

Islam Assembled

The Advent of the Muslim Congresses



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SEVEN

KEMALIST TURKEY AND MUSLIM EMPIRE

*The Society of Unitarians
and Aftermath, 1919–1923*

THE PROVINCIAL Anatolian town of Sivas in the fall of 1919 was the center of an embryonic military state, the creation of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] (1881–1938) and a circle of Ottoman military commanders for whom the terms of the Mudros armistice were unacceptable. The officers promoted their movement as an Ottoman and Muslim one. It was then impossible to know that they bore the seeds of a republican and secular state. Their declared policy was to liberate the sultan-caliph and Istanbul from foreign occupation, and so reestablish the continuum with the traditions of Ottoman primacy in Islam.

It was the promise of continuity with the Ottoman past to which Muslims elsewhere responded with expressions of sympathy for Mustafa Kemal's movement. While still in Sivas, and later in Ankara, Mustafa Kemal thought to organize this sympathy in a structured congress of Muslims. This desire culminated in the creation, near Sivas, of a secret Muslim society, known as the Society of Unitarians, and in November 1919 this society convened a Muslim congress in the presence of Mustafa Kemal and his chief aides. The Society of Unitarians continued to function under official sponsorship for some time afterward. When it ceased to exist, an attempt was made by officials of the Ankara government to convene an open Muslim congress under official Turkish auspices, an effort which was abandoned only a short time before the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate.

For the facts surrounding the first of these initiatives, conducted in absolute secrecy, there is unfortunately no corroboration in published Turkish sources, although relevant documents reached British Intelligence regularly.¹ The subsequent initiatives were discussed by a number of Turkish historians engaged in reinterpretation of this period.²

According to Turkish documents which came into British hands, eight unnamed "Muslim notables" met in the early fall of 1919 at an un-

specified site, and drew up a charter for what they entitled the Society of [Muslim] Unitarians (*Muvahhidin*).³ They met almost certainly at the instance of Mustafa Kemal or his close associate, Hüseyin Rauf Bey [Orbay], both of whom were quite possibly among the eight. On this occasion, they resolved to convene a congress composed of delegates and notables from all Muslim territories at a place determined by themselves, and they further agreed to operate in absolute secrecy. This self-appointed Executive Committee began to make preparations for a larger gathering, and on November 11, 1919, at a school in Zara, forty miles east-northeast of Sivas, thirty-seven named Muslims met *in camera* in the first general congress of the Society of Unitarians.

Of the method of procedure at this congress, nothing is known. Details on the participants are scant, although their names are on record. Twelve were representatives of the military movement, and reportedly among them were Mustafa Kemal and Rauf. The remaining twenty-five participants were ulama: sixteen from Anatolia, two from Transcaucasia, two from Egypt, two from Syria, one from the Yemen, one from the Najd, and one from the Crimea. More inclusive participation was envisioned by the organizers for the future, for the opening speaker, Mustafa Kemal's colleague Bekir Sami Bey, expressed the hope that the second congress would include participants from Morocco, Algeria, Musqat, Afghanistan, India, and Bukhara, which "have been unable to send delegates to this meeting." There are grounds to doubt that invitations were ever sent abroad. It seems probable that most of the ulama who participated did not arrive especially to join the congress, but simply found themselves in the vicinity of Sivas or Zara on the appointed day. Whether from Anatolia or beyond, they were men of obscure reputations, whose names do not appear in a recent major history of ulama participation in the Anatolian events of this formative period.⁴

On the occasion of this first congress, the eighteen articles of the charter were presented to the participants for approval (see appendix 3). The purpose of the society, declared the first article, was to gather all Muslims around the besieged caliphate, for "religion must be utilised to counter every attack inspired by religion." The document was explicit on the nature of that caliphate: it was the possession of the "eldest son" of the Ottoman house, simultaneously the ruler of the Empire "by right and merit," possessing "an unshakeable right of supervision and control" over the Muslim world in its entirety. The Unitarians were determined to act on his behalf. The first congress was empowered to establish a central organization under the supervision of an executive council; to plan the establishment of branches in other Muslim countries; and to discuss methods and finance. The "preliminary duty" of the society

was to secure the independence of all Muslims from foreign domination, following which a great assembly of delegates (*meclis-i muvahhidin*) from all Muslim countries would meet in Istanbul "or in any other place that may be chosen." There they would regulate their union. Each member country would take the form of a "free and independent unit," with its own president, supreme council, and ministerial council, but all would be united under the "sacred protection" of the caliphate in matters of economic, military, and foreign policies. Each member unit would then be represented on a "General Council" permanently seated in Istanbul.

In the meantime, the general congress of the Unitarians would meet annually or, if necessary, twice a year, to examine the progress of the society toward achievement of this federation of Muslim states. To better fulfill its tasks, the society's central organization would be divided into three sections. The first would deal with internal organization and finance. While funds were to be raised at first through monthly subscriptions payable by the members, and contributions from wealthy Muslims, the charter envisioned that each independent Muslim state would allocate a separate budget toward the society's activities. The task of the second section was "propaganda and publications." It was "to publish tracts, newspapers and books," and organize "special delegations" to Muslims in lands as distant as Central Africa, India, Turkistan, Sumatra, and Java. The third section was to handle "foreign policy," presumably relations with non-Muslim states. The most innovative subsidiary agency of the society was a "Supreme Court," composed of a president, four members, and two examining magistrates, whose task was the prosecution of "traitors" to the society. Since, according to article nine, the society considered all Muslims to be members *ipso facto*, the anticipated scope of this court's jurisdiction was vast.

The participants in the first congress reviewed and approved the charter, elected an eight-man Executive Council for a six-month term, and elected Mustafa Kemal president of the society. Ten resolutions were then passed, essentially strengthening the powers of the Executive Council, and most notably affirming that the Council had no fixed location but could meet in any Muslim town, as circumstances required.

The most important step taken by the congress after adjournment was its transfer, with Mustafa Kemal, to Ankara at the end of 1919. Documents concerning Ankara sessions continued to reach British Intelligence.⁵ These dealt less than before with wider Muslim issues, so that one report commented that the society's tendency "to become merged in the local activities of the Nationalist movement, continues, and much of the discussion and decisions of these [most recent] two meetings are far more in the nature of Nationalist plans for local opposition to the Entente Powers than the legitimate programme, which

was laid down in the proceedings of the first meeting of this society."⁶ At an early date, the society did claim to have sent five delegations to the Caucasus and Azerbaijan, three to Egypt, three to Syria, two to Kurdistan, two to Iraq, one to Tunisia, one to the Yemen, one to Najd, one to Afghanistan, and one to India. Twelve active branches, all in Arabic-speaking territories, were also listed as having been established, and it was further claimed that a million copies of a proclamation of unspecified content had been distributed.⁷ But by the summer of 1920, the society was reportedly "dying of inanimation," [sic] and no longer meeting.⁸

The establishment of a Muslim congress in Ankara nonetheless remained part of the early foreign policy of the new Turkish state. Mustafa Kemal himself was responsible for the form which the Society of Unitarians took, and among his aims was the continuation of the traditional Ottoman policy of solidarity, just as the Committee of Union and Progress had continued that policy. The stress upon Ottoman primacy in the charter of the Society of Unitarians was unequivocal, and the document left the caliph with nominal temporal attributes, so that it cannot be said that it foreshadowed even the limited step of the separation of caliphate and sultanate. This was Mustafa Kemal's early position: "The first goal of our struggle is to show our enemies, who intend to separate the sultanate from the caliphate, that the national will shall not permit it."⁹ In this manner, he expressed his rejection of the "Vatican Proposal," by which certain British diplomats had thought "to give the Sultan-Caliph a kind of large Vatican in Constantinople, but to keep the Turkish State in Anatolia otherwise separate with a town in Asia Minor as capital for administrative purposes."¹⁰ Any transformation of the caliphate thus threatened Istanbul itself, and on the question of Istanbul's reunification with the hinterland, the Anatolian movement was uncompromising.

Mustafa Kemal did recognize that the caliphate had not served the Ottoman war effort well, but he did not propose its abolition. He instead imagined a complementary role for the Muslim congress created by him and his associates. The society and congress would serve as intermediaries between the great reservoir of Muslims and the traditional authority of the caliph. Through such an instrument, Turkish primacy in Islam might be amplified, and the Ottoman state, through a federal solution unifying at least Turks and Arabs, might be reconstructed.¹¹ The creation of the society was characteristic of that distinctly Muslim and Ottoman phase through which Mustafa Kemal permitted his movement to pass, and which has, to a large extent, been obscured by subsequent Turkish nationalist historiography.¹² The idiom of discourse with other Muslims during this phase still evoked the authority of the Ottoman sultan-caliph, most vividly evident in Mustafa Kemal's pro-

clamations (*beyannameler*) to the Muslim world, issued in the spring of 1920.¹³

This commitment lapsed when Mehmed VI Vahideddin refused to offer his patronage to the Anatolian movement conducted ostensibly on his behalf, a movement which he thought was liable to endanger what few Allied guarantees were secured through the armistice. To this we can trace the decline of the Society of Unitarians, and the secret adoption by Mustafa Kemal of a version of the British "Vatican Proposal." The British High Commissioner in Istanbul described the transformation: "There appears to be a good deal of discussion as to whether the Caliphate might not be vested in a purely spiritual personage surrounded by representatives from Islamic countries and maintaining touch with them through representatives of an ostensibly ecclesiastic character in those countries. I find it difficult to believe that the Angora leaders would think the present moment opportune to challenge Moslem feeling in Turkey itself on so great an issue, but it would not be safe to dismiss the possibility altogether."¹⁴

But preparation for this transformation was in clear evidence the following month. In March 1921, an article appeared in the official Kemalist organ, over the name of Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, the Ankara government's director of publications. The article amounted to an open call for the establishment of an international Muslim society in Ankara, composed of delegates (*muraahhaslar*) from throughout the Muslim world. This initiative, the article continued, was the consequence of both the "fixed resolve" of the government, and numerous representations made to Ankara by Muslims abroad. This time, however, no mention was made of the caliphate, and emphasis was placed instead upon the need to defend all Muslims against "cross and capital."¹⁵

The organization of the congress fell to a small committee in Ankara, which began to plan for the gathering at the home of Mehmed Âkif [Ersoy] (1873–1936), the Turkish poet who gained renown as the composer of the verses later incorporated in the modern Turkish national anthem.¹⁶ Âkif first filled various functions on the boards of Ottoman state publications, but found his audience after the Young Turk revolution, with his original writings and translations for *Sirat-ı müstakim/Sebilürreşad*, Istanbul's organ of Muslim cosmopolitanism. His work here established him as the Ottoman Turk most closely linked to Afghani and his disciples in the propagation of the doctrine of solidarity. The Ottoman collapse and the subjugation of Istanbul caused Mehmed Âkif to leave the capital, and he turned toward what he saw as a movement of Muslim revival in Anatolia, reaching Ankara in 1920.

His task was the organization of the Muslim congress envisioned by Hüseyin Ragıp, through a committee composed of himself; Eşref Edib

[Fergan] Bey, editor of *Sebilürreşad*, now transplanted to Ankara; and Hasan Basri [Çantay] Bey, deputy from Balıkesir. Of the work of this preparatory committee we know very little. The organizers first scheduled the congress for mid-March 1922, a year after the initial proposal, but this appeal was not well-publicized, and brought to Ankara only a handful of Muslims, about whom nothing is known. These, however, were reportedly distressed to discover upon their arrival that the congress organizers intended certain changes in connection with the caliphate, and so refused to participate in any formal gathering.¹⁷

Here was a subtle but significant manifestation of a new policy, for the Society of Unitarians had been unequivocal in its insistence upon a retention by the caliph of his full prerogatives. The new ambiguity was a consequence of the sultan-caliph's continued refusal to embrace the Anatolian movement as his own. While the changes in mind were unspecified, they almost certainly anticipated the punitive separation of sultanate from caliphate. In April, a month after the March failure, Eşref Edib issued a second open appeal in *Sebilürreşad*, again without reference to the caliphate. The congress was simply "to sink differences of opinion, and to join in a unanimous decision defining the attitude of Islam in connection with the great social, economic, political, and religious crisis in Europe." Anatolia, added Eşref Edib, was the best site for the gathering, since it was "far removed from European influence."¹⁸

In November 1922, following a series of Kemalist negotiations with the Allies, and the entry into Istanbul of a leading Kemalist representative, it became clear that the city eventually would be incorporated in the new state created by the Anatolian movement. The Istanbul government collapsed, and retribution was meted out to the recalcitrant sultan-caliph, through the separation of the sultanate from the caliphate and the abolition of the former. The last sultan-caliph, Mehmed VI Vahideddin, fled the city, and an Ottoman successor, Abdülmecid, was installed by the Grand National Assembly as caliph alone. The Grand National Assembly lent its authority to this step, and arrogated the right to select the caliph from the Ottoman house. "On the legal side," wrote Andrew Ryan of the separation decision, "I believe a good case can be made out for the election of a Caliph by the Moslems in the immediate neighborhood of the Caliphate centre."¹⁹ But the merits of that case were not self-evident to Muslims beyond Istanbul and Anatolia. It was thus Mustafa Kemal's hope that a broader assembly of Muslims both from his territories and from abroad would confirm the act of separation.

Early 1923 consequently saw the return of the congress idea to circulation, but this time in the proposed setting of Istanbul. While the organizers secured promises of Afghan participation,²⁰ a group of Syrians, Palestinians, and Egyptians began to organize delegations.²¹ Over

the summer, two official envoys from Ankara arrived in the Egyptian port of Alexandria, to disseminate the idea of an Istanbul caliphate congress.²² Here one again finds the hand of Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Shawish, who had arrived in Anatolia following his disappointment with Enver and the League of Islamic Revolutionary Societies. He wrote letters to Indian Muslims urging them to participate in a "Grand Conference of Muslims" at any "suitable place" in Muslim territory, and to support the establishment of a caliphate "assembly" in Istanbul.²³

At this point, Muslims elsewhere were given to understand that the congress would simply serve the caliph in an advisory capacity (*şura-yı hilafet*). But in November 1923, editorials appeared in several Istanbul newspapers which made the design for an elected caliphate explicit. If the caliph were to abdicate, the articles suggested, then the institution would be refurbished through an Istanbul congress of representative Muslims. These would elect a caliph enjoying Muslim confidence, who would then be in a far better position to perform his new duties effectively. An argument ensued in the Istanbul press on this proposal, for the caliph himself protested that he had ascended to his office in a legal manner, and had received the lawful allegiance of Muslims elsewhere, through telegrams and letters. He would not consider the surrender of his prerogatives.²⁴

Confronted with this refusal of the caliph and his supporters to participate voluntarily in the final transformation of the caliphate, Mustafa Kemal was driven to consider more radical methods. In light of the evidence, it seems probable that he preferred the preservation of the Ottoman caliphate in Istanbul, in a form dependent upon a Muslim congress controlled by his own organizers. But in May 1923, the British learned from the amir of Afghanistan that his government would not participate in an Istanbul caliphate congress as he, alone among Muslim rulers, had previously announced.²⁵ This early return must have dampened all enthusiasm for the congress, for even Afghanistan, then among Turkey's closest allies, recoiled from the changes envisioned by Mustafa Kemal. The final eclipse of the proposed Istanbul congress was one of the considerations which led Mustafa Kemal to weigh the physical expulsion of the last Ottoman caliph and his family, and so exchange the Muslim facade of his autocracy for a republican one.

In March 1924, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, acting upon the initiative of Mustafa Kemal, approved the deposition of Abdülmecid, the abolition of the caliphate, and the expulsion of all members of the Ottoman house.²⁶ The decision was bound to intensify the contest among Muslim régimes for primacy in Islam. But the new Turkey would not be among the rivals. The policy which began with the Society of Unitarians at Zara had run its course.

APPENDIX THREE

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF 'MOUVAHIDIN'

Art. 1. —In recognition of the fact that, in spite of the progress of civilisation, fanaticism still predominates in the world and that in consequence religion must be utilised to counter every attack inspired by religion, an organisation, at present secret, entitled the Society of 'Mouvaahidin' has been established by the assistance of eight Muslim notables whose names are known.

The principal aim of this Society is to gather together all the Musulmans of the world around the Khalifate and to establish among them union and solidarity, respecting at the same time their autonomy and their territorial and cultural independence.

Art. 2. —In order to attain its object the Society will first hold a Congress composed of delegates and notables from all Musulman territories. This Congress will deal with the following questions:—

- a) the establishment of the methods which will be adopted by the Society to obtain its objects.
- b) to settle how the funds necessary to the Society are to be collected.
- c) to settle the lines of action to be adopted by the organisations which are to be formed in the various centres.
- d) to elect members of the Central organisation and of the Executive council.

Art. 3. —The Khalifate is the possession of the eldest son of the Osman Dynasty, who, at the same time, is by right and merit ruler of the Ottoman Empire. This sublime office holds an unshakeable right of supervision and control throughout the Musulman world.

Art. 4. —It is the preliminary duty of the Society to make efforts to obtain, in accordance with the principle of Nationality recognised also by Europe, independence for those of the Musulman peoples who are not in actual fact independent or who are, in the status of colonies or dominions, under the domination of Foreign Powers. When their in-

dependence has been secured, Pan-Islamism will be established in accordance with decisions to be arrived at by an Assembly of the 'Mouvahidin' (Majlis-i-Mouvahidin) which will be composed of delegates from all countries and will meet at the seat of the Khalifate or in any other place that may be chosen.

Art. 5. —Although the Society completely abstains from the useless shedding of blood, it will nevertheless retaliate should it meet with armed opposition to the accomplishment of its legitimate objects.

Art. 6. —The funds of the Society will be composed at present of monthly subscriptions payable by the members and of contributions from rich Musulmans. Later, each country gaining its independence will open a separate head in its budget in connection with the above-mentioned funds.

Art. 7. —The actions and accounts of the Society will be examined by a General Congress to be convened once a year or, if found necessary, half-yearly.

Art. 8. —Until the convocation of the first Congress the founders of the Society will form an Executive Council and all business will be conducted in complete secrecy.

Art. 9. —Since, in accordance with a particular chapter of Koran, all the faithful must in principle rally to the rescue and assistance of their brethren, all Musulmans are ipso facto considered members of this Society.

Art. 10. —The Society will have a Supreme Court, composed of a President, four members and two Examining Magistrates. This Court will decide the fate of traitors to the Society.

Art. 11. —Every member is absolutely bound to obey the orders of the Society even at the cost of his life. Those who fail to obey orders will be charged with tre[a]son and their cases will be referred to the Supreme Court.

Art. 12. —It is the duty of the Executive Council to settle, in accordance with political requirements, the locality for the convocation of the First Congress and the despatch of delegates to different Musulman countries.

Art. 13. —The Society will commence work without loss of time. Since the religion of Islam ordains that the liberty and the religious integrity, the life and honour, of the various peoples residing in Muslim countries should be respected, those non-Muslims who have not acted in opposition to the objects of the Society will be placed under protection and in perfect security.

Art. 14. —It is the duty of the Society to organise in mosques classes for the purpose of explaining in suitable language the wishes of the Society; to publish tracts, newspapers and books; to organise special delegations for the purpose of propaganda; and to send, defraying all expenses, special delegates to Turkestan, to the Caucasus, to Asiatic Russia, to India, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, Java, Muscat, Syria, Sumatra, Iraq, and North and Central Africa.

Art. 15. —The Society will be composed of three sections of which the first will deal with organisation and interior economy, the second with propaganda and publications, and the third with foreign policy.

Art. 16. —The Supreme Court and the members of the headquarters Delegation will frame special rules dealing with the instructions which the above-mentioned sections will follow.

Art. 17. —Every country joining the Union shall form in itself a free and independent unit. These countries will be united together under the sacred protection of the Khalifate only so far as economic, military and foreign policies are concerned. Every independent country will have its own President, a Supreme Council and a Ministerial Council. In addition a General Council of 'Mouvahidin' in which all Moslem countries will be represented, will be established at the seat of the Khalifate.

Art. 18. —The Congress at its first meeting will be free to modify and to alter the articles of this constitution on condition that its fundamental objects are not affected.

Ankara. Les relations turco-soviétiques de 1919 à 1922," and Gotthard Jäschke, "Le rôle du communisme dans les relations russo-turques de 1919 à 1922."

17. On Enver's decision to break his Soviet ties, and his role of leadership in the Basmachi movement, see "The Basmachis: The Central Asian Resistance Movement," 242–46.

18. A 1939 survey of Muslim associations active in Berlin made reference to a certain "Union for the Liberation of Islam, a Bolshevik creation originally concerned with Central Europe but now rallied to Nazism. It is now devoted to the Near East." Bernard Vernier, *La politique islamique de l'Allemagne*, 33. Whether this refers to some remnant of the Berlin branch of Enver's society is not clear.

7. KEMALIST TURKEY AND MUSLIM EMPIRE

1. This account of the first Kemalist initiative is drawn from a set of Turkish documents secured through "Agent T.20/10," who apparently had penetrated not the Anatolian movement but the Sublime Porte. These are translated in FO371/4162, E177629/521/44. The cover dispatches, but not the translations themselves, were published in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, ser. 1, 4: 1028–31.

2. Particularly by Cemal Kutay, *Kurtuluşun ve cumhuriyetin manevî mimarları*.

3. A Turkish circular which appeared in Aleppo in October 1919, entitled "Mustafa Kemal's Proclamation to the Syrians," reported that the "Unitarians" would "soon be the visitors of their Arab brethren, and will scatter the enemy." Text of proclamation in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, ser. 1, 4: 478.

4. Kutay, *Kurtuluşun*, passim.

5. For example, see the report on the society dated February 6, 1920, in L/P&S/11/169.

6. Weekly summary of intelligence reports from Constantinople branch of Military Intelligence, for week ending February 21, 1920, L/P&S/11/170, p. 2109.

7. Branches in the following cities or locales: Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Tyre, Baalbek, Haifa, Baghdad, Najaf, Kuwayt, Cairo, Tanta, Rosetta. On November 10, 1919, Meinertzhagen wrote of Syria that "Turkish influence is gradually creeping back, and signs are not wanting of a rejuvenated popularity of Turkish rule with all its forgotten disadvantages. . . . This is not confined to Syria alone, but has recently been traced in Jerusalem and other Palestinian centres." Clayton wrote on October 15, 1919, that "it is safe to say that the majority of the Moslems in Aleppo vilayet, and a very large number in the vilayet of Damascus, are in sympathy with Turkish aspirations, and would prefer union with Turkey to being under an unpopular European power." *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, ser. 1, 4: 522–23, 566.

8. S. I. S. secret police report on Asia Minor, August 12, 1920, in FO371/5178, E11702/345/44.

9. Speech of April 24, 1920, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, 59.

10. Ryan (Constantinople) to Forbes Adam, October 26, 1919, in Andrew Ryan Papers, FO800/240. On the "Vatican Proposal," see A. L. Macfie, "The British Decision regarding the Future of Constantinople (November 1918–January 1920)," 395–97.

11. For a history of federal solutions built around a Turco-Arab core, see Gotthard Jäschke, "Ein scharifisches Bündnisangebot an Mustafa Kemal." Alongside this effort was an attempt to work through the exiled Sanusi chief, Ahmad al-Sharif. On his arrival and activity in Ankara, see Hüsameddin Ertürk, *İki devrin perde arkası*, 476–81.

12. Although it was documented early, on the basis of then-available published sources, by Gotthard Jäschke, "Nationalismus und Religion im türkischen Befreiungskriege." For

another treatment, see Dankwart Rustow, "Politics and Islam in Turkey, 1920–1955," 70–79.

13. For the text of the first *Alem-i Islâma Beyanname*, of March 17, 1920, see Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, 549; *Atatürk'ün Tamim, Telegraf ve Beyannameleeri*, 258–59. For the May proclamation, see 319–26.

14. Sir Horace Rumbold (Constantinople), dispatch of February 7, 1921, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, ser. 1, 17: 48–49.

15. *Hakimiyet-i milliye*, March 11, 1921; translation in FO371/6470, E5714/1/44. See also Kutay, *Kurtuluşun*, 253–63, for the fullest Turkish discussion of the initiative.

16. See Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Mehmed Akif: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, especially 51–96.

17. Eastern Summary (SIS) no. 709, June 8, 1922, FO371/7883, E5949/27/44.

18. *Sebilürreşad*, April 13, 1922; Eastern Summary (SIS) no. 709, June 8, 1922, FO371/7883, E5949/27/44.

19. Ryan (Lausanne) to Nevile Henderson (Constantinople), November 28, 1922, Andrew Ryan Papers, FO800/240.

20. Interview with Abdul Hadi, Afghan minister in London, *Sunday Times*, November 12, 1922; also L/P&S/10/895, P.4618.

21. SIS report of January 10, 1923, FO371/8967, E520/85/16.

22. Unattributed draft dispatch (Alexandria), August 23, 1923, AFC, carton 18, file 6.

23. Appendix to a memorandum entitled "Pan-Islamism and the Caliphate, July 1923–March 1924," dated April 28, 1924, FO371/10110, E3657/2029/65.

24. *Tevhid-i efkâr*, November 9, 1923; *Akşam*, November 9, 1923; *Oriente Moderno* (1923), 3: 409.

25. Humphrys (Kabul), dispatch of May 5, 1923, FO371/9130, E4616/199/44.

26. C. A. Nallino, "La Fine del così detto califfato ottomano," and Sylvia G. Haim, "The Abolition of the Caliphate and its Aftermath."

8. NEW CALIPH IN ARABIA

1. Translation of letter dated Receb 27, 1339, FO371/6470, E6447/1/44. Identical information on this initiative appears in FO141/816, f. 13327. On Haydari-zâde İbrahim, see Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmları*, 252–53.

2. "Renseignements d'un informateur," Beyrut, April 6, 1921, AFC, carton 131, file 26/3.

3. Allenby (Cairo), telegram of June 19, 1921, FO371/6471, E7001/1/44.

4. W. E. Marshall (Jidda), dispatch of June 10, 1921, L/P&S/10/926, P. 3281 (E7445/455/91).

5. Sharabasi, *Rashid Rida*, 47.

6. *Al-Manar* (July 1924), 25(5): 390.

7. H. Gaillard (Cairo), dispatch of September 9, 1921, AFC, carton 66, file 12/1.

8. W. H. Deedes, Civil Secretary (Jerusalem) to Sir Horace Rumbold, British High Commissioner (Constantinople), August 30, 1921, FO371/6475, E10577/1/44.

9. W. S. Edmonds, minute of September 22, 1921, to dispatch cited in previous note.

10. *Al-Muqattam*, August 23, 1922; *Oriente Moderno* (1922), 2: 291–92.

11. *Al-Qibla*, August 6, 1923.

12. See C. Ernest Dawn, "Ideological Influences in the Arab Revolt."

13. Yehoshua Porath, "The Palestinians and the Negotiations for the British-Hijazi Treaty, 1920–1925." For another view, see Suleiman Mousa, "A Matter of Principle: King Hussein of the Hijaz and the Arabs of Palestine."

14. A role acknowledged by Muhammad al-Sasi, secretary general of the Conference