THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION
&
THE PROBLEM OF BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS

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DECEMBER 2010

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ÖNDER UÇAR

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

DECEMBER 2010

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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December 2010, 164 pages

This thesis points to the existence of a bourgeois revolution in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Against all approaches of the historiography on the subject which employ outmoded criteria and point to a duality between the moments in 1908 and 1923; it employs contemporary arguments on bourgeois revolutions and argues that the Ottoman Empire witnessed a single revolutionary sequence which occurred between July 1908 and November 1922. The thesis also suggests the idea that this single revolutionary sequence of the Ottoman Empire was a bourgeois revolution.

Keywords: Revolutionary sequence, bourgeois revolution, the Young Turk Revolution.

ÖZ

JÖN TÜRK DEVRİMİ TARİHYAZIMI
&
BURJUVA DEVRİMLERİ SORUNSALI

Uçar, Önder

Yüksek LisansSiyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. E. Attila Aytekin

Aralık 2010, 164 sayfa

Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarihinde bir burjuva devriminin varlığını işaret etmektedir. Geçerliliğini kaybetmiş kıstasları kullanan ve 1908 ve 1923'teki momentler arasındaki ikiliğe işaret eden tarih yazımının bütün yaklaşımlarına karşıt olarak, tezde burjuva devrimleri üzerine güncel olan tezler kullanılmış ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Temmuz 1908 Kasım 1922 arasında gerçekleşen tek bir devrimci süreçten geçtiği iddia edilmektedir. Tezde aynı zamanda bu tek devrimci sürecin bir burjuva devrimi olduğu fikri öne sürülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Devrimci süreç, burjuva devrimi, Jön Türk Devrimi.

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Abbreviations

ARF: Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutiun)

CPU: Committee of Progress and Union

CUP: Committee of Union and Progress

EL: Entente Libérale

IMRO: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization

MP: Member of the Parliament

OFC: Ottoman Freedom Society

SR: Socialists-Revolutionaries

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The year 2008 was the 100th year anniversary of the Revolution of 1908. Consequently, a widespread interest about the "Young Turk" period grew. Throughout the year, seminars were held, documentaries were made and many written works on the subject were published.

Actually, the anniversary was not the only cause of this growing interest. In fact, some explanations on the subject of "Unionists" are one of the clearest examples of the fact that changing political conjunctures have the ability to determine inquiries and views about certain subjects of history. In today's Turkey, like many of its predecessors, the ruling party's hegemonic discourse includes a populist explanation which makes a distinction between "people" and "elites". However, one feature of this discourse distinguishes it from previous ones: Its populist distinction does not refer to a recent antagonism only. Actually, the distinction points to a historical background, which presents itself as the main antagonism of Turkey's modern history.

Possibly because of this duality of motivations, today interestingly there seems to be a direct relation between the tendency to be interested in the Young Turk period and the inclination to point to its negative significance. For many authorities in the academy or in the media "Second Constitutional" period is either an insignificant event or the cause of many evils that shaped the ongoing antagonisms in Turkey.

The strongest faction of the period that took part in or held the government for the longest time, CUP, has a central place for this discourse. Today for some who

have "dissident but hegemonic" (Yalman 2002: 23) views, the period is almost identified with the Committee. For these people, Unionism refers to an agency, or even a spirit that had been formed during the reign of Abdülhamid II and established an absolute control over the political life of the Empire after 1908, as if various agencies did not exist. This spirit is so powerful that it passed to Kemalists and stayed in power until recently. Different actions of Unionists -including coups, assassins, and massacres- make these authorities argue that the Second Constitutional Period had no revolutionary feature. For example, for Murat Belge, a revolution is an "honourable action" (Akşit and Atsız 2008:10), and for Ayşe Hür, Kansu's claims about the revolutionary feature of 1908 resemble the views of official history because of the *"derin devlet"* heritage of the period (2005).

Motivated by political views, one can evaluate revolutions as honourable actions. Self satisfactory arguments always call attention and attract us, yet in time they die simply as old "consumption items" like Mayo's doctrine or pro-Moscow Marxists (Rule 1997: 184-186). Such satisfactory arguments should be replaced for the sake of progress in social sciences. The agents of the period can also be the agents for many dishonourable actions. Yet this does not mean that the transformation that they brought on was not a bourgeois revolution according to contemporary views on the subject.

The hegemonic discourse is not absolute. Of course, not all works on the subject are under the impact of the political conjuncture. In fact, many contributions which clarified countless topics of the period were made. However, still, a contribution to a core subject has not been made: although several arguments were made about the classfication of the Revolution of 1908 as a collective action, almost no work focus on the Revolution of 1908 as a starting point of a revolutionary sequence that continued for years.

Such a focus is the aim of this thesis, together with the search for the existence of a bourgeois character in the sequence. Rather than addressing a single point of change and focusing on a limited era to test the existence of a bourgeois revolution in Turkey, in this thesis, the transition from Ottoman Empire to Turkey will be evaluated as a single revolutionary sequence, a "Young Turk Revolution" that includes several revolutionary situations and outcomes between 1908 and 1922. To look for the existence of a bourgeois revolution in Turkish history, in this thesis, I

will try to test the changes in the entire sequence. The attempt in this thesis will include four parts.

Firstly, I will try to present arguments of various approaches that belong to the historiography of the Young Turk Revolution. These arguments will be grouped in two major views. First one will be the continuity paradigm which underlines few changes before and after the Revolution of 1908. The paradigm includes two approaches, namely the modernization approach and World-system approach. Second view will be the revolutionary paradigm that has two views, namely incomplete bourgeois revolution and full bourgeois revolution.

Second, I will try to summarize some contemporary arguments concerning revolutions and bourgeois revolutions in particular. These arguments will consist of the revisionist challenge to the orthodox Marxist historiography on French Revolution and the Marxist responses. These responses will include Charles Tilly's conceptualizations about revolutions first. Then, Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn's critique of German historiography, which proposes alternative criteria for bourgeois revolution concept, will be presented. Colin Mooers's bourgeois revolutions analysis that has important contributions to changing state strucures during bourgeois revolutions will follow Blackbourn and Eley. For the same subject, Gerstenberger's views which consider the process as a transformation from personal to impersonal power will also took their part. Finally, evolution of Christopher Hill's arguments about the concept bourgeois revolution will be presented as an example to the possibility of change without shifting paradigms.

Third part will be the attempt of summarizing the events that occurred before and during the revolutionary sequence by using the vocabulary of the contemporary views. In this part, firstly I will try to focus on Hamidian regime and will propose that it was a restoration of the personal rule that changed the impersonalization process accelerated with Tanzimat era. Then, I will summarize the formation of the revolutionary coalition which shaped the revolutionary situation of July 1908. Following the revolts prior to the Revolution of 1908, I will focus on the execution of the Revolution of 1908. Later, the period between two revolutionary situations (July 1908 and April 1909) will be discussed. The discussion of the revolutionary situation will be followed by a long summary of the political clashes until the consolidation of Unionist power in 1913. Then, the reforms and revolutionary

situations occurred during the war years of the Young Turk Revolution will be summarized. The last part of this chapter will be a summary of the events occurred during the final revolutionary situation between 1919 and 1922.

Finally, I will try to point some criteria from which the historiography of the Young Turk Revolution has to be liberated from. These criteria will be grouped in three. First group will be the group of "must conditions" that include irreconcilabilty of demands before revolutions, irreconcilability between members of the polity and challengers, sudden changes in power, revolutionary consciousness in below and the establishment of liberal democracy. Second group will be the intersection group between must and must not conditions, which focus on the problem of agency: of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy. Third and final group of criteria will be the must not conditions, which include the mission state preservation and instrumentalism of collective actions.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEBATES ON THE REVOLUTION OF 1908 IN TURKEY

2.1. Continuity Paradigm:

2.1.1. Modernization Approach:

As Kansu reveals and cirticizes, modernizationist way of thought in Turkey has a common feature that it tends to test the year 1923 as a potential breakpoint of Turkish history (2002: 10-16). Although modernization approach's arguments disagree about the existence of such a break for 1923, it can be said that there is an agreement on the Revolution of 1908's not signifying a break: Modernization approach reveals and underlines continuity before and after 1908. Examples to this shared idea can be given from both 1923ist sides. While Karpat points an Ottoman heritage kept in the Republican era (2006: 69); Timur, by presenting a speech of Mustafa Kemal, suggests that nothing had changed after the fall of Abdülhamid II (2001: 305). This approach's favourers use the concept "revolution" to refer to the event. However, this does not mean that they call this event as a revolution. They use the concept only because of the fact that "the Revolution of 1908" became an indicator concept in the world. For instance, for Hanioğlu, the Revolution of 1908 was a "so called revolution" (Hanioğlu 2008: 148). Mostly, the scholars of the approach prefer to call the period after July 1908 as "Second Constitutional Period".

In line with the aims of its emergence in the United States, people who adopt modernization approach prefer to define revolutionary moments as long eras of change rather than revolutions. The Ottoman-Turkish history is not an exception to the fact. For example, Lewis calls the entire era as a long transition period, a

revolution continued for 200 years (2002: 649-650). Or particularly for the Revolution of 1908, Hanioğlu states that Young Turks resembled Tanzimat Statism (2008: 202).

It can be demonstrated that for modernization approach, focusing on events' agents and identifying these agents' social positions are critical test tools that determine the revolutionary feature of a clash. Below, modernization approach's arguments on the three features of the agents of the Revolution of 1908 are to be summarized. They are namely their social positions, their motivations/aims and the relation between their discourses and policies.

Thinkers that focus on Turkey through modernization perspective agree on the social position of the agents of the revolution. Simply, they are called as élites, or particularly state élites. Lewis points four "special" groups within these elites: officers, bureaucrats, lawyers and journalists (2002: 623). For Lewis, although in Turkey class based antagonisms emerged during transition; a class conflict way of look cannot describe this history. One must focus on governing élite in order to understand the process (2002: 656). Parallel to Lewis, Hanioğlu underlines that "The prominent actors of the Young Turk movement were members of the Ottoman intellectual, bureaucratic, and military élites". These persons' propositions and policies were also understandable only for the same élite (2001: 5).

Modernization approach also presents the distance between these élites and masses to reveal that the Revolution of 1908 was not a popular movement. Simply, "The Young Turk movement was not a popular movement; the ideas promoted by the Young Turks penetrated no deeper than the élite" (Hanioğlu 2001: 6). Hanioğlu's agreement is also in line with his observations on the events before and after the declaration of constitutionalism. For instance, people in Anatolia were so irrelevant to the struggle in Macedonia that they learned all the events after the declaration of the Sultan (Hanioğlu 2008: 149). The relationship between the movement and masses is also explained by Mardin, yet in a different way. Mardin notes that there was a trust to people within the Young Turk movement at the beginning of the movement. However, this trust disappeared after seeing no reflection from the masses (1992: 302-303).

Indicating that the revolution's agents were élites does not mean that modernization approach denies the existence of an antagonism during the period.

For example, Mardin observes that rather than a class struggle, Young Turk movement points to a struggle between bureaucrats themselves (1992: 307). He calls two sides as traditional and new élites (1992: 118). Hanioğlu also stresses a clash between old and new élites (2001: 312). In fact, the division within bureaucracy also has a social basis. Particularly Mardin makes important contributions to the observation of them. First of all, he observes that leaders of Young Turks had lower class origins (2006b: 39). The antagonism of lower and higher classes could be seen in the military academies, where *paşazade* students were in separate classes. These *paşazade* officers were also to be more quickly promoted than sons of ordinary people: a rule to be abolished with 1908 (Mardin 1992: 69). There was also a clash between provincial students and students from Istanbul (Mardin 1992: 76; 2006a: 114, 115). In fact, Mardin counts four opposition groups to the Hamidian regime, which are New Ottomans, Sublime Porte, Military and Ulema. The strategy of Abdülhamid II was to keep these four groups disconnected (1992: 67).

Motives and aims of Young Turks are common for the defenders of this approach: Preservation, or saving the state. Mardin states that he owes the idea of preservation of the state to Tunaya (1999: 14). For Mardin, saving the state is an old and permanent problem that existed for several generations, even before Young Turks and Young Ottomans: Tanzimat bureaucrats felt the same necessity (Mardin 1992: 209; 2006b: 182). So, for ages, modernization's agents had an instrumental reason: All efforts and ideas were for the sake of a stronger state. For instance, Mardin mentions that all intellectual references of Young Turks were basic and instrumental for state preservation (2006b: 183). Hanioğlu is another authority who observes istrumentalism of the agents. For him, demand for a constitution was only for the sake of state preservation (2001: 313). Hamidian regime was unable to save the state, so opposition to Abdülhamid II was also for preservation. The opposition to Hamidian regime was also due to the same motivation. Opposition to the regime was a common factor that united several views for Hanioğlu (1992: 646; 2008: 144). CUP was an umbrella organization for opposition (Hanioğlu 2008: 145).

The link between agents' discourse and policies was evaluated differently by modernization approach's theoreticians. For instance, on one hand, the primacy of saving the state also had a determining role for Hanioğlu. He evaluates the differences between the ideals and followed policies of Young Turks according to

this instrumentlism (2001: 316). Mardin also points the instrumentalism of liberty idea for state preservation (1992: 301). However, Mardin himself notes his evolved view that political thoughts themselves had the potential to shape policies (1992: 7, 8).

Generally, defenders of modernization view points out few and limited changes after the July 1908 Revolution. For example, although he finds Mannheim's perspective unfitting fot Turkish case, Mardin does not hesistate to call Young Turks bureacratic conservative (Mardin 1992: 304, 306). Hanioğlu even calls the Revolution of 1908 as a restoration:

> The 1908 Revolution was unprecedented in three respects. For one, its heroes were conservatives, who viewed their essential task as conservation and survival. Somewhat hastily labeled "liberals" by sanguine Europeans, the CUP leaders viewed themselves primarily as saviors of the empire. Second, its aim was accordingly not destruction but restoration. Unlike the French revolutionaries of 1789, the CUP leaders did not destroy an *ancien régime* in order to build a new one in its stead; unlike the Persian revolutionaries of 1905–1906, they did not replace an absolutist monarch with a novel constitutional regime; nor could they even take credit for inaugurating a brand new consultative body, such as the Russian Gosudarstvennaia Duma that emerged from the 1905 Revolution. Formally, the conservative leaders of the CUP brought about a restoration of the constitutional sultanate established in 1876 and subsequently suspended in practice. Third, the Young Turk Revolution resulted in the gradual emergence of a radically new type of regime that was to become frighteningly familiar in the twentieth century: one-party rule. The CUP retained the sultan, but reduced his stature. It reintroduced the parliament, but kept it under tight control. In the palace, in the bureaucracy, and within the military, it was the Committee that, working from behind the scenes through the existing institutions of government, came to pull the levers of imperial power (2008: 150).

2.1.2. World-system Approach:

World-system pardigm focuses on Turkish history mostly through Wallerstein's World-system perspective. Its holistic view evaluates stages of Turkish history according to global economic and political relations. As Turkey's role and conjuncture is determined globally, defining a major break point in the transformation period is difficult. So roughly, it can be argued that non Kemalist defenders of World-system approach argue that there is continuity in Ottoman and Turkish histories. Below, three points of World-system perspective regarding the

Revolution of 1908 is to be summarized in the light of the writings of Keyder and Pamuk on subjects regarding the mode of production in the background of the revolution, class relations during the revolution, and global dimension of the revolution, which can be summarized as the attempt of semiperipherialization.

It can be defended that World-system approach's views for the Ottoman heritage of the revolutionary era shapes its arguments about the revolutionary era, as the revolution's agents were coming from the Ottoman Ancien Régime. About this heritage, although he has criticisms for the pecularity idea, Keyder, as a defender of World-system paradigm accepts many features that İnalcık argues. Basically, the history of Ottoman Empire is a story of building a centralized efective state apparatus which was to weaken and lead to the rise of centrifugal elements. However, despite the similarities, there are two main differences between Keyder's and pecularity paradigm's views. First, while pecularity approach points both external factors and internal impacts of deterioration, Keyder prefers to focus on external factors more, particularly the impact of foreign trade and rise of new powers to be the core states. And second, although Keyder points that "The Ottoman Empire was not feudal", and argues that "the nature of the state, its role in the determination of the class structure, in social reproduction and in that class structure itself was fundamentally different from the precapitalist order we have come to know as European feudalism" (1987: 7) -a close point to İnalcık's- his conception of the Empire is Marxian Asian Mode of Production, the mode of production of a strong state apparatus and independent peasantry production (2009: 201).

The mode of production arguments of World-system approach and its arguments about state class relations during the era is close to the views of modernization school. According to this view, a revolutionary bourgeoisie did not exist in the Empire before the revolution. In fact, there were significant non Muslim bourgeois elements, yet they were mostly merchants. Different from the view of Wallerstein, who gives a revolutionary role to merchant bourgeoisie, Keyder notes that a merchant bourgeoisie cannot be a revolutionary force. This bourgeoisie can assist to the rise of capitalist relations only if mode of production has begun to change (2009: 80). If not, merchant capitalists are for the preservation of old order as long as value transfers go on between core and periphery (Keyder 2009: 94). The only significant bourgeoisie in the Empire was this kind of a non Muslim comprador

bourgeoisie. There existed very insignificant manufacturing bourgeoisie that seek for a national economy (Keyder 1987: 54). In below, social structure was not diversified too. There was an insignificant proletarianization. Mostly the Empire had independent small peasant producers (Pamuk 1999: 291). Extraction of surplus from peasantry through offical seats of the state lost its popularity well before the revolution (Pamuk 1999: 291).

In such a situation, bureaucracy appears as the only alternative reformist strata in the period. Even all intellectuals were in this group for Keyder (1987: 50). However, bureaucracy's exceptional situation does not mean that it is praised by World-system approach. There are various reasons for this. First, bureaucracy itself is divided into two groups. Keyder defines them as reformist bureaucracy and conservative flank in power (1987: 53). Secondly, although he calls one side reformist, he underlines this side's conservative features too. Most importantly, bureaucracy wished to save the traditional order in which it has a priveleged status. Even the famous formulation "saving the state" was "the symbolic formula for safeguarding the traditional order with the privileged status of the bureaucracy" (Keyder 1987: 54). Third, bureaucracy's this line had no clear program and was unready to run the state (Keyder 1987: 59).

With such features of bureaucracy, the relation between bureaucracy and bourgeoisie has two dimensions, namely the conflict between non Muslim bourgeoisie and bureaucracy; and the attempts of bureaucracy to create a new Muslim bourgeoisie.

For Keyder,

> …there were two reasons establishing the material basis for a conflict between the bureaucracy and the new intermediary bourgeoisie. First, the merchant class was the physical agent of capitalist integration, threatening to change the very principles of the traditional system which was guarded and defended by state functionaries. It did not require great foresight to comprehend the implications of the replacement of a bureaucratic system by market rationality for the traditional role of the bureaucracy. Secondly, even if the bureaucracy were willing to transform its traditional role, through transforming the whole social system during this process, it would have to preserve a degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the social groups making up the traditional order. In other words it would have to maintain its alliances in order to retain the ability to undertake the transformation and restructuring of the social order (1987: 34).

There were also other sources of conflict between the two groups for Keyder, like the conflict for land ownership (1987: 66). For him, the two groups were also divided almost totally by ethnic groups. This also allowed them to present their struggle as an ethnic one, rather than a class one. Simply, "the struggle between the traditional ruling class and the challenging bourgeoisie was ideologically displaced to the realm of ethnic and religious conflict" (Keyder 1987: 66). The two parties' clash also represent two thoughts' struggle for the economic policies. In fact, for Pamuk, both defenders of a Listian political economy and defenders of a liberal economy were agreeing on leaving old economic policies after the revolution (2009: 119). But simply, for Keyder, bureaucratic revolution was also a victory of state intervention over market (1987: 64).

State intervention also regards the second dimension of the relations between bureaucracy and bourgeoisie. Keyder notes that there were very limited Muslim merchants in number in the era (1987: 33). After coming to power, Young Turks attempted to create a "surrogate bourgeoisie" by using state power (1987: 54). However, political control over the economy was not an easy work. So, Young Turks waited for an opportunity to hold control. That opportunity came with war (1987: 63). Employment of the policy to create a new loyal national bourgeoise was through increasing the profitability of Muslim business. Despite of the attempts, the aims were not fulfilled completely, as Kemalist successors of Young Turks would still look for a "missing bourgeoisie" after the war (Keyder 1987: 71).

Keyder has important views that consider the relations between international dimension and Young Turk administration. For Keyder, Young Turk era witnessed an attempt of Turkey to promote to a semi periphery country (2009: 180). With a functionalist way of look, Keyder explains the existence of semi periphery states according to the needs of core states. As core states are defined with their international expoitation (2009: 156), core states need two kinds of assistances from outside: First, there must be a police force to discipline periphery states. Semi periphery states' coercive forces perform this task (2009: 158). Secondly, gains of semi periphery states, like the gains of their bourgeoisies, encourages periphery states' bourgeoisies to stay in the system: the permanent hope of promotion (2009: 158). Keyder notes that there are two ways of promotion: A periphery state can be invited to promotion by core states, or in a conjuncture of crisis, a periphery state

may revolt against the system to be a semi periphery state (2009: 159). For both cases a support from local dominant classes to their periphery state is needed (Keyder 2009: 163), yet as he thinks that incorporation into world economy determines internal class structure of states, one can study the promotion process even without looking at internal cases (Keyder 2009: 162, 163). The Young Turk attempt was determined by a global factor too. The period was an era of struggle between old imperialism of Britain and France and new imperialism of German Empire. On one hand, old imperialism institutionalized and established its order with Public Debts Administration, so it did not need an instrumental semi periphery organization in the area. But on the other hand, new imperialist German Empire lacked such an institution, and it was in need of a breakthrough. German Empire needed a semi periphery state for its own order's institutionalization, and Ottoman Empire was a good alternative state for the task (Keyder 2009: 181). This forced German Empire to prevent Ottoman Empire's declaration of bankruptcy like the one in 1875 (Keyder 2009: 181). All those facts makes Keyder argue that Ottoman Empire's alliance with German Empire was not discretionary. It was, on one hand, a necessity, as the economy was tied to German Empire; and on the other (Keyder 2009: 181), a chance, or attempt to promote to a semi periphery state, as old imperialists do not need Ottoman Empire and a semiperiphery states tool being for two different core blocks was impossible (Keyder 2009: 182). All those struggles have failed as the war was lost by the Central Powers (Keyder 2009: 183).

Roughly, World-system perspective in Turkey is affected by views of Wallerstein, yet there are also differences, particularly about the role of merchant bourgeoisie. It seems that possibly because of the dominance of economical perspective, the approach borrows many views of particularism and modernization theories, yet it reshapes them with a Marxian tone. Simply its look to the era of the Revolution of 1908 underlines a continuity, although there are attempts to create a national bourgeoise and to promote country to a semi peripherial status. The global impact of war is obvious, nevertheless, bureaucracy's conservative role inside is another important determinant of continuity for World-system perspective. A long citation from a comparison in the work of Keyder may summarize his way of thinking:

It was the French Revolution which broke the continuity of the state apparatus and eventually allowed for the direct political representation of the capitalist class. While consolidating the status of the peasantry, the revolution replaced the bureaucracy of the old regime with state functionaries more or less given to serving capitalist interests.

Without a revolutionary break the Young Turk attempt at social change from above could only represent continuity in the state's role. Thus the political apparatus would not be totally responsive to capitalist needs until the bureaucracy was conquered from within by the interests it sought to nurture and keep under its tutelage… (Keyder 1987: 76).

2.2. Revolutionary Paradigm:

Different from members of the continuity paradigm, a number of authorities argue that the Revolution of 1908 has a greater significance. Roughly, these authotorities underline a the period's decisive role that changed Turkey's political conjuncture. For these authorities, beyond its indicative usage, the concept "revolution" can be used with its real meaning for July 1908. However, they do not have an agreement on the completeness of this revolution.

2.2.1. Incomplete Revolution:

Unlike modernization and World-system perspectives, a strong approach also argues that what happened after July 1908 was a bourgeois revolution, but this revolution had deficiencies. Reasons of deficiencies are in a relation, mostly including lack of democracy, non existence of a bourgeoisie, and cooperation with landowning classes. Because of these facts, the approach prefers to divide revolutions into two eras, namely Unionist and Kemalist Revolutions. However, second revolution's success to fulfill requirements of a successful revolution is also doubtful for this approach. Below, two important authorities in this line are to be presented, namely, Sungur Savran and Feroz Ahmad.

Sungur Savran is an important represener of the view that revolutionary sequence -although he does not use the word sequence and divides revolution into two- in Turkey is an incomplete bourgeois revolution. He prefers to perform an analysis of Turkish bourgeois revolution through a comparative perspective. His central points are that bourgeois revolutions occur in an era of transition from one

mode of production to another (1985: 179). The common point of all bourgeois revolutions is the destruction of the precapitalist social formation's barriers against capitalist development (1985: 180). Despite the simplicity of the common point, Savran counts three missions which define the completeness of bourgeois revolutions, which can be summarized as:

1. Founding bourgeois democracy by destruction of the precapitalist despotic state apparatus;

2. Establishing bourgeois proprietorship and free peasantry by breaking precapitalist relations in agriculture;

3. Founding a nation state (1985: 180).

With these criteria, Savran presents a brief comparison of some major bourgeois revolutions in the world. He demonstrates that there are two phases of bourgeois revolutions, whose turning point is the revolutionary wave of 1848 (1985: 180). First type is called bourgeois democratic revolutions which include English, French and American Revolutions. The distinctive feature of bourgeois democratic revolutions seems to be mobilization of masses (1985: 181). The second type, revolution from above, is more deeply discussed by Savran. Many facts are given as reasons to the shift from one revolution type to another. The most important determinant (1985: 183) is the threat from below: emergence of proletariat and the risks of mobilization of masses experienced during 1848 leads to the fact. This led to the end of bourgeoisie's democratic feature (1985: 184). A second determinant of revolution from above is the relativly early commercialization of agriculture in lately developed capitalism. This leads to an embourgeoisement of big landowners and formation of alliances between them and bourgeoisie, which is an obstacle to the solution of land problem (1985: 184, 185). Imperialism is also counted as another effect. It diminishes revolutionary potential as by creating a comprador bourgeoisie (1985: 185). For Savran, a final effect, Gramscian concept historical climate can also be counted as a cause of the emergence of revolutions from above (1985: 185). Holy Alliance after Vienna Congress or October Revolution are counted as important conjunctures that defined political strategies of classes (1985: 185, 186).

With these explanations, Savran also comments on the Turkish experience. For him, there are two revolutions in Turkish history, namely the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and Kemalist Revolution of 1919-1923 (2004: 16). For both

revolutions, Savran rejects political thoughts' impact on the revolutionaries. Rather than the ideas, changes in Ottoman society, like trade agreements, emergence and development of private property in land, and birth of a commercial bourgeoisie led to the revolutionary sequence (2004: 16). He is also against the determination of "saving the state" idea. On the contrary, he argues that Kemalist Revolution demolished the state although its agents claimed that they want to protect it (1985: 202).

Young Turk Revolution of 1908 is counted as the first bourgeois revolution. However, it has a secondary importance for Savran, because it has a narrow perspective and limited conditions. These perspectives, conditions and successes were limited in comparison with 1919-1923 (1985: 200). So he focuses mainly on the Kemalist Revolution. This revolution is also a bourgeois revolution for him, but it is an undemocratic revolution without mass involvement. The undemocratic features of Kemalist Revolution make Savran call it a "bourgeois revolution with an incomplete qualification" (1985: 193). After pages, Savran mentions that the reasons of incompleteness are threefold, which reminds one the three features counted by him.

First of all, he recounts the democracy problem that he links before. Savran calls establishment of democracy as a key mission for bourgeois revolutions. The Grand National Assembly seems to be a formel system unable to fit his first criterion (1985: 207). Secondly, Kemalist Revolution had a limited influence on the country that kept peasantry away from the impacts of revolution (1985: 207, 208). This was a result of the third reason, the compromise between the old and new dominant classes (1985: 208). In the end, an undemocratic bourgeois state appeared for him (2004: 20).

Contrary to Kansu's generalization of Savran's views and the revolution from above model of Trimberger -and also against his linkage of revolution from above to World-system theories (Kansu 2002: 22), Savran underlines that his view of revolution from above is different than the model of Çağlar Keyder and Trimberger. He rejects the perspective from the relative position -and autonomy- of bureaucracy against classes. Rather than, his revolution from above depends on a class alliance that inlcudes a bourgeoisie (1985: 210, 211).

From his works, it can be argued that, like Sungur Savran, Feroz Ahmad also finds 1923 as a more important turning point than 1908. Yet this does not mean that Ahmad does not have any interest in the Revolution of 1908. In fact, Ahmad focuses particularly on the Revolution of 1908 and develops arguments on the subject. However, these arguments are confusing, possibly because of the fact that as a non Marxist, he employs Marxist views partially on his analysis.

For the arguments that see revolutions as products of class relations, one point underlined by Ahmad has an importance, as it concerns the relation between the Revolution of 1908 and civilian military bureaucracy. It seems that Feroz Ahmad is against the assertion that civilian bureaucracy has a crucial role during the revolution. Insistently, he argues that there was not even "a single experienced bureaucrat" in the CUP, which is a distinguishing fact of it from Young Ottomans, who were composed of bureaucrats (2007: 34, 35). The idea is also supported by the changes in the aftermath of revolution: reforms in the buraucracy. Ahmad notes that by May 1910 eighty percent of bureaucracy was reformed (2007: 42).

Military bureaucracy's role in CUP and revolution was also minimum for Ahmad. For him military's role was secondary until April 1909 (2007: 67). Army appears as a new force after the counterrevolutionary challenge (2007: 76-80). Ahmad mentions that even that time, it was not the low ranking officers, but the great pashas that took their part in the interventions. To support his argument, he attracts attention to the fact that famous low ranking officers, even Enver, as the hero of revolution were kept out of Istanbul. Enver's coming to Istanbul was as late as December 1912, days before 1913 coup (2007: 198).

Bureaucracy's minimum role in CUP does not mean that it stayed as a passive actor during the revolutionary sequence for Ahmad. It is seen that he makes a clasification of active subjects of the era: Yıldız Palace (central bureaucracy which were personally controlled by the Sultan), Sublime Porte (professional bureaucracy which seems to be alienated from the Sultan) and CUP (2007: 36, 95). Ahmad stresses that in fact thanks to its alliance with CUP, it was the Sublime Porte which came to power after the revolution at first (2007: 39). The rationale of the alliance was mutual benefits (2007: 46). The inexperience of CUP -which supports the idea that CUP was not composed of bureaucrats- made it leave the state administration to Sublime Porte's hands. However, in time, this alliance would be broken (2007: 50,

51). Amendments made by the parliament weakened Palace and Porte (Ahmad 2007: 52), making them came close to each other in time.

Ahmad also makes directly relevant arguments considering the concept of bourgeois revolution. Very roughly it can be said that for Ahmad, the Revolution of 1908 was not a revolution, but it successfully lead to a capitalization. Ahmad not only calls the Revolution of 1908 as a coup, but also he states that members of CUP were conservative people who only demanded the return of 1876 Constitution in order to accomplish their main taks, which was to save the country (2007: 33). While pointing that the Revolution of 1908 was not a product of a mass movement, Ahmad counts stratas whose existences are not in line with the argument that bureaucrats have a minimum role: Unionists were composed of "teachers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, minor officials, junior officials, and of the depressed artisans and merchants of the towns (Ahmad 2008: 5). Strong enough classes that can push for a revolution were absent in the Empire. So-called rising classes were too conservative (Ahmad 2008: 23, 25). Small town gentry *(eşraf)*, artisans *(esnaf)* and small merchants *(tüccar)*, landlords, and landowning peasantry would later join the party thanks to its policies (Ahmad 2008: 42, 43). Yet this does not mean that CUP transformed society only through attracting these clases. Also, the party itself takes the upper hand. Party bureaucrats -ones emerged after the revolution- and the old regime's power holders also took their part in embourgeoisement process (Ahmad 2008: 44, 52, 54). Landowners' joining to the process also makes Ahmad to strengthen his argument that 1908 was not a complete revolution. He argues that CUP had no intention to change the status quo in the countryside (2008: 65). For instance, although there was a shortage of labour, state encouraged to have farms collected in certain hands (2008: 56, 57), encouraged to transform landowner into capitalists (2008: 77-80). Also they never thought about cooperating with peasantry, which was the "classical path of the bourgeois revolution, of which the French Revolution was the archetype" (2008: 238, 239). Ahmad thinks that these policies went on in Kemalist era (2008: 87, 254). This was a contradictory development for Ahmad: On one hand, instead of carrying out a bourgeois revolution, they compromised with landlords, but thanks to this compromise, any reforms in the state structure could be made (2008: 69). Ahmad calls these transformations as success, a "reneissance" (2008: 249) because they were carried in a very short and hard time

(2008: 58). Although Ahmad calls Unionists as conservative persons -as shown above- attempts were found radical by him (2008: 233).

Ahmad's arguments about the relation between revolution and democracy are also making him imply that revolution was not indeed a "classical" revolution. The revolution was "first and almost a political movement whose aim was to rescue the Empire from the old order and liberate it from the control of the European powers" (Ahmad 2008: 29). This was also true for Kemalists. Ahmad argues that Kemalists were also aware of the fact that "political democracy had been an essential part of the bourgeois revolution in Europe and that the process would have to be created in Turkey (2008: 179). But Kemalists also "continued to pursue the Unionist policy of carrying out a bourgeoisie revolution by proxy in the more conducive climate of nationhood. That was only natural while the bougeoisie remained weak and underdeveloped" (2008: 13, 14). This statement can make one conclude that although Ahmad does not call 1908 not as a revolution, the future attempts were revolutionary, but with deficiencies. However these deficiencies were due to the class composition of Turkey. "Democratic" bourgeoisie's non existence -before 1914- and future weakness -after it was created by the "vanguards"- lead to such a fact, a bourgeois revolution by proxy.

2.2.2. Complete Revolution:

Within the revolutionary paradigm, there is also an approach arguing that Revolution of 1908 is the main break point of Turkish history. The main defender and pioneer authority of the idea that Turkey witnessed a bourgeois revolution is Aykut Kansu. Here, Kansu's analysis of the revolutionary sequence between 1908 and 1913 is to be summarized.

Kansu's famous work, "The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey begins with his powerful criticisms on Turkish historiography (2002: 1-35). He classifies arguments on the transition of Turkey according to two dimensions, namely schools -modernity and dependency, and continuity/break. In the four groups of thoughts divided by the two dimensions, the common feature pointed and criticized by Kansu is that all of them tests 1923 as a candidate of main break point in Turkish history.

Instead of 1923, Kansu suggests 1908 as a focus point to search for an answer "does Turkey have a bourgeois revolution". His answer is a clear "yes". Several points, including involvement of masses, minimum role of civilian/military bureaucracy, the political views and consciousness of revolutionaries, social composition of counterrevolutionaries and economic dimensions make Kansu having such an argument.

After criticizing the views that the Revolution of 1908 was a movement/reform/coup made from above, Kansu refutes these arguments from two ways. On one hand he shows the involvement of masses in the revolution, and on the other, he reveals the minimum role of "above", i.e. the civilian and military bureaucracy. Kansu is in agreement with Petrosian: That there are important links between 1906 and 1907 tax revolts and the revolution. In the rebellions, movements were beginning to be transferred into "rejections" to the existing order (2002: 60), and demands for the establishment of a representative parliament (2002: 94). Proves to the mass factor of revolutions are not limited with revolts. Celebrations in the aftermath of July are also important examples to the argument. The celebrations were not unconscious actions. On the contrary, for Kansu, people were totally aware of the situation and understood the revolution (2002: 153). He also criticizes the ones that claim that celebrations were not conscious for being not respectful to the people who struggled for their freedom for years (2002: 153).

Supporters of revolution were not limited by majority of people. Also, soldiers took their part in the revolution thanks to CUP's propaganda (2002: 97). Various examples of soldier revolts are given by Kansu, including actions in İskenderun, Üsküb, İzmir, Yemen, Bitlis, Erzurum, Trabzon, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Florina, İstanbul and Edirne (2002: 112, 113, 114). During the rebellion of soldiers, junior officers acted as a bridge between them and revolutionaries. Yet their role must not be exaggerated. Kansu argues that CUP members were not subject to officers (2002: 37). On the contrary, CUP was completely in control, and officers were taking orders from CUP headquarters (2002: 99). In fact, positive role of army was exaggerated for a long time. For Kansu,

> Unionists did not enjoy universal support even from among the low ranking officers, from the ranks of whom some Unionists like Enver Bey -later; Pasha- had managed to survive… Support for the Unionist cause among the upper echelons of the military bureaucracy, especially among the military pashas,

were minimal and almost always shaky; and that "support" was dependent upon circumstances. It was mostly the patriotism of these high ranking pashas that allied with them with the policies of the Committee of Union and Progress -so long as Unionist policies corresponded to the patriotic ideal these pashas held (2000: 13, 14).

It is known that Feroz Ahmad also accepts minimal role of officers, but he mentions that 31 March Incident ended this fact. However, for Kansu, 31 March Incident even could not symbolize beginning of army's involvements. He notes that there was a "lack of response" against counterrevolution, even "its sympathies lay with the monarchist coup (2000: 82). In fact, Kansu shows many conflicts between Unionists and army, even when Mahmud Şevket Pasha was in control (2000: 220, 221, 243, 271). Before these clashes, Unionists' changes in military bureaucracy may also be given as examples to the argument. Just after the revolution, new appointments and reforms in Ministry of War, First Army and Navy were made.

Bureaucracy's attitude towards the revolution was no different than that of the army for Kansu. Counter to the modernization and revolution from above models, he underlines that state apparatus was collapsed. In fact, bureaucracy has no positive role during revolution (2002: 155, 156). Kansu shows many changes and appointments in bureaucracy, especially in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2002: 203, 204). Even before 31 March, overthrow of Abdülhamid II was on the agenda (2002: 213, 214). In fact, Kansu is in line with Ahmad's distinction of Sublime Porte bureaucracy and Yıldız bureaucracy:

"… the Yıldız Palace, where Sultan Abdülhamid II maintained an extensive bureaucracy separate from state bureaucracy …" (2000: 3)

Political views of revolutionaries also reinforce Kansu's arguments. According to him, CUP was not an unconscious organization whose only aim was to overthrow Abdülhamid II. Nor they only demanded restoration of 1876. The revolution was a trial for fundamental changes (2000: 2). Its aim was to establish a liberal democratic regime in Turkey (2000: 3). CUP defended a universal citizenship against the old privileges (2002: 243). This was including taxation, education and conscription (2002: 223).

They aimed to end traditional privileges, and create a unified and centralized state apparatus. Even the 1913 coup does not change Kansu's mind. By counting various reasons -like war, dissolution of parliament, delays of elections, martial laws

and arrests, he argues that monarchists were carrying a plan of legally dissolution of revolutionary regime and restore old order -he argues that "Unionists had been left with little options" (2000: 20, 21). Kansu claims that "liberal regime was put on the right track with 1913 counter coup" by using contradictory concepts (2002: 368).

Kansu's views about the political standings of revolutionary Unionists also shape his arguments of "the counterrevolutionary forces". His ideas for this political group are also much more radical than the arguments of the scholars criticized by him. The old power holders of the old regime constitute the first group of counterrevolutionary forces. They include heads of privileged communities, old allies of the old regime in the periphery -who had special rights on taxation (2002: 217, 218; 2000: 9), civilian/military bureaucracy of the absolutist regime (2000: 3), and so called liberal sections. Contrary to the idea of Savran who defends that no force demanded restoration of old regime, one can deuce from Kansu's views that the counterrevolutionary forces wanted a restoration at all costs. This was not an easy task for old power holders, as new kinds of political struggle was hard to adopt for politicians "behind closed doors" (2000: 4, 5). So they adopted different strategies. The political discourse of decentralization "was nothing but an argument for the reconstitution, if not wholesale restoration of the political system along the lines of prerevolutionary practices" (2000: 7). Rights were another component of counterrevolutionary discourse for Kansu, stating that:

> … when the opposition talked of "rights", they had in mind not the "liberal" rights which an individual should rightfully enjoy in a democratic state but the rights communities would collectively enjoy against the modern and centralized state apparatus. Monarchists had in mind not personal liberties but communal priveleges… (2000: 10, 11).

First strategy of this block can be observed in 1909 Counterrevolution. For Kansu, it was "a well organized monarchist scheme to restore the absolutist regime… the coup was well-planned ahead, and the Palace as well as monarchist pashas and politicians were intimately involved with its execution." (2000: 118). Several proofs are offered by Kansu to support this argument, including Muhammedan Union's members' artificial religiosity and their personal relations with Sultan (2000: 69); organized movements and networks of religious *agents provocateurs* and ex officers in Istanbul and Anatolia (2000: 79, 119, 122), Abdülhamid II's quick pardon and taking military appointments on his hand (2000:

85, 87) and escapes from Istanbul after the failure of the attempt (2000: 112, 114). This counterrevolution shows the intolerance towards liberal democracy (2000: 14).

Failure of 31 March shifts strategies, which were to shift again and again: putting wedge in the party through establishment of New Faction (Hizb-i Cedid) (2000: 17); establishment of a new party Entente Libérale (2000: 17, 18) and "legal way to dissolve" parliament of 1912 with propaganda stating that elections were not fair (2000: 18, 19, 20, 21)

Unionists' economic policy is another fact that Kansu uses to develop his argument. In fact, economic structure's changes were as important as political ones according to him (2001: 369). Turkish economy quickly became capitalist, thanks to the several new laws, amendments and policies (2002: 370, 371). Laws against working class movements -like *Tatil-i Eşgal*- also show the relationship between new state and bourgeoisie for Kansu (2002: 372).

In sum, in Kansu's views, July 1908 was neither a reform nor a revolution from above (2000: 2, 3, 23). The revolutionaries were conscious, and their aim was to end the existing state form, not to save it (2002: 361, 363). It was a liberal democratic revolution, whose aspiration was the French one (2002: 358). Its universalistic values can even be used by the classes other than the bourgeoisie (2002: 359). Most importantly, it led to the emergence of equal citizenship in the counrty (2002: 360). For Kansu, it is the revolution's success in establishing liberal democratic orders which even forced interventionist army of the republic to return to parliamentarian democracy (2002: 369). However, all those were not easy tasks: The following five years of revolution was a "constant struggle between the proponents of the new regime working through, and depending upon, the newly created parliament, and the monarchist forces who aimed at restoring the *ancien régime* at all costs" (2000: 11). His story of revolution ends in 1913, so it can be deduced that Kansu's revolutionary sequence in Turkey ended in this year.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEMPORARY ARGUMENTS ON THE CONCEPT BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS & THEIR IMPLICATIONS

3.1. Recent Debates on Bourgeois Revolutions Missed by Turkish Historiography:

3.1.1. Bourgeois Revolution Debate: Marxisant Orthodoxy and Revisionist Challange:

Interestingly, the "official" school of the historiography of the French Revolution had been Marxism in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, the establishment of this "orthodoxy" by Soboul and his followers was indebted to nineteenth century liberals' observations and ideas about the revolution that shaped most features of Marxist historiography in general, including class struggle idea of Marx himself. For example, according to Hobsbawm; Guizot, Magnet and De Tocqueville not only saw French Revolution as a product of bourgeois agency, but also defended the necessity of both 1789 and 1793 moments in it (2009: 45). In addition to old liberals, there had been other contributors to Marxist historiography of French Revolution, like Georges Lefebvre, whose "history from below" was to be popularized later by British Marxist historians.

Jon Elster mentions that the theory of a communist revolution has two different dimensions for Marx: class struggle on one hand, which includes holding power by a conscious proletariat, and developed productive forces on the other (2004: 528-529). Elster finds the relation between the two as a problematic one (2004: 529). This problem, including same two dimensions -with a small replacement of proletariat with bourgeoisie- can be applied to the case of the bourgeois revolution theory of

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Marxism for the French Revolution. Moreover, roughly it can be argued that the two dimensions fit better for this case according to the old Marxist perspective, as rather than Marx's imagination for a possibility in the future, existence of French case points to a concrete relation. A long explanatory summary of orthodox perspective that shows the relation can be given from a revisionist challenger, Colin Lucas:

> In the eighteenth century, the French bourgeoisie had become aware of the increasing disparity between its wealth and social usefulness, on the one hand, and its social prestige and opportunities, on the other. Its way was blocked and recognition of its worh denied by a decaying class of parasitic, hereditarily privileged, noble landowners. Its vitality was further jeopardized by a monarchy not only committed to antiquated aristocratic values, but also incapable of giving the country that firm yet beningly restrained direction under which the initiative of men of business might flourish. The conflict of these elements produced the French Revolution. It was, furthermore, a deeper conflict between the progressive capitalst-oriented classes and the retrogade aristocratic classes. The French Revolution was won by the bourgeoisie, despite some interference from below, thus establishing the framework for the emergence of capitalist economy and a class society and – *eureka* – the modern world. This, in capsule form, was the interpretation of the revolutionary crisis of the late eighteenth century favoured by the great authorities of the first half of this century from Jaures to Soboul, each one giving to it a more or less explicitly Marxist tone according to his personal convictions (2006: 33-34)

Revisionism's challenges began to appear in mid sixties, with the works of Cobban, Furet and Richet, who were to be followed by Lucas. The critique targeted both two dimensions of Marxist orthodoxy which had explained the revolution with a developing class consciousness on one hand and with a change in productive forces on the other. These critiques can be summarized in four ways. First, revisionist historians proposed that "despite the model magnificently set forth by Marx in his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, it took place before the development of new 'productive forces'" (Richet 2005: 162). Second, the first claim was valid for the revolution's aftermath "there was no development of the productive forces prior to the end of the eighteenth century sufficient to bring about a violent substitution of new 'relations of production' for old ones" (Richet 2005: 163). Third, ideology of the revolution had been exaggerated for revisionism. For instance, democracy did not refer to "collections of rules and procedures destined to organize the working of the public authorities starting from the electoral consultation of the citizens" (Furet 2006: 65), or equality "was either rejected or more commonly understood as the opposite of privilege, that

is, in the sense of equality among property owners" (Richet 2005: 161). Fourth, the undevelopment of productive forces before revolution also means that a conscious bourgeoisie to hold power did not exist before revolution. The alternative explanation of the struggle during the revolution became a conflict within ruling elite for revisionism (Lewis 1993: 109-110). A difference between bourgeoisie and aristocracy was blurred for revisionist approach. Several observations were given as examples. Firstly, seigneural rights were not restricted to nobility (Lucas 2006: 35). Secondly, instead of trade, most of bourgeoisie were trying to enter nobility through office sells, which ended the difference between *noblesse d'épée* and *noblesse de robe* (Lucas 2006: 37-38, 40). Thirdly, the existence of a bourgeois class consciousness was doubtful (Lucas 2006: 39). In sum, revisionists heavily attacked on the concept bourgeois revolution with strong observations on the French case.

Just like its successful challenge, revisionism also faced with responses. Soboul himself was one of responders. For Soboul, one "goal" of revisionism was the denial of the reality of classes. There were no unified elite in France as they suggest. Moreover, for him, the revolution was no longer viewed as that of the "third estate", as Lefebvre revealed the peasant factor -Soboul's sans culottes can also be recalled here. Parallel to Hobsbawm, Soboul also points old liberal historians' arguments about the French Revolution: These persons were seeing the revolution as a neccesity. Moreover, Soboul underlines the non existence of an alternative model of revisionism (Soboul 2005: 165-171). Another responder was Colin Jones. Jones uses revisionists own weapon in his counter attack: he calls revisionism as a "New Revisionist Orthodoxy" (2006: 92) and defends that revolution had had a long term social origins:

> Given the development of commercial capitalism in eighteenth-century France, the spread of a consumer society, the development of professionalization within the service sector of the economy which this helped to spawn, and the appearance of associated forms of civic sociability, it no longer looks realistic to disparage the vitality nor indeed the ideological autonomy of the Old Regime bourgeoisie. Far from the social structure of Old Regime France being locked remorselessly into 'traditional', 'pre-capialist', 'archaic' forms, the progress of commercialization and the spread of a consumer society suggests a relative 'bourgeoisification' of Old Regime society (2006: 100).

Revisionism challenged Marxisant arguments of bourgeois revolution by revealing their historical observations. It seems that Soboul was right in arguing that

revisionism was not constructive. However, this rightness was partial. Yes, it can be said that one type of responses to revisionism was to restress the Marxism's old claims by using new observations. And although many claim revisionism's victory, as Gwynne Lewis shows, figures like Furet and Feher demanded a reconciliation between the two camps (1993: 112-113). Yet revisionism had indirect constructive effects. Its observations forced some Marxists to redefine the concept bourgeois revolution. Below, following contributions of these Marxists are to be briefly presented.

3.1.2. Reconstruction of Marxisant Paradigm:

3.1.2.1. Charles Tilly and the Concept of Revolution:

Tilly has countless contibutions to social sciences, and the subject of revolutions also gets its share from these. Revolutionary France has a peculiar place in his works, but Tilly's deductions from his empirical works are comparative and universal. So, although Tilly's observations have many things to say about the debate of bourgeois revolutions in France, here it is preferred to summarize his models on revolutions in general. For the problematic of this thesis, even the discussion of revolution, apart from its bourgeois character, is critical, so Tilly's models for revolutions in general offers a great deal.

In 1977, Tilly wrote his "From Mobilization to Revolution", providing analyses which are "doggedly anti-Durkheimian, resolutely pro-Marxian, but sometimes indulgent to Weber and sometimes reliant on Mill" (1977: 43). This pro Marxian way relaxed the expectations on class conflict, as it attached importance "to political processes and to interests which are not obviously and directly based on class conflict" (Tilly 1977: 43). So, revolutions are not purely class actions for Tilly.

In the work, Tilly presents two important models to be used in his definition of revolution. First one of them is his *polity model*. The polity model consists of various basic, but important elements. They are defined by him as follows:

One conception of Tilly is the *population of interest*. Population of interest can be defined by any means we please. Within that population there exists a *government*, the organization which controls the principal concentrated means of

coercion within the population. Another important concept of Tilly is ***contender***. Contender refers to any group which, during some specified period, applies pooled resources to influence the government. Contenders include ***challengers*** and ***members of the polity***. A ***member*** is any contender which has routine, low-cost access to resources controlled by the government and a ***challenger*** is any other contender outside the access. Two other concepts of the polity model are, ***polity***, which consists of the collective action of the members and the government, and ***coalition***, that points to a tendency of a set of contenders and/or governments to coordinate their collective action. (Tilly 1977: 45)

Table 1: The Polity Model of Tilly

Figure 3-1: The Polity Model
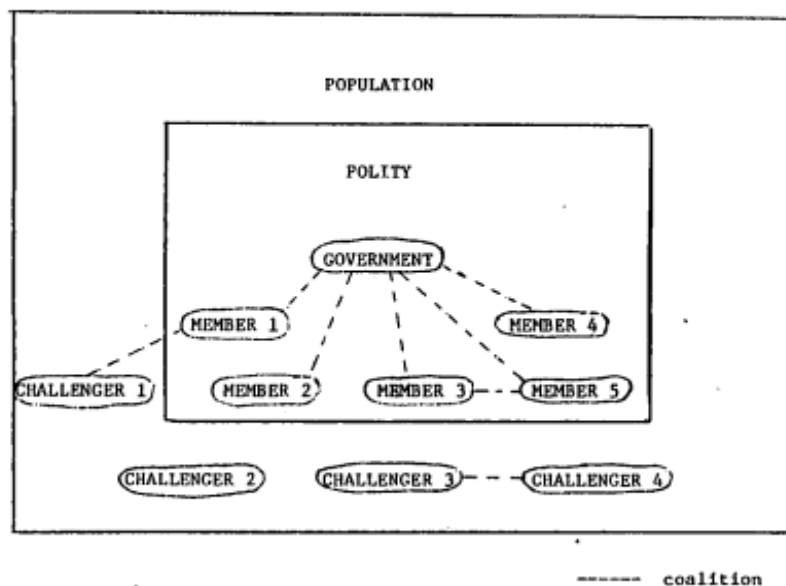
Source: **(Tilly1977: 46)**

Tilly's second important model is his ***mobilization model***. It points "behaviors of a single contender". There are several important characteristics of the contender: One important component of his mobilization model is ***interests,*** which mean the shared advantages or disadvantages likely to accrue to the population in question as a consequence of various possible interactions with other populations. Another

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component is the term ***organization,*** the extent of common identity and unifying structure among the individuals in the population; as a process, an increase in common identity and/or unifying structure (a decline in common identity and/or unifying structure can be called as ***disorganization***). One more concept of the model is ***mobilization***, which means the extent of resources under the collective control of the contender: as a process, an incrense in the resources or in the degree of collective control (decline in either one can be caled ***demobilization***) (Tilly 1977: 47).

Table 2: The Mobilization Model of Tilly
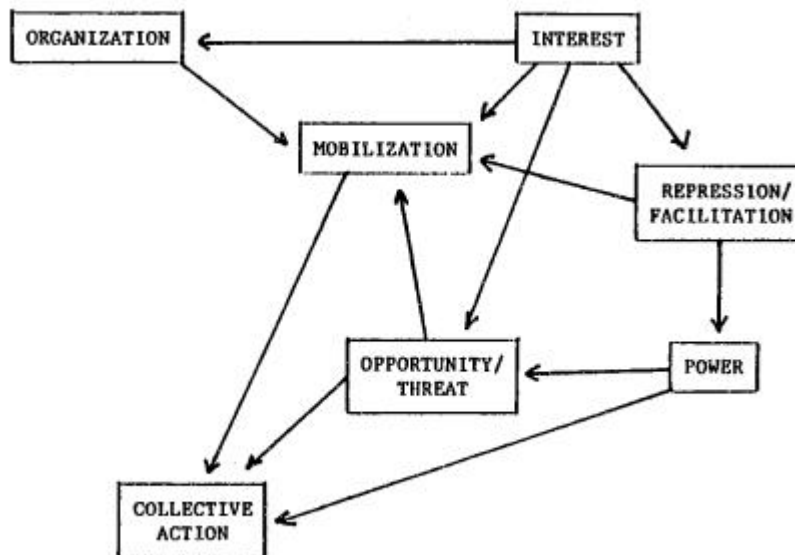
Source: **(Tilly 1977: 48)**

The extent of a contender's joint action in pursuit of common ends; as a process, the joint action itself is called a ***collective action***. Collective actions are shaped by the ***opportunity***, i.e. the relationship between the population's interests and the current state of the world around it. Opportunity has three elements:

First element is the ***power***, which refers to the extent to which the outcomes of the population's interactions with other populations favor its interests over those of the others; acquisition of power is an incrense in the favorability of such outcomes,

loss of power a decline in their favorabillty; ***political power*** refers to the outcomes of interactions with governments (Tilly 1977: 47).

Second element of opportunity is ***repression***, which can be defined as the costs of collective action to the contender resulting from interaction with other groups; as a process, any action by another group which raises the contender's cost of collective action; an action which lowers the contender's cost is a form of facilitation. Also, ***political repression and political facilitation*** refers to reserved terms for the relationships between contender(s) and government(s) (Tilly 1977: 47).

Another element is ***opportunity/threat***, the extent to which other groups, including governments, are either vulnernble to new claims which would, if successful, enhance the contender's realization of its interests or threntening to make claims which would, if successful, reduce the contender's realization of its interests (Tilly 1977: 47).

Later, Tilly developed his understanding of the relation between opportunity and threat, and suggested further concepts that are useful to define the attitude of contenders. One critical concept is ***political opportunity structure***, which refers to "features of regimes and institutions (e.g., splits in the ruling class) that facilitate or inhibit a political actor's collective action and to changes in those features" (Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 49). The political opportunity structure is also related with ***contentious repertoires***, which are "arrays of contentious performances that are currently known and available within some set of political actors" (Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 11). Repertoire of a contender can vary from place to place and time to time depending on several actors, including rituels or ***capacity*** of governments, which means "the extent to which governmental action affects the character and distribution of population, activity, and resources within the government's territory" (Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 16-17).

These concepts shape Tilly's understanding of revolution. A significant feature of this understanding is its rejecting some restrictions which are produced by orthodox views. Two requirements lead to such restrictions. Firstly, insisting on certain standards like being based on an oppressed class or having a comprehensive program of social transformation; and secondly, preferring to deal with cases in which power actually changes hands (1977: 151). For Tilly: "No concept of revolution can escape some such difficulties, because no conceptualizer can avoid

making some such choices. Nevertheless, we can clear a good deal of conceptual ground by means of a simple distinction between revolutionary situations and revolutionary outcomes" (1977: 152). Now, Tilly points to moments of change: revolutionary situations may appear, but they do not automatically result in revolutionary outcomes. Revolutions are moments which must be studied by avoiding teleology.

The concept of revolutionary situation is inspired by Trotsky's dual power. Trotsky points to a twofold sovereignity based on two different class power blocs. Tilly broadens Trotsky's understanding by eliminating his unnecessary restrictions: that each of the blocs has to consist of a single social class; and that there should be only two such blocs at any point in time (Tilly 1977: 153). So, here again, it can be observed that Tilly does not identify a revolution accoring to class agency only. Possibility of more than two powers' existence makes Tilly redefine the concept as multiple sovereignty (1977: 153), a term that can interchangably used with revolutionary situation. A multiple soverereignty has three causes:

1. the appearance of contenders, or coalitions of contenders, advancing exclusive alternative claims to the control over the government which is currently exerted by the members of the polity;

2. commitment to those claims by a significant segment of the subject population (especially when those commitments are not simply acknowledged in principle, but activated in the face of prohibitions or contrary directives from the government);

3. incapacity or unwillingness of the agents of the government to suppress the alternative coalition and/or the commitment to its claims (Tilly 1977: 160).

Several causes have the possibility to lead to the appearance of these three causes: "the rise and fall of centralized states, the expansion and contraction of national markets, the concentration and dispersion of control over property. Prosperity and depression, urbanization and ruralization, industrialization and deindustrialization, sanctification and secularization" (Tilly 1977: 166). Apart from these, war takes Tilly's attention. Defeat or demobilization -even after victories- shakes governments' control over coercive mechanisms, a situation favorable for revolutionary challenges. Also war increases states' demands from their citizens rapidly, another situation that has the potential of resistance (1977: 169). States

make different promises to get its demands from their citizens, making them also increase their expectations after war, forcing state to meet them later, which is not an easy task (2005: 19).

Revolutionary situations do not always lead to the second stage of revolutions. In fact, very few revolutionary situations lead to full scale revolutions. Sometimes multiple sovereignty ends with repression or it may lead to different transfers of power like coups, insurrections, civil wars. All transfers have revolutionary features, and they may even overlap. All of them belong to the same family (Tilly 2005: 16, 23 ve Tilly 1977: 158). In fact, during great revolutions, many revolutionary situations follow each other (Tilly 2005: 18).

Tilly counts emergence of a revolutionary coalition between challangers and members of the polity as a must condition (1977: 170). But the balance between them is shaky:

> The relationship is actually curvilinear: If no such coalition exists, that diminishes the chance that the revolutionary coalition will win -- that there will be any transfer of power at all. The existence of a coalition increases the likelihood of some transfer of power. But if the coalitions are extensive, the revolutionary settlement will tend to restore the previous status quo (Tilly1977: 170).

The variable sets of revoltionary situations are called revolutionary sequence by Tilly. An idealized revolutionary sequence for him consists of:

1. Gradual mobilization of contenders making exclusive claims to governmental control and/or unscceptable to the members of the polity;

2. Rapid increase in the number of people accepting those claims and/or rapid expansion of the coalition including the unacceptable or exclusive contenders;

3. Unsuccessful efforts by the government (at the behest of members of the polity) to suppress the alternative coalition and/or the acceptance of its claims: this may well include attempts at forced demobilization seizure, devaluation or dispersion of the resources at the disposal of contenders;

4. Establishment by the alternative coalition of effective control over some portion of the government -- a territorial branch, a functional subdivision, a portion of its personnel;

5. Struggles of the alternative coalition to maintain or expand that control;

6. Reconstruction of a single polity through the victory of the alternative coalition through its defeat, or through the establishment of a modus vivendi between the alternative coalition and some or all of the old members; fragmentation of the revolutionary coalition;

7. Reimposition of routine governmental control throughout the subject population (1977: 174).

After years, Tilly also made a formulation of full revolutions. It includes old three elements of revolutionary situation and new four points defining revolutionary outcomes:

1. Defections of regime members;

2. Acquisition of armed force by revolutionary coalitions;

3. Neutralization or defection of the regime's armed force;

4. Acquisition of control over the state apparatus by members of the revolutionary coalition (Tilly 2005: 59).

As it can be observed, Tilly provides countless concepts and definitions that can shape one's arguments about several characters of the revolutionary sequence in Turkey, which are to be summarized in the following chapters.

3.1.2.2. David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley: The Critique of "Sonderweg"

Although Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn's main target to criticize is German "Sonderweg" in their influential work "Pecularities of German History", their arguments have important contributions to the concept bourgeois revolutions. These arguments can be grouped in four major points, namely, the questioning of the comparative classical bourgeois revolution arguments; the agency and power of bourgeoisie before, during and after revolutions; the relation between bourgeois revolutions and democracy; and the changing state structures during and after bourgeois revolutions.

Idea of Sonderweg points to the peculiarity of German transition in compared to the case of earlier English, French and American experiences. Although it seems to be a comparative perspective, it may be argued that in fact it is a product of observations about Germany looking from the view of the Western "classical" cases. So, it turns out to the detection of the features that English, French and American

experiences have and German history does not, as Dahrendorf questions "Why wasn't Germany England?" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 7). For instance, a popular "visible" difference whose reason is to be searched for is the "failure of Western-style liberal democracy to take root in Germany" (Blackbourn, Eley 1984: 6). Having such a look does not seem to have fruitful results for Eley:

"By always asking what German history was not, rather than what it was, one also runs the risk of posing questions to which the answer is always 'No'". (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 10, 11)

Blackbourn and Eley criticize the idea also by rejecting the classical path arguments of "Sonderweg". Firstly -and interestingly- Eley points that today, British, Amercan and French patterns are found "quasi-mythical" by the historians that study on these three countries (1984: 10). Despite the rejection, German historians are still using these idealized types. This fact is specifically true for bourgeois revolutions of these countries. The concept bourgeois revolution itself faced with challenges and transformed. It is even left by the majority of Western historians. But interestingly, German historians, whether Marxist or not, use and accept the concept in its classic meaning, and even accept it as an event that Germany should have faced with, but it did not (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 52, 53, 60). Rather than proposing one peculiarity, Eley suggests to count peculiarities as much as experiences, like English, French, German pecularities (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 154).

A significant contribution made by Blackbourn and Eley regards bourgeoisie's features: its power and its democraticness. The claim of weak bourgeoisie is relative through two comparisons: German bourgeoisie compared to western bourgeoisies, and German bourgeoisie compared to German pre-industrial classes, together with state. Both are questionable for Blackbourn and Eley. For the first one, Eley points that the definition of strong bourgeoisie must be reconsidered (1984: 13). He questions "whether we can in fact talk plausibility of a bourgeoisie anywhere which seized power and recast the state and politics after its own image" (1984: 15). Regarding the second one, it can be argued that Blackbourn reveals that classical arguments foresee a direct relation between bourgeoisie's power and its invisibility in state and society. But in fact, the relation is opposite: "the more openly bourgeois interests were articulated, the more problematic their realization become"

(Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 175), or in other words, "bourgeois dominance was most effective where it was most silent and anonymous, where its forms and institutions came to seem most natural" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 204). Comparison of bourgeois effect in varios levels in Germany makes Blackbourn conclude clearly as follows:

> …These two sets of achievements –the stealthier ones in economy and society, the more open ones at the political level- were by no means equal. The former were extensive and durable, the latter limited and fragile. The former tended to unite the bourgeoisie, the latter to divide it. The former enabled the bourgeoisie to make its claim to represent a general interest; the latter provided a forum where such claims could be challenges. The former was a sphere where state institutions acknowledged the strength of the bourgeoisie; the latter was a sphere where the bourgeoisie accepted the need for strong state institutions. Bourgeois authority in Germany was thus least vulnerable where it was least visible; it was most vulnerable where it was most visible… (1984: 260)

Old orthodox view keeps a "natural" chain of bourgeoisie-liberalism-parliamentalization-democracy (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 16). The view assumes that bourgeoisie should be liberal, even, as Dahrendorf claims, that "the absence of a liberal polity meant that German society ipso facto could not have been bourgeois or its economy capitalist in the full meaning of the terms" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 56, 57). For Eley, source of the chain argument is blurring the "*dominance* of capitalist production and its processes of reproduction in a given social formation and its simultaneous *coexistence* with other modes of production and forms of social relations" (1984: 95). This idea is also developed by looking at Germany through England, a feature that is criticized by Blackbourn and Eley -as it is stated above. Here again, Eley attacks on the idealized British picture of democracy. First, democratization moments in 1832 and 1867 is exaggerated, while on the other hand British state's repressive capability between 1790 and 1822 is understated (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 79). Bourgeois revolutions are not causes of democracy for Eley. For him, "democratic departures and their consolidation came much later than the political upheavals normally regarded as bourgeois revolutions" (1984: 80). Institutionally, liberal democracy in "any pure form" appeared not as direct results of revolutions (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 88). The relation between democracy and bourgeoisie seems to be quite opposite:

> … the possibilities for democratic politics resulted from the contradictions of 'modernization' rather than its triumph, not as a condition of bourgeoisie's

success, but from the new antagonisms it created… In both cases 'democratization' was the object of a struggle in which the 'bourgeoisie' as such morecommonly resisted democratic gains than helped them along (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 81).

In fact, liberal movement included a coalition of various social forces, including "small producers, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and wage-earners, as well as the *grande bourgeoisie* and its auxiliaries" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 77).

State structure has a critical importance for the accomplishment of bourgeois revolution. Eley groups the views on Imperial German state in four: First, "backwardness", "power élite" idea that underline a Junker dominance (1984: 128, 129); second, Wehler's Bonapartism adopted from Marx and Engels, which is close to Gramsci's "Caesarism" (1984: 129); third, a line that points the changing forms of intervention to economy, which is influenced by Wehler again and Habermas through his theory of legitimation (1984: 130), and fourth, "relative autonomy" (1984: 130, 131). Despite Eley finds Bonapartism as the "best point of departure", he thinks that even the term has limitations (1984: 149-151). Against the "irrationality" and "incapability" ideas, Eley defends the system's performance of holding together (1984: 139, 142). The political accommodation with landowning class was "fully compatible with the pursuit of bourgeois interests" for Eley (1984: 153). In fact, the Bismarckian state and an authoritarian mode of politics were perfectly effective in securing specifically "bourgeois interests, if these are strictly defined in relation to the fundamental processes of class formation and capitalist industrialization" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 133). Blackbourn summarizes several points occurred for the accomplishment of this task: "national market, the Reichsbank, the beginning of a national communication system, favourable conditions for the establishment of limited companies and uniform currency, weights and measures, and patent laws" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 178). Even beyond that, against Dahrendorf's view that Germany became an industrial non capitalist society, Blackbourn defends that "the emergence of German capitalism had pretended the flowering of industry" (1984: 179). "Small commodity and agricultural production were not 'industrial'; but they did not remain pre-capitalist" (Blackbourn 1984: 181).

These four featues summarized above have a critical impact on the conception of bourgeois revolution in Blackbourn and Eley's work. For the concept, their main

suggestion to focus on is not short term political moments and motives of historical actions, but longer-term transformations and effects of historical actions (1984: 16):

> The concept could be freed from its present dependence on the notion of forcibly acquired political liberalism and could be redefined more flexibly to mean the 'inauguration of bourgeois epoch'- i.e. 'the successful installation of a legal and political framework for the unfettered development of industrial capitalism' (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 83).

If bourgeois rule and control are indirect, then the task of serving to capitalist accumulation can be done by different state forms. So, liberal democracy is not a must condition for this class's revolutions. The alternative forms cannot be evaluated as "backward" (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 139). Bourgeoisie can "come to social dominance by other than liberal routes"; this dominance may occur even an era of pre-industrial power élite dominance (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 155). These forms' being tolerated prevents several restrictions, making one to look broader patterns of changes, like property relations, market economy, rule of law, ideas of progress, associational life etc. (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 288). However, the criteria to be left out must also narrow the concept from another angle. For instance, thinking that everything happened "from below" is called as a "populist heresy" by Blackbourn (1984: 290). In fact, the criterion of effects, together with lack of mass involvement and unvisibility of bourgeois existence in social and political levels makes German unification more bourgeois than English and French revolutions (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 85).

In sum, it can be argued that Blackbourn and Eley succesfully suggests changing many understandings that regard the analysis of transformations into a capitalist society. First of all, they show the potential of the emergence of a pecularity idea in a case when a history of any geography is observed through the idealized perspective of a history of another object. With their own analysis, they reveal that differences and smilarities can exist at the same time: for the differences, they proved that all states are in fact peculiar. And for the similarities, they relaxed the standards of bourgeois revolution concept: Results for the sake of capitalist mode of production replaced many old criteria, including revolutionary classes' composition, form of alliance, homogenity in the form of alliance, subjectivism, heroism, democraticness and so on. They also show that the invisibility of a class may be a power and proval of its revolution when that invisibility is combined with

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the ability and infrastructure of its own reproduction. The coexistence of similarities and differences is making one to change the question from whether to "in which ways" for peculiarity of the history of a country (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 290, 291).

3.1.2.3. Colin Mooers: Historical Comparison and Focus on State Structure

Mooers's book "The Making of Bourgeois Europe" has a critical importance, as one of its main aims is defined as to make Marxist concept bourgeois revolution regain its credit (2000: 11). So, his work can be evaluated as a defence of the concept against revisionist attacks. For him, although revisionists had important contributions to the history of French Revolution, their arguments about the events are dubious. Another interesting fact for him is the readiness of Marxists to accept those arguments and the tendency to give up the concept bourgeois revolution (2000: 11).

At the beginning of his work, Mooers presents his three points that assist his aim of saving the concept. First, he tries to reveal the backgroud of revoltions to show that precapitalist class relations have shaped types of revolutions. Second, he connects the two points which are usually separated by many authorities. For him, there is a direct relation between international presure and local socio political conjuncture. English capitalism's pressure and uneven development determined the feature of other countries' transformation to capitalism, which vary from country to country. Third, varieties' existence is not an obstacle to a general definition of bourgeois revolutions, which shifts the attention from agents' conscious attempts to the changing ways and conditions of accumulation. (Mooers, 2000: 11). The definition of Mooers here is similar to Eley's (2000: 11,12).

Mooers presents a basic criticism of some Marxist approaches on precapitalism that explains the transition to capitalism. Market relations approach has a special place at here, whose three points presented as the causes of the transformation are criticized. Firstly, Mooers stands against the view that feudalism was dissolved from outside. The model's confrontation of the rural and urban is a wrong observation for Mooers, as cities had no autonomy against feudalism. In fact, they were acting as a

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collective senior (2000: 16). A second argument of this approach, monetarization of feudal rents also does not fit the reality, as money rents appeared in places far away from trade routes and markets (Mooers, 2000: 17). Finally, the commercialization and growth of trade argument is also problematic for Mooers, as the most important criterion of the rise of capitalism is not accumulation of wealth. If commercialization was the primary motor of capitalism, The Low Countries, Italian city states, and even Roman Empire would be vanguards of capitalism. Yet for Marx, "the original formation of capital" is "through the dissolution of the old mode of production". The rise of market and trade relations may only assist to the rise of capitalism, but they are not in themselves the vanguards of capitalist relations (Mooers, 2000: 29-30).

Mooers transfers the reader's attention from the so-called outside cause which were claimed to be the ones that dissolved feudalism. In fact, for Mooers, commodity relations were internal to feudalism (2000: 43). Peasantry's being forced to participate in market relations for its own reproduction and the establishment of capitalist relations in agriculture are two important factors for transition to capialism in the English case. But apart from England, mainly it is the political power relations that determined the transition of capitalism in other countries (Mooers, 2000: 47-48). To explain this argument, Mooers uses Brenner's concept extraction by extra-economic or politico-legal compulsion (2000: 52). Extra economic ways of accumulation was controlled by aristocracy in the feudal era, but peasantry's pressure forced them to transfer this power to the state, especially in France. From that time on, international pressures determined states' capacity to satisfy economic needs of various classes, who enter state offices as the only way of accumulation. The capitalist pressure of England changed other states' structure and their way of distribution of extra economic incomes to the classes. Capitalism emerged in these states, mostly thaks to this assistance of state (2000: 53, 59).

As the model of Turkish historiography for bourgeois revolutions is the case of France, here Mooers's views on France can be presented. In fact, Mooers focuses on France first, making one think that he also gives a priority to the trasformation of this country. This is possibly because of the fact that the main field of the battle between Marxism and Revisionism is the French Revolution. At the beginning of his analysis, Mooers presents his main purpose in French chapter: to explain the

evolution of state as a reflection of relations of production without falling into the trap of reductionism (2000: 62).

Formation of the Ancién Regime is the beginning point of Mooers's analysis. This formation seems to be a product of the harsh struggle between aristocracy and peasantry. The story begins with the massive peasant rebellions that threatened aristocracy and state at the end of sixteenth century (Mooers, 2000: 64-65). Feudal domination's being replaced by a central state apparatus was both advantageous and disadvantageous for peasantry. On one hand, as her main source of income was peasant taxation, absolutist state had to protect peasants from their lords. However, on the other hand, the price for the recognition of their property rights was high for peasantry: state disallowed any change in the rural, kept peasantry in a poverty that cannot be left (Mooers, 2000: 65-66, 71). The new situation had consequences for aristocracy too. For instance, it meant that absolutist state prevented enterprising lords from actions like enclosure. Yet most importantly, it led to a clash between local aristocracy and central feudal state for surplus. State had to permit a limited extraction of surplus. The solution of the state, sale of offices had two functions, namely meeting the surplus demand and inspiring loyalty to the crown. However, the clash took a new form: between public duties and the private interests of the office holder lords (Mooers, 2000: 66-67).

The new absolutist state had significant changes, but its feudal character was kept for Mooers. In fact, he agrees with the revisionist observation of Lucas that the difference between robe nobility and sword mobility was over (2000: 73). Also, the state itself took a "class like phenomenon" (2000: 74). Yet all new features, sale of offices, rents and grants of land did not change feudalism's essential feature. Ones whose income was the surplus in the land continued to extract the surplus, but through an indirect new way. Here, Mooers employs Brenner's term extraction by extra-economic or politico-legal compulsion, and by underlining Brenner's observation that private property was recreated in the political sphere, Mooers argues that absolutism was the most superb way of extra economic compulsion of feudal surplus. This new state was a perfect instrument of accumulation (2000: 74-75).

Mooers shares many views of revisionism on the prerevolutionary French society. In fact, there are many reasons to deny the claim that capitalism emerged

before the revolution. For instance, Lucas was right to argue that trade was not popular at that time. Another point of Lucas that accumulation was tried to be made through non capitalist ways was also true for Mooers. Although France was an economically dynamic country, that dynamism was far behind the English one. In sum, a bourgeoisie to break the chains did not exist in prerevolutionary France. Revisionists were right for their idea that properties' forms cannot be separated into a feudal and capitalist (2000: 86).

In such a conjuncture, revolution's reasons must be different than the ones pointed by Marx in his 1859 contribution. For the revolution Mooers presents two major reasons which were related to each other. First of all, as it was the main way of accumulation, there was an increasing demand for offices. The state struggled to meet this demand through different ways. Inside, it created new offices, but increasing offices also meant a decreasing value of these offices, which lead to lesser income. Promotion became less and less possible in time. State could only compensate the demand by international gains. However, state mechanism cannot accomplish such a task. France lost all competitions: in the continent, against coalitions; and in the overseas against England. The only indirect victory in America was too costly for the Kingdom. This international failure was the second reason of the revolution, as it increased the effect of the first (2000: 82-83). Mooers uses Marx's words to point the relation:

> Thus all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a country, this contradiction need not necessarily have reached its extreme limit in this particular country. The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a backward industry… (Mooers 2000: 83)

By underlining the relation between internal and external causes, Mooers stands against authorities who tend to separate the two (2000: 84, 108, 122).

The non-existence of a conscious bourgeoisie is accepted by Mooers also for the beginning of the revolution. He allies with Hobsbawm in his statement that bourgeoisie never defined itself as a separate class, and with Comninel in his view that no bourgeois leader of the revolution was capitalist (Mooers 2000: 87, 89). Moreover, there was no revolutionary aim and program. The words like equality, or

individualism were nothing but loose ideals (2000: 87). So, this non existence of a conscious bourgeoisie forces Marxists to redefine bourgeois revolution. In Mooers's words, now, it must be asked if the idea bourgeois revolution needs a self conscious intervention of capitalists (2000: 85). Now, like Blackbourn and Eley; Mooers argues that bourgeois revolutions must be understood as pioneering events to capitalism rather than ones made by capitalists (2000: 86).

How did the revolution be a pioneer of capitalism? Mooers's reasons are several. First of all, the revolution removed barriers against capitalist development. The old feudal system's potential benefits to accumulation were depleted, so it is seen that the state form must be replaced. The abolition of feudalism can be somehow eviscerated later, but most of the feudal priveleges were gone (Mooers, 2000: 89-90). Secondly, the revolutionary sequence made segments of the bourgeoisie read the situation more accurately. Moore shares the idea of Hobsbawm that the revolution led to the creation of a self conscious bourgeoisie (2000: 90-91). In short, French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, because it forced a section - not all of the- bourgeoisie to form a new program that would reshape the society, even against their wishes at the beginning of the revolution (Mooers, 2000: 123). Here, it can be said that Mooers (just like Hobsbawm, Eley, Blackbourn and Hill) reverses the causality between existence of a self conscious bourgeoisie and revolution. This existence, as a testing element of bourgeois revolutions must be looked for in the effect, not the cause of a historical event. Third point regards the changes in Brenner's extraction by extra-economic compulsion. In fact, after the revolution, this feature was transformed. Priveleges and sale of offices were over. State began to demand talents rather than money from ones who want to enter bureaucracy (2000: 96-98). But state positions were still seemed atractive for all classes after the revolution (2000: 92-93) because of two facts. First, thanks to bureaucracy's enlargement and better financial situation, there were much more available positions (2000: 97). Second, the new state gave its officials much more than the old one (2000: 96). For instance, governorship was highly attractive for all classes in the Napoleonic era (2000: 98).

Attractiveness of state positions was against capitalist progress. It was a barrier to entrepreneurship, and its source of income's being peasant taxation makes it hesitate to force peasantry to turn into proletariat. These problems were underlined

also by Marx who points the new French state's parasitic character. Yet despite those barriers, capitalist economy began to develop in France (Mooers, 2000: 110, 113, 124). But Mooers states that just like we cannot call fourteenth century society as a capitalist one because of the existence of wage labor, nineteenth century's society cannot be called non capitalist because of the existence of extraction by extra-economic compulsion, as a state cannot be analyzed by ignoring class relations (2000: 114-115). The state's tendency to face with the demand to enter state bureaucracy in the Orleans era can be given as an example (2000: 101). Extraction by extra-economic compulsion went on until 1860s. After its end, the French state became the "real motor" of capitalism in the country, as it was able to assist to the development of it (Mooers, 2000: 109, 124). State involvement and assistance was not a problem for capitalism that time, as the country had to compete with Swiss and British industry (Mooers, 2000: 105). On the contrary, for Marx, state enterprises were necessities in static countries like France (Mooers, 2000: 116).

It seems that Mooers accomplished the task that he gives to himself. By extending the analysis of Blackbourn and Eley on Germany to the cases of England and the classical battlefield France, Mooers proves that the concept bourgeois revolution can still serve as a tool of historical analysis. Mooers's redefinition of bourgeois revolution may have important effects to an observation of the Turkish case as it transfers the attention to its results for capitalist accumulation and gives a defining role to state structure.

3.1.2.4. Heide Gerstenberger: Transformation to Impersonal Bourgeois State

In her book "Impersonal Power: History and Theory of Bourgeois State", Gerstenberger focuses on the transformation from old personal state to modern bourgeois impersonal state. She compares histories of English and French states, and makes important deductions about the transformation, which also related to bourgeois revolution concept. Here, her deductions and comparisons between feudal, absolutist and bourgeois states are to be summarized.

The largest parts of Gerstenberger's work are her presentation of the histories of both states. Only after this presentation she begins to present her views. Here,

rather than summary of the historicalfacts that she presents, her general views and deductions are to be given.

To clarify her point of view, first of all Gerstenberger explains what her point is not:

> For neither of the two national developments investigated here is it possible to explain the historical rise of the bourgeois state in terms of the functional needs of economic development. Besides, neither the point in time at which the societies of the '*ancien régime*' structural type studied here were revolutionised, nor the political form in which this took place, was determined by the degree of the relations of production. The most important structural preconditions for he crisis of personal rule rather resulted from the manner in which the members of the priveleged estates acquired, maintained and defended their ruling status (2007: 591).

Gerstenberger has two important complaints about the analysis of feudalism. It looks like both are about an anachronistic way of look. First is about some analysts' talk about a feudal rule as if it is an institutionalized rule which is independent from any person. In fact, such an institutionalization does not exist. Under feudal rule, "there was not yet a sphere of rule that existed independently of concrete personal relationships" (Gerstenberger 2007: 635). Second is looking at feudalism through a perspective that differentiates economic and political powers in a modern manner. This way of look stresses a connection of both powers. However, in feudalism there were no separate spheres at all. There was a unitary reciprocal effect (Gerstenberger 2007: 639).

To avoid such fallacies, Gerstenberger suggests two conceptions that define feudal rule. First is the ***personal rule***, which tells one that "ruling power under feudalism was the property of individuals" (2007: 633, 634). Second, she suggests ***feudal appropriation*** that reveals unitary of all forms of power hold in the hands of personal rule, which includes not only economic and political powers, but also things like war and even marriage (2007: 639, 640, 641).

War has a particular importance for Gerstenberger like Tilly. It can be argued that for her, war is both the natural outcome of feudal rule and its cause of end. A structural dynamism of feudal societies was a competition for possession of power, as personal rule was established by force. As war costs had become greater, professionalization emerged. Professionalized infantry reduced importance of knights, together with their form of warfare (Gerstenberger 2007: 644). The time

came for the rise of specialists because of the needs of the exercise of new rule. Their rise led to "the objectification of feudal rule" (Gerstenberger 2007: 644, 645). Together with the pressure of war, harsh competitions among the possessors of personal power power and newly rising social forces' demands to participate to the order led to the emergence of a new kind of rule (Gerstenberger 2007: 605). So, "**generalised power**" of the *'ancien régime'* began to emerge because of the two factors:

"The basis for the expansion of generalised power was the organisation of armed appropriation and the securing of peace *among the lords*" (Gerstenberger 2007: 600).

The concepts "generalised power" of *'ancien régime'* and "personal power" of feudalism do not exclude each other. "**Seigneurial appropriation**" of personal power took a new shape. Now, it became a rule in connection with generalised power: "**Centralised appropriation**" (Gerstenberger 2007: 651). The connection is integration. In *'ancien régime'*, aristocratic rule was integrated into generalised power. Now, an official noble estate was constituted. With this constitution, "the previous possession of rule by the aristocracy (or a nobility already constituted locally as an estate) was restricted, but, at the same time, guaranteed by generalised rule. Noble power became a *privilege* in relation to generalised princely power" (Gerstenberger 2007: 647, 648).

Privilege was an essential feature of generalised power, as well as a distinguishing fact:

"…the societies of the *ancien régime* were divided in two: the world of the privileged and that of the others" (Gerstenberger 2007: 658).

Graditions of privileges varied. Lords, as well as previously non priveleged persons, and even inhabitants of particular provinces and towns may have privileges (Gerstenberger 2007: 599, 658, 659). Having a privilege also had several ways: It could be "inherited, appropriated *de facto*, or purchased" (Gerstenberger 2007: 659). Just like Mooers's being influenced by revisionism, Gerstenberger accepts that "investments in office property developed into a structural feature of strategies for family advance" (Gerstenberger 2007: 607).

Other than privilege, a great new feature of absolutist rule was *objectification*:

Under the *ancien régime*, the foundations of personal rule –both those of generalised power and those of seigneurial power- were different from under feudalism. Feudal rule was based on direct relations of force, whereas rule under the *ancien régime* structural type stood in acontext of objectified social relations: a generalised system of justice and the market were both structural preconditions for the practice of rule (Gerstenberger 2007: 647).

Although it required "respect for the generalised condition of noble rule", the new appropriation, together with centralised power belonged to king (Gerstenberger 2007: 648). Warfare was both cause and effect of centralised appropriation lead to searching for a total mobilization. For the first time, society arised as a structural reality (Gerstenberger 2007: 653).

Both condensing of personal rule into government and total mobilization led to a seperation. One one hand, everyday practices were formalized, and on the other hand, constitution of spheres free from power appeared, like religion and family (Gerstenberger 2007: 655). Also, purchase of priveleges, together with fiscalizing of personal rule (Gerstenberger 2007: 649) resulted in the emergence of the concept of interest (Gerstenberger 2007: 660).

The cause of the structural crisis of *ancien régime* is very close to the explanation of Mooers. Instead of a Contribution view of Marx, she also underlines that the crisis belongs to *ancien régime*'s own feature. Same with Mooers, she notes that the reproduction of generalised power was endangered (2007: 657). The first Frondian challenge ended with the integration of high nobility (Gerstenberger 2007: 658). Yet integrative ability was still limited, which is to be seen in the final crisis of the *ancien régime*:

the possibilities of integration are set by the limited productivity of an overwhelmingly agricultural society, as well as by steadily rising costs of armed appropriation. New offices reduce the (material) importance of those already in place, new trading privileges curtail the prospects of profit of the older ones (Gerstenberger 2007: 664).

The transformation process to impersonal bourgeois state was called ***bourgeois revolution*** also by Gerstenberger. Here again, before her definition of bourgeois revolution, she clears what her definition does not mean. First, her conception is not the orthodox Marxist understanding in which establishment of capitalist relations are constitutive of such revolutions (2007: 662). Gerstenberger reverses the cause effect relation of capitalist relations and capitalist state. Parallel to Mooers, she argues that

capitalist state is not the effect, but the cause of capitalist relations (2007: 610). "Capitalist forms of production and distribution could only become dominant after the personal character of power had been (largely) abolished, so that the development of a separate economic sphere became possible" (Gerstenberger 2007: 662). Second, the concept bourgeois revolution also does not refer to a particular form of historical change. The change in power may occur through a civil war, or successive reforms may go on until personal power was eliminated (Gerstenberger 2007: 662). Third, "the concept says nothing about the groups who waged the conflicts that led to personal power being regulated, limited and abolished" (Gerstenberger 2007: 662). So, just like Mooers, Blackbourn and Eley, Gerstenberger also does not look for conscious bourgeois agents as a criterion for bourgeois revolutions. For her, "central content of the concept is, rather, the thesis that the transition from *ancien régime* to bourgeois society demanded the expropriation of personal posession of power" (2007: 662). In sum, bourgeois revolutions "did not become 'bourgeois' simply because they were waged by that particular class, so the results of such revolutions were 'bourgeois' above all in their difference from preceeding forms and practices of generalised personal ruling power" (Gerstenberger 2007: 666).

As well as the process of bourgeois revolutions, Gerstenberger tolerates the different results of them. The new bourgeois state can take several forms for her, yet there are also common features. Change in the conception of interests is just one of them. Privilege system's critique leads to consideration of individuals as bearers of interest (Gerstenberger 2007: 665). "All bourgeois revolutions involved comprehensive processes of expropriation" (Gerstenberger 2007: 666). Rulership rights lost legitimacy with this way. Officials and institutions also change: With expropriation of personal rule, public administration, police, and military could be a state "apparatus" (Gerstenberger 2007: 666-667). The partially personal character of generalised power became totally public. (2007: 667). For her, contrary to the ideas that stress the importance of Peace of Westphalia, the concept of state sovereignty arose only after bourgeois revolutions. What arose in 1648 was in fact the dynastic base of sovereignty (2007: 666). The new bourgeois *impersonal state* also limits itself with law (2007: 666) and sets market free. Sphere of politics was to be differentiated from economic sphere. From that time on, separated political power

could not be used for private enrichment in principle (Gerstenberger 2007: 667). Constitutions of impersonal states also guarantee private property (2007: 669). So, again it can be seen that Gerstenberger reveals many changes in state power and structure before establisment of capitalism.

Gerstenberger focuses on limited number of states, yet her deductions regard all passages to bourgeois rule successfully. She employs several concepts like personal rule, feudal appropriation, seigneurial appropriation, objectification, generalised power, centralised appropriation, privilege and impersonal power that help to have a new understanding of bourgeois revolution. This understanding of bourgeois revolutions is quite flexible. The new criteria do not include particular agents, particular programs, and particular results. Roughly, bourgeois revolutions are critical moments of the transformation form personal power to impersonal power.

3.1.2.5. Christopher Hill and the Case of England: An Example For the Transformation of Bourgeois Revolution Concept

Christopher Hill raised English Revolution's historiographical level to levels of French and Russian ones (George, 1988: 27). In fact, his success story was also a story of transformation of Hill's ideas on revoluton, which can be a pattern for evolution of the ideas on the Young Turk Revolution. Below, this story is going to be presented by comparing young and mature Hills.

The classical essay that shows Hill's premature views on the English Revolution is "The English Revolution of 1640", which was firstly published in 1940. There were several motives that shaped his ideas and their way of presentation on this essay: The influence of Soviet historiography or his hurry to share his views before participating to the World War two can be given as examples. Yet the most imporant motive seems to be his response to the "official" historiography on the "Puritan Revolution". This official historiography seems to be an arena between two camps, a situation which Hill summarizes as follows:

> … These two theories, then, are both one-sided. The Whigs stress the progressive nature of the revolution, and slur over the fact that the class that took the lead in the revolution and most profited by its achievements was the bourgeoisie. Their interpretation perpetuates the legend that the interests of the bourgeoisie are identical with those of the nation, a legend obviously

convenient for our own day, though so much less true now than in the seventeenth century. The Tories, on the other hand, stress the class nature of the revolution in an attempt to deny its progressiveness and value in its own time, to whitewash feudalism, and to suggest that revolutions never benefit more than a narrow clique. A recent version suggests that all politics is a dirty game, all principles are eye-wash, all revolutions useless. (1955)

At the beginning of the work, Hill wants to underline his being away from both views. He warns the leader that interpretatons of the event will be "different from that which most of us were taught at school" (1955). Neither Tories nor Whigs had the capacity to answer many questions about the event for Hill, and even more than that, their perspective denies the struggles and sacrifices in the history of the English people (1955).

English Revolution was a moment as great as the French Revolution for Hill. This idea would be kept by him all time, and he would made English speaking world to agree -at last consider with him. However, it can be confirmed that the greatness idea made him focus on the English Revolution by underlining its similarities with the orthodox presentation of the French one. For young Hill, the Revolution was clearly a class war, in which classes were deeply divided:

> As against the parasitic feudal landowners and speculative financiers, as against the government whose policy was to restrict and control industrial expansion, the interests of the new class of capitalist merchants and farmers were temporarily identical with those of the small peasantry and artisans and journeymen. But conflict between the two latter classes was bound to develop, since the expansion of capitalism involved the dissolution of the old agrarian and industrial relationships and the transformation of independent small masters and peasants into proletarians (1955).

To summarize, Young Hill's causality had been in line with Marx's model which was presented on his famous 1859 contribution, and Hill had thought that this model can be applied to the English case. There was a new mode of production, "something like an industrial revolution" emerging before 1640. Also, for the land, there was a new kind of capitalist farmer. However, "There were as many and as serious obstacles to the expansion of capitalism in trade and industry as in agriculture" and "this was continually thwarted by feudal survivals in town and country, and by government policy deliberately endeavouring in the interests of the old landed ruling class to restrict production and the accumulation of capital" (1955).

When looked from today, it can be observed that Hill's work was both a failure and success. It was a failure, because it included inaccurate claims and observations. Yet on the other hand, it was a success, as these inaccuracies themselves lead to a wide-ranging discussion that would reshape Hill's mind and made him a great historian of the seventeenth century England. Kaye notes that the discussions were regarding mainly two points: The definition of the mode of production in late sixteenth early seventeenth centuries' England, and the class basis of absolute monarchy in England as well (2009: 150).

All those made Hill reformulate his theories on both English Revolution and bourgeois revolutions. His first major reformulation was considering the agency of bourgeoisie. Hill freed the concept from the conscious subjective actions of a unified bourgeoisie. From that time on, Hill's "Marxist usage does not mean a revolution consciously made by or consciously willed by bourgeoisie" (1980: 110). The English Revolution itself was an example to the fact. In fact, bourgeoisie in England was not willed by the bourgeoisie. Moreover, bourgeoisie had no class consciousness for mature Hill. He mentions that a class must be defined not according to a consciousness, but the position in the relations of production. Otherwise, unconscious working class cannot be accepted as a class by Marx himself (1980: 129-130). Even certain policies that caused the revolution (like free trade) are not musts for a moment to be called a bourgeois revolution. For instance, Navigation Act, or reforms in taxation were not products of a conscious will and policiy, but they were motivated by the competition against Holland and Spain. For mature Hill, neither bourgeois revolution meant a problem of power. There is no need to show that every MP "was a factory owner" in the Long Parliament. Counting and classifying MPs will ever explain the orgins of the Civil War". Even "The Long Parliament did not make the Revolution" (1980: 124, 125). So, in England, a direct takeover of power by the bourgeoisie cannot be observed (1980: 131).

Simply, subjects of the conflict during the Civil War could not be categorized according to Hill's later views. There was not a major criterion to differentiate the two sides. On the contrary, very simple motivations made persons choose a side:

"When Civil War was forced upon reluctant MPs each individual took decisions in the light of his religious beliefs, of the location of his estates, of

individual hopes, fears, ambitions, hatreds, loyalties, temperaments. Counting and classifying MPs will never explain the origins of the Civil War…" (Hill, 1980: 125)

Hill also gave up his "contribution" line of thinking in which contradictions were reflections of the development of mode of production. It was replaced by the fall of old order itself:

"Bourgeois revolution is not possible until capitalist relations of production have developed within a country: it comes on the agenda only when the traditional government cannot go on ruling in the old way." (Hill, 1980: 131)

Whatever the cause is, it is the effects that give a revolution its bourgeois character. Results of the Civil War became the main reason what keep Hill to call it still a bourgeois reolution. Several reforms made by the victorious are underlined by him. One line of reforms was regarding land. Feudal land became a commodity in 1661. Obstacles to enclosure were removed (Hill, 1980: 116). Hill calls the developments in land after the Civil War as an "agrarian revolution", which supplied the labor ready for industry, and made Industrial Revolution possible (1980: 119-120). Also reforms reshaped the state structure. Abolition of pregorative courts, legislations against monopolises and nonparliamentary taxation "made any government control over economic life impossible except in agreement with Paliament (1980: 117). The line between army, bureaucracy and monarchy was broken, so even the Kings Charles II and James II who looked for a restoration could not be successful, as absolutism became impossible without those (Hill, 1980: 120). Monarchy also lost its financial power with a new system of taxation, and end of monopolies (Hill, 1980: 117, 118). This facilitated Bank of England's establishment in 1694, because from that time on merchants saw that no one can use their money arbitrarily (Hill, 1980: 120). The financially superior state continued to support monopolies in foreign trade as a need of the new system (Hill, 1980, 118).

In sum, the changes in Christopher Hill's arguments show that reformulations forced by observations and criticisms have the potential to strengthen a theory in time. His ideas on the English Revolution have a story of both continuities and changes. He still defends bourgeois revolution idea, but his conception of bourgeois revolution changed from the conscious actions made by a unified bourgeoisie to the results that shaped to the rise of capitalism (Kaye, 2009: 161). He once noted that it is inaccurate to think that "to find out what people were fighting about is to consider

what the leaders said they were fighting about" (1955), yet after saying these, he "devoted much of his subsequent work over the ast forty years to analysis of what people said they were fighting about" (Fulbrook, 1988: 32). However, "outcome of the Revolution was something which none of the activists had willed" (Hill, 1980: 111) that made him insist on the non existence of the relation between discourse and event. His works are a great example of making "Marxist history an intellectual alternative in a country hostile to all forms of Marxism" (George, 1988: 27) by rejecting both cultural reductionist and class reductionist views.

CHAPTER 4

THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION

4.1. Hamidian Regime: Restoration of Personal Rule

The starting points for the analysis of bourgeois revolutions' backgrounds are various. For instance, Gerstenberger's explanation for England starts with the Battle of Hastings, and her analysis of "France" includes even the tenth century's Capet era (2007). Mooers, on the other hand, prefers to start the history of the French Revolution with the peasant revolts which follow Crusades's era.

An analysis of the Young Turk Revolution can start from several points. The choice here was determined by a warning of Marx. To recall:

> Thus all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a country, this contradiction need not necessarily have reached its extreme limit in this particular country. The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a backward industry… (Mooers 2000: 83).

In a time of transformation from feudal to absolutist rule, war seems to be the main determinant of such competitions' results.

The history of early modern Ottoman Empire can be stated here as an example to the existence of a competition between several social forces whose power was based on different forms of feudal appropriation pointed by Gerstenberger (2007: 639, 640, 641). In the feudal era, the timaroits, numereous tiny feudal households were combined with kapıkulus, who belonged to the single greatest household of the sultan.

During the early modern era, the transformation caused by the changing form of warmaking ended the old balance between numerous tiny feudal households of

timariots and the single great household of the Sultanate. New kind of warmaking was diminishing timariots' importance through two ways. First, professionalized infantry's growing importance and its reducing the weight of cavalry led to the end of feudal form of warfare. Just like heavily armored knights in Europe, tımarlı sipahis, as light cavalary of the empire became useless in time. Second, adaptation to new warmaking increased the need for surplus in form of cash rapidly. The structure of timar system was not appropriate for such a commercialization.

The problem of adaptation also did exist for state officials during the transition period. Emerging problems such as appointments' being more difficult or the blurring distinction between the rulers and the ruled caused by the sales of office made high dignitaries form new households (Findley 2006: 75-76).

In time, these new forms of personal powers became far more challenging forces than the older ones for the Sultanate. These households, which were relying on their families, educated their own men, formed alliances between themselves, and even had soldiers of their own (Findley 2006: 76). Notably after the Treaty of Karlowitz, the role they occupied became more important (Findley 2006: 78). This was a totally new balance for the Sultanate, as its power was seriously diminished both externally and internally. After series of crises including the Russian War of 1768-1774, the loss of Crimea in 1783 and the invasion of Egypt by France in 1798 motivated Sultans to change this balance and to transform the structure of his power.

It is not surprising that Selim III's first target of reforms was his coercive apparatus. Yet by 1793, for the first time in his household's history, the reform went hand in hand with its institutional framework, rather than changes of personnel: For his new army, he established a separate treasury from his personal treasury, which had been also accepted as a state treasury (Göçek 1996: 72) -a vital step towards imperonalization. Provincial and office households' reactions and reactions' success brought the end of Selim III's reign and forced Mahmud II to sign Charter of Alliance *(Sened-i İttifak)*. However, as a clear sign of the changing balance of forces within the Empire, the fact must have motivated Sultanate further. In the long run, new kind of professionalization and institutionalization of a separate state sphere which was entirely different from household organizations went on its development.

Formation of spheres independent from sultans' personal rule came to a new stage with Tanzimat Act. With Tanzimat Act, independent spheres began to include

elements outside state apparatus. Tanzimat Pashas, as "subjects" that gained certain rights autonomous from sultan's wishes, benefited from the new legal order as well. With their more favourable opportunities, separate finances, and more effective mechanisms, Tanzimat officials gradually replaced old office and provincial households. However, those transformations would lead to the emergence of a new antagonism: betweeen Sultanate and professional bureaucracy, or between personal and impersonal powers: New institutions' personnel did not retain allegiance to sultans in time. Rather, their allegiance was to the "abstract notion of an Ottoman state" (Göçek, 1996: 45, 67). So, ironically, sultans' attempts to end an antagonism gave way to another one. Moreover, necessities to replace "the administrative functions of the office household and provincial household (Göçek 1996: 51) led to the emergence of a more powerful challenger group than households, as the members of the new group acquired for more better expertise and scientific knowledge to run a state (Göçek 1996: 82-83).

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In time, Tanzimat officials -or officials of the Sublime Porte- gained a greater autonomy, a fact that produced several complaints from different power holders in the Empire. Yet new kind of bureaucracy proved its efficiency in "preservation of state". During Tanzimat era, the Empire eliminated ayans' challenge, established a more complex state apparatus, stabilized and institutionalized its modern army, gained respect from Great Powers -as in the case of the Crimean War- with the cost of greater autonomy to minorities.

The events in 1876-1877 winter show that strength of reformist pashas reached its peak just before their collapse. The season also reveals the greatness of international pressures on a country's regime. The impact that could be seen was both on the peak and fall. On one hand, the declaration of Constitution was organized on 23 December 1876; the same day of the opening of a great conference in Istanbul, which was convened because of the demanded reforms by six Great Powers: Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy. On the other, Great Powers did not consider this step as a genuine one and this fact reversed the situation suddenly. Diplomatic failure directly led to the fall of reformist pashas. The conference ended in 20 January 1877 without a result. Midhat Pasha, the leading figure of reformism and grand vizier of Sultan Abdülhamid II, still pushed for

reforms after the conference, making Sultan sign a decree that accept all subjects to military schools on 27 January 1877. He even suggested appointment of Christian subjects as governors. On 5 February 1877, Midhat Pasha lost his seat and went to exile. One justification of this decision was meaningful for the explanation of the antagonism between Sultan and his professionals: having intentions which will offend the privileges of the Sultan. (Georgeon 2006: 81).

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Georgeon notes that Midhat Pasha's exile marks the end of reformist pashas era (2006: 81). Parallel to Georgeon's argument, it can be argued that Abdülhamid II's holding power in his hands point to a restoration of sultans' personal power. This argument can be criticized by showing the continuation of structural mechanisms and institutionalization. However, possible criticisms can be challanged from two fronts. Firstly, it can be said that centralization, professionalization and institutionalization of the Ottoman state was a necessary outcome of international threats. Tilly's argument that warmakers are statemakers (2003: 52) can also be evaluated as the threats outside forces a state to transform itself. Secondly and more importantly, several examples show that a personalization of impersonal state forms and institutions occurred during the reign of Abdülhamid II. It can be argued that this was a typical restoration, as no restorations are so pure and able to restore the old regimes fully, so part of restoration was through embedding old features into new institutions.

Several attempts for such a restoration or a repersonalization of power by Abdülhamid II can be given as examples. The situation of Midhat Pasha may be the first example. As Deringil (1998: 167,168) shows, different from the reign of Mahmud II, who could easily order his grand vizier Pertev Pasha's execution, Abdülhamid II had to tolerate a "trial" of his grand vizier Midhat Pasha. Despite the trial can be regarded as a sign of impersonalization, features of such trials show that institutions' impersonal characteristic in the Hamidian regime was questionable.

Another example to the restoration of sultans' personal rule in Hamidian regime regards state bureaucracy. Abdülhamid II did not put an end to the existence of Sublime Porte and its Tanzimat officials. Yet the Sublime Porte bureaucrats' titles were eviscerated. In Abdülhamid II's own words, he was "the real grand vizier" (Georgeon 2006: 176). That is why he tended to replace grand viziers so easily.

However, for the first secretary of *mabeyn-i hümayun*, the tendency was opposite. His tendency to keep a bureaucrat in this position was as strong as the one to replace grand viziers (Georgeon 2006: 172). Moreover, the number of officials in *Mabeyn* rose up from five to twenty eight between 1878 and 1896 (Georgeon 2006: 305). In short, *Mabeyn* bureaucracy, whose former task was the organization of the connection between sultan and state apparatus, became a reliable instrument of Abdülhamid II's personal way of rule. In a country where growth of state aparatuses went hand in hand with an increasing personal control of a single person, the single controller falls into a paranoia, and forces that controller to exert his authority in a more desructive way. This vicious circle is the explanation of Moshe Lewin for Stalin's way of ruling (2005: 60). Interestingly, despite their having different eras and conjunctures, Stalin's tendency to control every detail of bureaucratic affairs is looking like the Hamidian tendency (Georgeon 2006: 172). Sultan's mistrust of bureaucrats led to a further mutual alienation between him and Sublime Porte bureaucrats, a fact that would make them members of the polity who would be potential allies of revolutionary challengers.

Another example of Sultan's restoration regards the financial affairs of state. The institutionalization of a separate state treasury went on in Abdülhamid II's reign. However, two acts seem to have restored Sultan's control over financial affairs. In 1893, different state treasuries were compartmentalized and became a single treasury (Göçek 1996: 73). In a conjuncture where Sultan's Yıldız Palace dominated political affairs, different spheres of bureaucracy lost their separated budgets. From that time on, the single treasury became the instrument of a single man in control. Moreover, Abdülhamid II formed his *hazine-i hassa*, a treasury made from his own "private property". On the surface, this establishment may point to a seperation between sultans' household and state treasury, yet several points make one think in a different way. First, this treasury was transformed into a ministry like organization (Georgeon 2006: 191). Secondly, economic rise of this treasury occurred thanks to actions outside economic sphere, like its workers' being exempt from conscription, forcing private property owners to sell their property to the treasury through political measures (Georgeon 2006: 192) and transferring part of a tax income of state to this treasury. So, in short, a very important transformation

into impersonalization -existence of separate and independent budgets of state organs- ended in Hamidian regime.

The internal structure of state bureaucracy was also affected by the restorative measures. A critical aspect regards the integrative capacity of bureaucracy. Thanks to the works of revisionist historians, it is today known that bureaucratic seats of French Ancien Régime were the most appropriate way of accumulation. Such an assisting role of state for the bourgeois elements did not exist in Hamidian regime. Except the top positions in bureaucracy, retainers of state seats were always in poverty. Many officers in the empire even could not get their salaries, and bribery had become a good way of accumulation (Georgeon 2006: 178). So, in sum, state affairs in Hamidian regime could not assist to accumulation by bourgeoisie through political extraction as French Ancien Régime could successfully do once. For the few top positions, Abdülhamid II also preferred to close their doors to majority through several means. First, he always preferred to compromise with local powers and gave provincial public seats to them (Georgeon 2006: 204). Second, he favored old household members to help them enter bureaucracy easily. Educational systems of officers are significant examples of the situation. On one hand, he formed *Aşiret Mektebleri*. The main function of these schools was evaluated as to assimilate local powers (Georgeon 2006: 311, 312), but education of big landords for state positions also meant integration of privileged classes to same positions as well. On the other hand, in Military School *(Mekteb-i Harbiye)* a system of privilege was established. *Zadegan* (Georgeon 2006: 296) or *Paşazade* (Mardin 1992: 69) students were put to separate classes, dormitories and even cafeterias. Moreover, they were more easily promoted then the students who were sons of common people. In principle, this was an open privilege.

4.2. Formation of the Challengers' Coalition:

After the fall of Midhat Pasha, constitutionalist movement was crushed. For more than a decade, no serious constitutionalist organization was formed. That situation changed with the birth of Ottoman Union *(Ittihad-ı Osmani)* in 1889. This was also the year when Ahmed Rıza, one of the future leaders of the revolutionary movement joined Khalil Ghanim, who once had been the MP of the first parliament

and published *La Jeune Turquie*. In the following years, Ahmed Rıza established relations with the committee. In 1894, finally, Dr Nâzım invited Ahmed Rıza to the committee. Ahmed Rıza accepted the invitation and suggested changing the name of the committee as *Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*. The First Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was born. (Hanioğlu 1992: 180).

The period between 1894 and August 1896 witnessed increasing power of the First CUP. In 1895, its important second program was set (Hanioğlu 1992: 183). In the same year, following his failure to enter *Mabeyn*, "Mizancı" Murad (Hanioğlu 1992: 185) joined Unionists. In this period, Armenian organizations' attitude about the movement also began to change. Nevertheless, the main reason of this changing attitude of Armenian organizations was also the cause of the sudden collapse of the First CUP.

It was the failed coup attempt in August 1896 which resulted in the end of the First CUP's internal organization. The collapse also revealed the already existing disputes between Ahmed Rıza and "Mizancı" Murad. Soon, with less radical demands and hoping for a compromise with the Sultan, Murad was convinced by Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha, the chief of Ottoman Intelligence Service, to return to İstanbul. However, promises for reform were never realized. Murad's "treason" was a final blow for the First CUP. From that time on, Ahmed Rıza tried to strengthen his group by presenting his loyalty to the cause. Yet de facto leadership of the movement passed to İshak Sükûti, who escaped from exile in African Tripoli with Abdullah Cevdet in 1897. In Geneva, they began to publish *Osmanlı*. Despite Abdullah Cevdet intended to leave leadership to Ahmed Rıza (Hanioğlu 1992: 275) the struggle between *Osmanlı* and *Mechveret* had already begun. But it would not last too long.

The heat of the Armenian question's emergence in middle of 1890s made ARF call Young Turk movement for joint action and for radicalization of their repertoire. However, the calls in 1897 and 1898 did not result in an alliance, because of some Unionists' objections to such collaboration with an Armenian organization (Avagyan 2005: 18). Rather than radicalization, some Young Turks still insisted on using their limited repertoire. For example, just like "Mizancı" Murad, Geneva group was for a new compromise with Sultanate. The compromise bore fruit:

Abdullah Cevdet and İshak Sükûti became diplomats in Vienna and Rome, and some convicted Young Turks were pardoned by Abdülhamid II in 1899.

At the end of the same year, in another hopeless moment, Young Turks surprisingly found fresh and powerful allies. Damad Mahmud Pasha, the husband of one of Abdülhamid II's sisters, escaped from İstanbul with his two sons, Prince Lütfullah and Prince Sabahaddin. These new allies from the court brought new changes. First change was financial, as the aid of Damad Mahmud Pasha was critical for another time of collapse. A second shift was the new kind of a struggle between Sabahaddin and Ahmed Rıza. Against Ahmed Rıza's ideas which include Turkism, centralism, opposition to a revolutionary repertoire and to a foreign intervention; Sabahaddin's decentralization and toleration to revolutionary practice and to foreign powers took the attention of minority movements. Possibly, this attitude was one of the causes of all opposition groups' coming together in the Congress of Ottoman Opposition, the first major attempt to form a revolutionary coalition in 1902.

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February 1902 witnessed the single congress of opposition during which almost all ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire were represented (Zürcher 2010: 38). The congress did not result in an extensive revolutionary coalition, yet it helped the unification of several detached Young Turk groups in two groups. On one side, majority of Young Turks followed Prince Sabahaddin. Until 1905, this group was called "The Majority". On the other side, centralist members who were against revolutionary repertoire and a foreign intervention joined to the group composed of Ahmed Rıza's coalition with "Activists" (Hanioğlu 2001: 8).

The two groups followed very different paths between 1902 and 1905. The minor coalition, which was formed by "activists" and Ahmed Rıza's associates, tried to form a clear cut ideology in this period. "The Majority" had much more activity. After taking the name Ottoman Freedom-lovers Committee *(Osmanlı Hürriyetperveran Cemiyeti)*, the group tried to establish links with minorities' challengers. It also attempted to assasinate the Sultan. Yet the most serious action of the group was to organize the coup attempt in 1902-1903. The attempt was based on a plan that was to reach to a compromise and collaborate with Receb Pasha, the governor and military commander of Tripoli of Barbary (Hanioğlu 2001: 17). The governorship of Tripoli was an exile position, to which an old member of the First

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CUP, İshak Sükuti had once been. With support of Receb Pasha, the Majority group planned to land soldiers of Tripoli on the Marmara coast. While preparing their plan, the Majority became the first Young Turk group that took the support of British high ranking statesmen (Hanioğlu 2001: 23). Nevertheless, with the failure of the attempt and Damad Mahmud Pasha's death, Ottoman Freedom-lovers Committee's functions ended.

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For both factions of the Young Turk movement, the 1905-1907 period seems to be a turning point. In these years, the two groups reorganized themselves. Results of this reorganization determined not only the execution of the July 1908 Revolution but also the following antagonisms between different political groups.

It can be argued that Prince Sabahaddin, as a leader of one important faction of Young Turks after 1902, feeled the need for a new network in 1905. With that feeling, he formed a new organization named The League of Private Initiative and Decentralization *(Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti)* in 1906. Yet the new League was much weaker than his old Ottoman Freedom-lovers Committee, which led Sabahaddin to change his revolutionary repertoire. In the new strategy, old means of foreign intervention was kept. Also, the stress on joint action with minority groups was reinforced. The program of the League included a reformation of Sabahaddin's decentralization argument. Having no alternative, he began to present decentralization as a privilege to be accorded to minority groups of the Empire that seek for autonomy. The change allowed The League to evolve into a platform of minority rights' defence (Hanioğlu 2001: 88).

The most important change, however, was to leave the coup d'état instrument. Rather than preparing for coups, Sabahaddin's League preferred to assist the revolts in Eastern Anatolia between 1905 and 1907. Overall, new strategies necessitated and tolerated a weaker organizational structure; and rather than taking state power, it aimed to take attention of Great Powers through popular revolts of minorities, particularly with Armenian organizations in Eastern Anatolia (Hanioğlu 2001: 95). However, despite The League was the only Young Turk power assisting ARF in East Anatolian Revolts, its aids were limited to the participation of a member dispatched from Paris, Hüseyin Tosun (Hanioğlu 2001: 93).

The coalition of Ahmed Rıza's followers and "Activists" had significant changes in the period. For them the era was the time of reorganization through two important steps.

The first step was institutionalization and forming a new division of work in Europe. With the efforts of Bahaeddin Şakir, who joined the movement in September 1905, the coalition was transformed into a "well organized activist committee" by taking several steps (Hanioğlu 2001: 130-131). First, branches began to enjoy autonomy. Second, the group gave up paying attention to intentions and ideas of branches and focused only on their dynamic activism. Third, in Europe, the organization became impersonalized. It left Ahmed Rıza's private apartment and possessed independent offices for the first time. Finally and most importantly, the central committee's division of work had been radically changed. The new divisions made Bahaeddin Şakir the hidden leader of the Committee, with a much less resistance from Ahmed Rıza, who thought that his old charisma would make him the natural leader in time. Rather than a leader, he became an honourable old symbol of the movement with limited role in actual decision making (Hanioğlu 2001: 138, 139, 143, 146). However, Ahmed Rıza was also giving away his strict line of the defence of traditional repertoire. It seems that he began to leave his ideas which had previously been against revolutionary action. This was symbolically a very important change, as he had kept this idea during the entire movement until recently, and had strictly defended it against more powerful figures like "Mizancı" Murad, İshak Sükûti and Prince Sabahaddin.

A second great step of the "Coalition" and "Activists" was the reestablishment of relations with other revolutionary organizations in the Empire, who would be the executers of the July 1908 Revolution.

The extreme repression of monarchy in 1896-1897 caused the loss of connections between First CUP's cells. Yet some cells kept themselves operable for a new revolutionary network (Zürcher 2010: 42). In addition to these old networks, several tiny organizations began to be formed. Those tiny organizations' members were affected by liberal ideas, yet those ideas seem to be instrumental for their main motivation of preserving the empire (Zürcher 2010: 45)

The committee that succeeded to unite most of those separated organizations was Ottoman Freedom Society (*Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti*), which was found in

Salonica, on September 1906. Founders of OFC were mostly old members of First CUP like Talât Bey, Midhat Şükrü, Mustafa Rahmi and Kazım Nâmi (Hanioğlu 2001: 213). The organization first tried to increase its members. Later, OFC offered merger with the Coalition, which had recently changed its name to Ottoman Committee of Progress and Union (CPU). Despite the hesitations of Dr Nâzım, who was sent by CPU to the Empire to discuss the issue, the merger was realized on 27 September 1907 (Hanioğlu 2001: 214, 215).

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The main reason behind this sudden reorganization of both Young Turk organizations is debateful. Hanioğlu explains the transformation of the second group with the abilities and successes of Dr Bahaeddin Şakir (2001: 131). However, the changes of Young Turks can also be explained by structural impacts. For example, Sohrabi underlines the effects of 1905 Russian Revolution and 1906 Persian Revolution. For him, upheavals in these countries made Young Turks change their repertoire (2002: 48). The revolution revealed the importance of being organized (Sohrabi 2002: 59). Also, for Sohrabi the two revolutions (1905 Russia and 1906 Persia) motivated Young Turks, who thought that history was on their side (2002: 70). The mention of Sohrabi has a critical importance, as he can shift the attention from East Anatolian revolts to other facts that can also test the existence of a relation between three revolutions.

Another cause of the sudden organization of Young Turk movement both inside and outside the Empire may be the recent revolts in Macedonia. After a congress of Macedonian revolutionary organizations on January 1903, about 30.000 revolutionaries and peasants revolted on 20 July 1903. The repression of the revolt took three months of the Ottoman Army (Avagyan and Minassian 2005: 20). This revolt also may have revealed the reducing repressive capacity of the Sultanate and showed better organized collective action's impotance.

Armenian organizations in the Empire were affected by the revolutions in Russia and Persia too. These organizations used to focus on the Ottoman Empire more than Russia. However, expropriation of the property of Armenian churches by the Tsar turned their face on the struggle in Russia (Avagyan and Minassian 2005: 20). Armenian organizations already had had a revolutionary repertoire and they had also experienced two revolutions in 1905 and 1906. After the Tsar crushed the

revolution in 1907, Armenian Revolutionary organizations must have focused on the Otoman Empire again, that time with a greater experience. It was one of these major Armenian organizations, ARF that would call for a new Congress of Ottoman Opposition Parties in 1907.

<center>***</center>

The participants of the congress in 1907 were much less than the one in 1902. However, with evolving repertoire of Young Turks, for the first time, a revolutionary coalition of challengers was to be formed.

The low participation was not deliberate on the part of the formers of the coalition. There were attempts to make several organizations join the congress. Albanian Bashkimi Society, Kutzo Vlach Committee, Ligue Hellenique turned the offers down (Hanioğlu 2001: 200). Verakazmial Hunchakian Committee and Hunchakian Committee also rejected the offer of ARF and instead suggested a congress that would bring Armenian organizations together (Avagyan and Minassian 2005: 23). A greater revolutionary organization, IMRO also did not join the congress. Nevertheless, the left wing of IMRO, which was in clash with the major right wing, would change its policy later. This group, also called Serres Group, would later accept the views of the congress under the leadership of Jane Sandanski. So, significant participants remained as CPU, ARF and The League of Private Initiative and Decentralization.

After the three sessions between December 27 and 19, 1907, Congress decided to issue a declaration which included three targets and six instruments to accomplish. The three targets were:

"1. To force Sultan Hamid to abdicate.

2. To change the present administration drastically.

3. To establish a system of *meşveret* (consultation) and constitutional [government]." (Hanioğlu 2001: 205)

And the six tactics were:

"1. Armed resistance against the government's actions and operations.

2. Unarmed resistance. Strike[s] of policemen and government officials; their quitting of work.

3. Nonpayment of taxes to the present administration.

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4. Propaganda within the army. The soldiers will be urged not to move against rebels.

5. General rebellion.

6. Other means of action to be taken in accordance with the course of events" (Hanioğlu 2001: 205)

With those tactics and targets, finally a revolutionary coalition of challengers to the repersonalized rule of Abdülhamid II was born.

4.3. The First Revolutionary Situation and Outcome (July 1908):

4.3.1. Anatolian Revolts:

Between late 1905 and 1907, in several provinces of Anatolia, revolts took place. The major cause of these revolts seems to be sultanate's increasing demands from its subjects. In August 1903, the government decided to collect two new taxes called *şahsi vergi* and *hayvanat-i ehliye rüsumu*. A second critical cause was monarchy's inability to meet with its subjects' regular demands. For example, government could not pay soldiers' salaries, increasing the dissatisfaction of soldiers. The possibility of being assigned to a duty in Yemen during the Yemen Revolt also increased that dissatisfaction. In some cases, the attitude of local notables and officials also motivated the rebellions.

The first wave of protests was triggered by such a cause. In August 1905, in Diyarbekir, reactions against a Kurdish tribal chief, Milli İbrahim Pasha began. Through demonstrations and telegrams sent from occupied post offices, people demanded government action against his attacks on villages (Hanioğlu 2001: 106). The lack of response led to new demonstrations in November 1905 and January 1906. The promise by local authorities to punish Milli İbrahim Pasha calmed the crowds. However, after seeing no change, finally in November 1907, protestors occupied the post office for eleven days and did "bombard the authorities in the capital with telegrams of protest" (Hanioğlu 2001: 107). Following that protest, government sent Milli İbrahim Pasha to Aleppo and sent a commision for investigation. After this response, protests ended in Diyarbekir.

A second wave started in January 1906, Kastamonu. Events in this town began with crowds' rejection to participate in local elections. With increased taxes through *şahsi vergi*, locals of Kastamonu wanted the payments of local government inspected by İstanbul. Governor Enis Pasha's not paying taxes was also complained (Kansu 2002: 40). Locals sent a petition to government, demanding the payment of all *şahsi vergi* by Enis Pasha himself. Like in Diyarbekir, government did not give attention to the first demands. This lack of response by the government caused a post office occupation that continued for ten days. Enis Pasha was dismissed as a result, on 1 February (Kansu 2002: 43).

Trabzon was another center of collective action prior to the July 1908 Revolution. During October 1906, demostrations took place in the town to force government dismiss governor İbrahim Pasha. Unlike the previous cases, government responded to the demands quickly and accepted them. The reason of this quick response may be related to soldiers, as Trabzon had a port from which reinforcements were dispatched from Yemen, so there were mutinies in town (Hanioğlu 2001: 105 106). Immediate responses went hand in hand with repressive measures. In February 1907, İshak Bey, a revolutionary who was to form a CPU branch was arrested, as the government found connections between CPU branch in Paris and İshak Bey and exiled officers. Governor of Trabzon was changed once again according to local demands at the same time. In March, tension increased again with suicide of Hamdi Pasha, the Trabzon garrison commander. The execution of his assassin Naci Bey occurred laterly and secretly because of the public sympathy for him and his suicide (Kansu 2002: 72-73). In December 1907, new demonstrations were made against the new governor.

The rebellious wave in Van was more violent. It began with governor Ali Bey's order to collect new taxes. Protesters against taxation applied for a foreign intervention through applying to consulates. When gendarme force tried to enter consulate buildings, they clashed with positioned Dashnak militants (Kansu 2002: 71-73). In Van, the government chose repression as response, yet it was not such a successful one. Dashnak militants were able to shock government by killing both assistant governor Ermenak Efendi (Hanioğlu 2001: 108) and governor Ali Bey on his way to İstanbul (Kansu 2002: 80).

The greatest "unending" wave of revolts was in Erzurum (Hanioğlu 2001: 109). The dissatisfaction began with new taxes. In February 1906, the people of Erzurum sent a petition to governor Nazım Pasha. Although Nazım Pasha promised to take care of the situation, nothing changed (Kansu 2002: 44-45). On 13 March 1906, the crowd occupied post offices for a direct contact with İstanbul. Soldiers did not obey repressive orders of their officers, and müfti of the town joined with demonstrators. On 18 March, many new telegrams were sent to government (Kansu 2002: 46). On 28 March the crowd began to demand governor's dismissal. Starting from that day, for ten days, nobody went to schools and workshops. Even officers did not go to work. Government control de facto disappeared for the following ten days (Kansu 2002: 47). In response, the government decided to use force to crush the rebellion. Yet soldiers' refusal to use force made government accept the demands of the people of Erzurum and replace governor Nazım Pasha (Kansu 2002: 48-49).

The government instructed new governor Mehmet Ata Bey who came to Erzurum in May 1906 to find a way to go on taxation (Hanioğlu 2001: 112). On 21 October 1906, new demonstrations were made against taxation. At that time, gendarme fired on demonstrators. People reacted to the shootings and killed the gendarme commander (Kansu 2002: 55). Next day İstanbul ordered governor to arrest people who had taken part events in March 1906 and to send them to exile. People's reaction to arrests was extreme. They occupied governor's office and held him hostage. At the end, prisoners and the governor were mutually freed (Hanioğlu 2001: 112). The freed governor was dismissed one week later on 29 October. New governor Mustafa Nuri Bey was found *"hürriyetçi"*, but telegrams demanding a new dismissal began in January 1907 again (Kansu 2002: 65). With the arrest of Sıtkı Bey, who was distributing revolutionary literature, demonstrations demanding abolishment of taxes continued on 5 March. These demonstrations lasted until 22 March. Step by step government softened the conditions and accepted their demands. First, on 10 March, it declared an amnesty. On 25 March, tax conditions have been changed. Later, they were totally abolished (Kansu 2002: 68-70). Governor Mustafa Nuri Bey kept his office during these events, yet he resigned in September 1907. During the era of the new governor Abdül Vehab Paşa, government changed its policy again and began to look for repressive measures. On

25 November, all participants in the first events of February 1906 were arrested (Hanioğlu 2001: 114). Despite the protest of women of the town, in February 1908, Erzurum Criminal Court passed various sentences on sixty nine individuals (Kansu 2002: 84; Hanioğlu 2001: 114).

Before July 1908 Revolution, soldiers also mutinied in several places. Mostly, they were caused by unpaid salaries and bad conditions. In response, the government mostly tried to pay their salaries, and in few cases, it preferred to use force.

Table 3: Mutinies before the July 1908 Revolution

Time	Place	Reason/Demand	Government Response
February 1907	İskenderun	Salaries and food	Payment
May 1907	Üsküb	Salaries	Payment
May 1907	İzmir	Salaries	Payment
June 1907	İzmir	Salaries	Payment
September 1907	Erzurum	Salaries	Repression
September 1907	Diyarbekir	Salaries	Repression
March 1908	Edirne	Salaries	Payment

Source: **(Kansu 2002: 112-115)**

In general, it is seen that the Anatolian revolts and soldiers' revolts were mostly caused by governments' increasing demands like taxation or duties in Yemen; by governments' inability to meet demands like salaries and by attitudes of local officials or allies of government. These collective actions' repertoire was mostly determined by government's response. Usually, actions start with petitions to and demands from the governor. His attitude, usually defined by the orders from İstanbul, shaped the further steps of challengers. Mostly, protesters occupied post offices and sent telegrams to İstanbul, demanding reduction of taxes, dismissal of governor, and fair spending. In few cases when revolutionaries were to contact with crowds and declared radical claims -like in Erzurum and Van, government tried to crush the protesters as long as it is able to. However, when government saw its low repressive capacity, it usually tried to overcome the resistance by responding to non radical demands. It usually replaced governors and -partially or totally- abolished taxes. This attitude mostly prevented further alienation of masses, which may have caused radicalizations.

4.3.2. Macedonia and the Execution of the July 1908 Revolution:

Revolts in Anatolia did not give way to revolution because of two reasons. First, traditional opportunity structure in Anatolia was limited. In Hanioğlu's words, "a banned newspaper was more dangerous than time bomb, and no officer could obtain leave even to quit his garrison town" (2001: 238). Second, demands in Anatolian revolts were usually not revolutionary, as in Anatolia revolutionary ideas met with few people.

In Macedonia, however, conditions were very different. First, here, "banned publications were openly read in cafés, and officers had the prerogative of traveling almost anywhere they wanted, ostensibly in pursuit of the bands; thus they could easily disseminate propaganda" (Hanioğlu 2001: 238). Second, the revolutionary organizations mostly focused on this fertile land and established a great network. While sending telegrams was radical in Anatolia, it was a Macedonian routine (Hanioğlu 2001: 259).

The main way of setting up a network was through winning over already established ones. By 1905, Turkish and Albanian bands began to appear and fight against previously formed Christian bands. Their appearance nourished from two facts: On the one hand, Muslim notables and landlords favored and helped them as they protected Muslims' property. On the other, Ottoman officers were impressed by these bands. Officers, seeing the already established links between Christian bands and political organizations, began to think about creating the same link between Muslim bands and the CUP. They informed Dr Nâzım that they began to assist the bands militarily and advised him to convert them to their cause (Hanioğlu 2001: 222). Moreover, converted bands also welcomed and recruited criminals and deserters to increase in number (Hanioğlu 2001: 226). These were to establish a de facto control in Macedonia through winning Muslim population (Hanioğlu 2001: 227).

Convinced by the officers in Macedonia, Dr Nâzım tried the same conversion during his attempts to form a revolutionary network in Western Anatolia. He contacted famous Çakırcalı Efe, yet he failed to convince him. The only successful conversion was in Bursa. Here, a band joined the cause of CPU and would come close to İzmir during the revolutionary situation (Hanioğlu 2001: 226, 227).

CPU also tried to recruit some members of the army, who would be an indispensible instrument of revolution and the force that would prevent possible foreign inteventions during the execution of revolution (Hanioğlu 2001: 220). The Committee was able to convert many junior officers in a short time in Macedonia. The officers were to establish cells as "CPU gendarme forces" and these were to respond attacks on revolutionaries through assasinations during the revolutionary situation (Hanioğlu 2001: 228). Also, thanks to Dr Nâzım's efforts among the reserve troops in Aydın Province, many officers of these troops not only promised not to repress the revolutionaries in the future but also would join CPU (Hanioğlu 2001: 231).

Members of CPU were also aware of the fact that their relations with other oppositionary forces would shape the revolution. CPU neutralized the right wing of IMRO and Greek opposition. Moreover, it came to an agreement with Sandanski's left wing of IMRO, whose stress on the solidarity of all Ottoman people as an organization which was not bound to any state in the Balkans could be useful to present image of revolution for great powers (Hanioğlu 2001: 244, 245). Also, support of Albanian bands and population was very critical for CPU. Their loyalty to the personality of Sultan might make CPU suffer later, so CPU members chose a strategy to agitate Albanians not against Sultan but against the ones around him. By doing this, CPU won most of Albanian bands which were to join "national battalions" later (Hanioğlu 2001: 255, 256). Albanian intellectuals, including old Young Turks who had begun to devote themselves to Albanian nationalism like İsmail Kemal Bey, also changed their attitude: fearing from a foreign intervention in Albania, they gave their support to CPU, as it presented itself as an organization trying to prevent such an interference (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 176) Finally, Unionists secretly took a promise from crown prince Reşad Efendi to be loyal to the constitution (Hanioğlu 2001: 261).

In short, CPU transformed itself profoundly, not only in Europe but also in the Empire after 1905. It prepared itself for a threefold neutralization strategy: of other revolutionary organizations, Great Powers, and the army, envisioning a struggle that would last for months (Hanioğlu 2001: 227). To have such ability, CPU was on the way of building a strong network. However, a sudden blow that had the potential to change the conjuncture in Macedonia intercepted the Committee during this process.

In June 1908, King Edward VII of Britain and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia met in Reval. The rumours that two monarchs would decide for a partition of Macedonia pushed CPU members for a quick decision. The CPU cell in Resen *(Resne)* decided to start armed struggle in 28 June 1908 (Avagyan and Minassian 2005: 27). The first step belonged to Adjutant-Major Ahmed Niyazi of Resen. He took many soldiers of Resen Reserve Battalion and a group of civil officials with him. On the mountains, he united his forces with Muslim bands and formed "CPU Resen National Battalion" (Hanioğlu 2001: 267; Kansu 2002: 123). Niyazi asked the people of Ohrid to pay the taxes to him and in return he offered the protection of their lives, property and honour (Ahmad 2007: 21). Many other junior officers followed Niyazi. Among them, on July 7, Enver took up to mountains in Tikveş and Eyüp Sabri did the same in Ohrid on 20 July.

The immediate response of the government to the revolt was repression. Nevertheless it was faced with several difficulties. After local troops refused to pursue battalions of CPU (Hanioğlu 2001: 267), government underwent another shock. On July 7, Şemsi Pasha, who was about to take the command of repression was asssasinated. Neither event did not change government's attitude. However, another shock wave forced government to change its policy. On July 14, soldiers of the Aydın First Class Reservist Battalion began to march on Salonica. Just after their arrival, they refused to engage on CPU battalions (Hanioğlu 2001: 269). Finally, after this major collapse, members of the polity began to see the inability of repressive measures' execution. A sign of this changing perspective can be seen in views of the General Inspector of Rumelia and the future grand vizier Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, who warned the government and pointed at its inability to dispel the revolutionaries (Tunaya 2000: 44-45). Soon, government policy began to change. Rather than repression, it tried the old method of accommodating the challengers into members of polity: On July 16, revolutionary officers were pardoned and even promoted (Kansu 2002: 129-130).

However the government was too late to persuade revolutionaries. Unlike ones in the First CPU, joining to members of the polity was not an interest of new CPU's members. CPU had already begun to investigate the possible attitude of Britain "if some constitutional government could be set up locally" (Hanioğlu 2001: 273). On the same days of general amnesty, on July15 and 17, CPU warned local governors

and declared that anyone who did not obey the orders of CPU would be executed (Hanioğlu 2001: 270). On 20 July, in Monastir, CPU branch declared that its "comité de salut public was in charge of the town" (Hanioğlu 2001: 273). The first ultimatum to the Sultan was sent on the same day (Zürcher 2010: 26).

Final steps began with the CPU Internal Headquarters's taking the command of revolutionary forces: Rejection of their *fait accompli* would result in the march of an Army of Liberation, which would also include joining forces of left wing of IMRO (Hanioğlu 2001: 263). In short, CPU had paralyzed the administration and became a state in state in the three provinces of Macedonia (Hanioğlu 2001: 271). By July 23, it had 4000 armed men, 20000 fully armed Albanian Gegs, the Serres and Strumica band of left wing IMRO, First Class Reservist Battalions of Aydın that arrived Macedonia. It also had support of many junior officers of Third Army, which included 70000 soldiers, a number far greater than ones of the First and Second Armies that laid between Macedonia and İstanbul (Hanioğlu 2001: 278).

With such a force, final steps were taken by CUP to overthrow the absolutist regime. On July 22, CPU Resen Battalion seized all official buildings and declared that 1876 Constitution would be put into effect on July 23 (Hanioğlu 2001: 274). On 23 July, CPU Monastir Branch issued an ultimatum to government, demanding restoration of Constitution by July 26 (Hanioğlu 2001: 274). At the same day, the same branch declared *"hürriyet"* locally.

The last attempt of the Sultanate to resist to the demands for a constitution was to replace the grand vizier. Mehmed Said Pasha, who had hold and had lost this position several times previously, became grand vizier on July 23. Together with this change, the greatest military office, *"serasker"* was replaced with *"harbiye nazırı"*, which was a sign of giving some responsibility to cabinet (Kansu 2002: 130-131). Finally, on July 24, Abdülhamid II declared *"hürriyet"* after it had already been declared in Monastır, Drama, Resen, Debar and other towns in Macedonia and Albania.

The declaration of *"hürriyet"* caused different reactions among masses and organizations. These reactions varied from one province and from one political organization to another.

Hacısalihoğlu (2008: 206) points at the role of CPU organization in the celebrations throughout Rumelia. Here, Unionists clearly underlined the fraternity of

all nations of the Empire. The internationalist tone of revolutionaries were so strong that, for instance, Enver Bey could state that the Unionists would never forget that they learned liberty from Greeks and say "long live Greece" (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 208). It can be argued that independent organizations of Albanians and Left IMRO, which supported the revolution, joined to celebrations more willingly than ones under other Balkan states' control. These organizations watched the revolution from distance and criticized the movement at first. However, they observed Great Powers' approval of the revolutionaries' tone and joined to the celebrations not to seem as organizations that are against the fraternity of all Ottoman people (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 212-214).

The same tone of fraternity could also be seen in other provinces. In the capital, on August 13, a meeting of Turkish Armenian brotherhood could be made. Common demonstrations of Muslims and Christians were also witnessed in Adana, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, İskenderun, İzmir, Mersin, Konya, Samsun and Trabzon (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 217). In Anatolia, the crowds attacked civil servants of the Hamidian regime (Emiroğlu 1999: 47). In Arab provinces, masses and notables seemed more suspicious about the declaration, yet in coastal provinces masses celebrated the event more enthusiastically (Kayalı 2003: 68-69). In general, despite Committee's high prestige, it could not fully control the movement's psychological athmosphere (Emiroğlu 1999: 26).

4.4. July 1908-April 1909: From the First Revolutionary Situation to the Second:

Between the declaration of *"hürriyet"* and opening of the parliament, CUP settled a parallel administration in the Empire. Not only it took charge of certain functions of state apparatus but also it gave many "advices" to the government that could not be ignored. Hanioğlu gives many examples to the fact, including dictating conditions of amnesties, ordering to deploy military patrols in capital, advising local people to pay taxes -very differently from the advice of Niyazi during the revolutionary situation, and even granting permits for performance of plays in theaters (Hanioğlu 2001: 281). Even in December 1908, CUP was forcing Abdülhamid II to dismiss some infamous members of Senate (Ahmad 2007: 48).

People also seem to have adapted to the changes, as they began to appeal to the Committee for several governmental procedures including weddings and alimonies (Emiroğlu 1999: 43).

There is a tendency to see CUP as an absolute power holder in the Empire after July 1908. Rather, it can be demonstrated that the period, similar to all other revolutions, witnessed intersections of different powers and weaknesses. Examples can be given for this period of revolution. For instance, taking charge of state affairs did not mean that CUP had an absolute control in the country. Beyond state affairs, and the public celebrations presented above, it could not even control its branches totally. Many new branches were opened after the July Revolution, and the Committee was unable to determine their attitudes (Emiroğlu 1999: 51). For example, some branches were continuing the call for not paying taxes (Hanioğlu 2001: 282)

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The first changes of the July Revvolution were in state apparatus. CUP was determined to rebuild entire bureaucracy (Hanioğlu 2001: 286, 287). In the first week of August, the committee came up with the arrest of old regime's infamous pashas. Usually with accusation of corruption, arrests began. With provision of some repayments and on the condition of not leaving Büyükada some of these pashas were evicted (Kansu 2002: 179 190).

Only days after the July Revolution, on August 10, news of officials' dismissal and bureaucratic reforms were being considered (Kansu 2002: 203). Soon, reforms began, including Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of War and Ministry of the Navy (Kansu 2002: 190 197 204 206 211). The reforms included changes of many commanders of armies, ambassadors and governors. After the continuing changes, by May 1910, 80 % of bureaucracy was reformed (Ahmad 2007: 42)

Table 4: Turnover Rates for Bureaucrats, 1906, 1906-1910

March 1906 to July 23, 1908			
Position	Total Number	Number of Changes	Percentage
Governors Provincial Communications	29	17	59%

Table 4 (Continued)

Directors	27	10	37%
Provincial Education			
Directors	27	7	26%
Ambassadors	16	2	13%
Chargés d'affaires	16	3	19%

July 24, 1908 to March 1910

Governors	29	29	100%
Provincial Communications			
Directors	27	25	93%
Provincial Education			
Directors	27	25	93%
Ambassadors	16	16	100%
Chargés d'affaires	16	15	94%

Source: **(Hanioğlu 2001: 287)**

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The interpretation about the sides of new conflicts following the July Revolution are diverse. One argument is of Aykut Kansu, for whom the five year struggle after the July Revolution was between revolutionaries and monarchists who seek for a restoration at all costs (2000: 11). So, for Kansu, Kamil Pasha, whose cabinet replaced that of Said Pasha in 5 August 1908 was a natural ally of Abdülhamid II (Kansu 2000: 42-43). He also has the same argument for Young Turks that who were not CUP members. According to this perspective, many non active Young Turks of the July Revolution, like Prince Sabahaddin, İsmail Kemal and "Mizancı" Murad are monarchist figures (Kansu 2000).

Another line argues for a threefold conflict after revolution. From this perspective, three forces that struggled in the era were CUP, Sublime Porte and Abdülhamid II -or Yıldız Palace (Ahmad 2007: 36, Hanioğlu 2001: 279; Kayalı 2003: 63). For instance, for Ahmad the balance of power in the first place took such a shape: that Sublime Porte and CUP united their forces against Yıldız Palace. While Porte became power, CUP acted as a guardian of constitution (2007: 36).

Despite this model is more flexible than Kansu's, it hardly defines other Young Turk groups' and Islamists' role. As it will be seen later, both groups had critical

roles on the way to the second revolutionary situation that occurred in April 1909. So, to conclude, it can be claimed that relations between five groups defined the short era between the revolutionary outcome in 1908 and the revolutionary situation in April 1909: CUP, other Young Turk groups, Sublime Porte, Islamists and Yıldız Palace.

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The story of the first cabinet of the Constitutional Period was quite short. In fact, the clash between Said Pasha, the Grand Vizier of this cabinet and the CUP started early because of an old palace sleuth's appointment as Minister of War. Despite the cabinet resigned on 1 August, the new cabinet was to be formed by Said Pasha again (Kansu 2002: 161). However, seeing that he and CUP could not reach to an agreement on the 1 August Imperial Decree that gives the right to appoint Ministers of War and the Navy to Sultan, Said Pasha resigned with his cabinet and was replaced by Kâmil Pasha. Starting with Kâmil Pasha's cabinet, the right of the appointment of the two ministries passed to grand vizier (Kansu 2002: 171- 172).

At the beginning relations between CUP and Kâmil Pasha Cabinet was not uneasy. CUP had to tolerate a government of pashas of old regime, as their lack of experience forced its members to do so (Ahmad 2007: 34, 46). Cabinet's program, announced on 16 August was also tolerable for CPU. This program stressed finance as the most important problem of the Empire. It pointed to reduce number of officials and official salaries. Moreover, it stresses capitulations, education, conscription, and protection of private property as other problems to deal with (Kansu 2002: 201).

The relations worsened quickly between the cabinet and the CUP. Kâmil Pasha, as a representative of Tanzimat tradition, believed in the need of an absolute power of the Sublime Porte. Committee's conntinuing interference into state affairs was to turn him against Unionists (Hanioğlu 2001: 285). Moreover, after the opening of the Parliament, CUP's power became more challenging for Kâmil Pasha. After the elections, Parliament was opened on 17 December 1908. Although it did not win an absolute majority, CUP was the only organized major group in the Parliament (Kansu 2000: 24), a fact that made it strong enough to elect Ahmed Rıza as President of the Chamber.

It was also Kâmil Pasha's attempt to increase his own power which increased the tension. On 7 February 1909, his attempt to restrict press freedom faced with a great resistance in the Chamber of Deputies. Three days later, on 10 February 1909, Kâmil Pasha dismissed Ministers of War and the Navy. Maneuvers for these two positions always took attention in this period. Previously, it was Said Pasha's choices for these positions that led to his early fall. Kâmil Pasha faced with a reaction too. His step angered not only Unionists but also Abdülhamid II, who stated his fear that Kâmil Pasha wanted to be a dictator (Ahmad 2007: 53). Tension increased on 12 February, which made CUP warn the Unionist officers of Second and Third Armies in Edirne and Salonica to be ready for a countermeasure (Kansu 2000 48 49). Finally, next day Chamber gave a vote of no confidence to Kamil Pasha Cabinet at a time when Kamil Pasha also decided to resign. The program of the new cabinet formed by Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha was declared on 17 February.

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During the struggle between CUP and Kâmil Pasha, opposition in the Empire began to take form. New challengers to the coalition of new members of the polity were appearing. Liberal Union *(Ahrar Fırkası)*, which had several Young Turks who did not participate CPU-OFC line and who could not take part in the execution of July Revolution among its ranks, was formed in 14 September 1908. By January 1909, Liberal Union began to establish close links with Kamil Pasha.

Popular Islamist movements also began just after the July Revolution. In October 1908, which was also Ramadan month, two demonstrations were organized (Zürcher 2005: 108). In one of these demonstrations, demonstrators came to Yıldız Palace under the leadership of Kör Ali, who demanded from Abdülhamid II to abolish constitution and execute shari'a (Ahmad 2007: 43-44). On the very same October, soldiers of Abdülhamid II's Imperial Guard *(Hassa Ordusu)* did not obey the orders and refused to go to Jedda (Ahmad 2007: 44).

In late March and early April, opposition matured. On 3 April 1909, Mohammedan Union *(İttihad-ı Muhammedi)* was formed. Among its ranks, there were figures close to Yıldız Palace like eunuchs, one son and one nephew of the Sultan; yet there were also some old Young Turks like "Mizancı" Murad (Kansu 2000: 69). On 7 April 1909, the murder of Hasan Fehmi, who was a writer of a

newspaper which was opposing CUP, gave the opposition an opprtunity to show its mobilization strength. In the funeral, an opposition demonstration was made.

Generally, opposition's discourse seems to have targeted CUP itself rather than the new constitutional regime. In contrast, the committee presented opposition as enemies of the constitutional regime. This argument was also shared by members of ARF and several organizations in Macedonia. As it would be seen below, neither discourses did change during and after the 31 March incident, or counterrevolution of 13 April.

4.5. Revolutionary Situation without Outcome: April 1909

As it was stated above, political classification of groups between two revolutionary situations is debateful. Yet scholars have much less disagreement about the social groups that would support the revolutionary situation in April. Zürcher counts various groups: Generally, ones who earned their living from the structure of old regime like agents of Yıldız Palace; *"alaylı"* soldiers, who had been easily promoted before thanks to their loyalty in the absolutist regime; other soldiers, who miss the old lack of discipline after increasing discipline in new regime; officials, who were dismissed or under the threat of dismiss after bureaucratic reforms' start; *ulema*, who feared from the end of the privilege of Islam; and finaly, Liberal Union's members, whose source of motivation seems to be different: fear from Unionist monopolization of power (2005: 113-115). In addition to these, one group that Ahmad points can be counted: Ones who immediately joined the CUP for material benefits after July, yet felt disappointment lately (2007: 63).

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Defining the events started on 13 April 1909 is another object of debate in Turkish history. For a line of thought, failure of the attempt and relative unimportance of the constitutional period -than 1923- makes one call the event as an "incident". Despite this line can be affected from Kemalism as Kansu argues (2002) it can be defended that with the changing political climate in Turkey, Kemalist

historiography began to give the event a greater importance, 31 March "shows" the brutal potential of Islamism and shari'a.

Kansu calls the event a counterrevolution. His distinction between two groups -revolutionaries and monarchists- is in accordance with this argument, as counterrevolution's agents were the monarchist group for him (2000). Also, another statement that makes him argue for the counterrevolution idea is the good planning and organization of the agents (2000: 124).

The facts that make him argue in this way can be evaluated in a different way. Above, it is already argued that the classification of powers can include more divisions. Beyond this, also for the good organization idea, it may be argued that relations between good organization and counterrevolutions do not have to be in the way Kansu thinks. On the contrary, counterrevolutionaries, as subjects of revolution, are always caught by surprise, and form much less organized groups after suddenly losing their networks. The fact makes counterrevolutionaries more disorganized and separated groups, who start their adventure from separate times and places. In words of Peter Struve "In a revolution, only revolutionaries can find their way" (Figes 1998: 560). Several examples can be given to the fact: The time and place of Vendée and émigrés did not seem to be determined in coordination, just like in the case of White Armies of Russia. So, well organization and coordinated actions may point to another kind of collective action.

Zürcher notes that 31 March incident was started by Liberal Union, yet in time it lost the control of events. Islamists, who were mobilized by a superficial Islamic tone were thought to be controlled by liberals, however they went out of control after the break of revolt (2005: 116-117). In fact, it seems that writings of liberals during the events show liberals' disappointment. At the beginning, they presented the event a great step, even a more complete revolution then July Revolution, because it ended CUP's domination. In fact, Liberal Union and Mohammedan Union's writers underlined the importance of constitution. The Greek challengers also underlined that April Revolution was seen as a collectie action against CUP rather than the Constitution itself (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 298). However, in time, as Akşin shows, the challengers saw that many things went wrong. First, they could not make Kâmil Pasha's appointment as Grand Vizier; second, military students were killed -Liberal Union had as many soldier members as CUP; third, dead ministers

gave rise to already existing speculations that revolution was against constitution; and finally -and most dangerously- in time, Sultan Abdülhamid II step by step began to take the control in the capital, as rebellious crowds' allegiance to him began to increase rapidly: his Yıldız Palace became the only organized and operating unit in the capital (Akşin 1994: 99 100). Such a danger made liberals even discuss his dethronement as Prince Sabahaddin did during the incidents (Akşin 1994: 95 96). Below, the events and reflections of different forces to those incidents are briefly summarized.

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It was mutineers in İstanbul who started the April Revolution. After marching out of their barracks to Haghia Sophia Square and uniting with several ex-army officers, about 3.000 revolters surrounded the Parliament (Akşin 1994: 46). The crowd was motivated by the slogans "religion in danger" of some hodjas (Kansu 2000: 79-80). Crowds also marched to Yıldız Palace. Moreover, during the marches, mutineered soldiers killed some military students. "Mizancı" Murad Bey immediately demanded the resignation of both the Cabinet and the President of Chamber of Deputies, Ahmed Rıza Bey (Kansu 2000: 83).

It is seen that the revolt was faced with almost no repressive response. Military in İstanbul showed no reaction, and Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha did not show any intention to crush the revolt (Akşin 1994: 46). Their reactions reveal that government was clearly not able to supress the revolt. Whatever his real intention was, his cabinet had already been given a vote of no confidence by the remaining deputies of the surrounded parliament, thanks to İsmail Kemal Bey's efforts, who also replaced Ahmed Rıza Bey and became the President of the Chamber of Deputies (Kansu 2000: 84). Abdülhamid II also did not resist to revolt; he pardoned mutinied soldiers immediately.

While appointing Tevfik Pasha as the new Grand Vizier, Abdülhamid II took a serious step, which can be seen as a sign of his wish to restore his power. He tried to retake the right to appoint Ministers of War and the Navy on April 14 (Kansu 2000: 87; Akşin 1994: 67; Ahmad 2007: 62). Despite he did not succeed, he became the de facto appointer of military officers during the incident (Akşin 1994: 68; Kansu 2000: 87). Although Abdülhamid II himself declared that he did not wish *"istibdad"* back and *"mabeyn-i hümayun"* announced that the government would protect constitution

(Akşin 194: 70-71), the two factors, namely his wish for control of some very critical appointments and his de facto being the only power in İstanbul after the revolt was opening the way to sort of a restoration. This fact was a huge disappointment for the "liberal" Young Turks. Their excitement which regarded the revolt as a completing revolution was being replaced with a feeling of failure (Akşin 1994: 106 107, 110).

In Rumelia, CUP responded immediately. Several constitutionalist organizations however, seem to follow a wait and see policy. Right wing IMRO leaders even encouraged Bulgaria to declare war (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 298). Nevertheless, after they observed the Unionists were about to control the Third Army, they declared their solidarity with CUP (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 298-299) and considered the revolt as an anticonstitutionalist event. Just after three days, on April 16, a constitutionalist army was assembling in the environs of Istanbul (Kansu 2000: 95). This "Action Army" included not only soldiers but also volunteers from Albanian Bashkimi Society, Sandanski's left IMRO, ARF and other minor groups. On April 21, Tevfik Pasha Cabinet resigned after the ultimatum sent by Mahmud Şevket Pasha, the commander of the Action Army (Kansu 2000: 111). Next day, runaway members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate had a joint session by taking the name National Assembly. This assembly began discussing Abdülhamid II's immediate dethronement (Kansu 2000: 111).

Amidst failed rebels'continuous exodus, Action Army entered İstanbul on 24 April. After a weak resistance, arrests began on April 26 (Kansu 2000: 115). That was also the last day of Abdülhamid II's 33 year sultanate. On April 27, Abdülhamid II's brother Reşad Efendi replaced him with the name Sultan Mehmed V.

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31 March Incident was the second revolutionary situation of the Young Turk Revolution. The attempting coalition of challengers included various Young Turks who could not take part in the first revolution in July 1908 as effectively as the ones in CPU, so they missed to be members of polity after July 1908. As members or followers of the old CUP, they first attempted to join CPU line whose members changed the name of their Committee to CUP gain. For example, on August 22, 1908, it was announced that the League of Prince Sabahaddin merged with CUP (Emiroğlu 1999: 40). However, the July Revolution's leading actors did not

welcome the league and excluded its members from new members of the polity. Later, they tried to come close to Kâmil Pasha Cabinet, yet his fall disappointed them again. Then, they decided to follow the way of June 1908's revolutionaries, which was to execute a revolution of their own and exclude the excluders. By trying to mobilize Islamists, these groups tried to establish a control without CUP's guardianship in April 1909. In fact, the revolt reveals the need for reformulation of Trotsky's *dual power*, which was made by Tilly by replacing the concept with *multiple sovereignty*, as in time Yıldız Palace began to appear as a third major power bloc, although it was not so close to challengers' coalition. By claiming their sovereignty through National Assembly, active revolutionaries of July Revolution began to retake the control step by step. Although completeness of this process is questionable because of Mahmud Şevket Pasha fact, it is clear that the revolutionary situation caused by late challengers did not evolve into a revolutionary outcome, so the second revolutionary wave of the Turkish Revoution ended without a success. However, the revolutionary situation caused another revolutionary outcome: fearing a Bulgarian invasion during the revolt, on 19 April, Tevfik Pasha Government recognized the independence of Bulgaria, who had declared its independence on October 5, 1908 (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 300).

4.6. From the Second Major Revolutionary Situation to the First Coup (April 1909- June 1912):

The failure of April Revolution did not lead to an increased Unionist domination in the government. In fact, several difficulties kept CUP away from power, as İstanbul organization of the Committee was collapsed (Kansu 2000: 127, 128) and military's power increased seriously. Mahmud Şevket Pasha, the commander of Action Army took the power into his hands after the army's entrance to İstanbul, being the Inspector General of First, Second and Third Army Corps (Kansu 2000: 127).

The changes in the cabinet show the citical balance of power in the era. On May 1, Tevfik Pasha, the grand vizier who had been appointed thanks to the revolt, was again given the task to form cabinet with an Imperial Decree (Kansu 2000: 130). However, CUP opposed Tevfik Pasha, and made Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha return

on May 5. Although they preferred Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha; Unionists were not delighted, as the Cabinet included several "experienced" pashas. So, CUP followed a dual policy. It made the Parliament give a vote of confidence, but immediately began to criticisms (Kansu 2000: 134, 135). Also, CUP gave up its efforts to have some ministries. Rather, Unionists planned to gain some key management positions in ministries so that they could indirectly influence the cabinet. This plan was executed immediately on May 6, the next day of Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha's appointment, by suggesting a reform which would allow deputies to be in those positions. Yet both Mahmud Şevket Pasha and Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha resisted to reform idea when Cavid and Talât Beys proposed it (Kansu 2000: 148). Nonetheless, they pushed forward by suggesting to modify the related article 67 of the Constitution on June 17. However, resistance in the Chamber, which also included some hesitating Unionists, forced Talât Bey to withdraw the motion (Kansu 2000: 149, 150).

After this failure, CUP demanded some ministries themselves. This time, a real Unionist, Cavid Bey entered the cabinet and became Minister of Finance in late June (Kansu 2000: 150). Soon, he was followed by Talât Bey, who became Minister of Interior (Ahmad 2007: 76). However, Unionists still pushed for more power by planning to replace the Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha cabinet with a cabinet of their own. The opportunity came in December 1909 with discussions about Lynch Company Concessionary Right. CUP was able to bring the issue in the Chamber on December 11. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha soon resigned.

Hakkı Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Rome, became the new grand vizier. As a grand vizier must have the title of Pasha, he was promoted to the title with an Imperial Decree (Kansu 2000: 174). In this cabinet, Talât and Cavid Beys kept their positions. Also, another Unionist, Bedros Haladjian was named as Minister of Commerce and Public Works. Another significant appointment was of Mahmud Şevket Pasha, who was named as the Minister of War. Hakkı Pasha's program, presented on January 24, included many points that Unionist leadership advocated (Kansu 2000: 175, 176).

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One of the most important steps taken by the Unionist led Chamber after the end of second revolutionary situation was the amendments of the Constitution on

August 21, 1909. For Tunaya, these amendments were the most important ones which changed the political regime of the Empire: it lost its absolutist character and replaced by a dual parliamentalism (2001: 21). Thanks to these amendments, the balance of power between the Parliament, the Sultan and the Subilme Porte was changed, making the Parliament much more powerful than the other two.

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As seen above, there were many reasons that can make one think that CUP's power was increasing after the second revolutionary situation. Unionists slightly increased their control in the Cabinet and made Parliament, in which they were the only organized major power, stronger than both the Sultan and the Sublime Porte. However, there were many obstacles to the installation of a totally Unionist government in the Empire.

First obstacle was Mahmud Şevket Pasha himself, as his increased power was also a cause of hesitation for governments. Hakkı Pasha tried to curtail Mahmud Şevket Pasha's power and end the duality by taking him into the Cabinet and making him the Minister of War (Ahmad 2007: 93; Kansu 2000: 175). Yet his plan did not work. Soon, in summer 1910, a conflict between Mahmud Şevket Pasha and Cavid Bey appeared, as Mahmud Şevket Pasha demanded a huge and independent budget from the Chamber that would be equal to the one third of the whole state budget. The Chamber favored Mahmud Şevket Pasha, making Cavid Bey left the capital and went to Europe to find a credit that would finance the state budget (Ahmad 2007: 97). The insistance on financial independence reduced the possibility of finding a credit, yet finally Cavid Bey was able to strike a deal with German banks on favorable terms (Ahmad 2007: 106, 107). Cavid Bey saved his seat for the time being thanks to the credit he found in Germany, yet Mahmud Şevket Pasha's pressure never ended.

Second obstacle was the opposition's return. In fact, following days of the 31 March Incident were terrible days for these challengers. There were arrests and trials of members of the opposition who were thought to take part in the revolt.

Formation of new political organizations took a few months of the opposition. The first new opposition party after April 1909 was Moderate Liberals *(Mutedil Hürriyetperveran Fırkası)*, established on November 22, 1909. İsmail Kemal Bey

was named as the leader of this party (Kansu 2000: 160). The party included several Albanian, Greek and Arab deputies of the Chamber. Existence of Murad Boyadjian also shows Social Democrat Hunchakian Party's support to Moderate Liberals (Kansu 2000: 160-161). Another opposition party, People's Party *(Ahali Fırkası)* was formed on February 20, 1910. The importance of the formation of People's Party was that it showed the existence of an intra party opposition within CUP, as this party's founders were eight resigned Unionists (Kansu 2000: 179).

People's Party shaked CUP, yet more shaking formations had already occurred before February. By November 1909, Parti Radical Ottoman *(Islahat-ı Esasiye-i Osmaniye Fırkası)* was established in Paris. It can be said that there were two groups in this party. First group included ones who were not integrated into the new members of the polity. The story of the founder of the party, Şerif Pasha, the ex-Ambassador to Stockholm, is telling: Şerif Pasha, as a member of CUP demanded a new position, in particular the Ambassador of London. However, the leadership rejected him, and he resigned from CUP in March 1909 (Kansu 2000: 183). The second group had runaway revolutionaries of April 1909, such as Ali Kemal Bey, Mevlânzade Rıfat Bey and Ahmed Bedevi [Kuran] (Kansu 2000: 183-186). Both groups' formation reveals that the integrative capacity of the new members of the polity was limited.

Following the formation of opposition from various ranks, another event in spring 1910 reduced CUP's power further. Government's neglect to better conditions, taxation, universal conscription and impose of Turkish script instead of Latin led to the Albanian revolt. As a result, Necib Draga and other Albanian deputies of CUP resigned from the party on April 10 (Kansu 2000: 187-188).

After the loss of Albanian deputies, CUP faced with another blow. In July, a secret organization which has close relations with Parti Radical Ottoman was discovered. An important oppositionary figure, Dr Rıza Nur, deputy of Sinob, was arrested on account of a conspiracy (Ahmad 2007: 109). This attempt to crush the opposition before its maturity did not succeed: Dr Rıza Nur was to be involved in more serious challenges to CUP.

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1911 was a far more serious year for CUP. With several discontented army officers in Macedonia, Colonel Sadık Bey, who an ex-Unionist officer formed a new

organization called New Faction *(Hizb-i Cedid)* in January 1911. The appearance of a military based opposition whose roots lie in the opposition within the Committee was another shock. Unionists responded to the event firstly by sacrificing some seats in the Cabinet. In February, Talât Bey, Bedros Haladjian and Emrullah Efendi resigned from the Cabinet (Kansu 2000: 218-221). Second, they took measures to ensure party discipline by making Talât Bey head of the party's parliamentary group (Ahmad 2007: 114). Third, in April, they contacted intra party opposition and reformed party program. As a result, both sides gave concessions (Kansu 2000: 233, 235-236). After the agreement, Hakkı Pasha Cabinet took a new vote of confidence on April 27 (Ahmad 2007: 117).

The compromise ended very quickly as both sides began to take new steps. By playing the resignation card, remaining Unionist ministers forced Mahmud Şevket Pasha to send Colonel Sadık Bey into exile to Salonica on May 1 (Kansu 2000: 238). The opposition's reaction was to force two important resignations of Cavid Bey and Babanzade İsmail Hakkı Bey, which made CUP "lost all of its most prominent members in the Cabinet" (Kansu 2000: 241). Moreover, the opposition forced Talât Bey to leave the Presidency of the Parliamentary Party to a moderate member Seyyid Bey (Kansu 2000: 242; Ahmad 2007: 118). By May 24, Mahmud Şevket Pasha interfered with the conflict and stated that the officers involving in politics would be punished. After this declaration, Colonel Sadık Bey resigned from the army and returned to İstanbul (Kansu 2000: 244). Couraged by the attitude of Mahmud Şevket Pasha, Unionists demanded his support to form a distinctively Unionist Hacı Âdil [Arda] Cabinet in which he would be the Minister of War. He rejected the offer (Kansu 2000: 257).

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Conjuncture of the conflict changed suddenly because of an external cause: On September 28, the Empire was shaken by Italy's ultimatum about the occupation of Tripoli and Benghazi by the Italian Army. Efforts of Ottoman diplomats to calm the Italian government through several means did not bore fruit, and next day Italy declared war.

Hakkı Pasha immediately resigned after the declaration. On September 30, eighth Said Pasha cabinet was formed (Ahmad 2007: 122). The new cabinet was

presented as a neutral one. It did not satisfy the opposition yet it was approved by Unionists (Kansu 2000: 268-269).

Despite the approval, Unionists developed a new strategy regarding a cabinet change: They tried to isolate New Faction by dealing with other members of opposition. In October they approached to Prince Sabahaddin directly and made two offers: a post in a coalition cabinet, and concessions on centralization. Sabahaddin rejected the offer by stating that he was not interested in a ministry position (Kansu 2000: 257-258; Ahmad 2007: 125).

Changed conjuncture also reshaped the opposition by motivating them to unite their forces. The new coalition of the opposition would include "Moderate Liberals, the People's Party, the Independents, several Albanian deputies, half a dozen Serbian and Bulgarian deputies from Macedonia, a few non Unionist Armenian deputies, and Greek deputies except for four who had taken the Unionist oath" (Kansu 2000 271). Although some members -like the majority of Greek and Albanian deputies- did not join but gave support (Kansu 2000: 289), finally, on November 21, the coalition was formed under the name Entente Libérale *(Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası)*. Many old challengers to CUP were named as founders of the party, including senator Damad Ferid Pasha, ex-Colonel Sadık Bey, the leader of New Faction, İsmail Hakkı [Mumcu] Pasha, the leader of the Moderate Liberals, and Dr Rıza Nur (Kansu 2000: 287). Just after twenty days of the formation, EL won İstanbul by-election by only one vote.

Both the victory of EL and the decreasing power of CUP in provinces made Unionists push for a snap election by modifying the Article 35 of the Constitution, which would give the Sultan the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies without the approval of the Senate again (Ahmad 2007: 129). By claiming that they had not known that parliamentarism had been based on the equality between legislation and execution in 1909, Unionists proposed to "correct the error" by ending the superiority of the Parliament to execution and giving back some of the rights to Sultan (Tunaya 2001: 22). Yet CUP found itself completely alone during the execution of this plan: Even Dashnak deputies did not give their support (Kansu 2000: 307). At the end, the plan did not work: neither representing the issue nor the reformed Cabinet of Said Pasha could make the amendment of this article pass by a two thirds majority in the Chamber. Ironically, the Chamber was dissolved through

the way that CUP tried to change very quickly. After the loss of the modification battle on February 13, Sultan dissolved the Chamber on February 15, and the Senate approved Sultan's decision on February 17 (Ahmad 2007: 129).

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Both sides brought all of their forces together and formed alliances. Twenty two Greek deputies and ulema of Salonica formally joined EL. Hunchaks took a neutral position and declared that they would not act against CUP if it did not prevent Zohrab's election. ARF agreed to join its forces with CUP again. Moreover, Catholic and Protestant Armenians and Jewish community in the Empire gave their support to Unionists (Kansu 2000: 326-330). Serbs and Vlachs agreed with CUP (Demir 2007: 227). Both parties considered Albanians as part of Muslim *millet* and did not try to make an agreement like they did with non Muslim minorities, yet this attitude did not exist in the agreement between nationalist Arabs and Enténte (Demir 2007: 260, 261).

The fairness of 1912 Elections was a matter of debate. Mostly, it is regarded as a rigged one, which was popularly named as "*sopalı seçim*". Ahmad and Kansu challenges the idea. Ahmad notes that the rigging was an exaggeration of opposition (2007: 131). Kansu underlines the problem of the lack of research on the event and claims that rigged elections idea was part of the opposition's coup plan and it is used long after the end of elections (2000: 19-20).

Seven years after Kansu's complaint, Demir's work on the elections of the Second Constitutinal Period was published. After noting that both sides of the election did not have a moral concerns and did not hesitate to use any way to accomplish their goals, Demir underlines Unionists' having more abilities than the opposition (2007: 266). He also notes that complains of opposition started during the election process. Demir counts several irregularities of Unionists, including forbidding meetings outside party branches (2007: 268), arresting propogandists of the opposition (2007: 270), provocations and booing to candidates (2007: 272). In short, there is enough evidence that 1912 Elections was unfair.

The new Unionist dominated Parliament convened on April 18, but its first session could be held on May 15 (Ahmad 2007: 132). The new Parliament amended Article 7 and Article 35 in June 1912 (Ahmad 2007: 134). Although things seem well in the Parliament for CUP, members of the opposition would change their

repertoire, making it very similar to the one of July 1908's Unionists. The month of amendment would also be the starting month of coup, ending three years of politics without arms.

4.7. Two Coups of the Revolutionary Sequence (June 1912 – January 1913):

The opposition had already begun to establish its network that would execute a coup before May. Dr Rıza Nur and Colonel Yakovalı Rıza Bey, an officer who was exiled to Sinob for his role in the revolution attempt in April 1909 agreed to unite forces of EL and Albanian community for a rebellion. Other organizers were several Albanian deputies and ex-deputies, including an old Unionist Necib Draga. Moreover, Prince Sabahaddin also took his part in the organization through his financial help (Kansu 2000: 380-381).

During their formation, on May 6, a military rebellion began in Monastir. Despite some rebels were captured by the government, remaining rebel officers were able to leave their garrisons and took to the mountains (Kansu 2000: 381). The event changed opposition's opportunity structure. They decided to roll up quickly and took several measures: formed their organization under the name the League of Savior Officers *(Halâskâr Zabitan Grubu)*, developed a manifesto which is based on Prince Sabahaddin's views, began to establish links with some potential allies in the members of polity -like with Nâzım Pasha, head of Council of War- and using those links to recruit officers rapidly (Kansu 2000: 382).

The execution of the coup started on the night of June 22 and 23. An Albanian officer and a member of the League, Captain Tayyar Bey Tetova, left his barracks at Biztritza, a town three miles away from Monastir, with several officers and sixty men. Under the name Protection of the Fatherland *(Hıfz-i Vatan, or Muhafaza-i Vatan)*, rebels sent a telegram to the government. Their demands were reisgnation of the Cabinet; impeachment of Hakkı Pasha's Cabinet for lack of military preperations before the Italo-Turkish War; trials of several Unionists including Cavid Bey, Talât

Bey, Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın], Dr Nâzım Bey and Babanzade İsmail Hakkı Bey; prohibition of CUP from any political activity; creation of a general staff at the Palace and new elections (Kansu 2000: 384).

Government's first reaction came from Mahmud Şevket Pasha himself. As Minister of War, he introduced a bill that would prohibit any political activity of officers and troops on July 1. The bill immediately passed, yet was not effetive, as several troops in the Empire also began to make demands (Kansu 2000: 385-387). The fact clearly showed that even a figure like Mahmud Şevket Pasha could not hold the army together. On July 9 he resigned from Ministry (Ahmad 2007: 135). His resignation initiated a cabinet crisis, as no pasha had the courage to take the Ministry and achieve what Mahmud Şevket Pasha could not. Although he took a vote of confidence on July 15, Said Pasha resigned with his Cabinet on July 17 because he could not find a Minister of War (Kansu 2000: 388-391). On the same day, Tevfik Pasha, the Grand Vizier of April 1909 was given the task to form the new Cabinet, yet resistance of Unionists gave way to the appointment of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha as Grand Vizier on July 21 (Ahmad 2007: 137). Despite this Cabinet was presented as "Grand Cabinet", which would stand above political struggles, it was clearly anti-Unionist, making Unionists call it as "Cabinet of revenge" (Ahmad 2007: 137; Kansu 2000: 398). The Cabinet immediately started to replace Unionist officials (Ahmad 2007: 138).

The League took its final step on July 24. That day, it gave an ultimatum to the President of the Chamber of Deputies, demanding the dissolution of the Chamber in forty eight hours (Ahmad 2007: 138). The Senate authorized the government to dissolve the Chamber on August 4, and Sultan issued the decree that night. Next day, the Chamber tried to resist by giving a vote of no confidence to the Cabinet, yet the government did not recognize its decision (Kansu 2000: 406, 407).

Following the dissolution, the government took further measures against Unionists. On August 8, state of emergency was instituted. The Unionist newspaper Tanin was closed on August 10. On September 11, its editor Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] was sentenced to a month in prison (Kansu 2000: 409-412). Before the end of August, a moderate member of the Cabinet, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha resigned, and hardliners like Kâmil Pasha and Nâzım Pasha began to take control (Kansu 2000: 411-412).

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Until 1909, Young Turk Revolution had had two revolutionary situations and one revolutionary outcome. The three years witnessed a break of revolutionary situations, yet the three years' period had a critical importance, as it led to the consolidation of two blocs of Young Turks. The period of "legal" ways of struggle ended in summer 1912 with a coup rather than a revolutionary situation. However, a coup in a revolutionary sequence cannot be underestimated: Tilly states that collective actions such as civil wars, top-down seizures of power, coups and revolts have "some revolutionary features" (2005: 22-23). In fact, a rough comparison between two collective actions in July 1908 and July 1912 is a good example to Tilly's statement. There were many similarities between the execution of July 1908 Revolution and July 1912 Coup. The repertoire and the opportunity structure of both events were very same: Both began with an armed threat in Macedonia's mountains, both faced with unwilling/unable governments, and both established peculiar links with some members of the polity to execute their collective action. Nevertheless, while 1908's challengers claimed to be a separate power -they declared the Constitution by themselves, demanded taxes, offered protection and paralyzed the government- the 1912's challengers did none of them: they revolted and demanded a change of government instead of establishing another network that can claim to be state power. This critical difference makes the event in 1912 a coup. Soon, the revolutionary sequence of the Young Turk Revolution would experience its second coup in 1913.

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CUP had faced a great challenge in 1911, but the Committee saved itself thanks to an external factor: the Italo-Turkish War (Ahmad 2007: 118). The second challenge in 1912 was greater, as it actually threw Unionists out of members of the polity. Again, this time, another external cause, which was much deeper than Italo-Turkish War, would not only save CUP but also would reopen the gate of state power to the Committee.

Three facts encouraged Balkan States for an open conflict with the Empire: Increasing discontent among minorities -other than Albanians, during the elections, there were armed conflicts between Muslims and Bulgarian minority led by IMRO (Kansu 2000: 324); the attiude of Great Powers -they were about to arrange a

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congress to discuss the Macedonian question (Kansu 2000: 417); and the internal political conflicts in İstanbul.

After the summer victory of opposition, on October 1, news that Bulgarian and Serbian Armed forces' being put in a state of alert reached İstanbul (Kansu 2000: 418). That day, Turkish Armed Forces followed Allies. Next day, Allies sent declared demands from Turkey, including appointment of a Belgian or Swiss Governor who would be approved by Great Powers and establishment of new legislative bodies and local gendarme forces (Ahmad 2007: 141). The government, in response, tried to reduce the pressure by announcing the decision to adopt reforms. Yet it worsened the conjuncture, as Unionist-led demonstrations against government were prepared in the capital, in which people praised war. The day after the demonstration, on October 8, Montenegro declared war (Kansu 2000: 419-420). On October 17 the Empire signed the Treaty of Ouchy and ended the Italo-Turkish War, sacrificing Tripoli, Benghazi and Twelve Aegean Islands, including Rhodes. Next day the Empire declared war on Bulgaria and Serbia; and Greece declared war on the Empire (Kansu 2000: 421). The Balkan League advanced rapidly. By early November, Turkish Army was forced to retreat to Çatalca line, and major towns of the Empire were surrounded.

The following day, a cabinet change occurred in the Empire: with the hope of using his diplomatic abilities and good relations with Great Britain, Kâmil Pasha, who became a symbol of anti-Unionism, became Grand Vizier on October 29. He immediately announced that elections were postponed (Kansu 2000: 422-423). From that time on, the most important division between Unionists and Kâmil Pasha became the issue of war. Kâmil Pasha was defending a peace, yet Unionists exploited this wish, and presented peace as a surrender. So, Kâmil Pasha's search for peace would go hand in hand with repression.

Kâmil Pasha's first attempt failed as generals were for continuing of resistance. Nevertheless, on November 12, his Cabinet decided to ask the terms of peace. While establishing a neutral zone for negotiations which was arranged to November 25, Kâmil Pasha Cabinet ordered arrests of leading members of CUP as there was an evidence of "anti-government plot". Some important Unionist leaders, including Talât, Cavid, Babanzade İsmail Hakkı and Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın Beys, managed to escape. However, many figures were arrested. The prisoners were released soon by

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the changed Court Martial (Kansu 2000: 427-431). Also, in early December, some anti-Unionists in exile, including Şerif Pasha and some members of Liberal Union returned to İstanbul. An armistice was announced that same week (Kansu 2000: 431).

The negotiations did not go well for the Cabinet. Heavy terms of the League included the loss of Edirne. This would make the Cabinet a scapegoat inside, as Unionists were for continuation of war and making the sieged town Edirne a symbol of resistance. However, the external counter pressure was as great as the internal one: on 13 January 1913, the government was given an ultimatum by Great Powers to conclude negotiations quickly (Ahmad 2007: 145-146). To share the great responsibility of losses, Kâmil Pasha decided to convene a consultative assembly. The assembly met under the name Grand Council of the Empire *(Meclis-i Saltanat)* on January 22 (Kansu 2000: 437; Tunaya 2000: 566). By showing the financial difficulties, the Cabinet convinced Grand Council for peace. (Kansu 2000: 437).

The loss of war -and Edirne- may be seen as an opportunity to be exploited by Unionists; or it may have panicked them. Whatever the reality was, rumours of amendments in the Constitution that had begun in mid January (Kansu 2000: 438), together with the possibility of peace were motivating facts for a Unionist action. Just one day after the Grand Council's approval of peace, on January 23, the coup began: Few Unionist officers, some of whom were mounted, entered the Porte, followed by some civilian Unionists. Many important figures took their part in the action, including Enver Bey, Halil [Menteşe], Cemal Bey, Talât Bey, Midhat Şükrü [Bleda] and Ömer Naci Bey. By using force and killing Nâzım Pasha, they entered the Council Chamber and gave Kâmil Pasha two choices: resign or swear to continue war. Kâmil Pasha resigned, and a new Mahmud Şevket Pasha Cabinet was formed the same day (Kansu 2000: 439). Although there had been harsh conflicts, after the coup, Unionists adopted a conciliatory tone. Both the speech made by Cemal Bey -the commander of İstanbul Garrison- and the established Cabinet was moderate (Ahmad 2007: 152-153).

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The second coup of the revolutionary sequence was different from the first. Its agents were from the opposite camp. The agents did not mobilize massive armed forces, and executed it directly in the capital -the mountains of Macedonia were

under the occupation of the Balkan League. However, both coups have a similarity: neither took the power into their hands directly, and preferred to put some moderate members in the Cabinet in power. Then, less moderate Cabinets were formed. This process for EL began in July 1912, yet it could not go so far because of war, and ended in January 1913. Although it faced with great threats, the CUP domination would go until October 1918. This would be the second break of challenges in İstanbul in the revolutionary sequence. This break's (January 1913-October 1918) being longer than the first one (of April 1909-July 1912) did not mean that it points to a tranquil era. Apart from the Great War -in fact, thanks to the opportunity it had given- the era witnessed the great reforms that would define the bourgeois character of the Young Turk Revolution. Moreover, during the era, peripheral zones witnessed many challenges that claim to form governments beyond İstanbul's control.

4.7.1. Revolutionary Situation in Albania (1912)

Albanian population's support had been crucial for the revolution of July 1908. However, in time, relations between Albanians and their old allies Unionists became worse. As it is stated above, Albanian population's loyalty to Abdülhamid II had made Unionists in Albania blame his advisors rather than the Sultan himself during the mobilization in July 1908. Dethronement of Abdülhamid and new taxations increased the dissent among Albanians. Some minor events were repressed by the government in 1909 (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 328). The situation worsened in 1910, as Albanian Nationalists were able to mobilize the local population in Kosovo and started a revolt in 1910 (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 328). After the repression, in June 1911, the government tried to win over Albanian population by declaring an amnesty and financial aid. Moreover, Sultan Mehmed Reşad himself visited Albanian towns (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 344-345).

Balkan Wars reshaped the opportunity structure of Albanian Nationalists. Their propaganda in the front line was successful and Albanian deserters helped the fall of lines. Ottoman collapse forced Albanians to make a choice from two options: to follow the collapse of Ottoman Empire in the Balkans or to act individually. It was İsmail Kemal Bey, the old comrade of Young Turks and the organizer of April

1909 Revolution, who took the initiative: on October 28, he declared the independence of Albania (Hacısalihoğlu 2008: 413-414).

4.8. Five Years' Unionist Regime: War, Reforms and Revolutionary Situations (January 1913- October 1918)

4.8.1. Initial Steps and The Revolutionary Situation in Western Thrace:

Unionist dominated power came back in January with great difficulties. Unionists had to continue a war -as they insisted on doing- and face with the new counteractions of opposition. So, their situation was not so secure.

The ceasefire ended on February 3, and despite insisting on war for the sake of Edirne, Unionists began to accept the fate of the town (Ahmad 2007: 154-156). Edirne had resisted for a longer time than Unionists had expected, yet finally fell on March 26. The government could resist for two more months, and signed the treaty of London which ended the Ottoman Rule in Edirne on 30 May 1913 (Ahmad 2007: 162).

Being forced to sign the treaty reversed the relation between Unionists and the opposition. Some members of the opposition, including ex-Colonel Sadık Bey and Kâmil Pasha went to Cairo, and waited for an opportunity. There were expectations of Unionists' fall. Two days before the signing of the Treaty of London, Kâmil Pasha came back to İstanbul. But the government responded quickly and kept Kâmil Pasha under surveillance. Soon, he left the country again (Ahmad 2007: 156-160). The final blow for the opposition came with the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha on June 11. On June 14, the trials began. The court passed several sentences to the members of opposition. Some of the most important leaders of opposition like Şerif Pasha, Prince Sabahaddin, and Kâmil Pasha were sentenced to death. Ex-Colonel Sadık Bey's death sentence followed those later on 14 February 1914 (Ahmad 2007: 161). Mahmud Şevket Pasha's death led to a change in the Cabinet. Said Halim Pasha, grandson of Muhammad Ali of Egypt and a moderate Unionist member of the Senate, was appointed as Grand Vizier. Moreover, some other

Unionists, including Talât Bey began to take their part in the Cabinet (Ahmad 2007: 162). CUP's absolute control began.

The war had priority in new Cabinet's agenda, as it started again on June 30. On the fifth anniversary of the July 1908 Revolution, Turkish troops entered Edirne under the command of Enver Bey. The government intended to go beyond, yet previous Ottoman demands were not going beyond Maritsa *(Meriç)* River. This fact made Enver Bey form a special band *(çete)* to cross the river. The band succesfully invaded Western Thrace and claimed to be a new government called The Provisional Government of Western Thrace *(Garbi Trakya Hükûmeti Muvakkatesi)* in August. On September 8, the government declared its independence and changed its name to Independent Government of Western Thrace *(Garbi Trakya Hükûmeti Müstakilesi)* (Tunaya 2000: 570). Following the pressure of Great Powers, Ottoman government ended the war with Bulgaria on 29 September 1913 with the Treaty of İstanbul, and the independent Thracian Government dissolved itself by October (Tunaya 2000: 571-572).

4.8.2. Consolidation of CUP Rule:

In September 1913, CUP held its Fifth Congress, in which the Committee reorganized itself and took measures for the coming elections in 1913-1914 winter. In fact, the Committee did not have to prepare itself fully, as opposition's existence remained de jure. The Committee only dealt with Greek, Armenian and Arab communities. Contrary to their attitude against Turkish opposition, it seems that CUP followed a different policy than 1912. Roughly it can be argued that Unionists let these communities have more seats in the Chamber, yet they made them elect deputies who are more tolerant to CUP (Demir 2007: 316, 318, 323). The new Parliament that assembled on 14 May 1914 would not cause much trouble until October 1918, with the exceptions of some Armenian deputies and Ahmed Rıza, who ended his relations with Unionists by 1912 (Zürcher 2010: 122-123).

CUP immediately tried to execute some reforms. One aspect of reforms concerned the military. New reformer generals of the German Empire, including Liman von Sanders, arrived in İstanbul in December 1913. Next month, Unionists pushed İzzet Pasha, the Minister of War for elimination of old Pashas. After İzzet

Pasha refused, as those Pashas were his friends, he was replaced by Enver Bey, who was promoted to the title Pasha on 9 January 1914. Immediately the old Pashas were eliminated. Thanks to this purge, both reforms began to be carried on and the military budget was cut by thirty percent (Ahmad 2007: 178-181).

Reforms were not limited with restructuring of military. Even before the death of Mahmut Şevket Pasha, the government tried to start negotiations with Great Powers for raising custom tariffs and custom taxes, the closure of foreign post offices and abolition of capitulations (Ahmad 2007: 173). However, these changes could not occur in a conjuncture that Great Powers stood united against giving up the privileges in the Empire.

The atmosphere of war would suddenly reverse the situation. Despite increasing German influence, the government's first attempts were for an alliance with Entente Powers. Previously, hoping to follow the path of Japan, who formed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the government had proposed an alliance to Great Britain. Great Britain declined the offer. Cemal Pasha also tried to form an alliance with Entente Powers through France by claiming that the Ottoman Empire's existence would surround the Central Powers. The Empire even tried the Russian way through the attempt of Talât Pasha, yet all doors to an alliance with Entente Powers were closed (Tunaya 2000: 593-594, 632). However, Entente Powers proposed neutrality to the Ottoman Empire, for which they promised to recognize the abolishment of capitulations (Tunaya 2000: 596). So, Great Powers' being divided made the opportunity for reform appear. Nevertheless, the upcoming war had panicked the government, as Balkan Wars had psychologically made following a neutrality policy impossible (Ahmad 2007: 184).

Actually, the Unionist Government's attempts and the Allies' refusals are examples to the relations between states in times of revolutions, which may easily lead to wars. Many causes that shape such tense relations are counted by Walt (2003: 141-147), and these causes seem to exist also in the Turkish case. Walt's causes include revolutionary governments' lack of experience (like Unionists' being "*çoluk çocuk*" (Emiroğlu 1999: 42)), optimism of revolutionaries (like Cemal Pasha's hopes for an Africa campaign, or Enver Pasha's Turanism), fragile paranoia of revolutionaries (like the impossibility of neutrality psychology of Unionists stated above) and suspicious attitudes of both sides (like suspicions of Great Powers for

Turkist or Islamist attitudes or Unionist fears of partition). These causes forced the Turkish government to turn its face on the Central Powers. On August 15, the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and German Empire was signed secretly. In November, the Empire entered war.

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World War I led the greatest mobilization in the history of Turkey which resulted in enormous changes. The Empire mobilized 2.850.000 soldiers, fought on nine fronts, and faced with two great revolts in Eastern Anatolia and Arab provinces. Until that point, economic changes did not take their part in the thesis, as they were minimal. Because of the political struggles, no stable government that would carry out economic reforms could exist. So, the defining role of the period between 1908 and 1914 was mostly political, as it witnessed several revolutionary situations and outcomes. However, post 1914 period of the revolutionary sequence witnessed economic breakthroughs as well as new revolutionary situations. With the establishment of a stable cabinet -and a war conjuncture that always gives greater autonomy to governments- the members of the polity could execute economic reforms that led to the "beginning of the capitalist phase" (Toprak 1982: 345) -a criterion that was defined by Hill, Blackbourn, Eley and Mooers. So, different from 1908-1914 period, the events between 1914 and 1918 makes one summarize its political and economic changes separately.

4.8.2.1. Economics:

The preliminary step in opening the gates to capitalism is removal of ancient obstacles to capitalist accumulation. As it can be deduced from the work of Mooers (2000), this removal can be thought as a task carried out by state mechanism except the English case. English influence on other states during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shows us that, for any state, the pressure of competition with more advanced states is in a direct relation with the pressure of local needs of capitalist accumulation. For instance, for Keyder, it can be stated that French Revolution targeted "the preservation of state" (2009: 12). The same case can also be adapted to the Young Turk Revolution. Unionist government was aware of the need for capitalist accumulation and had a long time experience of how the obstacles

in the Empire prevented it. So, prior steps of removing these obstacles were the first reforms that were carried out by Unionist government. Easier removals that would not meet with resistance could be carried out before the war. For instance, guilds were abolished in 1910 (Toprak 1982: 280).

For all similar stories, war, as an international pressure, is not only a source of relative authonomy but also the justification of "urging" steps. In general, war is an opportunity for capitalist accumulation (Ergut 2004: 158). It seems that Unionists were also aware of the link between international competition and capitalist reforms. In 1915, the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture was renamed as the Ministry of National Economy (Ahmad 2008: 46). Next year, in the 1916 Congress of CUP, the reason of the Empire's participation in war was stated as getting rid of Great Powers' tutelage *(Vesayet-i düveliye'den kurtuluş)* (Toprak 1995: 2). In fact, war not only gave autonomy but also offered benefits. For example, the Empire advanced huge credits from the German Empire in September 1914 (Tunaya 2000: 598). Also, as of the same month, the government was able to execute all the reforms it tried to pass in Mahmud Şevket Pasha era: It raised custom tariffs and custom taxes, it closed foreign post offices, revoked the privileges of Lebanon, abolished capitulations (Tunaya 2000: 597-598) and withdrew the privileges of foreign companies, which were made tax payers (Toprak 1995: 2; Eldem 1994: 28).

Structural reforms and standardizations are also other preliminary steps of capitalist development. For instance, for Eley and Blackbourn, one fact that defines Bismarckian era as part of German bourgeois revolution was these standardization measures (1984: 190-194). Similar reforms were also executed by CUP during the war. Some of those steps were making Turkish as the standard language of trade procedures, defining specific tariffs. Also the foreign companies whose main activities were in the Empire were forced to shift their nationalities to Ottoman (Toprak 1995: 2). In 1916, another step was taken by the government: Ottoman money was standardized with *Tevhid-i Meskulat Kanun-ı Muvakkati* (Toprak 1995: 22). Another standardization step was the formation of a national bank. In 1917, Ottoman National Credit Bank *(Osmanlı İtibar-ı Milli Bankası)* was established. Its formation was hailed even by the old opposition newspaper *İkdam*, in which it was stated that the bank's formation was a great reform which would serve the formation of a bourgeois class that the country had lacked (Toprak 1995: 66-67). Members of

the polity had further plans for this bank: The famous Unionist journaist Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] was informing that the bank would replace Ottoman Bank and became a state bank (Toprak 1995: 70-71). In fact, Unionists were waiting for the year 1925 when the Ottoman Bank's privilege would end. However, by 1925, the political conjuncture of the Empire would be very different. This expectation of Unionists was never realized. Nevertheless, CUP formed several other banks that offered credit to the Empire's future bourgeoisie. The era witnessed the birth of national banking (Toprak 1982: 148, 163).

Thanks to the Marxist theoreticians' defence against revisionist challenges, it can be argued that to test the bourgeois character of a revolution, the thing that one has to search for is the emergence of bourgeoisie as a result of an historical breakthrough -rather than its agency that carried out a revolution. Actually, it is the theoreticians who claim that there is not a full bourgeois revolution also mention that Unionists created a Turkish bourgeoisie. For example, Feroz Ahmad, who defends that 1908 Revolution is a revolution by proxy calls Unionists as "vanguards of a nascent bourgeoisie" (2008: 13, 14, 23).

In fact, by agreeing with Ahmad's vanguard statement, it can be argued that wartime period of the revolution witnessed a triple embourgeoisement: in the rural, in the urban and in the minds of the people.

One great change that World War I brought in the Empire was regarding the market. The Ottoman Empire's opportunities for import became limited as it cut its relations with Entente countries. Also, wartime mobilization increased state's -and the army's- demand for certain goods. Both facts led to a sudden increase in demands in the internal market. The shortage of goods was to be filled with the products of peasantry in Anatolia. So, for the first time in the Empire's history, self sufficient peasantry of Anatolia entered market relations massively (Toprak 1995: 156, 164). It can be argued that this fact is exactly the one that Mooers defines as the primary fact needed for capitalism's establishment. To recall: by borrowing from Marx the idea that old mode of production's dissolution points the first appearance of capitalism, he argues that peasantry's being forced to participate in market relations for its own reproduction, and the establishment of capitalist relations in agriculture were crucial for the English case (2000: 29-30, 47-48). So, in Turkish case, the same event occured thanks to the changed market relations due to war. In

the Empire, the government also accelerated the process by stimulation and giving assurances about the protection of peasantry's private property. Another motivation for the peasantry was high prices of Anatolian goods caused by war. At the end of the war, although agricultural production reduced, production rates grew up in the lands opened to market, and Ottoman land began to unite economically (Toprak 1982: 324, 344, 347).

Increasing state demand in the market also favoured Turkish merchants indirectly (Toprak 1995: 3). In fact, this was not the Ottoman state's only action that helped the creation of Turkish bourgeoisie: aid of CUP to the Turkish bourgeoisie is an obvious subject whose different aspects are summarized in various works. Like all states that faced the threat of a competition with more advanced capitalist countries -i.e. all followers of England- in a Brennerian language, the Turkish government used "extraction by extra-economic" or "politico-legal compulsion", and in a way, recreated private property in the political field through favoring Turkish bourgeoisie. Beyond the well known favoritism of Turks in the era and laws such as *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu*, government also aided this stata also by the things that it did not do. In fact, as a feature of all conjunctures of primitive accumulations, the government's partially intentional passivism made the emerging Turkish market function unfairly (Toprak 1982: 349).

Such a situation of market led to increasing income differences and inequalities for the first time in the country's history. A large population of the country became poorer and lost their propety. But producers for the market, mostly middle and large land owners, rural merchants, shopkeepers and merchants who were close to Unionists grew rich and mostly became war profiteers (Toprak 1995: 159-160). Interestingly, soldiers and officials were on the loser side. They became poorer and lost their favoured position financially (Toprak 1982: 342). In four years, officials' purchase power decreased by 60 to 80 % (Eldem 1994: 131). This fact is totally different from a conjuncture where bureaucracy is the dominant class, if such a class does exist, or it can be in control of state power. Above, by pointing Mooers's analysis of French Revolution, it was stated that, usually after bourgeois revolutions, to help capitalist accumulation, states become able to transfer their extra economic extractions to bourgeoisie by giving them bureaucratic positions which were reformed to bring high incomes; yet these positions may take a parasitic character

later (2000: 113-115). Here, in the Turkish case, it seems that Unionists did not even take such a step. According to this criterion, it can be argued that, Unionist Turkey was trying to be a much more bourgeois country than Napoleon III's France. Opposite to France's providing official seats for bourgeoisie, Unionist government's bureaucracy took the initiative "for almost any commercial or industrial enterprise" (Ahmad 2008: 52). For example, even minor bureaucrats were encouraged to participate in commercial activities by forming organizations called *Memur'in Şirketi* (Ahmad 2008: 55). The consciousness of the era's policy makers can be observed in Ziya Gökalp's thoughts, who defended the need of a bourgeois class by claiming that countries whose power lays on the class of officials are all weak (Toprak 1982: 32-33).

People's reaction to increasing income differences could be absorbed ideologically through adopting solidarist populism (Toprak 1995: 167). This point is critical, as it shows that the birth of populism in Turkey was not a pure ideological thought that had always been in minds of people who are in Unionist-Kemalist line, but rather it was born as an absorbation of reactions to capitalist accumulation. In fact, rather than populism, the economic thought in the era was far from it. After 1908, even Islamic Law was reinterpreted the terms "profit" or "interest" according to needs of commercialization. In Islamist magazines, with references to hadiths like "poorness is a thing which is close to sacrilege" or "the one who makes money is beloved by Allah", capitalism was defended (Toprak 1982: 38, 52-53). Another change of economical thought was regarding the sectors during the period. While Tanzimat era's and its following years' dominant idea was openly underlining stagnation as assurance and defending to stay as an agrarian country -a thought reminding Physiocrats- the period between 1908-1918 was the time when a consciousness of industrialization was crystallized (Toprak 1982: 168, 210, 342).

To summarize, following years of July 1908 Revolution, particularly its war years witnessed the most crucial steps for capitalist development. Old obstacles to accumulation were abolished, a large rural population met with market and economic thoughts were changed. Even members of the polity connived with certain merchants for the sake of a "primitive accumulation". Cavid Bey, the Minister of Finance of several Cabinets during the Young Turk Revolution, notes that Hamidian state had been a state where forming a company or a merchant's travel to foreign

countries had been forbidden and it had been a place where money could not have been turned up (Toprak 1982: 41-42). Cavid Bey and his comrades replaced a state of finance with a state of economy, which did not interfere into economy on account of providing maximum income to treasury (Toprak 1982: 19). This new state became a servant of accumulation which points to a differentiation between economy and politics as a bourgeois differentiation -an event that Gerstenberger points as a product of bourgeois revolutions (2007: 610) In the post 1908 state, other than "foreign capital" and "the state", refers to a third strata began: "private entrepreneur" *(teşebbüs-i şahsi)* (Toprak 1982: 206).

4.8.2.2. Politics: Subsequent Revolutionary Situations

4.8.2.2.1. Arab Revolt:

The revolt of Sharif Hussein of Mecca in Hejaz can also be regarded as a revolutionary situation, or more specifically, as patron-client revolutionary situations defined by Tilly. In this type, small communities join a patron, who is a great lord, and massively resist against existing authority by combining their territorial and interest basis of connection (Tilly 2005: 52).

Various motives led to Sharif's rebellion. One of them was various families' competition for the title of Sharif. Sharif Hussein was aware of the fact that as long as he remained as a subject of the Ottoman Empire, his position would always be under threat. Another reason was the declaration of jihad by Sultan/Caliph Mehmed V. As Sharif considered himself as the rival to the Sultan/Caliph for the leadership of all Muslims, after the declaration of jihad, he began to be afraid of living in the shadow of Sultan (Kayalı 2003: 212). A third motive was the British threat. Cemal Pasha's First Suez Offensive was stopped by British Army. Seeing the relative strength of British Army and Navy, together with Turkish troops' leaving Hejaz to reinforce Sinai campaign, Sharif began to think that Hejaz became vulnerable to a British attack (Kayalı 2003: 215). In July 1915, Sharif began to correspond secretly with Sir Henry Mc Mahon, the High Comissar of Britain in Egypt (Kayalı 2003: 216).

Increasing dissent among Arabs was another encouraging factor for Sharif. Just after July 1908 Revolution, Ottoman state's integrative capacity for Arab notables was decreased: as most Arab bureaucrats had been loyal to Hamidian regime, they began to lose their positions in state apparatus (Kayalı 2003: 64-65). The dissent increased after Turkish Army's defeat in First Suez Offensive. Cemal Pasha, who took extraordinary authorizations in Syria and Palestine in May 1915, began to blame local Arab notables for his failure and took heavy repressive measures, which were completely adverse to the promises given by Unionists to Arabs (Kayalı 2003: 217-219). The increasing dissent reshaped the opportunity structure of a possible revolt.

Just after Cemal Pasha's terrorizing measures had reached to its top level in spring 1916, Sherif and his sons started their revolt in early June 1916 (Kayalı 2003: 221). The revolt certainly became a revolutionary situation in November 1916, as in that month Sharif Hussein declared himself "King of All Arabs" (Kayali 2003: 223). Despite Entente forces stood against this declaration, he was recognized as King of Hejaz at least (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 322). Although Hejaz was conquered by Abdul Aziz Al Saud in 1925, Hussein's two sons, Abdullay and Faisal had already been kings of Transjordan and Iraq.

4.8.2.2.2. Revolutionary Situations in Caucasian Front:

Without doubt, the Young Turk Revoltion's most complicated events to classify occured in Caucasian Front. In fact, it can be argued that the changed borders during the clashes made Russian and Young Turk Revolutions intersect. So, certain phases of this revolutionary situation are open to different evaluations.

The revolutionary sequence in Caucasus Front started in Van through a "classical" way: the increased demand of government. First blow in Van started with Cevdet Bey's orders. After the first defeats in Sarıkamış, Cevdet Bey, Commander of the defeated Third Army demanded more conscripts from the Armenian community in Van. Conscription of Armenians was an already tense issue: in September 1914, ARF called Armenians to do their citizenship duty but refused CUP's offer to organize a rebellion in Russian Armenia and to settle a semi autonomous Armenia with Unionists (Avagyan and Minassian 2005 132, 203). After

his defeat in February 1915 Suez Ofensive, Cemal Pasha also started operations against Armenians in Zeytun and Dörtyol on account of there were deserted Armenians (Dündar 2008: 266).

After Sarıkamış defeat, Cevdet Bey demanded 3.000 soldiers from Armenians in Van. Van Armenians stated that they could send 400 men, and sent negotiators. After the negotiators' fate, on 19 April 1915, the resistance of Van began under the leadership of Karekin Pasturmadjian, a Dashnak deputy of the Chamber. The resistance continued until Russian Army entered the city on May 19 (Dündar 2008: 284). From that time on, an Armenian Provisional Government established as a viceroyality of Russia.

For one month, the Armenians of Van paralyzed the government. This can be categorized as a revolutionary situation. However, after the Russian's entrance, a government which was a part of Russian Empire was settled. By 1917, we observe that this government included Ottoman cities of Erzurum, Muş, Van and Bitlis. So, there was a new government in Ottoman soil, but under Russian control: Occupation and revolutionary situation went hand in hand.

On 3 March 1918, the new communist government in Russia left the occupied territory and Kars with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Yet the treaty had little value, as a Transcaucasian government had been established in February 1918. The war went on, and the gap left by Russian forces was tried to be filled by Armenians themselves -a situation in which occupation and revolutionary situation was separated again. Moreover, new revolutionary situations were to emerge: Soon, three "democratic" republics, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia were formed respectively in May 1918, and the war continued. By April 1918, the Ottoman Army established Ottoman control up to the borders set by Brest Litovsk. After April 1918, the convergence of occupation and the revolutionary situation returned in Caucasia, yet that time the roles of actors were reversed. The Ottoman "Army of Islam" occupied former Russian lands, and the Empire allied with Azerbaijan. Armenian Republic was able to stop Ottoman advance, but it was surrounded by the Ottoman Army. Ottoman advance officially ended in October 1918, with the Armistice of Mondros. The army soon retreated to eastern Anatolia.

Armistice of Mondros led to other revolutionary situations that belong to the Turks in Caucasia. After Ottoman Army's withdrawal, in December 1918, the

Turkish people in the provinces began to form different governments like Provisional Government of Ahıska (*Ahıska Hükümet-i Muvakkatası*, 29 October 1918), Aras Turkish Republic (*Aras Türk Cumhuriyeti*, 3 November 1918) and Islamic Soviet of Kars (*Kars İslam Şûrası*, 5 November 1918) (Tanör 2002: 72). The last one of these governments soon claimed to be a new state called Provisional Government of South West Caucasia *(Cenub-ı Garbi Kafkas Hükûmet-i Muvakkate-i Milliyesi)*. The new state formed a parliament, declared its independence and became a republic in March 1919 *(Cenub-ı Garbi Kafkas Hükûmet-i Cumhuriyesi)*. Yet the sovereignty of the republic was ended by the temporary British occupation and arrests in April 1919. After the collapse of this government, other administrations were settled with the name Soviets *(Şura)* (Tanör 2002: 73).

The Ottoman Army in the east would be the backbone of a new government in Ankara. (Formation of Ankara Government itself was another revolutionary situation: a point to be summarized later) Ankara Government gave a priority to eastern front and forced Armenian Republic to sign a treaty. In November 1920, while the treaty of Alexandropol, which defines the Turkish Armenian border as defined by Brest Litovsk, was being signed, Caucasia was being invaded by Red Army. So, it can be concluded that, in Caucasia, at the time when borders' confusion ended, revolutionary situation itself ended too.

The revolutionary situations' being between two great states confuses one who tries to consider them as belonging to a particular great revolutionary sequence. Generally, changing borders are most serious problems for definitions. It seems that revolutionary situations' and occupations' going hand in hand forms a basic problem: Does an establishment of a government in an occupied territory create a revolutionary situation for the occupier state or for the occupied one?

Whether we consider these movements as revolutionary situations as the ones that belong to Turkish or Russian Revolution, at least it can be argued that they fit Tilly's definition of revolutionary situation: For a period of time, several challengers to the existing members of the polity declared their separated rule, took a significant support from local people, and were able to establish a control on a definite land for a definite time. In fact, border confusion between old/new Turkeys and Russias during the period does not reduce the enormity of Young Turk Revolution. On the

contrary, it points to an intersection between Turkish and Russian Revolutions, a fact that makes the Young Turk Revolution an even massive one.

4.9. The Final Revolutionary Situation

4.9.1. Unionist Collapse and Fromation of Ankara Government:

The possibility of defeat forced Unionists to change their repressive attitude. During 1918, step by step, Unionists lost their power. In summer 1918, cencorship was abolished and changes were made in the Cabinet (Zürcher 2010: 112). Later, seeing that a Cabinet which was not led by Unionists could be able to sign a better armistice, Talât Pasha Government resigned in October. Ahmed İzzet Pasha was Unionists' choice for the title Grand Vizier. He was not a member of CUP, but he was a nationalist general respected by Unionists. His transition Cabinet, which was formed on October 14, still included some Unionist members, including Ali Fethi [Okyar], Rauf [Orbay] and Cavid Bey (Tunaya 2000: 654). The Armistice of Mondros was signed by this government on 30 October 1918.

Another step was the end of the Committee itself. On November 1, the last Congress of CUP was held. During the Congress, a scandalous event shocked Unionists: Fearing possible trials by Entente Powers -the Entente Powers declared certain members of CUP as war criminals because of the massacre of Armenians- on November 3, many key figures of the Committee, Enver Pasha, Talât Pasha, Cemal Pasha, Dr Bahaeddin Şakir and Dr Nâzım secretly escaped from İstanbul and left the country. On November 5, CUP dissolved itself. Its parliamentary members mostly joined the newly formed Regeneration Party *(Teceddüd Fırkası)* and a minority followed Ottoman Freedom-Loving People's Party *(Osmanlı Hürriyetperver Avam Fırkası)* (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 332-333).

The blow of escapes was possibly the greatest step of collapse, as Unionists lost most of their leaders. Its effect was much greater in the Parliament than in the Congress. Immediately, on November 4, Greek deputies began to raise their voices. With Nalbandian, the Armenian deputy of Kozan, and old Unionist Ahmed Rıza, the president of the Senate, Greek deputies brought the attitude of Unionists against

Armenian, Arab and Greek minorities to the agenda (Tunaya 2000: 655-656, 660). On November 7, a Supreme Court began to interrogate some Unionists about the entrance of war and massacres (Tunaya 2000: 657-658). Next day, Unionists lost their remaining positions, as the blow of the escapes led to the fall of Ahmed İzzet Pasha Government (Tunaya 2000: 663). The opposition began to take the initiative: Ahmed İzzet Pasha, the Grand Vezier of April Revolution, came to power once again on October 11 (Zürcher 2010:118).

Initial measures of this government were all against Unionists. On 21 December 1918, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin dissolved the Unionist Chamber and enabled the government to rule by decree (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 322). In December 1918, Prince Sabahaddin and Şerif Pasha, who were convicted of Mahmud Şevket Pasha Assassination, were pardoned. On December 30, all "national" banks and companies of Unionists were confiscated. Confiscation of the property of Regeneration Party was to follow. First arrests began in January 1919, and trials of accused Unionists for Armenian massacres started in February. Also the opposition in exile began to return (Tunaya 2000: 668). The appointment of Damad Ferid Pasha, the leader of EL initiated a harder period for Unionists in İstanbul.

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Unionists were not unprepared for such a collapse. In fact, during the most dangerous days of Gallipoli Campaign, government decided to continue war in Anatolia, so it started preparations for a possible resistance in Anatolia in 1915 (Zürcher 2010: 159).

Zürcher (2010) points to joint actions of some Unionist officers who formed the base of a resistance in Anatolia during late 1918 and 1919: Moving Eastwards, storing weapons, preventing demobilization of soldiers, delaying disarmement, forming committees throughout Anatolia, establishing Outpost Society *(Karakol Cemiyeti)* for coordination and keeping the ties between İstanbul and Anatolia, and denial of any links with CUP.

The process of development of the revolutionary situation started with the formation of the leader cadres of the network that was being constructed. Future members of these cadres began to go to Anatolia by early 1919. One key figure of these cadres was Mustafa Kemal Pasha. For Unionists, Mustafa Kemal Pasha seemed to be a good candidate for the leadership of the movement for many reasons.

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First, he could be successful in an armed conflict, as he was a respected military commander who had shown his abilities in various fronts of the World War and promoted to the title Pasha in 1916. Second, he seemed as a reliable man for Unionists, because he had been a nationalist and a Unionist. Third, he was an appropriate leader for future negotiations with Entente Powers: his being a Unionist would not cause trouble with these states, as he was not a radical member of the committee, and had criticized the participation to World War (Zürcher 2010: 173).

Zürcher (2010: 173) counts several possible motivations for Mustafa Kemal Pasha to leave the capital: It may be the insisting invitations of other officers who were his friends, his own intentions to do so, the threat of an arrest, a secret deal with Unionists' Outpost Society, or a synthesis of some of these. He is only sure about the quickness of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's actions once he had taken the decision.

It can be argued that it is Mustafa Kemal Pasha's almost unrestricted authorization for his duty which formed the basis of his being the leader of the Nationalist movement. However, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's consolidation of power in Anatolia was not an easy task. Despite Unionist based organizations had a power, this power was not absolute. Unionists did not seem to have an absolute control in the provinces, and they were not in coordination. Rather than a centralized Unionist control, for Tanör, with the exception of French occupied provinces, real powers in Anatolia were mostly local congresses, which had different repertoires (2002: 62-69). So, there were many separated groups and organizations who thought themselves as more suitable candidates (Zürcher 2010: 179).

The challenges occurred not only before Mustafa Kemal's formation but also after he became the leader of the nationalist movement. Nevertheless, whether thought to be temporarily or not, once his authority was accepted, he was able to keep the power in his hands. The difficult formation started with his landing in Samsun as Inspector General. Mustafa Kemal immediately began to organize separated resistance organizations formed by Unionists. The organization continued throughout 1919 and began to mature with the settlement of a Representative Committee in Sivas Congress held in September. However, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's organization still had legitimacy problems as the Chamber of Deputies, as a representative of the nation was to be elected at the end of 1919.

The elections were held in November-December 1919. Despite not powerful, as the Unionist network was still strong in Anatolia, the majority of the elected deputies was old Unionists (Zürcher 2010: 125). The Chamber met in İstanbul on 12 January 1920 and on February 17, it demanded to regain full national integrity and independence (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 347). Entente Powers responded to this demand with occupation of capital: In four days, 150 leading civil cervants and army officers were arrested; the city was put under martial law; the Entente troops replaced Ottoman Police; leading members of the Parliament were arrested; the Chamber was dissolved and some prisoners were sent to Malta (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 347).

Mustafa Kemal Pasha used the opportunity. In April 1920, the Representative Committee, which had moved to Ankara, took a great step for monopolization of natonalist movement by dissolving autonomous Outpost Society and inviting the remaining deputies to form a Grand National Assembly with other fresh deputies to be elcted later. The Grand National Assembly met on April 23 and elected Mustafa Kemal Pasha as the President of the Assembly. Together with this step, another process also strenghtened the movement: By that time, local congresses were mostly eliminated either by foreign occupations or by the containment of the central movement led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Tanör 2002: 99-102). So, in time, power in Anatolia became monopolized. With this monopoly, the Assembly in Ankara claimed to be the real government of the Nation. So, by April 1920, the third major revolutionary situation of Young Turk Revolution had emerged. This was to be the longest major revolutionary situation which would continue for two and a half years.

4.9.2. Ankara Government during the Revolutionary Situation

The Ankara Government was faced with various challenges during those years. First, it had to suppress several revolts in Anatolia. Second, it faced with the threat of some Unionists who were for Enver Pasha's leadership. Third, it had to enter armed conflicts with various external powers supported by major Entente powers.

Revolts against Ankara Government had begun even during the process of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's formation of the movement. Ergil (1981: 403) counts ten collective actions that had started before Grand National Assembly's first meeting.

Except the Pontus movement in Black Sea region, the vawe of revolts against Ankara government ended by the end of 1921. Although these revolts have not been well analyzed until today, it can roghly be argued that these revolts' motives were various: some were stimulated as a reaction to ongoing demands of state, some were motivated by ethnic differences, and some were backed by İstanbul Government. Below, one great challenge to Ankara Government is summarized, as it marks the end of Young Turk Revolution's radical potential.

4.9.2.1. The Leftist Challenge and Repression: Thermidor of the Young Turk Revolution (1920-1921 Winter):

The World War and its aftermath witnessed increasing popularity of leftist movements in the Empire. Several developments made Ottoman society meet with socialism. Without doubt, the October Revolution in 1917 was the crucial one of them. Generally, the revolution was welcomed in the Empire, as it brought the end of Russian Tsardom, one of the most deadly enemies of the Ottomans. It drew the attention of some Young Turks who had instrumentalist minds, making them think that Bolshevism may be an appropriate instrument to defeat foreign powers. Revolution also radicalized some Ottoman Turks in Russia, who were either prisoners of war or members of the opposition in exile. Also, socialist ideology shaped ideas of some Ottoman Turks in other countries. For example, some of these people took part in the Hungarian Revolution of 1919 (Tunçay 1978: 299).

So, it can be argued that the formation of socialist movements in Turkey emerged from three sources stated above: the sympathy caused by an instrumental reason, the import of ideas from Russia and affection from the revolutionary situations apart from Russia. Actors of the first formation were allying themselves with tiny socialist groups to organize in Anatolia as a "Green Army" organization, as well as exiled Unionists' organization attempts abroad. Mustafa Suphi and his comrades were representatives of the Ottoman Turks in Russia as the second group. Thirdly, affection from the developments in other states can be seen in the formation of Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of Turkey *(Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist Fırkası)* in September 1919. Two important figures of the party, Ethem Nejat and Şefik Hüsnü [Değmer] were affected by socialist ideas in Berlin and Paris.

The threefold movement began to transform into a real political organization during 1920. In May 1920, Mustafa Suphi came to Baku, where Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic had just been established. There, there was a Communist Party formed by Enver Pasha's followers. Immediately Mustafa Suphi eliminated these and began to rebuild the party (Zürcher 2010: 188). In the same month, Green Army was formed in Ankara (Zürcher 2010: 189). Green Army became a considerable force with the participation of Çerkes Ethem, the commander of the largest band loyal to Ankara Government. They formed a People's Group *(Halk Zümresi)* in the Assembly and showed their strength by September (Zürcher 2010: 190). On September 4, the group helped its member Nâzım Bey [Resmor] get elected as Minister of the Interior, defeating Refet Bey [Bele], the candidate supported by Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself. During the same month, coordination between İstanbul and Soviet organizations matured. On September 10, the Communist Part of Turkey was formed. Mustafa Suphi was elected as the president of the party, Ethem Nejat became the secretary general, and Şefik Hüsnü became a member of the Central Committee.

September 1920 was also the month when Ankara Government's first repressive measures were taken. The day following his election, Nâzım Bey was forced by Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself to resign. Also on September 29, the Green Army organization was dissolved on Mustafa Kemal Pasha's demand (Erdem 2010: 283). The next month, on October 18, he formed an official Communist Party of Turkey to attract some members of the Anatolian organization (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 354).

The leftist radicals continued to their policies and formed People's Communist Party *(Halk İştiraykun Fırkası)* on 7 December 1920 (Erdem 2010: 183). The party held conferences to present its views on December 14 and 22 (Erdem 2010: 191). It was openly approving the Third International's program (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 354). Moreover, it openly invited old members of Green Army and secret Communist Party (Erdem 2010: 185-186). Moreover, the Communist Party of Turkey's members started their preparations to enter Anatolia.

Under these circumstances, Mustafa Kemal Pasha decided to openly confront radical leftists. First, he targeted their armed force: In December he began to force Çerkes Ethem to join the regular army. Ethem resisted, but also hesitated to start an

open conflict. Finally, on December 27, Mustafa Kemal Pasha ordered Refet Bey [Bele] to attack Çerkes Ethem's troops. To avoid conflict, he let his troops surrender and join to regular army. He chose to retreat to mountains, yet seeing the impossibility to stay there, he escaped to Western Anatolia occupied by Greek Army (Ergil 1981: 300-301). By 22 January 1921, "Çerkes Ethem Revolt" was over. His second target was the political organization in Ankara. The government launched investigations on People's Communist Party on 19 January 1921 (Erdem 2010: 114). By May 1921, many members of the movement, including Nâzım Bey [Resmor] were sentenced to various punishments (Tunçay 1978: 248). Finally, the Communist Party organization was almost destroyed on the night of December 28-29 with the murder of fifteen members of the party, including Mustafa Suphi and Ethem Nejat.

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The leftist challenge in 1920-1921 seems to be popular because of the interest shown by socialists. However, it can be argued that its importance and role in the Revolution is still underestimated. Scholars are interested in the event not as a defining one but as a modest part of Turkish left's heritage. For instance, one of the most important scholars that worked on the subject, Mete Tunçay (1978: 381) mentions that Turkish left movement between 1908 and 1925 was a minor and insignificant one.

The movement may seem small in numbers. It was only very few people in İstanbul and Soviet Union that participated the movement. Even the greatest potential supporter of the movement, Çerkes Ethem had a force consisted of 4650 men at the time they were attacked by Refet Bey's forces (Ergil 1981: 296). Such numbers may seem small in a country who had recently mobilized more than two million soldiers.

Yet for conflicts, numbers take their value also by the numbers of opposing sides. In some cases, small networks can be sufficient to challenge state power. Usually the more important step is the further mobilization of larger numbers after taking power. The failed April 1909 Revolution was started by only 3000 chasseur artillery and infantry soldiers of the Imperial Guard *(Hassa Ordusu)* (Turfan 2000: 134). Yet other collective actions started by few numbers of people may result very differently. October Revolution is the brightest example of the situation. During the take over of state power, there were moments when revolutionaries could not find a

red lantern flag to raise in the flagpole of Peter and Paul Fortress, when Lenin walked on the street with a single comrade and warded off an arrest (Figes 1998: 483, 485). In fact, the October Revolution:

"…was in reality such a small-scale event, being in effect no more than a military coup, that it passed unnoticed by the vast majority of the inhabitants of Petrograd. Theatres, restaurants and tram cars functioned much as normal while the Bolsheviks came to power. The whole insurrection could have been completed in six hours, had it not been for the ludicrous incompetence of the insurgents themselves, which made it take an extra fifteen." (Figes 1998: 484).

So, the movement that would mobilize millions started as such a tiny event. Possibly, Trotsky's presenting his argument about the relationship between numbers and revolutions in an analysis of Turkey is not a coincidence:

"…and yet, to treat the Turkish proletariat as a *quantité negligible* means risking some serious surprises. *The importance of a class is never to be estimated by its mere numbers*" (Ahmad 2008: 91)

Can we defend that post World War I conjuncture also had an appropriate opportunity structure for small number challengers? In fact, just like the Russian example, following years of World War witnessed the collapse of war machines of all states. It must be remembered that in this era, even Entente Powers were looking for conscripts to use in various places. While French troops were refusing to fight against Red Army and Entente troops were negotiating with İstanbul Government to conscript some Turkish soldiers to use in Russia, most dominions of Great Britain rejected to send troops to be used in Turkey. In sum, the level of organization and the forces that it can mobilize can make one think that the radicalization of Young Turk Revolution was a significant challenge to the weak state apparatus in Ankara.

At this point, Trotsky can help us again -but now by allowing to a criticism of his argument rather than through an agreement. To discredit Stalin, Trotsky uses the concept Thermidor to point that Stalin's rise marks the end of revolution:

"In the internal controversies of the Russian and the International Opposition, we conditionally understood by Thermidor the first stage of the bourgeois counterrevolution, aimed against the social basis of the workers' state." (Trotsky 1935)

Binding Thermidor with counterrevolution is still problematic today, as "although counterrevolution is the other half of revolution, it tends not to be recognized and theorized as such" (Meyer 2000: 45)

With such a perspective like the one of Trotsky, calling the collapse of Turkish left in 1920-1921 winter cannot be called as the Thermidor of the Young Turk Revolution. However, here, Thermidor is used with its reference to the historical event that gave birth to itself. In French Revolution, Thermidor does not point to the end of revolutionary sequence. Rather, it points to the certain defeat of the potential of further radicalization of revolution. Except the minor attempt of Babeuf, no radical movement would challenge the members of the polity after Thermidor. However, this does not mean that the revolution was over: the power holders were not for a return to the old regime. Thermidorean era witnesses the dangers from both sides:

"In the meantime the Second Directory, having seen the infant republic safely past the Scylla of the right, became alarmed about the ship of state veering toward the Charybdis of the left…" (Meyer 2000: 566).

Moreover, to call an event as Thermidor, the leftist challenge does not have to be greater than the challenge of right. For instance, in Meyer's words, Thermidoreans "were particularly nervous about the royalist danger" (2000: 562). Furthermore, this danger was even greater than the danger of radicalism:

"…the inchoate executive of the weak Directory considered the royalist fronde to be a greater danger than the Jacobin defiance…" (Meyer 2000: 565).

Kemalist era after 1920-1921 winter fits to the situation. It disallowed futher radicalization of the revolutionary situation and crushed the leftist challenge. However, the revolutionary situation was not over. In fact, it can be stated that the fear from a victory of İstanbul regime and its allies was greater than the fear of socialism, as Grand National Assembly did not hesitate to ally with Soviet regime to end the multiple sovereignty in Turkey.

4.9.2.2. The End of Third Revolutionary Situation and the Young Turk Revolutionary Sequence:

While Grand National Assembly was repressing the leftist challenge, it was also busy with stopping the Greek advance. The years 1919 and 1920 were the years of the conflicts between minor powers. The era of the revolts, İstanbul Government's attempts and war with Armenia was over. Ankara Government was able to stop Greek advance by January 1921. Inability to mobilize huge numbers to defeat each other made Entente Powers held the London Conference in February 1921.

The failure to reach a compromise made Entente Powers to push for ending the stalemate. After their second offensive which did not bring a success in March-April 1921, Greek Army began preparations for a massive attack, during which even the King took his part (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 359).

The unending stalemate also worsened Mustafa Kemal Pasha's situation in the Assembly. More radical Unionists began to fear about his reaching a compromise with Entente Powers, which may end their political life (Zürcher 2010: 194). Demands for Enver Pasha's return began to rise again. Another concern of some deputies about Mustafa Kemal Pasha was his increasing power. In May 1921, Mustafa Kemal needed to organize his followers to provide the discipline. He formed the Group for the Defense of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia *(Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Grubu)*. The opposition to him formed Society for the Protection of Sacred Institutions *(Muhafaza-i Mukaddesat Cemiyeti)* (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 360). Its including several groups reveal that by 1921, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's power had already reached to such a level that it determined the main clash within the Assembly as Kemalists and Anti-Kemalists.

Both balances -between governments and between Groups in the Assembly- ended in late summer 1921 with the final offensive of Greek Army. The attack started on July 13 and panicked the Turkish Army, which left Afyon, Kütahya, and Eskişehir and retreated to Sakarya River. Immediately, the opposition demanded a decrease in Mustafa Kemal Pasha's power and a new policy towards enemy. They also wanted him be commander in chief. Mustafa Kemal Pasha reversed the first demand by accepting the second on the condition that he was authorized to exercise

all powers given the Assembly for three months (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 360). On August 5, he took this dictatorial power (Zürcher 2010: 196). So, both groups' gamble was bound to the fate of the battle.

The further advance on Sakarya began on August 13. After they reached Sakarya, Greek Army pushed hard to take Haymana between August 21 and September 2 (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 361). Turkish Army's success turned the battle into attrition warfare. Hoping to replace Kemalists, Enver Pasha and his followers came to Batum. During the battle, they even held a Congress under the name CUP between September 5 and 8 (Zürcher 2010: 195). Yet enormous differences between the supply lines of the two Armies were about to define the result. On the last day of the CUP Congress, Turkish counterattack began (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 361). Greek Army began to retreat on September 15.

The victory not only opened the way of full Kemalist control but also gave Ankara Government a great prestige. French Government recognized Ankara Government and signed a separate treaty. Soviet Government also began to increase its support.

After a year preparation, Ankara Government started its Great Offensive on 26 August 1922. Greek Army collapsed on August 30 with the Battle of Dumlupınar, where half of its soldiers were captured. On September 18, Mustafa Kemal Pasha announced the destruction of all Greek forces in Anatolia (Shaw and Shaw 1976-1977: 362-363). On October 11, the Armistice of Mudanya was signed.

Finally, British Government's invitation for peace conferences to both İstanbul and Ankara Governments brought the end of multiple sovereignty. On 1 November 1922, Grand National Assembly legislated a bill that separated sultanate from caliphate, and abolished the former. Consequently, the last revolutionary situation and so, the Young Turk Revolution ended.

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One of the most important lessons of the history of Turkey between 1908 and 1922 is that one must look for a longer period of time -a revolutioary sequence- in order to understand the entire history of a revolution. Like all other revolutions, the revolution in Turkey may have taken for a longer time than historians of the Second Constitutional Period argue. In this sense, changes of many actors between 1908 and 1922 do not have to point to a differentiation between "July1908" and "October

1923". In fact, there can not be a differentiation between "two revolutions", as revolutionary situations continued between 1908 and 1922. However, the "two revolutions" can be distinguished as two revolutionary situations. Although the establishment of the revolutionary situation was made by some actors of the revolutionary situation in 1908, certainly different agents reshaped it in time. So, rather than choosing a particular time like 1908 or 1923 and argue for a continuity or break in general, one should follow the way of Hill and look for points of continuity or break before and after the single revolutionary sequence.

Table 5: Revolutionary Situations during the Revolutionary Sequence of Turkey

Revolutionary Situation	Period	Claim of Power	Success
July 1908	July 1908	Wholistic	Yes
"31 March Incident"	April 1909	Wholistic	No
Albania	1912	Local	Yes
West Thrace	1913	Local	No
Arabia	1916-1918	Local	Yes
Caucasus Front	1915-1920	Local	No
"War of Independence"	1920-1922	Wholistic	Yes

Between 1908 and 1922, seven revolutionary situations were observed within the Empire's borders. Among these, three revolutionary situations' claims were for the whole country, whereas four of them had claims for certain parts of Ottoman territory. Four revolutionary situations ended with a revolutionary outcome, whereas three of these did not evolve into it, although during all three, revolutionaries could hold state power for a certain time. There are also many events very close to revolutionary situations during the revolutionary sequence in Turkey, including Bulgaria's declaration of independence, revolt in Albania, the coup of 1912, continuous rebellion in Yemen and the coup of 1913. More relatives also exist before and after the sequence, like the coup attempt in 1902, Ilinden Uprising in 1903 and the Kurdish revolt in 1925.

All these events show that the history of Turkey in the period can be an example to Tilly's argument that great revolutions include many revolutionary situations. Turkey did not have a single revolution of 1923, nor another single revolution in 1908. But the arguments that Turkey did not witness a revolution do not seem accurate too. The transformations in state structure and in economics between 1908 and 1922 show that Turkey had one single revolutionary sequence whose results allow us to call it a bourgeois revolution.

CHAPTER 5

A CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION

The historiography of the Young Turk Revolution was presented in chapter two. Following the presentation of contemporary Marxist historiography on bourgeois revolutions and the summary of the events between 1908 and 1922, here a brief critique of the historiography of Young Turk Revolution is given. This critique is about the criteria of these old views. The historiography in Turkey still looks for some must conditions and must not conditions in order to evaluate a historical conflict as a revolution. For some social groups' agency, these must and must not conditions come together –such as bourgeoisie's participation and bureaucracy's absence. Below, I argue that the historiography has to abandon these outdated criteria.

5.1. Useless Must Conditions:

5.1.1. Irreconcilabilities:

5.1.1.1. Irreconcilability of Demands:

For some people of the historiography of the revolution in Turkey, one of the facts which explains July 1908 Revolution's not being a revolution is related to the demands of the challengers' coalition. Scholars of the historiography of the Young Turk Revolution who adopt the continuity approach mostly tend to underline that Young Turks had very limited demands. For instance, Tunaya underlines the extraordinary romanticism of 1876 Constitution of Unionists to illustrate this point (2001: 17). Hanioğlu goes beyond Tunaya's idea of romanticism and depicts Young

Turks' demand for restoring the1876 Constitution as an example of how their goal was not a revolution but a restoration (2008: 150). Ahmad also links this demand to the conservatism of the Unionists (2007: 33).

Actually, contemporary works reveal that revolutions are not necessarily products of radical programs: they usually begin with modest demands. Even during socialist revolutions, which are thought to have been executed by radicals with certain revolutionary programs, masses began to give their support to revolutionary programmes only after the refusal of their modest demands by the members of the polity. Whether socialist or bourgeois, various examples can be given from revolutions.

The first example can be the Dutch Revolution in Eighty Years' War. Before the revolution, the Low Countries were under Habsburg control. The revolutionary situation began to emerge following the end of the war between France and Spain. After concluding the peace with France, Philip II of Spain appointed his half-sister Margaret of Parma in 1559 to reinforce Habsburg control in the Low Countries. However, her era was a "period of genuine political uncertainty" (Te Brake 1998: 63). Margaret's tolerance and Philip II's expectations were contradictory. Soon, in 1567, she was replaced by the Duke of Alba. Alba's response to early reformist movements was too harsh: his "Council of Troubles" executed nearly 8000 people, including Catholic nobles who had been against popular revolts (Tilly 2005: 71). The repressive attitude radicalized reformists, which caused the Dutch Revolution.

The case of the English Revolution also shows how the refusal of limited demands may transform reformists into revolutionaries. Charles I did the same mistake of Alba twice. The first one of them was in 1640. In that year, he called the Parliament to finance the Bishops' Wars in Scotland, but after the Parliament demanded the end of royal abuses, he dissolved it immediately. The second refusal came two years afterwards: following his defeat against Scots, Charles I called the Parliament again in 1642. The Parliament increased its demands and then it openly demanded to have authority (Tilly 2005: 140). After Charles I refused the demands again, both sides began to assemble new armies of their own, which would constitute the two sides of the Civil War.

In terms of the relation between demand and repression, the story of Louis XVI was similar to that of Charles I. The economic crisis forced Louis XVI to call

États-Généraux for financial support in 1789. On 5 May 1789, États-Généraux was opened. Immediately, members of its Third Estate demanded to change the old decision making mechanism: Rather than reaching decisions in three estates separately, members of Third Estate demanded decision making in a merged single assembly. This meant voting by head count rather than votes for each estate. Fearing that some of their members could join forces with the Third Estate, the other estates (clergy and nobility or simply the forces of Ancien Régime) rejected the demand. After their demands were rejected, the Third Estate declared itself National Asembly on June 17, claiming to represent the people. Radicalization went further and on June 20, members of the Third Estate swore to give France a constitution. However, regime's rejections went further too: on July 11, Louis XVI dismissed Jacques Necker, the popular Minister of Finance, because of his suggestion to form a budget that would control his spending. On the same day, the fear of the other two estates was realized: some of their members joined the National Assembly. Finally, on July 14, Bastille fell. So, between May 5 and July 14, one of deepest revolutionary situations began (Tilly 2005: 184). This era was surely a period in which modest demands were transformed into more and more radical demands.

More examples from geographically and chronologically closer revolutions to the Turkish one can also be discussed. The demands at the beginning of a parallel revolution, 1906 Persian Revolution, also emerged as modest ones. In fact, at first, members of the polity in Persia seemed to be flexible in dealing with demands as was the case in the Ottoman flexibility in Anatolian revolts and soldiers' mutinies. For instance, the earliest demands to dismiss Joseph Naus, the Belgian Director of Customs, were accepted by the Crown Prince Muhammad 'Ali Mirza. However, in time, the flexibility ended. Promises given by the Crown Prince were not realized. Moreover, the subsequent strikes in December 1905 were "instigated by the violent conduct of the Tehran governor, Ahmad 'Ala' al-Dawlah" (Afary 1996: 51). Together with Imam Jum'ah and Premier 'Ain al-Dawlah, members of the polity tried to accuse some challengers for being Babis. The repressive attitude began to transform the demands: they started to include the dismissal of the governor and the establishment of a "house of justice" (Afary 1996: 52). The members of the polity began to follow a dual response policy as the Hamidian regime did in Erzurum. The governor of Tehran was removed, yet the government began to send the nationalist

leaders of challengers into exile (Afary 1996: 52-53). After ongoing repressive measures, radicalization started. Even conservative figures like Shaikh Fazlullah Nuri joined the protesters. Although he continued to impose the idea that freedom and liberty should be dropped from nationalists' list of demands because they were antithetical to Islamic doctrines, "calls for a 'constitutional government' and cheers for the 'nation of Iran' were now heard loudly in the streets of Tehran" (Afary 1996: 54-55).

All three revolutions in Russia witnessed the radicalization of demands due to the repressive response of governments. Perhaps the first one of these revolutions, 1905 Revolution has the most striking example to the fact. In words of Figes:

> It was ironic but somehow fitting that the 1905 Revolution should have been started by an organization dreamed up by the tsarist regime itself. No one believed more than Father Gapon in the bond between Tsar and people… Gapon himself was completely ignorant of political theory: he could not even pronounce the word 'constitutionalism'. He saw himself as a man of destiny sent by God for the deliverance of the workers. Driven by vanity and restless ambition, he never stopped to think that he might be raising their expectations too high. He told his followers in simple terms, with arguments drawn from the Bible, that the Tsar was obliged before God to satisfy their demands if 'the people' went directly to him (1997: 174, 175).

Soldiers' firing at such a crowd, which was organized by the conservatives that banned red flags, transformed them into a mood that can be symbolized again by Gapon's scream after the massacre: "There is no God any longer. There is no Tsar" (Figes 1997: 176-177).

It is not a coincidence that the motor of the February 1917 Revolution was "Russia's second Bloody Sunday" (Figes 1997: 313). In February, the revolutionary situation was being transformed to revolutionary outcome as the repressive mechanism of the Tsar was about to collapse. Yet for Figes, even at the point when soldiers began to refuse shooting demonstrators, "authorities could still have contained the situation, despite the growing self-assertion of the crowd" on February 25 (1997: 311). However, "whatever chances there might have been of containing the disorders were destroyed that evening by the Tsar", as he ordered a repression (Figes 1997: 312). After Petrograd' was turned into a "militarized camp" on February 26, and soldiers began shooting again, "demonstrators knew that they were involved in a life-or-death struggle against the regime." (Figes 1997: 312-313)

Even in a socialist revolution, in October 1917, demands were radicalized. Following its failure to meet basic demands -like ending the war and holding elections- the Provisional Government tried to contain working class militancy by giving Mensheviks a ministry seat (Figes 1997: 370-371). This led to increasing hopes for a further step, yet hesitations of the two new members of the polity angered the crowd, who saw the possibility of the formation of a leftist government better than those parties. The obviousness of the fact can be seen when a worker shouted at Chernov after entering the Tauride Palace: "Take power, you son of a bitch, when it's handed to you." (Figes 1997: 429) The continuing lack of response by Mensheviks and SRs allowed a more radical Bolshevik collective action, which sent the former "to the dustbin of history".

In short, as the cases of Holland, England, France, Iran and Russia reveal, having limited demands at the beginning of a revolutionary sequence does not prevent us from calling a historical event a revolution. The radicalization and irreconcilability appears in time, and the Turkish case is not an exception. Historiography has generally focused on the demands made before July 1908. However, if the Young Turk Revolution is considered as a revolutionary sequence including several revolutionary situations, then the demands in these revolutionary situations can also be considered to be belonging to the great sequence. In fact, the revolutionary sequence in the Ottoman Empire also witnessed a transformation of demands.

Actually, even before July 1908, many contenders had radical demands. There were those who wanted to enforce the Ottoman Government to abandon some of its territories to other states like Greece and Bulgaria, socialists who demanded an autonomous Macedonia, and numerous organizations of minority groups who demanded either autonomous or sovereign governments of their own. Yet the challengers who were successful in overthrowing the regime were the less radical ones: they were members of CPU who were for a constitutional regime and equal rights to all citizens within the Empire.

After Unionists' coming to power, radicalization went further. With the revolutionary situation in April 1909, both Unionists and other Young Turk groups began to consider dethronement of Abdülhamid II. However, the dethronement did not let other former challengers enter the government. This disappointment made

some of these groups begin to look for more radical options. The most common option was separatism of minorities. One by one, separatist challengers began to mobilize their people for the sake of these radical demands: Although Albanians' attempts in 1910 resulted in a failure; they were successful in 1912 with Balkan Wars. In 1915, Armenian organizations tried a similar mobilization for a revolutionary option. Although their revolutionary situation took a longer time and their sacrifices were incomparable, by 1922, no revolutionary outcome could survive. Another revolutionary mobilization also emerged in 1916's Hejaz. Part of the Arab minority was mobilized for a separate Arab Kingdom.

Radicalizations went further in Anatolia, too. After the fall of Unionist power, some former Unionists used their efforts for an assembly to be formed in Ankara. Although this Assembly declared its commitment to Sultanate's preservation, it did not hesitate to abrogate the Sultanate after its consolidation of power in late 1922.

5.1.1.2. Irreconcilability between Contenders and Sudden Change in Power:

For continuity paradigm, a supporting fact to the argument is that there were no changes in power before and after the revolution, as contending groups were not sharply divided. Actually, several figures that held a position in Hamidian state could be seen after the revolution. Grand Viziers of the Empire are typical examples: Kâmil Pasha and Said Pasha, who served at important moments during the revolutionary sequence, were also two famous grand viziers of the Hamidian Regime (Tunaya 2000: 66). Another grand vizier of the era, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha served as General Inspector during July 1908 events.

These arguments make one recall Marx's hypothesis of irreconcilability between two classes under capitalism, which was wielded to prove the inevitability of a socialist revolution. The adaptation of irreconcilability idea for bourgeois revolutions was adjusted in Marxist historiography long time ago, yet as it is shown above, many Marxists have abandoned this tendency. They began to do just the opposite: tried to adapt Marxism to the cases. The interesting fact is that, similar to the German case that Eley and Blackbourn criticize (1984: 52 53), many non-

Marxist Turkish historians still use old Marxist version of irreconcilability to test the existence of a bourgeois revolution in Turkey.

As pointed above, individuals' participations in the bureaucratic positions of both regimes are quite normal for revolutionary sequences. As Tilly points, the possibility of a coalition between challengers and some members of the polity increases the chances of success for challengers (1977: 170).

In many revolutions, a flux between members of the polity and challengers does exist. Both sides can move to other blocs. Mostly, the containment, or integrative capacity of the members of the polity determine this traffic. Several examples from both transitions can be given.

Generally, the history of the formation of Young Turk opposition had many transitions from members to challengers as well as moves from challengers to the members: the case is full of such shifts between contending groups. In fact, Georgeon notes that an important reason of Young Turks' opposition was the regime's inability to offer jobs in which they would show their abilities (2006: 390). Yet when the government was able, it did not hesitate to accommodate those members of the opposition. A typical example is the case of "Mizancı" Murad Bey. His decision to join Young Turks in 1895 was taken after he had been rejected from one of the most favorable bureaucratic positions of the Empire, i.e. *mabeyn*. After one year, Murad Bey was convinced by the Chief of Ottoman Intelligence Service, Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha. This was a great blow for Young Turk movement, yet the situation reversed after eight years. Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha himself escaped to Egypt in 1904 and allied with the Young Turks (Georgeon 2006: 446). Another example of failed containment was the case of Damad Mahmud Pasha and his sons, Prince Lütfullah and Sabahaddin. Damad Mahmud Pasha's decreasing influence, which could not make governments deal with British companies any longer lowered his income and led him to oppose Abdülhamid II. Another important figure, Dr. Bahaeddin Şakir, who made significant contributions to the reorganization of CPU, can be considered as another example, as before his escape he had been the private doctor of Crown Prince Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi.

Such transitions went on also after July 1908. Here, Ahmad's point that defines old Tanzimat Pashas of Sublime Porte as members of an alienated group can be recalled (2007: 36-39, 50-51). As members of professional bureaucracy were

alienated from repersonalized rule of Abdülhamid II, they were possible allies of challengers before 1908. After the Revolution, CPU/CUP was able to form uneasy alliances with members of these groups. For instance, it clashed with Said Pasha and worked together with Kâmil Pasha in late 1908. Later, it made Said Pasha Grand Vizier and started a harsh conflict with Kâmil Pasha. Such a relation also existed between Unionists and Şerif Paşa. Once, CPU had taken the support of Şerif Pasha, yet after he could not be appointed the ambassador of London, he became an important leader of opposition. Another transition was from CUP itself. As new members of polity after July 1908, Unionists also lost their members to challengers' groups as in the case of Colonel Sadık Bey.

Same kind of moves was also seen in the military both before and after July 1908. In fact, different from civilians' moves which can be understood with personal motives, officers' shifts can be explained by group motives. For instance, more professional "*mektepli*" soldiers' attitude towards Hamidian Regime is a widely discussed issue: the dissent because of the privileges of "*paşazade*"'s was already presented above (Mardin 1992: 69). After the revolution, the abolition of this privilege was one of the first actions of members of the new polity.

Can we consider the opposition groups that chose legal ways of political struggle as members of polity? If we apply Tilly's definition of members of the polity, (any contender which has routine, low-cost access to resources controlled by the government (Tilly 1977: 45)), some members of opposition can be considered as such: For instance, deputies of opposition in the Chamber of Deputies had such an access. If we consider those deputies of opposition as members of polity, number of shifts from challengers to members in the Empire can increase. Some Dashnak deputies' revolutionary actions in Caucasia during World War I, such as those of Karekin Pasturmadjian can be noticed. İsmail Kemal Bey's leadership of the revolutionary situation in Albania can be another example, as he served as a deputy in the Chamber. Although he was not a deputy, Sharif Hussein, as an official administrator of the Empire, can also be considered as a member of the polity until his revolt in 1916.

During very different revolutionary situations such shifts could occur. Prince Condé's leading the revolt during Fronde, or more famous "apostate" figures of the French Revolution, like Talleyrand and Fouché can be recalled. For Mooers, the

revolution in France was actually the product of an internal conflict (2000: 51). For the English case, Hill's late arguments also reveal the same fact of easy shifts between contenders: according to him, the conflict of Civil War was between two landholding strata, and landholders' choices were determined by different motives, including personal rivalries: One landholder's choice of Parliament's side made his enemy choose the King's (Hill 1980: 125; Kaye 2009: 161). Below, some less known, but more typical cases in Russia and Persia are briefly summarized to show the similarity with the Turkish case.

Just like the Turkish case, during the revolutionary sequence of 1906 Revolution in Persia, many shifts from members to challengers occurred. Here, the cases of two typical figures, Shaikh Fazlulah Nuri and Muhammed Vali Sipahdar Khan can be presented. Shaikh Fazlullah Nuri was an important member of ulema in Tehran during Kajars' Ancien Régime. Soon, despite his doubts and hesitations, Shaikh joined the challengers: In Qum, he attended to the protests held by revolutionaries (Afary 1996: 55). Together with Tabatabai and Bihbahani, he became one of the three leading members of 1906 Revolution (Abrahamian 2009: 59). His second shift came about three years later. Fearing from secular elements, he preferred to join the anticonstitutionalist alliance by mid 1909 (Afary 1996: 134; Abrahamian 2009: 68). After anticonstitutionalists' defeat in Civil War, he was executed by constitutionalists in 1909. So, in two years, a famous member of the polity joined challengers, and after the challengers became members of new polity, he again shifted his position to new challengers.

Another great shift in Persia was of Muhammad Ali Khan Nasr al-Saltanah, who was known as "Sipahdar". Sipahdar was one of the most important members of Kajar polity: He was the commander of royal forces. In the early phase of the revolutionary sequence, in June-July 1908, he led the attack on constitutionalist forces in Tabriz (Afary 1996: 213). However, this key figure of the regime changed his decision: By fall 1908, he was convinced to join to revolutionaries, and united his forces with Dashnak leader Yeprem Khan, the "Garibaldi of Iran" (Afary 1996: 240; Abrahamian 2009: 69-70). When the revolutionaries marched on Tehran in May 1909, Sipahdar had already become the leader of the Revolutionary Army "mujahidin" (Afary 1996: 248).

The Russian experience in 1917 also included such typical examples, including the story of Alexei Brusilov. Brusilov was a conservative patriot general, who was appointed Commander in Chief of the Southwest Front in 1916. As a respected general, he commanded the major offensive named as Brusilov Offensive in summer of 1916. In 1917, his promotion went on: he was appointed commander in chief of the whole front. Soon, Brusilov's ideas about the war began to change. The rise of challengers to Tsar's polity affected him, and he began to state that "If I have to choose between Russia and the Tsar, then I choose Russia" (Figes 1997: 378). With his professional way of thinking, Brusilov saw that Bolshevik organization was better fit to hold the country together. His patriotism also motivated himself: By thinking that the country had chosen Bolsheviks, he accepted a position in the archives office of the Red Army Staff in 1919 (Figes 1997: 566, 606) Although he thought that Bolsheviks were the Antichrist, hoping that patriots like him could redirect the revolution, Brusilov finally accepted an active position in the Red Army in 1920 (Figes 1997: 696-697)

So, as French, English, Persian and Russian cases reveal, any revolution may include shifts between two positions of contenders, and existence of such transformations should not make one disregard the Young Turk Revolution as a revolutionary sequence.

Remembering such fluxes during other revolutions can liberate historiography of the Young Turk Revolution from another criterion, which is a search for a sudden change of power. The alliance formed between challengers and some members of the polity after July 1908 makes some historians argue that no change in power existed in the period, a fact that refutes the claim of revolution in their minds. For example, Cenk Reyhan, who tests revolutionary feature of the event by employing Tilly's criteria on revolution, argues that no transfer of power existed in July 1908 (2008: 129). However, this argument is formed through a partial look, as Reyhan does not use Tilly's polity model that allows the participation of some members of the old polity to revolutionary challenger's coalition. In fact, examples of contenders' shifts between different groups also show that a sudden and massive transfer of power in a single revolutionary sitation does not exist. Reyhan may cite that Abdülhamid II remained on the throne for nine months after July 1908 (2008: 129) as an example to the existence of reactionaries in power, yet if Louis XVI's

remaining on the throne for almost three more years after 14 July 1789 is tolerated by Tilly himself, the case in Turkey can also be tolerated. In fact, it can be argued that not considering the Young Turk Revolution as a sequence between 1908 and 1922 leads to such searches for great changes in short term. As great revolutions include many waves, there is no need to search for a sudden change in a very limited period.

5.1.2. Revolutionary Consciousness in Below:

One debate among the scholars who focus on the revolution concerns the level consciousness among masses during the revolutionary sequence. Interestingly, the possibility of a fact's being stressed in a work about the subject depends on the arguments of the author of the work. In other words, the arguments of historians are making them choose some certain facts to be used as examples. There are examples from both sides.

Mostly, the scholars who claim that July 1908 Revolution was not a real revolution tend to underline the absence of mass consciousness. For instance, Hanioğlu, who claims that July 1908 Revolution was not a revolution but a restoration (2008: 150), focuses on Anatolian Revolts, and mentions that demands of the crowds were not political, as there were no demands for "constitution" nor "parliament" (2001: 121). He notes that whenever they learned that their demands were accepted, crowds shouted "long live the Sultan" (2001: 121). As it is also summarized above, Unionists had utilized masses' loyalty to Sultan Abdülhamid II in Albania by blaming the ones around him (Hanioğlu 2001: 255). Cenk Reyhan's arguments are close to those of Hanioğlu: as a scholar who tests the revolutionary character of July 1908 Revolution according to Tilly's criteria, he notes that the revolutionary situation of the era existed only within limits of the Empire's revolutionary constitutionalism, as the society gave up neither the constitution nor the Sultan in a revolutionary situation where the slogans "long live liberty" and "long live the Sultan" went hand in hand (2008: 129).

For the other line in which it is defended that June 1908 Revolution was a complete revolution, Kansu's arguments can be given as an example. Roughly, it can be stated that, as a person who defends the revolutionary character of the event,

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he agrees with Soviet historiography that relates the East Anatolian revolts to 1905 Russian Revolution, something heavily criticized by Hanioğlu (2001: 94, 373). When he touches upon the celebrations after the declaration of *"hürriyet"*, Kansu notes that during the celebrations in İstanbul, the slogan "long live the Sultan" was rarely heard (2002: 133). In general, for Kansu, the people understood what was happening by July 1908 and knew the meaning of the events (2002: 153). According to him, ignoring the role of the people of the Empire means a disrespect for them (2002: 153). Kars also mentions that the impact of the collective actions in East Anatolia which were motivated by 1905 Russian Revolution is undeniable (1997: 9).

It can easily be detected that, although their arguments about the existence of revolution differ, scholars on both sides have a common point: the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, which can be observed in their discourses and slogans, is one of the crucial determinants of the definiton of July 1908 Revolution. So, while one side's defenders underline "long live the Sultan" to reinforce their argument, members of the other side does just the opposite.

Do we need such a criterion for the Turkish case? In fact, a distinction made by Rudé may help one to roughly define the attitude of the historiography of the Young Turk Revolution: Rudé defines two sources of popular ideology. One source is an "inborn" traditional one that is based on experience and memory; and another is an accumulation of "derived" ideas and beliefs. For Rudé, both sources overlap in a popular ideology (2010: 34, 35). By referring to this distinction, it can be argued that what historiography of Young Turk Revolution disregards is the possibility of two sources' confusion in popular ideology during the revolutionary sequence in Turkey.

A brief and comparative observation may enlighten the point further. Here, to accomplish such a task, three cases are briefly discussed. The first case is the French Revolution. In fact, classic works on the event show that crowds' attitude during the revolution was not as "political" as both sides in Turkey agree. For instance, George F. E. Rudé, to whom historiography of the French Revolution owe the exposition of the urban masses' role, notes that slogans "Vive le Roi" and "Vive le Tiers état" could be heard together (1967: 196; 2010: 145). The stress of Georges Lefebvre is even more critical. As a person who revealed the agency of peasantry and changed the belief that feudalism was abolished by National Assembly's legislation, Lefebvre shows that one main motive of the de facto abolishment of feudalism was in fact a

monarchist one. Lefebvre shows that there were rumors in the countryside that authorities were "concealing king's orders" and king was willing for them to burn down their chateauxes (1973: 95). Interestingly, it seems that the revolution in the country was carried out "in the King's name" (Lefevbre 1973: 97). So, the concept of bourgeois revolution and masses' loyalty to the cult of the monarch do not exclude each other for the classical French case even according to the scholars who particularly shaped the history from below approaches.

1906 Revolution in Persia can be a second case. After the radicalization in July 1906, ulema-led crowds' coming together with revolutionaries made conservative calls "Long live Islam" and "Death to 'Ain al-Dawlah" be joined by "Long live the nation of Iran" (Afary 1996: 54).

The final case is the February 1917 Revolution in Russia. One authority who focuses on popular movements in Russia is Orlando Figes. For Figes, throughout in 1917 peasantry rejected monarchy and generally Tsar's abdication was welcomed (1997: 85, 86). However, in minds of the people in Russia, the idea of republic was not clear: it was being confused with the notion of monarchy. Figes cites several examples; including a peasant soldier saying that they needed a republic but there should have been a good tsar at its head; another soldier who wanted a republic "like England" and would elect "the Tsar" as the president; and peasants who wanted to elect a Menshevik propogandist in their village "as tsar" (1997: 87-88). Moreover, Figes argues that February Revolution was understood also in religious terms, as peasants described old regime as sinful and praised revolutionaries as Christ-like saviors (1997: 95). The same attitude went on even after October Revolution: For Figes, just like 1870s' populists, socialists presented socialism as a sort of religious utopia (1997: 100). For instance, Lenin's survival after an assassination attempt made peasantry think that Lenin was not killed because he had been blessed by miraculous powers (1997: 101) -events and beliefs that remind the legends of "Green Army" in Anatolia. Moreover, the peasantry in Russia also misunderstood class terms: the word bourgeois was understood as all forces hostile to peasantry and ones who want the restoration of the Tsarist regime. For example, they rejected to call kulaks "burzhooi" (1997: 98-99). In short, Russian case also shows that the "discourse" of masses makes neither a bourgeois nor socialist revolution lose its revolutionary feature.

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As four revolutions (1789 France, 1906 Iran, February 1917 and October 1917 Russia) reveal, during revolutions, ideas and motivations of masses are not as clearly defined as the scholars who focus on the Turkish case think. Having a perspective which recognizes the Young Turk Revolution as a sequence between 1908 and 1922 may make one observe the changed attitude of masses. During the last revolutionary situation between İstanbul and Ankara governments, Assembly in Ankara and its government used a discourse very similar to the ones of several other revolutionaries: blaming everyone around the monarch except the monarch himself. Yet in time, this discourse was abandoned just before the start of peace negotiations, and the Assemble abdicated Sultanate in November 1922. Soon, the Caliphate was also abdicated in 1924, and in Deringil's words, "cobbles did not go red with blood" (1998: 179). It seems that 1908 1922 period made masses who once had shouted "Long live the Sultan" consent to the end of Sultanate.

5.1.3. Liberal Democracy

Despite their different arguments, historians of the Young Turk Revolution seem to agree also on the necessarily democratic character of bourgeoisie: For nearly all of them, there is a direct relation between bourgeois revolutions and democracy. For this subject, it can be argued that some historians tend to be selective in choosing facts that can support their conclusions.

The defenders of the continuity paradigm and incomplete revolution idea tend to underline the undemocratic character of post-1908 Turkey. For them, basically, Unionists intervened into government policies through several ways, controlled the military, gave limited rights which were to be taken back soon, organized assasinations and a coup. In the end, they formed a de facto one party rule. As a presenter of continuity paradigm, Hanioğlu mentions that, although Unionists demanded a "restoration" of parliamentary regime, they established a one party rule, which makes the Revolution of 1908 an unprecedented revolution (2008: 150). Savran, a defender of incomplete revolution approach, shows 1848 Revolutions as a turning point when bourgeoisie left its democratic tendency and began to tolerate old regimes' forces (1985: 184). For him, neither Unionists nor Kemalists were exceptions to the fact. Ahmad also has a similar idea. He explains the non bourgeois

character of the executers of revolution by underlining their conservatism. This explanation can make one argue that Ahmad ascribes a democratic attitude to bourgeoisie (Ahmad 2008: 23, 25).

On the other hand, Kansu, the leading member of revolutionary paradigm, tries to show the democratic feature of revolution. Mostly, he chooses to perform this task by comparing the period between 1908 and 1913 with Hamidian and Kemalist regimes (2000; 2002). Actually, that era witnessed a five years' exceptional multi party regime: this was a feature which was to be observed not until 1950's Turkey. However, his one single statement, "the liberal regime was put on the right track with the 1913 coup" (2002: 368) confuses one's mind about his understanding of liberal democracy, as post1913 policies of Unionists were undeniably undemocratic.

The evolution of the arguments on the relation between bourgeois revolutions and liberal democracy has a long history. Beyond the classical Marxist historiography of revolutions, valuable contributions were made by historians from different disciplines. For instance, although his original claim is that it was not the modern urban classes but the rural ones that determined the democratic character of regimes, it can be argued that Barrington Moore Jr. finds a relation between bourgeois power and democracy: the existence of the conflict between bourgeoisie and landowner classes determine democratization (2003). Where landowners were not eliminated from the scene, they remained as obstacles to democratization. At the end, countries whose single dominant class is bourgeoisie witnessed democratic regimes (England, France and United States), whereas countries whose landowners were not destroyed by a bourgeoisie in a bourgeois revolution remained undemocratic (Germany and Japan). His deduction explains the relationship between bourgeoisie and democracy more clearly: "No bourgeois, no democracy" (2003: 487).

This reasoning was criticized later not only by the historians who focus on bourgeois revolutions but also by those who focus on the history of democratization. For instance, Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens, who discover transitions to capitalism in Western Europe and America discover different tendencies about the relationship between classes and democracy, come to the conclusion that "the respective positions of bourgeoisie and working class show that capitalism creates democratic pressures in spite of capitalists, not because of them" (1992: 271).

The contemporary arguments on the relation are not limited with the ideas of historians who focus on the relation directly. Historians who directly focus on the process of bourgeois revolutions also developed arguments about the relationship between bourgeois revolutions and democracy. One of these arguments belongs to Gerstenberger. She notes that simply the development of the bourgeois state may take very different forms (2007: 663). It may promise democracy as a principle, yet capitalism's structure prevents realization of such democratic principles (2007: 686).

A more detailed work is of Eley and Blackbourn. In general, they complain about liberalism's being defined even as a class consciousness of bourgeoisie, and question the existence of a relationship between bourgeoisie, parliamentary democratic rule and liberalism (1984: 16, 75, 81). According to them, the liberal democracy idea is a product of idealization of western paths. For example, the history of democracy in Britain includes a story which occurred much later than English Revolutions: the idealized views exaggerate extensions of franchise in 1832 and 1867; and understates the repressive capability of British state between 1790 and 1822 (1984: 79).

Looking for great steps towards democratization seems pointless to Eley and Blackbourn. As British steps show, consolidation of democracy came much later than bourgeois revolutions (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 80). In short:

> Once we acknowledge that the 'rule' of the bourgeoisie (as the dominant class in society) is exercised indirectly, we should also accept that in theory a wide variety of state forms is adequate to the task, from the most authoritarian (late forms of absolutism, fascism and other forms of dictatorship) to the most democratic (the democratic republic, forms of the welfare state, types of social-democratic corporatism), depending on the society and period in question. Once we concede this, we can also acknowledge that intermediate combinations of the two (authoritarian and democratic) are a viable possibility (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 139-140).

In fact, history of the Young Turk Revolution presents many examples of various bourgeois regimes. The revolutionary sequence in Turkey first witnessed a limited parliamentarian regime in 1908. The 1909 Amendments of the Constitution opened led to a much more democratic form. Yet soon, clashes between various groups of the new regime resulted in two coups and forming of a de facto one party rule in 1913. After the collapse of the Unionist regime in 1919, variety of voices could be heard again in both shortly lived İstanbul Parliament and in the challenger

Ankara Assembly. However, in time, Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his supporters consolidated their power and took full control of the government. Following the end of the revolutionary situation, objections to their policies in the National Assembly ended with 1923 elections.

Simply, the revolutionary sequence in Turkey cannot be called a democratic or authoritarian one, as it included elements from different forms. Anyway, no qualification can define the bourgeois revolutionary character of any collective action. The contemporary historiography of bourgeois revolutions reveals that today claiming that a state form is a sign that reveals (non)existence of a bourgeois revolution is pointless.

5.2. The Problem of Agency as an Intersection:

5.2.1. Presence of Bourgeoisie and Absence of Bureaucracy:

It can be deduced from several works on the period that although its members have different arguments about the existence of a revolution in Turkey, the historiography of the Young Turk Revolution mostly attaches a critical importance to the problem of agency, which is thought to be a defining fact of the revolutionary sequence's bourgeois character. Whether they argue for the existence of a full bourgeois revolution in Turkey or not, for both sides the idealized model of bourgeois revolutions seems to be orthodox Marxist historiography of the French Revolution. Roughly, in this model, classes and the contenders of revolution overlap: Within the feudal rule, a matured bourgeoisie arises with a class consciousness, allies with other lower classes and creates a direct conflict with aristocracy. In the end, it eliminates aristocracy and forms its own bourgeois state.

This model is the one that Eley and Blackbourn problematize in historiography of German Sonderweg. Similar to their critique of liberal democracy idea, they underline that German historiography idealizes "a quasi-mythical" "Western pattern" (1984: 10). In fact, in both France and England, bourgeois revolutions "did not take the form of a pitch battle between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, in which the former seized state power from traditional monarchy and replaced it with parliamentary democracy" (1984: 144). This idealized pattern is also criticized by

Hill as a historian who had followed it once. In his later works, he notes that "to classify the English and the French Revolutions, and the Russian Revolution of 1905, as bourgeois revolutions do not mean that they are to be forced into one mold" (1980: 130). Hill notably underlines that the conflict during the English Revolution was a battle between two landowner classes (Kaye 2009: 161).

There are various examples of the efforts to adopt observations for the sake of this idealized picture that shapes the arguments concerning whether Young Turk Revolution was a bourgeois revolution or not. This clash of observations spark off an interesting debate: Simply, historians do not seem to have a consensus about the social basis of Young Turk revolutionaries. For many who underline the continuity, executers of Young Turk Revolution were bureaucratic elites (Hanioğlu 2001: 5; Keyder 1987: 34, 41, 50; Lewis 2008: 656, 657). For authorities in favor of incomplete revolution approach on the other hand, revolutionaries were not bureaucrats, yet their allies were. Savran's claim of parallelism to post 1848 bourgeois revolutions and Ahmad's observation of the uneasy alliance between *çoluk çocuk*s and old Sublime Porte bureaucracy (2007: 34-35; 2008: 4) are well known examples. The same tendency of adaptation can also be observed in the approach of Kansu. Kansu mentions that Young Turks were not bureaucrats (2002: 32). To reinforce his argument, he mentions that the collective actions before the revolution were controlled from the Paris headquartes of Unionists (2002: 37, 99).

It seems that an important aspect of agency problem is military and civil bureaucracy's participation. It has a key role in nearly all approaches within Young Turk Revolution historiography. This importance of bureaucrats' attitude can be a good starting point for a critique. In fact, several authorities show that bureaucrats' participation to revolutionary mobilizations can be observed in all kinds of revolutions.

One perspective which has no problem with participation of bureaucrats is the institutionalist one of Skocpol. An important contribution of Skocpol to studies of revolution is on the analysis of leadership problem. Simply, Skocpol reveals that in revolutions, class roots of collective actions and of their leaders can be different (1994; 2004). For instance, a successful collective action of peasantry in a socialist revolution usually needs a leadership cadre whose social roots lay in middle classes (Skocpol 1994: 221). For great "social revolutions", Skocpol has a more accurate

conception, called "marginal elites". By using the concept, Skocpol argues that, in all three revolutions that she focused on (France, Russia and China), class basis of revolutionary leaderships were not so much different than the of old regimes' leaders. They were only "a little marginal" (2004: 312). The managers of many phases of French Revolution were public administrators who were members of the assemblies. For example, 25% of the convention's members were officials (2004: 312-313). The socialist revolutions in Russia and China were not so different: top and middle positions of both Bolsheviks and Communist Party of China included people who were either from old dominant classes or in margin of privileged families (2004: 314). In both countries, these cadres were educated in the schools which were formed by the old regimes to train officials -a very similar story to the one of the Hamidian regime (Skocpol 2004: 314).

The existence of marginal elites does not prevent us from calling an event a revolution. In fact, Skocpol also points at an interesting direct proportion between the ratio of elites and the possibility of success in a revolutionary movement. For instance, different from Mensheviks who were mostly coming from minorities' territories, Bolsheviks were mostly "Great Russians" from the more homogeneous interior lands of Russia (Skocpol 2004: 315). Chinese communists were from either interior lands or north and middle territories of China, while Kuomintang's leaders were from either shores or southern territories (Skocpol 2004: 315-316). In France, Montagnards were mostly coming from administrative centers of monarchy, whereas most Girondins were people from the towns of trade ports, which had had tensious relations with the monarchy (Skocpol 2004: 316). These marginal elites observed inabilities of their states to compete with other states, and saw the state mechanism as an instrument of increasing the national endurence (Skocpol 2004: 317).

State bureaucracies take their part also in Tilly's model of revolution. The relation between two contending groups i.e. members of the polity and challengers were presented above. It can be argued that Tilly's polity model allows us to conceive bureucrats' participation to collective actions, as members, some of whose alliance with challengers is a need, can also include these people.

Tilly's definition of revolutions also has contributions for bureaucracy problem. "Acquisition of armed force by revolutionary coalitions", and "neutralization or defection of the regime's armed force" (Tilly 2005: 59) point to

the attitude of military officers to shift their positions. Neutralization, defection and acquisition do not have to refer only to an armed clash: it may also include persuation and conviction. Civilian bureaucracy may also show consent, as revolutionary sequences include "establishment by the alternative coalition of effective control over some portion of the government -- a territorial branch, a functional subdivision, a portion of its personnel", and "the establishment of a modus vivendi between the alternative coalition and some or all of the old members; fragmentation of the revolutionary coalition" according to Tilly (1977: 174).

In fact, the changing economic situation in the Empire can allow one argue that even if we have to consider the agency problem and look for the power of bureaucratic elites, it can be observed that bureaucracy was not in total control of Empire's policies. For example, Toprak shows that the military and civilian bureaucracy were one of the worst affected groups from World War's reshaping of income levels, whereas Turkish middle classes benefited the most (1995: 159-160). So, even in wartime when bureaucracy should have been most autonomous, it had no economic advantages: on the contrary, it lost. Surely, by taking the observation of Toprak into account one can ask those who argue for the idea of a bureaucratic revolution: "what kind of a revolution could make its agents suffer in such a way?". Actually, it can be argued that from 1914 to 1929, rather than creating an effective state to be entered by extractors, members of the polity tried to push for opening alternative ways for extraction which were not so "extra economic". In this sense, if it was able to survive, the post-1908 Ottoman Empire could have been considered as a much more "progressive" state than the Bonapartist state of Napoleon III which had so many "parasites" in its bureaucracy.

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Another aspect of agency problem seems to regard the developed consciousness of bourgeoisie before revolutions. Various objections to this search can be raised. One objection's source can be found in Gerstenberger's work. For her, old Marxist approach's sorting of the events revolution and consciousness must be just the opposite. Class consciousness of bourgeoisie is not cause but effect of revolutions (2007: 671). Another objection can be deduced from Hill again, as his later works also has contributions to class attitudes before the English Revolution. For Hill, agents in revolutions can be motivated by several causes. "In the 1640s

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peasants revolted against enclosure, clothiers against poverty resulting from depression, the godly against Antichrist in order to bring about Christ's Kingdom on earth", but "the outcome of the Revolution was something which none of the activists had willed" (Hill 1980: 111). Particularly for bourgeoisie, he notes that:

"'Bourgeois revolution' is an unfortunate phrase if it suggests a revolution *willed* by the bourgeoisie…" (Hill 1980: 131).

In general, classes do not have to be defined in terms of the consciousness they have. If consciousness becomes a criterion, working class cannot be considered as a class as class in itself. Rather, Hill's alternative criterion is the position in the relations of production (1980: 129).

Carrying out a revolution and coming to power also seem to be different than what the followers of the classical path assume. Today, generally the concept of bourgeois revolution "says nothing about the groups who waged the conflicts": these kinds of revolutions "did not become 'bourgeois' simply because they were waged by that particular class" (Gerstenberger 2007: 662, 666). A bourgeois revolution does not refer to a revolution made by or willed by bourgeoisie (Hill 1980: 110).

The idealized picture of western path also produces a relative strength idea. This idea causes an argument that in countries which "do not experience a complete bourgeois revolution", bourgeoisie could not take state power, so it could not fully execute its program as other social forces like "bureaucracy" or "landowners" did not lose their control over state. Ahmad's evaluation can be a fitting example of this idea's adaptation to the Turkish case: With reference to Soboul, the most important figure of the classical approach who shaped the ideas on the relation between bourgeoisie and the Ancien Régime's forces, Ahmad blames Unionists for rejecting the "classical path of the French Revolution" in which an alliance with peasantry was established to start a conflict with big landowners: (2008: 238-239).

However, works which were summarized in previous chapters reveal that the bourgeois state as a product of bourgeois revolutions does not refer to a direct control of bourgeoisie. In fact, Eley and Blackbourn are right when they suggest questioning "whether one can talk plausibly of a bourgeoisie anywhere which seized power and recast the state and politics after its own image" (1984: 15). Such a takeover simply does not exist. So, the relative strength idea, which explains a so called weakness against "state", or against "landowners" must be questioned.

Perhaps the priority of the questioning was bourgeoisie's preferences with regard to defining the relationship between state and itself. In fact, the impact of this relation on bourgeois interests must be reversed. For example, for the German Empire, Eley and Blackbourn argues that it is quite wrong to assume that bourgeoisie in the Empire was weak or it could not realize its collective interests (1984: 146). On the contrary, in Germany bourgeois dominance was most effective "where its forms and institutions came to seem most natural" (1984: 204). So, its invisibility can be a fact that suits bourgeoisie's interests. Their argument can be linked to a point of Mooers: Perhaps because of this advantage of being unseen, what old appoaches call "revolution from above" became "the religion of modern bourgeisie" after a certain point (Mooers 2000: 129). Actually, it was exactly the power of bourgeoisie's alliance with older classes in Germany which gave the German state an autonomy to pass reforms and would open the way for capitalist development (Mooers 2000: 178). For bourgeoisie, this also gave the opportunity to convert other dominant classes. For instance, in time bourgeoisie would win Junkers (Mooers 2000: 182).

It can be argued that in Turkey, such an alliance existed too. The post-1908 clashes between countless groups must not make one fall into the trap of anachronism. Before 1908, a great consensus was established to overthrow the Hamidian regime although the revolution in July 1908 was carried out by a limited group. This actually fits to the observation of Hanioğlu, who concluded that "the destruction of Hamidian regime was so complete that no serious opposition group expressed a desire for reinstituting it after the revolution". No one, even the CUP's opponents demanded its return (2001: 6, 312). Ahmad's point that reforms in Turkey could be made thanks to a compromise with landowners can also help one to prove this argument on the relationship between alliance and revolution (2008: 69). The post-1908 clashes do not seem to be a battle between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries as Kansu argues, but rather it looks like a struggle between several groups who embrace the basic principles suitable for the development of capitalist relations of production. For example, Ahmad shows that an important transformation very similar to Junkers' conversion was observed in the Empire during war years: even the Hamidian regime's pashas became to realize the possible benefits of investments and transformed their wealth into capital by forming new

companies (2008: 54). This can be evaluated as a clear sign of embourgeoisement, which is the primary condition of capitalism's development in a country. In agreement with the common argument of the contemporary Marxist paradigm that bourgeoisie appears only after revolutions, it can be argued that as the revolutionary sequence in Turkey between 1908 and 1922 clearly did the same task, it can actually be called a bourgeois revolution.

5.3. Useless Must Not Conditions

5.3.1. State Preservation and Instrumentalism

Historiography on Young Turk Revolution usually gives a most destructive meaning to revolutions. With such a perspective that makes one remind Lenin's "The State and Revolution" (1917), this historiography assumes a conflict between state apparatus and revolutionaries. Historians of both continuity and break approaches agree on the feature, yet as they have different arguments for the Young Turk Revolution, they tend to prove their point of view by stressing very different facts regarding the relationship between state and Revolution. Several followers of continuity paradigm and of incomplete revolution approach underline the mission "preservation of state", and stress the revoltion's being instrumental for the sake of it (Mardin 1992: 209; 2006b: 182, 185; Hanioğlu 2001: 313; Ahmad 2007: 33; Keyder 1987: 54). From this common perspective, a Young Turk-state clash does not exist (Ahmad 2008: 69). On the other side, Aykut Kansu, as a defender of the revolutionary paradigm, notes that Unionists had defined their mission as destruction of the state (2002: 361). Moreover, he also notes that they were conscious of what to establish in place of the destroyed state (2002: 363).

Do power of states and revolutions exclude each other as historiography on Turkish Revoluton argues? In fact, about this relation, there are different arguments that belong to both institutionalist and Marxist approaches.

Although it totally denies the role of agency and points the structure as the main determinant (Skocpol 2004: 45), institutionalist approach's stress on changes of state apparatus offer much to clear the point. For instance, it can be stated that, contrary to the beliefs about the Turkish case, for Skocpol, the entire story of "social

revolutions" is a consolidation of state power (2004). Roughly, revolutionary crisis were started with the collapse of state apparatus. Causes of the collapse were mainly determined by international competitions: French Ancien Régime lost its struggle against England (2004: 110); Russian Empire collapsed in World War I (2004: 193-196); China lost many wars and was occupied several times (2004: 148-156, 518). The international competition determines not only the collapse of state apparatuses but also internal class relations (Skocpol 2004: 61).

Revolutions and their afterwards are processes of state rebuilding for Skocpol. During and after revolutions, *all groups who are aware of the political conjuncture naturally understand that to end international pressures, states are suitable instruments of increasing the national durability* (Skocpol 2004: 317). So, revolutionaries develop a consciousness to reform their states in all revolutions. This fact is neither a unique feature of Young Turks nor an event which is an obstacle to a revolutionary situation's existence.

After revolutions, more rational and centralized states are formed (Skocpol 2004: 306). The number of personnel in these restructured states increase sharply: French Army was enlarged rapidly with creation of *levée en masse* (Skocpol 2007: 371) and 150.000 new bureaucrats were appointed during the reign of terror (Skocpol 2004: 373). While territorially larger Russia of 1897 had 260.000 personnel in its bureaucracy, Soviet state in 1929 had 390.000 (Skocpol 2004: 420). In China, between 1952 and 1959, white collar personnel of bureaucracy increased from 3.310.000 to about 8 million (Skocpol 2004: 486). With these increases, restructured states could be competing powers again: France became strong enough to conquer continental Europe; USSR became a super power; and China was united again after long years of struggle (Skocpol 2004: 22-23).

So, despite Skocpol denies the role of agency, she points out both the awareness of subjects for state reform and changes in state apparatuses during revolutions. Therefore, state building and revolutions do not exclude each other. However, only relying on institutionalist approach cannot prove existence of the same link between states' empowering and bourgeois revolutions in particular: As Skocpol shows, institutionalist approach tests the concept bourgeois revolution through a search for bourgeois agency, a feature rejected above. For instance, as a scholar who attributes certain features to bourgeois agency, she accepts the

bourgeois character of the French case partially. Although its results make it a bourgeois revolution, French Revolution was as bourgeois as bureaucratic (Skocpol 2004: 439-440).

Apart from institutionalism, views of Mooers and Gerstenberger allow one to go beyond state-revolution relation and to reveal the close correlation between state apparatus and bourgeois revolutions without recourse to the search for agency. Mooers's use of Brenner's extraction by extra-economic or politico-legal compulsion points to roles of state in extraction of surplus. For Brenner, this compulsion of state was seen as the best way of extraction (Mooers 2000: 52). As long as states use this instrument to benefit dominant classes, they get their support. This same relation is also observed by Gerstenberger, who defines it as an integrative ability of state (2007: 663). So, in short, integrative ability -or capacity- of a state is in direct proportion to its ability to assist accumulation of dominant classes. However, this ability of state, which also determines its ability to contain dominant classes, is also limited. Both scholars point international competition as the main limiting fact (Gerstenberger 2007: 663; Mooers 2000: 11, 58, 59). Mostly, more powerful states would force other ones to reorganize themselves so that they can better serve to the extraction of these classes, a fact that makes one recall Marx's critical words again and again:

> Thus all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a country, this contradiction need not necessarily have reached its extreme limit in this particular country. The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a backward industry… (Mooers 2000: 83).

For Mooers, different times' and places' limitations led to a variety of bourgeois revolutions (2000: 11). In any country where foreign pressure exists, new capitalist way of accumulation was formed through state intervention (2000: 59). Gerstenberger calls these new states as "new capitalist intervention state" (2007: 671).

So, the existence of an instrumentalist reason which is motivated by state reconstruction and bourgeois revolutions do not seem to exclude each other. On the contrary, all revolutions are instrumental in the manner that they force state

mechanism to function more properly for the sake of assisting a more functional extraction of surplus. There is no state which takes no part in intervention to economic affairs: no intervention means no reformation of the integrative ability.

The "economic" reforms enacted during the Ottoman revolutionary sequence were summarized above. The chapter here reveals that a discussion on some "political" reforms in state apparatus is also needed to identify the bourgeois revolutionary character of the Young Turk Revolution.

The consciousness of state reforms, determined by international pressure, had a long story in the Ottoman Empire. Tanzimat bureaucracy had an intention of reforming the State beyond earlier military reforms (Göçek 1996: 45). Experiences they had during the period when they were carrying out their duty must have shaped this consciousness, which was associating extraction with a stronger state. Moreover, for some of them, revolutions were seen as an instrument to form a stronger state. For instance, for Young Ottomans, French Revolution had occured thanks to the "patriotism" of the French people. Namık Kemal's awareness is clearly explained by Keyder today: French Revolution was made to preserve the state (2009: 51).

Rationalization process of the state apparatus, which was the motor of development of such a consciousness, ended with Abdülhamid II: his reign was an era of (re)personalization of power (Georgeon 2006: 306). Abdülhamid II kept the state under the control of his extensive Yıldız bureaucracy, which tried to stay in control through giving privileges to local powers (Kansu 2000: 3, 9). Such a state form offered nothing for extraction and did not develop any means to favor a capitalist way of accumulation. Also, it did not provide a state position to assist accumulation like the post revolutionary French state did. A personal loyalty to Abdülhamid II was needed to open the gates of this bureaucracy, and even its some major positions -like the post of governor (Georgeon (2006: 208)- were not beneficial. Both facts opened the way for corruption in such positions (Ergut 2004: 137), making the regime equated with corruption in public's eye.

So, the Hamidian regime enforced all who were not loyal to the Sultan's personality to take part in a totally conflictual position against the whole regime, and allowed almost no one to use state mechanism for extracting resources. These forces desperately tried to reverse the situation, and looked for several ways: Some forces

tried to compromise with the regime for reform or for their participation to limited extraction (like old Young Turks who returned to İstanbul), some directly tried to overthrow the regime (like Young Turks in exile) and others began to look for other state powers' help for extraction (including minority groups that seek for being citizens of other states, or look for foreign intervention, or for forming independent states that may serve them).

During this struggle, new and more powerful allies emerged within the Empire, thanks to the international pressure on the state. Abdülhamid II fought hard for restoration, yet foreign threats were stronger motives than his determination for the establishment of personal power again. The possibility of the collapse of the very existence of his state forced him to form professionalized bureaucrats that would stand as better assistants. However, he kept them as a secondary group for participation to extra economic extraction. The paradox of being better qualified but being secondary made these servants to behave like other excluded groups.

It is not surprising that the Revolution in July 1908 was triggered in Reval. The possibility of the state instrument's collapse caught challenger groups during preparation. A quickly formed alliance of some of these challengers was able to overthrow personalized Hamidian regime in July 1908. With July 1908, restructuring of the state started. Just like French Revolution's being the "most sensational move to direct rule" in which intermediaries began to fade away (Tilly 1989: 19-21, 30-32), July 1908 Revolution started the same process in the Empire. With the establishment of Unionist control of state affairs, the transformation from indirect to direct rule began (Ergut 2004: 164). Despite minority groups insisted on the privileges of old order, people in the Empire who were subjects of Hamidian personal rule began to be transformed into citizens (Kansu 2002: 217, 218, 360). As summarized above, just after the revolution, bureaucracy of the Empire was also restructured.

The whole restructuring process was to be accelerated with war. During the war, both military and civilian state apparatus enlarged rapidly and became able to stimulate capitalization through breaking the old self sufficient order in the countryside and assisting to capitalist accumulation in the market.

Despite these steps, the success of state restructuring was to remain partial, as this process and the struggle to take part in new instrumental extraction went hand in

hand. The heritage of Hamidian state was so weak that despite reforms, state could not provide its benefits to all old challengers. Toprak's observation of bureaucracy's decreasing income levels during the World War can be an example (1995: 1959-160). Simply, in state mechanism there were not enough rooms for everyone, and the existing rooms were not very comfortable. Many challenging groups that could not took their part in overthrow of Hamidian regime also could not enter the new state. Some (including Greeks and Bulgarians that began to look for already existing other potential instruments like a Greater Greece or Greater Bulgaria, or ones determined to form an independent state like all minorities' nationalists that do not have a state) showed little interest in participation to the restructuring of Ottoman State. Some (including Dashnak Armenians or Young Turks who at first tried to join new CUP like Prince Sabahaddin) actually decided to participate but the state doors were closed to them by Unionists. So, at different times they took alternative decisions, all of which included a serious conflict with the existing power holder Unionists. Roughly it can be argued that the reason of the seriousness was existence of very limited rooms. As long as the rooms were limited, outsiders decided to come together to enter the rooms and throw out the occupiers. Perhaps, the reason of very different opposition groups' comig together with one common task of changing the power (Young Turks against Abdülhamid II, EL against CUP, and Society for the Protection of Sacred Institutions against Group for the Defense of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia) can be explained by this fact. The same direct relation between the limitedness of state capacity and very different opposition groups' coming together under the same opposition policy not only existed before and during revolutionary sequence but also went on after the revolution. Even in today's Turkey, several groups' policies include identifying themselves as opposition to the very existence of the parties in power -a defect which was not ended even by revolution.

Unionists had to employ the new state to the service of small number of new extractors. Supporting Turkish members of dominant classes in particular meant many other groups' exclusion and hence their violent opposition. But although they were in limited number, assisted members gave their full support to Unionists and identified their interests with the Committee and new state: So, response to fierce opposition was to be violent too. The support of these groups was so strong that it made remaining members of Unionists to transform themselves and rebuild their

power even after the great collapse caused by the World War I. The previously excluded political groups could not hold the state instrument for a long time: The era that they kept the state power -after the coup of 1912- was not long enough to demonstrate their ability to provide the same assist. Therefore they lacked popular support even after they became power in late 1918's occupied İstanbul. By the time of their collapse in 1922, all old challengers of 1908 -except some in Unionist line- were either eliminated -like Armenians or some opposing Young Turks- or found a new state instrument for extraction. In 1922's Turkish state, which was much more equipped with means of assistance to capitalist accumulation than the Hamidian Empire, there was a room nearly for everyone within the boundaries. However, it seems that, although some crucial steps for reforms were taken, this situation was created mainly through the elimination of ones that had demanded for entering the rooms, rather than through creating more rooms.

In this chapter, for foreign cases, mostly pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary states were roughly compared to show the relationship between state preservation and revolution. Here, Turkish state's three stages -before, during, and after the revolutionary sequence- were analyzed to point the same relation. The brief summary of evolution during the Turkish case shows that revolutionary struggles and formation of a new state not only goes hand in hand but also determine each other. It seems that testing the existence of state preservation/destruction motives, and claiming that state interventions to economy defines an event's bourgeois revolutionary character is simply unnecessary.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to focus on the problem of the existence of a bourgeois revolution in the Ottoman Empire. It has first presented the existing approaches on the Turkish experience in particular, and then has turned to various contributions on the concept of revolution and bourgeois revolution. Presentations of the views heve been followed by a summary of the events occurred during the revolutionary sequence in Turkey between 1908 and 1922, which includes several revolutionary situations, revolts, coups, and routine politics. Finally, the thesis has underlined many parallelisms that Turkish revolutionary sequence shared with other revolutionary sequences, together with the assist of the contemporary views which had already been presented before.

In the thesis, four approaches of the historiography of Young Turk Revolution have been presented. In the presentation, it was seen that, among these approaches, defenders of modernization approach and World-system school mostly have tended to point continuity and argued that a bourgeois revolution does not exist in the history of Turkey. Another perspective has underlined the changed structure of bourgeois revolutions during nineteenth century and has argued that what Turkey witnessed was an incomplete bourgeois revolution. Also a final approach has distinguished itself from all other views by pointing their focus on 1923, and has underlined that Turkey had witnessed a bourgeois revolution in 1908, and the following history of the country was determined by the two camps, namely revolutionaries and monarchists.

In the thesis I have tried to show that, interestingly, although they had different conclusions, Marxist or not, all approaches tested the existence of a revolution by using similar criteria of old orthodox Marxist historiography -a situation very similar

to the historiography in Germany (Blackbourn and Eley 1984: 52-53). The fact also led to another interesting situation underlined in chapter five: as all had different arguments by employing same criteria, members tended to be very selective for historical facts. Overestimation and underestimation of facts went hand in hand. Also, it can be stated that, whether focus on 1908 or 1923, members of all dominant approaches were in the same paradigm that tests two different revolutions.

In the thesis, I have tried to differentiate my views from all of the dominant approaches about the subject by following two ways: Pointing out the need to make use of contemporary arguments on revolutions and bourgeois revolutions, and defending that Turkey had a single revolutionary sequence between 1908 and 1922.

I have tried to make the first way of differentiation by summarizing the contributions of revisionist historians on the subject of bourgeois revolution, and by pointing the response of Marxist historiography, which resulted in a transformation of the criteria of revolutions and bourgeois revolutions. In fact, these contemporary views showed that today, testing an existence of a bourgeois revolution is much more different and easier, as the existence of many points became tolerable.

After the summary of the new Marxist historiography of bourgeois revolutions, I have made second way of differentiation by summarizing the history of Turkey between its Ancien Régime and the abdication of Sultanate in 1922. The vocabulary of new approaches seemed to be compatible with the events in Turkey: Rather than a single revolution in 1908 or a single revolution in 1923, Turkey had a revolutionary sequence between 1908 and 1922, which was a story of transformation from personal to impersonal rule. It had seven revolutionary situations during this sequence, four of which evolved to a revolutionary outcome. The period also showed the existence of relative collective actions to revolutionary situations, including revolts and coups. Shifts between contenders that exist in all revolutions were also seen during the revolutionary sequence.

There were several challengers to the Hamidian Regime before the revolution. Their attempts to form a revolutionary coalition failed in 1902. By 1907, a coalition was established by two Young Turk groups and ARF. However, it was only one Young Turk Group, CPU, which was able to come to power in July 1908, thanks to its allience with some members of the polity, i.e. Sublime Porte bureaucrats, who

were alienated by the Hamidian Regime's restoration of personal power because of their professional attitude.

The political struggles after 1908 do not seem to be a clash between revolutionaries and monarchists. In fact, struggles both before and after 1908 were for the sake of having access to political extraction. As Hamidian Regime had offered almost nothing, once it had collapsed, no political group seeked for its return. The post 1908 struggles were shaped by Unionists' determined policy of not opening state gates to any other old challengers to the Hamidian Regime. This fact increased the dissent of these groups in time, together with the members of the Sublime Porte. Members of these challengers exercised many options in their repertoire, yet except the success of Albanian ones, no challenger succeed to find -or create- a place in governments. By late 1913, Unionists were able to consolidate and monopolize their power in the center, yet revolutionary situations continued to appear in the periphery, thanks to the reshaped opportunity structure by the World War I.

War was also powerful enough to change the power in the center. Just after the height of its power, CUP suddenly collapsed in late 1918. However, its members were preparing themselves for such an event since the Allied threat in Dardanelles. The underground organization was looking for a more moderate leader who would be diplomatically more advantageous. The leader was found in 1919. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was expected to be controlled by the members of Unionist backed resistance in Anatolia, yet in time, it was seen that what was about to happen was just the opposite. Through the congresses, Mustafa Kemal Pasha clique showed its determination to be in control. Later, the occupation in İstanbul led the collapse of their rivals in the capital. After the opening of the National Assembly, the clique prevented radicalization of the revolutionary sequence in 1920-1921 winter, causing the "Thermidor" of Young Turk Revolution. In the summer of 1921, the radical Unionist threat was also eliminated, thanks to the victory against Greek Army. Finally, after the end of Greek occupation in 1922, the İstanbul Government was abdicated together with Sultanate. The revolutionary sequence ended in this year, yet conslidation of the power of Mustafa Kemal Pasha clique would go on.

In the thesis, as a criterion stressed by new historiography, the positive effects on capitalist accumulation and emergence of a conscious bourgeoisie have also

seemed to have existed after the revolutionary sequence in Turkey. Through reforms, many obstacles to accumulation were removed and the state apparatus was restructured to serve to extraction more functionally. War also helped these reforms. It gave autonomy to government for further reforms, dissolved the self sufficient economic structure of rural areas, opened them to market and allowed the rise of Turkish bourgeoisie throughout the country.

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The thesis has also been an attempt to reveal the dated criteria used by historiography for the Young Turk Revolution. The summary of contemporary arguments on bourgeois revolutions had already shown the differences, and these arguments were presented in the final chapter which compared the Turkish case with other revolutions. The presentations and comparisons revealed these useless criteria more clearly.

The first useless must condition is irreconcilability of demands put forward by contenders. For some historians, limited demands before 1908 were seen as a proof to the non existence of a revolution. However, a comparative perspective would make one see that before revolutions demands are usually modest and it is the sequence that radicalizes contenders and masses in time. For example, attitude of Philip II of Spain in the Low Countries, Charles I in England, Louis XVI in France and Nicholas II in Russia caused radicalizations during the revolutions in their countries. The weaker state structure forced Ottoman members of the polity to be seem more flexible, yet this illusion did not prevent revolutionary situations and outcomes. In each new revolutionary situation between 1908 and 1922, more radical aims and results can be observed.

Another useless must criterion that most historians adopted was the existence of irreconcilability between contenders. Satisfaction of this criterion is also related to a sudden change in power. Contrary to the ones who applied this criterion, the thesis showed that in revolutionary sequences, such rapid changes rarely exist. The common social roots of contenders in English Revolution together with stories of Prince Condé in Fronde, Talleyrand and Fouche in French Revolution, Shaikh Fazlulah Nuri and Muhammed Vali Sipahdar Khan in Persian Revolution, and Alexei Brusilov in Russian Revolution all reveal that during revolutions, transfers between different contending groups occur.

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Contrary to the common belief in Turkey, the coalitions formed between challengers and the challenged can even increase the potential of success for challengers (Tilly 1977: 70). The Ottoman case can be evaluated as a representative example to the argument. By agreeing with Hanioğlu's argument about the completeness of July 1908 Revolution (2001: 6, 312) it can be stated that the first phase of revolution, Abdülhamid II's fall, points the existence of a widespread agreement of almost all contenders.

In fact, the Ottoman Empire also witnessed harsh conflicts and irreconcilabilities during the revolutionary sequence, i.e. the separatist collective actions. However, because historians do not regard these clashes as part of a revolutionary sequence, they either tend to claim the existence of continuity by mentioning the non existence of irreconcilabilities between Turkish contenders themselves or regarded some Young Turk groups as counterrevolutionaries in order to prove the existence of a struggle. Yet once we consider the revolution as a sequence occurred between 1908 and 1922, the fierce clashes between different ethnic groups can be given as examples to irreconcilabilities' existence during the Young Turk Revolution, if we insist on using this criterion.

The thesis has demonstrated that revolutionary consciousness was another useless must condition for revolution. Mostly, historians of Young Turk Revolution tend to point masses' attitude which does not fit for their orthodox view of revolutions. However, it is seen that there are many examples which show that masses do not have such a consciousness even in the revolutions which led to the formation of "classic" revolution models in minds. By referring the two source of popular ideology defined by Rudé, the thesis revealed many cases, including the slogans "Vive le Roi" in French, "Long live Islam" in Persian revolutions, together with the confusion of Russian peasantry during 1917. All examples and statements proved that slogans like "long live the Sultan" after July 1908 does not prevent us from calling the sequence a bourgeois revolution. Against the scholars who point conservative slogans or the ones who tend to point modern slogans, it can be said that it is not the discourse, but the participation itself which must determine our evaluation of mass movements.

Liberal democracy was another unnecessary criterion applied by historians of the case in Turkey. Contrary to the belief that democratic regimes appear just after

bourgeois revolutions, actually, in all idealized cases -such as English, French and American- democracy came much later than bourgeois revolutions, and bourgeois state can take both democratic and undemocratic forms. In the Ottoman Empire, the revolutionary sequence presents us several forms of bourgeois states in a very short period of time.

The problem of agency has seemed as an intersection between must and must not conditions of historiography on Young Turk Revolution: It looked for the participation of bourgeoisie and absence of bureaucracy in revolution. This common idea forced historians to make claims about the class basis of contenders and made them reach to different conclusions. However, contemporary views and comparisons revealed that the agency was not a problem of bourgeois revolutions at all. Against the absence of bureaucracy idea, it is seen that in all great revolutions, some segments of bureaucrats participate in collective actions. Besides, state centered views show that the more elites take their part in a revolutionary movement, the more likely the movement becomes successful. Also, the worsened financial conditions of the Empire's bureaucracy disprove the idea that the agents of revolution "belong" to bureaucratic elites. In the thesis, it is argued that, different from the French case in which bureaucratic seats were restructured to open its gates to bourgeoisie, the Ottoman Empire tried to encourage people to become entrepreneurs. About the search for a bourgeois agency, contrary to the classical assumptions in Turkey, it is defended that a direct control of bourgeoisie never existed anywhere, and with reference to Blackbourn's views it is argued that image of being lost increases bourgeois power. Also, it is stated that in fact, rather than looking for a bourgeois agency before, one has to search for removing the obstacles and opening ways to an embourgeoisement and the Young Turk revolution seems to have done this task.

The final useless criterion was a must not condition regarding state preservation and instrumentalism. Historiography of Young Turk Revolution has a common argument about the destructive feature of revolutions. However, in the thesis, it is seen that revolutions and strengthening of state mechanism goes hand in hand. Examples reveal that the determination to restructure state is also motive of great revolutions. Also contemporary Marxist arguments show that state's instrumental role in extraction is very critical -a fact which makes state mechanism

take attention. All these arguments revealed that preservation of state and its instrumental role for extraction have a key importance in bourgeois revolutions. So, with such a perspective, the Ottoman experience does not seem like an exception.

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It can easily be seen that, in the thesis, in addition to these rejections above, following Brenner, I refused to explain the transformation into capitalism in the Ottoman Empire by looking at outmoded factors like commercialization, demography, urbanization or labor market (Kaye 2009: 101). Rather, as Mooers, who rightly points for the German case (2000: 170), my main criterion was regarding the battle over winning the key positions in state mechanism. The key question was "who would have the access to the political extraction" (Mooers 2000: 173). It can be defended that the motive of contenders' formation during the Young Turk Revolution was their search for opening the gates of state mechanism for extraction. By having this argument, I believe that the revolutionary sequence in the Ottoman Empire had two dimensions.

Recalling Gerstenberger, it can be argued that the first dimension of the conflict in the Empire was between the privileged and the unprivileged. The Hamidian state was selective in opening the gates of political extraction, and only the ones who were able to get privileges from Sultan himself could have such an access. After July 1908, in principle, personal privilege became outmoded, and state's gates were opened to the unprivileged. The counterrevolutionary potential of response ended with Abdülhamid II's dethronement. As this was the main criterion of impersonalization, it can be argued that the step taken by July 1908 was the most important one that allows us call the sequence a bourgeois revolution.

Yet this was not the only dimension of the conflict. As Brenner shows, countries' different class heritages determine different historical results during the transition to capitalism (Mooers 2000: 52). It is a situation peculiar to the Ottoman case, the ethnic diversity, gave way to the appearance of a second dimension of the sequence. Just like the German example shown by Mooers (2000: 178), a broad coalition's establishment resulted in a success: In Germany, state became a powerful instrument, and in the Ottoman Empire, the unprivileged's coalition against Abdülhamid II ended the first phase quickly. Yet even during the struggle against monarchy, the tension between different contenders were never forgotten -a situation

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which was felt even during the celebrations in July 1908. In fact, many contenders were well aware of the fact that the Ottoman state had limited containment capacity. For many groups -such as Greek minority, once the privileged's era was ended, the second dimension came into agenda. For others -like ARF's members, hopes for an increase of state capacity were gone soon. The limited rooms for political extraction, together with the broadness of each ethnic based coalition led to violent conflicts which were to continue until 1922.

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During the thesis I referred to a quote by Marx several times. Thanks to this quote, it is seen that Marx was well ware of the existence of a relationship between two balances of power: the one of different social groups in each country, which affects the struggle for state positions, and the one of different states which determines each state's containment capacity. I argued that the second balance of power also determines the first one. In other words, by referring to Marx, it can be defended that there is a chain of determinations: The international pressure of different states determine a state's ability to function as a better instrument of political extraction, the ability determines its containment capacity, and the capacity determines the attitude of different contenders against the existing state structure. By relying on this view, it is easy to agree with Mooers who points to the need of state restructuring in all countries that were faced the international challenge. Except England, after a certain point, all states were pushed for reform for the sake of its ability to be a better servant of surplus transfer to dominant classes. What can be deduced from this story for the Ottoman case is that the Young Turk Revolution was not an exception to the general tendency, and some of its contenders' ideas about state and nationalism was closely related to the needs of capitalist developments in the Empire. It is the statist and nationalist motive which led to the rebuilding of the state mechanism and abolishment of the barriers against unprivileged contenders' surplus extraction.

It is also seen from the works of Skocpol that state centered approaches almost agree on the existence of such a relationship between external causes and internal effects. These arguments also point to the fall of state mechanisms that creates a consciousness in some groups who saw the need for structural changes in these apparatus. Moreover, an important difference of these views from old Marxist

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approaches, that some certain classes are not agents of social revolutions, is not such an important disagreement for this thesis which relies on contemporary Marxian arguments, as these arguments also are not interested in the agency of a peculiar class as a criterion for the definition of bourgeois revolutions. So, both state centered and Marxist approaches have a common point about the deterministic chain of international competition, state ability to remain as an instrument of political extraction, its containment capacity, and the attitude of different contenders against the state. The Ottoman case seems like a good example to reveal this commonality.

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The views presented in this thesis can make one to look at several events in Ottoman and Turkish histories from a different perspective.

Works regarding the political extraction can be the first example. In Turkey, there is still a complaint about a state centered way of look of Turkish historiography. However, this situation ironically can give us opportunities. Our knowledge about state mechanism is relatively extensive. So, a researcher whose subject regards struggles around political extraction does not have to deal with many problems that several other researchers have to face with.

The same situation is also valid for the studies regarding Ottoman military history. One subject that can be refocused is the relation between war making, revolution and state making in the Empire. In Turkey, as a reaction to the previous "official" approaches which focused on wars extensively, today military history became "out". However, giving up studying a subject cannot be a useful way of reacting to an approach. Works such as the ones of Charles Tilly encourages one to view military history of Turkey from different perspectives, such as the one presented here. By believing that one revolutionary sequence occurred between 1908 and 1922, it can be argued that war's impact has a crucial importance on revolution. If war making and revolutions are also -in a way- state making, Ottoman Empire's reforms made to increase the capacity of war making can show the peculiar way of Ottoman state making.

Another subject to be rethought can be about collective actions from below. Once we accept that masses' discourses can be very different than what old approaches expect, then these masses' participation to collective actions during the

revolution can be analyzed in a different way. Also, if separatist movements who had ethnic bases can be regarded as causes of some revolutionary situations that belong to a single revolutionary sequence, then it can be argued that some revolutionary situations that occurred during the sequence -like Armenian, Albanian or Arab ones- had a mass basis. Moreover, for the final phases of the sequence, it can be mentioned that as they belong to the great Young Turk Revolution, Anatolian revolts against Ankara government have a particular importance.

The twentieth century witnessed a global wave of revolution that occurred in 1905's Russia, 1906's Persia, 1910's Mexico and 1911's China. Works like John Mason Hart's "Revolutionary Mexico" (1997) show that the analysis of this wave does not include the Young Turk Revolution. The acceptance of the idea that a bourgeois revolution started in 1908's Ottoman Empire shows that this wave can be studied by taking the Ottoman case into consideration. Also, it is seen that the Young Turk Revolution's analysis must be made with a comparative perspective that should include a study of these four revolutions. With such a perspective, all aspects of the five revolutions can be better understood, together with their common and distinct features.

Related with this wave, Caucasus region seems like having a particular importance, as it lies where three of the five revolutions meet. Actually, an analysis of three revolutions' common and different points can go hand in hand with a study that focus on three countries' policies in the region together with the investigation of revolutionary states' relations with Caucasian contenders, such as ARF which was active in all three revolutions.

The arguments presented in the thesis allow one to look at the Kemalist state from a different point of view. It can be argued that Kemalism can still be regarded as kind of a Bonapartism, because the Kemalist state was established after the Turkish Thermidor. However, I disagree with the ones who adopt a strategy to criticize the Turkish state's heritage by pointing to a Unionist-Kemalist continuity. Rather, I believe that underlining the 1920-1921 moment, which points to the end of revolution's radical potential, can be a useful alternative. This alternative not only allows us to continue our criticisms about the heritage of bourgeois state in Turkey but also provides a better ground for criticisms, as use of the concept Thermidor can make Kemalism devoid of its "progressiveness" from its very beginning.

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This thesis has tried to perform the suggestion of Blackbourn and Eley partially in the case of Turkey, namely shifting "the attention away from short-term political set pieces to longer-term transformations, from the motives of historical actors to the affects of their actions" (1984: 16). Such a shift of attention may lead to new questions for the whole history of modern Turkey, yet they can be answered only from a contemporary and comparative point of view and using contemporary discussions in history and theory. This thesis has been an attempt to form such a perspective.

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