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1

Istanbul, 1915: A Revolutionist Heading an Empire

IT WAS SPRING 1915. Let us zoom in on the office of Talaat Bey, the minister of the interior, in the building known as the Sublime Porte, the seat of the government in the historical center of the European side of the Ottoman capital, Istanbul—then often still referred to by its historical name, Constantinople.

Married with a Cause

Talaat was bulky but not fat, a tall man with wide shoulders, a broad face, black eyes, bushy eyebrows, and black hair (which turned gray in 1918). Physically and mentally, he was an imposing figure. His office was a big and relatively light room, particularly notable for the several telephones on his desk. At times he also gave his orders from the telegraph in his home office.

He was married to Hayriye Hanım and had no children (he had learned from his doctor that he could not father a child; see chap. 3, sec. “Sobered, Disturbed, Depressed”). He lived instead in a symbolic marriage—or passionate concubinage—with his cause: Make Turkey strong again! Somewhat puzzlingly,

he asserted himself as a Muslim of Turkish descent, a “son of empire,” *and* a patriotic revolutionist. “We must win back our old strength, our old influence,” he told the Germans in late 1915.¹ He and his friends pursued a “great national ideal,” as they called it, informed by Ottoman imperial glory and contemporary ethnoreligious nationalism (not the socialism inspired by Marx nor the universal positivism in Auguste Comte’s sense).

Theorists of modern revolutions might therefore identify Talaat as an imperially biased right-wing revolutionary (or rather “revolutionist,” in the terminology of this study, and to be distinguished from a value-based right-wing stance). Psychologists, in turn, might find him addicted to power—compensation, perhaps, for having been deprived of children and family. Power was “the dearest thing that he had known,” he confessed a few days before being killed in Berlin in 1921, adding that “one could have too much of a good thing.”² He was the only grand vizier who ascended, step-by-step, to power from below—from subversive opposition to continuous membership in parliament and ministries in different cabinets. From summer 1913, Mehmed Talaat (both names are forenames; Ottoman Muslims did not have surnames) was the actual head of the government, even if he was promoted to grand vizier, with the honorific title of “Pasha” only in 1917. Before, he was only “Bey.”

He owed his predominance to his strong position within the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), a primarily conspiratorial party organization directed by the Central Committee. It had its headquarters on Nur-i Osmaniye Street, a few minutes’ walk from the Sublime Porte on one side and the Hagia Sophia cathedral (transformed into a mosque after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453) and the Sultanahmed Mosque on the other, and next to the house in the Yerebatan

neighborhood where Talaat lived with his wife. *Komiteci* (or *komitacı*) is the Turkish name for a member of a conspiratory committee of revolutionists. The CUP was the foremost organization within a broad Young Turk movement that had begun as an opposition force against Sultan Abdulhamid II, the last ruling sultan of Ottoman history. Talaat's cause was the Central Committee's cause and—as he, at least, maintained—the cause of “the people,” the Turkish nation, and of Islam.³

After their putsch in 1913, the CUP Central Committee alone dictated politics and the allocation of ministries. When the committee had organized the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 (see chap. 2, secs. “Talaat's Lead on the Road” and “Under the Shadow”; chap. 3, sec. “The Ottoman Spring”), it could only partly control politics. In the aftermath of the autocratic rule of Sultan Abdulhamid II, it had been inclined to democracy. The CUP then had even allied with the main Armenian party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). Publically, then, both groups pursued the common goal of establishing constitutional rule.⁴ A longtime Central Committee member and an experienced administrator, Talaat used his networks to concentrate power, to impose policies, and to organize action. It was he who had principally prepared the putsch of 1913; the same is true for the reconquest of Edirne in the same year during the Second Balkan War, which won him and the CUP huge prestige among patriots.

Ever since his childhood in Edirne (the early Ottoman capital in European Turkey), Talaat had an emotional attachment to the Selimiye Mosque (see chap. 2, sec. “From Edirne”). It recalled past glory, although the mosque's sponsor, the late sixteenth-century sultan Selim II (“the drunkard”), stood for imperial decadence. His grandfather and namesake, Selim I “the grim” (*yavuz*), however, provided a strong role model for

the Young Turks and served as the party's patron saint. In a similar vein, the Young Turks, most of whom hailed from the Balkans, understood themselves as superior "sons of conquerors" (Evlad-ı Fatihan), within a geography that had remained largely Christian.⁵ Tellingly, after his forefathers' conquest of Western Asia Minor and the Balkans, in the early sixteenth century, Selim I had not only conquered Eastern Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt but also waged war against domestic adversaries called Kızılbaş, today better known under the general designation of Alevi.

Alevi did not (and do not) identify with orthodox Sunni or imperial Islam but did have sympathies with premodern Shiite Iran, and had connections to Bektashi heterodoxy, a well-established religious network in the early Ottoman world.⁶ Talaat's nation, in contrast, was tantamount to Turkish-speaking Muslims relying on the Ottoman state. But while his political roots lay in the Ottoman power organization based on Selim I's achievements, Bektashism played a role even for Talaat, since its *tekke* (cloisters) had offered a safe niche for dissidents under Abdulhamid and cultivated a more liberal spirit than the Sunni orthodoxy that the sultan demanded. After the ascendance of Turkish nationalism in the early 1910s, a few CUP intellectuals tried to co-opt Alevi and Bektashis, purporting that they were the true bearers of Turkishness in language and in habits, who had resisted assimilation to the surrounding Kurdish tribes and to Arab- and Persian-influenced imperial culture. But this modestly successful CUP flirtation with Alevism scandalized conservative Sunni Muslims.⁷

War and the patriotic call to fight for the nation is political tender in times of crisis, if enough people follow the call. Talaat had applied this maneuver during a deep CUP crisis on the eve of the Balkan Wars in September 1912, for Edirne's reconquest

in 1913, and again in July 1914 (see chaps. 4 and 5). Then, a small group around him decided to use Europe's July crisis as a chance to approach Germany and to conclude, finally (after several frustrated attempts in the months and years before), an alliance with a European Great power. Talaat embraced war as a game-changer, although this was a gamble with high stakes and even higher risks.

The secret treaty on 2 August 1914 demanded active war from Turkey. Henceforth, an ambitious world war agenda dominated politics. Although the German-speaking war minister Enver Pasha, an iconic military hero of the 1908 revolution, appeared as the figurehead during these plots, Talaat pulled the strings. Contrary to traditional wisdom, he was not less in command of the CUP's notorious paramilitary forces than Enver. This "Special Organization" prepared a war of conquest into the Caucasus and actually made raids from August 1914 onward. He was also centrally involved in the proposition to the German ally in October 1914 to launch a naval attack on the Black Sea to provoke open war with Russia. Only then did the world know for sure of the Turkish-German alliance. In his memoirs, written in 1919, Talaat misleads the reader to believe that he was not aware of the planned aggression. What he wrote after defeat served as a vindication in his larger, ongoing political struggle in exile (see chap. 6).⁸

"On first impression, this is a lucid mind"

(April 1915)

Behind the desk at the Ministry of the Interior in mid-April 1915 was a forty-one-year-old man who impressed his freshly arrived German visitor, journalist Emil Ludwig, with his energy,

willpower, and the striking aura of a self-made man.⁹ Talaat was very active, yet at the same time, he was apparently friendly and approachable. He signed documents and made telephone calls while carrying on his conversation with Ludwig. From time to time, secretaries entered and exited the room. Talaat's smile and charm, even under stress, were famous. Upon meeting Talaat for the first time, Ludwig (soon to gain renown as biographer of powerful politicians) already had a penetrating view of the man: "At first sight this is a lucid mind. But behind it, within him, there is a subdued daemonic temper chained up."

A British deputy who had known Talaat from a few encounters wrote in 1921, shortly after the former grand vizier was killed in Berlin, "I only know that he was, in himself, fearless, and anyone who, like myself, only knew him superficially found him to be kindly and with a singular charm."¹⁰ Interacting within the function of his political goals, Talaat often joked, in cold blood, about unresolved issues or, enjoying his power, at times teased his CUP friends and ministers.¹¹ He had the ability to quickly spot psychological weakness in people, including European diplomats, yet he knew little beyond the universe of the CUP, the political home that he had guided since late 1912. In meetings, he was convivial and sociable, his personality dominating the situation.

Indeed, behind the smile was a brain that planned, constructed, and carried out what would be called one of the most monstrous political acts of the twentieth century: the extermination of the Ottoman Armenians. Many others have noted Talaat's charm and his capacity to humor the people who came to him. At times he combined this charm with melancholy—the melancholy of a man presiding over a crumbling empire—which made him likable, particularly to the Germans, and mollified even angry friends in his presence. For Talaat, sadness

served as a weapon. In addition to this, he was an emotional person and wept at times, for example, at a ceremony in a soldier cemetery or after the death of Sultan Mehmed V.¹² Sly, perhaps, rather than intelligent and farsighted, he possessed the emotional and social qualities of a networker, a strong instinct for power, and an excellent memory, which tended toward the vengeful. “Why did we enter the war?” Talaat asked rhetorically, in order to shape Ludwig’s flattering report in the *Berliner Tageblatt* (*Berlin Daily*); he answered his own question with a CUP mantra: “We had to reestablish our independence, and we were sure that we would achieve this best at Germany’s side.”

More than the other Great powers, Wilhelminian Germany was attracted, politically and culturally, to Turkey.¹³ During the war, Germany was ready to adopt a laissez-faire approach vis-à-vis Turkey’s men of radical action and demolitionist domestic policy, at times fascinated by them. Germany’s interest in re-empowering Ottoman Turkey—and its noninterference in its ally’s domestic policies—were essential for Talaat’s designs. This was particularly true in order to have “a free hand” in what he called “the national struggle for survival” against his fellow Armenian citizens.¹⁴ Social Darwinism—a belief in a deathly “fight for survival,” as interpreted from Darwinist notions like “survival of the fittest” and applied to human society—played a seminal role during World War I in general and for CUP members in particular.

On 24 April 1915, Talaat sent circulars to his provincial governors and a long telegram to Enver, the vice commander of the Ottoman army. (The sultan was the nominal commander.) In them, Talaat defined the current domestic situation as a general Armenian insurrection. He evoked the specter of a Russian-backed Armenian autonomy in Eastern Asia Minor, where Turkey risked losing the war. Neither his circulars nor

his memoirs mention that he and his friends had prepared and started the war in the East in August 1914 (see chap. 5).¹⁵ Their aim? To restore Turkey's strength and full sovereignty, abolish internationally monitored reforms for the crisis-ridden Kurdish-Armenian eastern provinces, and reconquer territory lost decades ago in the Caucasus and beyond.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, in the eastern provinces unrest had accompanied lack of security and justice. Diplomacy called the issue "the Armenian Question" and considered it an essential part of the modern "Eastern Question": What could or should be the future of the Ottoman Empire—which is the future of the Near East—and what should Europe do about it?¹⁶ A main stumbling block for any easy answers was the Ottoman non-Muslims' demand for equality. It met fierce opposition by local lords and Sunni leaders, particularly in Eastern Asia Minor, where non-Muslims were still regarded as *zimmi*, obliged to respect Muslim hegemony in state and society. The Armenians, the most vocal group demanding reforms, were denigrated as agents of foreign Christian powers who wanted to rule over them. Young Armenian activists spread ideas of social revolutionary change, sought foreign backing, and began to coordinate self-defense tactics. About 100,000 Armenians, mostly men, were massacred in 1895, and roughly another 20,000 in April 1909, by gangs organized in mosques who connived with or were supported by state officials and local notables. Islamist discourse by various authorities—as an honest, though solitary, Kurdish historian in the 1970s reminded us—had publicly incited Muslims to kill the *gavur* (non-Muslim) en masse and made killing a duty to the *umma* (community of Muslims).¹⁷

To forestall collapsing entirely within its periphery, the state had to conspire with and co-opt violent reactionary forces. The

Great powers, in turn, lacked viable common ground and failed to act. They were paralyzed, not only by imperialist competition but also by their fear that the collapse of the state would lead to dangerous geostrategic conflicts and seriously affect their economical investments and interests. Ottoman diplomacy under Sultan Abdulhamid II exploited this constellation, and the state did not prosecute domestic mass crimes, which he had largely condoned, except for their repercussions abroad.¹⁸ During World War I, the situation further worsened. Though the government had signed a reform plan for Eastern Asia Minor in February 1914, war and German acquiescence allowed Talaat to suspend it, and, by the end of 1914, to abrogate it completely.

Talaat had convinced himself that reforms would ultimately lead to the region's autonomy and possibly to territorial loss, as in the recent case of Macedonia. (In that case however, Talaat's purposeful warmongering during autumn 1912, as well as long-standing deficits in the administration, had played a role.) The loss of almost all of European Turkey in 1912–13 had converted him and his friends into radical partisans of a fresh Turkish nationalism. This new current dismissed any residual belief in Ottoman multinational coexistence and claimed Asia Minor as a "Turkish home/homeland" (*Türk Yurdu*), and let itself simultaneously become obsessed by Ziya Gökalp's expansive vision of "Turan." It assumed the successful assimilation of non-Turkish Muslims, particularly Kurds, but not of Ottoman Christians. Such ambitious goals of social transformation, as well as imperial restoration and expansion, could only be achieved through war. Dreams of conquest toward Turan via the Caucasus region were extremely popular among young elites, foremost military officers, from August 1914, but saw catastrophic frustration in late 1914. They were revived, however, when czarist Russia collapsed in 1917.

On 24 April 1915 Talaat decided to end the Armenian Question once and for all, after meeting with CUP friends and receiving suggestions from young, radical governors in the East during the days and weeks before (see chap. 5). Although quite open to the Armenians after the constitutional revolution of 1908, he now fanatically hated and deeply feared them as the main obstacle to his personal ambitions and a Turkish future that he no longer conceived as related to the principles of the Ottoman constitution. In his circular, he ordered the arrest of the Armenian elite. Actually, he was suspicious of all non-Muslim groups with political projects, and of the Zionists as well. During dinner with US ambassador Henry Morgenthau on the same day, he expressed the conviction that “they [the Zionists] are mischievous” and that “it is their [the CUP rulers’] duty to get rid of them.” The German ambassador Hans von Wangenheim told Morgenthau three days later that “he would help Zionists but not Armenians.”¹⁹ And, in fact, Germany protected Jews but not Armenians. With his 24 April 1915 orders, Talaat even surrendered former political friends to interrogation, torture, and, in most cases, murder. Before killing those arrested, the security apparatus, a part of his ministry, extorted confessions to prove that there was a general Armenian conspiracy.²⁰ In fact, there was no conspiracy. But in Talaat’s calculated conspiracy theory, which was spread during spring 1915, there was.

Many former political companions, now victims, could not believe that Talaat had become their persecutor. It was to him that they appealed for help as they were led to trial and death.²¹ The lawyer and writer Krikor Zohrab, his longtime political partner and an internationally renowned Ottoman cross-bench deputy, had been exempted from the arrests of Saturday night,

24 April 1915. Together with the Armenian patriarch and two other representatives, he visited Talaat on Sunday morning and urged him to liberate the prisoners, but found him inflexible: "All Armenians who verbally, by written word, or by their actions have worked or can one day work for the construction of Armenia are considered enemies of the state."²² A day later, Zohrab sent Talaat a memorandum in which he complained that not only had the original statement wrongly indicated that those arrested would be released but that no news could be obtained on those arrested.²³

Like his Central Committee friend Ziya Gökalp, a very influential spiritual father of Turkish nationalism, Talaat embraced a state-centric Muslim Turkism, refused the idea of a social contract, and rejected regionally rooted democracy. Instead, both men favored unitary, authoritarian centralization. Gökalp's modernizing ideology, called "idealism" (*mefkûrecilik*, from Gökalp's seminal term *mefkûre*, "ideal") by its adepts, was in fact political messianism. Underestimated, and almost overlooked by historians, except for twentieth-century Armenian scholars,²⁴ the alliance of Talaat and Gökalp played a seminal role in the cataclysmic disruption of the late Ottoman Middle East. It impacted Europe, especially Germany, where Gökalp was praised as the ingenious founder of Turkish nationalism and a great historic figure.

Radical party politics was combined with transformative political thought (Gökalp) and practice (Talaat) during the Ottoman cataclysm. Fragile seeds of a more modest but consensual and pluralist state- and nation-rebuilding plan based on Ottoman constitutionalism were thus destroyed. German orientalists of the early interwar period noted both Gökalp's implication in Islamist reform currents and that he was simultaneously a Turkish enthusiast who had "got drunk . . . with the

ideal of the ‘great eternal country Turan.’” Orientalists turned into Turcologists, and many positively greeted nationalism based on Islam and Turkdom, thus banishing from their discipline the hitherto most important contributors to Ottoman Turcology in Europe: the Armenians. Gökaltap was rightly recognized as the spiritual father of Turkish nationalism and praised as a master of a “popular philosophy” that had “proved itself so brilliantly during the last war.”²⁵

Fraught but in Top Form: Toward a Communion in Crime

On 27 May 1915, Emil Ludwig visited Talaat a second time.²⁶ Talaat’s frame of mind was excellent. Two and a half months before, quite the contrary had been the case. But the first Ottoman victory that thwarted an attack on Istanbul—Churchill’s attempted naval breakthrough at the Dardanelles on 18 March—had greatly lifted the mood of a government that, during winter 1914–15, had suffered heavy defeats in the Caucasus, Northern Iran, Southern Iraq, and at the Suez Canal. The press of the Entente countries and neutrals were then vocal in their pleas for internationally protected Armenian autonomy.²⁷ The victory on 18 March 1915 against the Entente inspired CUP “brothers” (as they mutually called themselves) not only with a new self-reliance but also with an arrogant and brutal chauvinism, as the Austrian general Joseph Pomiankowski, a frequent companion of Enver Pasha, noted.²⁸

Chauvinism then merged with daredevilry. Determination crystallized among the CUP radicals in the capital and in the eastern provinces; they decided that this was the opportune moment to end the Armenian Question by terminating

Armenian existence. Talaat produced security arguments regarding the eastern front against Russia. The main underlying reason given for the action, however, was the will to “free” Asia Minor from any Armenian claims. In a comprehensive strategy of the war, in which the imperial revolutionists perceived interior and exterior fronts, he was confident of achieving a bone-crushing victory against the domestic adversary. He had embraced total war as a total war–jihad since August 1914 and understood it to be waged on all sides. He had already achieved tremendous success in June 1914, when CUP gangs expelled more than 150,000 Orthodox Christians (so-called Rûm), Ottoman citizens from the region of İzmir, at the Aegean to the near islands and then Greece. By mid-July 1915, he boasted as having “accomplished more in three months about crushing the Armenians than Abdul Hamid could do in thirty-seven years.”²⁹

In May 1915, everybody was busy with the struggle for the Ottoman capital. Only a few hours after mass arrests had commenced, the Entente had begun to invade Gallipoli on the morning of 25 April 1915. While the Ottoman army resisted successfully, the repelling of Entente forces was led by German generals and supported by German experts and submarines. During an interview with Ludwig, Talaat showed himself to be utterly self-confident: “Nobody will break through the Dardanelles.” He did not fear Italy’s possible entrance into war or the outbreak of war in the Balkans. He felt sure of winning his “domestic war” against not only the Rûm but also the Armenians. He had already sent a letter on 16 May to the grand vizier that detailed how his Ministry of the Interior had settled more than 250,000 Muslim refugees at the places from which the Rûm had been expelled. Talaat was becoming a pioneering demographic engineer, as his notebook, with his fastidious statistical accounting, testifies.³⁰

Talaat also exhibited utter self-confidence regarding global history, as is evident in his introduction to the Ottoman translation of Karl Helfferich's analysis of how World War I had broken out. In this piece, dated 14 May 1915, the Ottoman leader entirely identified with the view on contemporary history of this academically trained and sharp-tongued advocate of German *Weltpolitik* and a future leader of the German Far Right. Conveniently for Talaat, Treasury secretary Helfferich, with apodictic certainty, blamed Russia for the war and declared France and Britain complicit, while the Central powers only defended themselves against arsonists of the Entente. "In this way, the responsibilities become fully evident; in my opinion, there is not even any task left to later historiography," Talaat concluded. Two years later, Grand Vizier Talaat was offered a reception in Helfferich's house in Berlin.³¹ They had known each other well since the aftermath of 1908, when Helfferich, former director of the Anatolian Railway and now chairman of the Deutsche Bank, and journalist Paul Weitz organized propaganda and, in Helfferich's words, "baksheesh," besides "advances ad libitum" to persuade the CUP. It had initially shown reserve vis-à-vis Germany because of its courtship of Sultan Abdulhamid II.³²

After the attack on the Armenian elite, Talaat prepared the main act: to send an entire people group into the desert in Syria. The day before Ludwig's second visit, Talaat had delivered a long letter to Grand Vizier Said Halim, a CUP member but less influential than Talaat and Enver. This letter on 26 May 1915 presents the evacuation of the Armenians as a comprehensive and definitive solution of a vital question for the Ottoman state. While the long sentences are tortuous to read, their authoritative articulation leaves no room for doubt concerning Talaat's goal of pursuing a project that breached the constitution and Ottoman laws, even if it feigned a resettlement of the

removed people, the protection of their rights, and a limited removal from war zones (he then already intended the country-wide removal of the Armenians).³³

Urged on by Enver and Talaat, the cabinet decreed a provisional law on 27 May that permitted the army to “crush any opposition” and, in case of suspicion, to “dispatch individually or collectively, and to resettle elsewhere, the inhabitants of villages and towns.”³⁴ It did not name the Armenian target, in contrast to a much more detailed decree of 30 May. This decree again bore Talaat’s mark and repeated whole passages from his 26 May letter.³⁵ He acted in defiance of the Entente declaration on 24 May 1915, which warned the members of the Ottoman government that they would be held personally responsible for “crimes against humanity.” (This is the first time the term was used in high politics.)³⁶ Talaat reacted to this international admonition by extending the responsibility to the whole cabinet, thus producing a fundamental communion in crime.

Talaat often acted before he informed his peers or sought the consent of formal superiors or the cabinet as a whole, and before laws were made that sanctioned the deeds. On 18 and 23 May, he had already instructed the governor of Erzurum and the governors of Van and Bitlis—three provinces included in the reform plan signed in February 1914—to chase the Armenian population toward the south. At the same time, he had briefed the governors on the resettlement of Muslim refugees from the lost Balkan provinces into the houses that the Armenians had “abandoned.”³⁷ Hence, during three months, beginning in the East, caravans of Armenian women, children, and men (those not drafted) dragged their way through Asia Minor. They were exposed to privation, spoliation, massacre, and repeated rape of women and children, girls and boys. Most men in the East were killed before departure. The comprehensive spoliation of

the Armenians profited the state materially, but it also enriched notables, a great number of neighbors, and occasional robbers. Crime went hand in hand with the corruption of a countrywide miscreant regime.

That Thursday, 27 May 1915, as Ludwig left Talaat's office, he saw twenty or so employees prostrating themselves for prayer. Although Talaat could rarely join in due to lack of time, he participated in the public prayers (*namaz*) on Friday. According to his wife, every morning he recited the Al-Fath (Victory or Triumph), the forty-eighth surah in the Koran. At times there are elements of pious rhetoric in his diverse letters, although little elaboration. In discussions with the sheykhulislam (the head of the religious administration) Mustafa Hayri, who was also a member of the CUP's Central Committee, he insisted that he was a good Muslim. He had been the first to approvingly shake the hand of the *fetva* commissioner after the latter had read the legal document (*fetva*) written by Hayri declaring jihad on 14 November 1914. He both identified with and used Islam to support his power, even in April 1909, when he had extorted a *fetva* in order to dethrone Abdulhamid (see chap. 3).³⁸

Hayri was at odds with Talaat's radicalism and rudeness, but, like a small number of other CUP representatives who felt similarly, was neither able nor willing to confront him seriously. In contrast to Hayri, Talaat did not see the salvation of the precarious state by a reformed Muslim union. He preferred to transform state and society simultaneously, as suggested by the ideas of Gökalp. In the Central Committee, Hayri accused Gökalp of putting Turkism over Islam and resented the fact that this adversary enjoyed more influence than he did.³⁹ According to Gökalp's vision, leaders had to cull bad elements from society and graft on new ones. Once the renewed society acquired Western science and civilization, it would not only realize

the superiority of Islam and the Turkish race and culture but also become a unitary body, a country in which, in Gökalp's words, "every individual has the same ideal, language, habit, religion. . . . Its sons ache to give their lives at its frontier!"⁴⁰

Gökalp proclaimed a messiah named "Turan," which did not stand for a person but for a compelling myth of an "enormous and eternal fatherland," to be conquered across the Caucasus. In the first months of World War I, Turan galvanized young, "idealist" CUP officers into a pan-Turkist conquest of the Caucasus and beyond. They felt it their mission to save Turkic Muslims from Russia's yoke. In various rhymes Gökalp proclaimed jihad and his shrill prophecy in early August 1914: "Russia will collapse and be ruined / Turkey will expand and be Turan!"⁴¹ All too quickly, exalted Turan turned into a frustrated monster after the disaster of Enver's Caucasus offensive at Sarıkamış in January 1915. "The road to Turan," however, remained suggestive and present, also in telegrams of Talaat's subordinates.⁴²

Relying on Germany

The term "genocide" did not exist before the lawyer Raphael Lemkin coined it. After years of campaigning by Lemkin, "genocide" entered the legal vocabulary of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948 as General Assembly Resolution 260 (the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide). Lemkin's original inspiration in pursuing legal means to prosecute war criminals was inspired by the actions of Talaat, the demolitionist at the head of the Ottoman Empire who had anticipated genocide by actually committing it. Talaat used the Armenian genocide to form a united Turkish-Muslim body and polity in Asia Minor. Lemkin learned essential information about Talaat while following

the trial of his assassin, Soghomon Tehlirian, in Berlin in 1921 (Tehlirian was found not guilty and released). Supported by German friends and in coordination with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), who led the Turkish nationalist struggle for Asia Minor after war defeat, Talaat had continued to agitate in Europe after escaping Ottoman postwar justice against war criminals (see chap. 6).⁴³

Before “culling bad elements from society,” that is, destroying a stigmatized people, a critical barrier had to be overcome in spring 1915: possible German interposition. Potential shocks to the alliance had to be tamped down until the deed became irreversible and, according to the military logic of alliance, Germany fully invested in denying or downplaying what had happened. On 31 May 1915, one day after his detailed removal decree, Talaat sent Enver to the German ambassador Wangenheim. Enver was not only German-speaking and the darling of the German press and court but also the intimate friend of the Turkish-speaking captain Hans Humann, a frequent interlocutor, advisor, critic of Wangenheim, and Turcophile hard-liner. In very polite and trivializing terms, Enver demanded understanding for the need and support of the project “to evacuate a few subversive families from centers of insurrection.” A few Armenian schools and newspapers would also be closed, but Turkey’s existence, dear to Germany and German ambitions to *Weltgeltung* (global standing), was at risk. Wangenheim acquiesced.⁴⁴

On 1 June 1915, Krikor Zohrab, a member of parliament once thought to be on excellent terms with Talaat, asked Talaat and Midhat Şükrü (Bleda), a Central Committee member and the CUP’s secretary-general, one last time for an explanation of the arrests and the anti-Armenian policy.⁴⁵ Talaat retorted that he didn’t need to give an account for anything to anybody. “But to me, in the status of an Armenian deputy,” Zohrab insisted.

As a response to a power-holder who detached himself from basic human norms, this answer was proof of a personality still anchored in an Ottoman constitutional period that was now to be irrevocably revoked, together with Ottoman society itself. One day later, Zohrab was arrested by order of Talaat and sent to Diyarbekir, ostensibly for court-martial, but he was brutally assassinated on the road by CUP killers. On the road from the Baghdad hotel in Konya, Zohrab had sent Talaat a long, heart-breaking but dignified and well-pondered letter. It stands to this day as a monument of a man with spirit—an outstanding Armenian author, arguably the best Ottoman-speaking orator in the parliament—wanting to live versus being eager to kill for power.⁴⁶

Wangenheim soon regretted his rapid acquiescence to Enver, but Talaat had won the time he needed to set into motion the administrative machine of deportation. The collective targeting of Armenians released and spurred anti-Christian hate and cupidity in broad parts of society—though not everywhere. Yezidis and Alevis in remote regions, and individuals in different places, offered asylum. On 10 June 1915, the German vice-consul in Mosul reported to Wangenheim horrible massacres of deportees from the neighboring province of Diyarbekir. A high number of corpses and cut body parts floated on the Tigris.⁴⁷ Immediately, Wangenheim interrogated Talaat, who answered, “We liberate ourselves from the Armenians to be a better ally for you, freed from weakness induced by a domestic enemy.” Below, on the same page on which Humann reports these words, he added his own opinion: “The Armenians are now exterminated *grosso modo* because of their conspiracy with the Russians. This is hard, but useful.”⁴⁸

Humann gives a foretaste of an exterminatory National Socialism that has more to do with the German experience

and perception of genocide in Turkey than popular history has revealed.⁴⁹ Anti-Semite and anti-Levantine, he identified with the “idealism,” ambition, and methods of his powerful friend Enver. Wilhelminian elites largely cherished the idea that a systematically reempowered Turkey would be the key to German hegemony in Europe and Western Asia, and consequently to German global power. Humann used his relations and coproduced myths of German and Turkish power to boost his own career. Though from a cultivated and cosmopolitan family, during World War I (and afterward) he admired brutal energy and will in the service of national power. Wangenheim got on his nerves when “all the time lamenting [about the treatment of the Armenians], much to the disadvantage of our political interest,” now that the ambassador understood the comprehensive dimension of the extermination. The paradox between culture and nature in social Darwinist terms penetrated much of the contemporary German elite. An expert on Turkey and a friend of the Armenians, Johannes Lepsius stood for the other side.⁵⁰

Soon thereafter, Wangenheim, the representative of the Wilhelminian empire in Istanbul, who had had reasons to deem himself superior to Talaat, collapsed. Strokes killed him in October, after he had finally tried to convince himself of the inevitability of Talaat’s policy and even proposed, inspired by proposals of Zionist Alfred Nossig’s circle, to replace the removed Armenians with Jews from Poland. Nevertheless, he had never consented to more than limited removals; thus, German diplomacy remained, in principle, committed to the return of the Armenian survivors and restitution of their property.⁵¹ Even if at first against his will, Wangenheim had made the Turkish-German war alliance his own project—a product of haste, emergency, and gamble. Committee advances after mid-July 1914 had offered Germany the sudden possibility of

having Turkey at its side. This shaped German war psychology and planning for the future, while, in late July, war was still only a possibility, not a reality. Hence, both governments depended on each other in a mutual war gamble. Thereafter, Wangenheim courted the CUP men of action, but for “higher” strategic reasons; he ignored the warnings and cries for help from the Armenian side since late 1914. He had himself written the draft for the apologetic Ottoman answer to the Entente declaration of 24 May 1915. Joint propaganda efforts of denial intensified in August 1915 and continued until 1918. It took until 2016 for German politics to acquire the maturity to officially call the 1915 deed by its name.⁵²

In terms of political strategy, Talaat’s Turkey was advantaged, because Germany’s aspiration to dominance in Europe and *Weltgeltung* remained based on vague concepts. It cherished the idea of a German Central Europe with a zone of influence reaching into the Ottoman world and beyond. Only after the collapse of czarist Russia did it refocus on Eastern Europe. In contrast, right from the eve of World War I, Talaat possessed a concrete, minimal goal: the preservation of CUP power and the establishment of national sovereignty, at least in a secure Turkish-Muslim home in Asia Minor. Despite defeat in World War I, Turkey achieved this goal under Mustafa Kemal Pasha, defied Western diplomacy, and was therefore envied by its former senior partner.⁵³ Muhittin Birgen (1885–1959), one of Talaat’s former counselors and journalistic mouthpieces, wrote in the 1930s, “If Talaat, who died as a Turk, would today again wake up and see Turkey, he would not be sad at all that he had died already at a young age!” For him, Talaat had accomplished the all-decisive conversion from an Ottoman to a modern Turkish and Muslim identity, the precondition for a restored Turkish sovereignty.⁵⁴

“The people are the garden, we are its gardener”

Talaat became grave when Ludwig asked him, during a third visit on 18 August 1915, if the persecution of the Armenians would not damage the economy. He answered, “Yes, a bit. But we will rapidly replace the empty spots with Turks.” Then he talked of proof of a general conspiracy. “We are not cruel, only energetic.”⁵⁵ (As ever, they conversed in French, the global language of education, culture, and diplomacy in the early twentieth century, and also in the late Ottoman world.) In fact, Asia Minor had by this point largely lost its most educated, industrious, and agriculturally productive population. “The people are the garden, we are its gardener,” Gökalp had stated before the war. In retrospect, Midhat Şükrü justified the extermination by what he called the contagious mental illness of the Armenians. Others, such as military doctor Mehmed Reşid, the governor of Diyarbekir and Talaat’s direct subordinate, compared the Armenians to bandits and microbes to be eliminated.⁵⁶

Talaat promoted radicals and corrupt subordinates, and transferred or demoted those in his administration who dared to help the persecuted people or who refused his orders. Though relying on these subordinates to promote his policies, he cultivated for himself the image of an incorruptible patriot. In contrast, several governors, notables, and Muslim leaders preserved their humanity, and a few therefore lost their lives. But all in all, they were a small minority.⁵⁷ Within the Central Committee, Talaat allowed the extremist members to have the upper hand, notably, the military doctors Selanikli Nâzım and Bahaeddin Şakir. When Mehmed Cavid, his close companion for a decade, came back to Istanbul in August 1915 after several months in Europe, he was deeply appalled by the “monstrous murder and enormous dimension of brutality that Ottoman history had never known



FIGURE 1: Not yet grand vizier, but boss in party and government, Talaat in late summer 1915, with Alfred Nossig and Halil and Enver Pasha (from Alfred Nossig, *Die Türkei und ihre Führer* [Halle: Otto Hendel, 1916]).

before, even in its darkest periods. . . . You managed to destroy not only the political existence but the life itself of a whole [Armenian] people,” he silently accused the committee—in his diary.⁵⁸ Beyond this confession, Cavid was not able to react against the dominance of his political friend and, also, did not know all the facts, because Talaat communicated discreetly, being the soul and architect of the whole scheme.

The foolhardy removal of the Armenians, allegedly for the benefit of “the nation,” strengthened Talaat’s position and prestige. Henceforth, he was deemed the savior of the fatherland, the “man of the future,” even a prophet. “You are Noah / You, if you were not, this nation would be orphaned,” Gökalp rhapsodized in the CUP newspaper *Tanin* on 14 September 1915. Churchill, by contrast, had failed miserably, forcing the Dardanelles to take Istanbul, and resigned from the Admiralty

(the leadership of the Royal Navy). “There is more blood than paint on these hands . . . All those thousands of men killed. We thought it would be a little job and so it might have been if it had been done the right way,” he said mid-August 1915, while painting, to a friend who feared that “Churchill might go mad” after his catastrophic failure.⁵⁹

The political elite in Berlin, the German press, and a large segment of the public—from majoritarian socialists to liberals and the militaries—also took Talaat for a respectable, if not admirable, leader, but in any case, “the most interesting and most important statesman of Turkey.” From 1915 onward, panegyrics about him appeared in the German press. But when Ludwig visited Talaat several times in early 1916, even before returning to Europe, his faith in beneficial cooperation between both countries had faded, although his reports still repeated set propagandistic phrases. After one year under Talaat’s reign, Ludwig was alienated. He found the foundations of state and society “totally different” in both countries. He warned readers to “beware of unrealizable expectations that would contradict why we help a [Turkish] nation to recover power, so that Turkey becomes the master in its own house.”⁶⁰ In summer 1918 only, the chancellor let Cavid and Talaat know that, as minister of finances Cavid relates, he was “saddened to see that the money which Germany had given us [Turks] was used to annihilate Christians; [and that] this was part of the actual problems” between both governments.⁶¹

Faced with Talaat’s charm, many Germans revealed schizophrenic attitudes that went hand in hand with a specific Wilhelminian orientalism and, in consequence, a form of moral defeatism. Count Johann Heinrich Bernstorff, German ambassador in Istanbul from 1917 and, seemingly, an upright liberal—afterward a member of parliament in the Weimar Republic for

the German Democratic Party—is a case in point. An exile in Switzerland, in 1936 he published his memoirs, which offer important insights and edifying remarks but lack analytical penetration and honesty. He contended that “a dainty blend of skepticism and slight cynism increased the charm of this [Talaat’s] appealing personality” of “full integrity” and that he “learned to venerate and love” Talaat. Yet, in the same paragraph, he emphasized Talaat’s complicity in “the Turkish sin” (Bernstorff’s term for the crime against the Armenians) and quoted him as saying, when he had asked him about the Armenians, “What do you want? The question is finished. There are no more Armenians.” Contemporary correspondence shows that Ambassador Bernstorff did not distinguish between facts and propagandistic lies, thus blaming victims with easily assimilated stereotypes—an aspect largely concealed in his memoirs.⁶²

“Revolutionist Statesmanship,” Imperially Biased: A Prototype

Historically, it is time to understand coherencies and to be clear about evidence. Talaat must be considered a true pioneer. He instigated the first single-party experience in the twentieth century and imperial *komitecilik* (politics by a revolutionist committee heading an empire). He spearheaded violent demographic engineering commensurate with radical ethnic nationalism and knew how to use jihad to this effect. He went decidedly further than politically ambitious young men of the Balkans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who were haunted and informed by Bulgarian and “Serbian ghosts.”⁶³ Overall histories of World War I remain Eurocentric as long as they do not integrate the dynamics of the Ottoman



FIGURE 2: Talaat at the height of his power in his hotel in Brest-Litovsk, early 1918 (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Tagblattarchiv).

1910s, when the international hub of Istanbul was a proactive mirror of issues, ideas, and political patterns that would dominate in larger Europe.

Talaat's political biography suggests that he understood genocide as a highly asymmetrical form of total war at home, one

that “compensated” for international weakness.⁶⁴ An important background to his cataclysmic and demolitionist policy was the loss of Ottoman territory, power, and sovereignty, which had been almost continuous since the late eighteenth century. The diminution of the empire’s reach resulted in hundreds of thousands of *muhacir*—Muslim refugees and migrants—mostly from the Balkans and the Caucasus, who had experienced persecution or been subjected to non-Muslim, primarily Russian, rule. Defeat and loss in the Balkan Wars inflicted by former Ottoman subjects in 1912–13 had an immediate toxic impact on Ottoman political circles. The “sons of conquerors” (Evlad-ı Fatihan) reacted with aggressive propaganda of victimhood and revenge blended with conspiracy theories.

Ottoman society since the late medieval era had been poly-ethnic and multicultural, although the state itself—its officials and leaders—had been Sunni Muslim since the sixteenth century. Christians and Jews had enjoyed autonomy, wherever they lived in the empire, in civil, cultural, and educational affairs, including family law, but had little say in the affairs of the state. In the modern era, the hierarchical Ottoman fabric underwent a deep crisis when faced with Western ideas of equality and nationalism. The Ottoman reformers introduced the principle of egalitarian Ottoman plurality in the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when there was still slavery in the United States and Europeans governed, very unequally, their home countries and their colonies. When faced with nationalist separatism and final loss on the Balkans, however, the constitutional principle of egalitarian pluralism appeared to be utopian, even to some of its initial supporters.

In its place, Talaat chose homogeneous Turkish-Muslim “unity” without Christians in order to secure Turkish-Muslim sovereignty and to save the core of imperial rule. Thus, he failed to uphold, or willingly renounced, the principles of the 1908

constitution, the basis of a modern social contract, in order to turn Asia Minor into a national home of Muslim Turks by means of coercion and mass violence. The CUP's successors were able to pursue this minimal goal successfully, even after defeat in World War I, thanks to the apogee of Talaat's policy: the destruction of Asia Minor's Armenians in 1915–16 and its posthumous completion in the mandatory population exchange of the 1923 Lausanne Treaty. International diplomacy, then, sanctioned both the previous expulsions of Ottoman Greek Orthodox Christians (Rûm) and, implicitly, the genocide of 1915–16. It endorsed Talaat.

Against this background, Talaat might be called a radical nationalist and an imperially biased revolutionist, and his policy during World War I a paradigmatic precursor to even more radicalized policies of this type in Central Europe in the years to come. It is not the use of force and its partly rational finality that distinguishes this type of extreme violence from the violence in Europe's colonizing enterprise since the sixteenth century. What marks the distinction is the inclusion of an elusive imperial mythology that its perpetrators pursued in what they considered a Darwinian total war–jihad with the exterior *and* the interior of their state and society. The largely resentful character of their violence stemmed from accumulated feelings of victimhood and compensating myths of ethnoreligious superiority. These myths were reembedded in Islamism and the new “Turkism” (Turkish nationalism), including pan-Turkism, of the early twentieth century, which Gökalp spread most seminally.

Once he became a more visible dictator in 1917, Talaat's appearance, in uniform or not, was comparatively restrained. A carefully managed public image presenting a prophet-like, popular, but ingenious leader, surrounded by other gifted CUP

individuals, now joined what had formerly been the dominant institutional cult of the Central Committee. (Traditional scholarship generally emphasizes only this institutional cult of the pre-1912 era.) But there was no personality cult around Talaat comparable to that of the European dictators who followed him. Nevertheless, in the historical area of larger Europe, Talaat opens the age of extremes and the Europe of the dictators.⁶⁵ That many people described him as an engaging and approachable person, even as an outstanding statesman of his time, is a telling indicator of the zeitgeist. To approach Talaat successfully, a study must go beyond narratives of identification (by nationalists, Islamists, contemporary Germans, or anti-Western anti-imperialists) and avoid misidentification.

Contemporaries Churchill and Talaat were well acquainted with each other. Both were ambitiously dedicated to empires that were to last only a few years in one and a few decades in the other. Imperial bias is a crucial factor and feature of the cataclysmic decade studied here, and it applied to Ottoman, German, French, Russian, and British politics. Nevertheless, Britain still stood for a liberal worldview and individual rights, while Talaat's Turkey pioneered patterns of a new age of extremes that erased individuality. Talaat and illiberal leaders after him acted in the name of an all-encompassing, abstract victimhood of their "people," "nation," "class," or, in the case of the CUP, "Islam."

After Talaat's fall, Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler led empires. All claimed to be backed by domestic majorities—"the people," "the working class"—and to fight ruthless exploitation by foreign political, economical, and military powers that they saw allied to or in sympathy with domestic agents. In this way they justified systematic persecution of ostracized domestic groups. Ostracism happens in concrete, although deep-rooted,

contexts: Hitler became an almost total Jew-hater after World War I, Talaat a foremost political Armenian-hater after the First Balkan War. Exploitation of an industrial proletariat, victimhood of Caucasian and ex-Ottoman Muslims, and pervasive post-World War I misery in Germany and Italy were not only rhetorical but real. “Saviors” answered these realities, using stigmatized scapegoats to give easy explanations for the problems in society and to concentrate power rapidly and ruthlessly.

The Ottoman revolutionists born in the European belle époque did not long seek a modern consensual social contract. For them, ideology, loyalty, and the logics of a conspirational committee prevailed over law and rationality in domestic administration. This attitude, combined with war and genocide, led to a pervasive rupture in the Ottoman world. Atatürk’s “revolution” of the 1920s did not make a break from, but built on, the demolitionist groundwork of its predecessors. We might therefore understand party leader and minister Talaat as a prototypical revolutionist for the post-Ottoman world: a partisan statesman whose legacy is traceable not only in Turkey but also, for example, in Iraq’s and Syria’s Baath Parties. The challenging gap—from a committee-led empire to functioning democratic states that abstain from claims to any supremacy of religious or ethnic groups—is still not bridged.

Bridging a Post-Ottoman Century

Hamid Kapancızâde, a high functionary who had worked in the Ministry of the Interior when it was headed by Talaat, noted: “The affair [i.e., the administration] finally derailed, the grip was lost and the country faced ruin. I witnessed the Pasha [Grand Vizier Talaat, 1917–18] screaming once in despair and helplessness, but these tears did not touch me, because several times

he had preferred the hypocrisy and adulation of the [party] men to my vigorous complaints and warnings. The road that he pursued could not produce another outcome.” His rule “had preferred war to the life of the nation.”⁶⁶

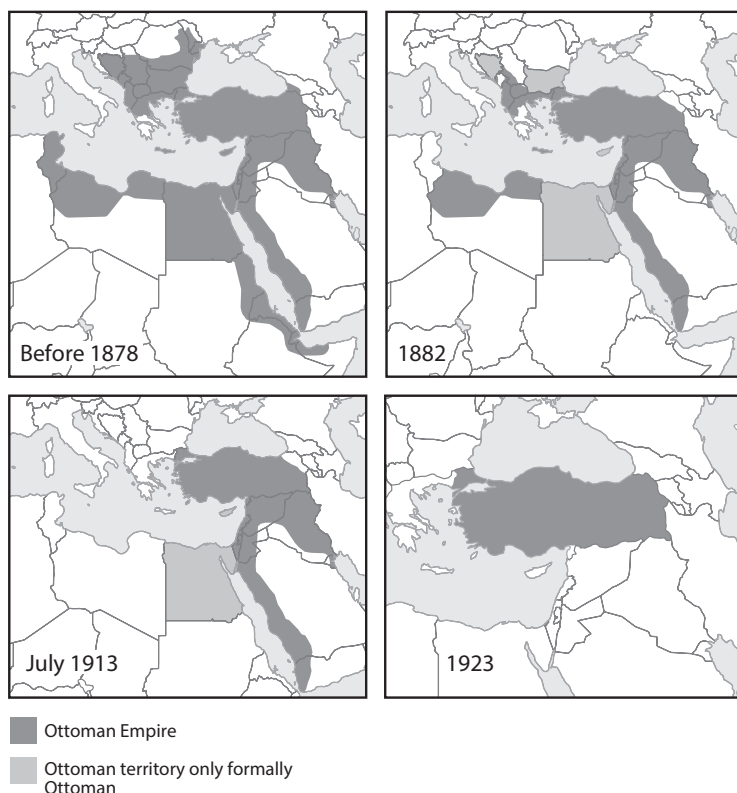
The Kemalists believed that Atatürk discarded the shortcomings of Talaat and the CUP. Yet Kemal Atatürk largely endorsed Talaat as his predecessor, not only *de facto* but also in his approving correspondence with him in 1919–20, when Talaat led Turkey’s anti-Entente agitation in Europe from his asylum in Berlin (see chap. 6). Atatürk therefore followed the former legacy and obeyed its logic to a considerable extent and relied on Talaat’s staff—although not on Hamid, an early dissident, but on young governors and devoted party members from Talaat’s “team.” This group accomplished a quite seamless transition of power from Istanbul to Ankara, thus perpetuating patterns, practices, and principles of governance across the country and across generations.⁶⁷ Even if Kemalist breaks of the 1920s (foremost, the adoption of a modern Western civil code, the break with sharia, and the refusal of political Islam) remain important, the Republic of Turkey was largely founded on Talaat’s groundwork and Gökalp’s ideas.

Kemalist Ankara abandoned the CUP’s imperial alliance with and dependence on Germany. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the later Atatürk, claimed distance from the CUP’s Islamism and cultural and political Muslim identity. The same is true for Ottoman imperial language. Talaat had mastered this largely artificial imperial idiom that was used in the administration, thanks to a long post-1908 apprenticeship in the parliament and the Ministry of the Interior. Evolved at the court and used in the official correspondence, this language mirrored the imperial hierarchy and effaced individual agency by frequent use of the passive voice. All in all, it emphasized a mighty autocratic state

and its sovereign. This understanding did not fundamentally change, either with the factual disempowerment of the sultan in 1909 or with the abolition of the sultanate-caliphate in 1922 and 1924. Kemal Atatürk's fundamental texts of the 1920s are still composed in imperial Ottoman language, and not in his "purified" republican Turkish or *Öz Türkçe*, which was otherwise problematic, because of his underlying belief in Turkish origins of human language and civilization.

Although there are no easy, direct lines, this biography intends to clarify the critical historical background of today's cataclysms in the Levant. The term "Ottoman cataclysm" is used to lend a novel approach to the last Ottoman decade and to place this era and its actors more firmly in the center, instead of the periphery, of a history of larger Europe. This study analyzes the Ottoman Empire's last dominant actor, his seminal alignments, and the centrality of the hub Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, in the catastrophe of larger Europe (or the "Old World," as seen from overseas). It emphasizes seminal Ottoman developments that, though little noticed, codetermined the last years of Europe's belle époque. The historical perspective changes considerably if World War I is investigated from the viewpoint of Istanbul and its policy options, which the radical top actors there could embrace. Contemporary Germans knew well that the Ottoman capital was "a hot spot of European policy" and that "any shift of the European balance of power there influenced the relationship of the Great powers."⁶⁸

This study delves into relevant historical context, insofar as it elucidates main points and strands of Talaat's biography, and into plots and factions, as far as they play a role in the larger context, leaving aside encyclopedic data, anecdotes, or epic analyses of internal CUP matters. It privileges the last and least-explored decade of Talaat and the CUP, starting in 1912, in which



MAP 1: The Ottoman Empire before 1878; after 1878; 1913–14 (Egypt was administered by Great Britain from 1878, but it was still Ottoman before November 1914; Libya was invaded by Italy in 1911); 1923 (in 1939, the region of Antakya and Alexandretta in Northwestern Syria was added to Turkey).

he emerged as the leader of the CUP after he had retrieved the party from its nadir on the eve of the Balkan Wars.⁶⁹ He emerged as a demolitionist builder of a “new Turkey” on shaky ground, and destruction and extermination, with Talaat at the helm, are given their due place in this volume. The documents that Talaat left behind, including his memoirs, leave no doubt that for the CUP’s signature “political animal,” the destruction

of the Armenians was crucial. Penetrating knowledge of “the brain and soul behind the persecution of Armenians” (in the words of German ambassador Paul Wolff-Metternich) is a must in terms of unmasking the truth concerning this genocide. War was Talaat’s matrix. He and his political friends had embraced it as a main apparatus of their politics from autumn 1912.

It is time to ponder and understand Talaat’s entire political biography, including its afterlife, and to overcome a hitherto fractionated and insufficient analysis of CUP rule in the 1910s. It is time to conceive of the 1910s and World War I beyond Eurocentric terms, bringing the Ottoman cataclysm into the framework of a larger Europe. We must see why generations of diplomats had come to believe that the 1923 Near East Treaty of Lausanne had solved the late Ottoman questions, although, endorsing Talaat’s legacy, it evidently failed to do so in a constructive way. Concluded by European victors of World War I and Turkish victors of the war for Asia Minor, not by all main groups involved, the Peace of Lausanne endorsed authoritarian rule and the “unmixing of population” according to religion. It seemed to have opened a new chapter for the post-Ottoman world, but instead it perpetuated patterns and principles of Talaat’s governance, even making them part of an attractive paradigm for law-breaking radical “solutions” far beyond Turkey.

INDEX

Muslim Ottomans, in general, did not have family names. They are in this index alphabetized by personal name: “Talaat,” “Enver,” “Cavid”; and, where more than one personal name were usual: “Ali Rıza,” “Ziya Gökalp” (not “Rıza, Ali,” “Gökalp, Ziya”). Little-used first personal names are given together with the frequent one in brackets, and generally used titles are added: “Talaat (Mehmed Talaat) Pasha.” Those Muslim Ottomans who survived into the Republic of Turkey and adopted a family name by the mid-1930s, as required by the newly introduced Swiss Civil Code, are alphabetized by family name: “Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal,” “Uzer, Hasan Tahsin.” To facilitate identification, at times the index makes cross-references, mentions alternative spellings, and includes titles or functions.

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