traditions. While the upper class, he remarked, prompted the democratic principles of the Islamic society, the common people consolidated the aristocratic values.⁵⁴¹

Claiming that the situation was the opposite in Western societies, Said Halim Pasha noticed that legal inequality, conflicts of interest, class and party traditions distinguished various social classes in the West. A dissatisfied social class, he asserted, could violate at any time the lifestyle and relations in Western societies

⁵⁴⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 22; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 123.

⁵⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 23-24; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 124.

since they had been determined and established by the force of law. Said Halim, therefore, argued that in Western societies, aristocracy was formed by an elite class; on the other hand, democracy was represented by the elements who were deprived of privileges.⁵⁴²

Said Halim Pasha's thoughts and comments, not touched upon by thinkers of his time, undoubtedly are of great importance in themselves. As a matter of fact, aristocrat means owner of property; prince also means landlord. In the West, it was the church and the elite that could have property rights and the public had no such a right. Contrary to the Western system, families had a property in Ottoman society. Thusly, describing the Ottoman society as both aristocratic and democratic became much more meaningful with this background information.

Said Halim Pasha also noticed that unlike Western societies, various classes in Islamic societies were distinguished from each other only by hallmarks in moral and intellectual levels. Moreover, he drew attention to the fact that the ideas of equality, justice and solidarity established the Islamic brotherhood and brought them closer to each other by arranging the relations between the classes in the Muslim society.⁵⁴³ Accordingly, the upper class in Islamic society, asserted Said Halim, were democrats because they were the ones who protected the rights of the poor and ensured common happiness and peace by improving the material and spiritual conditions in which they live. The lower class, he said, had aristocratic feelings, which encouraged the personal superiority they want to obtain. Common people accepted it with respect and appreciation, he wrote. Those in the upper strata who respected democratic qualities and virtues, stressed Said Halim, were the representatives of supremacy while those as huge resource of people in the lower strata, who showed respect to aristocratic feelings, were candidates for supremacy.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 24; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 124.

⁵⁴³ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 24; Said Halim Paşa, "Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...", Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 124.

⁵⁴⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 11-12.

Said Halim Pasha also indicated that while Western societies sought peace and security in their laws, Islamic societies found it in their beliefs and feelings, and in their moral and intellectual education. The struggles between various classes in the West, he pointed out, did not occur between classes in Islamic societies; on the contrary, within each class itself. Thus, the upper classes competed with each other to achieve democracy, and the commons to approach the aristocracy.⁵⁴⁵ Said Halim Pasha briefly expressed that the social order based on Islamic morality established a complete and continuous harmony and balance in the lives of people individually and collectively. In fact, he believed that the source of this social order was the “immutable and eternal truth” providing the harmony and balance of the whole universe as well.

⁵⁴⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 25; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 124. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 11.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SAİD HALİM PASHA

Said Halim Pasha, as an Islamist statesman and thinker, discussed his thoughts on political organization and political parties in Islam in his works such as “*İslam’da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiyye*”, “*Meşrutiyet*”, “*Mukallidliklerimiz*” in detail. As he stated in the last part of his work, he sought in this study to make a simple statement and to put forward his original approaches on what should be the spirit and the character of Islamic political organization responding best to the Muslim social order in complete harmony with it.⁵⁴⁶

He affirmed that he did not consider of any project of the ideal Islamic political order draft because such a project would be out of place in a work of such a general character. Accordingly, Said Halim thought that the determination of an ideal Islamic organisation was a task for specialists who must respond to the political needs of the people and therefore be inspired by the moral and intellectual level, the mentality and the character which were proper to it. Moreover, Said Halim pointed out that it was not conceivable that a single form of political constitution could be suitable for all Muslim peoples, despite the many common points that exist between them. That’s why, he said that those who read his study would not try to look for any exposition of ideal Islamic political order.⁵⁴⁷ In this way, Said Halim warned against trying to frame an ideal political order for all Muslim societies. The political principles of Islam, expressed Said Halim Pasha, were free from feelings of rancour, rivalry, and animosity because they were born out of the social principles.

⁵⁴⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 36; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 133.

⁵⁴⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 36-37; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 133.

In Islam, pointed out Said Halim, both political sovereignty and political institutions were examples of cooperation, as both emerged from social solidarity. For him, there could be only one reason for the establishment of political institutions in Islamic society: To ensure a more perfect implementation of Islamic morality and social order. The Political sovereignty in Islamic order was nothing but an ever-vigilant guardian of Islamic institutions. Said Halim Pasha thought that Islamic political sovereignty was equipped with the rights required by the service it was undertaken with fulfilling. The degree of loyalty and obedience which must be shown to this sovereignty, he declared, depended on the importance of its task and the magnitude of its responsibility.⁵⁴⁸

According to Said Halim Pasha, the political sovereignty was based on the sovereignty of the Shari'at. It was Islam, he affirmed, that revealed the most robust understanding of the concept of sovereignty and gave it its truest meaning and nature. Moreover, claimed Said Halim, sovereignty meant the rule of the Shari'at, which was the natural guardian of moral truths and social justice; namely science, reason, and wisdom.⁵⁴⁹

5.1. The Concept of Sovereignty

5.1.1. National Sovereignty

Said Halim Pasha was against the principle of the sovereignty of the national will, which emerged as the result of the development of the erroneous Western ideas, and he harshly criticized Muslim intellectuals for preferring this principle instead of the sovereignty of the Shari'at. According to him, Islam offered superior social system than other ones in terms of social institutions. The principles of this organization were derived from the precepts of Shari'at. Additionally, Said Halim stated that the Muslim intellectuals, considering the principle of the sovereignty of the national will appropriate instead of the sovereignty of the Shari'at, were erroneous because, he

⁵⁴⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 12.

⁵⁴⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XIX, No. 494, p. 276.

remarked, the principle of the sovereignty of the national will was born as recently as yesterday. However, it was assumed to be infallible and irresponsible. Moreover, it had not yet achieved a decisive result anywhere. Even so, the national sovereignty was considered to have complete power. Essentially, Said Halim Pasha's main concern was the devaluation of the moral and social rules and norms offered by the Shari'at within the nation-state in which the system of national sovereignty was adopted. Said Halim supposed that Muslim intellectuals inclined towards the principle of national sovereignty with the effects of the admiration of the prosperity and material power of Western civilization and with their materialist mentality. He expressed that '*dazzled by the material power and prosperity of Western society, a growing number of Muslim intellectuals tended to attribute their unbounded admiration to the miraculous result of the principle of national sovereignty.*'⁵⁵⁰

Said Halim also claimed that the Western-minded intellectuals desired the principle of sovereignty of national will to be adopted in Muslim countries and that they wanted to cease the influence of the Shari'at as a source of inspiration and the criterion of Muslim rulers. However, he stressed, it was clear from previous experience that the implementation of this principle in Islamic countries would be just for the sake of formality because its functioning would remain completely artificial.⁵⁵¹

Said Halim Pasha strongly opposed the claims of pro-Western Muslim intellectuals about the principle of national sovereignty. This conception of omnipotent national sovereignty, he thought, was as false as all the other conceptions of sovereignty and "panacea" theories and ideas that preceded it in the West. Because, he argued, it was based on an imaginary right that the nation assumed on its own initiative and authority, imitating its former masters, the *Church and the Royalty*, who had also proclaimed, on their own authority and in turn, their omnipotent, irresponsible and

⁵⁵⁰ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 9; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 115; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁵¹ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 10; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 115; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 226.

infallible sovereignty.⁵⁵² At the basis of these sovereignties, drew attention Said Halim, one would always find the same principle: *force*. According to him, these sovereignties were therefore prerogatives imposed by force and not principles that impose themselves on respect by the sole prestige of their intrinsic moral value. Consequently, he emphasized, they represented usurpations, that is, injustices. Importantly, indicated Said Halim Pasha, the sovereignty based on force would result in a constant struggle for power, in which social hatreds fester and national forces crumble. As a matter of fact, Said Halim thought that “*in reality, the real right is born only from the accomplishment of a duty. It is the thing deserved by an accomplished duty. Otherwise, it is only injustice and usurpation.*”⁵⁵³

Said Halim Pasha thought that national sovereignty had no future because this principle was born from the development of a false idea and was doomed to disappear like previous forms of sovereignty. Said Halim also argued that the concept of “national sovereignty” had anything to do with democracy. According to him, what is called “national will” was in fact the will of a community that was very doubtful to represent most of the nation. He expressed that it was even doubtful that this community represented half of the nation. Said Halim believed that the national will was artificial and did not actually represent the majority because, he argued, what was called the national will was only that of most of the nation, a majority that is likely to represent only half the nation, plus one vote. It was “*the will of a very small majority in opposition to a very large minority; a minority almost equal to the majority.*” Additionally, Said Halim claimed that even if national sovereignty did represent a majority, it would still not be right and just. Because, he declared, the principle of national sovereignty was thus only the recognition of the right of the majority to impose its will on the minority and will of the majority was law in all things and decided without appeal. Consequently, he stressed, the absolute will of majority relied only on the force of numbers. Therefore, it was under these conditions that rights and justice would be most abused, and equality and justice

⁵⁵² Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 10; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 115; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 226.

⁵⁵³ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 10; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 115; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, pp. 226-227.

would not be perfectly implemented in the society. Accordingly, Said Halim Pasha associated national sovereignty with the danger of dictatorship of the majority. For him, the principle of national sovereignty gave a majority, which was precisely the least capable of being inspired by truth and wisdom, the right to impose its will on the minority.⁵⁵⁴

Said Halim recalled the suppression of the majority by the minority group around the aristocracy and the Church in the West in the Middle Ages. In this regard, he said, one would remember that in past centuries in the West the same right belonged to a minority, aristocratic or clerical, which did not fail to abuse it at its whim. However, according to him, with the emergence of the principle of national sovereignty, the situation was reversed, and majorities exercised their will over minorities as they wished. In this way, the majority, he thought, started to take its revenge on the minority. In fact, Said Halim affirmed that one would agree that the sovereignty of the national will was only a revenge of the majority on the minority, a revenge which would not fail sooner or later to attract in its turn some new revenge which it would have well deserved.⁵⁵⁵

Despite all the difficulties and drawbacks, Said Halim affirmed that it would be absurd to underestimate or to want to depreciate the value of the exactly expressed national will and not to admit that it represented a set of individual wills which were the very precious manifestation of the conscience of a society. It must therefore enjoy a certain consideration and respect. He stressed that however great this deference may be, it must not be forgotten that everything that existed here below was subject to natural laws, social phenomena as well as physical phenomena. According to Said Halim, any human will in any of these areas must be guided by the laws which governed each of them, and that therefore wisdom consisted in

⁵⁵⁴ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 11; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 116; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, pp. 227-228.

⁵⁵⁵ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 11; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 116; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 228.

conforming the human will to the requirements of these laws.⁵⁵⁶ Apart from these, according to Said Halim Pasha, if the national will was not sovereign and omnipotent in the physical domain, and if it was obliged to respect the laws that govern this domain, it could not claim sovereignty and omnipotence in the moral and social domain. Indeed, he thought that national will must respect the laws that pertain to it.⁵⁵⁷

In this case, according to Said Halim, the principle of national sovereignty must respect and be subordinate to the social and moral order that the Shari'at prescribed for it. Thus, the national sovereignty could take a secondary position which owed respect and submission to the principle of the supremacy of the Shari'at.⁵⁵⁸

It can be seen that Said Halim Pasha approved a limited national will that submitted to the sovereignty of the Shari'at and respected its social and moral order. In fact, only such a national sovereignty, he thought, deserved respect and honour.

5.1.2. Sovereignty of the Shari'at

Said Halim Pasha proposed a socio-political order based on the principles of *Shari'at*⁵⁵⁹ against the principle of national sovereignty, which he did not consider as promising. He characterized rule of the Shari'at as the most perfect and ideal order. According to him, the social structure of Islamic rule concentrated on the establishment of a social state based on equality and freedom in their most natural spirit and character, and a social state from which class rivalries and caste struggles

⁵⁵⁶ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 11-12; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", pp. 116-117; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 228.

⁵⁵⁷ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 12; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", pp. 116-117; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, pp. 228-229.

⁵⁵⁸ Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 12; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of..." , p. 117; Düzdağ, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri*, p. 229. By rejecting national sovereignty, Said Halim Pasha criticized the nationalist leaders who accepted that sovereignty unconditionally belonged to the nation in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on April 23, 1920.

⁵⁵⁹ For Said Halim Pasha, the equivalent of this principle within the framework of the rule of law theory is the principle of "rule of law." Since he talked about political institutions and theories in Islamic society, he had to use as the special term of Islamic law, "*Shari'at*."

disappeared, and where no more claims to freedom or equality were made. In addition, this Islamic social state, he affirmed, experienced the truest and most sincere human solidarity, which created an unprecedented Muslim brotherhood, which in turn, united in Islamic great family a whole world of nearly four hundred million human beings at least in his time, belonging to the most varied races and living in the most opposite conditions and climates.⁵⁶⁰

The Islamic rule, claimed Said Halim, inspired the peoples who adopted it with a constant common ideal which never ceased to preside over their material aid and spiritual flourishing. He also indicated that thanks to this common ideal, for more than thirteen centuries, both in their rising as well as in their decadence, all Muslim nations had sought only to conform their conduct to the teachings of the Shari'at, and they had no other ambition than to serve sacred the principles of the Shari'at. Because, according to Said Halim, Muslims had always hoped for their salvation from the Shari'at system and believed that progress could only be possible by obeying principles of Islam to the best of their ability.⁵⁶¹

As an important consequence of the establishment of the Islamic order, drew attention Said Halim, the authority or state in Islamic society gained a prestige and influence unknown elsewhere and at any other time. Thus, the state became feared, respected, and loved at the same time. According to him, political authority was loved because it was born of the Shari'at to serve it and to make him reign, and because it was therefore legitimate without reproach, thus removing from it any suspicion of usurpation or despoilment. The authority, continued Said Halim, made itself feared and respected by the omnipotence that its impeccable origin and its quality of being the sanction of moral and social truths earned it. From this perspective, the state was considered as the guarantor and protector of moral and social values. Therefore, he emphasized, the errors and abuses that were committed

⁵⁶⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol. XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 12; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 117.

⁵⁶¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol. XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 12-13; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 117.

in the name of the rule of the Shari'at could never undermine its prestige, nor the confidence it inspired. In his own words, Said Halim declared that:

*“From time immemorial the Muslim peoples retained the conviction that the injustices and arbitrariness from which they had to suffer were not in the authority of the Shari'at, nor in the institutions and laws derived from it, but in the vices of the Muslims who held power and acted in the name of the law.”*⁵⁶²

Thanks to the unshakable legitimacy of Islam's ideal and perfect social order, affirmed Said Halim, Muslim societies, never considered of challenging the legitimacy of the authority established by the precepts of the Shari'at, nor of undermining it in any way, and nor of overthrowing the Islamic government. Instead of this, he expressed, as the remedy for the corruptions and injustices, Muslims preferred to change their rulers in a way that seemed to promise them better representation of the Shari'at and better enforcement of the Islamic law.⁵⁶³

The absolute rightness of the principle of the sovereignty of the Shari'at, claimed Said Halim, was thus established by the constant, unchanging respect that this sovereignty secured for itself throughout the centuries. He also believed that its effectiveness was manifested in the most striking way in the creation of a social state that fulfilled all the essential conditions to guarantee man a real and complete individual and collective happiness. In his own words, Said Halim remarked that:

*“(Shari'at) gave birth in a short time to an admirable civilization which for centuries illuminated the world with its fruitful lights, teaching it science, justice, and wisdom, and procuring above all for the society, which was directly subject to its law, with an unprecedented moral well-being and material prosperity.”*⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 13; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 117. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 13.

⁵⁶³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 13; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 117-118.

⁵⁶⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 13-14; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 117-118.

5.2. The Structures of Western and Islamic Political Systems

While evaluating Islamic and Western political systems, Said Halim Pasha, as in many other issues, drew attention to social differences, different social needs and different remedies determined by these needs. Due to these differences, he said, political demands in Islamic and Western societies were met by different political systems and both were consistent within their own societies.

Like all the political regimes, affirmed Said Halim, those of the West were born from its various social regimes to serve them and contribute to their evolution. Therefore, he argued, the Western political regime had to undergo necessarily the transformations, which those of the social regime imposed to it during its evolution. This, believed Said Halim, would make the Western political regime as unstable and variable as the social regime.⁵⁶⁵

5.2.1. The Western Political System

5.2.1.1. The Parliament

Said Halim Pasha expressed that the West of his time adopted a new political system that emerged from its own social realities and took its current position after a long process of transformation. The political system of Western society, he argued, was based entirely on the principle of “national sovereignty”, which arose from the “will of the nation” since, he stated, Western society was willing to see social truth and justice only in the national will, expressed freely and without any restrictions. Until further developments, he continued, it would not be otherwise. In addition, Said Halim remarked that one of the first consequences of the implementation of this principle was that it brought the issue of national representation into question in the Western political arena. In fact, he approved that the institution of the national

⁵⁶⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 24-25; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 125.

representation became the capital political work of the modern Western society of his time, and it was the basis of its entire political system.⁵⁶⁶

Said Halim pointed out that the Western nations of his time were divided into social classes with different ideals and aspirations resulting from their different, often even opposed, political and social needs. Therefore, he indicated, from its beginnings, the national representation in the West became the closed field of the struggles of these hostile classes. In this way, he wrote, the leaders of various classes, who devoted themselves almost exclusively to the defence of the interests of their respective classes formed political parties. Nevertheless, these parties claimed to fight in the name of the nation, not for their own interests. In the light of such developments, asserted Said Halim, parliaments in Western countries have become arenas of socio-political struggle, giving one political party or the other the opportunity to seize the power and exercise it at its convenience during its administration.⁵⁶⁷

According to Said Halim Pasha, this was the main role played by the national representation in the social evolution of the Western nations. He asserted that class antagonism would persist until the peace and social and political harmony were achieved in the Western nations. However, underlined Said Halim, it must be recognized that whether good or bad, the political system created by the Western society corresponded perfectly to its social system and satisfied it completely.⁵⁶⁸

As for the rights and prerogatives of this national representation, which was as omnipotent, Said Halim remarked that the national sovereignty was manifested as infallible and irresponsible. In fact, he argued that the parliament had naturally very extensive rights, and that one could even say that they were unlimited. The parliament in the West possessed the monopoly of legislation, which reserved for it

⁵⁶⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 25; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 125.

⁵⁶⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 25; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 125-126.

⁵⁶⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 25-26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

the exclusive right to make known the national will and to impose it in the form of laws. He also noticed that it exercised, moreover, a control over the executive power which, in some countries, went so far as to allow it to dominate it.⁵⁶⁹

Said Halim drew attention that the chief task of the national representation under these conditions was thus “to democratize society”; that is, “to subject the minority to the will of the majority, while the right of control conferred on the parliament provided far more benefits to its own members than it does to the country in terms of wise and honest administration.⁵⁷⁰ In other words, Said Halim remarked that it should not be the main function of the parliament to secure far more benefits to its own members and to popularize society or to challenge the executive power, but to provide the concrete administrative structure and socio-political harmony in the country.

5.2.1.2. The Legislative Power

In the Western political order, noticed Said Halim, the legislative power theoretically belonged to the people, but in practice, this power belonged to the political parties that dominated the parliament. He thought that a political regime in which the right to legislate belonged in monopoly to a political body was always most undesirable because it was obviously biased, it was unable to maintain its impartiality, and it was also unconcerned with Justice. In such a regime, remarked Said Halim, the law was no more than a legal instrument of more or less sensitive oppression arbitrarily aggravated and mitigated.⁵⁷¹

In such a political system where the legislature was in the hands of a single political group, affirmed Said Haim, the laws would aim above all at satisfying certain

⁵⁶⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

⁵⁷⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

⁵⁷¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, pp. 38-39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

interests, as well as party interests, without taking sufficient account of the public interest of a more general and higher order. As a result, Said Halim claimed that such a legislative power would inevitably take sides and would necessarily be tainted by injustice and partiality.⁵⁷²

Moreover, thought Said Halim, who opposed of the Western-style legislative system, the political body which held legislative process would be besotted with the strong feelings of political passions and rivalries. And yet, he continued, the legislative authorities would neglect the moderation and wisdom, which must be given special attention while making laws. In addition, argued Said Halim, one could easily conceive the discredit in which laws that were the work of such a regime must necessarily fall. In response to this wrong attitude in the enactment of laws, remarked Said Halim, the nations that lived under this kind of political organization have gone to great lengths to remove from evil influences those whom they appoint to interpret and apply the law, to prevent errors and injustices.⁵⁷³

For Said Halim Pasha, it seemed so strange that the Westerners needed impartiality, reason, wisdom and as well as more knowledge essential not during the making and elaborating of the laws, but during its implementation. In fact, the current political structures, he indicated, was an admission of the flagrant insufficiency of political regime in the West.⁵⁷⁴ It was the most important and the most serious, as well as the most direct consequence of the principle of national sovereignty.

Said Halim Pasha once again emphasized that however great the errors of the political regime may be, from the point of view of social justice, it was a great success according to Westerners. Because, he noticed, the political order based on national sovereignty has the merit of being in harmony with the Western social

⁵⁷² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 26-27; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

⁵⁷³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 27; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

⁵⁷⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 27; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 126-127.

structure of which it was the political counterpart, of being its logical and natural product, and reflected a sincere manifestation of it. According to Said Halim, if the Western system was defective, it was because it was destined to satisfy the exigencies of a social order which was itself defective. In other words, the deficiencies in this system stem from the deficiencies of the Western social structure.⁵⁷⁵

It was obvious, drew attention Said Halim, in a society whose needs were different from those of Western society, it would be disastrous. Moreover, it would have no reason to exist. Therefore, Said Halim pointed out that the West's system of national sovereignty, which emerged from its own social structure, was not at all suitable for the social and political structure of Muslim societies. For Muslim societies, he affirmed, the only merit of the system of national sovereignty was the creation of its own society; it had no other meaning. Said Halim thought that the help and assistance that the Muslim society had to ask from the Western society were limited and of a very precise nature. Such help and assistance, he underlined, could in no way be of a social or political kind. Indeed, according to him, "the westernization" of Muslim society in whatever form and to whatever degree would be the biggest mistake imaginable.⁵⁷⁶

5.2.1.3. The Executive Power

Said Halim Pasha acknowledged that the Western political system was consistent within itself, but he cannot be able to desist from criticizing the system. Said Halim argued that the Parliament in the Western political regime represented national sovereignty and had absolute authority on its behalf. In fact, he rejected the infallible and irresponsible status of the Western Parliament. The Parliament, which had a great deal of influence, claimed Said Halim, was always inclined to create

⁵⁷⁵ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 27; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 127.

⁵⁷⁶ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 39; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 28; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 127.

difficulties, and exert pressure in the society. Consequently, he thought that under such a political system, where Parliament was the absolute authority, “*the executive power was merely the docile instrument of parliament.*”⁵⁷⁷

According to Said Halim Pasha, any power which lost its independence at the same time would renounce its essential character and would deprive itself of the possibility of conscientiously performing its natural function. He, thus, asserted that the executive organ in the West, which had lost its independence, was occupied with serving the particular interests of the political parties and politically influential personalities, who advocated it in parliament. Therefore, underlined Said Halim, the executive power strived to recruit partisans for them by creating and distributing highly paid jobs and to secure a majority for them by all possible means in elections. According to Said Halim, under the current circumstances, the Western government thus lend itself to all sorts of compromises and concessions to the members of the parties. However, he thought that it was certain that such attempts would corrupt the administration and would make it more and more costly. As a result, in such a political regime, affirmed Said Halim, the executive power would deal in bad politics rather than wise and honest administration.⁵⁷⁸

5.2.2. The Structure of the Islamic Political Regime

The most ideal political regime for a society, thought Said Halim, was the one that best satisfied the requirements of the society to which it belonged, and that best interpreted its fundamental political principles, and that was the most faithful expression of it. Based on this principle, he tried to determine what the best Muslim political regime should be. On this point, he claimed that the ideal Islamic political regime could only be established if it met the abovementioned standards. Everyone

⁵⁷⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

⁵⁷⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 26; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 126.

of the ideal Islamic regime he prescribed would have a course of action that was in harmony with the fundamental characteristics of Muslim society.⁵⁷⁹

Said Halim Pasha explicitly expressed that the system based on the rule of Shari'at was the ideal Islamic political regime. He declared that the Muslim society was the one that was subject to the sovereignty of the Shari'at. In other words, he noticed, it was the society in which each person was obliged to fulfil, on the one hand, the duties imposed on him by the moral and social laws of the Shari'at and, on the other hand, to ensure that these laws and rules were respected and applied by others, the whole community. Therefore, thought Said Halim, it was a religious duty for every Muslim to hold the hand of his government in ensuring the supremacy of the Shari'at. And yet, this Islamic duty had as its counterpart an unquestionable Islamic right; that is, the right to control the government.⁵⁸⁰

5.2.2.1. The Parliament

Said Halim Pasha thought that it was essential that the principles of Shari'at should prevail in every Muslim society. He also believed that the Islamic government should make and implement decisions in accordance with the precepts of Shari'at. In addition to all these, Said Halim argued that the ideal Islamic political regime was representative in essence. He pointed out that in Muslim society, which ignored class rivalries, where the social ideal and aspirations were the same for all, national representation must necessarily take a very different form from that of Western society. Thus, expressed Said Halim, it must differ in its spirit and purpose, in its composition, in its rights and preferences from the Western counterpart. The national

⁵⁷⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 28; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 128. Said Halim’s view represented the ideas of Montesquieu on the nature of the ideal political order. In this regard, Montesquieu had written that it would be better to say that a government that was in conformity with nature was the one whose disposition better related to the disposition of the people a government, and the one that was equipped to satisfy the needs of the people for whom it existed. For further information, See Montesquieu, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol.III, (Ed. Edouard Laboulaye), (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1876), p. 99.

⁵⁸⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 28-29; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 128.

representation in the Muslim society, outlined Said Halim, must be ensured by an assembly of elected representatives of the nation whose composition would guarantee in its bosom the reign of concord and political peace based on the fraternity between classes, which was one of the distinctive features of the Muslim society. In other words, he underlined that Parliament, which would represent the Muslim community, must establish, and maintain in the political field the solidarity that was affirmed in the social field.⁵⁸¹

In addition, Said Halim claimed that “*in the Muslim national Parliament there would be no communists, neither socialists, nor republicans, nor supporters of monarchy.*” All the deputies of the Islamic assembly, he stressed, dedicated their lives to a common goal and to pursue the same purpose. This goal and purpose were: To apply the supreme commandments of the Shari’at in the most perfect way. According to Said Halim, if there was any disagreement among the members of the Parliament, it could only arise over the choice of the most appropriate way to further serve their common goal and achieve it.⁵⁸²

Therefore, hoped Said Halim, the representatives of the Muslim nation would not have to fight each other to win and dominate. Instead, they would only have to help each other to ensure the submission of all to the common ideal. Being free from the spirit of rivalry, he believed, their control would be exercised without passion, without jealousy, without hatred; that is to say, in conditions where human activity could make itself most beneficial and most fruitful.⁵⁸³

Said Halim Pasha, who thought that the Western-style parliamentary system was insufficient to provide effective control over the executive branch, underlined that the Parliament in the Islamic regime would have broad rights and prerogatives in

⁵⁸¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 28-29; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 128.

⁵⁸² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 29; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 128.

⁵⁸³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 29; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 128.

order to allow it to exercise the most extensive, complete, efficient and effective control over the government, i.e. the executive power. However, he put forward that these rights would not make it the sole authority to legislate. In other words, these rights and prerogatives of deputies would not be valid in legislation process. Because, claimed Said Halim, the recognition of such a right to the national representation would be contrary to the spirit of the Sahri'at, whose perfect wisdom and justice would never admit that a group of politicians, however high their character, would be in charge of the making of laws.⁵⁸⁴

In addition to all these, remarked Said Halim, the certain reasons for which these privileges granted to Parliament in Western society did not exist in Muslim society. In fact, he said, the Muslim Parliament would not have to spend its time with facilitating, by passing appropriate laws, the constant social transformations demanded by the changing state of the Western community. Because these reasons did not exist for an Islamic national assembly, and the Parliament would need only to perfect and consolidate the existing state, which was stable in essence, to preserve it.⁵⁸⁵

Consequently, emphasized Said Halim, the national representation in the Muslim society would thus be a controlling authority and not a legislative power. Because, according to him, its aim would be only to ensure a wise and honest administration of the Muslim society and to promote the greatest justice reign between individuals, and thus to help the nation in its task of constant progress.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 29-30; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁸⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 30; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

⁵⁸⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 30; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

5.2.2.2. The Legislative Power

Although, affirmed Said Halim pasha, in Muslim society the function of legislating was an essentially social function of the highest importance, it was a predominate political deed in Western society. Thus, in the Islamic regime, the legislative power was not an elected national assembly as in the West. In this case, Said Halim approved that the right to legislate must belong to the committee of experts, who knew how to make laws, and who had a grasp of Islamic law. In this regard, “the lawmaker, he stressed, could not be a question of majority and minority, but simply of competence.”⁵⁸⁷ After all, in the Islamic political order, noticed Said Halim, the national assembly would have no power to enact laws.

Said Halim elaborated on the issue through the example of the patient-doctor: If it was competence alone that gives the doctor the unquestionable right to care for the physical health of the individual, it would be more reason that competence would confer on the citizen the much more important right to care for the moral and social health of an entire nation. And then, he thought, the challenge became impossible regarding the exercise of this right. Accordingly, he believed, because of the transcendent importance of the functions of legislator, the competence to perform the laws must be particularly high and superior in every way.⁵⁸⁸

Said Halim obviously stated that the legislator would have to be thoroughly familiar with the principles of Shari’at. This would be the source of his technical competence. In addition to this, he continued, the lawmaker would have to possess great moral qualities, notably moderation, prudence, impartiality, and in a general way wisdom. In terms of the legitimacy of laws, remarked Said Halim, the legislator would be a psychologist; that is, he would know thoroughly the soul of the people, the society’s pattern, their spirit and their temperament, ideas, and tendencies. Said Halim thought that “*it is only under these conditions the legislator would make living laws, which*

⁵⁸⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 30; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

⁵⁸⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 30-31; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

would be loved, feared, and respected at the same time'', and the laws enacted on behalf of the society would be useful to the people and would satisfy their true requirements. Otherwise, he claimed, *“these laws would only have the value of police regulations in the eyes of the nation.”*⁵⁸⁹

According to Said Halim, the right to legislate in the Islamic regime must belong to the expert legislators; that is to say, to that class of specialists who were mainly concerned with the study of the Islamic law, i.e. the principles of the Shari’at. Additionally, he expressed, it was necessary that the learning of these class of Islamic scholars must be backed by virtue in order that legislative power might enjoy the respect and confidence of the people to a sufficient degree, and their laws might be acceptable to the nation. Said Halim, therefore, considered that it was for the nation to elect its legislative assembly, which would be as free and independent as its Parliament, the controlling power. Moreover, like the Parliament, it would have as its supreme aim to consolidate the reign and omnipotence of the Shari’at.⁵⁹⁰

In this way, thought Said Halim, Muslim legislation tradition would continue to rest on a thirteen-times-old system, whose spirit of wisdom and justice had stood the test of time with resounding success. In this way, he believed, Muslim society would continue to enjoy stability in order and progress. Under these circumstances, affirmed Said Halim, Islam, which was protected against violent changes by the maintenance of its traditions, would develop in the direction of its own individuality, according to a well thought-out, coherent, logical, and harmonious program. In addition to all these, Said Halim thought that laws enacted without complying with abovementioned conditions were made to satisfy personal ambitions and interests. According to him, such laws did not represent justice; they represent tyranny. In fact, he underlined, autocracy would lead to the emergence of two kinds of evils and their corruption of society. Firstly, indicated Said Halim, despotism would give the strong groups the right to take advantage of the law to oppress the weak. Secondly,

⁵⁸⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, pp. 50-51; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 31; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

⁵⁹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 51; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 31; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 129.

despotism, would compel the weak ones, who wanted to get rid of oppression, either to escape from the law or not to recognize the law at all. These two evils, pointed out Said Halim, would be sufficient to drift the society into chaos.⁵⁹¹

5.2.2.3. The Executive Power

Said Halim Pasha believed that every competence would confer a right and every right would involve a competence. Together, these two conditions would create independence of action. On this point, he indicated, if the national representation had the right to control the government, it was because the nation alone was competent to judge whether its executive was acting well or badly towards it. In the same way, if the legislative power had the right to legislate, it was because the legislative was composed of the most competent personages to make laws.

Said Halim pointed out that the function of governing and administering in Islamic regime would also require a power to carry out its main political and administrative tasks properly. According to him, the executive power would acquire, if it did not already possess it, through experience. In return for this, expressed Said Halim, this competence would give it the right to govern and administer.⁵⁹²

Said Halim also noticed that just as law and competence guaranteed Parliament and the legislative power complete independence, these conditions would also suffice to ensure the same independence for the executive branch. In other words, he emphasized, the executive power must be as free in its own domain, as the Parliament and the legislature were in theirs.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 51; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 31; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

⁵⁹² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 33; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 131.

⁵⁹³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 33-34; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 131.

The right of parliament to control the executive, pointed out Said Halim, was in no way an infringement of the freedom or independence of the executive to act according to its own inspiration and conscience. This was, he continued, how it could function effectively and be accountable. He highlighted that “*parliament only had the right to criticize. It could warn, it could urge, but it could not command.*” In case, declared Said Halim, the disagreement between the parliament and the executive power could take a critical form, the head of state would intervene and settle the dispute in a way that is favourable to the claims of the nation.⁵⁹⁴

Moreover, indicated Said Halim, the necessity to satisfy the nation was not interpreted a restriction on the freedom of the executive power since its *raison d’être*; that is, its sole purpose, was to give satisfaction to the society by making laws in accordance with its needs. Just as legislative power’s purpose was to exercise control over the government in accordance with the society’s wishes, and was to enact the wise and accurate laws, which would meet needs of the society.⁵⁹⁵

Ultimately, Said Halim emphasized that the purpose for which an institution was established could never be considered as a reason to infringe its freedom and independence. In addition, he remarked that the main rights and powers of the executive power in the Islamic political system would be those which belonged to any executive. In other words, Said Halim stated that the basic functions of the executive branch in Islamic regime would be almost the same everywhere. In this context, he noticed that ensuring the material and spiritual welfare and security of the society and encouraging development would be among the most fundamental duties of the Islamic executive power.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 34; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 131.

⁵⁹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, pp. 62-63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 34; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

⁵⁹⁶ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 34; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 131-132.

5.2.2.4. The Presidency

Said Halim Pasha, who attached great importance to political authority in the Islamic political order, thought, as in classical Islamic thought, that political authority played an extremely effective role in terms of the stability of the reign of Shari'at. According to him, the political authority not only derived its legitimacy from the principles of the Shari'at, but also ensured the implementation of Islamic principles. He expressed that the source on which the Islamic government was based was the Shari'at, and the government was both the implementer and follower of the Shari'at. According to him, since in Muslim society authority emanated from the Shari'at, it was important that it must be as powerful and effective as possible for it to ensure all the benefits that reside in it. He, in fact, thought that without power, the best-intentioned, best-inspired authority would remain sterile. He affirmed that it was therefore important that authority in Islamic society, which he considered as the guardian of the Shari'at, had the moral, social, and material tools necessary for its rigorous and sustainable functioning. Additionally, in Islamic countries, unlike in the West, remarked Said Halim, it was the duty of the authority to protect religion and the whole civilization derived from it against the assaults from within and the encroachments from without. He highlighted that it was also among the fundamental duties and responsibilities of the Islamic government to provide the people with the fullest possible prosperity. He already believed that the best government was the one that was the most powerful, the most prudent and the best able to serve the people. Therefore, he affirmed, more than anywhere else, authority must be strong in Muslim states.⁵⁹⁷

Said Halim Pasha was opposed to the authority in the Islamic political order being in the hands of the executive committee, in which many people would play a role in the decision-making process. Thus, he claimed, one of the conditions of the power and effectiveness of authority was that it would reside in one person: namely, the chief of state. With respect to this, he believed that the division of executive power among different individuals or groups would paralyze Islamic government and society.

⁵⁹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol. XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 31-32; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

Because, asserted Said Halim, if these rights, privileges, and powers were fragmented and distributed to individuals or various groups serving different purposes, they would not hesitate to oppose each other and try to overrule each other. As a matter of fact, he declared that this would certainly shackle the government to function, and this would always pose a very dangerous social disaster.⁵⁹⁸

Said Halim Pasha did not envision the leadership of a caliph although he argued that the Islamic political order derived its legitimacy solely from the Shari'at. In this context, he considered that it was important that the holder of authority should be elected by the nation. This, he claimed, was one of its most unquestionable rights since it arose from its equally unquestionable duty to ensure that the administration would function well. Moreover, Said Halim considered it necessary that the supreme power must be entrusted to the president, who was most worthy of exercising it.⁵⁹⁹ However, drew attention Said Halim Pasha the possession of a right and the exercise of that right were two quite distinct things, when it came to the power. For him, the possession of the supreme power might not admit any competition or participation. On the other hand, he stressed, exercise of the supreme power could only be carried out by delegation, with the participation of certain elements of the nation in the enjoyment of some of the rights of the head of state, obviously with the consent of the latter.⁶⁰⁰

Said Halim Pasha thought that in Muslim countries, the head of state must be the elected representative of the nation. In addition to this, he continued, the head of state must possess all the rights and prerogatives required to make his authority effective. However, remarked Said Halim, by delegation, he should discharge his duties as the supreme head of the executive by recognizing to his agents and representatives sufficient rights to allow them to replace his action by theirs in the best possible

⁵⁹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 32.

⁵⁹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 32; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

⁶⁰⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 32; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

conditions. As for the main duties of the head of state, Said Halim declared that the fundamental task of the supreme head of the executive was to act as a regulator of the entire political system of the country; to ensure that it functions smoothly; to keep up harmony between the various branches of government, and to settle any disputes which might arise between them.⁶⁰¹

Representing the authority emanating from the sovereignty of Shari'at by the approval of the national will, the head of state, pointed out Said Halim, was *personally responsible* both to the representatives and guardians of the Shari'at, regardless of the body entrusted with these functions, and to the nation, as a distinctive feature of the Muslim organization. The delegates of head of state were also responsible to the representatives of the nation and those of the Shari'at. Thus, demonstrated Said Halim, the responsibility of the executive power in the Muslim political system towards the parliament and the legislative was established.⁶⁰²

It is clear from the explanations of Said Halim that in an Islamic political regime, in the special case where the head of state, as the representative and enforcer of the Shari'at, failed to carry out his main duties and responsibilities, it would be the nation itself, not the Parliament, that would complain against him. The fact that the head of state and the executive branch were responsible both to the principles of the Shari'at and directly to society would keep them constantly vigilant and prevent them from engaging in arbitrary practices against the society and country. Because, expressed Said Halim, when the head of the state himself was labelled as the delinquent, because of either by incapacity or by unworthiness of conduct, the nation itself would take part in the civil action against him, and in that case the Shari'at would listen to him and decree his downfall. By a mechanism and a procedure of extreme simplicity, wrote Said Halim, the Muslim nation could get rid of its ruler when his faults, his vices or his shortcomings had made him unbearable. As result, he

⁶⁰¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 32; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 130.

⁶⁰² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 32-33; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 130-131.

noticed, from one day to the next the nation could depose him from the height of grandeur to the rank of an ordinary mortal.⁶⁰³

Based on Said Halim Pasha's narrations above, it would be accurate to expound that he adopted the principle of 'separation of powers'⁶⁰⁴ in the Islamic political regime. In this sense, he thus approved that the controlling power; that is, the parliament; the legislative power and the executive power, were independently instituted by their competence and their special attributions described above. Furthermore, he underlined, by assuring to the authority all its power and all its effectiveness, the Muslim regime would respond perfectly to the spirit of the Shari'at and would closely unite all these powers with the common aim of guaranteeing the integral and perpetual supremacy of the Shari'at.⁶⁰⁵

Said Halim Pasha believed that peace and concord would be established in the political life of Islam, just as it is in its social life, through check and balance of controlling power, the legislative power and the executive power each other. In addition to this, he noticed, check and balance would bring about the perfect harmony which must exist between social and political institutions if nations were to truly prosper. Said Halim also thought that such indispensable harmony was the goal which every constitution and every political reform must attain. According to him, without this concord, the best social regime would be paralyzed and reduced to impotence. However, he underlined, even the most defective social regime, which would have the advantage of being in harmony with its political regime, would always be able to promote progress.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 33; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 131.

⁶⁰⁴ Although Said Halim Pasha presented his political theory as an ideal model for a Muslim society, his adoption of the principle of separation of powers shows that he was influenced by Montesquieu. For more information, See Ahmet Şeyhun, "Said Halim Paşa: Osmanlı Devlet Adamı ve İslamcı Düşünür", *TYB Akademi*, No: 3, (September 2011), pp. 73-74.

⁶⁰⁵ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 36; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 133.

⁶⁰⁶ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 36; Prince Said Halim Pasha, "The Reform of...", p. 133.

As Said Halim Pasha indicated, the Western and Islamic political systems were different in terms of their organizational structures and functions. He pointed out that the Western and Islamic political institutions and structures such as parliament, legislative, executive powers played different role in administrative affairs. Because, he uttered, these political structures were shaped by the different conditions and environments and they had to serve societies, which were had different social, cultural, and religious characteristics.

5.3. The Functions of Political Parties in the Islamic Regime

Said Halim Pasha asserted that in politics, as in any other sphere of action or thought, divergences of ideas, of conception and of appreciation caused to polarization among the members of the society. In the meantime, he pointed out, these divergences were always of a very variable nature because of the environment where they occurred, the causes which created them and the character which they had. At this point, he wrote that the divisions and polarizations in the field of politics emerged in the form of political parties. In other words, the divisions existing in the field of politics were represented everywhere by political parties. However, stressed Said Halim, this did not mean that the causes which generated them and the character which they presented were the same.⁶⁰⁷

Said Halim argued that in the Western political system rivalries arose from the competence and antagonism of the social classes, some of them wishing to overthrow the existing social system in order to replace it with one they liked, others seeking to modify it only in such a way as to better secure their ambitions, and still others wishing to keep it as it was. However, in the Muslim political system, he continued, differences arose only in relation to the choice of means to achieve the common goal of consolidating and perfecting the existing social system. Putting forward that political events would never take place according to the desires of a nation, on the contrary, they would be shaped according to its historical background and the social

⁶⁰⁷ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 34-35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

and political system, Said Halim pointed out that political parties were born under very different conditions in the Ottoman Empire and the West. According to him, the political order and political parties of the West were the products of the feudal system based on inequality and arbitrary rule. After centuries of conflicts and struggles between the social classes, expressed Said Halim, it was these political parties which established the constitutional system in the West. In this context, he underlined, the Western political parties gained an exceptional importance in the political life of the West because they were the most natural pillars of Western constitutionalism.⁶⁰⁸

Putting emphasis on that within the Islamic social structure rested on the principles of equality, justice and solidarity, there was not a competition or conflict among social class as in the West, Said Halim declared that political parties in the Islamic political regime would play a very different role in terms of their objectives, fundamental duties, and responsibilities than their counterparts in the West. In this respect, pointed out Said Halim, in the Western political order, each of the political parties was rested on different social groups or classes, and that each of only acted in accordance with the goals of their own social classes. Besides, he continued, political parties in the West tried to defend the rights of social class they rested on and fought for the domination of them over the rest of the society. Claiming that, as it was between social classes, “*in the Western regime the role of the parties was incessantly to change and to transform the existing social structure*”, Said Halim affirmed that the constant struggles between political parties in the West subverted the existing social balance and triggered an unstable order. As for the role of the political parties in the Muslim political regime, according to Said Halim, their main function was to preserve and consolidate the existing the social order and institutions rested on the precepts of the Shari’at.⁶⁰⁹ Thus, drew attention Said Halim, in the West, political parties acquired an inordinate importance, dominating, so to speak,

⁶⁰⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 13-14; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

⁶⁰⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

the national life and altering, distorting its forms of activity according to their convenience. Moreover, the political activity acquired in the Western countries the exceptional importance, he noticed, it was because they felt the need to remedy the defects and imperfections of their social regime by resorting political tools.⁶¹⁰

As an important difference from political parties in the West, Said Halim Pasha asserted that political parties and their activities would never gain the same importance and influence in Muslim societies as they did in the West, and that political parties could not play a leading role in politics in an Islamic regime. According to him, the absence of political parties in the Islamic political sphere was a clear indication that the Islamic social and political order was far superior to the Western counterparts. Because if political parties in a country nurtured enmity towards each other and sought to establish their own domination over others by harming each other with all their might as in the West, for Said Halim, it meant that the social targets of these parties would never be compatible with each other. More importantly, underlined Said Halim, never-ending rivalry and enmity of these political parties indicated that the social order in the country was dislocated. Therefore, Said Halim pointed out that political parties and their activities in Muslim countries played a much more limited role and they would never be able to dominate the life of the nation. Moreover, in his opinion, the more perfect the social order in a country, the fewer and less important political parties and activities would be. Accordingly, Said Halim thought that this was another proof of the superiority of the Muslim social regime over that of the West, and that it was a fact that Muslim society was better constituted than Western society.⁶¹¹

The explanations of Said Halim Pasha indicated that political institutions and organizations should not contradict with the moral principles and values which formed the basis of Muslim society. In other words, in the Islamic system, there must be harmony between social and political institutions. Unlike the Western society,

⁶¹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

⁶¹¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

which rested on the protection of self-interest and the interests of certain social groups, he affirmed, the ideal Muslim society sought to protect and to promote democratic values, such as equality, social justice, and solidarity, which were already indispensable values for Muslim society. He also believed that the ideal Islamic society built on these excellent values would take firm steps towards peace and prosperity. Therefore, in a flourishing Muslim society, claimed Said Halim, it was unnecessary for political parties and activities to play a very active role, and they would not be of much importance in the eyes of the people anyway. As a result, the functions of political parties in an Islamic regime, he affirmed, would inevitably be very different from their Western counterparts.

5.3.1. The Ottoman Constitutional Monarchy and the Constitution of 1876

Said Halim Pasha wrote an independent work entitled “*Meşrutiyet*”, which reflected his views of the Ottoman constitutional administration. In this work, he shared important information about the first Ottoman constitution and constitutional system proclaimed in 1876.

The constitution of 1876, claimed Said Halim, was drafted by the ministers and some prominent officials of the absolutist administration of the period to reduce the tyranny of Sultan Abdülhamit II and to create a centre of power that would provide a balance against his power. Because, according to him, these bureaucrats believed that a personal and arbitrary administration, which captured the destiny of the state, would shackle to progress of the country.⁶¹²

Said Halim Pasha asserted that the reformers of that period thought that through the national power, they would succeed in overthrowing the existing regime and establishing the constitutional system in the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, criticized the reformers of this period that they considered it as sufficient to grant some political rights and freedoms to the Ottoman nation; that is, the implementation of a constitution rested on ideas and inspirations of the West in order to overthrow

⁶¹² Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1329[1913]), p. 3.

the existing Hamidian regime. However, according to Said Halim, these officials and reformers knew that the political transformation through implementation of the constitution would take a long period of time. Therefore, he underlined, the reformers knew they could not use the political rights, which were granted to the nation without its knowledge and information, as an effective weapon against the despotism of current regime. In fact, claimed Said Halim, the reformist bureaucrats, who realized that the nation could not fulfil the duties imposed on them by the constitution, thought that they, not the nation, would benefit from the rights and freedoms granted by the constitutional order.⁶¹³

According to Said Halim, the reformist bureaucrats, who had the title of the representative of the state, thus acquired the title of the enforcers of the law and the protectors of the nation, because of this, they planned to make the nation their tool against Sultan Abdülhamit II. By getting the Sultan to promulgate the constitution, he stressed, the Ottoman bureaucrats, who relied on both the law and the nation, would thus not only get rid of the arbitrary rule of the Sultan, but also realize the reforms that could not be carried out due to the ignorance and heedlessness of the nation.⁶¹⁴

Said Halim Pasha uttered that neither the Sultan nor the Ottoman nation wanted to play the role assigned to them by the architects of the Ottoman constitutional monarchy. And yet, the Sultan sent the reformers into exile and the nation, which was indifferent to the developments and unaware of the rights and freedoms granted to them, did not pursue the reformers. Claiming that the constitutional monarchy system lacked the support of the people, Said Halim thought that the constitution of 1876, far from ushering in the era of progress and rise for the Ottoman Empire, did prepare the ground for the emergence of the Sultan Hamid regime.⁶¹⁵ The first phase of the Ottoman Constitutional Monarchy had ended. Sultan Abdülhamit suspended

⁶¹³ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 4.

⁶¹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 4-5.

⁶¹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 5.

the parliament indefinitely and abolished the constitution in 1878, but he did not abrogate it completely. Nominally, there was an Ottoman constitution, but no itself.

Said Halim Pasha declared that the Constitution of 1876 became a dream and a goal for all the victims and enemies of Hamidian regime, especially since the abolishing of the constitution in 1878. According to Said Halim, the leaders of the Unionists, who were aware that the Western powers would intervene in the internal affairs of the state in the event of a possible revolution and rebellion in the Ottoman Empire, felt the need to announce that the Sultan was overthrown for the sake of the constitution so as to hinder any rebellion and disorder. In other words, the Unionists demonstrated the resistance against the Hamidian regime as an act in the name of the constitution to avoid creating an atmosphere of total revolt and revolution in the country. In fact, Said Halim also affirmed that what the revolutionaries demanded from the Sultan to immediate proclamation of the constitution, and they achieved to receive it in 1908. Thus, he uttered, the deputies of the nation adopted the constitution which had been designed by the deputies of autocracy.⁶¹⁶

Said Halim Pasha also harshly criticized the practices and developments of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. According to him, with the declaration of the constitution in 1908, the executive power was placed under the yoke of a parliament that lacked influence and prestige, and that was lack of experience, and that was tended to abuse the rights and privileges given to it. Under this tutelage, the executive power was reduced to a lower level than it had been under Sultan Abdülhamit. Therefore, Said Halim asserted that the new order led to disorder and riots on all sides, and that the country was being plunged into complete material and spiritual anarchy.⁶¹⁷

Said Halim pointed out that the promulgation of the constitution shattered all hopes and dreams. He also affirmed that everyone assumed that the constitution would have a miraculous effect that would immediately change the damaged political and

⁶¹⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 6-7.

⁶¹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 8.

economic situation of the society from evening to morning, and that it would eliminate the internal conflicts, which were very vulgar. Additionally, he expressed, people believed that the new constitutional system would unite and fuse the entire Ottoman nation into a great Ottoman family working for the glory and greatness of the state. However, Said Halim, who noticed that all the hopes and beautiful dreams were blown away from the very first year, claimed that the rights and freedoms, which came with the constitution, caused to increase detrimental habits in the society in a remarkable way and created a complete turmoil by eliminating traditions, customs, and disrupting the social structure and classes. The environment of excessive freedom, according to him, paved the way for everyone to violate the rights of others and urged individuals to limit the freedoms of others.⁶¹⁸

Instead of uniting all Ottomans, drew attention, constitutional rule increased ethnic divisions and minorities started to struggle for independence. There was no unity of ideal among the Ottomans. Moreover, each of the former spies and corrupt officials began to turn into liberals, reformers, and patriots. Incompetent and corrupt officials became ardent politicians. It was as if a wind of madness was blowing over the whole country.⁶¹⁹

Said Halim Pasha complained that with the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the military and political bureaucrats of the period built an excessive form of parliamentarism on the wreckage of a harsh tyranny. Likewise, he criticized that the leaders of the time, who did not find the constitution sufficiently liberal, attempted to change it with their incomplete knowledge and experience. Relying on arbitrary theories of freedom, the reformers, i.e. Unionists leaders, who amended the constitution, introduced a constitution with an excessively populist character with the fear of a new period of despotism, which in turn it had already ended.⁶²⁰ Thus, the Constitution of 1876 was overestimated and changed almost beyond recognition, and the Ottoman Constitutional Monarchy was established.

⁶¹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 9-10.

⁶¹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 10-11.

⁶²⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 8.

Said Halim Pasha thought that the Ottoman constitution, which went too far in terms of rights and freedoms, was a grave mistake and that it was incompatible with the political and social situation, mood, beliefs, traditions, and mindset of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, he argued, the constitution became a danger for the Ottoman national existence. Because, according to him, the drafters of the constitution never took the country into consideration and assumed that they would bring happiness to the country with the help of some scattered information and political theories of the Western world.⁶²¹

According to Said Halim, the Ottoman constitution, supposedly as a great demonstration of libertarianism, granted excessive political rights and freedoms, which even most of the most advanced nations of our century did not possess, to all the nations in the Ottoman countries stretching all the way to the deserts of Arabia. However, he remarked, the majority of the Ottoman nation was still living a completely primitive social life and the people were still blindly obedient to the rule and influence of a corporeal or religious and spiritual head. Therefore, he uttered, the fact that a nation with a very low social level enjoyed significant political rights and freedoms indicated that the political order was extremely unnatural.⁶²²

Said Halim pointed out that due to these circumstances, the leaders of the period did not trust the will of the nation. According to him, if the elections took place in a natural way and the Ottoman people left free to choose their own deputies, and followed their personal inclinations, the Ottoman Parliament would look like a strange assembly composed of aghas, beys, sheikhs, priests, or their representatives. Under this condition, he affirmed, despite the most advanced theories and principles of freedom and acting in the name of national sovereignty, it would be a return to an unprecedented feudal rule, which libertarianism could never accept.⁶²³

⁶²¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 14.

⁶²² Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 14-16.

⁶²³ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 16-17.

Reminding the elections of 1912, Said Halim expressed that to protect the country from these consequences of the Constitution, which were not at all desirable, but quite natural, political authorities had to resort to some more or less arbitrary and unconstitutional measures. Through to these tricks, people were forced to accept some candidates as deputies whose names were not even known to them. However, he stated that the attempt to prevent one evil in this way led to another evil. Because, indicated Said Halim, the nature of the national assembly changed and the Ottoman Parliament was reduced to the status of an imaginary representative of a certain group of people, rather than the real general representative of the entire Ottoman nation.⁶²⁴

Said Halim thought that as long as this great disparity between the social situation of the country and its political rights persists, it would necessarily continue. Because he wrote, laws that did not consider the essential needs of society were doomed to change their shape under the pressure of these needs. Furthermore, asserted Said Halim, that laws, no matter how perfect in logic or theory, that did not conform to the realities of life were detrimental to society, and that they, over time, would give rise to arbitrary and tyrannical rule that would lead to abuses. He also thought that these laws would eventually corrupt the morals of the people.⁶²⁵ After all, Said Halim claimed that the Ottoman constitution was incompatible with the Ottoman social structure and even contrary to its social organizations and institutions since it could not even provide for the formation of a national assembly representing the whole nation, which was the basis of every constitutional government.

Said Halim Pasha asserted that the main reason for the emergence of a constitution, which was completely incompatible with the Ottoman social structure and its institutions, was the importation of an incorrect imitation of western constitutions by the bureaucrats of the period. According to him, the reformers of the period accepted Western political theories and principles without sufficiently adapting them to the Ottoman system, and thus adopted various of ideas and views which were irrelevant

⁶²⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 16.

⁶²⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 17-18.

to the Ottoman social and political structure. Because, he noticed, these individuals, without understanding Western civilization, assumed that if they accepted and imported foreign laws and institutions, they would achieve to socio-political progress. However, underlined Said Halim Pasha, due to the different political and social conditions of the Ottoman Empire, it was extremely harmful to benefit from the political and social experiences of Western nations, no matter how true they may be.⁶²⁶

Said Halim Pasha harshly criticized the reformers and intellectuals of his time for never understanding that people were not for laws and regulations, but that they were created for people. He also thought that by designing a Western origin-constitution that was incompatible with the Ottoman social and political structure, the reformists and intellectuals disrupted the flow of Ottoman social and political development and even condemned the state to certain death.⁶²⁷

It should be noted here that Said Halim Pasha exempted members of the Unionist Government and defended them. According to him, it was a deeply erroneous attitude to blame the Committee of Union and Progress and its members for the problems, which the Ottoman Empire had been experiencing since the Constitutional Monarchy and to accuse them of having destroyed the country and the Constitutional Monarchy. The Unionists, he asserted, had already established the Constitutional Monarchy against those who made the above accusations against them, and they only tried to implement the constitution put before them by intellectuals and reformers. He affirmed that the real problem was the constitution and the system itself, not the members of the Unionist government who implemented it. Since, remarked Said Halim, the constitution was not at all suitable for the situation of the society, it was impossible to be applied it to this country and to ensure the flourishing of the country.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 11, 14-15; Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 8.

⁶²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 13.

⁶²⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 14, 29.

Furthermore, Said Halim criticized the prominent state officials of his period for not supporting and guiding the Unionist government enough in the establishment of the constitutional system and the reorganization of the constitution. According to him, neither the executive power, nor the members of the Senate, nor the ulema, nor the state officials guided the Unionists. In fact, the fall of the government administration into the inexperienced hands; that is, under the control of the Committee of Union and Progress; the CUP was resulted from the incapacity of these officials and state dignitaries. In other words, it was the impotency and inability of these officials that led to the inexperienced Unionist administration. Under such conditions, he claimed “*nothing much could be expected from a parliament and a government composed of several revolutionary Unionist members, who were filled with violent patriotic feelings and dreams, and who were devoid of experience and knowledge.*”⁶²⁹ Said Halim attributed the responsibility for the disasters that occurred during the Constitutional Monarchy period to the prominent civil servants and intellectuals of his time. Because, he put forward, the leaders of the period did fulfil their most natural and most important duties.

Although Said Halim Pasha acknowledged the inexperience of the members of the CUP’s government in governing, he underlined that the Unionists were not entirely responsible for the problems, which the state confronted with, and that the real responsible groups were prominent state officials of his time who allowed the Unionist to take over the government administration. However, it did not stand to reason for Said Halim to describe the governments and members of the Unionists as innocent, not to hold them responsible for the problems and to tolerate them. In fact, the Unionists came to power willingly, and they were aware of their inexperience; thus, they received support of some experienced Ottoman statesmen for a while. Then the CUP took power completely into its own hands. It appointed the state officials of old regime but did not allow them to act freely. The Unionists never set aside its organizational characteristic and the committee directed the government, which it entrusted to the state officials with pressure, blackmail, and conspiracies, according to its own directives. During this process, authorities, under the influence

⁶²⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 30-31.

of the committee, tried to govern the state with their own unique methods. Acting in the spirit of gangsterism, the Unionist governments tried to govern the state with secret decisions, which were known to a very limited number of people, with decisions far from restraint and rationality, and with extremely rapid steps as if they were raiding the enemy. As a result, they rendered the administrative mechanism of the state dysfunctional. Therefore, contrary to ideas of Said Halim, it is obvious that most of the responsibility for the disasters that occurred after the Constitutional Monarchy belonged to the Unionists and their governments.

Stressing that the Ottoman Constitution was inconsistent with the Ottoman social structure, Said Halim also claimed that it was clearly incompatible with its political situation. Because, he noticed, the nations that made up the Ottoman Empire were very different in terms of race, language, and religion. In addition to this, he pointed out that the political unity of the West, which the Ottoman Constitution was inspired, consisted of the union of individuals who were bound together by the unity of language and sect, whereas the Ottoman political unity was far from the unity of race and language, and often even far from the unity of customs and traditions. For this reason, Said Halim said that “*the Ottoman political unity was not rested on the principle of nationality as in Western Christian governments, but on the principle of Islamic unity and brotherhood.*”⁶³⁰

And yet, Said Halim declared that it would be a very great mistake to take and to implement a foreign constitutional administration, which was founded on a set of principles completely contrary to the principles of the Ottoman political unity. As a matter of fact, he stated that the political unity of the European powers was the result of centuries of unity and solidarity of a unified people. In fact, affirmed Said Halim, a constitution belonging to these nations would not be beneficial for the Ottoman Empire, whose political unity consisted of the unification of several inhomogeneous elements. He considered that imitating the political organizations of Western nations and not paying attention to the special character of political ties in the Ottoman meant disintegrating the Ottoman socio-political unity. Indeed, Said Halim argued

⁶³⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 25.

that the Ottoman constitution was not capable of strengthening and developing the political unity and integrity of the empire.⁶³¹

Consequently, claimed Said Halim, the Ottoman constitution, which was formed by inspiring the Western political system, was incompatible with the social and political realities of the Ottoman Empire and accelerated the disintegration of the state. Said Halim, who was of course not opposed to the constitutional system, emphasized that the Ottoman constitution should be its own local creation. He thought that only a constitution rested on national procedures and customs and in harmony with social and political realities could be valid for the Ottoman Empire.

Said Halim Pasha believed that the constitutional monarchy was not the product of a single person or party, but of an entire generation at the time. Indeed, according to him, Sultan Abdülhamit II was one of the most important agents of his reign; called the Hamidian regime, but not the sole factor and founder. However, he pointed out that “*if Sultan Abdülhamit had not been born, his contemporaries would have caused another Sultan Abdülhamit to come into being.*”⁶³² Therefore, asserted Said Halim, not only Sultan Abdülhamit II but also his contemporaries; that is, the generation of his period, were responsible for the Hamidian regime. Said Halim touched upon an important issue: He uttered that a nation could not attain liberty by forcibly deposing a despot from his throne. What was really required was to create the conditions and mentality that would hinder the rebirth of the autocracy. He underlined that “*if the seeds of despotism, and if the corruption spread over and the oppression of tyranny frightened a nation instead of encouraging it to resist, and if the nation showed discouragement towards the oppression, then autocracy and corruption would reappear in the society.*”⁶³³ And yet, thought Said Halim, the solution was not to overthrow a dictator; it was to reorganize the entire socio-political system in such a way as to prevent the emergence of dictators.

⁶³¹ Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 26-27.

⁶³² Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, p. 29.

⁶³³ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 3.

5.3.2. The Political Parties in the Ottoman Empire

According to Said Halim Pasha, the political structure was determined by the characteristics of the social structure. Therefore, a political system may not yield the same results in every society. Considering that there were many differences between the West and the Islamic world, he drew attention to the fact that the application of the Western political system to Muslim society would be highly erroneous. For this reason, Said Halim took a critical attitude towards the Ottoman parliament and parties in the Constitutional Monarchy.

Said Halim Pasha claimed that, with the idea of Ottoman statesmen and thinkers to give the Constitutional Monarchy a freer character and to make it more democratic, they made it very difficult for this system to be implemented correctly and sincerely. Moreover, he thought, the Ottoman parliamentary procedure, which was based on the supremacy of the legislative power, could only be implemented in a country where national unity was strongly established. The Ottoman Empire, far from having a unified and homogeneous social structure, was composed of many different ethnic elements as well. In a such political order, asserted Said Halim, political parties would only accelerate the disintegration. The best example of this, according to him, was the separatist political parties in the Ottoman parliament formed after the Constitutional Monarchy.⁶³⁴

Said Halim Pasha declared that the Ottoman constitutional Monarchy was proclaimed with the support of elements belonging to all social classes, which united in order to abolish Hamidian regime and to attain a government of peace and freedom. He, therefore, pointed out that unlike the West, the Ottoman constitutional system was not proclaimed by the political parties existing in the parliament, and that political parties were not yet known in the Ottoman Parliament in that time. However, according to him, the Ottoman statesmen, under the influence of the political movements in the West, believed that the political freedom of a nation depended on the competition between various parties. Remarking that the system in

⁶³⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 9.

the West was built on this basis, the Ottoman statesmen assumed that the absence of such parties would harm the empire's constitutional system and then organized political groups hostile to each other. In fact, affirmed Said Halim, they tried to create opposing groups since they thought that the establishment of political parties could compensate the deficiencies in this area.⁶³⁵

In time, claimed Said Halim, these fractions gained the identity of political parties, so called as the representatives of political freedom in the Ottoman Empire, and the Ottoman statesmen assumed that they reinforced and strengthened the constitutional procedure together with the "parties". In addition to all these, declared Said Halim, these parties started fierce political debates and struggles in the parliament, as in advanced countries, and their oppositions each other pleased the Ottoman authorities and some intellectuals in favour of constitutionalism. Because they perceived the political hostility and disputes shown by the deputies against each other in the assembly as if it elevated the honour and dignity of our constitutionalism and made the activity of the assembly more efficient.⁶³⁶

In fact, Said Halim Pasha harshly criticized the establishment of parties as if it was an absolute necessity of the constitutional system, and the political debates of parties, which led to severe conflicts in the parliament. He underlined that it was also wrong to consider the political conflicts as a necessity of the constitutional system. Apart from these, Said Halim utter that in a country where the constitutionalism was accepted, political activities did not have to be divisive and disintegrative. Further to that, he thought that so as to serve the homeland, it was not necessary for the parliament, which was composed of enlightened and patriotic individuals, to be divided into hostile or opposing political parties. Said Halim also expounded that he was against to be created separation and enmity among the deputies due to the different proposals to solve the problems of the country and the society. Therefore, according to him, there was no reason to justify the frightening scene created by political conflicts and even hostilities in the Ottoman parliament. After criticizing the

⁶³⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 10-11.

⁶³⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 11.

Ottoman political system, Said Halim remarked that “individuals would be more productive if they united and fused instead of dividing and opposing each other on spiritual and intellectual issues. In an environment of friendship and peace, one could do his duty better and could personally rise and mature.”⁶³⁷

His explanations indicated that Said Halim Pasha desired that the Ottoman Parliament should be a fertile ground for criticism and speech, and a community of patriots united only by the feeling and excitement for the flourish and glory of the Ottoman Empire, instead of a stage for debate and bickering.

Said Halim Pasha stated that the intensity of the debates in the Ottoman parliament and the hostility of the deputies towards each other proved that there was no complete harmony in the Ottoman society. He also did not think that the debates and conflicts in the parliament, unlike those in Western parliaments, stemmed from some political or economic differences. Because, according to him, there could not exist opposing views in the Ottoman Empire, which had been subjected to disasters for a long time and needed to preserve and consolidate its political existence. In addition, he asserted that the poverty that prevailed throughout the empire would not allow for economic debates in the parliament and competition in the empire.⁶³⁸ In fact, Said Halim’s allegations did not seem very plausible. Because the political and social cohesion of the empire was disrupted by the clash of many different political views and the state was pushed to the brink of destruction due to the clash of various political inclinations. Additionally, the Ottoman authorities were aware that the economic policies of the empire were not sufficiently in line with the requirements of the age, and they tried to discuss and to implement different economic models at every opportunity, in order to maintain the progress of the empire.

Said Halim Pasha uttered that the Ottoman Parliament, where there was no consensus and hostility and conflicts prevailed, had an unnatural structure, the majority was dominated by the minority and caused some detrimental effects against the interests

⁶³⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 11-12.

⁶³⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 14-15.

of the country. Thus, he pointed out that political parties constituted a danger for the Ottoman political and social unity and integrity. According to him, the conflict and hostility between the political parties in the parliament stemmed from mainly the clash between the interests of Ottomanism and those of different Ottoman elements encouraged by foreign powers. Although, he continued, the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy put an end to the animosity and separatist movements among the Ottoman minorities, albeit for a short time, it could not eliminate this ethnic and religious hatred and rivalry. Furthermore, Said Halim thought that political parties acting against the best interests of the Ottoman Empire caused the separatist movements of the Ottoman minorities and to accelerate them. According to him, “*it enabled the separatist minorities to pursue their harmful aims through parties established with a legal mask and under the protection of the immunity provided by the parliament.*”⁶³⁹

Importantly, Said Halim Pasha attributed the difference in the functions and effects of Ottoman political parties and their counterparts in the West to their historical development. As mentioned above, he considered political parties in the West because of the evolution of Western society since the period of feudalism. In other words, political structures and parties in the West emerged due to the centuries of political and social conflicts. In this respect, Said Halim expounded that if the Ottoman society went through the same experiences as Western societies, and if the same reasons existed, parties would undoubtedly play the same role. According to him, far from being same conditions, the Ottoman political parties were emerged not as a natural process but as a result of coercion. In this context, he remarked, while in the West the parliamentary system was established only through political parties, in the Ottoman Empire, on the contrary, various parties were formed through the parliamentary system. As a result, affirmed Said Halim, it was futile to expect the same benefits from Ottoman political parties formed under completely different circumstances as in the West. He thought that “this was because the Ottoman political parties were artificial; the Ottoman authorities invented so-called political parties that had no equivalent in the Ottoman political and social structure.”

⁶³⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 17.

Therefore, underlined Said Halim, it was useless to expect that political parties would take the same superior and important position in Ottoman socio-political life.⁶⁴⁰

After outlining generally differences of the Western and Islamic political systems and political parties, Said Halim declared that the Western and Muslim societies had different social and political dynamics because of their historical backgrounds and religious systems. Therefore, he asserted that it would be the irreparable errors for Islamic world to adopt Western imitations of the socio-political models of progress. Because, according to him, the adoption of the political system of the West and imitate its political institutions necessarily required to adopt the social principles the Western world. Additionally, he underlined that Western political and social institutions such as aristocracy and democracy did not have exact equivalents in Islamic history and social consciousness. Apart from these, Said Halim remarked that Christian Europe's history was marked by continual class struggle while such social upheavals were far less dramatic in Muslim societies. Therefore, he harshly criticized that pro-Western Muslims would try to replace Islamic solidarity, which was the most distinctive feature of Muslim society, by the rivalry and hatred between social classes in the West. Thus, he uttered, they would ruin individual freedom and equality in the Muslim society and would make it fall into the Western mess; that is, into an imbalance where it would be constantly in pursuit of the same freedom and equality. According to Said Halim, Western-minded Muslims, replacing the beautiful Muslim brotherhood by the hatred that existed between the peoples of the West, would cause to lead all Muslim societies into social anarchy by disappearing the common ideal that united them, and by making way for all sorts of imaginary, deceptive and ephemeral ideals which would be born of the egoism, character defects and momentary needs of men, which would divide individuals and classes and condemn them to hate each other, and consequently, to fight constantly. Said Halim undoubtedly argued that a Muslim nation, which was morally and socially

⁶⁴⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 13-15.

disorganized and plunged into social anarchy, could not achieve economic prosperity and political power, and secure itself against foreign domination.⁶⁴¹

Far from being imitation of the West, Said Halim affirmed that Muslims thinkers should therefore be inspired only by the purest and highest spirit, the finest traditions, and the noblest examples of Islam. Furthermore, he recommended that they should convince themselves of the truth that salvation for the Muslim world lies in building its social, political, and economic life on the only Islamic truths, immutable and eternal in their perfection. According to him, it was only on this condition that Muslim intellectuality would be able to participate in the common work of civilization and human progress and to fulfil with dignity the preponderant role that belongs to Islamism. Said Halim claimed that any other conduct on its part would condemn the Muslim world to live indefinitely under the tutelage of the West, consequently in a condition of permanent subjection and inferiority that would end up corrupting it and making it forever subject to the Western peoples.⁶⁴²

5.4. The Senate (Assembly of Notables; Meclis-i Ayan)

Said Halim Pasha noticed that the senate in the Western political system was an essentially aristocratic institution, which was born of the need to defend the rights and privileges of a certain class and individuals. He declared that the main function of the senate was to protect aristocratic values in the Western political order and to regulate populist tendencies in Western societies, and to prevent the society from falling into excesses in terms of populist tendencies. He claimed that the senate in fact played a role in moderating and tempering the “democratization” of Western societies. For him, it thus served to maintain social equilibrium.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, pp. 74-75; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 37-38; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 133-134; Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, p. 7.

⁶⁴² Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, pp. 74-75; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 38-39; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 134.

⁶⁴³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 35; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 132.

Said Halim Pasha stated that as the aristocratic institution it had no reason to exist in Muslim society, where there was no legal inequality either between the various classes or between individuals. He stressed once again that Muslim societies acting according to Islamic principles were rested on legal and social equality. And yet, he pointed out, there were none of the dangers and excesses which could threaten the development of Western society in the evolution of the Islamic society. Moreover, Western social and political institutions such as aristocracy or democracy had no exact counterpart, in the Western sense, in the Islamic world. In this context, under the wisdom and moderation of the parliament, which was assisted continuously by the legislative power composed of Islamic jurists, the Muslim society would successfully achieve and maintain its flourishing. According to Said Halim Pasha, both parliament and legislative body in Islamic regime were guided by the Shari'at. That is, he affirmed that the precepts of the Shari'at were the guiding and enlightening force of these institutions.⁶⁴⁴

Said Halim Pasha clearly expounded that the senate, which was formed to protect the rights and privileges of the elite, had no place in Islamic society. While describing the class structure in Islamic society, he argued that there should be an elite class arising from the personal talents of individuals, but that this structure was not legally differentiated from other classes. According to him, Islamic socio-political structure did not acknowledge any inequality between social classes or individuals.

Although Said Halim claimed that the senate had no place in the ideal Islamic regime, after the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1876, the Ottoman constitutionalists considered this institution, as necessary. In the Ottoman Empire, members of the senate were directly appointed by the Sultan and served as an inspector on the activities of the parliament. Members of the Ottoman Senate constituted one third of the total number of deputies. Since the Ottoman authorities adopted the bicameral system in European political regimes, the Ottoman parliamentary system was also formed bicameral as Parliament and Senate.

⁶⁴⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 36; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 132-133.

5.5. Nationalism-Islamic Universalism

Said Halim Pasha thought that racism and Islam were incompatible; therefore, he often mentioned the detrimental effects of racism. According to him, racial hallmarks, which were diametrically opposed to the spirit of Islam, took religion out of its universal dimension, and reduced it to a regional dimension. In other words, Islamic internationalization embracing all nations was corrupted by ethnic characteristics. Islamic morality became subject to change according to the specific characters of nations; thus, the nationalizing Muslims were gradually alienated from Islam. In this regard, Said Halim wrote that Islamic morality changed according to the character of each of the Muslim nations. However, its aim was nothing but to unite all these racial traits in the centre of what was right and beneficial for Muslim society. Moreover, he noticed, Islamic social order and life, rested on morality, deteriorated just as much. Each of the Muslim society distorted the Islamic principles which they understood imperfectly. He affirmed that with the influence of local or national customs that emerged over time, each nation came to have a different view of life. Thus, “*the ethical and social systems of the Muslims became Iranian, Hindu, Turkish or Arab rather than Islamic.*”⁶⁴⁵

Meanwhile, Said Halim Pasha uttered that Islam acknowledged nationalism as a cultural phenomenon. According to him, Islam did not give importance to the differences of race and origin that existed between people and considered the human being as a social and political element, not a racial element. Therefore, he affirmed, Islam’s acceptance of the individual as a social and political element demonstrated that it accepted nationality. This was because a nation was formed by the union of

⁶⁴⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 16-17. Arnold Toynbee, who appreciated the prohibition of racism by Islam, wrote following statements: “*The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue; for, although the record of history would seem on the whole to show that race consciousness has been the exception and not the rule in the constant inter-breeding of the human species, it is a fatality of the present situation that this consciousness is felt - and felt strongly - by the very peoples which, in the competition of the last four centuries between several Western powers, have won - at least for the moment - the lion’s share of the inheritance of the Earth.*” For further interpretations, See Arnold J. Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 205.

certain social and political factors that could fuse with each other. Moreover, noticed Said Halim, these elements lived together for a long time, spoke the same language, had common feelings and ideas, and created their own art and literature. In fact, he described the nation as a community of individuals who created a moral and spiritual culture that distinguished them from other communities. And yet, he underlined, it was impossible to claim that Islamic principles denied or weaken nationality.⁶⁴⁶

While Islam accepted nationalism as a cultural movement, Said Halim Pasha himself was completely opposed to ethnicity-oriented nationalism. While he found it wrong for individuals to think only of themselves and pursue their own interests, he opposed the understanding of national self-interest that the same was true in the context of the nation. For him, the selfishness of nations was incompatible with Muslim thought. Therefore, he stressed, it was the perversion, falsification, fanaticism, and selfishness of racism that Islam attacked and rejected. According to Said Halim, four infernal years of World War I clearly indicated that the fallacy of the idea of the selfishness of nations and how it dragged the world into a deadlock.⁶⁴⁷

Advocating Islamic internationalism rather than nationalism, Said Halim defined his understanding of universalism as follows. He uttered that internationalism consisted in establishing the moral principles, which regulated the ties and relations between individuals belonging to the same society, among various nations to soften the relations between nations. Humanity, realizing that national solidarity was not possible without the development of international solidarity, would try to develop the former. Said Halim thought that just as the nation facilitated the development of

⁶⁴⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 26.

⁶⁴⁷ “In order to understand the whole spirit and essence of today’s civilization, it is enough to recall the causes that led to the World War, to consider the means of destruction used by civilized nations to destroy each other, and to think of the savagery and violence- unheard of until now - they have shown. We have been in this terrible scene for four years. This scene clearly teaches us the following: Today’s civilization, which prides itself on being based on national selfishness, is nothing but a new and detrimental form of the most terrible savagery. . . . This civilization is a unique work of a supremely advanced art. This art has made all the means available to human beings in an unprecedented perfection. By means of these means, people can appease their most primitive feelings and satisfy their most harmful inclinations. Moreover, they carry these wild feelings and tendencies to a degree beyond imagination.” See Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 22-23.

individuals, international solidarity itself would promote nations to develop as much as possible by eliminating the selfishness of nations.⁶⁴⁸

Said Halim compared Islamic universalism to the internationalism that the socialism of his time wanted to establish. However, he stated that Islamic one was its most perfect and final form. According to him, Islamic truths, like all scientific truths, had no homeland, that is, they were not exclusive to a single region, country, race or community. He expressed that just as there was no English mathematics, German astronomy or French chemistry, there was no separate Turkish, Arab, Persian or Indian Islam. However, according to Said Halim, just as truths based solely on science and experience gave rise to national cultures even though they represented the common wisdom of all peoples, Islamic truths as well allowed for the emergence of cultures that were national but were purely Islamic in terms of morality and social structure. In other words, he pointed out, although these truths had no homeland, they depended on the environment in which they were practiced.⁶⁴⁹ Moreover, Said Halim thought that the most perfect organization of the Islamic communities in the world was the form divided into nations. This was also the form in which the realities of Islam could be revealed and practiced in the most brilliant manner. He drew attention that it was a clear fact that the progress of a society founded based on a nation depended on that of the individual. In this sense, the Islamic system paid attention to the development of the individual first. Said Halim affirmed that:

“Whether this individual was Turkish, Arab, Persian, or Indian. ... If he attached as much importance to the solidarity among the Islamic nations as he attached to his own national solidarity, only then would be a good Turk, a good Arab, a good Iranian, or a good Indian ... He himself would know that national and inter-Islamic solidarity were complementary to each other.”⁶⁵⁰

Said Halim thought that nationality, either as a product of a particular environment or as a fact of life, was not going to disappear. Even, he underlined, it would be

⁶⁴⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 24-25.

⁶⁴⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 25.

⁶⁵⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 25-26.

ridiculous to imagine and claim that the nationality movement would disappear in the future within the internationalist movement. Despite all of these, Said Halim Pasha was hopeful about the future. He believed that the level of morality and civilization the whole humanity would flourish, and more tolerant thoughts would spread among people. In civilized nations, people's bigotry would be turned into tolerance, and their selfishness would be turned into generosity, and their mutual hatred and rivalry would be turned into understanding and solidarity. So much so that in the future, a more humanitarian set of feelings would replace the fallacies and theories of racism and national selfishness.⁶⁵¹

Said Halim disagreed with the assertions that a political unity based on Islamic unity could not be genuine and last long. According to him, the best example of this was the survival of the Ottoman Empire long period of time. In fact, the Ottoman history refuted such claims categorically. In this context, he pointed out that "Ottoman political unity was not rested on the principle of nationality as in the West, but on the principle of Islamic unity and brotherhood. Thanks to this feeling, which was essentially unique to Islam, all Muslims in the world considered themselves brothers." In addition to these, remarked Said Halim, "*there was no logical reason why such a political union should not be as valuable as any other, provided that its needs and requirements were understood and fulfilled.*"⁶⁵²

Consequently, Said Halim Pasha was not against the reality of nationality, and he stated that it was a great mistake to consider Islam as being opposed entirely to nationalism. However, he rejected the fact that the reality of nationality, which hindered solidarity among nations and led to a universal conflict by turning into a national-racial identity and prevented Islamic solidarity among Islamic nations. In addition, Said Halim, who advocated Islamic universalism rather than racism, thought that humanity would one day understand how the most correct and beneficial nationalism would be, thanks to the principles of Islam.

⁶⁵¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 24.

⁶⁵² Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 24-25.

To summarize this chapter in general terms, Said Halim Pasha was completely opposed to the principle of national sovereignty; instead, he advocated to substitute of the sovereignty of the Shari'at in the social and political sphere. Said Halim thought that the moral and social rules and norms offered by the Shari'at were devalued in the nation-state where the system of national sovereignty was adopted. According to him, national sovereignty was based on force, and this force produced usurpations; that is, injustices. In this respect, asserted Said Halim, national sovereignty followed the path of the Church and royal authorities of medieval Europe, which presented themselves as having absolute power, irresponsible and infallible. He pointed out that sovereignty rested on force led to a constant struggle for power, fuelled social hatred and shattered social unity. Moreover, according to him, what was called "national will" did not actually represent the majority, and in this system the absolute will of the majority was based solely on the power of numbers. Accordingly, Said Halim interpreted the principle of national sovereignty as the imposition of the will of the majority on the minority. In other words, according to him, national sovereignty represented the domination of majorities over minorities. Therefore, Said Halim associated national sovereignty with the danger of dictatorship of the majority. Said Halim Pasha advocated the principle of the rule of law in the ideal Islamic political order. The term used to denote the supremacy of law in the Islamic order was the "*Shari'at*." Describing the Shari'at as the most perfect and ideal order, Said Halim thought that the ideal Islamic political order was rested on the principles of Islamic faith and belief that fully encompass all Muslims in the world. According to him, the Islamic political system, far from being social class struggles, was constructed on complete equality and freedom, and the Shari'at offered an ideal social state order. Said Halim uttered that in the eyes of Muslims, Islam's ideal and perfect socio-political order proposed unshakable legitimacy. For this reason, Said Halim stressed that Muslims always hoped for their salvation within the boundaries of the Islamic order and believed that only by practicing the precepts of the Shari'at to the best of their ability could they achieve material and spiritual prosperity.

As for the Western and Islamic political systems, Said Halim Pasha pointed out that the structure of the Islamic political order was very different from that of the West.

Unlike its Western counterpart, in the Islamic regime, the parliament was not a legislative authority, but acted as a controller body over the executive power. The legislative task was undertaken by a group of Islamic jurists-Islamic fiqh scholar. The head of state, corresponding to the caliphate in the classical Islamic system, was the highest ranking executive official. In the ideal Islamic order outlined by Said Halim, the head of state was both the guardian and the practitioner of the principles of the Shari'at. In other words, the head of state derived his legitimacy from the Shari'at but was also accountable to it.

Said Halim Pasha noted that the functions of political parties in the West and their counterparts in the Islamic order were very different due to the divergent conditions and processes in which they were born. Unlike Western political parties, which emerged as a product of class struggle and rivalries and aimed to completely abolish the existing structure, political parties in the Islamic order were responsible for restoring and further developing the perfectly existing structure provided by the Shari'at. Said Halim expected that the Islamic political parties, instead of dismantling, would further enhance the existing Islamic order, which already embodied democratic values. Again, unlike the Western counterparts, Islamic political parties, thought Said Halim, they would contribute to the full implementation of the Islamic principles and serve to reinforce the unity and integrity of the Islamic socio-political system.

Said Halim Pasha remarked that in the Western political system, the Senate was born out of the need to defend the rights and privileges of a certain class and individuals. Therefore, according to him, the Senate as an aristocratic institution had no place in Muslim society, where there was no legal inequality either between various privileged classes or between individuals.

Said Halim Pasha uttered Islam accepted nationalism as a cultural phenomenon. To him, Islam's acceptance of the individual as a social and political element indicated that it also affirmed nationalism. However, Said Halim himself was completely against ethnicity-oriented nationalism and racism. Said Halim advocated Islamic internationalism against nationalism and racism. Islamic universalism consisted in

establishing the moral principles, which regulated the ties and relations between Muslim individuals in order to soften the relations among Muslim nations. He expressed that Muslim societies would try to develop Islamic internationalism when they realized that national solidarity was not possible without the development of international Muslim solidarity. He claimed that if the Muslim nations attached as much importance to the Islamic solidarity among themselves as they gave importance to their own national solidarity, only then they would be a good Turk, a good Arab, a good Iranian, or a good Indian.

In addition to all these, Said Halim Pasha pointed out the compatibility of the political structure with the social structure and emphasized that socio-political structures and institutions should complement each other in a society. In this context, he underlined that the social transformations of the Western and Muslim societies had to follow different patterns because of particular social and political dynamics arising from their historical backgrounds and religious systems. Opposed the imitation of Western political institutions and values, Said Halim accused Western-minded Muslims of replacing the beautiful Muslim brotherhood by the hatred that existed in the Western society, and of causing to drag the Muslim nations into social anarchy by abandoning the common ideal that united them. Thus, he claimed, they would exterminate individual freedom and equality in the Muslim society. Consequently, Said Halim strongly suggested that Western-minded Muslims were obliged to give up imitating the West, to inspire its principles, its example and its spirit. Indeed, Said Halim affirmed that the sole purpose of Muslim intellectuals was to represent Islamic principles in all their truth and perfection, and to serve them to the best of their ability. He considered that the Muslim world would achieve its salvation by constructing its social, political, and economic life on the only immutable and eternal Islamic truths. He thought that it was only on this condition that Muslim world would be able to join in the common work of civilization and human progress.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGION AND THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS IN SAİD HALİM PASHA’S THOUGHT

6.1. Religion

6.1.1. Religion and Fanaticism (*Taassub*)

According to Said Halim Pasha, “the religion has not been the product of a dangerous speculation of human being’s imagination imprisoned in the ungrateful and sterile realm of metaphysics, vainly striving to alleviate suffering or realize imaginary happiness through illusory consolations, unrealizable promises, or belated hopes.” From the Islamic perspective, he affirmed, the religion has not been an imaginary or conventional thing that could be disregarded or respected at will. He thought that for Islam, “*it is respect for the eternal rules and principles on which the physical, moral, and intellectual equilibrium of the human being depends, thanks to which happiness ceases to be an illusion and becomes a reality.*”⁶⁵³

Moreover, thought Said Halim, Islam as a religion was the constant search and application of rational, practical, and scientific natural causes and means that must forever preside over humanity’s fatal evolution, if it would be beneficial. And yet, he argued that the purpose of Islam was to show and to guide man along the positive path of goodness and truth, and at the same time to provide him with the means to navigate the metaphysical speculations of his mind, which would always be troubled by unknowable infinities.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵³ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 18-19; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 9; Said Halim Paşa, “*Taassub-ı İslami...*”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

⁶⁵⁴ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 19; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 9; Said Halim Paşa, “*Taassub-ı İslami...*”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

Furthermore, Said Halim asserted that a religion has the right and the duty to supervise all human activities, and to impose itself upon him with all the authority and all the respect conferred by the greatness of its mission, which is to constantly develop human perfectibility. In return, Islam has demanded the respect and devotion it deserved. Therefore, Said Halim remarked that “that is why the power of Islam has always been unlimited,” even in the smallest acts of Muslims’ daily lives. Additionally, he indicated that the influence of Islam on the development of man’s moral being has always been absolute, and it has come to constitute the very essence of its mentality.⁶⁵⁵ All these statements clearly show that for Said Halim, Islam has been the only true religion; in this regard, he declared that:

“Consequently, as long as the requirements of our existence impose a code of conduct on man, as long as his perfectibility makes him feel the need to believe in a set of beliefs, Islam will be the religion in which we have the most absolute faith.”⁶⁵⁶

After underlined the importance of the religion (*Islam*) in the Muslim society with respect to its material and spiritual developments, Said Halim dwelled on the relation of Islam and fanaticism in the context of religious conflict between the Muslim world and the West. According to Said Halim, it was no longer the natural inability to conceive of the divine trinity that served as a pretext for showing disguised contempt for Muslims, but rather the respect and love they still showed for their religion. It is clear that, the Westerners accused the Muslims of barbaric fanaticism because they persisted in showing love, respect and most importantly attachment to their religion.⁶⁵⁷ In fact, he thought, the Westerners labelled the adherence of Muslims to their religion as fanaticism. In this regard, he referred to an important point that the accusations made against Islam in the name of modern science and reason were no more justified than when they had been made in the name of the Christian faith. Said Halim also remarked that these accusations were more unbearable because they had:

⁶⁵⁵ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 19; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

⁶⁵⁶ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 20; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

⁶⁵⁷ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 11-12; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 6; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 209.

*“The infernal power to anaesthetize the most sensitive consciences, the most enlightened minds among Westerners, and to corrupt them to the point of convincing them that the three hundred million Muslims on earth were, with very few exceptions, evil beings deserving of contempt, hatred and the worst treatment.”*⁶⁵⁸

From this point of view, it was clear that such errors could only foster mutual mistrust and animosity between the two worlds.

The statements of Said Halim demonstrated that the West, as the cradle of civilization! harboured grudge and enmity against the Islamic world. In return of this, Muslims hated the Westerners and distrusted them. Under these conditions, the Westerners attributed the devotion of Muslim societies to their religion to bigotry and reactionism. However, Said Halim considered that based on erroneous accusations, the systematic hostility of the civilising West towards the Islamic world was totally unjustified, the animosity it provoked in the Muslim societies was only the natural consequence of its great misjudgement of the Muslim world.⁶⁵⁹ He also underlined that the aversion, which Muslims inevitably feel for Westerners in general, was in no way engendered by ignorance or superstition. Said Halim also remarked that the Westerners, who violently accused the Muslims of intolerance and superstition, knew that they were generously tolerant and certainly far more respectful of the beliefs of others. On this point, Said Halim affirmed that the East defended itself against the contempt, threats and attacks of the West against the Islamic world. In his own words:

“We have no aggressive aim to deprive the people of the West of their religion, homeland, freedoms, and property. The hostility of the Muslim world, which is trying to progress freely with the help of the knowledge and

⁶⁵⁸ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 23-24; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 11-12; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

⁶⁵⁹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 24; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

wisdom of the West, even with its capital, but remaining within its own borders, its own property, and its own faith, is only based on self-defence.'⁶⁶⁰

The situation indicated that Muslims were compelled to take protective measures against the Western aggression. To be clear, Muslim societies were increasingly inclined to embrace their religious beliefs and values because of the hostile feelings, attitudes, and treatment of Westerners towards them. The West also characterised the attitude of the Muslim world as “Islamic fanaticism.”

Meanwhile, Said Halim Pasha harshly criticized those who believed that Europe’s constant animosity towards the Islamic world, in so many different forms, resulted from its humanitarian feelings or its desire to see Muslim societies progress and take an honourable place in the world. He affirmed that such a naive person would forget that the West’s domination and exploitation of the East was based solely on Muslim world’s present inferiority.⁶⁶¹

Said Halim firmly rejected Islamic fanaticism, and he thought that the Westerners were not at all sincere regarding the so-called bigotry and fanaticism in the Muslim world. According to him, if this fanaticism really existed, as it was portrayed by the Westerners, the Muslim world would be the one complaining about it, not them. Because he pointed out, Muslims were the ones who suffered and the Westerners were the ones benefited.⁶⁶² It is evident that what Westerners really complained about and hated in the East was not Islamic fanaticism, but the Muslim world devoting to its Islamic beliefs and values and resisting the West’s interests.

⁶⁶⁰ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 24-25; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Taassub-ı İslami...’”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

⁶⁶¹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 25-26; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Taassub-ı İslami...’”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

⁶⁶² Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 26; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Taassub-ı İslami...’”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

Consequently, the interpretations and thoughts of Said Halim Pasha indicated that the term “Muslim fanaticism” in no way signified the hatred of the Muslim against the Christian, but rather the hereditary animosity of the West towards the East.⁶⁶³

6.1.2. Relationship Between Religion and Progress

As Said Halim Pasha claimed above, the European mentality was blurred by the prejudices and accusations circulated around its spiritual and temporal leaders for generations. He said that the Muslim was a despicable and inferior being in the sight of the most of Europeans. He also drew attention that Muslims were insulted because of their deep love and reverence for their own religion, Islam.

Since the Westerners at the forefront of civilization lost interest in their religion, uttered Said Halim, people inclined to conclude that the progress of the human spirit tended to annihilate all religious sentiment. Due to this belief, he claimed, “*Muslim religiosity, which has remained intact into the 20th century, appears as irrefutable scientific proof of the incapability of Muslim peoples to evolve and perfect themselves to the same degree as Christian peoples.*”⁶⁶⁴ That is, the Western way of thinking is based entirely on the following unfounded assertion: If civilization had advanced in the Islamic world, the devotion to Islam and the value attached to it should have weakened/decreased. Since Islam is still in high demand, Muslim societies, like Europeans, have not yet reached a high level of civilization. In addition, he stated, this idea was that how Christians managed to convince themselves of their natural superiority over Muslims and how they believed they had the right to treat Muslim world as inferior creatures different from themselves. In fact, for Said Halim it was an inconsistent assertion that the tendency of human to scientific, technological, and social development and perfectibility inevitably would lead to irreligion. These arguments were nonsense, for Said Halim Pasha. As a significant point, he drew attention to the fact that “Christianity might no longer

⁶⁶³ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 28; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 4-5; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁶⁴ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 6; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, pp. 209-210.

correspond to the West's ideal did not mean that man would absolutely become irreligious.” In addition to this, he thought that it would be a serious mistake to draw such a general conclusion from such a specific case, especially since at no point in human evolution could any phenomenon be cited to support such an assertion.⁶⁶⁵ On the contrary, claimed Said Halim, human religiosity constantly evolved along with human knowledge, and that it was precisely to this peculiarity of the human mentality that humanity owed the successive and uninterrupted flowering of all the religions known and all those yet unknown. He also asserted that the history of mankind proves that there has been a constant relationship between its religion and its mentality. So much so that, he declared, “*if we had been able to know all the religions that have arrived on the scene, we would have been able to follow the evolution of our species step by step from its beginnings to the present day.*”⁶⁶⁶ Moreover, he affirmed that the evolution of beliefs witnessed, as manifested by the progressive decline of Christianity, was only a confirmation of this historical truth. Furthermore, Said Halim noticed an important point that faith in the divine Christian Trinity was not decreased by indifference, but by the faith awakened in modern consciousness by this other “trinity of freedom, equality and solidarity.”⁶⁶⁷

In fact, he affirmed that it was not because the object of these beliefs changed that human became irreligious. Said Halim also remarked that the Westerners began to believe faith in the virtues of realism and scientific materialism, as well as in the set of beliefs, which this faith engendered, and this faith, he argued, was at least as sincere as that which Christianity inspired in the past.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 12-13; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 6-7; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 15.

⁶⁶⁶ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 15.

⁶⁶⁷ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 14; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210.

⁶⁶⁸ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 14; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210.

Under these conditions, stated Said Halim Pasha, the Christian clergy lost its superiority, but he thought that this militated in favour of scientists, philosophers, and intellectuals. Said Halim interpreted the new formation as a new religion. In this respect, he thought that in reality, “Christianity has been replaced by a new religion which, like its predecessor and it would last if it is able to satisfy the beliefs and prejudices that created it.” Said Halim also claimed that just like its predecessors, “*the new religion would have its illusions and its setbacks, its defenders and its detractors, and its detractors; and its most convinced proselytizers would not fail to equal in intolerance and fervour the most famous saints of Christianity.*”⁶⁶⁹ In this context, Said Halim affirmed that the progress of rational science and technology in the Christian world has given rise to modern materialism and scientific philosophy, and the evolution towards realism has caused Christianity to lose its usefulness and prestige. Therefore, he indicated, people saw “*this fact the proof that the power of Islam as a religion has remained intact only because the peoples, who still believe in it, have not been able to evolve to the same extent as the Christian peoples.*”⁶⁷⁰

In brief, dwelling on the subject in more detail, Said Halim Pasha illustrated that the advancement of positive science and technology in the Christian world paved the way of emerging the theories of materialism and philosophy. These developments, he continued, undoubtedly established a ground for a new guiding circle of scholars, scientists, and philosophers, who urged to base spirituality on material discoveries and philosophy. For this reason, the scientific revolution emphasizing reason and the guidance of science in the West, declared Said Halim, eliminated the influence of Christian clergy and the need for them. In this way, he declared, Westerners witnessing the vitality of Islam among the Muslims argued that Muslim societies have not yet progressed to that extent. It was this mentality that prompted Europeans to behave towards Muslims like creatures completely different from themselves, he noticed.

⁶⁶⁹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 14-15; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210.

⁶⁷⁰ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 15-16; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 7-8; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 210.

Said Halim Pasha was indifferent to “those who foretold that Islam has caused the fatal decline of Muslim world” since they ventured into discussions about this religion without feeling the slightest need to prepare themselves by studying the subject in depth. In addition, he criticized that all they drew parallels between Christianity, which they might or might not know, and Islam, which they certainly do not recognize, by the most arbitrary judgments with an overconfidence that indicated the strangest state of unconsciousness. Undoubtedly, expounded Said Halim, their self-confidence stemmed from the false but widespread belief that “all religions were equal and similar because they were driven by the same motive and pursued the same goal.” Therefore, he pointed out, “*the fact that Islam and Christianity were described by the same term of religion was enough to confuse them and proclaim the infallibility of their conclusion.*”⁶⁷¹ Said Halim asserted that the use of generic terms, which had the disadvantage of being too vague and too broad in their meaning, inevitably led to false generalizations and misleading assimilations, which were the source of most of the errors and confusions that obstruct the judgment and reason. Nevertheless, he proclaimed, thanks to the development of human knowledge and mentality, these terms became more and more precise and specific.

Said Halim Pasha underlined that Islam was misunderstood to the point of being considered the main cause of the decline of Muslim world since the state of inferiority, in which the Muslim peoples in those days found themselves, was mainly attributed to the essential character of the Muslim religion. According to him, “a Christian was excused for attributing to the Muslim religion this inferiority, which was certainly strange in its generality in the Islamic world, since for him the only obstacle he encountered in his movement towards progress was none other than his Church.” Nevertheless, pointed out Said Halim, however understandable such a belief might be for a Christian, it remained false because it was suggested to him by his appreciation of Christianity, by his experience of this religion. He did not think with his knowledge of Islamism or his knowledge of the historical and real causes that created this inferiority of Muslim peoples. Consequently, Said Halim Pasha stressed that “the belief that Islam was the cause of the present state of the Muslim

⁶⁷¹ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 16-17; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 8-9; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, pp. 210-211.

peoples was as unfounded and untenable as the crudest superstition.” Besides, he unambivalently expressed that this belief could in no way constitute proof of the imperfection of Muslim religion.⁶⁷²

In fact, the Westerners’ superficial and erroneous thoughts and prejudices about the Islam and Muslim world comforted orientalists; on the other hand, they prepared the ground for the reaction of the Muslim world against the West. Therefore, stressed Said Halim, this situation shackled the establishment of a possible dialogue platform between Islam and the Western world. Moreover, abovementioned expressions indicated that Said Halim was quite annoyed by the fact that Westerners put Islam and Christianity in the same equation and that they combined both Islam and Christianity under the term of religion. However, he undoubtedly believed that Islam, unlike Christianity, was not just a religion, but a civilization itself, which has the most straight and perfect form. Accordingly, he thought that Islam was far from comparing with Christianity, dominated by the clergy.

In addition to all these, Said Halim thought that identifying the causes that shackled the development of human societies was not an easy task. Because the decadence of societies has always been the consequence of a long series of often contradictory circumstances and facts, and the result of innumerable factors and causes created by the general evolution of humanity both within and outside these societies.⁶⁷³

Said Halim Pasha discussed the controversies about the decline of Muslim societies in the context of the relationship between Islam and progress with a more objective and critical perspective. He said that there were some Westerners who attribute the reasons for the backwardness of Muslim societies to their neglect of the order and main principles of religion or to their submission to fate. It is important to note that Said Halim asserted that Islam did not cause the decline of Muslim societies, as Westerners claimed; on the contrary, the Muslim world was politically,

⁶⁷² Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 20-21; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 10-11; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

⁶⁷³ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, p. 21; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

economically, and technologically inferior because it did not sufficiently value Islamic beliefs and values. With respect to this, he declared that the current cause which consummated this inferiority of Muslim world was due to our imperfect observance of the commandments of Muslim religion. Even, he asserted that this situation was without reservation confirmed by the most authoritative and qualified personalities in the Muslim world. In this case, expounded Said Halim, since the present chronic depression of the Muslim world was due to the non-observance of Islamic principles, it was not logically admissible that the observance of these same principles could have caused our downfall in the past.⁶⁷⁴

Moreover, Said Halim Pasha argued, the Orientalists, as foreigners, could not fully diagnose the essential problems of the Muslim world. Eventually, the observations of the Orientalists were unable to grasp the essence of the Islamic worldview because they were based only on knowledge, observation, and values of Christianity. Therefore, expressed Said Halim, it was not surprising that the Orientalists associated the causes of general chronic depression in the Islamic world with the shortcomings of Islam. Foremost, he noted that the general state of inferiority of the Muslim societies seemed to confirm the accusations of Westerners.⁶⁷⁵ Said Halim, on the other hand, acknowledged the decline of the Islamic world, but argued that it was not the result of Islam itself. Moreover, he stressed that the Orientalists' reflection of the Muslim nations' devotion and love for Islam as the reason for their decline was nothing but an extremely wrong and hostile attitude, which in turn was not in accordance with reason and logic.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 22-23; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Taassub-ı İslami...’”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 212.

⁶⁷⁵ Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman...*, pp. 20-21; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Taassub-ı İslami...’”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 211.

⁶⁷⁶ One of the most famous European Orientalists, who Said Halim Pasha criticized without mentioning his name, was the French thinker Ernest Renan (1823-1892). Renan described Islam as the religion that had been the greatest enemy of science and progress, and he also claimed that Islam persecuted scientific developments wherever it spread. Renan defined Islam as “‘the heaviest shackle that mankind has ever worn.’” Moreover, he claimed that the sciences that flourished in regions under Islamic rule had nothing to do with Islam. On the contrary, these scientific advances improved despite Islam by challenging its persecution. Renan unquestioningly projected the process of European science's development in defiance of ecclesiastical authority onto the history of Islam as an equivalent framework. For further information, See Ernest Renan, “‘L’Islamisme Et La Science’”, Conference Faite à la Sorbonne, le 29 Mars 1883, (Paris: Comann Levy, 1883), pp. 17-18. Also See “‘İslamiyet ve

In brief, the issue of backwardness, Said Halim Pasha thought, had nothing to do with the ethos of Islam and these arguments were a groundless and invalid assumption which could not be a proof of the deficiency of Islam itself. In reaching this conclusion, the Orientalists, who could not know the essence of Islam, did not study in detail the historical and real causes of the decline of the Muslim nations and the principles of Islam, he emphasized. According to Said Halim, who affirmed that it is not easy to identify the causes and factors that hinder the progress of a society, the decline of a nation or its general development often occurred due to many reasons and factors formed by the long chain of events inside and outside the society. Therefore, Said Halim pointed out, the problem of underdevelopment was not related solely to the religion itself, but should be considered as a sociological phenomenon. In fact, his approach was valid for the Western world as well as for the Islamic world.

In the context of relationship between religion and progress, Said Halim Pasha also believed that the influence of religion in an environment depended on the character and ability of the individuals who would practice it. He tried to support his views by highlighting the disparity between the Christian societies of Europe and the East. Although both nations belonged to the same religion, European Christians were financially and technologically more developed than those in the East. Christians in Europe, Said Halim pointed out, could use their religion as a tool for the advancement of their civilization; however, Christians in the East could not effectively use their religion to support their development. It may be noted that Said Halim overlooked an important point that European Christians could only rise after defying the religious, social, and political authority of the Church. In fact, the emancipation of Christians in Europe was a long process that began with the

Uluma Dair Konferansın Tercümesi/Renan, Ernest (1823-1892 M.)”
<https://sayisalarsiv.ibb.gov.tr/yordambt/yordam.php?undefined>, accessed on 10.02.2023.

Renaissance, was stimulated by the Enlightenment, and finally culminated in the period of Positivism.⁶⁷⁷

More importantly, Said Halim Pasha claimed that Westerners had mistakenly identified the general inferiority and other problems of the Islamic world by asking the wrong questions. They distorted the true nature of Muslim depression by focusing only on religious factors. Said Halim Pasha, who claimed that religion could not prevent a nation from progressing, believed that the roots of the decline of Muslim societies lay in social and historical conditions rather than in religious ones. In fact, he argued, the question was not whether Islam prevented its followers from progressing, but why Muslims were unable to enjoy the immense blessings of their religion. Said Halim Pasha gave an example of the civilization of Christians in Europe and Buddhist Japanese to confirm his idea. According to him, “Christian Europeans and Buddhist Japanese were civilized and developed nations whose religions differed from each other and did not hinder them from achieving development.”

In this regard, Said Halim affirmed, no religion would ever be an obstacle to the progress of a nation that prepared the necessary substructure and conditions. Consequently, he stressed that this was also true of Islam, both as a set of religious principles and as a way of life. Islam, as a rational religion, would not prevent Muslims from being happy and would always encourage them to develop. He pointed out that the brilliant Islamic civilization of the past was the best proof of this argument.⁶⁷⁸

It must be admitted that Said Halim was quite right in the sense that the right question led to the right conclusion. However, it should be noted that his example of Buddhist Japan was not very accurate. For one might conclude from what Said

⁶⁷⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 7; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 85. For further information on State-Church relations in Medieval Europe, See Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁶⁷⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 8-9; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, pp. 85-86.

Halim wrote that the Japanese people believe in Buddhism and assume that it is a religion like Islam. In fact, the national culture of the Japanese is Shintoism, which in turn is far from being a divine religion that has no founder or prophet, nor does it have a scripture or religious codex in the classical sense.⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, it is a lifestyle based on respect for Japanese cultural ethos and family. Therefore, a Shinto Japanese can believe in any religion. That is, a Shinto Japanese can be a Buddhist, a Christian, or a Muslim. Therefore, the Buddhist Japan depicted by Said Halim is not appropriate in the context of comparing religion and progress. Moreover, the absence of the Church or Shari'at in Japanese culture would refute all Said Halim's analogies.

6.2. Westernization

6.2.1. The Emergence of Westernization in the Islamic World

Said Halim Pasha thought that the real cause for the backwardness of the Muslim world laid in the wrong interpretation of the Prophet's teachings by conservative scholars in the Islamic world in their study of science. The Muslim scholars, he affirmed, limited the content of education to the religious and legal sciences while they kept out natural and technical sciences from the curriculum. Said Halim Pasha evaluated this understanding as extremely erroneous, and he wrote about the issue that *'Muslim scholars who are engaged in science, argued that the definite orders of the Prophet about the constant search for knowledge and wisdom belong only to the study of certain truths contained in the Shari'at, and it has no other purpose.'*⁶⁸⁰

There was no doubt, he remarked, that it was a great mistake to interpret the Prophet's advice erroneously. Because he strictly encouraged all Muslims to learn and to improve themselves with all branches of science, including human and natural ones.

⁶⁷⁹ For further information, See Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), pp. 351-361.

⁶⁸⁰ Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...", Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 3.

According to Said Halim Pasha, the misinterpretation of the Prophet's precepts on studying of science led to the emergence of a particular scholasticism, which thereafter greatly harmed the development of Muslim societies. In fact, uttered Said Halim, it created a detrimental effect on the advancement of intellectual activities apart from religious sciences. The forbiddance of physical and positive sciences and their exclusion from the Islamic education curriculum, he said, disabled Muslims completely to obtain necessary knowledge to explore the hidden aspect of nature, and this situation hindered them to acquiring their own financial welfare and material progress. For these reasons, confronting with severe economic depression, the Muslim world began to decline and became vulnerable to external threats of foreign countries, especially to imperialist Western powers. Eventually, stressed Said Halim, by completely abandoning natural and positive sciences, Muslim countries prepared their own financial and political deterioration.⁶⁸¹

Said Halim Pasha wrote that the state of backwardness in which the Islamic world of his time put itself was compelling Muslim authorities to think over the causes of the current depression and to seek possible solutions; however, all their efforts always ended in disappointment. Meanwhile, he said that Muslims were getting in contact with the Westerners and becoming acquainted with the Western world day by day. According to Said Halim, Muslims, who could not overcome the crisis, and failed to find remedy with traditional methods, and witnessed the economic welfare and technical progress in the West, were eventually convinced that the tenets of the Shari'at were completely incompatible with material development. Said Halim wrote on the subject:

“We (Muslims) used to show that all Muslim societies declined since they could not understand and implement Islamic rules better. In other words, we were attributing our constant failure to our personal incapability. Today, however, we look for the cause of our backwardness, not in our faults and negligence, but in the ‘lack of the precepts on which our religion binds us.’”⁶⁸²

⁶⁸¹ Said Halim Paşa, ‘İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...’, Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 4; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 16.

⁶⁸² Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 21.

Said Halim Pasha's expressions are very important in the context of Islam and progress-decline. His statements reminded the content of the Tanzimat Edict in the Ottoman Empire. The general outline of the Edict emphasized that the state started to decline because of failure to implement of the precepts of Shari'at.

Considering the importance of the subject, Said Halim Pasha, in his work called *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, evaluated the emergence of erroneous convictions that Islamic principles hinder progress. The historical fact, he asserted, was that both scholars of Islam and those responsible for guiding Muslims and illuminating them could not be able to pursue the rapid evolution that took place on the path of natural and positive sciences in the West. The fact that science and technique remained unknown in the Muslim world, he remarked, shackled the material evolution, and reduced them to lower level than Western nations. In fact, pointed out Said Halim, although scholars and thinkers in Muslim world was responsible for backwardness, it was also attributed to the religion, which was main source of the spirituality and morality of Muslims. He expounded that they fell into such a wrong assumption by forgetting the fact that Islam had bestowed a brilliant civilization to humanity, that provided the establishment of the Ottoman Empire with unique power, and that contributed even to the western civilization, which was admired in his time. Consequently, uttered Said Halim, Muslim scholars and thinkers assumed that precepts of Shari'at constituted a permanent hinderance to the progress of Muslim societies. Thus, he drew attention, all the attempts carried out in the name of reform started to take an anti-religious nature.⁶⁸³

Said Halim Pasha claimed that mentioned terrible and false opinion divided the Muslim thinkers into two completely opposite groups. The first group, making up of pious and conservative Muslim scholars, claimed that Muslims should abandon material welfare and pursue the commandments of Islam since the nature of material development contradicted with the tenets of Shari'at. The second group, consisting of adherents of complete Westernization, supported the idea that Muslims prioritized

⁶⁸³ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, pp. 14-15.

the material prosperity rather than allegiance to the principles of Shari'at.⁶⁸⁴ The first group, according to Said Halim Pasha, sought to revive the brilliant and successful Islamic past without being aware of that it could not be realized without a prosperous social and economic structure, and advanced technology. Expounding the expectation as imaginary, Said Halim equally criticized the Westernist group, who acknowledged that they would not be able to build a happy, powerful, and completely advanced society unless they alienated Muslims from Islamic principles, which in turn they labelled as the shackles of the progress of the Muslim world. Ultimately, both views, for Said Halim, were wrong because Islam encouraged all positive developments such as economic, social prosperity and technical progress, far from hindering them.⁶⁸⁵ By this way, the desire for Westernization began in the Muslim world.

Said Halim Pasha also drew attention that the Muslim world felt the need to benefit from the Western civilization in order to progress. This thought, he asserted, somehow gave rise to the misunderstanding that “Muslims necessarily needed become westernized for achieving the development.” To Said Halim, this was the most fundamental mistake of Muslims, which left all their efforts useless and inconclusive. In addition to this erroneous belief, some pro-Western Muslim scholars and thinkers, he remarked, put forward an idea that “Muslim societies have to imitate the Western civilization in every aspect in order to get rid of decline.” Said Halim underlined that this misconception was just as wrong and inexpedient as well.⁶⁸⁶

In fact, Said Halim Pasha opposed unconscious Westernization attempts because they were conflicting with the national-traditional values of Muslims. Since nationality and civilization had the same meaning, according to Said Halim, the aspiration to become westernized would conclude to abandon or deny its own civilization; and ultimately, it would mean giving up of the nationality of Muslims.

⁶⁸⁴ Said Halim Paşa, ‘‘İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...’’, Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 4.

⁶⁸⁵ Said Halim Paşa, ‘‘İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...’’, Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 4.

⁶⁸⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 18.

Indeed, Said Halim drew attention that for a long time pro-Western Muslim thinkers always aimed to remove the things that constituted the national and historical existence of Muslims and to replace them with new ones; or “*Western kind of items*”. Said Halim also stressed that Muslims could not achieve their progress by ignoring their national and cultural values. He also affirmed that anyone who denied or humiliated its culture, civilization and wisdom of his country would lose his nationality. Therefore, he no longer had the right to speak on his values.⁶⁸⁷

6.2.2. The Role of Intelligentsia in the Westernization Process

Said Halim Pasha was perhaps the first Muslim thinker to detect, for the first time, the existence of cultural alienation in the context of westernization process.

According to Said Halim, the necessity of seeking help from Western civilization for the rise and progress of Islamic society, that is, the effort to westernize, led to the emergence of a new class of intellectuals in the Muslim world. Even though the supporters of the westernization in Muslim societies were insignificant in number, he said, this minority group started to represent most of the society by participating of the educated stratum and other many thinkers and intellectuals. Thereby, the educated class, stressed Said Halim, began to have strong influence on the process of decision-making in Muslim society and to determine the destiny of it. In fact, the educated class, he argued, mainly derived its power from the Western powers through their mediums in the Islamic countries. In addition to these, Western ideas, and values, asserted Said Halim Pasha, entered, and spread over Muslim countries through the education. Most of the Muslim intellectuals, according to Said Halim, were acquainted with Western values and ideas either by studying in the West or in schools founded by Westerners in Muslim lands. Thereby, the Muslim elites, who were laden with Western ideas and mentality, were fascinated by the social and political developments of the Western countries and they saw it impossible that their own society could not achieve this success. Ultimately, remarked Said Halim, they inevitably began to be indifferent to their society and to insult their cultural values.

⁶⁸⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 12.

The main purpose of Western educational institutions was, according to Said Halim, to inspire the Western mentality to Muslim minds. He underlined that this situation enabled the Western powers to extend their political and economic domination over the Islamic world by penetrating Muslims' spiritual and cultural fields.⁶⁸⁸

In this way, the cultural hegemony of the West over Muslim lands, affirmed Said Halim, resulted in the alienation of Muslim elites from their own social, religious, cultural values and community because they were far from grasping the essence of religious principles. Some of them even treated with scornful indifference and bore strong animosity to their religious principles. In a word, they lost faith in the precepts of their religion. In his own words, Said Halim noted:

*“Trained under these conditions, these intellectuals could no longer judge and understand their religion and moral and social truths that it teaches them only through a more or less westernized mentality. They therefore lost faith in their religion, belief in the perfection of its moral and social principles showing a disdainful indifference and sometimes even violent animosity. This Westernized intellectuality therefore did not understand never sufficiently neither the character nor the nature of the evil that she wanted to cure no more than he understood the society of which he strove in vain to realize the raising.”*⁶⁸⁹

Said Halim Pasha reversed his most harsh criticism for the Western-minded Muslim intellectuals for their harmful attitudes towards the Islamic society during the Westernization process. According to Said Halim, intelligentsia alienated from the main realities of the Islamic society could not understand the severity of the current chronic crisis of the Muslim societies and their real problems. In this regard, he claimed, it was not possible for the so-called intellectuals to contribute positively to the development of their society because they tried to implement their Western-oriented solutions on it. Instead of finding some effective remedies, indicated Said Halim, Muslim intelligentsia, representing Western mentality, caused the Muslim

⁶⁸⁸ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 4; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 18; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 120-121; Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No: 495, p. 4; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 18; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 120-121.

societies to fall into deeper crisis with their practices which in turn were incompatible with the Islamic social realities. Said Halim, in his words, wrote that:

*“Muslim intellectual class lost its personality under the influence of the Western ideas and became addicted to an extreme admiration for the West. They saw the salvation of the Muslim world in the spread of this Western admiration throughout the Muslim countries. They were distinguished by pessimistic and destructive criticisms and determinations about their own social and cultural values. This intellectual class suggested to abolish the existing Muslim social structure and to create a new society shaped according to the Westernized knowledge, logic and morals, and political and social thoughts.”*⁶⁹⁰

Related to standpoints of Muslim intellectuals towards the Muslim societies, Said Halim Pasha drew attention that the knowledge of Western-minded intellectuals about the spiritual, political, social, and cultural issues of the Islamic world had two important features: These classes did not know the aspects of the issues related to the Islamic society and not incline to learn it. Secondly, they had a lot of information, methods, and principles other than those related to the Muslim world.

Furthermore, the intellectual advocates of Westernization, affirmed Said Halim, did not particularly consider their environments and conditions of the society while seeking for solutions to the backwardness of the Muslim world. Therefore, far from being a positive contribution, their recommendations and attempts were useless and destructive. In fact, Said Halim described their thoughts and goals as fanciful because the extreme alienation distanced them from their environments. This “more alien than foreigner”, he underlined, moved them further and further away from their own social background and rendered them incapable of understanding the roots and values of their own society. According to Said Halim Pasha, “*Muslim intellectuals were in fact as alien to the Islamic society as France itself.*”⁶⁹¹ Ultimately, Said Halim remarked that “the thoughts and knowledge, which pro-Western Muslim

⁶⁹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁹¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 19.

intelligentsia developed in such a strange way, led them to emigrate intellectually and change their nationality spiritually.’’⁶⁹²

Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha severely criticised the pro-Western Muslim intelligentsia whose solution for resuscitating the Islamic world was just to imitate the West completely. Intellectuals, he pointed out, ignored the main power that created the brilliant Islamic civilization in the past and they, instead of seeking progress in Islamic morality, life and politics, tended to adopt the Western institutions and traditions as a whole for the progress of Muslim societies. Because, stressed Said Halim, most Western-minded Muslim intellectuals believed that imitating of all or at least some of the Western political institutions was the only solution to recover the Muslim lands from decline and to flourish it. In other words, they assumed that there was no other way but to adopt the ideas and principles of the West exactly to ensure the social and political development of the Muslim countries. Said Halim Pasha interpreted the exact imitation of the West as “*forgetting those who belonged to the religion and civilization of Islam by accepting all their principles and mentality.*”⁶⁹³

While Said Halim Pasha reserved his severe criticism for pro-Western Muslim intellectuals, he also reproached the pro-Western Ottoman statesmen in Tanzimat Period. Statesmen, he expressed, assumed that by transferring Western institutions and principles and concepts into the Ottoman lands, they would be able to win the respect of European governments, to eliminate their deep-rooted hostilities, and went their attitudes in favour of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹⁴ In fact, the comments of Said Halim Pasha demonstrated that he considered the reform attempts of the leading statesmen of the Tanzimat era, such as Reşit Pasha, Mehmet Emin Ali Pasha and Fuat Pasha, as a purely political manoeuvre. However, it does not seem possible to agree with his opinion. Although statesmen implemented reforms for some political

⁶⁹² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 6-8.

⁶⁹³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.IX, No. 493, p. 264; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 3; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 111; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 19.

⁶⁹⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 20.

advantages and inevitably paved the way for some social and cultural imbalances, the reform process was not only a political interest-oriented movement; on the contrary, it constituted a large-scale development process which in turn they prepared the ground of many political, social, economic changes and transformations.

According to Said Halim Pasha, the intellectual advances, art, and cultural values in general were the products of their environment and condition in which they emerged. He also implied that the values and institutions taken from the West through imitation would not be beneficial for the Islamic world because, he pointed out, they carried the characteristics peculiar to their own environment, wherever they were transferred. Thus, the Western world, according to Said Halim, was very different from the Islamic world in terms of its aims, conceptions, inclinations, needs and the tools it used to meet them. Consequently, he underlined that it was apparent that the social and political institutions, which Westerners established and accepted by considering their own needs, would not be suitable for Islamic society despite being adapted according to the conditions of Muslim lands. From this point of view, he drew attention, it was very difficult to benefit from the experiences of various nations in political and social issues, and this attempt might result in making some unrepairable mistakes. Moreover, believed Said Halim, the happiness of every nation was possible only if it lived its own national life.⁶⁹⁵

In short, Said Halim Pasha disapproved of imitation of the political and social institutions of the West by the Muslims, and he thought that such a transfer was a big mistake leading to detrimental consequences on behalf of the Muslim lands. Because, according to him, every nation could obtain its happiness only thanks to its way of thinking, acting, feeling and its unique mentality. Said Halim Pasha, in fact, proposed

⁶⁹⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 4-5; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.IX, No. 493, p. 265; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 4; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 111-112; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 13; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye’nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 104. Jamal ad-Din Afghani also claimed that the solutions that the West found to its own problems would not yield the expected results when applied to Ottoman and Egyptian societies. Because, the social and political institutions of the Westerners emerged gradually by maintaining their natural development and were formed in accordance with their nature. The ideal society in the Western countries is a society that acts within the framework of its own internal dynamics. For further information, See Afgani- Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 157.

the reform of many institutions and structures. However, this reform should be carried out while preserving the social, political, cultural, and religious characteristics of the Muslim community. This point of view shows that Said Halim had a traditional/conservative-reformist understanding.⁶⁹⁶

According to Said Halim Pasha, the Western-minded intellectuals, who believe that they would save the Islamic countries from the decline with the implementation of full Westernization, were actually alien to the real Western mentality, as they were to the Islamic society. With respect to this, Said Halim pointed out that when the Westerners regarded their principles and institutions inadequate, they immediately tried to reform and to make them functional until they meet their current needs. Muslim intellectuals, on the other hand, attempted to eliminate the deficiency, which required to be improved, without hesitation, and replaced it with that they supposed to be better. Because, he surely said, the Western-minded Muslim elites saw everything in their lands as corrupted that they could not be repaired by reforms or restorations. Although, demonstrated Said Halim, pro-Western Muslim intellectuals tried to destroy the political and social structure in order to build a new one, the Westerners endeavoured to preserve their systems from annihilation by reforming them. In other words, underlined Said Halim, for the Muslim intellectuals, the reform was an opportunity to change or abolish the existing one. As for the Western mind, it was a tool to improve and protect something.⁶⁹⁷

In fact, Said Halim drew attention to the different standpoints between the Westerners and pro-Western Muslim elites. With the above comparison, he indicated that they were in a completely opposite thought and action. While Western mentality apparently desired to resuscitate its environment and to keep its political, social, and cultural values, the Western admirers, far from amending its available structure in the

⁶⁹⁶ For more information, See Cevat Özyurt, “Said Halim Paşa Düşüncesinde Değişim ve Süreklilik: Muhafazakâr-Reformcu İslamcılığın Oluşumu”, in *Said Halim Paşa Kitabı-Osmanlı Sadrazamı ve Düşünür*, (Prep. By Asım Öz), (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2021), pp. 241-262.

⁶⁹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 4-5; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 13-14; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 104-105.

Muslim society, preferred to devastate and to substitute them for the Western imitations.

In addition, Said Halim Pasha described the intellectual class, who was indifferent to their own society, as parasites on the shoulders of their own society. The extreme admiration to the West resulted in blunting their sights and corrupting minds rather than enlightening them. Said Halim warned that Western-minded Muslim intellectuals, with their inadequate and contradictory knowledge, would eventually turn Muslim society into a parasite of the Europeans unless they gave up their harmful interference in society.⁶⁹⁸ Furthermore, Said Halim also made a comparison between old and new Muslim intelligentsia. To him, the biggest mistake of the intelligentsia in the past was not to recognize Western civilization and to harbour enmity towards it. The present ones were the extreme opposite of the old ones. That is, they found themselves incapable of understanding the truths of their society because of alienation from their homeland and social-cultural values. They, he stressed, they almost forgot themselves in an extreme devotion to the Western civilization. The new Muslim intelligentsia, concluded Said Halim, were more harmful to society than formers. Because, according to Said Halim Pasha, these innovations and imitations carried out by the pro-Western Muslim intelligentsia did nothing but destroy the beliefs, ideas, conceptions, traditions, feelings, and morals which had been formed and settled for centuries. In a word, this erroneous Westernization process, asserted Said Halim, only served to being created a “spiritual turmoil-chaos” in the Muslim world.⁶⁹⁹ As it is clear from these expressions, Said Halim Pasha underlined the fact that the Western-minded Muslim intelligentsia, who believed in recovering the Muslim world from the decline by imitating the Western civilization in every aspect, could not even achieve to imitate the West. Moreover, their inappropriate attempts in the name of progress, he affirmed, caused depressions in the Muslim countries by confusing the Muslims’

⁶⁹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 4-5, 9.

⁶⁹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 3, 9-10; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 20; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 4; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 18; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 121.

consciences and ideas. In this way, they dragged the society to a dark and unknown future.

Although Said Halim Pasha attacked the Western-minded Muslim intellectuals, he also severely criticized the devout conservative Muslims. Interpreting the precepts of Shari'at from a narrow point of view and got stuck in scholasticism, the conservative Muslims, he believed, could not recover the Muslim world from the deep backwardness. Nevertheless, he paid respect to the conservative *Ulemas* for their efforts in learning and explaining the Islamic principles and for making significant contributions to the development of tenets of Shari'at. In fact, Said Halim considered conservative Muslims to be worthy of praise for their valuable contributions to Islamic *fiqh*. Said Halim, in his own statements, wrote:

*“As for the supporters of Shari’at, subjugated and deceived by the scholasticism which I have just pointed out, they were naturally no happier than the others to save the Muslim world from its decadence. But it was thanks to them that this world ceased to study, to meditate, to comment in a word to feed on truths of Shari’at to devote all his thought to them, all his heart and all his intelligence. He ends up thus creating a whole science based on the cult of Shari’at where man does not observe, compare, or concludes that by its truths, a science whose aim is to teach man to conform to the Shari’at in all manifestations of his moral being and apply it in all its actions. This science which is peculiar to Islam, and which is known under the name of ‘Fiqh’ is certainly what the spirit human could have produced more considerable and more perfect in the field of ethical and social science.”*⁷⁰⁰

Said Halim Pasha believed that the science of *fiqh* was the most noticeable and perfect creation of the human mind in the field of social sciences. *Fiqh* in the field of social sciences, he affirmed, was equivalent to the method of experimentation in the physical sciences. Additionally, for Said Halim, *fiqh* was the ultimate expression of Islamic intellectuality through concretion of Islamic principles, cultural values, traditions, and ideas, enabling Islamic values to be preserved for centuries in spite of threats of corruptive foreign influences. Said Halim Pasha wrote about the issue:

⁷⁰⁰ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, pp. 4-5; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 18-19; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 121. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 3; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 16.

*“Thanks to it, the Muslim world was able to keep its conceptions, its principles and its traditions, its spirit and its Islamic ideal intact through the centuries and the thousand vicissitudes of foreign domination. With the help of fiqh, the Muslim countries could escape ethical and social decadence which would have been irreparable.”*⁷⁰¹

6.2.3. The Adoptable Aspects of Western Civilization

Although Said Halim Pasha severely criticized the Western-minded Muslim and conservative intellectuals, far from being anti-Westernization, he was aware of the significance and necessity of acquiring modern science and advanced technology from the Westerners. He also acknowledged that Muslim societies had to make great use of Western civilization in order to assure the recovery of the Muslim countries. However, he went on to oppose the method of the Westernization carried out by the intelligentsia, who lost their identity. About this he declared:

*“It is very appropriate to want to benefit from a superior civilization, which in turn it was the great opportunity to develop our own civilization. This enabled us to the strengthening of our spirituality by ensuring the development of our observation and comparison mentality, our enthusiasm and effort to learn, and our intelligence abilities and way of thinking. This is the solely and exclusively legitimate and natural method that will lead the nations to salvation.In this way, by combining the scientific mentality, modern techniques and the method of experience, which are the characteristics and the reason for the superiority of the western civilization, will fill the thousands of deficiencies of the Muslim societies.”*⁷⁰²

Briefly, by imitating Western civilization completely, argued Said Halim, it would not possible to exactly benefit from it. Thus, he believed that it was required for the Muslim world to adopt beneficial aspects of the Western civilization without wasting any time.

As mentioned before, Said Halim Pasha, who believed that the Islamic world experienced only material crisis and that it was superior to the West in terms of spiritual values, stressed that Muslim societies should adopt just the knowledge and

⁷⁰¹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 5; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 19; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 121.

⁷⁰² Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 13-14.

techniques of the West. However, pointed out Said Halim, acquiring modern Western scientific and technological developments did not mean that Muslim societies must also take their economic system -he probably referred to the liberal and Marxist economic principles- or their capital and labour organizations. He especially declared that Muslims must be extremely cautious about the Western economic systems and rules since they were contrary to the essential Islamic principles. With this respect, he said that:

*“Indeed, if it is indisputable that the only way to put an end to the Muslim decadence is to borrow from the West its positive science and its technical processes, this does not mean that we should adopt the applications that it has made of its scientific knowledge, especially in the field of the organization of capital and labour. Far from us, the system of relations which was established in the West between these two factors of production.”*⁷⁰³

According to Said Halim Pasha, instead of being adopting Western economic system, Muslims should derive their own economic regulations from the science of *fiqh* based on precepts of Shari’at. As such, he affirmed, the Muslim world could achieve its economic progress without being subjected to the destructive social upheavals that blockaded the West. His own expressions on this issue are as follows:

*“It is to the ‘Fiqh’, which is founded on the Shari’at and has developed its spirit and meaning, that we must turn to create and regulate our economic organization. There we will find the guarantee of a functioning of positive laws in a social framework free from the disturbances that vitiate Western systems.”*⁷⁰⁴

In addition to these, Said Halim Pasha pointed out that Muslims should make enough effort to recover the Muslim lands. Just as the Westerners, the Islamic countries, he underlined, must struggle with abuses, injustice, and ignorance, and must predicate the principle of merit in order to ensure their progress. Said Halim, who declared that “Westerners evolved not as a result of labouring of others, but their own efforts, and rested on their own experience and means on the way to progress,” and urged

⁷⁰³ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 5; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , p. 19; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 121.

⁷⁰⁴ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 5; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...* , pp. 19-20; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, pp. 121-122.

Muslims to rely on their own force as well. Because, he affirmed, “the development of an individual or a society and its rising mentally and spiritually could solely be achieved through their own efforts.” Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha advocated the idea that Muslim societies should actually follow lead the work discipline and principles of the West on the way to flourish and that should take their patriotism as an example instead of the methods used by the Westerners to achieve their goals.⁷⁰⁵

After emphasizing that the institutions of a country could not be a direct export or import item, Said Halim Pasha thought that the beneficial values of the Western civilization should be implemented by moulding them with Islamic principles. In a words, he considered that the aspects of *modus operandi* and values of the West, which were necessary and reasonable for the Islamic civilization, should be “*Islamicized*” and adapted to the Islamic ethos and culture as much as possible in order for the development of the Muslim world.⁷⁰⁶ Said Halim’s views on *Islamization of Western-origin values* reflect the ideas of the pro-Westernization intellectuals of the Tanzimat period, such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha. They also claimed that the top down Westernization carried out by the bureaucrats had a devastating effect on Ottoman society; therefore, they recommended that Western-origin values should be adopted by homogenizing them with the Islamic-Ottoman political and social cultural structure.

Ultimately, Said Halim Pasha did not consider it as objectionable to make use of the Western civilization to flourish the Muslim societies. Indeed, Said Halim, who approached westernization from a very pragmatic point of view, saw Islamized Western values and mentality as a steppingstone for resuscitation of the Islamic world. Therefore, for Said Halim, westernization process supervised by the tenets of Shari’at was essential for the development of Muslim lands. Nevertheless, he insistently admonished that development rested on just the imitation and transference would solely create a painful social unrest and political inner turmoil.

⁷⁰⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 21-23.

⁷⁰⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 13.

6.3. The Decline of the Muslim World

Said Halim Pasha observed that most of the people of his time talked about progress, reform, and political-economic independence all over the Muslim lands. He also pointed out that there was a deep ignorance of the nature and causes of the decline of Muslim societies. He was astounded that, despite their desire for development, no one was yet carefully engaged in discovering the main causes of this ignorance and origins of the backwardness being plunged into Islamic civilization. However, Said Halim argued that pro-Westernization and reformists, far from attempting to carry out serious studies on the roots of the decline, just recommended making a clean break with deep-rooted inheritance of the Islamic civilization. They, he underlined, also believed that this attempt would be great achievement in development of Muslim societies.⁷⁰⁷ Said Halim Pasha was in fact implicitly criticizing the 19th century reformist Ottoman sultans, bureaucrats and thinkers supporting the complete Westernization during the Second Constitutional Period.

Said Halim Pasha claimed that the backwardness of the Muslim world became evident only when the Muslims societies came under the rule of the Christian imperialists. The enormous state of Muslim countries was noticed by the imperialist powers who immediately occupied their lands, and Western scholars began to deal with the decline of Muslim lands long before the Muslims. In a word, stressed Said Halim, it was Western researchers who firstly started to examine the causes of the mentioned backwardness. Ultimately, Muslim societies be informed of their decline with the help of Westerners' studies. Said Halim, on the other hand, complained that Muslims realized their crisis only thanks to the attempts of Europeans. Because he paid attention, the thoughts of Western researchers and the attitude of the Western world in general about Islam and Muslims were not objective at all. He declared that they were analysing the Muslim world with prejudices constituted by the long conflicts between the Christian Western world and the Islamic past. In this regard, he wrote:

⁷⁰⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 3; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akvam-ı İslamiye’nin...’”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 84.

*“Unfortunately, Westerners have been got stuck in the hatred and enmity inherited from their ancestors against Islam and Muslims. They approach especially towards Islam with a kind of unconsciousness. In addition, the Western mind was so different from the Islamic worldview that they could not grasp the true nature of the events and incidents they saw in the Islamic word, and the state of mind of Muslim societies.”*⁷⁰⁸

Said Halim Pasha also drew attention that European scholars found the causes of Muslim decadence in the deficiency of tenets of Shari’at. According to them, the only common point among many different ethnic nations plunging into the decline was the Islamic faith. Hence, remarked Said Halim, they argued that Islam would not only be the cause of the present state of inferiority of Muslim nations; so long as they retain their beliefs to it, Shari’at would leave them in eternal misery.⁷⁰⁹ This judgment of the Westerners was in fact superficial, but it seemed compatible with their reasoning and mentality.

As for the causes of Muslim decline, Said Halim Pasha, who considered Islam as a perfect religion with all the elements that would ensure the recovery and happiness of humanity, noted that it was impossible for such a religion to constitute the backwardness of its members. According to Said Halim Pasha, Muslim civilization lived through periods of development and expansionism as they retained to practice and preserve the general principles of the Islamic faith. Nevertheless, the same factors which used to rise, and progress no longer gave the same result, and Muslim societies had begun to go down, far from flourishing, for nearly two centuries. At this point, Said Halim was pondering that why Muslim societies were incapable of benefiting properly from their religion, which encouraged consistent development and progress. He also focused on that why Muslim societies failed to fulfil their

⁷⁰⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 3-4; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, pp. 84-85. Edward Said evaluated this attitude of the West towards the East as follows: “What these widely diffused notions of the Orient depended on was the almost total absence in contemporary Western culture of the Orient as a genuinely felt and experienced force. For several evident reasons, the Orient was always in the position both of outsider and of incorporated weak partner for the West.” See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 208.

⁷⁰⁹ Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 3; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 14; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 118; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 4; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, pp. 84-85.

religious responsibilities and ignored their sacred duties forming the basis for their progress. According to Said Halim Pasha, Muslims could no longer understand their Islamic duties as before and more precisely, Muslims, he asserted, were gradually moving away from the religious tenets of Islamic faith. It was one of the most important causes for their decline, he underlined.⁷¹⁰ As Muslims moved away from the principles of Shari'at, affirmed Said Halim, the decline of Muslim civilization accelerated.

In fact, Said Halim Pasha argued that the influences of the pre-Islamic inheritance were the most vital factor which caused Muslims to move away from tenets of Islamic faith and to go into a period of stagnation and decline. In other words, the Muslim societies, he explained, went into decline because they ignored Islamic ethos and moved away from them under the influence of the characteristics of their pre-Islamic past. Said Halim elaborated his argument as follows; the communities which adopted Islamic faith had a long historical civilization background; that is, they were the heirs of ancient and significant civilizations in the world. Each of these nations, he said, had their own customs, traditions, moral and philosophical systems, and different way of thinking, mentality, social and political principles which were peculiar to them. Therefore, underlined Said Halim, it was unavoidable that the ancient traditions and histories of Muslim nations would still affect their Islamic periods. With this respect, Said Halim remarked that penetration of the pre-Islamic heritage hindered the Muslims from fully understanding and implementing the Islamic principles, thus being devoid of the felicity of Islam. According to Said Halim Pasha, who claimed that Islam revived the mentioned civilizations which began to diminish, Muslim societies of his day lived in conditions resembling their pre-Islamic past in many respects.⁷¹¹ Said Halim referred to the subject as follows:

⁷¹⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 8-9; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, pp. 85-86; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam'da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 14; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 118.

⁷¹¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 9; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 16, 17, 18.

“...It is necessary to look for the reason for the decline of Muslim societies in the continuing influence of their pre-Islamic life, whose effects they still cannot remove. In that case, the decline of Muslim nations, like other setbacks that took place before and after, also arose from their failure to relinquish their pre-Islamic inheritance. This heritage prevented Muslim nations from understanding the essence of Islamic faith; for this reason, they could not comprehend what kind of values they had to forget and renounce from their pre-Islamic past in order to build their new civilizations.”⁷¹²

Indeed, according to Said Halim Pasha, the backwardness of the Muslim peoples resulted from failure to reject their pre-Islamic lifestyles. He also asserted that the stagnancy of the Muslim world between pre-Islamic past and true Islamic life constituted constant shackle to the progress of the Muslim peoples. Said Halim undoubtedly believed that the only way to eliminate this inert situation and to achieve development was for Muslims to completely tend towards genuine tenets of Shari’at. On this point, he wrote that:

“A stable balance has been established between the influence of their pre-Islamic legacy and genuine Islamic lifestyle, and this balance shackles their development. Therefore, in order for Muslim societies to continue their progress, it is necessary to rearrange the balance in favour of true Islamic faith.”⁷¹³

Said Halim Pasha’s thoughts on the effects of pre-Islamic life on Muslim societies evoked the views of Ibn Taymiyah the subject. Ibn Taymiyah also mentioned that the pre-Islamic lifestyle, cultural values, and habits corrupted the purity of Islamic beliefs and principles, and that Muslims, deliberately or unknowingly, turned away from Islam.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 9, 16; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 105.

⁷¹³ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86. Ziya Gökalp did not agree with the views of Said Halim Pasha about the national heritage of a society. Gökalp, indeed, underlined that the national culture of a society, which he defined as *hars*, could not constitute the cause of its backwardness; on the contrary, it was the most significant force for the progress of the society. In his own words, Gökalp said, “*In fact, every society has a national culture (hars) which ensures its progress and prosperity. ...Culture (Hars) is essential, civilization is acquired.*” See Ziya Gökalp, *Hars ve Medeniyet*, (Ankara: Diyarbakır’ı Tanıtma ve Turizm Derneği Yayınları, 1972), pp. 21, 22, 63, 65.

⁷¹⁴ For further information, See Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya’s Struggle Against Popular Religion, With an Annotated Translation of His Kitab İqtida As-Sirat Al-Mustaqim Mukhalafat Ashab Al-Jahim*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 11-87.

It is unlikely to share the same view with Said Halim Pasha, who considered that the survival of some pre-Islamic customs and traditions constituted the main cause of the Muslim decline. In fact, this analysis does not seem as correct. If it be so, the decline of Islamic world would have to emerge from the very beginning when various nations first converted to Islam. Because the influence of pre-Islamic heritage, adherence to ancient habits, traditions and cultural values were much stronger in the early periods. However, there was no such thing at that time and Said Halim, as mentioned above, affirmed that these nations had come to the climax of civilization by possessing a high religious life for many centuries after the adopting of Islam. In addition to all these, it is not true to put forward that pre-Islamic heritage strongly influenced the Muslim societies even after centuries. When a nation adopted a new religion, of course, their old beliefs, customs and traditions live more vigorously. However, they could flatly forget their ancient beliefs and values after adapting themselves to their new religion for thousands of years. In the context of pre-Islamic inheritance, it is more likely for Muslim societies to be moulded with Islamic principles and values especially for more than thousand years. Consequently, If the ancient national cultural values of Muslim nations had caused religious destruction, it would have shown its effect in the first century. The manifestation of the Muslim decline occurred after many centuries, and this refutes the views of Said Halim about influence of pre-Islamic values on the backwardness of the Muslim world.

Moreover, Mohammad Abduh, who had strong influence on the Islamists during the Second Constitutional Period, dwelled on the effects of pre-Islamic life concerning the causes of the backwardness of the Muslim world. However, according to him, this influence was not due to the fact that the Muslim tribes did not completely renounce the legacy of their previous civilizations. Abduh asserted that the soldiers, who were brought and from mountain and were entrusted with a task of protecting the Caliph and ensuring general security, played main role in decline of the Muslim world. He said that these soldiers in time exerted dominance on the Caliph and seized the power. These soldiers, expressed Mohammad Abduh, became Muslim; nevertheless, since they were far from having the delicacy, aesthetics and understanding introduced by Islam, they maintained their old cultural values,

understanding and mentality, and this situation led to stagnation in science and social upheaval in time.⁷¹⁵ In addition to these, Abduh thought that the removal of pure Islamic faith with creating of many innovations in Islam was another important cause of the Muslim decline.⁷¹⁶

Said Halim Pasha particularly focused on the Turks in the context of their falling away from Islam. Meanwhile, the Turks' pre-Islamic cultural legacy, he believed, was not rich and powerful enough and he examined the alienation of Turks from Islam and their backwardness more differently. According to Said Halim, since the Turks' pre-Islamic civilization was not advanced enough to restrict their progress after being adopted Islam, they did not remain under its influence. Therefore, he affirmed, Turks took more advantage of Islamic beliefs and values than Arabs or Iranians whose pre-Islamic customs and traditions surpassed their Islamic period. However, Said Halim remarked that they could not avoid falling into the same position since they had close relations with the Arab and Persian civilizations and were in the minority in the places they conquered. Accordingly, they were also influenced by the cultures of these regions.⁷¹⁷ In one of his works, Said Halim wrote that:

*“Since the civilization they had established before Islam was not so deep-rooted and advanced as to hinder their development after Islam, they served the new Sharia with great success. However, since they were in close contact with the Arab and Persian civilizations, they could not avoid confronting with the same fate by falling under their influence.”*⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁵ For detailed information, See Muhammed Abduh, “Bugünkü Müslümanlar Yahud Müslümanlığa, Müslümanlarla İhticac”, (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.I, No: 25, 29 Kanunisanı 1324[11 February 1909], pp. 396-397.

⁷¹⁶ Muhammed Abduh, “Hristiyanlık, Müslümanlık”, (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, C.II, No: 51, 13 Ağustos 1325[26 August 1909], pp. 391-392.

⁷¹⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 18.

⁷¹⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 10; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86. Ziya Gökalp also disagreed with Said Halim's ideas about richness of ancient Turkish culture and civilization. Unlike Said Halim, Gökalp thought that it was only thanks to their national culture that Turks were able to establish great empires and to remain independently throughout history. It is apparent that with his own thoughts, Said Halim Pasha was in fact presenting the antithesis of Gökalp's teachings on the importance and greatness of the old Turkish culture. See Gökalp, *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22, 63.

Said Halim Pasha considered the imitation of the Western civilization as a second reason for Turks to alienate from Islam. He argued that the movement of the so-called ‘‘Ottoman Renaissance’’, which took place under the influence of Western civilization was a second movement away from Islam. Because, according to Said Halim, the renewals called ‘‘*teceddüt*’’ did nothing but destroy the beliefs, ideas, conceptions, traditions, feelings, and morals that had been established and settled for centuries. He underlined that these renewals did nothing but drag the empire, and the Muslim Turks in general, into a ‘‘*spiritual turmoil*’’, whose various ominous consequences could be seen every day.⁷¹⁹

According to Said Halim Pasha, another factor leading to the decline of the Islamic world was that Muslim nations did not consider the necessities of the constantly changing time, or rather, they failed to adapt themselves to the conditions of their time. Indeed, he tried to demonstrate that Muslim peoples did not comprehend that the new needs arising from these changes could only be met by interpreting and practicing their religion in a higher and more efficient way. Said Halim also uttered that Muslim peoples, who lost the opportunity to freely develop their material and spiritual power, gradually fell into the abyss of ignorance and tyranny. Consequently, unable to keep up with the rapidly elapsing time, Muslim societies, he indicated, regressed even more as the centuries passed.⁷²⁰

From the abovementioned statements, Said Halim Pasha complained that Muslims could not interpret and implement tenets of Islamic faith according to the requirements of their time. However, according to him, Islam supported acting in accordance with the spirit and the existing conditions of the time. In fact, he pointed out that the Muslim scholars could not adequately and effectively implement the Islamic *ijtihad* system, which tried to produce viable solutions to the problems of Muslims by relying on the precepts of Shari’at. In other words, Said Halim stressed that Muslim scholars closed in practice the Islamic *ijtihad* system, which was

⁷¹⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 20.

⁷²⁰ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 16; Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 10; ; Said Halim Paşa, ‘‘Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...’’, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86.

working in order theoretically, and it caused the Islamic world to go into a process of the stagnation and decline.

Said Halim in fact indicated an important point, the real cause of the general decline of the Muslim world. His observations are also valid for the current crisis of the Islamic world. However, if Said Halim elaborated his views about *ijtihad* system, Muslim societies would probably have a very valuable guide demonstrating the main reasons for the decline of the Islamic world and the solution to it. After mentioning this significant point, Said Halim went on writing something else, and he did not dwell on this great truth that he saw clearly. Furthermore, contemporary Muslim scholars can reinterpret the principles of Islam as a religion directly involving in daily life according to changing life conditions and necessities. "The venerable author shows the real reason with this sentence. If the whole book had been written only with the dissection and distribution of this *ijtihad*, we would have had a very valuable guide showing the reason for the decline of Islam and the solution to it.

According to Said Halim Pasha, another important factor in the backwardness of Muslim societies was the fierce religious enmity between the Islamic world and Western Christian nations. He said that the hostility and ongoing wars between the two sides visibly hindered the progress and development of the Muslims peoples. Because of this mutual enmity, asserted Said Halim, Muslims, who despised the West and kept their distance from the rapidly developing civilization in the West and were deprived of the opportunity to follow and benefit from the scientific and technical achievements in the West.⁷²¹ According to Said Halim Pasha, the fact that the Islamic societies wasted time with vicious and empty metaphysical debates while scientific studies were going on at full speed in the West was an important factor in their decline. In his words:

“Westerners, thanks to the discoveries and inventions in the field of physics and chemistry, had created unprecedented arts, excellent and robust tools

⁷²¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 10-11; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 369, p. 86; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 105; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 20.

that would provide the greatest efficiency with a little effort. This greatly increased the feelings of effortless gain, exploitation, and domination in Western nations. These nations, coveting the riches of the East, invaded the Muslim lands, which were incapable of defending themselves against their greedy enemies with their hellish war instruments and other superior technological weaponry.’’⁷²²

An article published in the famous journal called *Yeni Mecmua* severely criticized the thoughts of Said Halim Pasha, who considered the deep-rooted enmity and long wars between the Westerners and the Muslims as the significant causes of the backwardness of the Muslim countries. The article titled “*Tenkid*” (*Criticism*) expressed that his explanations did not seem as reasonable because it was natural that a nation can be destroyed by external intervention, but it could not be subjected to its decline. On the contrary, the presence of an enemy who intended to kill is a reason for resuscitation and intimidation against the invaders. In other words, being in a struggle against a certain enemy required constant vigilance and capacity building efforts. Therefore, it was not correct to point the hostility and wars between the West and the Muslim world as the cause of the downfall of latter. Because, on the contrary, these wars brought about the awakening and progress of Christian Europe. It is not logical to reflect the same reasons leading both to decline on one side and to progress on the other. Furthermore, it should be noted that during the period of the struggles with the Christian Europe, the Islamic world was at the highest level of civilization. The Christian Europe, on the other hand, was still deprived of civilization. At that time, Europe, which Said Halim accused of bigotry, did not show bigotry in imitating and borrowing from the Islamic civilization. When the Western civilization overshadowed the Muslim world, Muslim societies avoided from it. The most probably, according to the article, the reason for this was that Muslim societies

⁷²² Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213. Similarly, Mohammad Abduh stated that while the Islamic world was preoccupied with unnecessary metaphysical debates, Europeans were stepping into new age in terms of science and technique. In this regard, Abduh mentioned some important reasons for Europe’s development to dominate the Islamic world. To him, the various societies and associations established to support scientific developments during the period of religion-science debates in Europe constituted the first of the main factors for the development. Secondly, he wrote, the fights among religious sects, which prevented the dominance of any one of them and this allowed scientific studies to progress. The third reason for European’s progress, remarked Mohammad Abduh, was the emergence of a liberal environment with the French Revolution. See Muhammed Abduh, “Garb Medeniyeti Nasıl Bulmuş?”, (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Vol.II, No: 38, 14 Mayıs 1325[27 May 1909], pp. 181-182. Also See Bülbül, *Ibid.*, p. 125.

could not interpret and practice the principles of Islamic faith according to the requirements of the time; or implementation of *ijtihad* system.⁷²³

In fact, it is necessary to acknowledge the religious mistakes of Muslim societies; however, it is also apparent that the article of *Yeni Mecmua* did not take into consideration of the political, scientific, and financial realities of the period. It is reasonable to ascribe the Christian Europe's hostility and belligerence against the Muslim world to the main cause of Muslim decline, just as Said Halim did. Because the imperialist attempts of the Western powers undoubtedly played an active role in the backwardness of the Muslim countries, and this is a historical fact. Long wars and enmity since the period of the Crusades did not give any opportunity Muslim to gather their political, economic, and technological strength. In the context of Ottoman Empire, the influence of the West was an important factor in the collapse of the empire. It was an undeniable fact that as a outcome of Western civilization and social economic development, nationalist movements accelerated the separation of the Muslim population of the empire from the Ottomans. The Westerners disturbed the political and military balance of the empire by intervening in the internal affairs of the Ottomans and by supporting nationalist movements. Apart from these, the large-scale exploitation of Western powers not only helped strengthen the minorities, but also weakened the Empire economically and financially, causing ethnic groups to gain their independence more quickly.

Said Halim Pasha pointed out that the Western invaders, with the cruelty and cruel treatment they inflicted on Muslims, accelerated the reaction that would one day emerge. Believing that this uprising by Muslim societies would surely occur, Said Halim wrote that a fervent desire for renaissance and independence was already felt in every corner of the Islamic world. As a matter of fact, he argued that Muslim societies, which could no longer endure of the overwhelming foreign oppression that

⁷²³ Mehmed, "Tenkid: İttihad-ı İslam Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalem", *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.II, No: 40, pp. 275-277.

had been going on for centuries, could no longer withstand the domination and tyranny of the Western imperialists.⁷²⁴

Said Halim Pasha's predictions at the beginning of the 20th century was partially correct. Most of the Islamic countries have gained their national independence. Nevertheless, the Muslim countries that have established their nation-states have not yet been able to escape from the influence and domination of the West in terms of power, technique, and culture. Even today, most Muslim countries seem to have accepted and gotten used to the hegemony of the West.

With respect to his ideas about the role of the Westerners in the decline of the Islamic world, Said Halim Pasha also distinguished himself from other Ottoman intellectuals of his day. For example, Ahmet Rıza Bey emphasized that the decline of the Islamic world was not only limited to the attacks of the Christian Western powers since the Crusades, but also that the attacks and occupations of the Ghaznavids and the Mongol Ilkhanate halted the development of Islamic civilization. For example, Ahmet Rıza Bey underlined that the decline of the Muslim lands stemmed from not only by the incursions and aggressions of the Christian Western powers since the period of the Crusades, but also from the attacks and invasions of the Ghaznavid Turks and the Mongols (*Ilkhanids*). He believed that Mongol invasions along with the Crusaders halted and disrupted the thriving of Islamic civilization. Ahmet Rıza associated this event to the fall of the Roman Empire by the Barbarian incursions. In his words, Ahmet Rıza wrote that:

*“The Asian Muslim world was attacked on the one hand by the armies of the Crusaders and those of Byzantium, and on the other hand by the soldiers of Mahmud Ghaznevi and those of Helaghou Khan, and this just at the time when scientific culture was in its full bloom. These aggressions for two consecutive centuries turned countries upside down and obstructed the road to progress just as the invasions of the Barbarians had stopped and destroyed the Roman civilization.”*⁷²⁵

⁷²⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “Akşam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 104.

⁷²⁵ Ahmed Rıza, *La Faillite Morale de La Politique Occidentale En Orient*, (Paris: Librairie Picart, 1922), p. 133. Also See Ahmet Rıza, *Batı'nın Politik Ahlaksızlığı (Batı'nın Doğu Politikasının Ahlaki İflası)*, (Trans. By Ergun Göze), (İstanbul: Bogaziçi Yayınları A.Ş., 2004), p. 102.

In addition to the influences of the West, Ahmet Rıza drew attention to the specific causes of the decline that arose from the structure of the Muslim world itself. That is, threats and dangers did not only come from the West, the forces in the East also played a role in the downfall of the Muslim societies.

Indeed, Said Halim Pasha, too, acknowledged that both the influences of Eastern and Western nations as the causes of general crisis in the Islamic world. Nevertheless, he differed from some other Ottoman thinkers of his day in terms of his approach to the causes of the Muslim decline. According to Said Halim Pasha, the Muslim world became distanced of Islamic principles and went into a general decadence, firstly due to the influence of Eastern nations in the context of the influences of pre-Islamic legacy and secondly due to the detrimental effects of Western nations, especially Europeans. Said Halim considered the influence of the Westerners as more dangerous than the that of Easterners. Because he pointed out, the Muslim societies replaced the Islamic principles with some theories and assumptions, which were born, changed, and shaped depending on the evolution of the Western societies. This remarked Said Halim, “was more than being influenced; it meant rejecting the tenets of Shari’at and the Islamic way of life.”⁷²⁶ Said Halim also noticed that Muslim societies had previously unconsciously maintained their pre-Islamic values, but with the process of Westernization, Muslims deliberately and willingly broke off relations with Islamic faith by resorting to all means and ways.

As for the second distinguished approach of Said Halim Pasha to the backwardness of the Muslim world, he considered that Muslim societies did not regress as a result of the invasions of the Christian Europeans; on the contrary, the decline of the Islamic world resulted in the occupations of the Westerners. According to Said Halim, the decadence of the Muslim world has become so evident with all its reality and all its consequences that at the end of this process, Christian Westerners have subjugated Muslim peoples. In other words, the Muslim countries was trapped and exploited by the West because of its existing impotency. Said Halim declared that:

⁷²⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 21.

“The decadence of the Muslim world did not appear in all its reality and all its consequences until the Muslim peoples found themselves subjugated by the Christian peoples. The obvious inferiority of their general conditions attracted the attention of Western invaders. Muslim countries found themselves incapable of defending their lands against the ambitious attempts of the Western imperialists.”⁷²⁷

According to Said Halim Pasha, another reason for the decline of the Islamic world was the conflict and division between the thinkers and the Muslim society. He remarked that due to the differences of opinion between the common people, who were the representatives of the social structure, and the intellectuals, who remained distant the social values, on the methods by which development could be achieved, both segments misunderstand each other. In this regard, while the masses, pointed out Said Halim, sought social happiness and progress in Islamic principles and they continued to live according to the tenets of Shari’at, the Westernized intellectuals of Muslim world, who assumed that they undertook the mission of guiding the society, embraced the Western lifestyle and tried to look for Muslims’ renaissance in a Western civilization that was moulded by the Indian, Turkish, Arab or Persian ideas. The intellectual class asserted Said Halim, in order to achieve its own goals, sought to destroy and demolish everything that society had tried to preserve, and instead endeavoured to introduce new social principles built upon Western theories and beliefs. This has created an unbridgeable gap between the masses and the Muslim elites. Everywhere the people were in stark contrast with their leaders and intellectuals. In these periods, society; While considering the intellectuals, who will contribute to overcoming the blockages in the political and social system, as a destructive factor aiming at the continuity of the state, the intellectuals have started to see the society they belong to as a mass that does not know what they want and lacks knowledge, against all kinds of developments. Moreover, Said Halim asserted that the Muslim society considered its elites, who were supposed to contribute to overcoming the political and social crisis, as a destructive element that threatened the

⁷²⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 11; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 104; Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 495, p. 3; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 12; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslami...”, Vol.IV, No: 90, p. 213; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 15-16; Prince Said Halim Pasha, “The Reform of...”, p. 119.

continuity of the state, while the intellectuals began to label the society as a mass of uninformed people, who did not know what they wanted and were opposed to any kind of development. The masses, continued Said Halim, viewed the intellectuals as dangerous and destructive elements, and did not trust them. As result of being deprived of the social guidance and support of its intellectuals, the Muslim world lost its direction, could not keep in step with the times and its flourishing was disrupted over the time.⁷²⁸

The masses, argued Sad Halim, were aware that if they adopt the Western way of life imposed on them by the intellectuals, they will lose their national and religious values. Even if a nation, he affirmed, continued to live on the same piece of land, it would be still a slave if it were prevented from keeping its national and religious values alive. As a matter of fact, believed Said Halim Pasha, the laws and values of every nation were more valuable than the land they lived on.⁷²⁹

Just like Mohammad Abduh, who asserted that the reform and modernization movement initiated by Mehmet Ali Pasha in Egypt divided its society, Said Halim Pasha pointed out that the Western-style reforms carried out in the path of modernization actually created huge gap between Muslim intelligentsia and the common people. As for the division of the Ottoman society, Said Halim implicitly blamed the late Ottoman the statesmen of the Tanzimat Period and intellectuals such as Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800-1858), Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1814-1871), Keçecizade Fuat Pasha (1815-1869) and Mithat Pasha (1822-1884) and Şinasi (1826-1871), Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932), Kılıçzade Hakkı (1872-1960) and Celal Nuri İleri (1882-1936). Indeed, on the one hand, there was an elite who adopted European mentality and values, desired to modernize the empire, and kept a distance from their traditions and Islamic values, and on the other hand, there were conservative Muslim masses, who adhered to their traditions and traditional way of life and opposed the reform movement. While the intellectual class adopted Western-style life and tried to

⁷²⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 14-15; 21-22; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akşam-ı İslamiye'nin...’”, Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 104-105; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akşam-ı İslamiye'nin...’”, Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 123-124. Also See Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimamız*, pp. 5-6.

⁷²⁹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 19; Said Halim Paşa, “‘Akşam-ı İslamiye'nin...’”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 106; Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, p. 14.

instil their mentality and social values into their Muslim environment, the Muslim masses still lived according to their religious principles and preserved their local cultural values.⁷³⁰

Unlike Said Halim Pasha, Hayreddin Pasha of Tunisia, the late Ottoman statesman and a Muslim modernist thinker, thought that Tanzimat reforms and the Westernization had been the best solution to decline of the Ottoman Empire. Although he considered the Tanzimat reforms harmful, Hayreddin Pasha argued that Muslims should imitate Western civilization in order for progressing as modern Europe.⁷³¹ Therefore, he sincerely advocated the Tanzimat reforms and believed that the Tanzimat reforms would be instrumental in the preservation of the Ottoman state system, the strengthening and flourishing of the state and the prosperity of the entire Ottoman society. “In reality, underlined Hayreddin Pasha, anyone who looked at the Tanzimat with fairness would never doubt its solidity and appropriateness. On the contrary, one would clearly see that it was a means to restore the Ottoman Empire to its former power and sovereignty.” Additionally, the Tanzimat reforms according to him, were incomparable with the previous reform attempts due to their benefits that touched both the empire and the society. Hayreddin Pasha also claimed that the Tanzimat reforms were so beneficial that they were opposed by some Ottoman statesmen, who thought that their own interests would be harmed, and European powers, which did not want the empire to gain strength.⁷³²

⁷³⁰ Said Halim Pasha’s ideas were associated with those of Mohammad Abduh, who claimed that the reform movement carried out by Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha and his successors in Egypt divided Egyptian society into two part. “*This, Abduh pointed out, was the position of law in modern Egyptian society. Muhammad Ali and his successors had tried to reform Egypt by planting European institutions and laws in her soil. 'Abduh had a lively admiration for the achievements of modern Europe, for the serious tone of its society, even at this early age before he knew it directly. But he did not believe it possible to transplant its laws and institutions to Egypt. Laws planted in another soil do not work in the same way, they may even make things worse. The new laws brought from Europe are not really laws at all, because nobody understands them and therefore nobody can respect or obey them; Egypt is becoming that worst of societies, a society without laws.*” See, Hourani, *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

⁷³¹ Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa, *Akvemü'l-Mesalik fi Marifeti Ahvalü'l-Memalik*, (Trans. By Kerim Suphi Muhammed), (İstanbul: Büyüyenay Yayınları, 2017), pp. 61-67.

⁷³² Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93, 95-100. For detailed information about Hayreddin Pasha of Tunisia and his thoughts, See Atilla Çetin, *Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınevi, 1999); Bekir Karlığa, *Islahatçı Bir Düşünür Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa ve Tanzimat*, (İstanbul: Mahya Yayıncılık, 2013).

Said Halim Pasha touched upon an important point about the relationship between the intellectual class and the Muslim society. According to him, the neglect of religious principles triggered by the intelligentsia was extremely detrimental, even fatal to the Muslim peoples. Unlike Christian Europeans, affirmed Said Halim, the religious principles formed the foundation of the social structures of Muslim societies. Therefore, he claimed, any step to move away from religion or to reduce the role of religion in the Islamic countries would disrupt their social fabric and bring about their devastation. In his words:

*“Irreligion in Islam acquires a much greater importance than it has in Christian societies. In Muslim society, irreligion is the negation of the established morality, of the constituted society. It represents the demoralization and decay of the individual, the disorganization and corruption of society; it is therefore anti-moral and anti-social. Irreligion is thus the deadliest calamity that can befall the Muslim and the Muslim society.”*⁷³³

Said Halim Pasha, in fact, believed that the Muslim intelligentsia had important responsibilities towards their societies and stated that the most fundamental duty of the Muslim elite was to serve the Islamic/national cause. However, pointing out the growing gap between the intellectuals and the society, Said Halim complained that the intellectual class, who were supposed to enlighten and guide Muslim individuals on the path of progress and evolution of the Muslim world, could not fulfil their duties well because the intellectual class pursued a goal that were very different from and completely opposite to those of Muslim societies. Just as the previous Islamic scholars, argued Said Halim, could not clearly explain to the Muslim society what they should renounce from the pre-Islamic inheritance, the Muslim intelligentsia of his day did not achieve to teach the new generations what should be kept and maintained from their social and cultural values.⁷³⁴

⁷³³ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 21; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, p. 123.

⁷³⁴ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 12, 16; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, pp. 104-105.

Said Halim Pasha offered various solutions to the problem of the decline of Muslim Islamic world. According to Said Halim Pasha, societies with advanced civilizations were aware of that the support of each member of society was necessary in order to rise as a nation. In other words, he noticed, every member in a society tried to contribute, more or less, to the common goal of development. In this regard, Said Halim underlined that it is the required common goal, which the Islamic world was deprived, and which led to its decline. He in fact believed that goals that were not based on an immutable and continuous common feeling, that did not arise from any common past and culture, and needs of the society, and that depend solely on human reason and thought would not create a true ideal. Consequently, pointed out Said Halim, so as to be successful in progress, it was essential to establish the “unity of purpose/common goal” between the public and the intelligentsia. Otherwise, he asserted, the influence of Western civilization would have much worse consequences than the effects of pre-Islamic life and would lead to a further decline in the Muslim world.⁷³⁵ According to Said Halim, Islam would be able to grant the feeling of the common morality and belief, which would ensure unity of purpose, to the Muslim societies. Therefore, he said, the veneration and devotion to religion was the most important duty of the society.⁷³⁶

Said Halim Pasha attributed great responsibility to the intellectual class in the context of ceasing the decadence and ensuring flourishing of the Islamic world. As understood from his expressions, the Muslim intelligentsia, who had an important duty and responsibility in the regulation of the social and political system, would not act by disregarding the social rules. Instead, the main goal of the elites was to strive for the establishment of the most appropriate political and social order for the society. Furthermore, underlined Said Halim, intellectuals should be the guardians of the rules that society was obliged to obey towards the rulers and the rulers towards society, and they should also contribute to social evolution by preventing the violation of their rights of each other. In other words, the intellectual class would

⁷³⁵ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 16, 17; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 370, p. 105.

⁷³⁶ Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, p. 12.

only fulfil its duties well if it served the goals of the Islamic community to which it belongs. Only then, he said, the misery that deprived Muslim societies of knowledge and enlightenment come to an end and the intellectual class would truly realize the real reason for its existence in society.

Said Halim proposed the need for “Islamization” of society and institutions as a remedy to the decline of Muslim societies. He saw the progress of the Islamic world in Islamization and thus, emphasized that Muslim societies should show more and more willingness to Islamize in terms of morality, society, and politics. The Islamization, remarked Said Halim, would cover all aspects of society, and would ensure the ultimate moral and intellectual development of Muslims, and would instil the pristine Islamic principles into the Muslim society by purifying the precepts of Shari’at from any corruptive influences of the pre-Islamic past, and would avert the Muslim peoples from falling into many harmful ideologies such as communism, nihilism, anarchism, etc., and would also ensure their continuous development.⁷³⁷ Apart from these, Said Halim Pasha anticipated that each of the individuals of the Islamic community should espouse the ideal of being a good Muslim, if possible, the best of Muslims. Because, he believed, the best of Muslims was the best of human beings. “Therefore, he affirmed, every Muslim, whether Turkish or Arab, Iranian, or Indian; weak or strong; ignorant or scholar, should serve the ideal of Islam, which in turn was a unique ideal that would provide the happiness of the humanity. Only in this way, underlined Said Halim, Muslims would fully fulfil their moral, social, and political duties and would take firm steps forward.”⁷³⁸

Said Halim Pasha explicitly emphasized that Muslim peoples should embrace an understanding of Islam purified from historical and cultural characteristics, traditions and customs, and innovations as well. He considered every individual, who espoused and implemented the pristine Islamic values as the best and straightest Muslim.

⁷³⁷ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 29, 31; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 125-126; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 30, 32.

⁷³⁸ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, p. 30; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 125-126; Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, p. 30.

As remedies proposed by Said Halim Pasha to the decadence of the Islamic world evoked to some extent the thoughts of Jamal al-Din Afghani and Mohammad Abduh. Afghani had also stressed that in order to avoid the decadence, the Muslim societies should resuscitate the understanding of religion purged from innovations in the era of the Prophet and his caliphs and this understanding should be espoused in all Muslim geographies. Just like in the times of the prophet and his caliphs, asserted Jamal al-Din Afghani, only an alliance formed around the Qur'an could reverse the deep trouble of the Muslim world.⁷³⁹ According to Mohammad Abduh, the solution was to correct the errors of faith in minds of Muslims, who accepted only prayer as a remedy to their backwardness, and to eliminate the mistakes in practice. Criticizing the fatalist mind of Muslims, Mohammad Abduh expressed that they considered their decline as an irony of fate and did nothing to overcome the backwardness. If Muslims, he declared, returned to their true Islam, and comprehended its true principles, they would fulfil their obligatory duties. In this way, they would get rid of their inert situation and begin to obtain the necessary strength and wealth for development and as well as removing of the exploitation of imperialists.⁷⁴⁰

With respect to the remedies to the Muslim decline, Said Halim Pasha also called for Islamic consciousness and solidarity for the salvation of Muslim societies. He described the Islamic world “as a big family in which the different nations constituted various branches of this noble family.” He expressed that these branches had mutual special and general duties and responsibilities. The special duties of the Muslim societies, explained Said Halim, were to raise the moral and intellectual level of their individuals, and to try to implement the Islamic moral, social, and political principles in a complete and more perfect way. The general duties were, on the other hand, consisted of living in full solidarity with other Muslim nations, showing respect to their freedoms and traditions, and prompting them to develop and prosper. Said Halim drew attention that it was also general responsibility to rescue the Muslim nations who had fallen under the rule of foreigners or were in such danger. Because a nation would deviate from its way of evolution and put its existence in

⁷³⁹ Afghani and Abduh, *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99, 173.

⁷⁴⁰ Muhammed Abduh, *Hanoto'nun Hücumuna Karşı Şeyh Muhammed Abduh'un İslam'ı Müdafası*, (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), (Daru'l-Hilafe: Tevsi- i Tibaat Matbaası, 1331[1915]), pp. 36-37, 65, 68.

danger by losing its freedom and independence, and Islamic solidarity, argued Said Halim, would not allow such a consequence.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴¹ Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm...*, pp. 30-31; Said Halim Paşa, “Akvam-ı İslamiye'nin...”, Vol.XV, No: 371, pp. 125-126.

CONCLUSION

Said Halim Pasha served as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire during the critical period of the First World War. He was also an influential Ottoman diplomat who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs. As an experienced and respected Ottoman politician and statesman, and an influential Islamist thinker, Said Halim Pasha wrote his thoughts in a defensive state of mind. In this context, he developed his social and political ideas as a reaction to the decline of the Islamic world and at the same time to the imperialist threats of the European powers to Muslim societies. Throughout his bureaucratic and intellectual career, Said Halim fought against the imperialist policies of the Western powers that threatened both the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world. In addition to Western imperialism, he promoted his Islamist ideas as a shield against the harmful effects of political-economic movements such as imperialism, ethnic-separatist nationalism, and liberation movements, which emerged in Europe and later influenced the whole world. Despite all his efforts, Said Halim could not prevent the collapse of the last Islamic state, the Ottoman Empire. However, his stance against imperialism and his political-intellectual struggle have taken their place in history.

Said Halim Pasha, who had practical experience of political and bureaucratic life, was first and foremost an influential Islamist thinker and was recognized above all for his intellectual identity. His thoughts were closely followed by the intellectual environment of his time, and he managed to influence the late Ottoman Islamist thinkers. Said Halim, who thought that the true civilization was manifested in the supreme religion of Islam, tried to base all his political, social, religious, and moral thoughts on Islamism, which he argued should be perceived as a whole. Intellectually, he became the most prominent representative of the Islamist movement. Said Halim had a traditionalist-modernist-reformist identity with his Islamist ideas. He had a traditionalist line because of his great devotion to social and cultural values and Turkish-Islamic traditions. He believed that the social, cultural, and moral rules and values emanating from Islam had ensured and preserved social integrity and harmony. Therefore, he advocated the preservation of socio-cultural

values. Said Halim was a modernist Islamist because his ideas had a modern Western framework. In other words, he presented his ideas in a Western-style discourse. In addition, he used many modern Western concepts such as head of state, democracy, and parliament to explain his political ideas. Said Halim was influenced by European Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau and Montesquieu, and even borrowed the principle of ‘separation of powers’ from Montesquieu. Said Halim Pasha was also a reformist Islamist because, while he supported the political, social, economic, and military progress and development of Muslim societies under the present circumstances, he also supported a return to the essence of pure Islamic principles. That is, he wished for the revival of the basic Islamic beliefs and values that existed in the time of the Prophet. He also urged the complete Islamization of Muslim societies by forgetting their pre-Islamic heritage.

Said Halim Pasha was a Western-style conservative who wanted to build a bridge from the past to the future by putting on the armour of tradition and making religious, social, and political reforms. In a sense, his religious, social, and political ideas symbolized a return to the golden age of Islamic history, the “glorious past” in the light of traditional values. For the conservative part of society, Said Halim Pasha and his ideas were seen as a bulwark against the proponents of superficial Westernization and modernization; at the same time, they became a reference point for an Islamic social and political order that incorporated traditional values. This is because Said Halim Pasha’s ideal of reform and modernization is based on the idea of “*Islah*”. *Islah*, as opposed to reformation, means the correction, repair, modification, and improvement of the established order without destroying it. In other words, *Islahat* is the restoration and transformation of an existing institution or structure to its original state of existence. However, the word “reform” means to reshape. That is, to reform an institution or structure is to remove the existing structure and build a new one in its place. At this point, it should be noted that for Said Halim Pasha ‘reform’ means “*Islah*”. Because Said Halim does not advocate the abolition of existing political and social structures or institutions and their replacement with new ones, but rather the improvement of the structure and system in question and its transformation into its original form. Therefore, this shows that Said Halim tried to achieve modernization of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim world

by preserving the traditional structure and system. In brief, Said Halim Pasha was an intellectual who had conservative-traditionalist tendencies but at the same time advocates a certain degree of reform-modernization for development and progress.

Said Halim Pasha was one of the thinkers who could approach political and social events from a historical and sociological perspective. He stated that the events and developments that took place in previous periods should be carefully evaluated in all aspects so as to understand one's own period from a socio-political point of view. He also expressed that considering society's reflexes to events and developments was an important detail from a political point of view. Educated in the West, Said Halim closely observed the social and political structure of the West and witnessed its cultural and moral values. Moreover, as an Egyptian who maintained contact with Egypt and was steeped in Arab culture, he was able to see the Ottoman Empire from a more universal perspective, unlike the intellectuals and administrators who saw the Ottoman Empire only from Istanbul. Therefore, unlike most of the intellectuals of his time, Said Halim Pasha analysed the history, social and political development of the West from the point of view of a sociologist and acted with an awareness of the sociological reality of the West, rather than taking a defensive approach to the popular wisdom about Western politics, society, and morality. He also advised that one should analyse the ideas and institutions that could be adopted from the West without having a complex against Western civilization. In other words, instead of rejecting the material accumulation of Western civilization and, to some extent, its spiritual values, he encouraged benefiting from it within Islamic lines.

Said Halim Pasha, who provided objective information on the measures for the development of a civilization by addressing political and social developments from a concrete, historical and sociological perspective, approached the West and Westernization as the main problem. While acknowledging that the West was one of the important civilizations to be taken into consideration, he showed that it would be wrong to consider this as a complete abandonment of the cultural accumulations of Islamic civilization in general and the Ottoman Empire in particular. He explained that the ideas put forward by the late Ottoman authorities and intellectuals in this direction were developed in order to unquestionably accept the superiority of

Western civilization and that this situation was unfortunate for the civilization to which they belonged. He severely criticized the fact that Islamic civilization, which was recognized by the whole world as having made significant contributions to the development of humanity, was considered inferior to Western civilization, which was developing more and more. In fact, he strongly opposed such an inferiority complex of the Islamic world towards the West and considered it an injustice to Islamic civilization.

Said Halim believed that the main mistake of the Islamic world was the misdiagnosis of the problems hindering the development of Muslim societies. Even more serious, according to him, were the solutions proposed to the existing problems. Said Halim strongly criticized the efforts of statesmen and Muslim intellectuals to imitate Western political and social structures and institutions as the only way for progressing of Muslim societies in general and the Ottoman Empire in particular. He pointed out that if certain measures were necessary for the development of any society, it was not necessary to imitate the advanced civilization in every field. In this context, Said Halim considered the unquestioning adoption of Western political and social institutions by the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals of the Tanzimat period as a fatal mistake. This was because society could not understand and adopt the structure and function of the imitated Western institutions. In this situation, the masses became more attached to their own Islamic values and withdrew into their own shells. As a result, the Muslim subjects became alienated from their own social values and environment, which underwent a process of constant change and transformation under the influence of the Westernization process. Most importantly, the pursuit of Western-style reforms by the ruling and intellectual classes deprived Muslim societies of Islamic guidance on the path of development and progress. In the light of all these developments, Said Halim was convinced that attempts at westernization were only beneficial to the European imperialist powers. This was because the European imperialists had created a strategically important and loyal group among the Muslim elite, which allowed the Westerners to penetrate Muslim societies more easily and exercise more effective political, social, and economic control over their governments.

Said Halim Pasha criticized the development of such an attitude among intellectuals and authorities who had a superior identity in society. To save the Islamic world from decline, Said Halim emphasized that the pro-Western Muslim elite class, who were the pawns of the Europeans, must first understand the essence and true message of Islam very well and cleanse themselves of the legacy of the pre-Islamic past. In other words, he believed that Islam should not be mixed with pre-Islamic traditional cultural values, but that the original and true Islam should be revived and practiced. In this regard, Said Halim affirmed that there was no need for Western guidance in political and social matters, since all the elements of political and social development could be found in the Islamic past, from which the West itself had borrowed. Moreover, he stressed that to ensure political and social development and overcome the problems of governance, the necessary solutions should be sought within society itself. In other words, the innovations that would bring society up to the level of contemporary civilizations should be approached from an indigenous perspective. Thus, he came to the conclusion that the authorities and intellectuals should not have been in a hurry in the political, social, economic, etc. arrangements they put on the agenda for the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire; and also, instead of imitating the practices seen in Western societies, the existing system should have been reformed and operated according to the needs of the society. According to him, anything that did not meet the needs of society could not last, and it would not be possible for the rulers and intellectuals of a state to achieve the results they hoped for from the breakthroughs they would initiate without considering the needs of society.

Said Halim Pasha believed that for the Islamic world to get out of its backwardness, it must first be fully Islamized, returning to the essence of true Islam and living it accordingly. Only a process of Islamic renewal could demystify Muslim societies. Furthermore, Said Halim was aware that Western civilization and the Islamic world could not be reconciled. However, he was not against the Westernization of Muslim societies, despite the hereditary enmity, wars, and constant conflict between the two different worlds. He even considered it necessary. He believed that Muslim societies should benefit from the material and technical advances of Western civilization and emulate the discipline and productivity of Westerners. In his view, the modernization, political, military, and technical superiority achieved by the West was

the level that Muslim societies should also reach so as to get rid of the imperialist domination of the West and achieve continuous progress. Against national selfishness, national fanaticism and a nationalist and democratic structure that disturbed Islamic unity, Said Halim wanted a process of conscious Westernization. He argued that a process of modernization that did not take into account the social, cultural and religious structure of the Muslim world and that blindly imitated Western political and social institutions and values would lead to the cultural and moral corruption of Muslim societies. Therefore, Said Halim Pasha advocated a process of modernization that would not harm the beliefs, cultural and moral values of Muslim societies and would not disturb the peace and harmony of society. In other words, he wanted the Muslim world to modernize while remaining “Muslim”.

Said Halim Pasha’s political, social, and religious ideas were in many ways like those of modernist thinkers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as Hayreddin Pasha of Tunisia, Jamal al-Din Afghani, and Muhammad Abduh. Although Said Halim presented his social and political theory as an ideal model for a Muslim society, he was influenced by European Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau and Montesquieu. In fact, he developed their ideas from a certain point of view. For example, like many thinkers of the Ottoman Tanzimat period, Said Halim wanted to establish an Islamic parliamentary regime. Like Mohammad Abduh, he also pointed out that unconscious Westernization and Western-style reforms would have a destructive effect on Muslim societies. Also Said Halim used the Western concepts such as head of state, democracy, and parliament. Even, he borrowed the concept of “separation of powers” from Montesquieu. Said Halim Pasha also interpreted the development of Western societies in terms of social class struggles. This shows that he was familiar with and influenced by the Marxist understanding of history. These are important because they show that Said Halim Pasha was very much influenced by the Western world of thought. Moreover, like any other Muslim thinker, Said Halim based his ideas on Islamic principles on issues such as morality, sovereignty, nationalism, and Islamic unity. The fact that Said Halim presented his thoughts in a uniquely modern style and included deep sociological analysis distinguishes him from other Muslim thinkers. It was also natural for Said Halim, who was educated in the West, to be influenced by the ideas of European thinkers.

Said Halim Pasha stated that the social and political structure of Islam was based on the absolute sovereignty of the Shari'at. He emphasized that the ideal Islamic social and political structure could only be realized through the application of Islamic principles of faith, morality, social life, and political life as a whole. In this context, Said Halim placed at the centre of his thought that the political principles of Islam were derived from its social principles, its social principles from its moral principles, and its moral principles from its Islamic faith. Said Halim stated that the same interaction was true for Western societies, pointing out that Christianity determined the political, social structures and institutions, as well as the moral and cultural principles of Westerners. Thus, he affirmed that social and political structures interact with each other and must be in harmony to ensure social and political development and prosperity. Furthermore, Said Halim concluded that Muslim societies, shaped by their religious beliefs and principles as well as their unique cultural and moral characteristics, should naturally distance themselves from the political and social institutions and values of the West. More specifically, he stressed that the political, social, and moral understanding of Western society was incompatible and even contradictory to Muslim societies. Moreover, according to him, scientific and technological discoveries could be adopted from the West because Islam did not prevent their adoption and progress. But Islam had to embrace institutions and values such as the state, political parties, the law, social traditions, and education. In other words, instead of importing these political and social institutions and values from the West, he advocated the reconstruction of these institutions and values based on the fundamental principles of Islam and drawing on the culture and experience of Muslim societies.

Said Halim Pasha argued that human beings had no inherent rights; everyone could have rights by fulfilling a certain duty. Furthermore, he considered freedom, equality, and solidarity to be the principles of Islamic morality that shaped Muslim society. Accepting that Islamic ethics derive from Islamic faith, Said Halim saw personal freedoms as a consequence of faith in God. He affirmed that the extension of freedom and equality would lead to social solidarity and that 'Islamic brotherhood' would promote this solidarity. Said Halim presented his thoughts on social progress

in a holistic manner and, unlike many of his contemporaries, he focused on the idea of progress (*terakki*) rather than development (*tekamül*). In this context, he claimed that there was only one natural process of progress and development for humanity that would bring it happiness. Moreover, he argued that his ideal Islamic socio-political structure would ensure this progress and development. Viewing this natural process of progress and development as vertical and linear, Said Halim accepted the existence of a ‘civilization of humanity’ because of this process and claimed that it was shaped by the principles of Islam, the ‘religion of humanity’. According to him, any process or breakthrough that would bring happiness to humanity must somehow be based on the principles of this overarching ‘religion of humanity’. Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha recognized that the Islamic brotherhood, no matter how different, created solidarity among Islamic societies and that this solidarity was a necessity. According to him, just as Muslims were obliged to ensure the development of their own societies, they were also obliged to ensure the necessary development of other Muslim societies and to be in solidarity with them.

Said Halim, who characterized the supremacy of the national will as the supremacy of the majority over the minority, did not see a Western model of democracy as suitable for Muslim societies. For democracy was born out of the struggles between different social classes in Western society. In other words, democracy was a result of the unique social evolution of Western society. Therefore, Said Halim argued that the Western system of “democracy” had no place in Muslim societies. Although Said Halim specifically used the concept of democracy in the Western sense, he was more concerned with the content he ascribed to this concept. Socially, Said Halim associated democracy with the equality of classes in Islamic society. Politically, he based it on the direct consultation of Muslim citizens on certain issues to control the implementation of Islamic Shari’at by the government. Although Said Halim Pasha criticized the method of using the same concepts with different contents, he himself fell into such a mistake. Unlike other Islamist thinkers, Said Halim advocated a system of separation of powers in the ideal Islamic polity. In the system of political governance designed by Said Halim, the head of state, the executive, the legislative and the parliament would be in constant interaction with each other, and these political units would constantly check and balance each other. Furthermore, Said

Halim pointed out that political parties would not play the expected role in the Islamic political regime, as they were the product of the unique socio-political evolution of the West. According to him, a political structure in which parties clashed with each other was an incompatible and problematic social structure. Therefore, Said Halim believed that political parties should have ensured the unity and integrity of the country and contributed to the material and spiritual progress of the country, rather than disrupting its flourishing development.

Both as a statesman and an intellectual, Said Halim fought against the oppressive regime and always defended political and social freedom. Said Halim's fondness for freedom and his constant emphasis on political and social freedom in his writings must have been influenced by the fact that he was born and raised in a free environment and engaged in intellectual activities in a very free environment throughout his life. In this context, Said Halim Pasha said that the mistakes and failures of the Ottoman authorities' policies for the survival of the state and society and their attempts at modernization since the Tanzimat period had unexpectedly exposed society to an oppressive regime. He harshly criticized this form of government, pointing out that it was wrong to place all the responsibility on the shoulders of individuals in the administration. In fact, Said Halim stressed that it is not only the rulers and their policies that are responsible for the good or bad of a political and social system, but also the society and the intellectuals who have the right to express their opinions on behalf of the society. Said Halim even pointed out that the attitude of society could determine the continuation or the end of the autocratic regime. In other words, according to him, both society and the individual could increase or decrease the limits of freedom in the political and social spheres according to the attitudes they develop over time. Said Halim Pasha argued that the provision of these rights by the political order would not make sense, and he considered the regular operation of administrative laws and the ability to benefit from this operation as a whole to be related to the actions of society. Society had the power to limit the rights and powers of an autocratic regime. Finally, Said Halim believed that the state and society should be considered together and, in their entirety, and he affirmed that a whole generation of the time was responsible for the existing correct or corrupt political and social systems and conditions. For example,

Said Halim claimed that even if Sultan Abdülhamit II had not been born, the generation of that time would still have created an Hamidian regime and an autocratic regime.

Ideological differences did not prevent Said Halim Pasha from cooperating with the Committee of Union and Progress. In fact, Said Halim, who adopted an Islamist ideology, did not hesitate to work with the more secularist centre of the CUP at a critical time. As can be seen from his unfinished memoirs, his trials in the Ottoman parliament and the letters he sent to foreign leaders while in exile in Malta, Said Halim Pasha struggled both politically and intellectually to prevent the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and to serve the Islamic cause and the Muslim world until the end of his life. This was the main motive that led him to cooperate with the CUP. Indeed, Said Halim saw the Ottoman Empire as the last great Islamic state and considered its continuity as the hope for the salvation of the Islamic world from the imperialist domination of the West. Indeed, Said Halim was aware that only the strong leadership of the CUP could revive the Ottoman Empire and save it from the imperialist attacks of the West. It is very difficult to argue that Said Halim Pasha collaborated with the Unionists to obtain an official post or rank. He did not need a political-bureaucratic position or rank; in fact, he was already a member of a dynasty and was accepted by everyone as a noble prince. Said Halim Pasha also did not need a socio-economic status because he had a respected position as an Islamist thinker and was not one to condescend to the salary of a civil servant because of his own wealth and prosperous life.

Although Said Halim Pasha was a respected and capable politician and statesman, he was unable to realize his political aspirations, probably due to the political climate of the time and pressure from the CUP. Said Halim, who took office just a year before World War I, served as Grand Vizier during the most critical period of Ottoman history. When he took office, he was faced with many important domestic and foreign issues that needed to be resolved. In addition, Said Halim, who was himself an important member of the CUP, was unable to prevent many mistakes from being made due to the intense political intervention of the CUP leaders, who acted in the spirit of a committee, on the government. In fact, Said Halim's Grand Vizierate,

which coincided with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, remained in the shadow of the CUP and he and his government could not play a very active role in the administration of the state. The entry of the Ottoman Empire into World War I and the deportation of the Armenians in 1915 were the main issues for which Said Halim was criticized. With the outbreak of the First World War, Said Halim Pasha drew attention to the fact that the existence of the Ottoman Empire was threatened by its geographical position and the evil ambitions of Western imperialists. He believed that the Ottoman Empire could only be saved from the current great crisis with the support of one of the Allied or Central Powers.

Since the Entente powers rejected all the Ottoman government's attempts at alliance, Said Halim believed that the only solution was to ally with the Central Powers. He finally initiated the process of rapprochement with Germany by signing the Ottoman-German Defence Treaty in August 1914. However, Said Halim Pasha designed an alliance agreement under the control of the Ottoman government. This was because Turkey's alliance with Germany did not oblige it to go to war at any given time. In this context, he argued that the Ottoman Empire should follow a policy of armed neutrality in the alliance, despite Enver Pasha's insistence on entering the war as soon as possible. Said Halim affirmed that even the Ottoman policy of armed neutrality was in favour of Germany and its other allies. In fact, Said Halim believed that a mobilized but non-combatant Ottoman Empire in the alliance would help the Central Powers to reduce Allied pressure on the front, as the Allies would have to increase their military concentration on the western, southern, and north-eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire. Despite all his political and diplomatic efforts, Said Halim could not prevent Enver Pasha and other CUP leaders from dragging the state into war as a *fait accompli*. And yet, with the First World War, not only did the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire collapse, but also did the Islamic ideal that Said Halim Pasha had adopted against imperialism, ethnic-separatist nationalism, and liberation movements.

In the context of outcomes of his Islamist ideology, it is obvious that Said Halim Pasha did not develop much of a discourse on the economic structure on which the social and political structure of Islamist ideology would be built. In other words, it

remained unclear how the economic system would be shaped in the Islamic society and political order. The fact that the ideology in question, which has many views in the social, political, administrative, and legal fields, does not present much about the economic field is an important point in describing the reliability and continuity of Said Halim Pasha's Islamist ideology.

Another important point is that considering the socio-political and economic conditions of his time, it can be said that Said Halim Pasha's ideal of an Islamic social and political order was merely 'rowing against the tide'. Because more than a century has shown that the ideology of Islamism, which he presented as the remedies to all the social, political, and cultural problems of the Muslim world, has turned out to be no solution to the most obvious problems of the Muslim societies. Moreover, the ideal Islamic social and political order that formed the basis of Said Halim Pasha's thought proved unable to provide a complete response to Western imperialism and the growing trend of ethnic nationalism. In fact, during Said Halim's lifetime, on the one hand, the imperialist policies of the West shattered the Islamic world, and on the other hand, the movement of ethnic-separatist nationalism accelerated the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the disintegration of the Islamic world. Moreover, under the influence of imperialism and ethnic-separatist nationalism, social and cultural values in the Islamic world have deteriorated and political structures and institutions have become dysfunctional.

This is evidenced by the fact that Muslim societies have been floundering in much worse social, political, economic, and cultural conditions in the intervening period of more than a century, and that Islamic countries, despite being members of the same religion, emphasise their national values and conduct politics through their ethnic identities. This is evidenced by the fact that for more than a century, Muslim societies have been languishing in much worse social, political, economic, and cultural conditions, and that despite sharing the same religion, Islamic countries emphasise their national values and conduct their politics on the basis of their national identities. Besides, the fact that many existing Islamic countries are directly or indirectly under the political, social, military, and economic control and influence of the Western imperialist powers clearly shows that Said Halim's Islamist ideology

does not make sense for the Muslim world. Eventually, the Islamic countries have surrendered to the structure imposed by the current political, economic, and military conditions.

Consequently, Said Halim's ideology of Islamism did not offer a solution to the problems of the Muslim world, nor did it bring change and transformation to Muslim societies in terms of development and progress. Likewise, the ideology of Islamism could not show a concrete reaction against Western imperialist policies and ethnic-separatist nationalist movements.

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APPENDICES

A. FIGURES



Figure 1. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, on April 6, 1921.
İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025219.



Figure 2. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025285.



Figure 3. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025287.



Figure 4. Mehmet Said Halim Pasha. He is in his room in Malta, n.d. İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Bel_Mtf_025799.

B. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Demirel, Ali

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth:

Marital Status:

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D	METU History	2024
MA	METU History	2018
BA	METU History	2015

AWARDS

METU Department of History, Fourth Ranked Student, 2015 (3.50/4.00 – 88/100)

AYK Atatürk Research Centre Graduate Scholarship / 2016-2018

METU Graduate School of Social Sciences, Graduate Thesis Award in History Master's Programme / 2017-2018 Academic Year

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2020- Present	İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim University	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

Beginner Arabic

Beginner Persian

PUBLICATIONS

- “‘II. Abdülhamit Dönemi’nde Osmanlı Hariciyesinde Görev Alan Üst Düzey Gayr-i Müslim Memur ve Diplomatlar (1876-1908)’”, in *Geçmişten Günümüze Azınlıklar ve Etnik Gruplar (Kimlik, Etnisite, Kültür)*, (Ed. Yelda Tutar Serter), (İstanbul: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık (TESAM), 2023), pp. 31-49.
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C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

SON DÖNEM OSMANLI İSLAMCI BİR ENTELEKTÜEL VE DEVLET ADAMININ PORTRESİ: SAİD HALİM PAŞA (1864-1921)

1. GİRİŞ:

Son yıllarda Türkiye’de bir hayalet dolaşıyor-Said Halim Paşa hayaleti. Türkiye’deki belli başlı güç odakları söz konusu hayaleti etten kemikten mücessem bir varlığa büründürmek üzere yoğun bir gayret içine girmişlerdir. Bazı belediyeler, birtakım “muhafazakâr” dergiler, bazı üniversite hocaları ve iktidarla ilintili bazı sivil toplum kuruluşları bu derin iş birliğinin önemli bileşenlerini oluşturmaktadır. Özellikle son beş yıldır söz konusu aktörler, yoğun sempozyumlarla, dergilerin özel sayısını oluşturan makalelerle ve yüksek lisans ve doktora düzeyindeki akademik tezlerle Said Halim Paşa hayaletinin toplumdaki “muhafazakâr” camia içinde candan kandan bir şekilde vücut bulması için hummalı bir şekilde çalışmışlar ve bunda da kısmen başarılı olmuşlardır. Mevcut iktidarın oluşturduğu dönemin siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel atmosferin de etkisiyle Said Halim Paşa’nın şahsi karakteri, Osmanlının son dönem siyasi-bürokratik hayatındaki rolü ve entelektüel kimliği tekrar gündeme gelmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın konusu, Said Halim Paşa’nın siyasi-bürokratik kariyeri ve kişiliğinin yanı sıra siyasi ve toplumsal düşüncesini Sultan Abdülhamit (1876-1908) ve İkinci Meşrutiyet’in siyasi ve entelektüel arka planı içinde eleştirel bir şekilde ele almaktır. Bu tezin en temel amacı ise, Said Halim Paşa’nın siyasi hayatını, düşüncelerini ve entelektüel kimliğini derinlemesine analiz ederek bir bakıma onu döneminin koşulları bağlamında siyasi ve entelektüel portresini sunmaya çalışmaktır. Bununla birlikte, Said Halim’in sosyal, siyasi ve dini düşüncesinin altında yatan temel kavramlar bu çalışmayla analiz edilmiş olacaktır.

Bu çalışma, İslamcılık ideolojisini önemli temsilcilerinden biri olarak Said Halim'in düşünce dünyasının şekillenmesinde Batı zihniyetinin etkisinin olup olmadığı, varsa ne derece etkili olduğu ve Said Halim'in Müslüman toplumların genel çöküş sorununu aşabilmeleri için belirlediği hedeflerin doğru anlaşılıp anlaşılmadığını ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bundan başka, bu çalışmanın önemli hedeflerinden biri de Said Halim Paşa'nın toplumsal ve siyasi düşüncesinin temelini oluşturan İslamcılık ideolojisinin emperyalist ve etnik milliyetçilik hareketlerine tam bir karşılık verip veremediğini analiz etmektir. Bir diğer ifadeyle, Said Halim'in ideal İslami toplumsal yapı ve ideal İslami siyasi nizam düşüncesinin hem Müslüman dünyası üzerindeki emperyalist saldırıların neden olduğu yıkıma hem de dönemin Müslüman toplumlarının mevcut dini, toplumsal, siyasi ve iktisadi problemlerine gerçek alanda bir çözüm sunup sunmadığını ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmak bu çalışmanın temel amaçlarındadır. Bunlara ek olarak Said Halim'in, XIX. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru hemen hemen bütün dünyaya yayılan milliyetçilik akımı hakkındaki düşüncelerinin ve İslam dünyası için de büyük bir tehdit olarak algılanan ayrılıkçı-etnik milliyetçilik akımına karşı Paşa'nın tutumunun/söyleminin detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesi bu tezin önemli hedefleri arasında yer almaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden yazılı doküman analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Tezin bütünü Said Halim Paşa'nın kendi eliyle kaleme aldığı eserlerinin incelenmesi ve onun düşüncelerinin derinlemesine analiz edilmesi üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Böylece tez, Said Halim Paşa'nın kullandığı kavramlar ve üslubu sayesinde onun zihin dünyasına nüfuz etmeye çalışmaktadır.

Osmanlı-Türk siyasi ve sosyo-kültürel tarihinin şekillenmesine katkıda bulunan aydınlar arasında önemli bir yere sahip olan Said Halim gibi önemli bir İslamcı entelektüelin düşüncelerini analiz etmek, son dönem Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemi düşünce tarihi için faydalı bir çalışma olacaktır. Bu bakımdan üstlendiği idari ve siyasi görevler ile kaleme aldığı düşünce ve çalışmalar, onun önemi için yeterli sebeplerdir. Ayrıca Said Halim, döneminin İslamcı aydınları arasında önemli ve özgün bir konuma sahip olmuş, düşünce ve yazılarıyla onları şu veya bu şekilde etkileyerek ön plana çıkmıştır. Said Halim Paşa'nın düşüncesi ve üslubu, gelenekçi,

reformist ve modernist fikirleri başarılı bir şekilde kaynaştırması nedeniyle ayrı bir yere sahiptir.

Said Halim Paşa saygın ve yetenekli bir devlet adamı ve siyasetçiydi ve her şeyden önce etkili bir İslamcı düşünürdü. İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İslamcı düşünürleri arasında Said Halim, gelenekçi-reformist-modernist olarak tanımlanabilir. Geleneksel değerlere tamamen bağlıydı ve bunların korunmasını savunuyordu. Ona göre, geleneksel ve ahlaki değerler de Türk-İslam tarihinin ürünleriydi ve bunların korunması toplumsal yapının sürdürülmesi için gerekiyordu. Said Halim sadece değişimin temsilcisi değil, aynı zamanda geleneğin de koruyucusuydu. Said Halim aynı zamanda bir modernistti. Batılı bir söylem ve üsluba sahipti. Özellikle demokrasi, parlamento, başkanlık ve kuvvetler ayrılığı gibi Batılı kavramları siyasi fikirlerini açıklamak için etkin bir şekilde kullandı. Said Halim ayrıca İslam öncesi geleneklerden arındırılmış gerçek İslam'ın yeniden canlandırılmasını ve Müslüman toplumların İslam'ın özüne dönmesi gerektiğini savunmuştur. Bu onun reformist tutumunu yansıtmaktadır. Onun İslamlaştırma ideolojisinin temelinde bu fikir yatmaktadır. O, siyasi, sosyal, ahlaki ve özellikle dini açıdan tamamen İslamleştirilmeleri gerektiğini savunmuştur. Onun bid'at ve hurafeler ile İslam'ın özüne dönüş konusundaki fikirleri İbn Teymiye'nin görüşlerini yansıtmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, İbn Teymiye'nin İslami reformist yaklaşımında Said Halim'e ilham verdiği oldukça açıktır. İbn Teymiye, Müslümanların Peygamber ve ashabi döneminde hâkim olan İslam'ın özüne dönmeleri gerektiği fikrini de desteklemiştir.⁷⁴² Burada Said Halim Paşa'nın Selefî akideye sahip olduğu fikrine kapılmamak gerekir çünkü Said Halim her ne kadar bid'at ve hurafelerden arındırılmış İslam'ı savunsa da dini inanç ve ilkelerden türemiş olan geleneksel değerleri de reddetmemektedir. Selefî düşünce ise geleneksel inanç ve anlayışa tepki mahiyetinde bir özelliğe sahiptir.

Yapılan literatür taraması, Osmanlı'nın son döneminde İslamcı düşüncenin öncülerinden biri olarak kabul edilen Said Halim Paşa'nın kişiliği, siyasi-bürokratik

⁷⁴² Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*, With an Annotated Translation of *His Kitab İqtida As-Sirat Al-Mustaqim Mukhalafat Ashab Al-Jahim*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), ss. 11-87.

kariyeri ve düşüncelerinin detaylı bir şekilde çalışılmadığını göstermektedir. Yakın tarihimizin şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynayan Said Halim Paşa'nın hayatı, eserleri ve fikirleri üzerine bazı çalışmalar yapılmış olsa da bu çalışmalar hem nicelik olarak yetersiz hem de nitelik olarak tatmin edici değildir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmalar Said Halim'i tüm yönleriyle tanımak için yeterli değildir. Üstelik bu çalışmalar ciddi bir eleştiriye tabi tutulmamıştır ve verilen bilgilerde büyük yanlışlıklar vardır. Said Halim Paşa'nın son yüzyıldaki siyasi ve entelektüel kimliği üzerine yapılan araştırmaların yetersizliği, onun düşüncelerinin göz ardı edildiğini göstermektedir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı gibi büyük bir olay sırasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda sadrazamlık yapmış ve ismi çok bilinen bir devlet adamının ihmali edilmesini açıklamak kolay değildir. Bu çalışma Said Halim'in sadece siyasi kariyeri ve tutumlarını değil, aynı zamanda Osmanlı-Türk düşünce tarihindeki yeri ve önemini de içerecektir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kültürel ve siyasi tarihine önemli bir katkı sağlayacaktır.

Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi bu çalışma genel olarak birincil kaynak hükmündeki Said Halim Paşa'nın kendi eserleri üzerine kurgulanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, hem Said Halim'in siyasi hayatı hem de dönemin siyasi-tarihi gelişmeleri bu çalışmanın bir parçası olduğu için Sicilli Ahval Defterleri, Osmanlı Salnameleri ve Osmanlı Yıllıklarından yararlanıldı, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Merkezi'nin 1906 -1907 ve 1907-1908 Senelerinin Muhaberat Kopyası, (Defter I-II), ((İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin 1906 -1907 ve 1907-1908 Yılları Arasındaki Yazışmalarının Kopyası (Kitap I-II)) ve diğer arşiv belgelerini birincil kaynaklar olarak kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, siyasi ve askeri gelişmeler açısından oldukça karmaşık olan bu döneme ışık tutmak için İngiliz ve Rus hükümetleri tarafından yayınlanan diplomatik belgeleri de kullandım. Bunların dışında hemen hemen tüm yerli ve yabancı ikincil kaynaklarla çalışma daha da zenginleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca çalışmayı daha nitelikli hale getirmek için Talat Paşa, Cavit Bey, Cemal Paşa, İbrahim Temo, Mehmed Reşid gibi dönemin birçok Osmanlı siyasetçi ve devlet adamının, yüksek rütbeli asker, düşünür ve din adamının yayınlanmış anı ve günlüklerinden de istifade edildi. Bunlar arasında Ahmet İzzet Paşa, Mahmut Şevket Paşa, Avlonyalı Ferit Paşa, Tahsin Paşa, (II. Abdülhamit'in Başmabeyincisi), Ali Fuat (Türkgeldi) Bey, Celal (Bayar) Bey, Ali Fethi (Okyar) Bey, Rıza Tevfik, Halit Ziya (Uşaklıgil), Şeyhülislam Cemaleddin

Efendi ve Ermeni Patriği Zaven Efendi'yi zikretmek yerinde olacaktır. Ayrıca, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın patlak vermesinden hemen önce İstanbul'daki Amerikan Büyükelçisi Henry Morgenthau gibi bazı Batılı diplomatların ve Çarlık Rusya'sının Dışişleri Bakanı Sergei Sazonov gibi bürokratların anıları da bu tezde kullanıldı. Ayrıca, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki gelişmeleri yakından takip eden ve son dönemin en önemli siyasi gelişmelerini yayınlayan Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, Charles R. Buxton ve Edward Frederick Knight gibi önde gelen isimlerin eserleri de bu çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Yine birincil kaynak olarak, Said Halim'in sosyal ve siyasi düşüncelerini analiz etmek ve fikirlerini diğer bazı aydınlarınkiyle karşılaştırmak için *Beyanü'l-Hak Ceride-i İlmiye, İslam Mecmuası, Mizan, Sebilürreşad (Strat-ı Müstakim)* ve *Yeni Mecmua* gibi dönemin önemli süreli yayınlarını da başvurulmuştur. Ayrıca Said Halim'in siyasi hayatını ve dönemin diğer siyasi gelişmelerini incelediğim bölümde *İkdam, Takvim-i Vekayi* (resmi Osmanlı gazetesi) ve *Tanin* gibi dönemin önemli gazetelerine yer verildi.

Tüm bunların yanı sıra, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemini siyasi, ekonomik, askeri ve ideolojik açılardan ele alan birçok ikincil kaynak da bu tezde kullanılmıştır. Genel olarak bir arka plan bölümü olarak kabul edilen ilk bölüm, Osmanlı'nın son döneminde İslamcılık hareketinin hem siyasi ve de entelektüel serüvenini ele almaktadır. İlk olarak, bu bölüm Pan-İslamizmin ortaya çıkışı ve bir ideoloji haline gelişi ile Sultan Abdülhamit'in Pan-İslamist politikalarına yoğunlaşmaktadır. Pan-İslamist hareket, özellikle 1877-78 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'ndan sonra daha hızlı yayılmış ve Sultan Abdülhamit döneminde imparatorluğun bekasını sağlayacak önemli bir siyasi ideoloji haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda Sultan, Kuzey Afrika, Güneydoğu Asya ve Uzak Doğu'daki Müslümanlara yönelik Pan-İslamist politikalarıyla imparatorluğun birlik ve bütünlüğünü sağlamaya çalışmıştır. Bu bölümün ikinci alt başlığı olarak İslamcılık hareketinin entelektüel boyutuna yer verilmiştir. İslamcılık akımının İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde entelektüel bir hareket olarak ortaya çıkışı ve gelişmesi detaylıca ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda, İslamcılığı entelektüel olarak inceleyen Said Halim Paşa, Mehmet Akif (Ersoy), Babanzade Ahmed Naim, Şeyhulislam Mustafa Sabri Efendi ve Şeyhulislam Musa Kazım

Efendi gibi şahısların düşünceleri ve yazılarındaki ana temalar bu bölümün temel konularını oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde Said Halim Paşa'nın siyasi ve bürokratik hayatı, dönemin siyasi-tarihi gelişmelerinin arka planında incelenmiştir. Said Halim'in Şurayı Devlet üyeliğinden sadrazamlığa uzanan siyasi ve devlet adamlığı kariyeri, diğer siyasi gelişmeler bağlamında ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Ayrıca, Said Halim Paşa'nın Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonlarına doğru sadarettten istifası, 6 Kasım-19 Aralık 1919 tarihleri arasında Osmanlı Meclis-i Mebusanı'nda sorgulanması, 1919 yılı sonunda İngilizler tarafından Malta'ya sürgüne gönderilmesi, buradaki sürgün hayatı ve nihayet Roma'ya dönüşünde bir Ermeni terörist tarafından öldürülmesi bu bölümde ayrıntılı olarak ele alınmaktadır.

Bu tezin ana bölümlerinden biri olan üçüncü bölüm, Said Halim Paşa'nın toplumsal düşüncelerinin eleştirel bir analizini içerirken; “Said Halim Paşa'nın Siyasi Fikirleri” başlıklı dördüncü bölümde Said Halim Paşa'nın İslami sistemde siyasi örgütlenmeye ilişkin detaylı analizleri sunulmaktadır.

“Din ve Batılılaşma Süreci” ismini taşıyan beşinci ve son bölümde Said Halim Paşa'nın din anlayışı, din ve ilerleme arasındaki ilişki hakkındaki düşünceleri ve hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hem de İslam dünyasındaki Batılılaşma hareketlerine karşı tutumu ele alınmaktadır.

Sonuç bölümünde ise tezin genel çıktıları tespit edilmiş ve Said Halim Paşa'nın siyasi-bürokratik ve entelektüel kimliğine dair analitik değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur.

Son olarak, Said Halim Paşa hakkında kapsamlı ve ayrıntılı bir çalışma yapılmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Bazı araştırmacılar ve akademisyenler Said Halim'in İslamcılık bağlamındaki düşüncesine dolaylı olarak değinmiş ve entelektüel kimliğinin sadece bir boyutuna odaklanan çalışmalar yapmış olsalar da henüz onun siyasi-bürokratik kariyerini, düşüncesini ve İslamcılar arasındaki konumunu tam olarak yansıtan bütüncül çalışmalar ortaya koyamamışlardır. Bu çalışma, Said Halim

Paşa'nın siyasetçi ve devlet adamı kimliğinin yanı sıra sosyal, siyasal ve dini düşüncelerini bilginin bütünlüğü çerçevesinde analiz etmeyi ve son dönem Osmanlı düşünce hareketleri, özellikle de İslamcı hareket içerisindeki konumunu tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

2. İSLAMCILIK

Bu bölümde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İslamcılık hareketinin siyasi bir ideoloji olarak ortaya çıkışı ve yayılması ele alınmıştır. Özellikle 1877-78 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'ndan (93 Harbi) sonra Pan-İslamcı hareket hız kazanmıştır. Sultan II. Abdülhamit döneminde devletin bir ideolojisi haline gelmiştir. Sultan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bekası için bir çözüm olarak gördüğü İslam birliği siyaseti kapsamında içeride tarikat liderleri ve dini şahsiyetlerle sürekli irtibat kurarken, diğer taraftan imparatorluğun en ücra köşelerindeki Müslümanların desteğini kazanmaya çalışmıştır. Söz konusu uzak iklimlerdeki Müslümanlara hediyeler göndererek, dini yapıları restore edip yenilerini inşa ederek onların imparatorluğa olan sadakatlerini sağlamaya gayret etmiştir. Abdülhamit bu noktada Celaleddin Afgani'den de destek almaya çalışmıştır. Zaten İslam birliği idealinin geniş coğrafyalara yayılmasında Cemaleddin Afgani ve Muhammed Abduh gibi önemli aktivist ve reformist İslamcılar çok önemli ve büyük rol oynamışlardır. Hatta Afgani, İslam birliğinin gerçekleştirilmesi için II. Abdülhamit 'e Osmanlı, İran ve o dönemin Afgan coğrafyasının birleşmesini önermiştir.

Bu başlık altında dikkat çekilen önemli nokta ise Sultan II. Abdülhamit'in İslamcılık politikasının hudutlarıdır. Birçok müellif Abdülhamit'in dünyadaki bütün Müslümanları tek bir çatı altında birleştirmeyi hedeflediğini ileri sürmüştür. Ancak onun İslam birliği siyasetinin kapsamı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sınırlarından ibaretti. Oldukça makul hareket eden ve realist bir bakış açısına sahip bir devlet adamı olarak II. Abdülhamit dünyadaki bütün Müslümanları tek bir bayrak altında birleştirmeyeceğinin farkındaydı. Siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri olarak zor şartlar altındaki imparatorluğun bütünlüğünü korumanın bir yolu olarak İslam birliği siyasetini takip ediyordu.

Diğer önemli husus ise Afgani, İslam birliğini siyasi bir çözüm ile sağlanabileceğini savunurken, Abduh ise İslami birlikteliğin daha çok eğitimle, ahlaki bir terbiye ile gerçekleştirilebileceğini vurgulamıştır. Muhammed Abduh taklitçiliğe tamamen karşı bir tavır tanınmıştır. O her Müslümanın kendi akli ve mantığı ile hareket ederek dini en saf haliyle yaşayabileceğini düşünmüştür. Abduh'un akla ve mantığı ön plana çıkaran tutumu Mısır'da muhafazakâr İslam anlayışına darbe vurmuştur. Dolayısıyla sekülerizmin Mısır'da yayılmasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

Bu bölümde ele alınan diğer önemli konu ise İslamcılığın entelektüel bir hareket olarak ortaya çıkışı ve gelişmesidir. Özellikle Said Halim Paşa, Mehmet Akif, Babanzade Ahmed Naim, Şeyhülislam Mustafa Sabri Efendi ve Şeyhülislam Musa Kazım Efendi gibi modernist ve muhafazakâr İslamcılarının çalışmaları İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde entelektüel İslamcılığın canlı bir şekilde toplumun gündeminde kalmasını sağlamıştır.

İslamcılar, bu dönemde genel olarak hilafet, etnik milliyetçilik, modernleşme, İslam dünyasının problemleri, İslami ilkelerden kopuşlar ve genel ahlaki değerlerin yozlaşması gibi ana temalar etrafında yazılar kaleme almışlar ve tartışmışlardır.

3. TARİHSEL BAĞLAMDA HALİM PAŞA'NIN HAYATI

Mısır'daki Hidiv hanedanının önemli bir üyesi olan Said Halim Paşa (1864-1921), 1870 yılında henüz altı yaşındayken babası Abdülhalim Paşa ile İstanbul'a geldi. Said Halim, babasının Yeniköy'deki yalısında özel hocalar tarafından eğitildi. Yüksek öğrenimini tamamlamak üzere Avrupa'nın en önemli merkezlerinden biri olan İsviçre'ye gönderildi. Beş yıl siyaset bilimi ve hukuk eğitimi aldıktan sonra İstanbul'a dönen Said Halim, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin saygın bir üyesi oldu. Bu arada İsviçre Üniversitesi'nden mezun olduğuyula ilgili Said Halim'e ait herhangi bir diploma nüshasına ulaşılmadığını da belirtmek gerekmektedir. Abdülhamit'in yönetimine ve politikalarına muhalif bir cemiyetin üyesi olmasına rağmen, Said Halim mevcut Hamidiye yönetimi altında üst düzey memuriyetlerde bulunmuş ve Sultan tarafından birçok madalya ve nişanla ödüllendirilmiştir. Said Halim, bürokrasideki deneyimi ve başarıları nedeniyle önce Şura-yı Devlet üyeliğine, kısa

bir süre sonra da Osmanlı bürokrasisinde önemli bir mevki olan Şura-yı Devlet Başkanlığı'na getirildi.

Öncelikle kişisel yetenekleri ve devlet adamlığı tecrübesi, kısmen de servetinin desteğiyle başarı merdivenlerini hızlı adımlarla tırmanan Said Halim Paşa, Ocak 1913'te Mahmut Şevket Paşa (23 Ocak - 11 Haziran 1913) hükümetinde Hariciye Nazırlığı görevine getirildi. Aynı yılın Haziran ayında Mahmut Şevket Paşa'nın bir suikast sonucu öldürülmesinin ardından Osmanlı bürokrasisinin en üst makamı olan Sadrazamlığa getirildi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na girdiği bir dönemde Osmanlı bürokrasisinin en tepesinde görev yapmış, devlet yönetimi pratiğine hâkim bir devlet adamıdır. Bu anlamda sadece entelektüel boyutuyla değil, siyaset ve devlet adamlığı yönüyle de kendisine başvurulması gereken bir kişidir.

İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti üyesi Said Halim Paşa'nın sadrazam olmasıyla İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, İkinci Meşrutiyet'in ilanından bu yana ilk kez hükümet üzerinde tam yetkiye sahip oldu. İlk kez İttihatçıların çoğunlukta olduğu bir kabine kuruldu. Meşrutiyet'in ilanı ile birlikte İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Osmanlı siyasi hayatına hakim oldu. Yine de doğrudan kendi kabinesini kurmak yerine, Hamidiye rejiminin bürokratları tarafından kurulan hükümetleri parlamentodaki çoğunluğu aracılığıyla uzaktan kontrol etmeyi tercih etti.

İslamlaşma ideolojisinin savunucusu Said Halim Paşa'nın sadık bir İttihatçı olması ve Enver ve Talat Paşalar gibi görece laik eğilimleri olan İttihatçılarla işbirliği yapması paradoksal görünebilir. Ancak Said Halim, siyasi ve entelektüel kariyerini son büyük İslam devleti olarak gördüğü Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ayakta kalmasına ve İslam dünyasının yeniden canlanmasına adadı. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve İslam dünyasının emperyalist güçler tarafından bölünmesine karşı çıkan başarılı bir diplomattı. Aynı zamanda Müslüman toplumlarda etnik milliyetçilik ve liberalizm gibi Batılı akımların yarattığı tehditler konusunda farkındalık yaratmaya çalışan saygın bir düşünürdü. Sonuç olarak, Said Halim'in İttihatçılarla siyasi işbirliği, ideolojik farklılıklara rağmen, imparatorluğu ve İslam dünyasını Batı'nın emperyalist saldırılarından korumanın ve Müslüman toplumları yeniden canlandırmanın tek

yolunun tüm gücü elinde bulunduran İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin liderliğinden geçtiğine olan inancından kaynaklanıyordu.

Gerek kendi liyakati gerekse de İttihatçıların desteğiyle sadaret koltuğuna oturan Said Halim Paşa Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde gerçekleşen birçok önemli olay ve gelişmeye tanıklık etmiştir. Birinci Balkan Savaşı sonunda kaybedilen Edirne'nin tekrar geri alınması, Ege Adaları meselesi ve nihayet imparatorluğun Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na girişi gibi siyasi ve askeri gelişmeler konusunda Said Halim Avrupalı güçlere karşı çok ciddi diplomatik mücadelelere girmiştir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın devam ettiği esnada yaşanan Ermeni olayları ve bu gelişmelere müteakip devletin Ermenileri tehcir etme kararı alması Said Halim Paşa'yı ve hükümetini zan altında bırakan çok önemli olaylar olarak tarihe geçmiştir. Said Halim'in şahsının fiilen müdahalesi olmasa bile onun liderlik ettiği bir kabinenin söz konusu olumsuz gelişmelere meydan vermesi nedeniyle Said Halim'in de eleştiri oklarına maruz kalması son derece tabiidir. İttihatçıların hükümet üzerinde siyasi ve askeri ağırlığını ortaya koyduğu bir süreçte her ne kadar Said Halim Paşa'nın eli kolu bağlanmış olsa bile olumsuz gelişmelerin yaşanmaması adına yine de bazı müdahalelerde bulunması beklenirdi.

Said Halim Paşa, Talat Paşa ile aralarındaki uyumsuzluk ve anlaşmazlıklar sebebiyle 3 Şubat 1917 tarihinde Sadrazamlıktan istifa etmiştir. Said Halim bu tarihten sonra yalısına çekilip daha çok entelektüel çalışmalarıyla meşgul olmaya başlamıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda yenik ayrılması, İstanbul'un İtilaf güçleri tarafından işgalinin önünü açmıştır. 5 Kasım 21 Aralık 1918 tarihleri arasında Osmanlı Mebusan Meclis'inde yargılanan Said Halim Paşa bir süre Bekirağa Bölüğü'nde hapis hayatı yaşamıştır. Damat Ferit Paşa kabinesinin kararıyla 28 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde diğer birçok savaş suçlusunu addedilen siyasi, idari ve sivil şahıslarla birlikte Said Halim Paşa Malta Adası'na sürgün edilmiştir. 29 Mayıs 1919'dan 22 Eylül 1919 tarihine kadar Limni Adası'nda sürgün hayatı yaşayan Said Halim, ancak 21 Nisan 1921 yılında serbest bırakılmıştır. Ne İstanbul'a ne de Mısır'a dönebilen Paşa, Roma'ya yerleşmeye karar vermiştir. Said Halim Paşa 1921 Aralık ayına kadar Roma'da yaşamıştır. İtalyan bankalarıyla görüşüp yüksek miktarda kredi çekmek isteyen Said Halim, söz konusu parayı silah temin etmesi gayesiyle Ankara

Hükümeti'ne göndermeyi planlamıştır. Ancak bu durumdan bir şekilde haberdar olan ve bir süredir zaten Paşa'yı takip eden Ermeni Taşnaksutyun Cemiyeti mensubu Arşavir Şıracıyan isimli militan, 6 Aralık 1921 tarihinde Said Halim Paşa'yı Roma'da kaldığı evinin önünde öldürmüştür. Said Halim'in cenazesi 29 Ocak 1922 tarihinde İstanbul'a getirilmiş ve II. Mahmut Haziresi'ne defnedilmiştir. Böylece Said Halim Paşa'nın Mısır'da başlayan hayat hikayesi, İstanbul, İsviçre ve Roma serüvenlerinden sonra yine İstanbul'da son bulmuştur.

4. SAİD HALİM PAŞA'NIN TOPLUMSAL DÜŞÜNCELERİ

Said Halim Paşa'nın dini, toplumsal ve siyasi bütün düşüncesi İslamcılık ideolojisine isnat etmektedir. Said Halim'in İslamcılık anlayışı siyasi boyuttan bağımsızdır. Bir diğer ifadeyle o, siyasi veya askeri bir teşebbüsle İslamcılık hareketinin gerçekleşeceğini inanmamıştır. O, İslamcılığı tıpkı Muhammed Abduh gibi daha çok kültürel bir hareket olarak görmektedir. Bunun için eğitim ve ahlaki terbiye çok önemlidir. Ayrıca Said Halim Paşa'ya göre İslam dünyasının her açıdan topyekûn bir İslamileşme sürecinden geçmesi gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda o, Müslüman toplumun bireylerinin Müslümanca yaşaması, inanması, düşünmesi ve siyaset yapması gerektiğini düşünmektedir.

Said Halim Paşa'ya göre İslam'ın bütün toplumsal yapısı Şeriat'ın mutlak hakimiyeti esasına dayanmaktadır. Toplumsal kanunlar ve kurallar ve ahlaki değerlerin kaynağı ilahi otoritedir. Batı'da ise ilahi otorite doğal hukuku serbest bırakmıştır. Said Halim ise İslami kural ve ilkelerin doğal hukuku meydana getirdiğini belirtmektedir. Said Halim Paşa ayrıca doğal hukuk ile ahlaki ve toplumsal kanunların aynı ilahi kaynaktan doğduklarını düşünmektedir.

Said Halim Paşa toplumsal görev ve sorumlulukların dini sorumlulukların içinde yer aldığını ileri sürmüştür. Dolayısıyla dini sorumluluklarını yerine getiren bir şahıs aynı zamanda toplumsal görev ve sorumluluklarını da yerine getirmiştir.

Said Halim gerçekten de İslam ahlakının, ilke ve kurallarının belirlediği bir toplumsal yapı manzarası resmetmiştir. Temelini İslam ahlakının oluşturduğu bu

toplumsal sistemdir özgürlük, eşitlik ve bireyler arasında iş birliği/dayanışma önemli yer tutmaktadır. İslam ahlakına göre kişinin tama anlamda özgür olmalıdır ve Said Halim'e göre bu özgürlük aslında tanrıya imanın bir gereğidir. Bu noktada Said Halim özgür olmayı kişinin kendini geliştirmesi için özgür olmayı İslam ahlakının zorunlu kıldığını belirtmektedir. Yani özgürlük devletin istediği zaman alıp vereceği bir hak değildir. Özgür olmak ve kalmak bir Müslüman için kutsal bir görevdir. Ona göre, kişi özgürlüğünü diğerlerinin özgürlüğüne saygı duyarak koruyabilir. Müslüman özgür değilse, onu elde etmekle mükellef olduğu gibi; özgürse onu korumakla mesuldür.

Said Halim Paşa'ya göre insanlar siyasi alanda eşitlik isterken, toplumsal alanda eşitsizlik aramaktadır. Çünkü toplumun temel yapı taşı olan her birey kendisine has yetenek ve becerilere sahiptir ve bireyler bu becerilerini gerçekleştirip geliştirebilmeleri için farklı derecede imkân ve ortamlara ihtiyaçları vardır. Aksi takdirde eşitlik toplumsal yıkıma sebep olabilir. Bu noktada Said Halim, Batı toplumlarında toplumsal sorunların eşitlikte; Müslüman toplumlarında ise sorunların eşitlikten kaynaklandığına dikkat çekmektedir. Said Halim ayrıca özgür ve eşitliğe dayanan bir ortamda kişilerin dayanışma içinde olmaları gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Said Halim'e göre toplumsal görev/sorumluluk, özgürlük ve hak arasında güçlü bir ilişki vardır. Toplumsal özgürlük toplumsal bir görevin başarılı bir şekilde yerine getirilmesi ile mümkündür. Başarılan görev ne kadar büyük ve önemliyse özgürlüğün derecesi de o oranda çok olacaktır. Hiç kimse doğuştan bir hakka sahip değildir; her hak bir sosyal sorumluluğun yerine getirilmesine bağlıdır. Bu husus, Said Halim'in Rousseau'nun doğal hukuk kuramından etkilendiğini açık bir şekilde göstermektedir.

Said Halim'in odaklandığı diğer önemli konu ise Osmanlı'nın son döneminde eğitim ve bu dönemde açılan Batı tarzı eğitim veren okullar meselesidir. O, Batı tarzı okulların Osmanlı toplum yapısını bozduğunu, toplumsal değerlerini yozlaştırdığını ileri sürmüştür. Ona göre bu okullar Osmanlı toplumuna sadece Batı hayranlığını aşılamıştır. Bu okullar ayrıca Osmanlı aile yapısının da bozulmasına neden olmuştur. Bu tarz okullarda eğitim gören çocuklar sadece pozitif bilimlere ve mantığa odaklanmışlar, kültürel ve ahlaki değerleri göz ardı etmişlerdir. Artık anne ve

babalarının sözünü dinlemeyen, hatta onlara isyan eden nesiller türemeye başlamıştır. Said Halim için ahlak ve terbiye bilgi ve bilimden önce gelmektedir. Teknik olarak, bilgi olarak donanımlı ancak ahlak ve terbiyeden yoksun nesiller toplumu fesada uğratmaktadır. Said Halim'e göre Müslüman dünyasında eğitimin hedefi, maneviyatı güçlü, mükemmel ahlak ve erdeme sahip bireyler yetiştirmek olmalıdır. Eğitimin metodu İslam davasına hizmet etmek olmalıdır. Erdemli, ahlaklı iyi Müslümanlar yetiştirmek İslam dünyasında eğitimin temel gayesi olmalıdır.

Said Halim Paşa Osmanlı toplumunun yozlaşmasında etkin rol oynayan iki önemli konuya dikkat çekmiştir. Bunlardan birincisi Batı'nın siyasi nüfuzu, ikincisi ise Batı medeniyetinin zararlı unsurlarının Osmanlı toplumuna aktarılmasıdır. Ayrıca Avrupa'ya giden öğrenciler döndüklerinde oranın kültürel değerlerini Osmanlı toplumuna taşımışlardır. Batı düşünce ve zihniyetinin nüfuz etmesi Osmanlı toplumunda kutuplaşmaya neden olmuştur. Toplum Batı yanlısı entelektüel sınıf ile reforma karşı tutum sergileyen diğer halk arasında yoğun çatışma yaşanmıştır. Ayrıca yine Batıcı zümrenin etkisiyle toplumda yaygınlaşan materyalist düşünce Osmanlı toplumuna son darbeyi vurmuştur.

Said Halim Paşa ayrıca Batı toplumunda sürekli bir değişim dönüşüm halinin varlığına dikkat çekmektedir. Toplumsal hedefler mevcut yöneticilerin çıkarların ve keyiflerine göre değişim göstermektedir. Batı toplumu daha önce ruhani otoritenin, Kilise'nin etkisi ve denetimi altındaydı, daha sonra krallığın, yani dünyevi gücü tahakkümü altına girmiştir. Kilise ile krallık arasındaki yoğun ve şiddetli mücadeleler Orta çağ döneminde Batı'daki siyasi ve sosyal gelişmelerin temel dinamiğini oluşturmuştur. Said Halim'e göre bu mücadele ve çatışma silsilesi endüstri devrimine kadar sürmüştür. Ona göre, Batı'da Kilise ile Aristokrasi; Aristokrasi ile Burjuva, daha sonra ise kapitalist Burjuva ile işçi sınıfı birbirleriyle sürekli mücadele yaşamışlardır ve sınıflar arasındaki mücadeleler bugünkü Batı toplumunun şekillenmesini sağlamıştır. İslam'daki eşitlikçi yaklaşım bu tarz sınıfların ortaya çıkmasını engellemiştir. Dolayısıyla Batı'daki sınıfsal mücadeleler İslam dünyasında görülmemiştir. Said Halim, Batı'da kapitalist burjuva sınıfı endüstrileşmenin öncüsü olarak görülse de endüstrileşmeyi asıl omuzlayanın işçi sınıfı olduğunu düşünmektedir. Said Halim'e göre sınıflar arasındaki bu sürekli mücadele hali,

Batı'da gerçek ve değişmez ahlaki ve toplumsal ilkelerin oluşmasını engellemiştir. Ayrıca, yine bu sürekli değişim ve dalgalanmalar Batılı toplumların nazarında devlete olan güveni de sarsmıştır.

Yine Said Halim Paşa'nın ele aldığı bu bölümdeki önemli konulardan birisi de Doğu ve Batı medeniyetleri arasındaki çatışmadır. İslam medeniyeti bir zamanlar Batı'nın kalkınıp gelişmesi için bütün imkanlarını seferber etmiştir. Ancak Batı'nın dini düşmanlığı iki medeniyet arasına düşmanlık tohumları ekmiştir. Batı İslam dünyasının üzerine ve Uzak Doğu Haçlı orduları göndermiştir. Batı'nın bu saldırganlığı nedeniyle Doğu, Batı'dan gelen – iyi veya kötü, faydalı veya zararlı- her şeyi reddetme refleksine kapılmıştır. Doğu Batı'yı sadece Haçlı askerleriyle tanımıştır. Ruhban sınıfının da etkisiyle, Batı'da ise Müslüman denildiğinde aşağılanan ve küçümsenen bir varlık akla gelmiştir. Said Halim Batı'nın Doğu'ya olan düşmanlığında bazı şeylerin değiştiğine dikkat çekmektedir. Son dönemde Batı artık haç uğruna değil, insanlık medeniyet uğruna Doğu'ya saldırmaya başlamıştır. Sömürgecilik hedefleri dini saiklerin yerini almıştır. Batı'nın Doğu'ya karşı düşmanlığı ortadan kalkmamış; sadece şekil değiştirmiştir. Var olan dini düşmanlığa, siyasi ve iktisadi rekabetler de eklenmiştir. Said Halim Paşa bu noktada önemli bir hususa dikkat çekmektedir: Batı, İslam dünyasını tam anlamıyla tanıyamadı ancak İslam dünyası da kendini çok iyi tanıtamamıştır.

İslam toplumundaki demokratik değer konusunda Said Halim şuna vurgu yapmaktadır: İslam dünyasının yeni türden bir demokrasi getirmesine gerek yok, onda zaten var olan demokratik karakteri geliştirseler yeterlidir. İslam toplumu değerler açısından zaten demokratiktir; İslami demokrasi bütün toplumun sosyal eşitlik, özgürlük ve dayanışma açısından mutluluğu ve huzuru için çaba göstermektedir.

5. SAİD HALİM PAŞA'NIN SİYASİ FİKİRLERİ

Said Halim Paşa, hatalı Batı fikirlerinin gelişmesi sonucu ortaya çıkan milli iradenin egemenliği ilkesine karşı çıkmış ve Müslüman aydınları Şeriatın egemenliği yerine bu ilkeyi tercih ettikleri için sert bir dille eleştirmiştir. Said Halim, Müslüman

aydınların Şeriatın egemenliği yerine milli iradenin egemenliği ilkesini uygun görmelerinin hatalı olduğunu, çünkü milli iradenin egemenliği ilkesinin daha d n dođduđunu belirtmiřtir. Bununla birlikte bu ilke yanılmaz ve sorumsuz olduđu varsayılıyordu. Ancak hen z hiřbir yerde kesin bir sonuř elde edememiřti. Said Halim Pařa'nın temel kaygısı, ulusal egemenlik sisteminin benimsendiđi ulus-devlet iřinde Şeriat'ın sunduđu ahlaki ve toplumsal kural ve normların deđersizleřtirilmesi idi. Said Halim, M sl man aydınların Batı medeniyetinin refahına ve maddi g c ne duydukları hayranlıđın ve materyalist zihniyetlerinin etkisiyle milli egemenlik ilkesine meylettiklerini d ř nmektedir.

Said Halim ayrıca ‘‘ulusal egemenlik’’ kavramının demokrasiyle bir ilgisi olmadığını da savunmuřtur. Ona g re ‘‘milli irade’’ denilen Őey aslında milletin ođunluđunu temsil ettiđi ok Ő pheli olan bir topluluđun iradesiydi. Hatta bu topluluđun ulusun yarısını temsil ettiđinin bile Ő pheli olduđunu ifade etmiřtir. Said Halim, milli iradenin yapay olduđuna ve aslında ođunluđu temsil etmediđine inanıyordu,  nk  milli irade denilen Őeyin gerekte sadece ulusun ođunluđunun iradesi olduđunu, bu ođunluđun da muhtemelen ulusun sadece yarısından bir fazlasını temsil ettiđini savunmuřtur. Said Halim ulusal egemenlik ilkesini, ‘‘ođunluđun azınlıđa tahakk m ’’ olarak tarif etmiřtir.

Said Halim Pařa, umut verici bulmadıđı ulusal egemenlik ilkesine karřı Şeriat ilkelerine dayalı bir sosyo-politik d zen  nermiřtir. Şeriat y netimini en m kemmelen ve ideal d zen olarak nitelendirmiřtir. O, İslami sosyal devletin en gerek ve en samimi insani dayanıřmayı deneyimlediđini, bunun da eři benzeri g r lmemiř bir M sl man kardeřliđi yarattıđını, bunun da en azından onun zamanında en eřitli ırklara mensup ve en zıt kořullarda ve iklimlerde yařayan yaklaşık d rt y z milyon insandan oluřan t m d nyayı İslami b y k ailede birleřtirdiđini d ř nm řtir.

Said Halim, Batı toplumunun siyasi sisteminin tamamen ‘‘ulusun iradesinden’’ dođan ‘‘ulusal egemenlik’’ ilkesine dayandıđını,  nk  Batı toplumunun toplumsal hakikat ve adaleti yalnızca  zg rce ve herhangi bir kısıtlama olmaksızın ifade edilen ulusal iradede g rmeye istekli olduđunu belirtmiřtir. Bu nedenle, Batı'daki ulusal temsilin, bařlangıcından itibaren bu d řman sınıfların m cadelelerinin kapalı alanı

haline geldiğini vurgulamıştır. Bu şekilde, kendilerini neredeyse tamamen kendi sınıflarının çıkarlarını savunmaya adanmış çeşitli sınıfların liderlerinin siyasi partiler kurduğuna dikkat çekmiştir. Ona göre, bu partiler kendi çıkarları için değil, ulus adına mücadele ettiklerini iddia ediyorlardı. Said Halim, bu gelişmeler ışığında, Batı ülkelerindeki parlamentoların sosyo-politik mücadele arenaları haline geldiğini ve bir siyasi partiye veya diğerine iktidarı ele geçirme ve yönetimi sırasında istediği gibi kullanma fırsatı verdiğini ileri sürmüştür. Dolayısıyla, Batı siyasi nizamında, parlamentonun çok geniş haklara sahip olduğunu ve ulusal iradeyi duyurma ve bunu yasalar biçiminde dayatma hakkını münhasıran kendisine veren yasama tekeline sahip olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Ayrıca, parlamentonun yürütme erki üzerinde, bazı ülkelerde yürütme erkini tahakküm altına almaya kadar varan bir kontrol uyguladığına da dikkat çekmiştir.

Said Halim, Batı siyasi düzeninde yasama gücünün teorik olarak halka ait olduğunu, ancak pratikte bu gücün parlamentoya hâkim olan siyasi partilere ait olduğunu belirtmiştir. Said Halim Paşa, yasama gücünün tek bir siyasi kuruma ait olmasına karşı çıkmış, bunun tarafsızlık ve adalet açısından sakıncalı bulmuştur. Said Halim, Batı siyasi rejiminde Parlamento'nun ulusal egemenliği temsil ettiğini ve onun adına mutlak yetkiye sahip olduğunu belirtmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Parlamento'nun mutlak otorite olduğu böyle bir siyasi sistemde, “yürütme gücünün sadece Parlamento'nun uysal bir aracı olduğunu” iddia etmiştir.

Said Halim'e göre bir toplum için en ideal siyasi rejim, ait olduğu toplumun gereksinimlerini en iyi karşılayan, temel siyasi ilkelerini en iyi yorumlayan ve en doğru ifadesi olan rejimdir. Said Halim Paşa, Şeriat kurallarına dayalı sistemin ideal İslami siyasi rejim olduğunu açıkça ifade etmiş ve Müslüman toplumun Şeriat'ın egemenliğine tabi olan toplum olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Bu nedenle Said Halim'e göre, Şeriat'ın üstünlüğünü sağlamak için mevcut İslami hükümeti desteklemek her Müslüman için dini bir görevdir. Said Halim ideal İslami siyasi rejimin özünde temsili olduğunu savunmuştur. Ona göre, Müslüman toplumdaki ulusal temsilin, Müslüman toplumun ayırt edici özelliklerinden biri olan sınıflar arasındaki kardeşliğe dayalı bir uzlaşma ve siyasi barışı garanti edecek olan, ulusun seçilmiş temsilcilerinden oluşan bir meclis tarafından sağlanmalıdır. Ayrıca, Müslüman

toplumunu temsil edecek olan parlamento, sosyal alanda kabul edilen dayanışmayı siyasi alanda da tesis etmeli ve sürdürmelidir.

Ayrıca Said Halim, “Müslüman ulusal parlamentosunda ne komünist ne sosyalist, ne cumhuriyetçi, ne de monarşi yanlılarının bulunmayacağını” iddia etmiştir. İslami meclisin tüm milletvekillerinin hayatlarını ortak bir hedefe adadıklarını ve aynı amacı takip ettiklerini vurgulamıştır. Bu amaç ise şuydu: “Şeriatın yüce emirlerini en mükemmel şekilde uygulamak”.

Said Halim Paşa'ya göre İslami rejimde yasama gücü Batı'da olduğu gibi seçilmiş bir ulusal meclis değildir. Bu durumda O, yasama hakkının, nasıl kanun yapılacağını bilen ve İslam hukukuna vakıf olan uzmanlar heyetine ait olması gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Bu bağlamda, “kanun koyucunun, çoğunluk ve azınlık meselesi değil, sadece yeterlilik meselesi olabileceği” üzerinde durmuştur. Neticede, İslami siyasi düzende Said Halim, ulusal meclisin yasa çıkarma yetkisi olmayacağını açıkça belirtmiştir. Said Halim, yasa koyucunun Şeriat ilkelerine tamamen aşina olması gerektiğini özellikle ifade etmiştir.

Said Halim'e göre, İslami rejimde yönetme ve idare etme işlevinin, temel siyasi ve idari görevlerini düzgün bir şekilde yerine getirecek bir güç yürütme erkidir. O, yönetme ve idare etme hakkı ve yetkisi yürütme organına aittir. Said Halim ayrıca, hukukun ve yetkinin Parlamento ve yasama organına tam bağımsızlık sağladığı gibi, bu koşulların aynı tam bağımsızlığı yürütme organı için de sağlaması gerektiğini ileri sürmüştür. Bir başka ifadeyle, yürütme erkinin kendi alanında, Parlamento ve yasama erkinin kendi alanlarında olduğu kadar özgür olması gerektiğini vurgulamıştır.

Said Halim, parlamentonun yürütmeyi kontrol etme hakkının, yürütmenin kendi ilham ve vicdanına göre hareket etme özgürlüğü veya bağımsızlığını hiçbir şekilde ihlal etmediğine dikkat çekmiştir. O, yürütmenin bu şekilde etkin bir şekilde çalışabileceğini ve hesap verebilir olabileceğini belirtmiştir. Parlamentonun sadece eleştirme hakkına sahip olduğunun altını çizen Said Halim'e göre, Parlamento uyarabilir, teşvik edebilir ama yürütme organına talimat veremezdi. Said Halim,

parlamento ile yürütme erki arasındaki anlaşmazlığın kritik bir hal alması durumunda, devlet başkanının müdahale edeceğini ve anlaşmazlığı ulusun taleplerine uygun bir şekilde çözmeye çalışacağını belirtmiştir. Said Halim, toplumun maddi ve manevi refahını ve güvenliğini sağlamanın ve kalkınmayı teşvik etmenin İslami siyasi nizamda yürütme organının en temel görevleri arasında yer alacağını kaydetmiştir.

İslam siyasi düzeninde siyasi otoriteye büyük önem veren Said Halim Paşa, klasik İslam düşüncesinde olduğu gibi, siyasi otoritenin Şeriatın hükümlerinin istikrarı açısından son derece etkin bir rol oynadığını düşünmüştür. Ona göre siyasi otorite, meşruiyetini sadece Şeriat'ın ilkelerinden almakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda İslami ilkelerin uygulanmasını da sağlıyordu. İslami hükümetin dayandığı kaynağın Şeriat olduğunu ve hükümetin Şeriat'ın hem uygulayıcısı hem de takipçisi olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Said Halim Paşa, İslami siyasi düzende otoritenin, karar alma sürecinde birçok kişinin rol oynayacağı bir yürütme kurulunun elinde olmasına karşıydı. Bu nedenle, otoritenin gücünün ve etkinliğinin koşullarından birinin tek bir kişide, yani devlet başkanında bulunması olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Bununla ilgili olarak, yürütme gücünün farklı bireyler veya gruplar arasında bölünmesinin İslami hükümeti ve toplumu felç edeceğine inanmıştır.

Said Halim Paşa, Müslüman ülkelerde devlet başkanının milletin seçilmiş temsilcisi olması gerektiğini ileri sürmüştür. Buna ek olarak, devlet başkanının otoritesini etkili kılmak için gereken tüm hak ve ayrıcalıklara sahip olması gerektiğini de belirtmiştir. Devlet başkanının temel görevlerine gelince, Said Halim, yürütmenin en üst makamının temel görevinin, ülkenin tüm siyasi sisteminin düzenleyicisi olarak hareket etmek; sorunsuz bir şekilde işlemlerini sağlamak, hükümetin çeşitli organları arasındaki uyumu sürdürmek ve aralarında çıkabilecek anlaşmazlıkları çözmek olduğunu belirtmiştir. Said Halim, milli iradenin onayıyla Şeriat'ın egemenliğinden kaynaklanan otoriteyi temsil eden devlet başkanının, bu işlevler hangi organa verilmiş olursa olsun, hem Şeriat'ın temsilcilerine ve koruyucularına karşı hem de İslami siyasi örgütlenin ayırt edici bir özelliği olarak millete karşı şahsen sorumlu olduğunu belirtmiştir. Devlet başkanının temsilcileri de ulusun temsilcilerine ve Şeriat'ın temsilcilerine karşı sorumluydu. Böylece Said Halim, Müslüman siyasi

sisteminde yürütme erkinin parlamentoya ve yasamaya karşı sorumluluğunun tesis edildiğini göstermiştir.

Said Halim Paşa'nın yukarıdaki rivayetlerinden hareketle, İslami siyasi rejimde kuvvetler ayrılığı ilkesini benimsediğini açıklamak doğru olacaktır. Bu anlamda, denetim gücünün, yani parlamentonun, yasama gücünün ve yürütme gücünün, yukarıda açıklanan yetkileri ve özel nitelikleri ile bağımsız olarak kurulabileceğini vurgulamıştır. Ayrıca, otoriteye tüm gücünü ve tüm etkinliğini temin ederek, Müslüman rejimin Şeriatın ruhuna mükemmel bir şekilde cevap vereceğini ve tüm bu güçleri Şeriatın bütünsel ve daimî üstünlüğünü garanti altına alma ortak amacıyla sıkı bir şekilde birleştireceğini vurgulamıştır.

Said Halim Paşa, İslami siyasi düzendeki siyasi partilerin Batı'daki muadillerinden çok daha farklı roller oynadığını göstermiştir. Çünkü Batı'da siyasi partiler belirli toplumsal sınıfların aralarındaki mücadele ve çatışmalardan sonra ortaya çıkmışlardır. Yani Batı toplumunun mevcut siyasi-sosyal yapısına uyumlu bir şekilde ve doğal bir sürecin sonucunda siyasi partiler tarih sahnesine çıkmıştır. Ancak Said Halim'e göre İslam dünyası genelinde, Osman İmparatorluğu özelinde siyasi partilerin tamamen suni bir şekilde türetildiğini iddia etmiştir. İkinci Meşrutiyet'in ilanından sonra tamamen Batı'yı taklit ederek oradakilere benzer partilerin kurulduğuna değinmiştir. Said Halim Paşa ayrıca siyasi partilerin Osmanlı siyasi düzeni ve toplumsal yapısı içinde zararlı sonuçlar doğurduğunu iddia etmiştir. Çünkü tamamen suni, yapay teşkilatlar olarak siyasi partiler meclisteki ayrılıkçı tartışma ve faaliyetleriyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun siyasi ve toplumsal olarak ayrışmasına ve parçalanmasına neden olmuştur. Batı'daki siyasi partilerin faaliyetleri siyasi, toplumsal ve iktisadi gelişmeye ve ilerlemeye yönelmesine rağmen Osmanlı siyasi partilerinin temel faaliyetleri devletin tamamen ayrışmasını ve dağılmasını hedef almıştır.

Siyasi partiler konusunda olduğu gibi Said Halim Paşa, 1876 Osmanlı Anayasa'nın da Osmanlı siyasi ve toplumsal yapısıyla hiçbir şekilde uyumlu olmadığını ileri sürmüştür. Çünkü ona göre, anayasa da devletin siyasi sistemi ve toplumsal yapısı dikkate alınmadan, tamamen Batı'nın sistemi ve değerlerini taklit ederek

hazırlanmıştır. 1909 yılında anayasa da yapılan anayasa tadilleri ise durumu daha da vahimleştirmiştir. Said Halim'e göre söz konusu anaya değişiklikleri meclise ve topluma haddinden fazla özgürlük ortamı ve imkânı sunmuştur. Ona göre, siyasi hak ve sorumluluklarından haberi bile olmayan bir topluma aşırı özgür ortamın sağlanması dini, toplumsal ve ahlaki değerlerin yozlaşmasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

Said Halim Paşa, seçkinlerin hak ve imtiyazlarını korumak için oluşturulan senatonun İslam toplumunda yeri olmadığını açıkça ortaya koymuştur. İslam toplumundaki sınıfsal yapıyı tarif ederken, bireylerin kişisel yeteneklerinden doğan bir seçkinler sınıfının olması gerektiğini, ancak bu yapının hukuken diğer sınıflardan ayrıştırılmadığını savunmuştur. Ona göre İslami sosyo-politik yapı, sosyal sınıflar veya bireyler arasında herhangi bir eşitsizliği kabul etmemiştir. Dolayısıyla Said Hali, *Ayan Meclisi*'nin gibi bir yapının İslami siyasi nizamda yeri ve gereği olmadığını açıkça ifade etmiştir.

Bu bölümün önemli konusu olarak Said Halim Paşa'nın milliyetçiliğe dair düşüncelerine değinmek gerekir. İslamcılığı ve İslamileşmeyi temel ideoloji olarak benimseyen Said Halim, ırkçılık ve etnik milliyetçiliğe tamamen karşıdır ve İslam'da etnik ve ayrılıkçı milliyetçiliğin yerinin olmadığını kesin ifadelerle vurgulamıştır. Bununla birlikte, kültürel anlamda bir değer olarak milli kimliğin ve değerlerin korunması gerektiğini de savunmuştur. Özellikle İslam dünyası için etnik milliyetçilikten ziyade evrenselciliği savunan Said Halim, farklı milli kimlik ve devletlere sahip Müslüman toplumlarının evrensel İslami dayanışma içinde bulunması ve bunu sürdürmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir.

6. SAİD HALİM PAŞA'NIN DÜŞÜNÇESİNDE DİN VE BATILILAŞMA SÜRECİ

Bu bölümde Said Halim Paşa, genel hatlarıyla din anlayışı ve İslam dünyasında ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki batılılaşma sürecini ele almıştır.

Said Halim'in din anlayışına göre gerçek din İslam'dır ve onun insanlık tarihinde müstesna bir yeri vardır. İslam'a göre Allah'ın varlığına ve birliğine iman, peygamber

Hz Muhammed (s.a.v.) getirdiđi mesajın dođruluđuna inanmak ve İslam dininin temel ilke ve kurallarını hayat iinde uygulamak temel esastır.

Said Halim Pařa din ve taassup konusuyla ilgili olarak arpıcı tespitlerde bulunmuřtur. Ona gre Batılılar, Mslmanların dinlerine olan sadakat ve merbutiyetlerini taassup, daha dođrusu gericilik olarak yorumlamıřlardır. Said Halim'e gre ise Mslman toplumların dinlerine ok daha sıkı bir řekilde bađlanmaları Batılıların saldırılarına karřı verdikleri bir tepkinin neticesidir. Bir diđer ifadeyle, Mslman toplumlar, kendilerine hayat hakkı tanımayan ve onları ařađlık varlıklar olarak gren Batılıların siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri saldırıları karřısında İslam dinine ve onun deđerlerine bir kalkan olarak daha sıkı sarılmıřlardır. Batılılar, Mslmanlardaki bu teyakkuz halini taassup olarak yorumlamıřlardır.

Ayrıca Said Halim'e gre bunu taassup řeklinde yorumlamak yanlıř bir tutumdur nk İslam toplumlarının taassup girdabına kapıldıđı dođru deđerdir. Ona gre eđer ortada bir taassup varsa bundan Mslman dnyasının rahatsız olması gerekir. Halbuki Mslmanların szde taassubundan Batılılar daha ok řikayetidir. Batılıların bundan rahatsız olması iin hibir sebep yoktur. Neticede Said Halim Mslman taassubu olarak ifade edilen durumun aslında Batı'nın Dođu'ya yani İslam dnyasına karřı gsterdiđi kalıtsal dřmanlıđı olduđunu ileri srmuřtur.

Din ve ilerleme bađlamında nemli yorumlarda bulunan Said Halim Pařa zellikle İslam ve ilerleme konusuna yođunlařmıřtır. Bilindiđi gibi daha nce Kilise ve ruhban sınıfı bilimin ver diđer trl geliřmelerin nne bir set ekmiřti. Batı toplumları ancak Kilise ve ruhban sınıfının tahakkmnden ve etkisinden kurtulduktan sonra bilimsel bir devrim gerekleřtirebilmiř ve aklın ve bilimin ıřıđında maddi ve manevi anlamda ilerleme kaydetmiřtir. Said Halim'e gre Batılılar, İslam dininin Mslman toplumlar arasında hal canlılıđını koruduđuna ve Mslmanların mevcut geri kalmıřlıklarına řahit olduklarında İslam dnyasının geri kalmıřlıđına sebep olarak ‘‘İslam’ı’’ gstermiřlerdir. Onlara gre, Mslmanlar İslam’ı geride bırakmadıkları iin hala geliřme ve ilerleme kaydedememiřlerdir. Diđer bir deyiřle eđer Mslmanlar yeterince geliřmiř ve ilerlemiř olsaydılar İslam’ın oktan geri plana atılmıř olması gerektiđini iddia etmiřlerdir.

Said Halim Paşa hiçbir dinin bir toplumu geri bırakması gibi bir durumun söz konusu olmadığını belirtmiştir. Ona göre rasyonelliğe önem veren İslam ise gerçek bir yaşam tarzıdır ve mensuplarını gelişme ve ilerleme yolunda sürekli teşvik etmektedir. Geçmişteki parlak İslam medeniyeti buna çok güzel bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu bağlamda Said Halim, Batılı Hıristiyanların Doğu'daki dindaşlarına nazaran çok daha ileri seviyede olduklarına ve refah içinde yaşadıklarına belirtmiştir. Çünkü Batılı Hıristiyanlar dinlerini medeniyetlerinin gelişmesi yönünde kullanabilmişlerdir.

Said Halim Paşa pozitif bilimler fen bilimlerinin İslami eğitim müfredatından çıkarılmasının Müslümanlar açısından büyük bir dezavantaj olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Çünkü Müslümanlar doğayı anlamada, anlamlandırmada ve yorumlamada başarısız olmuşlardır.

Müslüman dünyasının geri kalmışlığı onları Batı medeniyetine yönelmelerine zemin hazırlamıştır. Böylece Müslümanlar Batılılarla etkileşime geçmiş oldular. Bu da onların İslam dininden uzaklaşmalarında bir etken olmuştur. Çünkü Said Halim'e göre Müslüman toplumlardaki bazı zümreler geri kalmışlığın ve bozulmanın İslami ilke ve kurallarından kaynaklandığını düşünmüşlerdir. Oysaki Said Halim asıl sorunun İslami ilkelerden kopuşlar yaşandığı ve gerçekten anlamda uygulanmadığı için söz konusu kalkınmanın gerçekleşmediğini iddia etmiştir.

Said Halim ayrıca Müslüman toplumların Batıdaki gelişme ve ilerleme seyrini düzgünce takip edemediklerini belirtmiştir. Ona göre bahsedilen zümrenin bilinçsizce, körü körüne Batıyı taklit etmesi İslam'a ve Müslümanların değerlerine zarar vermiştir. Said Halim, onların Batılılaşmayı şüursuzca taklit olarak algıladıklarını vurgulamıştır.

Said Halim, Batı medeniyeti hayranlığı hastalığına tutulmuş ve taklit hevesine kapılmış Müslüman aydınlar grubunu sert bir şekilde eleştirmiştir. Aydın zümresi Müslüman topluma rehberlik yapacağı yerde körü körüne Batı taklitçiliğine soyunmuştur. Batı'nın medeniyetine ve değerlerini yanlış ve eksik bir şekilde taklit eden aydın sınıf kendi toplumuna yabancılaşmıştır. Said Halim Paşa, kendi

toplumuna yabancılaşan bu Müslüman aydınların, toplumun gerçek ihtiyaçlarının neler olduğunu da anlayamadığına dikkat çekmiştir. Dolayısıyla Müslüm aydınlar kendi toplumunun gerçek sorunlarına cevap verecek çözümler de üretememişlerdir.

Said Halim'e göre Müslüman toplumlar Batı medeniyetinin maddi gelişmişliği ve maddi değerlerini alabilirlerdi. Batılıların çalışkanlığı ve erdemliği Müslüman dünyasının örnek alması gereken asıl unsurlardır. Bunların dışında Batı'nın manevi değerleri Müslüman toplumların dini ve kültürel değerleri ile çelişmektedir. Dolayısıyla Batı'nın manevi değer ve birikimleri Müslüman dünyasının benimseyebileceği şeyler değildir.

Said Halim Paşa'nın bu bölümde ele aldığı önemli konulardan biri de İslam dünyasının çöküşü ve bunun sebepleridir. Ona göre İslam dünyasının çöküş sürecine girmesinde üç temel sebep vardır. Bunlardan birincisi Doğu ile Batı, Hıristiyanlar ile İslam arasındaki uzun süreli savaşlardır. Said Halim'e göre İslam toplumları Haçlı Seferleri zamanından beri Batılıların saldırılarına uğramaktadır. Müslüman dünyası bu uzun savaşlar ve mücadeleler ile meşgul olmak zorunda kalmış ve ilerleme için imkan ve ortam bulamamıştır. Dolayısıyla bu uzun soluklu savaşlar silsilesi Müslüman toplumların geri kalmışlığında ve ilerleme kaydedemeyişlerinde önemli bir faktör olmuştur.

Said Halim Paşa'nın ileri sürdüğü ikinci sebep ise İslam dinin günün koşullarına göre yorumlanamamış olmasıdır. Yani İslam uleması ve aydınları içtihat kapısını düzgün bir şekilde çalıştıramamışlardır. İslam ilerleme ve kalkınmayı teşvik ve destekleyen değerlerle donatılmış olmasına rağmen Müslüman toplumlar İslam dininin bu vasıflarından tama anlamıyla istifade edememişler ve çağın koşullarına göre gerileme sürecine girmişlerdir. Said Halim Paşa'nın Müslüman dünyasının gerilemesi konusunda tespit ettiği diğer sebep ise İslam öncesi mirasın etkisidir. Ona göre Müslüman toplumlar aradan geçen asırlara rağmen hala İslam öncesi gelenek-görenek ve kültürel değerlerinin etkisinden kurtulamamışlar ve İslam'ın temel ilke ve değerlerini önemseyememişlerdir. Bu durum ise onların geri kalmasına neden olmuştur. Said Halim Paşa Müslümanların mevcut geri kalmışlıktan kurtulmaları ve kalkınıp ilerleyebilmeleri için öncelikle gerçek anlamda dini, siyasi ve sosyal açıdan İslamlaşmaları gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Ona göre İslam hayat dinidir, her zaman ve

her yerde hayatın içinde olan bir dindir. Müslümanlar her tülü bid'at, batıl inanç ve hurafelerden ve İslam öncesi değerlerden sıyrılıp İslami bir hayat tarzını gerçek anlamda uygulamalıdır. Said Halim, bir zamanlar olduğu gibi İslam'ın Müslümanlara yine yüksek bir medeniyet kurmalarına zemin hazırlayacağına inanmıştır.

7. Sonuç

Aradan geçen bir asırdan fazla süre göstermiştir ki; İslamcılık ideolojisinin Müslüman dünyasının problemlerine hiçbir çözüm sunamadığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Diğer taraftan bakıldığında ise; Said Halim Paşa'nın düşünce dünyasının temelini oluşturan ideal İslami toplum ve siyaset nizamı, giderek yükselen etnik milliyetçilik ve emperyalizme karşı tam bir cevap veremediği ortaya çıkmıştır. Said Halim'in İslamcılık ideolojisi aslında Müslüman dünyasına hiçbir değişim dönüşüm getiremediği ve çöktüğü dikkat çekmektedir.

Bir diğer ifadeyle, Said Halim'in İslami toplum ve siyaset nizamı idealinin, dönemin sosyo-politik ve iktisadi koşulları da göz önüne alındığında, “akıntıya karşı kürek çekmekten” ibaret olduğu ortaya çıkacaktır.

Ayrıca, Said Halim Paşa'nın İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ni finanse etmesi; yine Kavalalı hanedanına mensup Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın Yeni Osmanlıları maddi açıdan desteklemesi ve aynı şekilde Damat Mahmut Celalettin Paşa'nın sürgün döneminde Jön Türkleri himaye ve finanse etmesini hatırlatmaktadır.

Said Halim Paşa'nın dinde reformistliği Selefilikle aynı mıdır? Ibn Teymiye'nin görüşlerinden etkilenmiş olması Paşa'nın Selefî olmasını mı gerektiriyor? Said Halim Paşa'nın Türk-İslam geleneksel değerlerine karşı olmadığı, hatta korunması ve yaşatılması gerektiğini düşündüğü de göz önünde bulundurularak Selefî zihniyete sahip olmadığını belirtmek gerekmektedir. Çünkü Selefî düşünce, her türlü toplumsal ve siyasi geleneğe tepki mahiyetindedir ve bunların reddi üzerine istinat etmektedir.

Said Halim Paşa'nın İslamcılık ideolojisinin toplumsal ve siyasi yapının üzerine inşa edileceği iktisadi yapıya dair pek fazla bir söylem geliştirmedeği ortadadır. Yani, İslami toplum ve siyasi nizamda iktisadi sistemin nasıl şekilleneceği açıkçası bir muamma olarak kalmıştır. Toplumsal, siyasi, idari ve hukukî alanlarda birçok tasavvuru olan söz konusu ideolojinin iktisadi alana dair pek söz etmemesi Said Halim Paşa'nın İslamcılık düşünmesinin güvenilirliği ve sürekliliğinin güdüklüğünü resmetmesi açısından önemli bir noktadır.

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