

Geopolitics, Social Crisis, and Revolution: The Uneven and Combined Origins of Revolutions in the Ottoman Middle East.

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This paper analyzes the interaction of international relations, crisis of social reproduction, and the origins of revolutions in the late Ottoman Empire, using the cases of the Young Turks Revolution (1908) and Arab Revolt (1916). It locates the long-term trajectory of these revolutionary episodes within (geo)political struggle over social reproduction both *between* and *within* political communities, mobilizing the framework of uneven and combined development, as developed in the discipline of international relations. The transformation of the Empire's position within the hierarchy of international relations, highlighted by a series of military defeat at the hands of European powers, triggered the crisis of the imperial order (*nizam-i alem*) and the social relations underpinning it, imposing a redefinition of the social basis of the imperial community based on the novel principle of an Ottoman Nation. Ottomanism represented an attempt by imperial elites at *combined* development, the importation of a foreign political subject, the nation, in the objective of redefinition of the political community underpinning the reproduction of the Empire. The struggle over the nature of this new form of collective identity, anchored within the class relations and changing property relations of the tributary imperial structure, gave birth to competing projects of nation-building, based on diverging principles of social legitimacy. It is within this nexus of geopolitical and social relations that I locate the origins and comparative trajectories of revolution in the Ottoman Middle East.