CHAPTER V
THE ERA OF SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II AND THE YOUNG TURKS; THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE EMERGENCE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL
The history of Ottoman Empire/Turkey serves as an interesting laboratory for testing various models of governing a predominantly Muslim society, but a pluralistic society with Christian and Jewish minorities, surrounded by Christian European countries, and trying to modernize itself to catch up with the West. The first ten sultans (Osman to Suleyman the Magnificent) were outstanding leaders who usually led their armies in person and during their two and a half century rule Ottoman Empire became the largest Empire in world history. Their armed forces and naval power and the great Ghazi spirit of their soldiers were superb. Things changed. Europe underwent modernization: scientific and philosophic revolution, the cultural and theological Enlightenment, the political and democratic revolution, and most importantly the technological and industrial revolution. The Ottoman society, as other Muslim societies, did not experience this thrust towards modernization and were outmatched by European modernity. Further, the calibre of sultans (in whom all power was centralized) had also generally gone down and there was internal decay. (After Suleyman the Magnificent, the Empire had 27 more sultans and the last one Abdul Majid II was only caliph – during their rule extending over three and a half centuries, 9 sultans were deposed, 1 was abdicated, 1 was murdered, 1 executed and the last who was just caliph exiled) Ottomans now started suffering military defeats and territorial losses. To meet the challenges of the West they had to borrow from the West and the process of reform on Western lines started. The previous chapters – chapter 1 to 4 – have dealt with the different modalities of reforms.
experimented by Ottomans. This chapter deals with some other modalities adopted by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the Young Turks and finally very sweeping reforms introduced by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The process is still going on. After Atatürk, secularism, though jealously guarded by the military, the Constitutional Court and other elites, religion is returning; secularism is under criticism; and it is being observed that the Kemalists had applied too European a standard to Turkey. Each reform effort in Turkey has provoked opposition. The problem is that an overwhelming majority of Ottomans/Turks is Muslim and the bed-rock on which an Islamic society stands is the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet SAW – the society has to conform them and not vice versa. There is scope for change and flexibility to meet new and unforeseen situations but within the framework of Sharia'h. Modernization of western style has to pass this test. The questions raised are: To what extent it is possible to graft principles of an alien system onto a Muslim society? Can a viable synthesis be achieved without sacrificing the fundamentals of the divine law? The task is challenging. The Ottomans formulated various ideologies from time to time during their long history and the struggle is still going on as will be evident from our discussion in the next chapter when we will examine Atatürk’s reforms.

**Ideological Transformation:**

Like all major social and political transformations, the Turkish transformation from a traditional to a modern society, necessitated an ideological base generating socio-political developments. Turkey provides a
distinctive model in the entire West Asian region in the sense that the socio-
political processes involving people's participation were initiated earlier in the
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Ottoman Empire. This particular
development gave rise to different ideas in response to different problems. In
this way, the ideology has remained a dominant socio-political force in Turkey,
particularly since the Young Ottoman Movement. Thus, the ideological trends
and forces created by them have contributed significantly to all major
developments in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire in every department, brought about
a new consciousness in the ruling class, which began to think in terms of
"reforms on the Western Model". As already discussed earlier, Sultan Selim
III (1789-1808) and Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) attempted planned and
large-scale westernization in the administration, military, judiciary and
commerce which were considered the initial stages of the process of
modernization in the Empire. Sultan Mahmud II was successful in destroying
the Janissaries completely, which reflected a significant victory for the
modernist intelligentsia against the conservative religious forces. These earlier
reforms prepared the way for the important period of reforms in the Ottoman
Empire known as the Tanzimat, which introduced the ideas of individual
freedom, State nationalism and democracy. Under the direct and indirect
impact of the processes of democratization and wider political-economic
consequences of the contact with the West, the Tanzimatists failed to pursue
their programme of modernization systematically according to their ideological
expectations. But these reforms made solid bases for future modernization. Another major development was the emergence of Young Ottomans, ushering in the liberal social-political ideas. The Young Ottoman ideology was the manifestation of a serious reaction and deep protest against the traditional as well as the Western extremes. The Young Ottomans were the first ideologues in the Empire in the sense that they tried to make the Western ideas of enlightenment as part of the Turkish reading public and to work out a synthesis between these ideas and Islam. The major components of the ideology of the Young Ottomans were patriotism, constitutionalism, Nationalism (with Islamic orientation), liberalism, freedom, and separation of state from religion.

The people who took over the cultural leadership of the community were Mehmed Bey, Halik Şerif, Mustafa Fazıl Paşa, Nuru Bey, Resat Bey, Ayatullah Bey, Refik Bey, İbrahim Sinasi, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Paşa, who were the members of the Young Ottoman society. Namık Kemal was an important writer of Young Ottomans. Throughout his life he opted for a programme of conscious change through modern technological advances which would create a new civilization that referred to the western industry, technology economy, press and education. The Young Ottomans failed to graft Western ideologies to the body politic of Islam, but they were successful in introducing new values to the Turks. The position changed (as the discussion below will bring out). During Sultan Abdul Hamid’s rule extending to over 30 years, the Young Ottoman movement was suppressed and got scattered. There was ideological shift towards pan-Islamism and autocracy with only lip-service
to constitutionalism forced upon by harsh and repressive methods, including censors, spies, police and exile. To counter this repressive rule, a revolt in 1908 brought a movement, called the Young Turk movement, which had a relatively short span of life and ended with World War I which also marks the end of Ottoman Empire and the birth of the Republic of Turkey in which the ideology of Kemalism, with its six arrows, was the dominant ideology. Although the legacy of Mustafa Kemal remains there, guarded by the military, the highest Constitutional Court, and other elites, a change is visible. It is being thought that the actions and policies of Mustafa Kemal were dictated by the perils of the time, in which he was in power, but times have changed and the solutions of the 1920s are not best suited to the problems and challenges of twenty-first century. All these ideologies from the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the post-Atatürk period are dealt with below in this chapter and in the next chapter. As we will see, the Ottoman Empire and what remains of it today as the Republic of Turkey offers an interesting testing laboratory of a number of ideologies.

**Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1878 – 1909) and the Young Turks: From Autocracy to Revolution**

After the Young Ottomans, Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1878-1908) was the central figure on the Turkish scene. He succeeded the two deposed sultans and was himself deposed after thirty-three years reign, the third longest in the history of the Ottoman dynasty. He started with a cautious mixture of reform and conservatism. He has been more harshly judged by western writers than
any other sultan. If he had developed a suspicious nature and distrust for others, which led him to concentrate power in his own hands, there were reasons (both internal and external) for that.\textsuperscript{10} In many respects his complex character was strikingly different from his predecessors. Austere and pious in his personal life, frugal rather than spendthrift, a teetotaller, physically and mentally healthy, an extremely hardworking person, an intelligent and impressive ruler, but a ruler who meant to save the Empire and improve it by ruling himself. He could be ruthless but "he was not gratuitously cruel or vindictive." He was dedicated to the survival of the Empire and welcomed all modernizing reforms which might strengthen its defences while maintaining personal despotism. He has certainly left his stamp on Ottoman history — "the stamp of one who was at the same time an autocrat, a repressor, a reformer, an Ottoman patriot, and a victim of circumstances."\textsuperscript{11}

The new sultan got busy with spadework for the promised constitution. Midhat Paşa chaired the commission charged with framing the constitution and four days before the promulgation of the constitution he was appointed grand vezir [But 6 weeks later he was exiled; later found guilty, along with several others, for the murder of Sultan Abdul Aziz and sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Taif, Hejaz, where he was murdered in 1884 on the orders of the sultan. Abdul Hamid had always mistrusted Midhat who had deposed two sultans]. It appeared that the aspirations of the Young Ottomans might at last be realized. As we have already observed in the previous two chapters, the young ottomans were not united in their objectives and methods, but their ideas could
be characterized as a defence of liberal values with Islamic roots in contrast to what they saw as the Tanzimat bureaucrats' imitation of western norms which had removed Ottoman political culture adrift from the Islamic roots. On December 23, 1876 (just three months after his accession), Sultan Abdul Hamid proclaimed an Ottoman Constitution – the first written constitution in Ottoman history – and created a parliament. The constitution provided for a council of ministers, an appointed senate, an elected chamber of deputies, an independent judiciary and a bill of rights. The sultan retained the power of approving legislation, appointing ministers, convoking or dismissing the chamber. He was declared to be the caliph (The title of caliph had been used by Ottoman sultans from the time of Selim I who was invested with this office by the last Abbasid incumbent.) Islam was declared the religion of state. Equality of all subjects was emphasized. The chamber held two sessions and when the parliament assumed some independence, the sultan dissolved it, but six months later he recalled it, hoping that in the continuing international crisis created by the Russian menace it would be more docile. But, once the Treaty of Berlin was concluded in January 1878, parliament renewed both its accusations against certain ministers of the sultan and its demand that they should appear before it to answer those charges. This time Sultan Abdul Hamid felt strong enough to dissolve parliament and suspend the constitution indefinitely. The suspension was to last for thirty years. The reform movement of young Ottomans was crushed and destroyed. Abdul Hamid was of the view that salvation could only be achieved by reversing the liberal and constitutional
developments introduced by Midhat Paşa and other young ottomans and by vesting all the powers in the sultanate which had passed to government and bureaucracy under Tanzimat reforms.

While Abdul Hamid had no sympathy for constitutionalism or democracy (his promise to promulgate the constitution might have been given just to gain the throne), he was not a reactionary. He was a modernizer rather than a westernizer. In the first decade of his rule there was acceleration of certain Tanzimat programmes. Considerable progress was made in the field of higher education, including the opening up of the University of Istanbul in 1900. There was also very significant development in the Empire’s communication and transportation. He succeeded, to some extent, in reinvigorating the failing Empire, but it was too little too late. The Empire was passing through very critical times: internal discontentment and nationalist uprisings and external threats from European powers bent upon crushing it. Further, the economy was in poor shape. Almost 30% of the annual expenditure of the state went towards servicing the public debt. While military and administrative expenditure rose to 60%, only about 5% of the annual budget was spent on public works, education, health, agriculture and trade. Much of the Ottoman European territory was lost when Ottomans had to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. Some modifications were later made in this treaty in 1878 at the Berlin Congress held under the chairmanship of the German Chancellor Bismarck but the damage had been done. The independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro were recognised, Austria was allowed to
occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria was divided into two provinces one of which, Eastern Rumelia, was allowed to remain a Turkish self-governing province. Turkey was a heavy loser, but something had been saved which led Bismarck to comment, “There is once again Turkey in Europe”. However, for Sultan Abdul Hamid the Treaty of Berlin was a conspiracy against the Ottoman Empire and Islam. Under its terms, the Empire lost 8% of its territory—much of it rich and productive—and almost 20% of its population. Almost 4.5 million people, mostly Christians no more remained Ottoman subjects. There was influx of Muslim refugees from Caucasus, the Crimea, Kazan and Azerbaijan. Three-quarters of state population was now Muslim and Abdul Hamid thought that a new basis for the loyalty of the state was needed. So he supported the formulation of a new and more relevant ideological principle. He took the latent notion of Ottoman sultan as caliph and refashioned it to command the allegiance of not just his own people but of all Muslims. He did not like wholesale adoption of Western-style reforms and he also was not inclined towards “ottomanism” or Tanzimat secularism; he laid stress on Islamic heritage and favoured pan-Islamism consistent with his assertion of the position of caliph. This was perhaps the only way to secure his endangered Empire. We find numerous examples in Islamic history where sultans/rulers have used Islam for their own political ends and did everything they could to take the wind out of the sails of the critics of their reforms.

As noted above, external events in the early years of Abdul Hamid’s rule were unfortunate as Turkey lost its European territories at the Treaty of Berlin.
In 1881 France occupied Tunis, making it a protectorate; next year Britain occupied Egypt; in 1885 autonomous Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia. Besides these losses, the growing nationalist feelings amongst non-Turkish groups were another source of trouble. It was the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Armenians more advanced in self-consciousness than the Arabs and Albanians who caused greatest headache to the sultan. Abdul Hamid, however, ruthlessly suppressed nationalist separatist movements, notably Armenian nationalist agitation and uprising in Crete in 1897. Armenian revolutionary groups, supported by foreign powers, were a serious menace and Abdul Hamid suppressed these insurgents in a series of brutal massacres in which about 3,00,000 Armenian are said to be killed. He employed the so-called Hamidiye regiments of irregular Kurdish frontier forces against the Armenians. Abdul Hamid’s repressive measures increased. And this gave rise to Young Turk Movement.

**The Era of the Young Turks (1908 – 1918) and the Revolt of 1908**

The real rebellion against Abdul Hamid came from a wholly different source, which lay much closer to Istanbul. The most important and effective reforms which Abdul Hamid had taken over from his predecessors was the improvement and expansion of education, including military education. This had produced a sizeable number of educated middle class. The Young Ottomans (already discussed in previous chapters) who wished to end the sultan’s despotism were disorganised and disunited and were effectively scattered and suppressed in the first years of Abdul Hamid’s reign, but their
ideals survived and re-emerged towards the end of the century in a revolutionary movement known as the Young Turks. This spread rapidly among the students in the military, medical and law colleges in the capital and provinces. In the year 1889, some students of the military medical college founded a secret society which aimed to restore the constitution and parliament. The society was discovered, however, and those of its members who evaded arrest fled to Paris where they continued their opposition to the Sultan. Resistance to Abdul Hamid’s rule coalesced in 1894 when a variety of underground factions adopted the umbrella name “Committee of Union and Progress” (CUP), popularly known as the ‘Young Turks’. Their ideal of unity and equality of all races and creeds within the Empire attracted the support of other groups who were against the policies of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Links were established with the Turkish exiles in Paris. Thus, the Young Turks movement comprised three separate protest groups:

1. An exile community of long standing, existing in Paris, Geneva from the time of Young Ottomans. Members of the royal family, including Prince Sabahuddin, a nephew of sultan, joined the opposition in Paris and organised a congress in 1902 which was followed by a second congress held in Paris in 1907 under the presidency of Ahmed Riza, Sabahuddin and others,

2. A group of students and discontented civil servants, and

3. A coalition of disaffected army officers stationed in Ottoman Europe. A group of officers of Third Army stationed in Salonika staged a revolt in
the summer of 1908 demanding the restoration of the constitution with a threat that if the sultan does not act they would march to Istanbul and restore the constitution themselves.

The Sultan conceded this demand and on July 24, 1908, the Constitution again came into effect. Elections to the new Parliament were held; CUP candidates won a majority of the seats; and Sultan Abdul Hamid II opened a bi-cameral parliament on 17 December 1908, which he had dissolved thirty years ago. (Ahmed Riza, sultan’s critic during two decades in exile was elected president of the Chamber). In spring 1909 a counterrevolution broke out against the new government. The soldiers invaded the Chamber, ousted the CUP-installed government and took control of Istanbul. It was led by common soldiers and theological students in Istanbul. This time the Third Army directly intervened; General Mahmud Shevket Paşa and his Army marched into Istanbul from Salonika and suppressed the revolt. Abdul Hamid was accused of fomenting this trouble and the chamber decided to remove him from office. (What an irony of fate? At the beginning of his reign Abdul Hamid had convened the chamber of deputies and then dismissed it; at the end of his reign he had again convened the chamber, and it dismissed him). A four-member Parliamentary delegation consisting of Aram Efendi, an Armenian, Karasu Efendi, a Jew, and two Muslims, Arif Hikmat Paşa and Esad Paşa arrived at the palace and announced that ‘the people’ had deposed the sultan. The constitution neither provided for the deposition of a sultan nor recognised the principle that sovereignty lay with the people: parliament, therefore, did not
have sole power to remove the sultan. However, the constitution provided Islam to be the religion of the state – so Islam could still be used to sanction the actions of those directing the state. So the juridical opinion of sheikhul Islam was obtained and the parliamentary delegation that went to see the sultan had this opinion with them. The counter-coup was almost bloodless, but the CUP retribution was ruthless. More than eighty persons, including 50 soldiers, 2 Paşas, and the editor of Volkan newspaper and members of sultan’s household were hanged. Many were imprisoned and sent for hard labour. There were repercussions of this also. Abdul Hamid II was exiled to Salonika, the birthplace of revolution, and replaced as sultan by his younger brother, Resad, as Sultan Mehmet V (1909-1918), who was just a figurehead.

Unlike the Young Ottomans, the Young Turks did not have much interest in political theories – their approach to government was practical and empirical and their overriding aim was to strengthen the Empire’s defences. If the Young Turks paid tributes to the French Revolution it was because they believed that slogan of “liberty, equality and fraternity” had welded the French people into a united force which overwhelmed the opponents of the Revolution. They thought that all Ottomans whatever their religion or creed would behave in the same way. Zia Gokalp was an ideologist who advocated the pan-Turanism movement which called for the union of all Turkish speaking people. The CUP did not adopt this pan-Turanism programme, though some of its leading figures like Enver Bey were attracted to it. The dominant outlook of the CUP was secular and nationalist rather than pan-Islamic'.
unsuccessful counter-coup (for which Abdul Hamid was blamed), the CUP was in full control of the Empire. They invoked death penalty more frequently than Abdul Hamid. Many members of the new parliament who favoured constitutional government and some degree of decentralization feared that the CUP was proving even more despotic in its methods than Abdul Hamid. The Empire was now being effectively ruled by a triple dictatorship of Enver, Talat and Jamal Paşa. By 1914 the CUP had ruled the Empire for just six years.

Young Turks’ greatest achievement was in the field of education. They were the first rulers of an independent Muslim country to create a state education system for girls which earlier were confined to the daughters of the wealthy classes. Turkish women could enter public life as lawyers, doctors, administrators etc.

Some important measures were taken by the CUP government which not only had an immediate transforming impact but had important long term effects on the future development of the Turkish Republic. The CUP’s attempt to break the Empire’s economic dependence on foreigners was an important change, particularly at a time when Empire’s trade and investments were in the hands of firms of countries at war with the Empire. In 1914, the CUP renounced the Capitulations, introduced protective tariffs, brought foreign enterprises under Ottoman control and levied Ottoman taxes. Government contracts were now given to Muslim entrepreneurs.

Westernization had stepped up during Young Turk rule. Secularism also increased. By an amendment in the constitution in August 1909 Sultan’s
powers to dissolve the chamber was severely curtailed. The grand vezir now appointed the ministers and the cabinet was collectively responsible to the parliament for its actions along western European lines. Freedom of speech and freedom of press were being availed of. After an incident in 1913 when Enver, the hero of 1908 revolt shot dead the Minister of War, the CUP controlled the government, transformed itself into a political party and set up its branches in provincial towns. But the shift was towards authoritarianism rather than democracy and it was now clear that the army officers are now going to stay in politics.

Enver's wrong decision to side with Germany in World War I proved disastrous for the Empire. The Young Turk era ended in the chaos of defeat. In November 1918, the CUP dissolved itself. Some 120 persons, including wartime cabinet ministers and top CUP functionaries, faced trial for Armenian massacres and deportation before a military tribunal set up under orders of Sultan Mehmed VI at the behest of Allies. The tribunal concluded that the deportations were engineered by the CUP central committee. Various punishments were given to those found guilty, including Talat, Jamal, Enver and four other CUP leaders who had all fled Istanbul and were found guilty in absentia and sentenced to death. Although the CUP was officially defunct, some of its members had continued their activities. Its former leaders met in 1923 and brought out a manifesto in which they offered cooperation with Mustafa Kemal which the latter rejected. An attempt on Mustafa Kemal's life in 1926 provided him a pretext to rid himself of all the remnants of the old
CUP. The tribunal which tried the accused found that the 1923 meeting of the CUP leaders was the origin of the assassination plot and in this way the leading members of the CUP were executed.

Taking a short term view, the Young Turk regime failed, but in the long run “it not only transmitted to the future the progress made during the preceding 100 years, but also contributed to the institutional, ideological, and social development that underlay the emergence of the modern Turkish nation and Turkish republic.”

During this critical period in Turkish history emerged Mustafa Kemal. As a young officer he had been involved in the Young Turk movement before the 1908 revolt. He had also been a member of the CUP but then stayed away from that organisation after 1909 and he did not like its leader Enver. Mustafa Kemal wanted Ottoman Empire to remain neutral in World War I but it was Anwar, the War Minister, who pushed Turkey to enter the war on German side. When Turkey suffered defeat, Enver along with others who were dominating the CUP fled away and it was left to Mustafa Kemal to create modern Turkey from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The remaining part of this chapter and the next chapter now deal with this legendary hero.

The First World War and the Emergence of Mustafa Kemal:

The assassination of Austrian heir-apparent Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo by a young student, armed and briefed by a secret Serbian terrorist organization on 28th June 1914, led to Austria’s invasion of Serbia. This
triggered World War I with Britain, France and Russia pitted against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The majority of CUP leaders favoured a policy of neutrality but some of them within the government thought that it was a good opportunity to strike at Russia, the traditional enemy of Ottomans. Enver Paşa entered into a secret alliance with Germany and when Ottoman fleet bombarded several Russian ports on Black Sea, the Ottoman Empire entered the War.

In Sofia Mustafa Kemal strongly argued against Turkey’s entry into the war siding with Germany. He said that if Germany lost the war Turkey would lose everything. Mustafa Kemal did not like Anwar Paşa and also disliked and mistrusted the Germans; he was unsure of their capacity to win. However, when Turkey did enter the War, Mustafa Kemal threw himself into the war with his full energy and in a patriotic spirit. The first few months of the war proved disastrous for Turkey. Few days later, Mustafa Kemal decided to leave Sofia, despite orders to the contrary and was even ready to enlist himself as an ordinary soldier. However, just before departure he received a telegram from Anwar Paşa’s deputy, Ismail Haqi Paşa, at the Ministry of war, appointing Kemal as a commander of the nineteenth Division on 2nd February, 1915, with instructions to report to Constantinople. When Kemal reached there, he was met by Limon Von Sanders, chief of the German military mission in Istanbul, whose offices were in the Ministry of War. After a long discussion between Kemal and Sanders, on the war strategy, Kemal was posted and he established his headquarters of the nineteenth division at Maidos, Gallipoli Peninsula, on
25th February, 1915. Kemal had just a month in which to organize his troops before the Allies attacked.

**The Hero of Gallipoli Operations (1915-1916): The Emergence of Mustafa Kemal:**

Mustafa Kemal knew the Gallipoli Peninsula from his operations against the Bulgarians in Balkan war. He had strong opinions about its defence, which conflicted with those of his fellow staff officers. Thereafter Kemal discussing these tactics with Rauf, who was as a naval officer? Rauf agreed with Kemal's opinions.

As dawn broke on 25th April 1915 the allied troops landed in force, as Kemal had guessed, on two groups of beaches - the British at Cape Helles and Australians and New Zealander north of Gaba Tepe. This was accompanied by a raid by the French on the Asiatic coast and a demonstration by the Royal Naval Division at Bulair. Some 60,000 Australians and 18,000 New Zealanders were part of a larger British force.

When Mustafa Kemal received a report that a “small enemy force” was advancing up its western slope to the southerly crest of Chunuk Bair then he knew that the Chunuk Bair was the key to the entire Turkish defence. Its capture would enable the enemy to dominate all sides of the Peninsula. A single battalion would be totally insufficient to hold it. The whole of his division would be needed. Meanwhile Kemal, once again without authority, had ordered a second regiment composed of Arab troops into the line to
reinforce the first. Then he rode back to corps headquarters at Midos to report to Asad Paşa and urged upon him the necessity for an all-out attack with every man available. Asad agreed with his appreciation, approved of his actions and handed over to him the remaining regiment of the nineteenth Division, thus putting him in command of the whole Sari Bair front.

Kemal himself spent the night without sleep, riding over the whole front, trying to obtain information and giving orders for the following day. Kemal’s surviving troops were exhausted and his new units were unused to the region. The naval bombardment had demoralized all. His force for the moment was spent. After severe naval and land battles, he drove the enemy back. Colonel Mustafa Kemal emerged as the hero of the war. He had held the heights, which he had seen to be the key to the peninsula. By his commanding ability, timely action, bold and courageous leadership, he saved the Turks from a defeat which might well have opened the road to Istanbul. Thus Chunuk Bair was captured by the Turks. For the first time Turks had won a victory against a European power, and also first time Mustafa Kemal’s name barely mentioned in the newspaper. In 1916 Mustafa Kemal was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and elevated as Paşa by the Turkish government. Both sides’ suffered heavy losses. Some 26,000 Australians and 7571 New Zealanders were wounded and 7594 Australians and 2431 New Zealanders were killed. The Ottoman losses were terrible: some 80,000 dead and 1,65,000 wounded.
Life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881 – 1938):

Mustafa Kemal, the father of modern Turkish Republic, was the charismatic leader of the Turkish Liberation Movement. He was a distinguished Turkish soldier, reformer and statesmen. He was the founder and First President of the Turkish Republic, was born at Salonika (now Thessalonica, Greece) on March 12, 1881, in a modest family of Ottoman Muslims. His parents were Ali Reza and Zubaida Khanam. He lost his father at an early age. He received his early education under the guardianship of his mother Zubeda Khanam. His mother wanted to raise Mustafa Kemal as a pious scholar, but he was differently interested. He reminded his mother that his father had given him a sword at birth, a sign that he wanted his only son to join the military. He spoke to his mother in a dramatic way: “I was born as a soldier” and that “I shall die as a soldier”. At the age of twelve years, he entered the military school at Salonika. There he excelled. Mathematics was his favourite subject and because of his quality performance, his teacher complimented him with an honorary title of “Kemal” (perfection). After completing secondary education, he entered the Military Training School at Manastir (in Yugoslavia) in 1895. On March 13th, 1899; he entered the Military Academy in Istanbul, from where he graduated with honours. On January 11th, 1905; he passed his diploma as Staff Captain from the Military Staff Academy, and soon after he posted to Fifth Army at Damascus, in Syria. During these days he also took keen interest in politics. He was especially
influenced by Namık Kemal, and other Turkish poets. But he did not allow his new political interests to interfere with his military education.  

During his student life, he joined a nationalistic student society known as "Vatan" or "Fatherland" and he became its head. On July 24th, 1908, Mustafa Kemal joined the "Committee for Union and Progress" (CUP), and played an active part in the "Young Turk Movement", which forced Abdul Hamid II to restore the constitution of 1876 and recall Parliament. Mustafa Kemal devoted all his time and energy to his profession as he was a born soldier and leader. By his hard labour and ability he was promoted to the rank of Major on November 27, 1911. On October 27, 1913, he was sent to Sofia, where he acquired a good knowledge of western civilization, and in 1916 he was promoted Brigadier General of the Turkish Army.

As a Staff Officer his work was soon appreciated. Between 1905 and 1918, he obtained with merit, superior grades in the Military Hierarchy. He showed exceptional qualities of organisation and control while at the head of the Army. He was an outstanding general and army commander who led his armies successfully at various war fronts. He represented Turkish Armed Forces at several military manoeuvres in Europe. In 1911 he fought against Italians in Tripoli to defend Ottoman Libya, and in 1914 he was Military Attaché in Sofia. During the First World War he fought against the British and Russian forces.

At the end of World War I, Mustafa Kemal played a leading role in defending Turkey against the Allied powers. After his appointment as Inspector
General of the Armies in 1919, he made up his mind to fight for the total National Independence of Turkey. He started preparations for the war of National Independence from Samsun, a port on the Black Sea Coast. He stated his aim very clearly "This country, under all circumstances, will become modern, civilized and innovative". He wanted to establish a compact nation, and a prosperous, modern state to be respected by all other nations of the world. He also believed that this could be achieved if the nation was prepared for a new struggle.

Modern Turkish history may be said to begin on the morning of May 19, 1919, with Mustafa Kemal’s landing at Samsun on the Black Sea Coast of Anatolia. He told a cheering crowd that the Ottoman Sultan was a prisoner of Allied Powers and that he wanted to prevent the nation from slipping through the fingers of its people. This was his message to the Turks of Anatolia. Through the medium of congresses which he launched at Erzurum (23rd July – 6th August, 1919) and at Sivas (4th – 13th September, 1919) he demanded National Independence and unity of Turkey. At both congresses Mustafa Kemal was elected as a President. On 23rd April, 1920, he assembled the First Grand National Assembly (GNA) at Ankara, which elected him President. For his decisive role in military campaigns, especially against Greeks, the Grand National Assembly bestowed on him the title of Gazi and rank of Marshal, on 19th September, 1921.

After the attainment of National independence in the Lausanne conference (20th November, 1922 – 24th July, 1923), Mustafa Kemal’s main
activities focussed on reforms aimed at modernizing the Nation. He abolished the Sultanate in 1922 and founded a new Party in 1923, known as the Peoples Republican Party. On 11th August, 1923, he assembled the Second Grand National Assembly, the majority of whose members belonged to the Peoples Party. On 29th October, 1923, Turkey proclaimed a Republic and Mustafa Kemal became its first President and remained in that post until his death in 1938. The caliphate as well as all theocratic institutions was abolished in 1924. After assuming the power he declared that he would destroy those vestiges of Islam in the life of Turkish Nation which blocked the way to progress of the country. Mustafa Kemal wanted to give the Turks the opportunity to build a new Turkey.

On becoming the President of the newly formed Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal introduced a programme of reforms in the religious, social, cultural, political, and economic and almost all the fields in order to improve the life of his people. He established secular schools of western style. The whole Ottoman legal system was modernised, a new civil and penal code was adopted. Adoption of International calendar and time, adoption of Latin alphabet, law changing the situation of women in economic and social life (right to vote and be elected) are some of his main reforms. Atatürk’s guide in life was science. His views on education were “required generations which were absolutely free in thought, conscience and education”. He declared Sunday as legal holiday.
The basic idea and spiritual and intellectual aspect of Atatürk’s views were based on universal Peace. All his life he considered war as a crime. According to him, war was justified, however, as an instrument to defend justice. It is in the light of this belief, that Atatürk formulated the most essential principle of the Republic of Turkey: “Peace at home, and peace in the world”.

While President of the Turkish Republic he first himself renounced the titles of Gazi and Paşa, and chose a name Atatürk. In this way he became Atatürk, or Father of the Turks. On 10th November, 1938, he died of cirrhosis of liver disease caused by alcoholism.

The Emergence of Mustafa Kemal:

The Young Turks rule got involved in a series of wars including World War I. They failed to save Ottoman Empire because of the internal conflict and the beginning of the First World War. This was the very crucial period for the Ottoman Empire. Neighbouring countries wanted to crush the Ottoman Empire and annex its territories. In the war the Ottoman Empire disintegrated and it was close to being wiped off from the map of the World when Mustafa Kemal started the resistance movement.

As a boy gloomy, rebellious, unpopular Mustafa Kemal became a soldier, joined the secret revolutionary society of the Young Turks, and later joined the “committee for Union and Progress” in 1908. He did not take an active part in the policies or practices of the Young Turks who had control of the government. His defence of Gallipoli won him national acclaim. He
devoted all time and energy to his profession as he was a born soldier and leader. By his hard labour and ability he was promoted to the rank of major, and in 1916 he became Brigadier of the Turkish army.

Mustafa Kemal took part in overthrowing the corrupt regime of the Sultans. When their leader Anwar Paşa proclaimed a Parliamentary Constitution, at this juncture Mustafa Kemal disagreed with Anwer Paşa’s policy, especially his association with Germany; he concentrated on soldiering, and distinguished himself by his brilliant tactic at Gallipoli.

Mustafa Kemal emerged from World War I as a Brigadier General. He was one of the youngest and outstanding commanders among the fighting soldiers and accorded prestige and popularity at home. Yet the finality of their defeat faced the Turks with the problem of preserving their very existence against the victorious Allies, who were bent upon dismembering what remained of the Empire. Mustafa Kemal resisted this with great courage and though he could not recapture the territories lost he stopped further dismemberment and thus assumed decisive military and political leadership. His conviction was that a nation’s right to full independence is fought for, not granted - a postulate central to the National Struggle of 1919 – 1922 and demanding the absolute loyalty of the professional soldiers to it.

When the Allies carved up the Ottoman Empire, Kemal rallied the remnants of the Turkish army and created a Turkish Republic, proclaiming himself President. His numerous reforms, radical, imaginative and genuinely democratic in intention, were dedicated to reviving, in new terms, the patriotic
spirit of the Turkish people, and in a little period he transformed his country into a strong, efficient and respected western power.

The First World War sealed the fate of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the First World War, Mustafa Kemal played a leading role in defending Turkey against the Allied powers that were much eager to dismember the Turkish Empire. By thwarting these sinister designs and whipping up the enthusiasm of the masses to fight to the death for their country, he became a national hero. Mustafa Kemal’s aim was to safeguard the independence of Turkey within its natural frontiers. He wanted to establish a compact nation, and modern state respected by all other nations of the World. He also believed that this could be achieved if the nation was prepared for a new struggle.

The Struggle for National independence:

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, the Armistice was signed between Turkey and Britain at Mudros on 30th October, 1918. According to this agreement the Turkish troops surrendered their arms. Soon after most of the leaders and supporters of the Union and Progress were arrested. Anwer Paşa and Jamal dismissed from the army in 1919. Both of them found an eventual refuge in Russia, and later they were assassinated. The condition of Ottoman Empire was miserable. The sultan and other leaders had become a puppet of the Allies who now ruled. Total administrative control was in the hands of the British. The Sultan was ready to accept any thing that the Allies chose to impose on them. The Muslim Turks were replaced by the Christians in most of the local government’s functionary.
The Armistice, for Mustafa Kemal was not an end. It was a beginning. Undefeated in battle he was more than ever undefeated in spirit. Now there would be peace of a kind. But he knew that a just peace would have to be fought for, and that the struggle would be hard and long. He began to face himself as a leader in this struggle.\(^{40}\)

Events developed at a fast pace. The Peace Conference, assembled in Paris in January 1919, where Greece claimed Smyrna. On 15\(^{th}\) May, 1919, despite all warnings and protests, twenty thousand Greek troops landed at Smyrna, which aroused immediate resentment throughout Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal was appointed Inspector – General of Ninth and later Third Army in Anatolia on 30\(^{th}\) April, 1919. Soon he landed at the Black Sea port of Samsun in northern Anatolia on 19\(^{th}\) May, 1919.

Thus, four days after the Greeks had set up their standard of conquest on the shores of the Aegean, Mustafa Kemal set up his standard of liberation on the shores of the Black Sea of Anatolia. The Battle for Anatolia was about to begin. With this, a new chapter had been opened in the history of the Turkish people.\(^{41}\)

The government and Mustafa Kemal held different objectives arising out of the political condition of the country:

i) Sultan and his government in Istanbul whose aim was to preserve and save the monarchy.
ii) Mustafa Kemal and his followers in Anatolia whose aim was to unite the whole army and the Nation of the Ottoman Empire through the ideas of Secularism and nationalism.\(^4^2\)

Later Mustafa Kemal issued the “Declaration of Independence” at Amasya on 21\(^{st}\) June 1919. He made up his mind to fight for the total independence of Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal who now embarked on the crucial phase of himself and his country’s career was a seasoned and self–confident campaigner, who had proved himself as an outstanding soldier in fourteen years of hard service. He had now to prove himself as an able politician and statesman.

Secret within him was the hint of an extra dimension, of a singularity of tempo and rhythm and scale which outranged the companions around him. It was this “extra dimension” in Kemal that his friends needed and valued at this initial stage of the national struggle which they all had at heart.

So the Kemalist Revolution was born. The four friends who had planned it in Istanbul now met together, here in Amasya, to draft its “Declaration of Independence”. Ali Fuad and Rauf were the first to arrive, and Refet joined them the next day. Kazim Karabekir was informed of their arrival by telegram. Mustafa Kemal now disclosed his intentions.\(^4^3\)

**The Erzurum Congress:**

Before the Sivas congress was called, the “Society for Defence of the Rights “of the eastern provinces had arranged a regional meeting to be held in
Erzurum, under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal, on 23rd July to 6th August, 1919, in response to the threat of further Armenian aggression in the east. A few days later Istanbul government ordered Kazim Karabekir to arrest Kemal and Rauf, but Kazim refused and instead declared his own revolt as well as his acceptance of Kemal’s leadership.44

From Erzurum Mustafa Kemal was launching its political programme. In his opening speech to the congress he laid down the twin principles which were to become the foundations of the revolutionary programme.

i) The Rights of the Nation; and

ii) The Will of the people.

The Erzurum congress prepared a draft version of a declaration which was later to be known as the National Pact. The Pact was circulated in the form of a manifesto throughout the country, and to the representatives of foreign powers. It was with some justification that Kemal told the assembly that it had “passed serious resolutions and had proved in the face of the whole world the existence and the unity of the Nation”.

As the Erzurum congress ended a telegram arrived at army headquarters, from the Minister of War.

After Erzurum congress, next was the Sivas congress. This was the most crucial stage in the foundation of the Turkish Resistance Movement.45
The Sivas Congress:

The second most important congress opened on 4th September at Sivas under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal. The Sivas congress was to raise the National counsels from the local to the National plane. This conference was attended by the delegates not only from East but also from all over the Nation. The main aim of this Nationalist congress was to fulfil all the decisions taken in the conference of the Erzurum congress, and it also sought confirmation of the National Pact. Mustafa Kemal established the Representative committee for the Defence of Eastern Asia Minor.

Mustafa Kemal sent a telegram to the Sultan asking him to dismiss the Prime Minister and to call for a new election to the Ottoman Parliament. This time Sultan proceeded to do so. As a result of nationalists demand and pressure the new grand vezier was instructed by the “Ministry of Conciliation”, to hold early elections for a new parliament. Soon after Grand vezier called election on 7th November, 1919, in which Kemal and his supporters won the clear majority.

The new Ottoman Parliament met in Istanbul on 16th January, 1920. This was the first parliament with a Kemalist majority; it survived for a bare two months. For the Allies at once showed their hand. On 16th March 1920, the British forces captured Istanbul. The British realised that it would be hard to cope with the decisions of such a parliament and so they arrested the deputies and many nationalist supporters who were deported to Malta. The Sultan was forced to denounce the nationalists. Shaykh al- Islam declared that
the whole nationalist movement was against Islam. On this issue Mustafa Kemal gathered in a holy place of Anatolia, and they issued a counter–fetva denouncing the Shaykh al-Islam. In the protest against the arrest and deportation Mustafa Kemal immediately ordered the arrest of all remaining British officers in Anatolia. Soon after Mustafa Kemal dissolved the Parliament on 11th April, 1920, and called for a new election. So the nationalists established the First Grand National Assembly in Ankara on 23rd April, 1920, in which Mustafa Kemal was elected its President.

With the creation of the Grand National Assembly, there were virtually two governments in Turkey, but the more powerful and popular one was the nationalist government in Ankara. Mustafa Kemal made excellent use of the opportunities which presented themselves. After the war, the French had much larger economic investments in Turkey than the British. At this time French bondholders were afraid that the Turkish nationalists might cancel all debts the way the Bolsheviks had done. The Italians were not satisfied with the coming of the Greeks. Both France and Italy wanted to gain as much as they could without going to war, and they did not mind wounding Britain in the process.

In June 1921 the French government sent M. Franklin–Bouillon to Ankara, whose mission was to explain the terms of a separate agreement between France and Turkey, Franklin and Mustafa Kemal talked freely with each other, Kemal insisting on the National Pack, Franklin on the Treaty of Sevres. But the gap was gradually narrowed, and in due course Franklin was able to return home with an optimistic report for the French government. Later
Franklin came back to Ankara and signed an agreement with Mustafa Kemal on 20th October, 1921, amidst strong protests from Britain. Thus Ankara agreement came to be known as Turco-French Treaty.

This agreement gave the Turks all they needed. It allowed for the evacuation of Cecilia, an adjustment of frontiers to Turkey’s advantage between Cecilia and Syria, and the establishment of a special regime in Alexandretta to safeguard the interests of the Turkish population. In return the French obtained the economic concessions.

On the French side the agreement represented a realistic move to reduce unpopular military commitments and to strengthen their position in Syria, where their true Middle Eastern interests lay. Now they handed over to the Nationalists large stocks of arms, including creusot guns, and other war materials, this went far to redress the military balance between Turks and Greeks.54

During the Turco-French treaty in 1921, the Italians had also revised the Treaty of Sevres signed in 1920, in the light of the new situation. The Italians had reached a friendly agreement with Nationalist government, by which Italy would support Turkey’s territorial claims in return for similar economic privileges over a wide area of southern and western Anatolia.55

The most important supporter of Mustafa Kemal was the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks were involved in a civil war of their own and were not in a position to give military assistance to Mustafa Kemal. But his friendship with Lenin’s government was good for Turkish morale and secured them from east’s
attack. When the nationalist army under the Grand Kiazim Bekir captured Kars from the Armenians on 28th September, 1920, the Bolsheviks welcomed it. On 3rd December, 1920, they officially surrendered Kars, Ardahan, and a large portion of eastern Asia Minor to the Turks. Few months later Mustafa Kemal signed a treaty of friendship and collaboration with Soviet Union against the western powers on 16th March, 1921, which is known as the Turco - Russian Treaty or the Treaty of Moscow.

Same year the Grand National Assembly bestowed on Mustafa Kemal the title of “Gazi” and rank of “Marshal” (on 19th September, 1921) for his decisive role in military campaigns – especially against Greeks.

**The War between Turkey and Greeks:**

The Greeks were under the care of the British and were used by them as an agent to defeat the plans of Mustafa Kemal’s forces. The Allies wanted to establish their power in Asia Minor and also take control of Istanbul. So they used Greeks for their own benefit. The Greek forces landed in Smyrna on the western shore of Asia Minor on 15th May, 1919, with Allied approval.

British plans for the control of the Ottoman state were blocked by the resistance of Mustafa Kemal. During 1921; the British authorities had been divided into two camps, one supporting the Greeks and the other supporting the Turks. The diplomats were generally pro-Greek, especially Prime Minister Lloyd George who wanted to help the Greeks to destroy Mustafa Kemal. The Soldiers and many of the British people were generally pro-Turk, who had
just finished a long and bloody war and were in no mood to fight against the nationalists in Turkey, because the public opinion in England was that they did not support fighting against a people who were demanding self-determination.

Between, 22\textsuperscript{nd} June – 9\textsuperscript{th} July, 1920, the Greek army advanced into Anatolia from Smyrna and captured Bursa; it advanced slowly until it reached near Ankara in 1922. Between, 26\textsuperscript{th} August – 9\textsuperscript{th} September, the Turks were able to launch an offensive under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal; within two weeks the Nationalist forces defeated Greeks and captured Smyrna, and Greeks were thrown back to the Sea. The Greeks' dream was shattered and Mustafa Kemal moved toward Istanbul.\textsuperscript{59}

On 23\textsuperscript{rd} September, 1922, The Nationalist forces entered Neutral Zone at Chanak. After a long crisis at Chanak, a peace conference took place at Mudanya on 3\textsuperscript{rd} October, 1922; Kemal appointed Ismet as his delegate. At the end of the peace conference an agreement was made on the basis of Armistice between Allies and Nationalist Government. Mustafa Kemal had won his battle. This ended the Chanak’s crisis.\textsuperscript{60}

Soon after the military victory against the Greeks and the political victory against the British, the Grand National Assembly\textsuperscript{61} accepted the demand of Mustafa Kemal proposing the abolition of the Sultanate.

On a proposal for a nominal vote Mustafa Kemal rose and said, “I believe that the Assembly will unanimously adopt the principles which will for ever preserve the independence of the country and the nation.” The chairman
put it to vote and on 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1922 Mustafa Kemal obtained vote abolishing the sultanate.\textsuperscript{62}

The Grand National Assembly deposed Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin, and sent him into exile. His cousin, Abdul Mejid, the eldest surviving male of the dynasty, was designated as a caliph. This was the last act in the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{63}

**The Lausanne Conference and Treaty:**

On 20\textsuperscript{th} November, 1922, opening of Peace Conference at Lausanne Turkey was represented by Ismet Paşa, later known as Inonu. Britain was represented by Lord Curzon.\textsuperscript{64} Many issues were discussed in the Conference, such as straits issue, Mosul issue and capitulations issue. The main issue was the oil rich provinces of Mosul, which the Turks demanded, but Lord Curzon did not want to surrender.

After a stormy session the Lausanne Conference was suspended, without agreement, on 4\textsuperscript{th} February, 1923, resuming again on 23\textsuperscript{rd} April, 1923. This time Lord Curzon was not present, and Britain was represented by Sir Hours Rumbold and General Ismet Paşa for Turkey.\textsuperscript{65} After a long session the Treaty of Lausanne was finally signed on 24\textsuperscript{th} July 1923 by Britain, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The United States already withdrawing from World affairs, and sent his observers to Lausanne Conference.\textsuperscript{66}
Soon after Mustafa Kemal telegraphed his congratulations to Ismet Paşa: “You have thus crowned with a historic success a life which consists of a series of eminent services rendered to your country”.67

In this Treaty, Turkey got complete independence and National frontiers. Turkish sovereignty was recognised over all areas claimed by the National Pact except Mosul in Northern Iraq. Turkey was recognised as master of all of Asia Minor, the straits, and eastern Thrace. The straits were internationalised under the League but the chairman of the commission was to be a Turk and straits also open for the trade ships. The Mudanya agreement regarding Thrace was confirmed, and in regard to the large Greek minorities in Turkey and Turkish minorities in Greece, both countries agreed to an exchange of population, with the exception of the Greeks of Istanbul and the Turks of Western Thrace.68 In this way about 1.5 million Greeks moved to Greece from Turkey, and about 500,000 Turks left Greece territory for Turkey. The question of Mosul was left to negotiation by the Turks and Greeks.

There were important economic provisions in the Lausanne Treaty. Turkey secured the abolition of the surrendering the frontiers and the service of administration. Foreign controlled states arising from the time of partition agreed to take on taxes and customs dues of the goods. Soon after the Treaty the United States got interested in oil and communications. This was the first time when the United States secured a stakes in West Asia’s oil. In the process Turkey encouraged her hard – won independence in a key area.69
During 1923, some important political developments took place in Turkey, just after the abolition of the Sultanate. The country’s religious power came in the hand of the caliph, and thus the political power in the hand of the Grand National Assembly. There was strong opposition among some conservatives in the Grand National Assembly who considered the government and caliphate inseparable.70

But Kemal bent them to his will and on November 1, 1922 the Assembly passed a resolution that separated the caliphate from the sultanate and eliminated the sultanate. Mehmed VI Vaieddin, the 36th and the last sultan of the line stretching back six centuries to Osman, left Istanbul under British protection. The Assembly then designated his cousin, Abdul Majid, as caliph. The abolition of the sultanate represented the end of the Ottoman political era and the election of the caliph of Islam by a democratically elected body of national delegates marked the beginning of the Turkish one. Mustafa Kemal realised the whole situation and thought that the time had come to dissolve his Parliament. This first Grand National Assembly, elected for the conduct of the war, had outlived its purpose. So Mustafa Kemal thought that a new Assembly was needed for the future plan and development, a body more adult than the old, more moderate, more responsible and more manageable.

Mustafa Kemal called upon a meeting of the cabinet. It took place in his house and continued all might. It was agreed to dissolve Parliament and to hold new elections. The first Grand National Assembly met for the last time on 16th April, 1923.
Before the new elections, Mustafa Kemal had taken two steps:

i) He announced to the press his intention to form a new party, the Peoples Republican Party, to replace his Parliamentary group, and

ii) called upon the educated men of the country to help him in drafting its programme.\(^1\)

Mustafa Kemal also issued a nine-point election manifesto on April, 1923, in which he proposed to transform the Defence Association into a political party. The manifesto also included a declaration to the effect that the caliphate depended on the Grand National Assembly.\(^2\)

The Peoples Republican Party which was founded by Mustafa Kemal, on 9\(^{th}\) August, 1923, came out of the new elections.\(^3\) With a majority. The Second Grand National Assembly convened on 11\(^{th}\) August, 1923, and Mustafa Kemal appointed Fethi Bey as a Prime Minister, in place of Rauf Bey.

On 2\(^{nd}\) October, 1923, the Allied forces evacuated Istanbul. Thereafter it came under the control of the Turkish forces. This was the end of an occupation which had lasted the whole duration of the First World War.

Mustafa Kemal decided that Istanbul will remain the home of the caliphate, and Ankara will be the capital of Turkey. On 13\(^{th}\) October, 1923, Ankara was proclaimed the capital of Turkey.\(^4\)

**Proclamation of the Turkish Republic:**

After the First World War, Mustafa Kemal had saved and revived Turkey. He had also transformed a crumbling and struggling Empire,
surrounded by the enemies, into a compact homogenous, manageable and strong viable state.

Mustafa Kemal had reached his first objective, to save his country; his next objective was to create a new country.\textsuperscript{75}

In the eyes of Mustafa Kemal, the religio-political structure of Turkey and organisation of Islam was medieval based. So he wanted to re-establish the religion because, according to his thinking, that barred the way to progress.\textsuperscript{76}

Mustafa Kemal had made up his mind to constitute Turkey into a Republic. After the victory from Samsun to Erzurum, Sivas, Ankara, Smyrna and now Lausanne, his position was now very strong to achieve his design. When the idea of the Republic had taken concrete shape in his mind during the summer, he invited a few friends, including Ismet and Fethi, to dinner at Chankaya, there he announced, “Tomorrow we shall proclaim the Republic”. There was no disagreement among them, as he briefed Fethi and his colleagues about the tactics; the meeting then adjourned. Mustafa Kemal and Ismet called another meeting that completed the draft of the Republic, in the form of changes in the existing Constitution and this sentence was also added, “The form of the Government of the Turkish State is a Republic”. Its President would be head of the state and would be elected by the Grand National Assembly. President would appoint the Prime Minister, who would then appoint the other ministers with the approval but no longer on the initiation of the Assembly.\textsuperscript{77}
According to Mustafa Kemal’s instruction Fethi Bey (Okyar) and his other ministers resigned from the cabinet, on 27th October, 1923 and the Deputies tried to agree on a new cabinet which might have a chance of general acceptance.

Soon after, the draft amending the constitution was announced in the Assembly. After long protests, the amendments were passed in the Assembly.

On 29th October, 1923, Turkey was proclaimed a Republic and Mustafa Kemal, was elected its first President (for Life) by the Assembly. Mustafa Kemal appointed Ismet Paşa (Ismet Inonu) as a Prime Minister of the Republican Turkey. The news of the proclamation was celebrated throughout Turkey with a salute of a One Hundred One guns.

On 3 March 1924, six months after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the Assembly voted to abolish the caliphate and ordered the Ottoman dynasty – some 120 member’s altogether – into exile. The Assembly was not quite unanimous as those who had esteem for caliph were upset by the way the faction around Mustafa Kemal had pushed through the proclamation of the constitution. The abolition of caliphate spoiled relations between more determined nationalists like himself and moderates like Rauf Orbay and Kazim Karabekir who had both visited Caliph Abdul Mejid shortly before the office was abolished. This clearly showed the strong hold which Mustafa Kemal and his most trusted colleagues had over the Assembly. After coming into power, Mustafa Kemal launched various programmes of reforms, to change the social political and economic life of the Turkish people. On 20th April, 1924, the first
Republican Constitution having Western European Pattern was adopted, and it abolished the Sultanate and the caliphate followed by other reforms in the coming years. Mustafa Kemal wanted to give the Turks the opportunity to build a new Turkey.  

The Turks were the only one of the central power able to overturn immediately the vindictive settlements imposed by the Allied powers following the First World War because Turkish resistance ultimately was led to success by Mustafa Kemal, and this proved that he created it in a magnificent way. Really Kemal did more than any one else to create the Turkish Republic from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, but he accomplished this by bringing together elements of resistance that had already emerged. Mustafa Kemal coordinated their efforts expressed their purpose, described their ambitions, and led them to victory.
Notes and References:

11. Davison, R.H., *op. cit.*, supra n 19 at p. 91
12. Akarh, E.D., supra note 20 above, pp 202-203
16. Armajani, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-95
20. Brochure released on 30/08/1989 by the Department of Post, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi,
23. Supra note no. 5 above..
26. Supra note no. 5. above.
28. Supra note no. 5. above
29. Majeed, *op. cit.*, p. 216
31. Supra note no. 5.
33. Supra note no. 5.


53. *Ibid*.


63. Armajani, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
70. Karpat, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.