

# THE TWO KEMALS

### The Polished Aristocrat of European Circles in Contrast With the Ruthless Commander of Fantical Turks

If you were to meet in the flesh the man of mystery who has so suddenly arisen above the near eastern horizon. Field Marshal Mustafa Kemal Pasha, you would be at once charmed and astonished. This most "terrible" of all "the terrible Turks"—described by Earl Balfour only a year or two ago as a brigand—in his demeanor a polished man of the

world, who addresses you in accomplished French, who wears an English shooting suit of tweed and soft gray collar with gray tie, sits at a desk like a western official—calm, detached, inscrutable.

The picture of Kemal as a kind of buccaneering sheik in Oriental robes, with jeweled scimitar and horse pistols at his waist, has thus no foundation in reality. His head-dress is not the Turkish fez, familiar in Egypt, but the somewhat ampler kalpak of lamb skin, and his fingers, instead of dripping blood, toy with a string of amber beads, ending in a brown tassel. But this courtly diplomat Kemal is only one aspect of the man. He is a dual personality. The Kemal displays the velvet glove; the other, the mailed fist within.

Kemal has light blue eyes of steel, which at times contract with temper, while his high and thoughtful forehead is as it were, gathered in at the bridge of the nose, where there is a deep dent, indicative of concentration, even of a certain moody and obstinate purpose. His health has suffered from his uncertain life, and he likes special cooking. But he has been always a man under rigid discipline. His tense face shows it. Over the high cheekbones, the features are drawn with not an ounce of flesh to spare. Unmarried at 41 years of age, his income is the

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# MUTT AND JEFF—You Can't Blame Mutt For Being Shocked

By BUD FISHER



equivalent of \$180 a month. He is thus in a sense, an ascetic. He denies and he controls himself; and it is in this reserve of energy, this fanaticism held in leash, that makes Kemal so formidable. He is like an engine with steam at high pressure, in name, merely the president of the assembly. But, in fact, the government has rapidly become autocratic. On Kemal there has been conferred, for a limited but constantly extended period, a dictatorship which is now absolute. When he drove back the Greeks from the Sakaria river, the assembly created him field marshal and named him an "honorary" general. Under the stress of war, fanaticism thus forced the leadership into his supreme hands.

The fact is that the rise of Kemal is by no means so surprising as it first appeared. On more than one occasion Turkish history records a similar phenomenon. The power of Islam is the way of the sword, and whoever holds the sword must always threaten the influence and even the life of the reigning Sultan. It was thus that the Turks themselves, thousands of miles apart, the powers of the Caliph, or successor to Mohammed, at Bagdad. They played exactly the same game that Kemal is playing today. Similarly, Mehmet Ali, whose century ago founded the throne of Egypt, was simply an Albanian soldier who proved too strong for the Sultan. He overran Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor, and would have seized Constantinople itself if Russia had not intervened. Fifty years ago, Arabi Pasha, also in Egypt, led a national movement which, under a Parliamentary form, rapidly assumed a military aspect, challenged the British, and developed anti-European tendencies and was the cause of the British occupation in Egypt. And, finally, we have the case of Enver Pasha, who led the Young Turk movement against the late Sultan, Abdul Hamid, and, in 1907, deposed him. In all these cases an able Turk has established himself in ruling partly as a protest against the misgovernment of the sovereign, partly as champion against western powers, and partly as the leader of a liberal impulse which has hitherto invariably disappointed expectations.

to those with whom he is associated. But, also like Enver, he cannot expect to act in an enlightened fashion through instruments which are fashioned in primitive ignorance. Himself, he may be incorruptible, celibate, abstemious, and a model of all virtues. But his army has always lived on plunder as the only certain pay, has always regarded women as part to that plunder, and has fought every war not as a political war but as a holy war. These warlike soldiers from villages, where they hardly know the meaning of the name Europe, and think that the Sultan rules the entire universe, are the basis of Kemal's power. While Kemal quotes the Koran with a careful reticence, they believe the Koran as the Koran was believed by Mohammed himself. To them the world consists of the faithful and the unbelievers. And for unbelievers the one and never-changing choice is Islam or the sword.

Normally, these passions in the Moslem lie dormant. Even the Kaiser could not stir up a holy war. But what Kemal has to face in Anatolia is no such thing as a religion, it is flushed with success. On his men a frightful orgy of lust and blood has left for the time being its irresistible impulse. To these men it is little to receive Constantinople by diplomacy, under imposed conditions, with international navies and armies preserving the freedom of the Straits and a question to interfere in the affairs of the city whenever they wish. What the Kemalists want, it is evident, is to achieve a spectacular "come-back," a world-wide humiliation of Western ideals. Whether the French agent, Franklin Bouillon, who has been hurrying to Kemal, arrive in time to plead for moderation and if so, whether he be able to hold the Turkish leader, pending a conference, have been questions on which might depend the peace of the world.

Did Kemal really want a peaceful settlement, assuming always that he could hold his army? That again is a question which no one can answer except Kemal himself. But no analysis of the man's character and career suggests serious reflections. On no occasion has he ever compromised. With Enver, with his military superiors and with Europe he has always maintained a stiff upper lip. Like De Valera, he is armed with and to some extent enslaved by a formula. It is the National Pact, so-called, adopted by the Assembly at Angora. To that formula, Kemal stands like a sentry at attention. According to that formula, he is to advance here and now on Constantinople and Thrace. Angora expects him to do it. For, not without reason, Angora has been a hotbed of conference with Europe, whether at Venice or anywhere else. For in Kemal's character there is one further element. Not only he is persistent, but he is also ambitious. He wishes to be himself the man who does things. Power and the exercise of it have become his very life. In success he is adored and almost worshipped.

And there, within a stone's throw, lies Constantinople, with a phantom Sultan trembling on a throne which is only maintained by foreign guns—that throne which is still to the Moslem the most glittering prize to be won on this planet. Kemal is human. Has he dreamed no dream, no ambition, no desire, no dream? On a question that may mean his own partial effacement, is he entirely an impartial judge? The Turk who rises to prominence has always a certain overreached himself. Will Kemal be wise in time? If he refuses now to hold his hand, it must be remembered that he also rejected the drastic revision of the treaty of Sevres, conceded to him in March of this year. And that revision embodied much of the offer made to him last week. His policy has thus been hitherto to conquer instead of discussing. And he has been able to claim that up to the fall of Smyrna this policy has succeeded.

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As brigadier general he fought in the Gallipoli campaign, displaying an heroic courage. He was therefore sent into Asia, which meant in effect exile and the loss of promotion, but he emerged again when, when the defeat of Turkey, the Young Turks fled and the Treaty of Sevres was to be forced upon the Sultan. In a sense, Kemal's opposition to the Treaty of Sevres was de Valera in a little like that of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. The Sultan's Government was ready to accept the treaty. Kemal was not, and he withdrew from the National Assembly to Angora, in order to present ratification. That Kemal should be an irreconcilable, after all, not to be wondered at. He is human. He has seen the entire country where he was born and bred—commonly called Macedonia—a country held by the Turks for many hundreds of years, annexed by peoples whom the Turk regards as social and spiritual inferiors. He is embittered by long experience of defeat.

What has now come to Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the testing time. He has won a big fight in the courage that he has displayed. It is impossible not to admire him. But what has he done and what will he do with his victory? It is in the misuse of power that the Turk hitherto has always failed. And in Smyrna Kemal's ideals were illuminated by the wild and hardly reassuring glare of a prospectively. When Enver rose to power, his watchwords were the same as those of Kemal, namely independence and nationalism. But what actually happened was an emphatic dependence on Germany and an absolute denial of true religious equality. Kemal is depending on foreign assistance and is also unable to do without a sectarian question except on Enver's sanguinary and oppressive lines. Like Enver, he is far superior in intellect

to those with whom he is associated. But, also like Enver, he cannot expect to act in an enlightened fashion through instruments which are fashioned in primitive ignorance. Himself, he may be incorruptible, celibate, abstemious, and a model of all virtues. But his army has always lived on plunder as the only certain pay, has always regarded women as part to that plunder, and has fought every war not as a political war but as a holy war. These warlike soldiers from villages, where they hardly know the meaning of the name Europe, and think that the Sultan rules the entire universe, are the basis of Kemal's power. While Kemal quotes the Koran with a careful reticence, they believe the Koran as the Koran was believed by Mohammed himself. To them the world consists of the faithful and the unbelievers. And for unbelievers the one and never-changing choice is Islam or the sword.

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