

## TÜRKIYE BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSITION OF GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS

**Pela Safni**

UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, Padang, Indonesia  
[2320010048@uinib.ac.id](mailto:2320010048@uinib.ac.id)

**Ajat Hidayat**

UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, Padang, Indonesia  
[2320010006@uinib.ac.id](mailto:2320010006@uinib.ac.id)

**Ahmad Aziz**

UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, Padang, Indonesia  
[2320010029@uinib.ac.id](mailto:2320010029@uinib.ac.id)

**Erman**

UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, Padang, Indonesia  
[erman@uinib.ac.id](mailto:erman@uinib.ac.id)

**Radhiatul Hasnah**

UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, Padang, Indonesia  
[radhiatulhasnah@uinib.ac.id](mailto:radhiatulhasnah@uinib.ac.id)

### **Abstract**

*This research examines Türkiye, between the past and the present. Muslims experienced their second peak of glory when three great empires came to power, namely the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal (India) empires. The emergence of Islam in world history holds a number of unique things and wonders. However, after reaching its peak point during the time of Sultan Sulaiman Al Qanuni (1520-1566 M), the Ottoman Empire began to experience decline, weakened, and retreated towards its nadir until it met its moment of destruction. Throughout history, Türkiye was the first Islamic country to embrace a secular concept. The collapse of Ottoman Turkey and the development of modernization finally made Turkey maneuver into a secular state under the control of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He believes that only with a secular concept can Turkey rise and become a developed country like the West. However, these secularization efforts appear more as a form of coercion from the regime government, rather than secularization which is developing as a consequence of the modernization process as is happening in European countries. Therefore, genealogically, this article examines Turkey's conditions between the past and the present. The research*

*method used is a historical research method that goes through four stages which include; heuristics (data collection), source criticism (examination of sources), interpretation (interpreting and analyzing sources), and historiography (writing history). This research is included in qualitative descriptive research using data from various secondary sources obtained from books, articles, and magazines which are of course relevant to this research.*

**Keywords:** *Türkiye; Now ; Past; Government System.*

#### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini mengkaji Türkiye, antara masa lalu dan masa kini. Umat Islam mengalami puncak kejayaannya yang kedua ketika tiga kerajaan besar berkuasa, yaitu kerajaan Ottoman, Safawi, dan Mughal (India). Kemunculan Islam dalam sejarah dunia menyimpan sejumlah hal unik dan keajaiban. Namun setelah mencapai titik puncaknya pada masa Sultan Sulaiman Al Qanuni (1520-1566 M), Kesultanan Utsmaniyah mulai mengalami kemunduran, melemah, dan mundur menuju titik nadir hingga menemui momen kehancurannya. Sepanjang sejarah, Türkiye adalah negara Islam pertama yang menganut konsep sekuler. Runtuhnya Turki Usmani dan berkembangnya modernisasi akhirnya membuat Turki bermanuver menjadi negara sekuler di bawah kendali Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Ia meyakini hanya dengan konsep sekuler Turki bisa bangkit dan menjadi negara maju seperti Barat. Namun upaya sekularisasi tersebut lebih tampak sebagai bentuk paksaan dari pemerintah rezim, dibandingkan sekularisasi yang berkembang sebagai konsekuensi proses modernisasi seperti yang terjadi di negara-negara Eropa. Oleh karena itu, secara genealogis, artikel ini mengkaji kondisi Turki antara masa lalu dan masa kini. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode penelitian sejarah yang melalui empat tahapan yang meliputi; heuristik (pengumpulan data), kritik sumber (pemeriksaan sumber), interpretasi (menafsirkan dan menganalisis sumber), dan historiografi (penulisan sejarah). Penelitian ini termasuk dalam penelitian deskriptif kualitatif dengan menggunakan data dari berbagai sumber sekunder yang diperoleh dari buku, artikel, dan majalah yang tentunya relevan dengan penelitian ini.

**Kata Kunci:** *Turkiye; Sekarang; Masa lalu; Sistem pemerintahan*

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

In the course of Islamic history, the political situation of Islamic governments experienced fluctuations. There were advances and setbacks, especially in the middle period (1250-1800) as explained by Van Steenberg (2020). The achievements achieved during the classical period were erased by the invasion of the Mongol army, which led to the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. The collapse of the caliphate resulted in a significant decline in Islamic political power. The Islamic territory was divided into several small kingdoms which were involved in indiscriminate conflict with each other. The remains of Islamic culture and civilization were also damaged due to the actions of the Mongol army. These political conditions continued until the emergence and development of three large empires, one of which was the Ottoman Empire. Although the progress achieved by this kingdom succeeded in restoring the spirit of Islamic politics, it was not as excellent as the achievements achieved during the classical era.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Atta Muhammad, "The Public Sphere during the Later Abbasid Caliphate (1000- 1258 CE): The Role of Sufism" (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2024).

writers often pay less attention to the history of the Ottoman Empire compared to the focus given to the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.<sup>2</sup> Although unequal in terms of documented cultural riches, the Ottoman Empire played a crucial role as a guardian of Islamic power against European expansion eastward. Therefore, it is important not to ignore their role in the context of Islamic history. Although not equal to the achievements of the two previous dynasties mentioned, the role of the Ottoman Turks as a bulwark against enemy attacks, including the conquest of Constantinople, shows their prowess in resisting attacks aimed at crucial areas.<sup>3</sup>

This is the view of the Ottoman Turks regarding the Islamic government, which to this day continues to inherit its traditions. Currently, the country has metamorphosed into the Republic of Turkey or Republic of Turkey, an old entity that holds a rich Islamic culture from the past. In this period, the development of Islam reached a significant level and continued into the contemporary era, especially when Turkey experienced a period of reform when it entered the contemporary period.<sup>4</sup> The Republic of Turkey, which now has its capital in Ankara, can be noted as a Muslim country that maintains a democratic system, to establish a civilized society by Islamic principles. Turkey's geographical location across two continents, namely Europe in the North and Asia in the South, as well as its territorial borders with countries such as Greece, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, shows its strategic positio.<sup>5</sup> As the historical center of one of the largest Islamic caliphates, Turkey has very strong ties to Islam, making it a leading nation in the Islamic world for centurie. Therefore, further understanding and in-depth study of the development of Islam in Turkey in a historical context is a very interesting and valuable thing to do.

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<sup>2</sup> Ine Musfiroh Saniyatunisa, "Sejarah Perkembangan Islam Di Turki," *HISTORICAL: Journal* 1, no. 1 (2022), <https://historical.pdfaii.org/index.php/i/article/view/14/5>.

<sup>3</sup> Mengyang Zhao, "A Precarious Game: The Illusion of Dream Jobs in the Video Game Industry," *Work and Occupations* 48, no. 4 (2021): 509–11, <https://doi.org/10.1177/07308884211028892>.

<sup>4</sup> Joanna Marszałek-Kawa dan Ahmet Burak, "The Political System of the Republic of Turkey, Past and Present," *Przegląd Politologiczny*, no. 3 (Oktober 2018): 95–108, <https://doi.org/10.14746/pp.2018.23.3.7>.

<sup>5</sup> Nelci Dessy Rumlaklak dkk., "Klasifikasi Penentuan Status Zona di Kota Kupang Menggunakan Aalgoritma Naive Bayes Classifier," *Jurnal Komputer dan Informatika* 10, no. 1 (2022): 24–30, <https://doi.org/10.35508/jicon.v10i1.6458>.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Method applied research is a method of studying history, which involves four step main, that is heuristic stage (data collection), criticism source (test source), interpretation (interpreting and analyzing sources), and historiography (writing history). Study This can categorized as a study descriptive qualitative, using data from various sources like relevant books, articles, and magazines with a focus study This (Sugiyono, 2021).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section is the main part of the article which presents the main results to supporting results and is equipped with a description short. Data analysis processes such as statistical calculations and hypothesis testing processes do not need to be presented. Only the results of the analysis and the results of hypothesis testing need to be presented. For qualitative research, the results section contains detailed sections in the form of sub-topics that are directly related to the research focus.

### Islamization Turkish nation

The Turks are renowned for having a variety of tribes, including the Khazars, Pechenegs, and others, most of whom lived as nomads. Some of them then settled in the Middle East and Central Asia. In the 6th century, Turkish tribes were already involved in trade on the Silk Road with other nations, which became their entry point to Islam introduced by the Arabs.<sup>6</sup>

Even though they interacted with Arabs, their interest in Islam did not immediately emerge. Their harsh characteristics and nomadic nature make them difficult to submit to. It was only when Islamic rule reached the Amu Darya region, covering Afghanistan to Tajikistan in 651 M in the 7th-8th century, that the Turks began to be willing to accept Islam.<sup>7</sup> Their Islamization process took place naturally, and under the influence of Islam, khanates were formed based on Turkic tribes, such as the Khazar Khanate, Uighur, Pesheneg, and others. In 830 M, the Abbasid dynasty recruited many

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<sup>6</sup> BuddhistRoad Team, "Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th-14th Centuries: A Project Report," *Medieval Worlds* medieval worlds, no. Volume 8. 2018 (2018): 126–34, [https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds\\_no8\\_2018s126](https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no8_2018s126).

<sup>7</sup> Muzaffar Zoirshoevich Zoolshoev, *Ancient and Early Medieval Kingdoms of the Pamir Region of Central Asia: Historical Shughnān and Its Lost Capital*, 1 ed. (Routledge, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003279730>.

soldiers from the Turks who were famous for their strength and endurance. Their bravery and military achievements gradually strengthened their influence in the realm of power.<sup>8</sup>

When the Arab leadership experienced a decline in the Abbasid Caliphate, they emerged as supporters.<sup>9</sup> Even in the following period, their role became significant in spreading Islamic da'wah to various regions and establishing political power structures there. In Hindustan, the Ghaznawiyah Sultanate (977-1186 M) and the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526 M) emerged. In the Persian region, they founded the Seljuk Sultanate (1037-1194 M) (Aizid, 2017).

### **Fading Power**

After the Mongol attack on the center of the Caliphate in Baghdad in 1258 M, the power of the Caliphate experienced a decline. For almost two years, Muslims lived without a common leadership that could unite them. Therefore, in several regions, several Islamic political forces emerged which took over the government. In Egypt, the Mamluks emerged as a powerful force. The Mamluk troops succeeded in winning the battle against the Mongol troops in the battle of Ain Jalut in 1260 M.<sup>10</sup>

This success increased the influence of Mamluk power, even in Mecca and Medina, with claims to be the Caliphate. In other areas, Turkish troops emerged as saviors. Under the leadership of Othman I, a descendant of Ertuğrul, Muslims succeeded in establishing power in Anatolia. At the right time, they succeeded in capturing the fortresses of Eskişehir and Karacahisar which were previously controlled by the Eastern Romans. Furthermore, Othman's troops succeeded in controlling Yenişehir, an important city that became the center of his power. From here he came face to face with Roman power, which at that time was the only superpower in the world.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> James Harter, "The Impact of Tuition Discounting on Net Tuition Revenue at Private Liberal Arts Colleges." (Doctoral dissertation., University of Toledo, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Foroozani dan Morteza Ebrahimi, "Anomalous Information Diffusion in Social Networks: Twitter and Digg," *Expert Systems with Applications* 134 (November 2019): 249–66, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eswa.2019.05.047>.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmad Faizuddin Ramli dkk., "The Contribution of Muslim-Buddhist Relation on Islamic Civilization," *Abqari Journal* 22, no. 2 (2020): 34–46, <https://doi.org/10.33102/abqari.vol22no2.321>.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Fachran Haikal dkk., "Strategi Militer Penaklukan Konstantinopel Dibawah Kepemimpinan Muhammad Al -Fatih Sebagai The Best Leader," *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research* 3, no. 1 (2023): 435, <https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative/article/view/3256>.

### Conquest of the Center of Power Roman

Since the reign of Otsman I, the conflict between the Islamic world and the Roman Empire has increased. Othman's troops managed to win several battles, causing fear among the Byzantine population in Anatolia.<sup>12</sup> Several strategic cities fell to Muslim forces, including Ephesus, Edirne, and Bursa. At one time, Bursa even became the center of government when Islamic leadership passed into the hands of Orhan, son of Otsman I.<sup>13</sup>

The influence of the Ottoman Empire strengthened itself after a convincing victory against the Eastern Romans, especially during the political reign of Sultan Mehmed II (Muhammad Al-Fatih) between 1451-1481 M.<sup>14</sup> In 1453 M, Sultan Mehmed II and his troops succeeded in capturing the city of Constantinople, the center of Eastern Roman power.<sup>15</sup> This incident even confirmed the good news conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad. seven centuries earlier.<sup>16</sup>

This event not only had a significant impact on the Anatolia region and its surroundings but also spread throughout the world, including in other Islamic areas that were still under the influence of the Mamluk dynasty.<sup>17</sup> In particular, at that time, Mamluk power, including over Haramain, was very weak. Ironically, the Mamluks were involved in a conspiracy with Shia powers in Persia to weaken Islamic power in Turkey, whose influence was increasingly widespread.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, during the reign of Salim I (1512-

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<sup>12</sup> Bernardo J. Sujibto, *Kitab Hitam Turki* (IRCISOd, 2021).

<sup>13</sup> Ferenc A. Váli, *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, 1st ed (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> Raphael Israeli dan Ana Dimitrovska, *Radical Islam in the Western Balkans* (Strategic Book Publishing and Rights Co., 2021).

<sup>15</sup> Abdul Basit Mujahid dan Abdul Zahoor Khan, "Conquest of Constantinople May 29, 1453: Evolution of Islamic Civilization.," *JSSH* 28, no. 1 (2023), <https://ojs.aiou.edu.pk/index.php/jssh/article/view/1811>.

<sup>16</sup> Jonathan Harris, *Constantinople : Capital of Byzantium*, Second edition (Bloomsbury, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Alfi Arifian, *Sejarah lengkap dunia abad pertengahan 500-1400 M : dari pemberontakan Odoacer hingga runtuhnya Sintesis Thomisme* (Sociality, 2020).

<sup>18</sup> M Zidny Nafi' Hasbi, "Studi Analisis Keunggulan Dinar dan Dirham Sebagai Mata Uang Menurut Al - Ghazali dan Ibnu Taimiyah," *TAHKIM: JURNAL HUKUM DAN SYARIAH* 16, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.33477/thk.v16i2.727>.

1520), an armed conflict occurred, namely the Reydaniyya War, between Turkish and Mamluk troops. As a result, Turkish troops emerged victorious in this battle.<sup>19</sup>

As a result, the Mamluk Dynasty inevitably had to relinquish government control over the entire Islamic region, including the Haramain, to the Ottomans.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Ottoman Turkey was given the right to be called the "Caliphate" for the entire Islamic world. It is said that the transition of the Caliphate from the Mamluk Dynasty to Turkey was marked by a symbolic ceremony that took place in Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1517 M. The keys to the Haramain were directly handed over by the Governor of Makkah to the Caliph.<sup>21</sup>

### **Times of Glory and Destruction**

When Sultan Selim I ruled, Muslims and the Caliphate were considered to be reaching the peak of their glory.<sup>22</sup> This situation continued after his death when Sultan or Caliph Sulaiman al-Qanuni (1520-1566 M) took over the government. Regarding the reign of Caliph Sulaiman al-Qanuni, Mevlana Isa, at that time described the situation of the previous caliphate. He stated, "During the reign of Selim I, sheep and wolves could coexist without conflict, as could mice and cats." At that time, the welfare of the people of the Khilafah throughout the world reached its peak. Prosperity and justice are felt by all citizens, both Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>23</sup>

It is important to consider the political position of Islamic state power. In the context of international politics, the Caliphate is considered a highly respected entity,

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<sup>19</sup> C. Max Kortepeter, *12 Muslim Revolutions: And the Struggle for Legitimacy against the Imperial Powers* (Xlibris, 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Khoirul Malik, "Potret Kekhalifahan Islam Dinamika Kepemimpinan Islam Pasca al-Khulafâ al-Râsyidûn hingga Turki Utsmani," *TSAQAFAH* 13, no. 1 (2017): 135, <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i1.980>.

<sup>21</sup> Siti Rohmah, "Transformasi Makna Ruang dan Tempat pada Hagia Sofia, Istambul, Turki," *Jurnal Middle East and Islamic Studies (MEIS)* 7, no. 1 (2020): 113-131.

<sup>22</sup> Mehmet Arisan, "From 'Clients' to 'Magnates': The (Not so) Curious Case of Islamic Authoritarianism in Turkey," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 19, no. 1 (2019): 11-30, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2019.1576341>.

<sup>23</sup> Muhamad Basyrul Muvid, "Sejarah Kerajaan Turki Utsmani dan Kemajuannya Bagi Dunia Islam," *Ta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam dan Isu-Isu Sosial* 20, no. 2 (2022): 13-44, <https://doi.org/10.37216/tadib.v20i2.723>.

even causing fear among European infidel powers.<sup>24</sup> This situation lasted until the early 18th century M and was the cause of resentment among those who did not agree with the Caliphate. European Christian countries that were previously involved in conflict finally united to plan the destruction of the Caliphate.<sup>25</sup> They use war strategies in the form of thought and cultural influence to weaken the ideology of Muslims and try to divide the unity of the Ummah, including by spreading the spirit of nationalism (ashabiyah) among them through paid supporters from among Muslims.<sup>26</sup>

On March 3, 1924, the Ottoman Caliphate, which had ruled for more than 700 years (1300-1923 M), was officially abolished.<sup>27</sup> Not long after this incident, the religious courts and Islamic boarding schools were also disbanded, as were the Sufi orders. This change, from a state based on religious traditions to a secular state, certainly had a significant impact on the religious life patterns of Turkish society at that time.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Sick Man**

This strategy has proven effective because Islamic society is increasingly moving away from the principles of Islamic teachings. With various regions seeking separation from the center of the Caliphate, this weakness even spread into the circles of power. As a result, countries began to adopt Western law, which accelerated the process of destruction from within.<sup>29</sup> As a result, the Caliphate's position in facing its enemies experienced a significant decline, with many territories falling into the hands of Western invaders. In the mid-19th century, the Caliphate was even identified as "the sick man from

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<sup>24</sup> Sucipto - Sucipto, "BIOGRAFI SULAIMAN AL-QANUNI: PENGUASA DINASTI TURKI UTSMANI PADA MASA KEJAYAAN," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 7, no. 1 (2022): 115–30, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jish.v7i1.11585>.

<sup>25</sup> Anton Minardi, *POLITIK ISLAMI: Kepemimpinan Berbangsa dan Bernegara dalam Islam* (Manggu Makmur Tanjung Lestari., 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Miftahul Jannah dkk., "NASIONALISME DI DUNIA ISLAM," *MASA : Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.31571/masa.v2i1.2043>.

<sup>27</sup> Miftahul Jannah, "RUNTUHNYA KHILAFAH TURKI UTSMANI 3 MARET 1924," *MASA : Journal of History* 1, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.31571/masa.v1i1.1521>.

<sup>28</sup> M. Arfan Mu'ammam, "KRITIK TERHADAP SEKULARISASI TURKI: Telaah Historis Transformasi Turki Usmani," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 11, no. 1 (2016): 117–48, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2016.11.1.117-148>.

<sup>29</sup> Luqman Al Hakim dan Muhammad Faiz, "The Role of the Turkey Secularization Movement in the Collapse of The Ottomans Empire," *Tasfiah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021): 91, <https://doi.org/10.21111/tasfiah.v5i1.5306>.



Europe".<sup>30</sup> As a result, the previously strong power of the Caliphate became weak, and the Caliphate even attempted to be recognized as part of Europe.

In the end, in its history, the Caliphate was involved in a world war which resulted in it being paralyzed, and ultimately becoming a "ganimah" for the invaders. The peak was when Mustafa Kemal announced the dissolution of the Caliphate and expelled the Caliph from his palace in 1924. Furthermore, in the same year, he firmly announced the secularization of Turkey.<sup>31</sup>

### **Wallow Secularism**

Mustafa Kemal founded the Republic of Turkey after the collapse of The Ottoman Caliphate and adopted the principles of secularism, modernism, and nationalism. However, these ideas are No fully new to Turkey, because draft Mustafa Kemal adheres to a lot of secularism influenced by the thought of Ziya Gokalp, one recognized Turkish sociologist as the Father of Turkish Nationalism.<sup>32</sup> Thinking Ziya Gokalp is a synthesis of three forming elements of character the Turks, that is Turkishness, Islam, and modernization. Mustafa Kemal's success in ending the Caliphate considered as reason decline of Turkey and Muslims as a whole general. The door for various disasters unfolded wide. However, Turkey itself did No succeed in realizing the dream that Mustafa Kemal pursued, even over time, the country became the target of criticism from the West, while its people experienced a lost identity of Muslims.<sup>33</sup>

Situation This taking place until moment This. Turkey's glory is now only found in notes history, used as a tool For producing income. Although the majority of its inhabitants are Muslim No reflects the greatness of Islamic teachings because Turkey on

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<sup>30</sup> Meirison Alizar Sali dkk., "Takhrij Fikih dan Permasalahan Kontemporer," *Al-Istinbath : Jurnal Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2020): 51, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v5i1.1235>.

<sup>31</sup> Adib Khairil Musthafa dan Hanik Purwati, "Sejarah dan Tranformasi Politik Turki: Pergulatan Sekularisme dan Islamisme," *Jurnal Tamaddun : Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam* 10, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v10i1.8811>.

<sup>32</sup> Fadila Syahadha, "Nasionalisme, Sekularisme di Turki," *Majalah Ilmiah Tabuah: Ta'limat, Budaya, Agama dan Humaniora* 24, no. 1 (2020): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.37108/tabuah.v24i1.268>.

<sup>33</sup> Neneng Irwanti dan Mohammd Ibrahim Bayu Pratama, "The Impact of Kemal Atthaturk's Secularism on the Islamic World in the 19th Century.," *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture and Islamic Civilization* 3, no. 1 (2022): 12–23, <https://doi.org/10.24042/jhcc.v3i1.7905>.

purpose adopts secularism as its base law.<sup>34</sup> Turkey's presence on stage internationally only limited rhetoric. Unfortunately, they are No capable of stopping the oppression that occurred ahead eye. Strength They No can defend Palestine from action arbitrary Israel, although Turkey has a strong military.<sup>35</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation that has been outlined, it can be concluded that in the history of the development of Islam in the past in Turkey, when Turkey was still an Islamic kingdom, Islam experienced development along with the progress of Turkey. In that period, Turkey succeeded in achieving progress in various aspects, including the development of the Islamic region, socio-political changes, government administration, and military and economic progress of Muslims. Furthermore, Turkey and Muslims continued to develop and advance in various fields until they entered a period of reform in the contemporary era. On October 29, 1923, Mustafa Kemal proclaimed the establishment of a republic, marking Turkey's transition from a monarchy or dynastic system to a republic.

Today's Turkey, known as the Republic of Turkey, is a secular state rooted in the legacy of the Ottoman Empire. The conclusion that can be drawn is that Kemal Atatürk ultimately fell into a wrong understanding of Western views. He believed that Western progress was due to secularism, and thus, Islam should also adopt the same approach to achieve progress. In reality, every nation has a unique historical background and is often different from one another.

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<sup>34</sup> Hasnawati, "Pembentukan Nilai-nilai Toleransi dalam Pembelajaran Agama di Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri 8 Palopo" (Thesis, IAIN Palopo, 2020), <http://repository.iainpalopo.ac.id/id/eprint/2692/1/HASNAWATI.pdf>.

<sup>35</sup> Institute of oriental studies, Russian academy of sciences (MOSCOW) dan Dmitry Grafov, "THE OUTLOOK ON THE TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY FROM DIFFERENT PARADIGMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS," *Eastern Analytics*, no. 2 (2021): 64–89, <https://doi.org/10.31696/2227-5568-2021-02-064-089>.

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