

89. Later, the concession of monopoly given to the Régie would be abolished due to the pressure exerted by the deputies of the Grand National Assembly.
90. MAE, E/320/13, Letter of Mougin from Ankara, 26 June 1923 (2).
91. Ibid.
92. MAE, E/320/13, Letter of Mougin from Ankara, 26 June 1923 (1).
93. MAE, E/320/13, Letter of Mougin from Ankara, 20 June 1923.
94. MAE, E/320/13, Letter of Jesse-Curely from Istanbul, 5 July 1923.
95. 'Actes Signés à Lausanne', *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 31 August 1924. For the negotiations on the protocol draft see *Lozan Barış Konferansı: Tutanaklar-Belgeler*, set II, Vol. I, book II, pp.151–5, 163–70.
96. Y.S. Tezel, 'Birinci Büyük Millet Meclisi Anti-empyralist miydi? Chester Ayrıcalığı' [Was the First Grand National Assembly Anti-imperialist? The Chester Concession], *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.25 (1970), pp.294–5. For details of this concession, see also B.C. Bilmez, *Demiryolundan Petrole Chester Projesi (1908–1923)* [From Railway to Oil: Chester Project] (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000).
97. Y.S. Tezel, 'Birinci Büyük Millet Meclisi', pp.304–5. For the discussions on the Chester concession before its approval in the National Assembly see Turkey, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 28, Session 20 (8 April 1923), pp.436–515.
98. S. İlkin, '1922-1923 Yılları Türkiye'sinde', pp.242–3.
99. B.N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları*, Vol. I, p.324.
100. Ibid., Vol. II, p.566.
101. Ibid., Vol. I, p.324.
102. Ibid., Vol. I, pp.245, 320; Vol. II, pp.227, 430.
103. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 237.
104. A nationalist writer, journalist and bureaucrat of the period, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu depicted in detail these ex-soldier and deputy intermediaries in his novels where he narrates the Ankara of the 1920s and 1930s. Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (Istanbul: İletişim yayınları, 2009); *Panorama* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1987). Also see D. Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni: Dün, Bugün, Yarn* [The System of Turkey: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow] (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1973).
105. MAE, E/320/1, 'Situation économique de Samsun au début de 1927' [Economic situation in Samsun at the beginning of 1927], 29 February 1927.
106. MAE, E/320/1, 'Rapport sur la situation économique et financière de la Turquie' [Report on the economic and financial situation of Turkey], 2 September 1927.
107. MAE, E/320/1, 'Envoi de rapport sur l'activité économique à Angora' [Dispatch report on economic activity in Ankara], 15 February 1928.
108. MAE, E/320/1, 'Situation économique de la région de Kutahia' [Economic situation in Kutahya region], 21 February 1929.
109. MAE, E/320/1, 'Industries locales, mines et entreprises européennes dans les régions de Trebizonde et de vilayets orientaux' [Local industries, mines and European companies in the regions of Trabzon and eastern cities], 21 December 1929.
110. For more information on the economic role and political attitude of the Muslim-Turkish merchants and entrepreneurs in the 1920s, see N.L. Başaran, 'The Muslim-Turkish Merchant and Industrial Bourgeoisie in Turkey in the 1920s and their Relation with the Political Power' (PhD thesis, University of Strasbourg and the University of Marmara, 2014).
111. K. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p.69.



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## Young Turk Governance in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War

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The question that this article tries to answer is a simple one, yet one that has not been posed in the literature: how was the Ottoman Empire governed during the First World War? What was the character of its regime? Over the past decade interest in the First World War period in Ottoman history has grown enormously. A number of important studies of the military, economic and demographic policies of the Committee of Union and Progress have appeared, but the understanding of the nature of the Young Turk regime has not progressed much beyond the way Bernard Lewis described it in 1961:

From then [June, 1913, EJZ] until 1918 Turkey was ruled by a virtual military dictatorship, dominated by three men – Enver, Talât, and Cemal Pashas.

And:

He [Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha, EJZ] was, however, a captive of the Unionist leaders; finally, in 1917, he retired to the Senate, leaving Talât as Grand Vizier and the triumvirs fully in control.<sup>1</sup>

Both the notion of the military dictatorship and that of the triumvirate have proved extremely enduring, but neither is an adequate description of the wartime regime.

### The starting position on the eve of war

When we endeavour to look at the Ottoman Empire's regime in the comparative context of the major European belligerents in the First World War, three really major differences stand out even before we begin any detailed investigation. Like all belligerent countries with the exception of the French Republic, the Ottoman Empire was a constitutional monarchy. The constitution of 1876 had never been fully rescinded, but it had been disregarded by the 'old regime' of Sultan Abdülhamid II for 30 years between 1878 and 1908. It had been fully restored after the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 and amended in a democratic sense in 1909. The powers of the sultan to appoint ministers, to dissolve parliament and to intervene in military matters had been much reduced or abolished. However, alone among the belligerent states, the Ottoman Empire had undergone a coup d'état before the war. On 13 January 1913 members of the Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) had stormed the building of the Sublime Porte while a cabinet session was in progress, forced the Grand Vizier to resign at gunpoint, and installed a cabinet they themselves dominated under the former army inspector and war minister Mahmud Şevket Pasha. After his murder in June 1913, the Committee had appointed one of their own, Said Halim Pasha, as his successor.

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