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Review Article

Between Party and Committee: Party of Union and Progress as Part of Party Typology and Women's Policies

Parti ve Cemiyet Arasında: Parti Tipolojisi ve Kadın Politikaları Bağlamında İttihat Terakki

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Abstract

Party of Union and Progress takes an essential place in Turkish political life. Since both it was the first political party and won a victory over the absolute monarchy, this essential place of the Party of Union and Progress can be proved. The Party of Union and Progress was established by a group of students who were military and military medicine men. Union and Progress that worked like secret service, in the beginning, spread into the social sphere afterward and moved towards to being a political party. Much as the Committee of Union and Progress has been negatively criticized within the historical process, it left significant effects in both the late-term Ottoman and early period of Republic. In this regard, this study endeavored to scrutinize historical-sociological background, intellectual foundations, the position of political party typology and women's policies of Union and Progress.

Keywords: *Committee, Party, Women's Policies, Union and Progress.*

Öz

İttihat Terakki örgütü, Türk siyasi hayatında çok önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Hem ilk siyasi parti olmasından hem de mutlak monarşi karşısında kazanılan bir zafere imza atmasından dolayı İttihat Terakki'nin bu önemli yeri işgal ettiği söylenebilir. İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti askeri ve askeri tıbbiye mensubu bir grup öğrenci tarafından kurulmuştur. Önceleri gizli bir teşkilat gibi çalışan İttihat Terakki sonraları toplumsal alana yayılmış ve son olarak da siyasal bir partiye doğru ilerlemiştir. İttihat Terakki her ne kadar tarihsel süreç içerisinde olumsuz eleştirilere tabi tutulsa da hem geç dönem Osmanlı ve hem de erken dönem Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde kayda değer etkiler bırakmıştır. Bu bağlamda bu çalışmada bir siyasal parti olarak İttihat Terakki'nin tarihsel-sosyolojik arka planı, düşünsel temelleri, siyasi parti tipolojisindeki yeri ve kadın politikaları mercek altına alınmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler ***:*** *Cemiyet, Parti, Kadın Politikaları, İttihat Terakki.*

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1.Introduction

The East is a popular place through the things that it received from the West; the party is one of those related things. Just like many other Eastern Empires, the Ottoman Empire is known by the things that it substituted from the Western. Eastern replaced something from the Western; the person, society and government balance in the Eastern changed in favor of the Western. A collecting and collected emerged during this change. In this sense, the Committee of Union and Progress or the leadership of the party can be defined as the collecting.

The organization of Union and Progress came up against the capital city in the Ottoman Empire; it provided to be declared the Constitutional Monarchy that was the ultimate aim; the first step towards democracy was taken. Being taken the bull by the horns by a handful of Ottoman people such as the neo-ottomans, Young Turks and 2nd Young Turks changed the destiny of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic.

Many things can be talked about the historical background of the Union and Progress that was a dissident political movement. However, the thing that should be expressed here is that a detailed analysis of the Rescript of Gülhane and Edict of Reform and both two constitutional monarchies needs to be performed to understand the Party of Union and Progress. Just because, to understand the background of Union and Progress as a political party in consequence of being the first in Turkish political life will bring understanding the Turkish political life. In this sense, entity conditions, basic applications and all other characteristics of Union and Progress were analyzed by an objective view in company with objective criteria by putting anachronism to one side.

In this research, the Committee of Union and Progress was examined closer on the axis of historical-sociological background, intellectual foundations, party typology, and women's policies. Accordingly, the Committee of Union and Progress was tried to be located in both Turkish political life and on the historical-sociological platform. In this direction, we first should review the historical background of the Committee of Union and Progress.

2.Background of Union and Progress: Union and Progress Before The Second Constitutional Era

The organization of the Union and Progress[1] is one of the most effective dissident movements in Turkish history. The existence of the Committee of Union and Progress cannot be explained transiently. Because the Union and Progress was a structure that emerged as the result of movements of thoughts and previous organizations. Conditions that prepared the proclamation of the First Constitutional Era should be considered.

It is seen when the background of the First Constitutional Era is reviewed that Young Turks who walked on the streets of Paris pronounced words like constitution and parliament in the 1860s. Hürriyet Journal that was the first Young magazine was published by the editorship of Mr. Rıfat in London in 1864. Young Turk movement acquired a political qualification; intellectuals on the Western axis demanded freedom and started a struggle for a constitutional government (Ramsaur, 2004, pp. 18-19).

While peoples within the Ottoman Empire were classified based on religious belonging before the French Revolution, they were subjected to their national belonging like Serbian, Turk or Albanian after the same revolution (Ahmad, 2002, pp. 16-31). This situation has both become a classification within the social environment and directed the sense of belonging of individuals. Union and Progress that had a mission such as saving the state, in the beginning, evolved towards Turkish Nationalism (Hanioğlu, 1985, pp. 70-72). The First Constitutional Era was proclaimed on December 23, 1876; however, constitutionalism was suspended by Sultan under the color of the Ottoman-Russian War; it was adjourned (Birecikli, 2008, p. 5). Sultan II Abdülhamid got people who pressure himself about adopting and proclaiming constitutionalism in the social

[1] The name of organization was not the Union and Progress in the beginning. The related organization was first established by the name of Committee of Ottoman Independence. Afterwards, it was integrated with the Committee of Country and Independence; it was named the Committee of Union and Progress.

sphere out of the way (Berkes, 2002, p. 335). Undoubtedly that Mithat Paşa[2] was the person who took the biggest share from that circumstance. Young Turks were constrained to be organized for the second time because of shelving the constitutional order that was accepted by the pressure of themselves.

2nd Young Turks were mostly raised in Sultan Abdülhamid's academies (Medical School, Military Medicine, Galatasaray High School) (Temo, 1987, p. 108). However, Young Turks who would perform 1908 coup d'etat believed that the perception of modernity which continued as from II Mahmud needs to be actualized in both material environment (military equipment, weapons, war equipment, etc.) and the management model (Yıldız, 2009, pp. 394-395).

There was no pressure or rebellion against Abdülhamid within almost a decade with the constitution that was shelved in 1876. There occurred an impression like Abdülhamid who did not face a rebellion within related time would use the power on behalf of the country. On the other hand, it was also asserted that Abdülhamid thought nobody except himself; he destroyed the emperorship instead of taking it a step further; accordingly, the opposition started to developing again (Ramsaur, 1957, p. 29). In this sense, we can say that the seeds of Union and Progress Association and 1908 coup d'etat were planted in early 1880. (Akmeşe, 2005, pp. 33-151)

Organization of Union and Progress started by a pure rebellion in Military Medicine. This related rebellion was a case that was started by a group of the student because of the tasteless food of Military Medicine. The capital city wanted the name of the persons involved. As is understood by the memories of İbrahim Temo who was in the rebellion, Temo expressed his dream about a secret organization.

The architecture of the organization of Union and Progress was İbrahim Temo (1865-1945). İbrahim Temo was born as an Ottoman citizen in Ustruga City of Albania (Yaprak and Gökçe, 2009, p. 2). Temo whose real name was İbrahim Ethem was involved in politics besides medical science; indeed, he became famous in politics (Uygur, 2008, pp. 65-73). While he was in Military Medicine, he told of his dream about a secret organization to Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sukuti, and Çerkez Mehmet Reşit. Temo and his friends were inspired by the Italian Carbonari Organization in that organizational structure that decided to build in 1889. İbrahim Temo stayed in Brindilis (Italy) in summers when he was going to his hometown; he visited the Lodge there and was informed on Carbonari (Ramsaur, 1957, pp. 30-31). Thus, organizational form and oath by closed eyes for ones who wanted to take part in the organization affirm these arguments. Everybody in the organization took a number instead of a code name; the founder, İbrahim Temo's number was 1/1.

This organization that was established in analogy to the organization of Lodge spread into all the schools in İstanbul; the number of members increased day by day. Sultan Adulhamid was only aware of the organization in 1892 (Ramsaur, 1957, p. 35). Headings in this organization that contains many teacher and soldiers who were Ahmet Rıza, Abdullah Cevdet, İbrahim Temo, Caucasian Murat and Prince Sabahattin who later joined the organization.

The journal Meşveret in Paris and the journal Mizan in Egypt were the manifestos of this organization. Meşveret was prepared by Ahmet Rıza; Caucasian Murat designed Mizan. However, the organization received its first blow in 1897. Sultan was disturbed by the existence of the organization; he sent a group of Military and Military Medicine; he also exiled a group. However, a part of exiled escaped from penal colonies and turned back to Paris where is the home of Young Turks. The Sultan succeeded to disjoin Murat from the line of Union and Progress by making a deal with Caucasian Murat who was a member of the organization in 1897. On the other hand, other members of the organization proceeded on their way. As a matter of fact, the largest blow came from his brother in law. Mahmut Paşa who was the brother in law of the Sultan escaped from the country with his sons; Prince Sabahattin and Lütfullah (Ramsaur, 1957, p. 74).

[2] It is known that II Abdülhamid exiled many opponents, notably Mithat Pasha after suspending the Ottoman Basic Law.

Just as being in every intellectual movement, there were opposing views in this movement with Prince Sabahattin. Because while Ahmet Rıza wanted to continue by Turkish Nationalism, Prince Sabahattin was dreaming of Ottoman Confederation (Tütengil, 1954). It is known that organization members clashed over in the First Young Turk and Second Young Turk Congress in 1902 and 1907. The most distinct indicator of those disagreements was the Ahrar Party that was established by Prince Sabahattin against the Committee of Union and Progress.

The leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress thought that the revolution should have been performed before 1908. Indeed, the nonstarter coup attempt of Mr. Müşir Recep confirmed this situation in 1903. Mustafa Kemal who had just graduated from Military College in 1905 January was assigned to Damascus providing that putting an end to his acts in pupilage. However, Mustafa Kemal established a secret community called Vatan (motherland) in Damascus in 1906. It was thought that Thessaloniki would be a much more effective center while the community spread in Jaffa and Jerusalem (Ramsaur, 1957, p. 115). Mustafa Kemal who went to Thessaloniki for this issue could not escape from court spies more and turned back to Jaffa again. But yet this circumstance could not keep him from the investigation that would be opened.

The owner of intellectual and ideological formations which paved the way for the 1908 coup d'etat was the Union and Progress in person. The Union and Progress could not prepare its organization as an elite staff. ''Revolution is the child of public''. A revolution that does not include the public (citizens) cannot be accepted as a revolution. In this regard, it can also be highlighted that the Committee of Union and Progress was not impactful on this issue. After all, the circumstance before the 1908 coup d'etat established a ground for citizens to be of the same mind with Union and Progress about the related topic. During those events, the salaries of soldiers were not being paid. Soldiers rebelled in many locations of the emperorship. People kicked about tyrant governors and rebelled as well. In short, the emperorship was under the conditions of a social and economic crisis. One of the most distinct results of this crisis is being killed Şemsi Pasha who was sent by Sultan to repress the uprising in Macedonia; he was killed on the streets of Manastır on July 7 in broad daylight. Military units belonged to the Third Army informed that they proclaimed Constitutional right after the murder case (Ramsaur, 1957, pp. 137-155). Much as soldiers were sent to the related region, developments could not be restrained and Abdülhamid declared the proclamation of Constitutional Monarchy on July 24.

The sole purpose of Young Turks was to dethrone the Sultan. Toppling the Sultan from the throne could not be achieved because the Sultan acted the role of a constitutional ruler well. Of course, there is a more important reason in this dethronement issue; the Committee of Union Progress did not feel so strong (Ramsaur, 1957, p. 155). Position of Union and Progress after the Second Constitutional Era should be analyzed well to understand the basic proposition in the study after being explained the situation of the Committee of Union and Progress.

3.Development Of Union And Progress: Unıon And Progress After The Second Constitutıonal Era

The First and Second Constitutional Era is the symbol of passing to constitutional order in the Ottoman Empire. However, while talking about the Second Constitutional Era, it can also be talked about the changes in the First Constitutional Era instead of a revolution of Young Turks. Just because the thing that Young Turks wanted and committed in 1908 was to reconstitute the constitutional order. Thus, the general run of Young Turks was a conservative population that did not demand social change (Reyhan, 2008, p. 6). For Feroz Ahmad, the revolutionist side of related movement came in sight in reform (amendments of 1909) arising from failure of politics and social change arising from this reform (Ahmad, 2004, p. 33). Accordingly, it is to the point to define the members of Union and Progress as reformist rather than the revolutionist

Rulership of Union and Progress after the Second Constitutional Era can be analyzed under two titles. In this sense, while it is possible to characterize the rulership of Union and Progress between the years of 1908 and 1913 as supervisory rulership, it is also possible to characterize the rulership of the Union and Progress between the years of 1913 and 1918 as full rulership. Thus, these rulership periods of Union and Progress need to analyzed in regular turn.

3.1.1908-1913: Supervisory Rulership Period of the Union and Progress

The founding purpose of the Union and progress was to proclaim the Constitutional Monarchy. The sultan proclaimed the Second Constitutional Era at long last on July 24, 1908. As Sina Akşin mentioned between the years of 1908 and 1913, there was started to make a distinction for soldier-civil and party-community because of that there was no distinction about party and community. The community took on a supervisory government task between the years of 1908 and 1913, namely the years when the community endeavored to solve those discriminations and complex political mechanism (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). Union and Progress could not come to power; but yet it exerted effort to not leave the rulership to the pashas of Sublime Porte just as being in Tanzimat Reform Era. But the Committee of the Union and Progress was strong enough only to a certain extent.

Several dissident political parties were formed by the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era. For example, Prince Sabahattin and his group who returned to homeland after the Constitutional Monarchy formed the Ahrar Party because that they could not take a part in the Committee of Union and Progress; they continued their dissident attitude and acts. The first political program of the Union and Progress became concrete by the political program that was broadcasted in "Şurayı Ümmet" on October 6, 1908. Union and Progress foresaw changes that tried to limit the powers of the legislative power. Union and Progress designed a ''Turkicisation'' process via education as an educational policy (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435).

Much as the Union and Progress was regarded as children by pashas of the sublime port, Union and Progress took a dignified stance about to suppress related pashas. Therefore, the main political struggle was experienced between the Committee of Union and Progress, Grand Vizier and Government. Two developments in the supervisory rulership of Union and Progress are a matter of life and death. The first of related developments is the 31 March Incident (April 13, 1909); and the second of them is the attempt of the government of Ghazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha to disband Union and Progress.

There are various approaches and thesis regarding who created the trouble of the 31 March incident. One of the related thesis is that Union and Progress created the trouble in person. The second thesis is that Sultan Abdülhamid was the subject of the issue. The third and the presumption of fact is that the Ahrar Party and other opponents made waves. With reference to the third thesis, opponents created this trouble to disband Union and Progress. Much as the basic parameters were composed of the expression of ''we want sharia'' in the 31 March Incident, the original purpose was expressed as making an end of Union and Progress (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). So and so, for Zürcher, Ahrar Party who failed in elections quite got ill-tempered and played a significant role in creating 31 March incident by acting with ''reactionaries'' (Zürcher, 2009, pp. 143-145). This rebellion that formed as the result of 31 March incident could be stopped only by being landed troops to Istanbul by Operation Army.

31 March Incident was important for the history of the Union and Progress no matter who issued the related incident. Because Abdülhamid was dethroned by the decision of the First Parliament and exiled to Thessaloniki. Commander of the Operation Army, Mahmut Şevket Pasha headed up Union and Progress and started to impose upon his independent politics. The period after these developments can be termed as the Constitutional Reform Period. Remarkable amendments were made in the military and political sphere in the related period. For example, the Ottoman Basic Law was changed and the management became a system that is closer to the parliamentary system by restricting Sultan's authority. Union and Progress was gathered under those political conditions in 1909 September. The organizational structure was determined in the 1909 Regulation. There is Merkez-i Umumi (Head Office) at the helm of the community whose members were kept secret. There are three members of the Merkezi Umumi, one of which is the Katib-i Umumi (General Secretary). The field organization of the community displayed a hierarchical structure (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435).

There were certain disagreements in the Union and Progress after opening the General Assembly. This conflict, indeed, was a discussion related to the relationship that needed to be between the

committee and members of parliament. Moreover, the stealth of the committee before the Constitutional Monarchy was reacted normally. However, this situation was founded odd after the Constitutional Monarchy. Akşin's explanations about the secrecy of the committee are as follows; (1) Union and Progress wanted to stay out of the political scene. Namely, they went to this way to stay clean. (2) Union and Progress went to this way to hide their Turkist program. (3) Since the committee was a secret society, it was impossible for them to go to another way.

There must be an alternative for a political party to work more effectively and be queried. As a matter of fact, opposition against Union and Progress in this respect increased after the 31 March Incident. Mutedil Hürriyetperver Party, Osmanlı Demokrat Party (Ottoman Democrat Party) and İttihad-i Muhammedi Party which were established in 1909; Ahali Party and Osmanlı Sosyalist Party (Ottoman Socialist Party) which were established in 1910; Hizbi Cedid Party and Hürriyet&İtilaf Party (Dependence&Entente Party) which were established in 1911; Milli Meşrutiyet Party (National Constitutional Monarchy Party) that was established in 1912 can be evaluated from this point of view (Tunaya, 1999, pp. 277-281; Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). It is unsayable that other parties conducted an impactful disaffection movement till Hürriyet and İtilaf Party was established. It may even be too much to talk about the demands of power of some of these (Birinci, 1987, pp. 17-24). For us, it is avowable that only Hürriyet and İtilaf Party made an absolute opposition.

1912 Congress was a congress that was manifestly conducted by Union and Progress in Istanbul for the first time. The tension between soldier and civil side of the committee was started in this congress. Ghazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha's government who came to power during those developments attempted to disband the Union and Progress. However, the Chamber of Deputies should have been disbanded for definitively disbanding the Union and Progress. Finally, the parliament was dissolved and the Committee of Union and Progress was closed; the newspapers published in this context were suppressed at the same time. In addition to all these, the general run of members of Union and Progress fled abroad (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435).

Much as supervisory rulership of Union and Progress ended 1912 Congress, they seized the power by the Sublime Porte Raid again on January 23, 1913. Union and Progress defended itself by saving Edirne; however, Edirne capitulated on March 26 and Bulgarian invasion started. Mahmud Şevket Pasha was assigned to grand viziership after 23 January. But then the Union and Progress was forced to despotic rulership by being murdered Mahmud Şevket Pasha after a while later. Supposedly, the full rulership period started with this related murder (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). The full rulership period of Union and Progress between the years of 1913 and 1918 needs to be analyzed to understand the basic proposition in this study.

3.2.1913-1918: Full Rulership Period of Union and Progress

1913 is a breaking point for the Union and Progress. The Union and Progress, in this related year, dispensed with secret organization structuring; discrimination about Party and Committee was considered by regarding years of discussions. One thing is certain that the Committee of Union and Progress did not play the role of a certain political party until the end of 1918; they stayed as a semi-secret organization (Tanör, 1996, p. 155). 5th Congress of the Union and Progress whose political party and committee discrimination were realized was conducted in Istanbul on September 20, 1913. After this congress, discrimination about soldier/civil took the place of discrimination about committee/party (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435).

Union and Progress participated in the election as the single party and had the major part of the parliament (Demir, 2007, p. 187). The Empire was already engaged in a state of war until 1914. It was declared that two German ships which were passed from the Bosporus by command of Enver Pasha were bought in 1914; those ships opened fire to Russia by the Ottoman flag. These two developments caused the Ottoman Empire to went to war (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). The neo-nationalist side of policies of the Union and Progress in the years of war outweighed. Union and Progress publicly continued its nationalitarian perspective that they had to hide from place to place. As a matter of fact, being abolished the capitulations unilaterally; abolition of import duties and also being enacted the law for the encouragement of industry prove this expression. In

addition to that, compulsory Turkish writing requirements for foreign companies in 1916 can be evaluated in this regard.

There were seen conflicts between Union and Progress and Mustafa Kemal in the years of the First World War, in other words, between the period between November 1914 and October 30, 1918. Thus, due to foreign policy became more critical rather than the domestic policy in the years of war, Union and Progress already started to lose its importance. Union and Progress conducted their last meeting about five (5) days after the signing of the Armistice of Mondros on October 13, 1918; the committee abolished themselves with unanimity in that related meeting. Teceddüt (regeneration) Party which has more liberal characteristics was established by leaving the reformism that was the dominant ideology of the committee after the committee was abolished (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). We can highlight that Union and Progress had great importance for the late period Ottoman and early period Republic from its foundation to the abolition day. Since the Union and Progress was the first political organization in the political history of Turkey, scrutinizing Union and Progress as a political party can ease to understand the basic proposition of the study.

4.Union And Progress As A Political Party

Constitutions, constitutionalism movements, ending monarchs and returning power to the real owner (public) became reality in the Western Union before the geography of Turkey. Union and Progress as a political party was born within these semi-modern idea patterns and formations which have been copied from the example of Europe. The most important movements which limited the power of the Sultan and directed the power by ending the absolute government were the Union and Progress first and Republican People's Party that was accepted as its continuation.

Importance of the Committee of Union and Progress, no matter how deprived of democratic cores, arising from the victory of an opponent group (Young Turks, 2nd Young Turks, and Neo-Ottomans, e.g) over the Sultan. Much as there are smear campaigns which express that Union and Progress was a mason organization, namely, England-origin organization established by the external powers (Ramsaur, 1957, pp. 160-169); this related committee has been evaluated as the scream of freedom of some segments of society. Furthermore, it is also known that Union and Progress underlied the thought of Republic and its intellectual foundations; many people who started and conducted the war of independence came from the old Union and Progress organization although they abolished their organization with their own hands in 1918 (Akşin, 1985, pp. 1422-1435). The major importance of the Union and Progress comes from here.

Political parties are the irrevocable factors of modern life. These organizations whose presence was not talked in the pre-modern period become more of an issue for the public that is the source of democracy to express themselves in the political area. A political party is an organized community who try to control the government to apply a program and put their members into power; the power can be reached by two ways. These ways can be aligned as taking part in the election and revolution (Daver, 199, p. 223). Although political groupings can be seen in every era, modern political parties are the products of the nineteenth century. Since the grouping and factions that have been seen in some of the European countries are not organizations out of the parliament, it is impossible to accept these groups like political parties (Kapani, 1998, p. 162).

J. A. Palambora and M. Weiner expressed about three different theories that explain the birth of parties in the analysis of birth theories of the political parties: the first of theories is the institutional theory; the second one is the historical theory and the third one is the developmental theory. (1) Institutional theory: The representative of this theory is Duverger; This theory explains how parties are born from the parliament in general. (2) Historical Crisis Theory: The birth of political parties is explained within the context of problems of political elites and the targets that they turn concerning these problems. Palambora and M. Weiner determined three kinds of historical crises that prepare the birth of parties and also the elites of a country face. These crises are as follows; (A) Adhesion crisis, (B) Integration crisis and (C) Legitimacy crisis. Legitimacy crisis means the disagreement arising about who will have a voice in the management of the political system and also how they will manage the system. The root of some of the parties is

based on such a disagreement. For example, the Party of Union and Progress that was established by Young Turks within the establishment struggle of the Constitutional Monarchy Regime is an entity that can be evaluated in this context (Yanık, 2002, p. 31). Idea patterns which created Union and Progress and the infrastructure of the organization become a symbol of the opposition to the monarchic domination. (3) Developmental Theory: The birth of political parties, in this theory, is seen as a result of modernization. Again, this theory focuses on the relationship between the birth of political parties and the modernization. Accordingly, it cannot be talked about the presence of a political party in unmodern societies.

The first organization that adequates to a political party character in Turkish political life was the Committee of Union and Progress that was established by some of the students of Military Medicine in 1889 (Kışlalı, 1999, p. 248). However, this committee has not a certain social, political and economic program. The purpose of this related committee was to provide unity and establish a democratic regime by keeping the empire including its multinational ethnic staff (Aydemir, 1970, p. 291). People who generated the ideological infrastructure of the Union and Progress were at least those who have been educated in Istanbul. Then, some of those people went abroad for their own accord and also some of them went abroad to escape from the Sultan; they especially came together in France and puzzled their brain on the national matters. Students, teachers, and soldiers in Paris who were the members of the Ottoman empire maintained their dissident attitude in there. Much as those people did not agree in other programs, they were in cahoots about dethroning Abdülhamid. With Kongar's words, members of Union and Progress came from bureaucracy and display a statist and elitist style (Kongar, 1983, p. 448). The elite and non-elite political culture discrimination in Ottoman was performed in two manners; as the ruling class by ornamental language and values; culture of rural common to the public. This discrimination caused society to develop a dialectics of ''me and other'' (Sarıbay, 1992, p. 79). The presence of such an elitist structure in Union and Progress is understood by virtue of the fact that related organization consisted of military and civil bureaucracy.

Parties in party typology can be classified as staff/mass, individual representation/social integration, catch-all parties and cartel parties (Türköne, 2007, pp. 260-261). We can say, in this classification, the Organization of Union and Progress and also Union and Progress as a political party are the cadre parties. Just because, for Kongar, Union and Progress consisted of an elite group who came together. Union and Progress already consisted of a group of elites before making a distinction on the committee and party in 1913. That elitist staff endeavored to provide modernization by creating a national elitist group in both social and economic means after making the related distinction. This integration problem between Union and Progress and the military applications reflected the next parties as well (Üskül, 1989, pp. 218-223). Women's policies of Union and Progress need to be analyzed to comprehend the basic mentality of the study after making a structural analysis of the birth process of Union and Progress as a political party.

5.Women's Policies of Union And Progress

It is written in the 1776 American Declaration of Independence and Human Rights Declaration which was published after the French Revolution that people are equal. However, the person who is indicated here is only the masculines. Women, in French in 1793, demanded justice by the slogan of ''women can go up to the rostrum since they go to scaffold…'' (Çakır, 1996, p. 19). The thing that is the basis of this seeking is being given the right to vote and stand for election in the Wyoming state of America in 1868 for the first time in the world

A few steps toward women were taken as the result of modernization movements which continued as from III. Selim when the reforms were proclaimed in the Ottoman Empire in 1839. The most important step was the Statute on general education. A teacher training was opened for women by this statute; it was also decided to increase the number of Ottoman Junior High School. Although there were no new provisions for women in the Rescript of Gülhane, reforms which were especially in the educational field ensured women to take part in the public arena as from that period. Again, in those periods, there were made amendments in some of the laws for women;

old prohibitions were moderated; there were written on according to rights to women in fields of ideas and literature (Taşkıran, 1973, p. 24).

Freedom environment arising from the Second Constitutional Era indicated that women need to be in an effective position in the social environment (Kartal, 2008, pp. 215-238). Due to this environment, women emphasized that they want to take part in other fields of the Ottoman Empire by establishing association and also being individuals. Ottoman women started to express their demands in an organized manner via media and activities in associations (Çakır, 1996, p. 19).

Works toward women were conducted by the Union and Progress as well. Turkish nationalism that rose especially in Balkan War and the First World War was prominently used in political, legal, economic and social life by the Committee of Union and Progress (Kartal, 2008, pp. 215-238). A woman's identity was reidentified during this ideological change. Modernization movement that started by the Restrict fo Gülhane and picked speed by the Second Constitutional Era brought along modernization of women and revealed the situation of being used women as a tool in population and family policies. These woman-centered policies became a product of policies of society penetration and shaping society in the Second Constitutional Era (Berktay, 2003, p. 98).

Women organizations besides the women's policies of the Committee of the Union and Progress made progress in the 1913-1914 Balkan War and the First World War. Women made a quick entry to the public arena because of the war. Women's policies of the Union and Progress created great effects on the social position of the women. Also, the women's policies showed an increase by coming into the forefront of the nationalist discourse when it became clear that the idea of Ottomanism was no longer capable of sustaining the Empire. The position of the women in society was endeavored to be shaped based on the ''national family'' model. Just because, for the unionist who defends the national identity, the keystone of the revolution would be the ''family''. Concordantly, it is seen that some rights about education were accorded to women to be established a national family model. 18th article of the political program that was accepted in the fourth congress of the Union and Progress underline the women's education; it was also aimed to improve the school for girls and increase the number of school for girls within the bounds of possibility of the government (Caporol, 1982, p. 137). The primary education of girls and boys was improved after the program; new schools were opened. İnas Sultanis (Istanbul Girls High School) which was the first high school for girls started to educational activities in 1913. Again, the first university for the girls started to works under the name of İnas Darülfününu in 1914 (Kartal, 2008, pp. 215-238). Another activity that was performed for women in the period of the Union and Progress was the women's branch opened. Several conferences were conducted for women in those branches beside the activities. Union and Progress Women Branch, Teali-i Vatan (Ottoman Women's Association), Ottoman Ladies Committee and Ottoman Woman Progressive Committee can be shown as the associations which were established by Union and Progress for women.

6.Conclison

Union and Progress was an organization that played a dominant role in Turkish political life and set an example and pioneered for the next political parties. Members of the Union and Progress started to discuss the concepts of constitution, parliament, and revolution in the streets of Paris even before it became a party. Indeed, much as they talked about Ottomanism in the beginning, it can be talked that the leadership started to be fed by the ''Nationalism'' movement.

There can be seen an Ottoman national subject who went from Europe from Anatolia and contacted enlightenment ideas in the background of the Union and Progress. Ottoman Army equipment that materially took a share from modernization as from III Selim caused soldiers and commanders who used the equipment to become estranged. Afterward, the admiration of Europe where was the center of that equipment adminiculates this argument. In conclusion, intellectual transfers started by the Young Turks caused the elites in the empire to be semi-enlighten; modernization screams started in the management model at the same time. Union and Progress

became a center where those elite screams came together. Union and Progress display a cadre party character when it is evaluated as a political party.

Union and Progress as a political party is comparable to the party that was born by the crisis of legitimacy. Because the Union and Progress was born, greened and developed in the nineteenth century when this related crisis hit the peak. The crisis of legitimacy that arose from the French Revolution reached the Ottoman Empire as well as the whole world. When viewed from this aspect, it was started to pass to constitutional order in many countries which were ruled by an absolute monarchy. Union and Progress came into existence in the Ottoman Empire that faced such as crisis; the Second Constitutional Era was proclaimed in the Ottoman Empire approximately eighteen years later.

Woman and family concepts were used as a tool by Union and Progress who continued to actions to guide society by the thought of saving society after the Constitutional Monarchy; they also showed a typic nationalist approach. For the Union and Progress, a woman is the basic parameter and motive of the ‘’national family’’ model. Constitutions related to education for women, girls high schools, universities and women’s branches of the Union and Progress were opened by one after another; thus, there was endeavored for building a modern society. Accordingly, we can also say that Union and Progress that is accepted as the first political party in the modern sense in the Turkish political culture did their duty of being a modern political party; they also implemented remarkable policies for this goal; one for all, they dissolved themselves because of the conditions of warfare. However, it can be expressed that the idea and applications of the Union and Progress have affected the philosophy after the Republic.

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Derleme Makale

Between Party and Committee: Party of Union and Progress as Part of Party Typology and Women's Policies

Parti ve Cemiyet Arasında: Parti Tipolojisi ve Kadın Politikaları Bağlamında İttihat Terakki

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Genişletilmiş Özet

İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti, Osmanlı modernleşmesinin bir ürünüdür. Cemiyet, Osmanlı modernleşme sürecinin sonucu olarak okunabilir. İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti, Sened-i İttifak'tan beri süregelen Osmanlı toplumsal değişim ve dönüşümünün bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Fransız İhtilali'nden sonra bütün Doğu toplumları gibi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da modernleşme sürecine girmiş ve bu süreçte Batı tipi pek çok örgütlenme ortaya çıkmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan modern Cumhuriyet'e doğru geçişte en önemli örgütlenmelerden bir tanesi şüphesiz ki İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'dir. Bu çalışmada İttihat Terakki örgütlenmesinin tarihsel-sosyolojik arka planı incelenmiş ve parti tipolojisi ve de kadın politikaları ekseninde İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti analiz edilmiştir. Bu incelemede yorumcu bilgi kuramı merkezinde fenomenolojik çözümleme tekniği bir araştırma tekniği olarak kullanılmış ve İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti tarihsel sosyolojik olarak parti tipolojisi ve kadın politikaları bağlamında konumlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bir muhalif siyasi hareket olan İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti, Türk siyasal hayatındaki ilk siyasal parti olması açısından bir hayli önem arz etmektedir. Bir fırka-i siyasiye olarak İttihat Terakki'nin tarihsel arka planına bakıldığında Tanzimat'tan sonraki süreçte örgütün düşünsel temellerinin şekillendiği görülmektedir. İttihat Terakki örgütünün ilk adı Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti'dir. Ancak örgüt kurulduktan sonra kendisiyle aynı dönemde kurulmuş olan Vatan ve Hürriyet Cemiyeti ile birleşmiş ve "İttihat Terakki" adını almıştır.

Fransız İhtilali'nden sonra dünyaya yayılan milliyetçilik dalgaları Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu da etkilemiştir. Fransız İhtilali'nden önce dünya toplumlarındaki insanlar, dini bir aidiyet üzerinden okunurken Fransız İhtilali'nden sonra aynı toplumlarda etnisite merkezli "millet" anlayışı, bir aidiyet merkezi haline gelmiştir. Bu hususta Fransız İhtilali'nin zaman içerisinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na etki etmesi sonucunda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda da toplumu bir arada tutabilecek farklı aidiyet merkezleri arayışına girilmiştir. Pan Osmanlıcılık'tan Pan İslamcılığa doğru gidilirken en nihayetinde Pan Türkçülük akımı Osmanlı'yı bir arada tutabilecek bir asabiye dairesi olarak düşünülmüş ancak modern düşünceye yenik düşen bu aidiyet merkezleri yerlerini ulusçuluk ve ulus devlet düşüncesine bırakmıştır.

Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e doğru gidilirken muhalif bir siyasi hareket olarak ortaya çıkan İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti, Ramsaur tarafından bir özgürlük hareketi olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

(Ramsaur, 2004, ss. 18-19) Bu önermenin zıttında fikirler olsa da nihayetinde İttihzat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin kurucularının aklını kurcalayan şu soru olmuştur: "Memleket nasıl kurtulur?." Bu sorudan hareketle yola çıkan İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin pek çok üyesi Sultan Abdülhamid'in kurduğu akademilerde (Tıbbiye, Askeri Tıbbiye, Galatasaray Lisesi) yetişmiştir.

1876 yılında II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanı ve kısa bir süre sonra anayasanın askıya alınması Osmanlı İmparatorluğu bünyesindeki muhalif hareketlerin yeniden filizlenmesine neden olmuştur. Bu bağlamda İttihat Terakki'nin tohumlarının da böylesine bir ortamda filizlendiği iddia edilebilir. İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti Askeri Tıbbiye'deki saf bir isyanla başlamıştır. Okuldaki yemeklerin protesto edilmesiyle başlayan bu küçük hareket, İttihat Terakki'nin ilk nüvelerini oluşturmaktadır.

İttihat Terakki'nin mimarı İbrahim Temo'dur. İbrahim Temo, Arnavutluk'un Ustruga şehrinde bir Osmanlı vatandaşı olarak dünyaya gelmiştir. Asıl adı İbrahim Ethem olan Temo, hekimliğin yanında siyasetle de uğraşmış ve asıl ününü de burada kazanmıştır. (Uygur, 2008, ss. 65-73) İbrahim Temo henüz bir öğrenci iken okul arkadaşları olan Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sukuti ve Çerkez Mehmed Reşit'e gizli bir cemiyet kurma isteğinden bahsetmiştir. İttihat Terakki masonik bir örgütlenme tarzına sahiptir. Çünkü İbrahim Ethem Temo yaz tatillerinde memleketi olan Ustruga'ya giderken İtalya'da konaklamış ve İtalyan Carbonari Teşkilatı'ndan etkilenmiştir. Nitekim İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti kurulduktan sonra örgüte yeni üye olanlara gözü kapalı olarak yemin ettirilmesi ve de örgütteki herkese bir kod adı ya da takma ad yerine bir numaranın verilmesi buradaki iddiayı doğrular niteliktedir. Bu hususta İbrahim Ethem Temo'nun kurucu olarak 1 / 1 numarasını aldığı da hemen hemen bütün kaynaklar tarafından doğrulanmaktadır.

İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti, hem Osmanlı'nın son döneminde yaşanan toplumsal / politik değişim ve dönüşümlerin ürünü olmuş hem de aynı örgüt Osmanlı'nın son dönemindeki toplumsal / politik değişim ve de dönüşümlerin motoru vazifesini görmüştür. Özellikle 1908 yılında II. Meşrutiyet'in ilan ettirilmesi ve I. Meşrutiyet'in ana metni üzerinde padişahın yetkilerini kısıtlamaya dönük olarak yapılan değişiklikler bu açıdan bir hayli önem arz etmektedir. Nitekim bu hususta I. Meşrutiyet ve II. Meşrutiyet'in aslında meşruti monarşiye geçilmesine işaret etmediği özellikle 1909 değişikliklerinden sonra gerçekten meşruti monarşiye geçildiği şeklinde yorumların yapıldığı da bilinmektedir.

İttihat Terakki'nin tarihsel-sosyolojik konumu incelendiğinde örgütün iki farklı dönem halinde analiz ediliği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda Akşin (1985) İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ni 1908-1913 İttihat Terakki'nin Denetimsel İktidar Dönemi ve 1913-1918 İttihat Terakki'nin Tam İktidar Dönemi olarak değerlendirmektedir. Her ne kadar 1912 yılında yapılan Kongre'den sonra İttihat Terakki'nin denetimsel iktidarı son bulmuş ise de Babıali Baskını ile birlikte İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti 23 Ocak 1913 tarihinde yönetime tekrardan el koymuştur. 1914 yılında başlayan Birinci Dünya Savaşı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu bir hayli sarsmış ve bu dönemde Mondoros Ateşkes Anlaşması'ndan sonra ise İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti son toplantısını yaparak kendi kendini feshetmiştir (1918). Her ne kadar İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti hakkında pejoratif göndermeler olsa da Cemiyet'in kendi eliyle kendini feshettiği, Milli Mücadeleyi başlatan ve de Milli Mücadele içinde yer alan kadrolardan pek çoğunun İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin eski üyeleri olduğu bilinmektedir.

Siyasal partiler çağdaş siyasal hayatın vazgeçilmez unsurlarındandırlar. Pre-modern dönemde siyasal partilerden söz edil(e)mese de modern dönemde siyasal partiler büyük bir önem taşımaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'ne bakıldığında bir siyasal parti olarak İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içindeki "katılma" ve özellikle de "meşruluk" krizlerinden doğduğu ifade edilebilir. İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti bir siyasal parti olarak özellikle İstanbul merkezindeki öğrenci grupların siyasal alana katılma isteğinden ve de Fransız İhtilali'nden sonra sorgulanır hale gelen monarkların yarattığı meşruiyet krizinden neşet etmiştir. Parti doğuş teorisi yanında parti tipolojisi ekseninde İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti değerlendirildiğinde Doğu toplumlarında ortaya çıkan siyasal partilerle İttihat Terakki'nin benzer özellikler gösterdiği görülmektedir. Nitekim kadro ve kitle ayrımı üzerinden İttihat Terakki örgütlenmesi incelendiğinde İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin açık bir şekilde kadro partisi özelliği

taşıdığı ifade edilebilir. İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti bir kadro partisidir. Çünkü İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin pek çok üyesi, eğitim seçkinlerinden oluşmaktadır.

Kadının siyasal alana katılması, kadının politik alandaki temsiliyeti diğer bir ifade ile kadının imgesel olarak bir toplum içinde görünür olması modern demokrasilerin olmazsa olmazlarındandır. Çünkü demokrasi bir çatı olarak kadınları da kendi içine dahil ettiği oranda demokratikleşmektedir. Bu bağlamda demokrasinin ilk ortaya çıktığı günden beri sürekli çatısını genişlettiğinden bahsedilebilir. Nitekim demokrasinin ilk dönemlerinde Atina'da kadınların, çocukların, kölelerin ve yabancıların söz konusu çatının dışında olduklarından söz edilebilir. Bu doğrultuda demokrasinin yaklaşık iki bin beş yüz (2500) yıldır yavaş yavaş kendi çatısını genişlettiği dile getirilebilir. Bu bağlamda kadınların da bu çatıya dahil olma hikayelerinin özellikle 19. yüzyılın sonunda başlamıştır. Her ne kadar Batı'da kadınların demokrasinin çatısı içine dahil olmaları 19. yüzyılda başlamış olsa da aynı durumun Osmanlı'nın son döneminde İttihat Terakki ile beraber başladığı ifade edilebilir.

1793'te Fransa'daki kadınların "Madem ki kadınlar dar ağacına gidiyorlar, kürsüye de çıkabilirler…" ifadesinden sonra ortaya çıkan toplumsal hareket ile modern hayatta kadının görünür olmaya başladığı söylenebilir. Bu bağlamda kadın politikaları ekseninde İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'ne bakıldığında özellikle II. Meşrutiyet'ten sonra kadınların örgütlü bir şekilde toplumsal alana katılmaya başladıkları görülmektedir. Buradan hareketle İttihat Terakki Partisi'nde kadın kimliği üzerinden bir modernleşme politikası güdüldüğü ileri sürülebilir. Nitekim İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti döneminde kadının "milli aile" modeline göre şekillendirilmeye çalışıldığı bilinmektedir. İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Dördüncü Kongresi'nde kabul edilen siyasal programın 18. maddesine bakıldığında kadınların eğitimine vurgu yapıldığı, "Kız Okulları"nın iyileştirilmesi gerektiği ve de sayılarının arttırılmasının hedeflendiği fark edilmektedir. Yine bu dönemde kadınlar için ilk üniversite olan 'İnas Darülfununu' çalışmalarının başladığı (1914) ve bu çalışmaların başlamasında İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti'nin bir hayli etkili olduğu görülmektedir. (Caporol, 1987, s. 137