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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEW OTTOMANS AND YOUNG TURKS TO THE EMERGENCE OF TURKISH NATIONALISM

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Abstract

This study explores the critical contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks to the development of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire and their legacy to the modern Turkish Republic. It first identifies the ideological evolution and practical practices that characterised the New Ottomans and Young Turk movements. Both movements, this study argues, were the roots or sources of Turkish nationalism. The New Ottomans, in their attempt to synthesise Ottomanism with emerging nationalist sentiments, laid the foundations of a distinct Turkish identity. The Young Turks, on the other hand, built on this foundation with a more ambitious nationalist agenda that shaped the trajectory of the modern Turkish state. This study, which also addresses the similarities and differences between the New Ottomans and the Young Turks, emphasizes the importance of these two movements from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century to look at the historical origins of Turkish nationalism. It also claims to contribute to a better understanding of the complex dynamics of nationalism in a multi-ethnic empire by filling gaps in the existing literature and offering new perspectives.

Keywords: Nationalism, New Ottomans, Young Turks, Ottoman Empire.

YENİ OSMANLILAR VE JÖN TÜRKLERİN TÜRK MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİNİN DOĞUŞUNA KATKILARI

Öz

Bu çalışma, Yeni Osmanlılar ve Jön Türkler'in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Türk milliyetçiliğinin gelişimine yaptıkları önemli katkıları ve modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne bu minvaldeki mirasını incelemektedir. Çalışmada öncelikle Yeni Osmanlılar ve Jön Türkler hareketlerini karakterize eden ideolojik evrim ve pratik uygulamalar tanımlanmaktadır. Zira her iki hareket de bu çalışmanın argümanına göre Türk milliyetçiliği için birer kök ya da kaynak niteliği taşımaktadır. Yeni Osmanlılar, Osmanlılık ile gelişmekte olan milliyetçi duyguları sentezleme girişimleriyle, farklı bir Türk kimliğinin temellerini atmışlardır. Jön Türkler ise bu temel üzerine inşa ettikleri daha iddialı bir milliyetçi gündemle modern Türk devletinin yörengesini şekillendirdiler. Yeni Osmanlılar ve Jön Türklerin benzerlikleri ve farklılıklarını da ele alan bu çalışma, Türk milliyetçiliğinin tarihsel kökenlerine bakabilmek için 19. yüzyılın ortalarından 20. yüzyılın başlarına kadar geçen sürede bu iki hareketin

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önemine değinmektedir. Çalışma ayrıca mevcut literatürdeki boşlukları doldurarak ve yeni perspektifler sunarak, çok etnikli bir imparatorlukta milliyetçiliğin karmaşık dinamiklerinin daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunma iddiası taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milliyetçilik, Yeni Osmanlılar, Jön Türkler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

Introduction

The Ottoman Empire, stretching across three continents and encompassing a multitude of ethnicities and religions, was a formidable entity that grappled with the complexities of maintaining a cohesive identity. As the 19th century progressed, the empire faced internal and external pressures that necessitated profound reforms and ideological shifts. This period witnessed the rise of two pivotal movements: the New Ottomans (Neo-Ottomans) and the Young Turks. Both played crucial roles in the nascent stages of Turkish nationalism, yet they approached the concept from different perspectives and with varying methodologies.

Understanding the contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks requires a thorough exploration of the socio-political landscape of the late Ottoman Empire. The New Ottomans emerged in the mid-19th century, advocating for a constitutional government and modernisation while attempting to reconcile these changes with traditional Ottoman values (Mardin, 1985). Their vision was one of inclusivity, seeking to integrate the diverse populations of the empire under a reformed yet enduring Ottoman framework. This movement laid the intellectual and ideological groundwork for later nationalist endeavours. In contrast, the Young Turks, who rose to prominence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, pursued a more radical approach. Influenced by European nationalist movements and the perceived failures of the Ottoman state to modernise and defend its territorial integrity adequately, the Young Turks advocated for a more assertive form of Turkish nationalism (Durgun, 2018, p. 102). Their revolutionary activities culminated in the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, which reinstated the Ottoman constitution and marked a significant turning point in the empire's history (Kansu, 2017, p. 215). The interplay between these two movements offers a rich field of study for understanding the evolution of Turkish nationalism. The New Ottomans, emphasising gradual reform and cultural renaissance, set the stage for the more radical and politically active Young Turks. Together, these movements represent a continuum of nationalist thought and action that would eventually lead to the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic.

This study argues that the New Ottomans and Young Turks made significant contributions to the emergence of Turkish nationalism. These two movements sought answers to the question *how can this state be saved?* of the Ottoman Empire, which were similar in some ways and different in others. Their ideas on how to keep the empire together firstly sought a consensus to

keep the Ottomanism idea alive, but on the other hand, they also succeeded in becoming a source to lay the foundations of Turkish nationalism. The New Ottomans and Young Turks have received considerable attention in the literature. However, most of these studies deal with the New Ottomans and Young Turks separately or aim to determine their position in Turkish political life (Shaw, 1994; Zürcher, 2010). In addition, there are also studies that deal with the New Ottomans and Young Turk movements in the context of modernisation. Yılmaz and Telli (2022), in their article on the New Ottomans and Young Turk movements, focus only on the forms of opposition of these two movements. Mardin's works (2015, 2021) present the birth of the New Ottomans and Young Turk movements as a synthesis of liberalism and nationalism. In these works, the author discusses the important figures of the New Ottomans and Young Turk movements and their place in Turkish political history in the context of Turkish modernisation. Findley (2019), like Mardin, analyses both movements in terms of modernisation, but does not give enough space to their contribution to the emergence of Turkish nationalism. Berkes (2023), on the other hand, emphasised the reactions of the New Ottomans to the Tanzimat and the Young Turk movement's opposition to the Abdülhamit regime, but did not give enough space to the issue of nationalism.

The Young Turks movement has been the subject of more research in the literature than the New Ottomans movement. Mardin (1983), Akşin (2017), Kuran (2000), Taglia (2023), Turfan (2013), in their studies on the emergence of this movement and the ideas of its leaders, did not directly address Turkish nationalism in detail. Moreover, these authors did not compare the Young Turk movement with the New Ottomans. Ahmad (2020) and Arai (2016), in his work on the Young Turks movement, have stated that these movements made significant contributions to the evolution of Turkish nationalism and that these ideas pioneered the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Yesevi (2018), on the other hand, analysed the New Ottomans and Young Turks separately and pointed out that these two movements were sources for Turkish nationalism. However, the similarities and differences of these two movements are not discussed comparatively in Yesevi's work. It has been observed that the numerous studies reviewed do not provide a comparative analysis of the New Ottomans and Young Turks movements in terms of being the founders of Turkish nationalism. This study should be interpreted as an important endeavour to fill this gap in the literature.

This article aims to dissect the contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks by examining their ideological foundations, key figures, and significant achievements. It will also analyse how their efforts intersected and diverged, ultimately shaping the path of Turkish nationalism. The study is structured first to provide a comprehensive literature review and a detailed historical context. Subsequent sections will delve into the specific contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks, compare their

approaches, and present case studies illustrating their impact. The discussion will evaluate their legacy and significance, culminating in a conclusion that synthesises the findings and suggests avenues for further research (Mardin, 2021, p. 89). By exploring these themes, this article seeks to contribute to the broader historiography of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire and provide new insights into the complex processes underpinning the emergence of Turkish national identity. This study's significance lies not only in its historical analysis but also in its relevance to contemporary discussions on nationalism and identity in multi-ethnic states.

1. HISTORICAL CONDITIONS SHAPING THE EMERGENCE OF YOUNG OTTOMANISM AND THE YOUNG TURKS MOVEMENT

The late Ottoman Empire was a period of profound transformation and upheaval. Once a dominant force, the empire grappled with internal strife, territorial losses, and the pressures of modernisation. During this period, various intellectual movements emerged, the Ottoman intellectual world began to enrich and various institutions, especially the constitution, were imported from the West. This section provides the historical context necessary to understand the emergence and evolution of the New Ottomans and Young Turks.

The 19th century it marked a turning point for the Ottoman Empire. Faced with European powers' military and economic superiority, the empire embarked on a series of reforms known as the Tanzimat to modernise the state and preserve its integrity. These reforms included the reorganisation of the military, the introduction of new legal codes, and efforts to centralise administrative control (Engelhardt, 2017). However, the Tanzimat reforms also highlighted the inherent tensions between modernisation and the traditional structures of Ottoman society. Amid these reforms, the concept of Ottomanism emerged as an attempt to create a unifying identity that transcended ethnic and religious divisions. Ottomanism aimed to foster loyalty to the empire among its diverse subjects by promoting equality and civic rights. However, this ideal was difficult to achieve in practice, and the empire's multi-ethnic composition posed significant challenges to implementing a cohesive national identity (Demir, 2011).

A series of military defeats and territorial losses marked the decline of Ottoman power in the 19th century. The empire's inability to defend its borders and maintain internal order led to growing discontent among various ethnic groups. This period also saw the rise of nationalist movements across Europe, which inspired similar sentiments within the Ottoman Empire. The desire for self-determination among various ethnic groups, including the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, further complicated the empire's efforts to maintain unity. The New Ottomans movement emerged in this context as a response to the empire's challenges (Mardin, 2015). The New Ottomans, composed of intellectuals and reform-minded individuals, sought to preserve

the empire through modernisation and adherence to traditional Ottoman values. They believed that implementing constitutional reforms and promoting a sense of Ottoman patriotism could create a stable and progressive state. The New Ottomans emphasised the importance of education, cultural revival, and political participation to achieve their goals. One of the key figures in the New Ottomans movement was Namık Kemal, a prominent intellectual and writer. Kemal advocated for constitutional government and individual freedoms, drawing inspiration from Western political thought while deeply respecting Ottoman traditions (Gündüz, 2018, pp. 91–100). His writings, such as the play "Vatan yahut Silistre" (Fatherland or Silistria), emphasised themes of patriotism and national duty, influencing a generation of reformists and laying the ideological groundwork for Turkish nationalism.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire continued into the late 19th and early 20th centuries, despite the efforts of the New Ottomans. The empire faced increasing pressure from European powers, internal rebellions, and economic difficulties. The New Ottomans, a more radical faction within the New Ottomans movement, emerged as vocal critics of the existing order, calling for more drastic reforms and greater political participation. Their efforts culminated in adopting the first Ottoman constitution in 1876, which introduced a parliamentary system and aimed to limit the sultan's power. However, the constitution was short-lived, as Sultan Abdul Hamid II suspended it in 1878, leading to a period of autocratic rule. The suspension of the constitution and the repressive policies of Abdul Hamid II led to growing opposition among various segments of Ottoman society. This period of autocracy, often referred to as the Hamidian Era, saw increased censorship, political repression, and efforts to centralise power (Berkes, 2023). In response, opposition groups began to organise more effectively, forming the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti- İttihat ve Terakki) in the late 19th century. İttihat ve Terakki, also known as the Young Turks, represented a new generation of reformists determined to restore the constitution and modernise the state.

Various ideological currents, including positivism (Kabakçı, 2015), liberalism, and nationalism, influenced the Young Turks. They believed that the survival of the Ottoman Empire depended on comprehensive political and social reforms (Hanioğlu, 1981). İttihat ve Terakki gained significant support among the military and intellectual elites, and in 1908, they successfully orchestrated the Young Turk Revolution, which forced Abdul Hamid II to reinstate the constitution. This revolution marked a turning point in Ottoman history, ushering in a new era of constitutional governance and political activism. Following the 1908 Revolution, the period saw intense political and ideological debates within the Ottoman Empire (Uyanık, 2009). The Young Turks, now in power, sought to implement their vision of modernisation and national unity. However, their policies often faced resistance from conservative elements and various ethnic groups within the empire. The

Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and World War I further exacerbated these tensions, leading to significant territorial losses and internal dislocation.

Amidst these challenges, the Young Turks continued to promote Turkish nationalism as a means of unifying the empire's Turkish-speaking population. Their efforts included educational reforms, language policies, and cultural initiatives to foster a sense of national identity. Key figures within the Young Turk movement, such as Ziya Gökalp, articulated a vision of Turkish nationalism that emphasised the importance of cultural and linguistic unity. Gökalp's ideas, which combined elements of Western thought with a focus on Turkish heritage, played a crucial role in shaping the nationalist discourse of the period. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire following World War I and the subsequent establishment of the Republic of Türkiye in 1923 marked the culmination of these nationalist efforts. The legacy of the New Ottomans and Young Turks can be seen in the foundations of modern Turkish statehood, which drew on their ideas and experiences (Aykaç, 2023). Transitioning from a multi-ethnic empire to a nation-state involved significant upheaval and transformation. Still, the contributions of these movements provided the intellectual and ideological framework for this process.

2. THE NEW OTTOMANS MOVEMENT: PIONEERS OF TURKISH NATIONALISM

The New Ottomans Movement emerged in the mid-19th century and was a pivotal intellectual and political initiative to revitalise the declining Ottoman Empire. This movement sought to bridge the gap between traditional Ottoman values and the new currents of thought and governance that were gaining prominence in Europe. The New Ottomans believed modernisation and reform were essential to restoring the empire's former glory and ensuring its survival in an increasingly competitive and interconnected world (Mardin, 2015).

The rise of the New Ottomans Movement can be traced back to a period of intense socio-political upheaval within the Ottoman Empire. By the mid-19th century, the empire grappled with crises, including territorial losses, economic decline, and internal dissent. These challenges exposed the inefficacy of the existing administrative and political structures, prompting calls for reform and modernisation. The Tanzimat reforms of the 1830s and 1840s attempted to address some of these issues by introducing new laws and regulations, but many felt these measures were insufficient. Within this context, the New Ottomans emerged, advocating for more comprehensive and radical changes.

The leadership of the New Ottomans Movement comprised a group of intellectuals, journalists, and bureaucrats who were deeply disillusioned with the autocratic rule of Sultan Abdülaziz and his predecessors. These individuals believed the empire's decline could be reversed through political, social, and economic reforms. Among the most prominent leaders were Namık Kemal,

Ziya Pasha, and Ali Suavi. Through their writings and political activities, these figures played a central role in shaping the movement's ideology and mobilising support for their cause (Yilmaz & Telli, 2021, p. 1406). Namık Kemal was arguably the most influential leader of the New Ottomans Movement. A prolific writer and passionate advocate for liberty, constitutionalism, and national unity, Kemal's literary works profoundly impacted the intellectual landscape of the Ottoman Empire. His plays, essays, and articles emphasised the need for reforms and inspired a generation of intellectuals and reformists. Kemal's advocacy for a constitutional government and his criticism of despotism resonated with many frustrated with the empire's stagnation and decline (Mardin, 2015, pp. 136–137). Another key figure in the New Ottomans Movement was Ziya Pasha, a prominent poet and statesman. Pasha's contributions were vital in articulating the movement's ideas and rallying support for its goals. His works often criticised the despotic nature of the Ottoman administration and called for a more inclusive and democratic governance structure. Pasha's vision of a modern, constitutional state was informed by his extensive knowledge of Western political thought and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice (Mardin, 2015, pp. 375–388). Ali Suavi, known for his radical views and uncompromising stance, was a journalist and educator who pushed for immediate and comprehensive reforms. His activism and writings further galvanised the New Ottomans Movement and highlighted the urgency of addressing the empire's socio-political issues. Suavi's radicalism often put him at odds with more moderate reformists, but his unwavering commitment to the cause made him a key figure in the movement (Çelik, 1994).

The Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity heavily influenced the New Ottomans. They sought to implement a constitutional monarchy to reduce the sultan's power and introduce parliamentary democracy to the Ottoman political system. This vision was informed by the successes of constitutional monarchies in Europe (Aslan, 2009, pp. 236–238), particularly in France and the United Kingdom. The New Ottomans believed that by adopting similar political structures, the Ottoman Empire could achieve stability, prosperity, and a more just society. Education was a significant focus for the New Ottomans, who believed that a well-educated populace was essential for the successful modernisation of the empire. They advocated establishing modern schools and universities, emphasising the importance of science, rational thought, and secular education. This emphasis on education was seen as a means to cultivate a new generation of enlightened and capable citizens who could lead the empire into a new era of progress and development (Doğan, 1991, p. 310).

The New Ottomans used the press as a primary tool to disseminate their ideas and mobilise support for their cause. Newspapers and journals such as "Hürriyet" and "Tasvir-i Efkâr" became platforms for discussing political reforms and spreading awareness about the need for change. In this period, Le

Muhkbir, which benefited from the Western sciences and was the product of this intellectual accumulation, which was of great importance for Ottoman modernization, was among the opinion newspapers. In addition, within the framework of the developments in Europe, press and broadcasting activities were seen as a way to announce concepts such as parliament, elections, popular will and constitution to the masses of the Ottoman Empire by quoting from European newspapers. Therefore, the New Ottomans attached great importance to press activities (Karal, 1976, p. 301). These publications played a crucial role in shaping public opinion and fostering a sense of collective identity and purpose among the reformist intelligentsia.

A pivotal achievement of the New Ottomans was their role in promulgating the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 (Koray, 1983, p. 563). Although short-lived, this document represented a significant step towards institutionalising modern governance principles and limiting absolute monarchical power. The constitution established a bicameral parliament and recognised the rights and liberties of Ottoman subjects, laying the groundwork for future democratic developments in the empire. While the New Ottomans initially focused on preserving the multi-ethnic, multi-religious fabric of the empire, their emphasis on constitutionalism and civic rights laid the groundwork for developing a more defined national consciousness among the Turkish population (Azizata, 2023, pp. 17–23). The movement's vision of a unified and modernised state contributed to the emergence of a Turkish national identity distinct from the broader Ottoman identity.

The New Ottomans' push for modernisation and reform created a political and intellectual environment that fostered the early stages of Turkish nationalism. By advocating for a collective identity based on shared civic values and loyalty to the state, they indirectly contributed to the emergence of Turkish national identity (Yücel & Bölükbaşı, 2019, p. 11). Their emphasis on education, press freedom, and constitutional governance provided the tools and ideas that would later be instrumental in developing Turkish nationalism. The ideas propagated by the New Ottomans continued to influence later reformist movements, including the Young Turks and the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Their vision of a modern, constitutional state resonated with future leaders like Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who would later adopt and expand upon these principles. The New Ottomans' legacy can be seen in the secular, republican, and nationalist foundations of modern Türkiye.

Despite their significant contributions, the New Ottomans faced substantial opposition from conservative factions within the empire. Their ideas were often seen as too radical and Western, leading to internal conflicts and resistance from traditionalists wary of losing their influence. This opposition hindered the movement's ability to realise its vision fully and contributed to the eventual downfall of the first constitutional experiment. The New Ottomans Movement represents a critical chapter in the history of Turkish political thought. Their efforts to modernise the Ottoman state and

introduce democratic principles laid the intellectual and political foundations for the subsequent development of Turkish nationalism (Durgun, 2020, p. 302). Although they faced numerous challenges and were unable to realise their vision during their time fully, their legacy persisted, ultimately shaping the trajectory of modern Türkiye. Through their advocacy for education, press freedom, and constitutional governance, the New Ottomans provided the groundwork for the emergence of a Turkish national identity and the establishment of a modern, secular republic (Arai, 2016, p. 20). In conclusion, the New Ottomans were instrumental in laying the ideological and practical foundations for Turkish nationalism. Their advocacy for constitutionalism, modernisation, and cultural revival created a framework that the Young Turks would later expand upon. The legacy of the New Ottomans is reflected in their enduring influence on the nationalist discourse and the eventual establishment of the modern Turkish state.

3. THE YOUNG TURKS: CATALYSTS OF TURKISH NATIONALISM

The Young Turks movement, emerging in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was pivotal in transforming Turkish politics and the rise of Turkish nationalism. This movement was marked by its ideological diversity, organisational complexity, and significant impact on the eventual establishment of the Republic of Türkiye (Yücel, 2020, p. 497). The Young Turks movement was not a monolithic entity but a coalition of various factions with different ideological inclinations. Ahmed Rıza and Prince Sabahattin led the two most prominent wings. Ahmed Rıza's faction was heavily influenced by positivist philosophy and Western political thought, advocating for a centralised and secular state. Rıza emphasised the importance of scientific progress, rational governance, and education to modernise the Ottoman Empire. His ideas were rooted in the belief that a strong, unified state could only be achieved by adopting modern European principles (Kabakçı, 2015, pp. 38–44). In contrast, Prince Sabahattin's wing promoted a more decentralised approach, advocating for local governance and greater autonomy for the various ethnic groups within the empire. Influenced by liberal thought, Sabahattin emphasised individual liberties, economic liberalism, and social reforms. He believed that decentralisation and a federalist structure were essential for addressing the diverse needs of the empire's multi-ethnic population (Erkan, 2019). This ideological split within the Young Turks highlights the diversity of thought that characterised the movement.

Ahmed Rıza, as one of the early leaders of the İttihat ve Terakki (Committee of Union and Progress), played a crucial role in shaping the movement's direction. His writings and speeches laid the intellectual groundwork for the Young Turks' vision of a modernised Ottoman state. Rıza's emphasis on education and secularism was reflected in the movement's

policies, which aimed to create a more literate and secular populace (Mardin, 1983, pp. 140–146). Another key figure, Mehmed Talat, brought a pragmatic approach to the movement. Talat's political acumen and organisational skills were instrumental in mobilising support for the Young Turk Revolution 1908 (Çolak, 2020). His vision of Turkish nationalism included efforts to centralise administrative control and promote a cohesive national identity through education and cultural policies. Talat's role in the movement exemplified the practical implementation of the Young Turks' ideological goals (Çavdar, 2001). Ismail Enver, often called Enver Pasha, was a charismatic military leader whose actions significantly influenced the Young Turk movement. Enver's leadership during the 1908 Revolution and subsequent military campaigns made him a symbolic figure of the Young Turks' determination to modernise and defend the Ottoman state. His nationalist vision strongly emphasised military strength and territorial integrity, reflecting the movement's commitment to safeguarding the empire's sovereignty (Ahmad, 2020, p. 10).

The Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) was the organisational backbone of the Young Turks movement. Founded by reform-minded military officers and intellectuals, the İttihat ve Terakki sought to restore the Ottoman constitution and implement comprehensive political and social reforms. The İttihat ve Terakki's structure was hierarchical and secretive, with a central committee that directed the movement's activities. This organisational framework allowed the İttihat ve Terakki to coordinate its efforts effectively and maintain discipline within its ranks. The İttihat ve Terakki's influence extended throughout the Ottoman Empire, with local branches that facilitated communication and coordination between the central committee and the provinces (Akşin, 2017, pp. 144–148). This organisational network was crucial in orchestrating the 1908 Revolution, which forced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to reinstate the constitution and convene a parliament. The revolution's success demonstrated the İttihat ve Terakki's ability to mobilise public support and effect significant political change.

The 1908 Young Turk Revolution was a watershed moment in Ottoman history. The revolution, orchestrated by the İttihat ve Terakki, began a new era of constitutional governance and political activism. The reinstatement of the constitution and convening a parliament were significant achievements that signalled the Young Turks' commitment to modernising the Ottoman state. During this period of constitutional governance, they were allowed to participate in more excellent political activities and implement reforms to address the empire's social and economic challenges. In the aftermath of the 1908 Revolution, the Young Turks faced the daunting task of implementing their vision of modernisation and national unity. Their policies included centralising administrative control, promoting secular education, and fostering a sense of national identity. They introduced reforms to modernise the military, judiciary, and bureaucracy to create a more efficient and responsive

state apparatus. These reforms were intended to strengthen the state's institutions and reduce its dependence on foreign powers (Kansu, 2017, p. 158).

One of the central tenets of the Young Turks' nationalist agenda was promoting the Turkish language and culture. They believed a common language and cultural heritage were essential for fostering national unity. This emphasis on linguistic and cultural nationalism was reflected in their educational policies, which aimed to standardise the Turkish language and incorporate Turkish history and literature into the curriculum. Promoting Turkish culture was seen as creating a cohesive national identity that would transcend the empire's ethnic and religious diversity. The Young Turks also sought to address the Ottoman state's economic challenges. They implemented policies to promote industrialisation, improve infrastructure, and attract foreign investment. These economic reforms were intended to strengthen the state's financial stability and reduce its dependence on foreign powers (Mardin, 2021). However, the Young Turks faced significant obstacles in achieving their economic goals, including internal resistance and external pressures.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) were particularly devastating for the Ottoman Empire, resulting in significant territorial losses and a massive influx of refugees. These wars highlighted the limitations of the Young Turks' nationalist policies and exposed the deep-seated ethnic and religious tensions within the empire. The losses and dislocation from the Balkan Wars intensified the Young Turks' focus on promoting a cohesive Turkish identity to consolidate their power (Taştan, 2017). Following the Balkan Wars, the Committee of Union and Progress faced World War I. The Western powers' sharing of the Ottoman Empire's lands and the idea of the Committee of Union and Progress to regain the lost lands forced the Ottoman Empire to enter World War I. In other words, World War I presented opportunities and challenges for the Young Turks. İttihat ve Terakki leaders, particularly Enver Pasha, saw the war as an opportunity to reclaim lost territories and strengthen the empire's position. However, the war also greatly strained the Ottoman state, leading to significant casualties and economic hardships. The Young Turks' alliance with Germany and the Central Powers ultimately resulted in further territorial losses and the eventual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

Amid the turmoil of World War I, the Young Turks they were continued to promote their nationalist agenda. They implemented policies aimed at Turkification, which included efforts to assimilate non-Turkish populations and promote Turkish culture. These policies were controversial and often met resistance from various ethnic and religious communities within the empire. The Turkification policies were driven by the belief that a unified Turkish identity was essential for the survival and stability of the state (Petrosyan, 2015, pp. 306–307). The legacy of the Young Turks is complex and multifaceted. On one hand, their efforts to modernise the Ottoman state and

promote Turkish nationalism laid the groundwork for establishing the modern Turkish Republic. Their emphasis on education, secularism, and national unity influenced the policies of the early Turkish Republic and shaped the development of Turkish national identity. On the other hand, the Young Turks' policies of centralisation and Turkification contributed to significant ethnic and religious tensions within the Ottoman Empire. Their efforts to promote a cohesive Turkish identity often marginalised and alienated non-Turkish communities, leading to long-lasting grievances and conflicts. The controversial nature of their policies continues to be a subject of debate among historians and scholars (Ahmad, 2016, 2017; Akşin, 2017).

The influence of the Young Turks on the transition to Turkish nationalism and the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye cannot be overstated. The ideological foundations and political strategies developed by the Young Turks provided a blueprint for the leaders of the Turkish Republic. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founding father of modern Türkiye, was deeply influenced by the Young Turks' emphasis on secularism, education, and national unity. In conclusion, the Young Turks played a crucial role in the evolution of Turkish nationalism and the modernisation of the Ottoman state. A blend of ideological diversity, political activism, and practical reforms marked their contributions. While their legacy is complex, their efforts to promote national unity and modernisation had a lasting impact on the development of the modern Turkish state (Çiçek & Savaş, 2021, p. 253). The Young Turks' influence on Turkish politics and nationalism continues to be a significant area of study, offering valuable insights into contemporary Turkish identity's historical and ideological roots.

4. THE NEW OTTOMANS AND YOUNG TURKS WITH THEIR SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

While both the New Ottomans and Young Turks contributed significantly to the development of Turkish nationalism, they differed in their approaches, ideologies, and methods. This section provides a comparative analysis of these two movements, highlighting their similarities and differences. The New Ottomans emerged in the mid-19th century, advocating for constitutionalism, modernisation, and preserving Ottoman cultural heritage. Their approach was characterised by a desire to balance tradition with progress, seeking to integrate Western advancements while maintaining Ottoman values. The New Ottomans believed that a constitutional government and individual freedoms were essential for the survival and prosperity of the Ottoman state (Mardin, 2021, pp. 87–88). In contrast, the Young Turks, emerging in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, pursued a more radical and politically active approach. Various ideological currents, including positivism, liberalism, and nationalism, influenced them. The Young Turks sought to implement comprehensive political and social reforms, including restoring the constitution and promoting Turkish nationalism. Their approach

was more assertive and centralised, aiming to create a cohesive national identity and strengthen the state's institutions (Aydoğdu, 2021, pp. 67–68).

One of the key differences between the New Ottomans and Young Turks was their attitude towards modernisation. The New Ottomans emphasised the importance of gradual reform and cultural revival, believing that preserving Ottoman traditions was essential for modernisation. They sought to create a sense of Ottoman patriotism transcending ethnic and religious divisions, promoting a unified and inclusive identity (Mardin, 2015). The Young Turks, on the other hand, prioritised rapid modernisation and centralisation. They believed that the survival of the Ottoman state depended on the implementation of comprehensive reforms that would strengthen the state's institutions and promote a cohesive national identity—their emphasis on Turkification and promoting Turkish culture aimed to foster national unity and reduce internal divisions (Petrosyan, 2015, p. 307).

The New Ottomans and Young Turks also differed in their methods of political activism. The New Ottomans operated within the framework of the Ottoman state, advocating for constitutional reforms and engaging in intellectual and cultural activities. They sought to influence public opinion through publications, speeches, and artistic initiatives (Hayta, 2018, pp. 623–636). Their efforts were often met with resistance from the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, leading to political repression and censorship. The Young Turks, in contrast, adopted a more direct and aggressive approach. They organised clandestine groups, such as the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki), to mobilise support for their revolutionary activities. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908, which forced the reinstatement of the constitution, demonstrated their ability to effect significant political change through organised and strategic action. Their methods included political agitation, military involvement, and confrontation with the ruling authorities.

Despite these differences, the New Ottomans and Young Turks shared several vital similarities. Both movements were driven by a desire to modernise the Ottoman state and promote a sense of national identity. They recognised the need for constitutional governance, education, and cultural revival to achieve their goals. Additionally, both movements were influenced by Western political thought and sought to integrate elements of Western modernity with their vision of a reformed Ottoman state. The New Ottomans' emphasis on constitutionalism and cultural revival provided a foundation for the Young Turks' more radical nationalist agenda. The Young Turks built on the intellectual and ideological groundwork laid by the New Ottomans, expanding their vision to include a stronger emphasis on Turkish nationalism and centralisation. This continuum of nationalist thought and action reflects the evolving nature of Turkish nationalism during the late Ottoman period (Çalen, 2017). The contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks to Turkish nationalism were marked by their respective contexts and challenges.

The New Ottomans operated in a period of gradual reform and cultural revival, while the Young Turks faced the pressures of rapid modernisation, internal strife, and external threats. These differing contexts shaped their approaches and priorities, resulting in distinct yet interconnected contributions to the development of Turkish nationalism.

Their respect for Ottoman traditions tempered the New Ottomans' approach to modernisation and desire to create an inclusive sense of Ottoman patriotism. This inclusivity was reflected in their efforts to integrate various ethnic and religious groups within the empire, promoting a shared identity transcending these divisions. Their emphasis on cultural revival and education aimed to foster a sense of loyalty and pride among the empire's diverse populations. In contrast, the Young Turks' nationalist agenda was more exclusive and focused on the promotion of a singular Turkish identity. Their policies of Turkification, which aimed to assimilate non-Turkish populations, often resulted in the marginalisation of ethnic and religious minorities. This focus on a cohesive Turkish identity was driven by the belief that national unity was essential for the survival and modernisation of the Ottoman state. The Young Turks' emphasis on centralisation and promoting Turkish culture reflected their determination to create a solid and unified nation.

The New Ottomans and Young Turks also differed in their strategies for political reform. The New Ottomans sought to achieve their goals through intellectual and cultural means, advocating for constitutional reforms and engaging in public discourse. They believed gradual reform and cultural revival would lead to a more stable and prosperous state. In contrast, the Young Turks adopted a more aggressive approach, using political agitation and revolutionary tactics to effect change. Their successful orchestration of the Young Turk Revolution demonstrated their willingness to use direct action to achieve their objectives.

The impact of the New Ottomans and Young Turks on Turkish nationalism can be seen in the broader context of the late Ottoman period. The New Ottomans' emphasis on constitutionalism and cultural revival provided a foundation for the later nationalist efforts of the Young Turks. Their intellectual and ideological contributions helped to shape the discourse on reform and modernisation within the empire. Building on the groundwork laid by the New Ottomans, the Young Turks implemented more radical and comprehensive reforms. Their emphasis on modernisation, centralisation, and Turkification reflected their determination to create a solid and unified Turkish state. Despite facing significant challenges and opposition, the Young Turks' efforts to promote national unity and modernise the state had a lasting impact on the development of the modern Turkish Republic (Mardin, 2021, p. 222).

In summary, the New Ottomans and Young Turks played critical roles in the evolution of Turkish nationalism, but they did so in different ways and under other circumstances. The New Ottomans laid the ideological

groundwork by advocating for constitutionalism, cultural revival, and gradual reform. They sought to create a sense of Ottoman patriotism that included all ethnic and religious groups within the empire (Çalen, 2017, pp. 30–34). On the other hand, the Young Turks adopted a more radical and centralised approach, focusing on rapid modernisation and promoting a singular Turkish identity. Their revolutionary activities and policies of Turkification aimed to unify the state but also led to significant tensions and conflicts.

5. TRACING TURKISH NATIONALISM IN THE EXEMPLARY THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF THE NEW OTTOMANS AND YOUNG TURKS

This section presents several case studies highlighting the New Ottomans' and Young Turks' contributions to Turkish nationalism. These case studies provide concrete examples of how their efforts influenced the development of Turkish national identity and the modernisation of the Ottoman state.

The play "Vatan yahut Silistre" (Homeland or Silistre) by the New Ottomans Namik Kemal was a nationalist work seen as unsettling for the Empire. Namik Kemal's works, daily writings and plays are among the first sources of Turkish nationalism. Namik Kemal, a leading figure in the New Ottomans movement, used literature to promote nationalist sentiment and advocate for constitutional reforms. His play "Vatan yahut Silistre" (Fatherland or Silistria), first performed in 1873, symbolised nationalist ideology (Kaplan, 1980). The play depicted the heroism of Ottoman soldiers defending the fortress of Silistria during the Crimean War, emphasising themes of patriotism, sacrifice, and national duty. The impact of "Vatan yahut Silistre" was profound, inspiring a generation of reformists and intellectuals. The play's emphasis on loyalty (Çılgin, 2005, p. 144) to the fatherland and the importance of individual contributions to the nation's defence resonated with audiences and helped to foster a sense of national identity. Namik Kemal's work demonstrated the power of literature and cultural production in shaping nationalist discourse and mobilising public support for political reforms (Tosun, 2018, p. 35).

The New Ottomans recognised the importance of education in promoting modernisation and national identity. One of their significant achievements was establishing the Galatasaray High School (Mekteb-i Sultânî) in 1868. The school was founded as part of the broader Tanzimat reforms and aimed to provide Ottoman youth with a modern, secular education. It offered a curriculum that included Western and Ottoman subjects, reflecting the New Ottomans commitment to balancing tradition with progress (Biçer, 2011, pp. 84–89). The Galatasaray High School was crucial in educating a new generation of Ottoman elites, many of whom would later become influential figures in the Young Turk movement. The school's emphasis on secular education and critical thinking helped to foster a sense of

civic responsibility and national consciousness among its students (Demirel, 2007, p. 77). This case study illustrates the New Ottomans' contributions to educational reform and their impact on the development of Turkish nationalism.

The New Ottomans were also the pioneers of the Constitutionalist movement. Adopting the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 was a landmark achievement for the New Ottomans and the New Ottomans, a more radical faction within the movement. The constitution introduced a parliamentary system and aimed to limit the sultan's power, reflecting the New Ottomans' commitment to constitutional governance and individual freedoms. Key figures such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha were instrumental in drafting and advocating for the constitution (Berkes, 2023, pp. 329–330). The constitution represented a significant step towards modernisation and political reform in the Ottoman Empire. It aimed to create a more accountable and transparent government, with a bicameral parliament and a bill of rights that guaranteed fundamental freedoms and equality before the law. Although the constitution was suspended by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1878, its adoption marked an important milestone in the history of Ottoman constitutionalism and laid the groundwork for future reforms. The legacy of the 1876 constitution can be seen in the later efforts of the Young Turks to restore constitutional governance. This case highlights the New Ottomans' contributions to the development of constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and their impact on the broader movement for political reform and modernisation.

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was a pivotal event in the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism. The Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) orchestrated the revolution, which sought to restore the Ottoman constitution and implement comprehensive political and social reforms. Key figures such as Ahmed Rıza, Mehmed Talat, and Ismail Enver played leading roles in the revolution. The successful reinstatement of the constitution marked the beginning of a new era of constitutional governance and political activism. The revolution demonstrated the Young Turks' ability to mobilise support and effect significant political change. It also reflected their commitment to modernisation and national unity as they sought to create a more efficient and responsive state apparatus. The Young Turk Revolution profoundly impacted the development of Turkish nationalism. It paved the way for implementing various reforms to centralise administrative control, promote secular education, and foster a sense of national identity. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 illustrates the Young Turks' contributions to the political transformation of the Ottoman state and the advancement of Turkish nationalism (Mardin, 1983, p. 69).

Education was a central focus of the Young Turks' nationalist agenda. They believed a modern, secular education system was essential for fostering a sense of national identity and preparing citizens for active participation in

the state's modernisation efforts. The Young Turks implemented various educational reforms, including establishing new schools, standardising the curriculum, and promoting the Turkish language and culture. One significant reform was the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1911, which aimed to centralise and coordinate educational policies across the empire (Zürcher, 2010, p. 186). The ministry introduced new textbooks emphasising Turkish history, language, and culture, reflecting the Young Turks' commitment to promoting a cohesive national identity. These educational reforms played a crucial role in shaping the national consciousness of the Ottoman population and fostering a sense of loyalty to the state. Educational reforms highlight the Young Turks' efforts to modernise the education system and promote Turkish nationalism through educational policies. Their emphasis on secular education and cultural unity had a lasting impact on the development of Turkish national identity.

The Young Turks attempted to popularise Turkish, which is essential for Turkish nationalism, throughout the country. Promoting the Turkish language was central to the Young Turks' nationalist agenda. They believed a common language was crucial in fostering national unity and creating a cohesive national identity. The Young Turks implemented various language policies to standardise and promote Turkish use in education, administration, and public life (İleri, 2005, p. 214). One notable policy was the Language Law of 1913, which required the use of Turkish in all public institutions and schools. The law aimed to replace multiple languages in the empire's diverse regions with a single national language. This policy of Turkification was intended to assimilate non-Turkish populations and promote a unified national identity. The Young Turks also encouraged the publication of newspapers, books, and other materials in Turkish, reflecting their commitment to promoting Turkish culture and language. These efforts created a standardised Turkish language and developed a national literary tradition (Semiz, 2016, p. 233). The Turkification case illustrates the Young Turks' contributions to promoting the Turkish language and the Turkification of the Ottoman Empire. Their language policies played a crucial role in shaping modern Türkiye's linguistic and cultural landscape.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) were a significant turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism. The wars resulted in the loss of most of the empire's European territories and a massive influx of Muslim refugees into Anatolia. These events profoundly impacted the Young Turks' nationalist agenda and their efforts to promote a cohesive national identity (Taştan, 2017). The losses and dislocation caused by the Balkan Wars intensified the Young Turks' focus on fostering Turkish nationalism and consolidating their power. They implemented policies to integrate the refugees into Ottoman society and promote a sense of national unity. The wars also highlighted the limitations of the empire's multi-ethnic composition and reinforced the Young Turks' belief in the necessity of a cohesive Turkish

identity. The Balkan Wars are essential for the Young Turks' efforts to overcome the challenges posed by internal and external conflicts. Thanks to the lessons learned by the Young Turks from the Balkan Wars, Turkish nationalism had the opportunity to take stock of how it would act in the face of internal and external conflicts.

One of the most significant intellectual contributions to the development of Turkish nationalism came from Ziya Gökalp, one of the Young Turks and later the philosophical father of the modern Turkish Republic. Ziya Gökalp, a prominent intellectual and member of the Young Turks, played a crucial role in shaping the ideology of Turkish nationalism (Çalen, 2018, pp. 29–44). Gökalp's writings and theories combined elements of Western thought with a focus on Turkish heritage, emphasising the importance of cultural and linguistic unity in forming a national identity. Gökalp's concept of "Turkism" stressed the need to create a modern, secular, and cohesive Turkish nation. He believed that the foundation of Turkish nationalism lay in the revival and promotion of Turkish culture, language, and history (Gökalp, 2024). His ideas influenced the Young Turks' policies and contributed to developing the nationalist discourse in the early Turkish Republic.

The legacy of the Young Turks can be seen in the policies and ideology of the early Turkish Republic, established in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The Young Turks' emphasis on modernisation, secularism, and national unity influenced the foundation and development of the new Turkish state. Atatürk, a former member of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) adopted many of the Young Turks' ideas and policies to create a modern, secular, and unified Turkish nation. His reforms included the abolition of the Ottoman sultanate, the establishment of a secular education system, and the promotion of Turkish culture and language. These reforms reflected the Young Turks' vision of a modern and cohesive Turkish state.

Atatürk's secularism, known as Kemalism, was deeply rooted in the Young Turks' emphasis on separating religion from state affairs to ensure progress and modernisation. The introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928, replacing the Arabic script, was a significant move aimed at aligning Türkiye more closely with the Western world and facilitating literacy and education reforms. This change continued the Young Turks' language policies and their commitment to modernisation. Another critical aspect of Atatürk's reforms was promoting Turkish history and culture. The establishment of institutions such as the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Association aimed to revive and encourage a sense of Turkish heritage in line with the nationalist ideas of Ziya Gökalp and other Young Turk intellectuals. These institutions were tasked with rewriting history textbooks to emphasise Turkish contributions to civilisation and the pre-Islamic Turkish heritage. Economic reforms were also crucial to Atatürk's vision, reflecting the Young Turks'

earlier efforts to strengthen the state's financial stability and promote industrialisation. The implementation of the first Five-Year Plan in 1934 aimed to develop Türkiye's infrastructure, industry, and agriculture, reducing dependency on foreign powers and fostering national self-sufficiency.

All of the examples in this section demonstrate how the ideas and efforts of the New Ottomans and Young Turks laid the groundwork for modern Türkiye and its national identity and made significant contributions to Turkish nationalism.

6. DISCUSSION

The contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks to Turkish nationalism are multifaceted and complex. This section evaluates their overall impact, considering their achievements and limitations, and explores the broader implications for understanding nationalism in multi-ethnic empires.

The New Ottomans laid the ideological and practical foundations for Turkish nationalism. Their advocacy for constitutionalism, modernisation, and cultural revival set the stage for later nationalist movements. By promoting education, cultural renaissance, and political participation, the New Ottomans sought to create a sense of Ottoman patriotism that transcended ethnic and religious divisions—their efforts to balance tradition with progress modelled subsequent reformist movements (Rahme, 1999, p. 31). However, the New Ottomans faced significant challenges in achieving their goals. Sultan Abdul Hamid II's autocratic rule and the political repression of the period limited their ability to implement constitutional reforms and engage in open political activism. Despite these obstacles, the New Ottomans' ideas and writings continued to influence the broader discourse on reform and nationalism within the empire. The New Ottomans' legacy is evident in the subsequent nationalist movements that emerged in the early 20th century, particularly the Young Turks.

The Young Turks built on the intellectual and ideological groundwork laid by the New Ottomans, implementing more radical and comprehensive reforms. Their emphasis on modernisation, centralisation, and Turkification reflected their determination to create a solid and unified Turkish state. The Young Turks' successful orchestration of the 1908 Revolution demonstrated their ability to mobilise support and effect significant political change. The Young Turks' nationalist agenda included centralising administrative control, promoting secular education, and fostering a sense of national identity (Ahmad, 2022, p. 40). Their policies of Turkification, which aimed to assimilate non-Turkish populations and promote Turkish culture, reflected their determination to create a cohesive and unified Turkish state. However, these policies often alienated various ethnic and religious groups within the empire, leading to significant tensions and conflicts. Despite these controversies, the Young Turks' contributions to the modernisation and nationalisation of the Ottoman state were significant. Their emphasis on

secularism, education, and national unity influenced the policies of the early Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Atatürk's reforms, which aimed to create a modern, secular, and unified Turkish nation, were deeply influenced by the ideas and experiences of the Young Turks.

The comparative analysis of the New Ottomans and Young Turks reveals the evolving nature of Turkish nationalism during the late Ottoman period. While the New Ottomans sought to balance tradition with progress and promote an inclusive sense of Ottoman patriotism, the Young Turks pursued a more exclusive vision of Turkish nationalism and implemented radical reforms. Both movements were driven by a desire to modernise the state and create a sense of national identity. Yet, their approaches and priorities reflected the differing contexts and challenges they faced. The legacy of the New Ottomans and Young Turks continues to influence contemporary discussions on nationalism and identity in Türkiye. The tensions between inclusivity and exclusivity, modernisation and tradition, and centralisation and decentralisation remain relevant in Turkish politics and society. The experiences of these movements offer valuable lessons for understanding the complexities and challenges of nationalism in multi-ethnic states. In conclusion, the New Ottomans and Young Turks contributed significantly interconnectedly to developing Turkish nationalism. Their differing approaches and priorities reflect the evolving nature of nationalist thought and action during the late Ottoman period. By examining their contributions, this article provides a deeper understanding of the processes underpinning the emergence of Turkish national identity and the formation of the modern Turkish state.

Conclusion

The contributions of the New Ottomans and Young Turks to Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire represent a crucial period of transformation and ideological evolution. This conclusion synthesises the study's key findings and reflects on the significance of these movements in the broader context of nationalism and modern state formation. Moreover, the legacy of the New Ottomans and the Young Turks can be interpreted as the inspiration for the modern Republic of Türkiye, founded on the ideology of Turkish nationalism.

The New Ottomans, emerging in the mid-19th century, were foundational in developing Turkish nationalism. Their advocacy for constitutionalism, modernisation, and cultural revival sought to preserve the Ottoman state by integrating Western advancements with traditional Ottoman values. Figures such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha were instrumental in promoting these ideas through their writings and political activism. The New Ottomans' emphasis on education, cultural renaissance, and political participation laid the groundwork for a sense of Ottoman patriotism that transcended ethnic and religious divisions. However, Sultan Abdul Hamid II's

political repression limited the New Ottomans' ability to achieve their goals. Despite these challenges, their intellectual and ideological contributions continued to influence the broader discourse on reform and nationalism within the empire. The New Ottomans' legacy is evident in the subsequent nationalist movements that emerged in the early 20th century, mainly the Young Turks.

The Young Turks, who rose to prominence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, represented a more radical and politically active phase of Turkish nationalism. Influenced by European nationalist movements and the perceived failures of the Ottoman state, the Young Turks sought to implement comprehensive political and social reforms. Their successful orchestration of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution demonstrated their ability to mobilise support and effect significant political change. The Young Turks' nationalist agenda included centralising administrative control, promoting secular education, and fostering a sense of national identity. Their policies of Turkification, which aimed to assimilate non-Turkish populations and promote Turkish culture, reflected their determination to create a cohesive and unified Turkish state. However, these policies often alienated various ethnic and religious groups within the empire, leading to significant tensions and conflicts. Despite these controversies, the Young Turks' contributions to the modernisation and nationalisation of the Ottoman state were substantial. Their emphasis on secularism, education, and national unity influenced the policies of the early Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Atatürk's reforms, which aimed to create a modern, secular, and unified Turkish nation, were deeply influenced by the ideas and experiences of the Young Turks.

The comparative analysis of the New Ottomans and Young Turks reveals the evolving nature of Turkish nationalism during the late Ottoman period. While the New Ottomans sought to balance tradition with progress and promote an inclusive sense of Ottoman patriotism, the Young Turks pursued a more exclusive vision of Turkish nationalism and implemented radical reforms. Both movements were driven by a desire to modernise the state and create a sense of national identity. Yet, their approaches and priorities reflected the differing contexts and challenges they faced. The legacy of the New Ottomans and Young Turks continues to influence contemporary discussions on nationalism and identity in Türkiye. The tensions between inclusivity and exclusivity, modernisation and tradition, and centralisation and decentralisation remain relevant in Turkish politics and society. The experiences of these movements offer valuable lessons for understanding the complexities and challenges of nationalism in multi-ethnic states.

In conclusion, the New Ottomans and Young Turks contributed significantly interconnectedly to developing Turkish nationalism. Their differing approaches and priorities reflect the evolving nature of nationalist thought and action during the late Ottoman period. By examining their contributions, this article provides a deeper understanding of the processes underpinning the emergence of Turkish national identity and the formation of

the modern Turkish state. The study highlights the importance of considering both the achievements and limitations of nationalist movements, particularly in multi-ethnic empires, to understand their impact and legacy comprehensively.

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