

AII
9985
a

THE
BRITISH LABOUR
AND THE
ORIENT

BY
HALIL HALID

BERNE
1919



TÜRK TARİH KURUMU
KÜTÜPHANESİ

KAYIT No. 39875

YER No. A.Ş. 9985-a

THE
BRITISH LABOUR
AND THE
ORIENT

BY
HALIL HALID



BERNE
1919

ESAD FUAD TUGAY'IN
TÜRK TARİH KURUMU'NA
ARMAĞANIDIR

Printed by Stämpfli & Co., Berne.

37875
AE 9985

THE
BRITISH LABOUR
AND THE
ORIENT.

PLEA FOR AN UNDERSTANDING.

THE power of Labour is now perceptibly rising in England and there can be no doubt that the destiny of Great Britain will be directed chiefly, if not wholly, in accordance with the desire of the Labour elements in the near future. These elements are now struggling with more determination to free themselves from social and political disabilities. Once awakened as a complete whole from moral and intellectual stupour they will gain greater political consciousness. They are already actively at work for self-redemption.

The influence which the rising power of Labour in England is going to exercise over the Oriental situation cannot possibly be well perceived in the Occidental countries. The small but the most powerful classes which keep under the English sway hundreds of millions of human beings in the Orient are the very same classes, the privileged positions of which are now disputed by the British labour elements. When the persons belonging to the ruling classes are so inconsiderate as to keep the rest of their countrymen, who are called "common people", in a servile condition, it is quite natural that they can entertain no humanitarian compassion for the alien races of the Orient whom they insist to rule as masters.

The failure of the Labour in trying to get a powerful parliamentary representation in the last general election had caused widespread disappointment in those parts of the East where the oppressive weight of the British imperialism is much felt. The subsequent growth of Labour efforts to obtain a better social existence and greater industrial influence, which will be ultimately conducive to political ascendancy, have, nevertheless, caused rejoicings amongst the people in these parts of the Orient. It is wrong to suppose that Oriental nations have turned anti-English. On the contrary they earnestly wish to strengthen the old commercial and political ties with the English. The Englishman's good qualities had long been known to them and admired by them. The existing animosity is directed solely against those who aim at keeping the Orient under subjection and exploit it for capitalistic or imperialistic purposes.

The ardour of those who belong to ruling classes for exploiting the East has been enhanced during the last score of years or so, and yet the fortune made in the East did not bring about any betterment in the conditions of life amongst the British working classes. The British imperialism may wish to destroy the independence of some more Oriental nations and add many more millions to the number of the native subjects of H. B. Majesty. Yet the British working classes could not be happier by the new harvests to be gathered by their countrymen of imperialist type in the Orient. Labour elements in the other progressive and industrial European countries, which possess hardly any conquered land in the Orient to exploit, can enjoy a far better mode of life and find subsistances more conveniently than the British working people. In recent years various commissions of enquiries had been sent from England to other countries in order to study the social, economic and educational conditions of the working classes. The published extracts from the reports of these commissions, which were official as well as independent in character, demonstrate how lamentably small are the improvements made in the conditions of life of the British working people in comparison with

those of the other industrial countries. It is notorious, that the British workingman's life is a simple drudgery. His housing condition is still wretched, his food is unwholesome, his recreations are limited, and the means of educating or training his children are insufficient.

The Labour elements were called upon to support the great war and their sense of patriotism was much flattered by the ruling clique. They will no doubt be called upon to contribute to the achievement of the new conquests which the British imperialism appears to be hard at work to plan. Heavier taxes will be drawn from them for future armaments. Early in the war the Labour elements had heard much fine governmental promises, relating to the improvements of their lot, and the word "democracy" had been employed with catching emphasis by the British Statesmen and their organs in order as much to hoodwink them as to fascinate the outside world. If we judge by the ever-increasing unrest in the United Kingdom we may safely come to the conclusion that the Labour elements have not been completely deluded. It does not look as if they are going to depend any longer upon the initiation of the upper classes for their salvation. Self-determination is of course the surest means of working out their own salvation. Those nations of the East who require and wish to be on best possible terms with Great Britain and who, nevertheless, entertain the deepest sense of detestation for the aggressive ways of the British imperialism, will be looking forward to the advent of the British Labour to power with friendly intentions and good-will.

The "democracy" which was thus much advertised did not indeed convince the outside world either, as, although ably used to attract attention by many ingenious minds and fascinating pens, it was too artificial. With a royalty in the name of which many vital state affairs are transacted, with many millions of human beings of alien races forcibly reduced into slavish subjection, with a long established and courtly aristocratic caste and with sharply distinct class disparities it was certainly a

fraud to talk about democracy. The elements of the British people who are called "lower" classes, exhibit so marked a distinctiveness in dialect, in temperament, in sympathies, in manners and in many other respects that outsiders may sometimes mistake the persons belonging to the predominant castes and to these classes for members of different nations. The world could only see the growth of a true democracy in England by the coming of the power of Labour to the front. The influence of the upper classes has, up till now, been so great that even those persons who had sprung up from humbler circumstances of life and who had attained bigger situations inclined to assume a somewhat aristocratic position in opposition to their original surroundings. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the men who had succeeded to be addressed as "Right Honourable" and who tasted the luxury of the higher life could be regarded as the properly qualified leaders of the coming Labour forces.

Those outsiders who know something about the characteristics of those sections of the British people who are called "common" or "lower" (it should be emphasized that these uncomplimentary expressions are used only by their own compatriots belonging to the dominant classes) and who form the great majority of that people, find in them much goodness. The rate of living having always been higher in England than in many other countries of Europe, the inferior standard of subsistances and cheap and bad drinks gave to some of the British workingmen a curt and unpleasant sort of temper. Yet one finds the British Labour people, if one once comes into intimate contact with them, on the whole quick witted, sociable and kindly. They adopt no greater prejudiced attitude towards the foreigners living amidst them than any similar class of people in other countries. The cordial displeasure with the presence of foreigners in England is more noticeable amongst the upper class people. Anyhow the Labour elements are not infected by that show of superiority which characterizes the manners of so many Englishmen belonging to upper societies. In short, the British Labour elements possess qualities which

will in future effectively serve the ideal of international amity in Europe as well as the cause of friendly dealings on equality with the nations of the Orient. They only need greater chances than those which have hitherto existed in coming into closer contact with foreign peoples. The ultra and, at the same time, the shockingly narrow-minded, patriotic propaganda, which is constantly made amongst them by the imperialist element may, we hope, soon have no effect upon them and whatever prejudices they may have against this or that nation of the West or East may die out.

The parties which have hitherto been exercising powerful influences in England over the foreign and colonial affairs are all imperialistic and expansionist in their politics. Oriental world will not allow itself to be deluded any longer by the apparent large-mindedness, freedom-loving attitude and international sympathies of this or that political party in certain cases and under certain circumstances. Conservatives or Unionists or Liberals or whatever other names they may possess, they are all in favour of new conquests whenever convenient moments arrive and they are certainly all in favour of the indefinite retention of the earlier conquered soil of the vast Orient. They may in some cases follow different schools of thought in the way of governing the captured countries, but they are all in earnest in ruling the native (a word which is collectively applied to all the subject-races of the East and which contains a tinge of inferiority and contempt in its modern application.) For decades the statesmen, official spokesmen, and penmen belonging to these British imperialistic parties have been making powerful efforts to convince the peoples of Europe and America that England was acting as the guardian of civilization, order and open door in those countries of Asia and Africa which she had brought under her sway. Thanks to the revelations made lately the real nature and object of the British imperialistic actions in the Orient begun to become fairly known all the world over. Open rebellions broke out in many centres in Asia and Africa under the sway of British imperialism. When one considers that absolutely disarmed and politically paralyzed

people under the British rule are showing a desperate resistance against England's land and air forces with all their infernal instruments of destruction, so greatly developed during the war, one finds out the true effect of that much-boasted rule. Gradually as the veil covering the precise state of things in far away lands of the Orient raises, it will become clearly known how deep the Eastern resentment is against the domination of the British imperialism. Up till now the Press-organs of the capitalism and the agents of the exploiting imperialism have been informing the world that all the moderate and better elements of the conquered Orient were loyally attached to the English throne. The revolts which break out more frequently now than ever in various countries of the Orient falsify most vividly such assertions. Cost what it may, Orientals will, henceforth, actively or passively protest against their constrained subjection. Anyone who knows the East well must also know the increasingly rebellious state of its sentiments. The unbounding hatred is directed solely against the aggressive masterdom of the imperialists and certainly not against the relations with the British in all circumstances. The dawn of a school of equitable thought and the assumption by a new element of the political power in England will remedy the evils of the antagonism which has been alienating the feelings of the friendship of the Oriental nations from the people of that country in recent years. In the East everyone of some intelligence sees the necessity of coming into increased business contact with the English and everyone wishes to profit by the British expert knowledge and the skilled labour for the sake of his community's welfare and progress. Nowhere in the wide lands of the Orient would the people willingly dispense with the British economic and industrial enterprises. Only it is desired that all connections should be characterized by genuine fellow feelings and mutual respect, and should not resemble the relations of arrogant, patronizing and officious masters with their servile subjects.

It has in recent years been a marked point in the diplomacy of the British imperialism to regard with discouragement the investment of the British capital in the Moslem countries of the Orient possessing some vestige of independence. The displeasure of this imperialism with the desire of such countries for making progressive improvements on their own national and independent lines, was on account of the fact that it expected to absorb the sovereign rights of these countries at some convenient occasions, when it could exploit them under its monopolizing authority as the ruling or protecting Power. As every observer of the Near Eastern affairs knows, this diplomacy also made a point to attack in particular the administration and the backward state of the Ottoman Empire. Did England herself turn into some sort of happy lands those countries, the governing machinery of which she had long taken into her own hands? Go a few miles beyond the big centres of business in those lands of Africa and Asia occupied by her, and then you will see instances of abject destitution, dilapidated dwellings and edifices, filthy localities and signs of ignorance on all sides. Activities of selfish exploitation and gain in great centres are not the real signs of the progress and prosperity of the peoples of the countries snatched from their rightful owners by the British imperialism, although such illusory signs can impress the superficial, flying visitors from Europe and America as being the civilizing effects of the British rule. Speaking about the present state of things in Mesopotamia recently in the House of Lords in the name of the British Government, Lord Curzon, one of England's super-patriotic statesmen, tried to prove how prosperous, happy and orderly that country was becoming since the British occupation. There can be no doubt that a certain amount of eye-deceiving improvements must have been effected in and near the towns of Mesopotamia within the last two years or so of the British occupation, and that the wilder tribes inhabiting, or wandering in, the outstretched provinces of that country must have been constrained to keep quiet by the tremendous display of the

British military forces. It is, nevertheless, impossible to believe that England has already succeeded in turning that country into something of a worldly paradise. Repeating the often advanced argument of so many political charlatans of jingo school this most noble Lord maintained, at the same time, that Mesopotamia like other countries of the nearer Orient did not see so much prosperity and progress in over four hundred years of the Turkish rule as it has been enjoying since the British occupation. The boastful politicians of England may succeed in inculcating into the minds of their unexamining countrymen such notions but they can deceive no longer the outside world by bringing forth humbugging evidences from history. What was the stage of progress in their own country three or four centuries ago? Was the degree of civilization really higher in England than in the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, for instance, when the English courted so strenuously the friendship of the "Grand Turk" for political and commercial purposes? The beginning of the modern material progress in West-European countries, and more especially in England, does not date earlier than a century and a half or so. Turkey could not keep pace with these countries in the path of progress in modern times simply because the energy of her people was absorbed by the continuous wars of defence against the onrush of several European Powers for conquests in the East, and the Turkish political body was practically paralyzed by the machination of such ambitious and conquering states. The history of the diplomacy of the European Powers is full of the instances illustrating the deeds of intriguing directed against the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Can anyone amongst the boasting politicians of England point out if there is a single country, detached from the old Turkish Empire, where the people are now not in a state of a lamentable unrest or revolt and where the persons belonging to different races live with better fellow-feelings? Why do so many European politicians, when writing or speaking about the disturbed conditions of this or that country in Europe or Asia,

or Africa, formerly a province of the mutilated Ottoman Empire, mention that the state of things is now worse than when they were under Turkish rule?

Not only in those portions of the old Ottoman Empire where the populations used to enjoy semi-independence and the citizen rights and where they are now ruled by the British Imperialism as lower situated native subjects, but also in other vast Oriental countries under the British domination or protectorate disorders and even revolts are becoming widespread. The British official circles can not any longer conceal the magnitude of such disturbances. They inform the world that their mobile columns have lately been sweeping down towns and villages of the revolted natives with their machine guns and armoured cars, and their military aviators have been throwing down lavishly their destructive bombs upon the practically unarmed people. Resistance of these people may be checked here and there, but only temporarily. They will not, however, resign to their slavish fate for ever. The decimation of the able-bodied manhood will not be sufficient to root out oppositions of the subject-races. On the contrary the hatred against the imperialist oppressor will grow stronger in the hearts of the survivors especially of women and children. Not only in Egypt, Sudan, Arabia and India which are directly under British control, but also in the rest of Turkey, in Persia and all over the Middle Asia there will be no love left between the people of these lands and the officials, and officers and the other agents of the British Imperialism. The people in all these countries must get their national freedom or else a life and death resistance is bound to spread from one aggrieved country to another. A handful Oriental sycophants, who give away their consciences for some mean considerations, may, here and there, profess amity and loyalty towards Great Britain, but such persons will, judging by the evident signs of national wrath against their ways, be regarded by an ever-growing national sentiment as traitors and treated by the overwhelming rest of their countrymen in a more fitt-

ing mode in future. The above is the real picture of the Oriental case. It is better to show it publicly. It is to be hoped for the sake of humanitarian considerations, for the future understanding, and for the peaceful development of the commercial and economic relations between Englishmen and Oriental Nations, that enlightened Labour elements will soon get the upper hand in controlling the state affairs in Great Britain. Directly they admit the rightful claims and aspirations of the Eastern races, they will secure all over the East sincere respect for their country and nation. The leaders of the British Labour elements should be aware that servants, agents and partisans of the domineering British Imperialism are looked upon by their Eastern victims as something of anti-human specimen of humanity appearing in civilized form and possessing satanically developed faculties by means of which they can enslave, and voraciously exploit, and beat to submission ill-armed or unarmed nations of the Orient.

In all those important countries of the Orient where the grudge against the domineering influence of the British Imperialism is sorely resented the necessity of having increased international intercourse for business purposes are well perceived. It is also well understood that in giving and taking freely not only mutual advantage but also mutual good-will is necessary. No one of common-sense in the whole Orient can deny the vital importance of dealing with such a great people with unsurpassable energy as the British, and this for the promotion of their own welfare above other considerations. But the aggressive policy of the imperialism has been so far in the way of common understanding. The imperialists, owing to their lust for authority over alien races, prefer to get slave labour in the Orient. While, on the other hand, an enlightened and truly liberal element, when assuming the control of the affairs of the British realm, will receive the free and willing cooperation of the Eastern nations in the development of the profitable activities. As it was hinted in certain influential organs of the imperialism the recent powerful efforts of the

British Labour elements have made a pleasing impression upon the peoples of some Eastern countries. For the foundation of a great Labour organ in London financial help has even been promised from India. The strike policy of the British Labour has been considered as worthy of copying in vindicating the infringed rights. There seems to be a strong desire in many business centres in the Orient to act harmoniously with the British labourers in Great Britain. Only, out in the East the strike policy will be adopted not only as an instrument to be employed against the greed of the capitalism, or servile toils, but also against, what is worst in the Orient, the actions of a tyrannical imperialism.

* * *

It is sometimes enquired whether the British Labour will not turn also imperialistic and aggressive when it becomes a powerful factor in shaping the policy of Great Britain. It is thought that British Islanders would, at all times, require to exercise a dominating influence upon those nations, whom they find weaker, for their selfish insular advantages. It is more dangerous in this abnormal age to prophesy on future events than it was in days gone-by. The tendency of humanity is, nevertheless, decidedly towards international fraternity in future, and imperialism at the expense of the development of other peoples' national freedom and independence is a tyrannical aggression which could not be conducive to international good-will and peace. The enforcement of any imperialistic rule upon alien nations of the Orient must depend more and more on the employment of armed forces in future. It would be contrary to the principles of internationalism to favour militarist actions for the purpose of conquest or for forcibly keeping the already conquered nations under subjection against their own will. It is natural to expect that the British Labour elements will not suffer to see that their fellow-countrymen should for ever be heavily taxed in order to defray the expenses of the everlasting military expeditions abroad and that

their sons should constantly be armed with a view of forcing those Oriental races, who strive for free existence, to show fealty to the British rule. The downfall of Czarism has, fortunately, relieved several nations of the Orient from the crushing burden of an alien imperialism, and it is quite unconceivable that an enlightened Labour could tolerate the existence of the English imperialistic overlordship as the sole monument of tyranny in the countries of the Orient, the populations of which wish simply to be left alone in order to work out their own salvation.

Formerly England had a good name all over the Moslem portion of the Orient, because the Englishman of the old type knew how to win the good-will and amity of nations inhabiting the Moslem East. The British trade and economic interests used to be favoured by the people out there. It does not seem to be to the particular interests of the present day capitalism as well as of the official caste to care much for the good-will or the sympathies of these, what were once, friendly nations. Finding these weak and depending on the overwhelming superiority of their own side in all brutal instruments of war, both capitalism and official caste prefer to force their rule as well as their trade upon them nowadays. Those who will push forward the power of British Labour towards political ascendancy and thus control British external policy must understand that it is through good-will that British interests in the Orient could be better promoted. They will find good-will whenever they respect the Oriental rights of freedom and independence.

There is another reason why the subject-nations of the Orient hope to secure the sympathy of the Labour in working out their self-redemption. Tendency of nations appears to be more and more towards having republican form of Government nowadays. It is only the business of the British Labour elements if they think that it is the best policy for their country to retain monarchical form of state. Moreover, it does not concern outsiders if they, in England, believe that under the

English Constitution ideal type of sovereigns could be turned out. Only, it would be utterly in opposition to the principle of the freedom of conscience, which should be Labour's fundamental policy, to force allegiance upon foreign races in distant lands in the name of a sovereign with whom they have no affinity of any kind. It is one of the concocted fictions of the organs and agents of the imperialism to represent hundreds of millions of human beings who inhabit various lands of the Orient and who are alien to the Englishman in respect of blood, faith, tongue and ideals as the willing and loyal subjects of His Britanic Majesty.

* * *

There are undoubtedly as many fanatics in the Orient as in the Occident, but the man who never ceases to refer in his speeches and writings concerning the Eastern matters to the "Moslem fanaticism" is an impostor. He knows hardly anything about the characteristics of men of the East, and a slight hint emanating in a round-about way from official or semi-official quarters concerning any aspect of the Oriental policy of this or that imperialistic Power stirs up his cheap conscience and he belabours indiscriminately the Eastern victims of the Western Imperialism with all sorts of slanderous accusations. With a view of damaging the honour, rights and vital interests of any people of the Orient who are made the object of aggression by the Western Imperialism, invectives, lies and misrepresentations are always poured out by this type of men of debased political morality and published almost daily in many English as well as continental journals. Nations with ancient civilizations possess feelings which are tenderer and more humanitarian than those enjoyed by the people whose civilized progresses are comparatively of modern date. Many nations of the Orient who are struggling to-day against the aggressive domination of the Western Imperialism and who are charged with wild fanaticism, have old established civilizations of their own. In the ages long gone-by

when no Oriental could travel safely in any region of Europe, many European visitors in the East were granted rights and privileges known under the name of "Capitulations". Racial and religious discrepancies observed in the person of the stranger might have roused curiosity but not animosity. Merchants coming from Europe were regarded as friends by the people and the business relations with Europeans used to be encouraged by the Oriental rulers.

European statesmen and politicians of great influence did not, in modern times, satisfy themselves merely by pushing forward trade, industrial and economic interests of their own people in Oriental countries. Territorial acquisitions have always formed their foremost aim. Seeing that nations of the Orient remaining backward in the material progress of the time and, consequently, devoid from the adequate means of self-defence they strenuously and ceaselessly laboured against the independent existence of these nations with a hope of bringing them under the subjection or, at any rate, tutelage of their own countries. Chains of enslavement have, in recent years, been more treacherously extended round certain countries of Africa and Asia. With this purpose Press campaign as well as the old unclean methods of diplomacy were resorted to by the very same men who could, however, pass themselves in the society of their own countrymen for "perfect gentlemen". The exercise of fiendish methods of political paralization, particularly in the countries of the Near and Middle East knew no limit: Ignorant tribes were instigated in their rebellious actions against their sovereigns, senseless princes who inclined to act despotically towards their own folks were petted, political factions as well as religious sects and different communities were palyed off one against another, missionaries in some places were made to propagate something other than the teaching of the Gospel, journals in vernaculars of no strictly national policy and indigenious journalists of no genuine patriotism were befriended imperceptibly, political reports of scholars and wealthy young sportsmen travelling in the East

ostensibly for scientific or for some innocent purposes had been encouragingly appreciated and consular officials were charged more carefully with duties other than those prescribed by international law &c. &c. The above résumé of the imperialistic policy is made out of what the people in the East firmly assert.

In connection with the last sentence it should be mentioned that business circles in England often complain of the lack of energy and capacity in the consular service in pushing forward the British trade interests which are so important in these days of the keenest competition. It is hard to see the justice of this charge for any one who is aware that amongst the British consular officials in the Eastern service there are so many capable and energetic men. Their critics do not realize that for the famous Office in the neighbourhood of Westminster which appoints and instructs all consular officials, interests of trade are of secondary importance, all the occupations of political nature for the purpose of imperialistic expansion in the Orient being considered of prime advantage. It is perhaps thought a wise policy by that Office to work harder to bring, in the first place, the remainder of the Eastern nations under British subjection or control or influence and then impose upon them the necessity of preferring the use of British manufactured articles by the British bayonets, machine guns and aeroplane bombs. If a time arrives when the British Labour representatives could open and examine the Archives of that Office, as it happened in the case of certain imperialistic and conquering States on the Continent, they could then most likely discover that the care of conquests in the Orient, and, by the way, of finding salaried posts out there for the favoured persons belonging to the upper classes, is put before the duty of promoting the British trade interests.

It is not only in the Orient that the advent of the British Labour to political power is expected with a keen sympathy; it seems that those who, in Europe and America, promote the cause of pacific settlements of international affairs and who work for the appeasement of racial spite, of the rival hatred between States, of the governmental passion for making secret combinations and of the jingo ardour for conquests also expect this advent with much favour. With the hope of allaying the prevailing Labour unrest, the political organs of the ruling element, on their side, are bringing, in all earnestness, to the notice of the working classes the cause of the British Empire. As a tactical means they appeal to the patriotism of the workers, urging them to support the policy of those who are in power, in all international disputes. If the solidarity of the British Empire means the attachment of all over-sea lands, which contain wholly or largely British-born population, to the mother-country for their common good, the Oriental world has no feelings towards such solidarity and attachment other than the feeling of good wishes. If, however, the ruling element in England continue to think that the solidarity and the links of contact between various British communities require lasting subjection to their imperialistic system of so many millions of human beings in the Orient with different blood, faith, ideals, and national interests, the mischief of such imperialistic fiction will then grow quite fatal. The injustice of domination, maintained solely by brute force, or the status of being Britain's inferior "native subjects" with national disabilities and limited rights will not, henceforth, be sullenly acquiesced in by any Oriental nation. It is also a mistake to try to make them acquiesce to this subjection by sweet promises of autonomous concessions which are usually made at moments of pressing crisis by the imperialists. Let them waste no longer their efforts in hoodwinking their Oriental dupes. They have lost the esteem and credit of the East to such an extent that even their sincerest and most solemn pledges are regarded with an unshakeable suspicion.

The feeling of distrust seems to be mutual. All the views expressed in the influential English papers on various problems of the East lately betray an intention which is more vindictively treacherous than ever. The British Imperialists are becoming terrible fire-eaters. They applaud England's recently developed militarist policy with as much keenness as they condemned the Prussian Militarism during the war. According to all the transpired accounts their agents in Egypt and India and elsewhere in the Orient, tell the people that every movement for independence and home rule will be suppressed with a pitiless firmness. This will only encrease the determination of the subject-races for the recovery of their freedom and rights. Fortunately for humanity, however, powerful elements in England who have hitherto been mesmerized and who had shown docile submission to all measures adopted by the ruling circles in internal as well as external affairs, are now becoming self-conscious and, to all appearances, they could soon assume a controlling attitude in state matters. The Labour Power is opposed not only to class domination but also to racial oppression. The East hopes much from its avowed policy of international friendship. The Labour elements in the United Kingdom have already given proof of their disapproval of the mischievous attitude adopted in certain European questions by the chauvinistic element, who determine the British policy. Humanity requires a wider international understanding, and for the genuine humanitarians there can be no religious, racial and colour discrimination. Rights of freedom and independence are required by all the creatures of God in Europe as well as in the Orient. Old prejudices still nourished by many clerico-political servants of Imperialism must be, for humanity's sake, done away with. A direct touch with the families of mankind inhabiting the far distant lands of Earth would remove many erroneous notions which are the heritage from the by-gone centuries.

OFFICIALDOM IN THE ORIENT.

THE East has, in recent years, been witnessing the growth of a bureaucratic oligarchy foreign in origin. This is the caste of officials which takes upon itself the charge of managing the affairs of those countries of the Orient over which the British Imperialism has been imposing its authority or controlling influence. Year by year numerous persons, civilian as well as military, are sent out from England to Africa and Asia to swell up the ranks of the bureaucratic caste. They are recruited chiefly from among the people of upper and middle classes in the United Kingdom. With some exceptions all these gentlemen hail from families who are more or less impecunious. In their own country they cannot afford to live up to the standard of the society of their own classes. They must find better posts abroad. It is not often that they possess superior scientific or technical or other learned accomplishments. In some cases the British caste rules alien nations possessing original civilizations and having amongst them many men of their own blood who are educated in the advanced countries of Europe or in America. The British officials are supposed to teach and prepare the ruled nations to govern themselves in future, an eventuality which they desire, in reality, to frustrate. With some estimable exceptions, who conduct themselves as sympathetic well-wishers of the people amidst whom they live and work in the Orient, the members of this caste of officialdom have, in recent years, been causing a deep sense of dislike for their ways in the Oriental heart. Each of such unwelcomed guests is an autocrat in his own sphere of official activity and he is perhaps excusable when he supposes that the whole might of the British Imperialism is behind him in case of conflict with the ruled Oriental population. He is diligent in enforcing his will and order upon the *natives* with whom he must sometimes come into contact in his official capacity. He prefers, however, to stand aloof wishing that his superior society or circles of his own compatriots should

be kept as much free as possible from the *infection by the natives*. The more cautious among the chief men of this caste of officialdom have done their best to break, at any rate in an outward form, the social and political barrier separating Englishmen from the people of the soil in which they are quartered. Efforts made in this direction were of no avail, and it seems to be a waste of energy to attempt at the reconciliation of the rulers with the people under their governing authority. The injustice of the forced subjection felt by the ruled people on the one hand, and overrated self-estimation as members of a conquering nation by the rulers, on the other hand, will ever be in the way of an understanding. Mutual suspicion, frictions and disputes between them are of frequent occurrence and the *natives* with their status of constrained inferiority have very scanty chance to get their own claims upheld. They could secure hardly any redress against the wrongs of which their alien rulers may sometimes be guilty. In case of any misdeed committed by any of these alien officials becoming outrageously prominent the matter is hushed up with a tactful prudence and its author is, in all smoothness, sent away from the views of the subject-inhabitants. In connection with the controversy in English papers over the causes of the Egyptian Revolution a writer in the Times of May 1st 1919 referred to this state of things in the following words: "It is absurd to accuse the natives of a tendency towards corruption if our own hands are not clean . . ."

New recruits for the army of officialdom are sometimes sent out from England to the East after certain training. Indeed an institute for the Oriental studies has been established in London chiefly through the efforts of such pioneers of modern Imperialism as Lord Curzon and the late Lord Cromer. The main object of this institution is not so much the promotion of the scientific and cultural knowledge of the Orient or of securing better means of advancing the British trade interests in the Orient. But the foremost aim of the institution is to prepare rulers, administrators and commanders for the coun-

tries which have already been brought under the British Imperialistic Aegis as well as for the countries, the acquirement of the sovereign attributes of which is projected by the high authorities in the offices of *Downing Street* and *Whitehall*. The English rulers of the subjugated Oriental nations learn especially the languages of the peoples whose destiny they are charged to decide. The linguistic knowledge they acquire for this purpose is, in most cases, superficial. Many of the candidates for the Oriental services are undeniably good, courteous and kindly persons while still at home, and, as a matter of fact, some of them entertain sympathetic feelings towards the Eastern nations before starting on their missions. But an odd evolution takes place in the feelings even of this kind of gentlemen after residing a little while in the Eastern countries to which they are sent. They see their national flag floating over the citadels or public buildings in the towns of the land which the government of their own country brought under its sway. Their sense of patriotism is humoured by the sight of the warships of their own country anchoring in an awe-inspiring manner in the harbours and their own legions garrisoning the strategical points of a country which is inhabited by a subject-population. They observe that when "God save the King" is played in public gatherings, the native audience must get up and listen, willingly or unwillingly, with reverence. On specially designed occasions official receptions with almost mediaeval pomps are held asserting the importance of the position of the representatives of imperialism and impressing subject-people with the majesty of England. The existence of the forged atmosphere of loyalty amongst the subject-population would naturally make these officials a little more proud. Everything connected with the management of the affairs of the country in which they are quartered is more or less anglicised. Native police and troops are placed under the command of their own countrymen who give to themselves a peculiarly martial appearance by putting the signs of Crescent and Star in front of their helmets, as was the case in the Sudan, or

ornament their heads with picturesque turbans, designed for the native regiments created by their own authorities, as in India. They see, moreover, that the use of the English language is promoted all along the line to the detriment of the language of the people, even if that language possessed richness and a great literature such as, for instance, the Arabic. They are given more influential posts and higher salaries than the native officials could obtain in all the branches of the administration. Many of them are lucky enough to reside cheaply in comfortable and sanitarily good houses specially constructed according to the climatic requirements with the government money which is of course derived from the taxation of the *natives*.

Most of these English recruits for the administration of the seized Oriental countries are excellent sportsmen, but not many of them are famous for the superiority of their technical and scientific accomplishments. Thus it sometimes happens that subordinate native officials are men of better and sounder education; and yet the happy Englishmen must hold more privileged places and receive higher salaries, and of course their voices in connection with the governmental matters must have greater deciding force. It is mostly through the weight of the opinions of the English officials that laws and regulations affecting the native population are framed. In every country ruled by the caste of officialdom the enlightened section of the population cry against these autocratically turned out laws and regulations, arguing with force and logic that they are framed with the intention of securing the interests of the rulers above other considerations. The higher education of the subject-population is under the control of the British officialdom. They naturally encourage the predominant use of the English language and literature, but they are very lukewarm in encouraging the ruled people to study scientific or mechanical subjects. While the development of laboratories in the native schools and colleges is by no means regarded by the official caste with favour. Evidently one could learn making

explosives in laboratories; and might not explosives be used against the oppressor under certain circumstances? Attempts of subject-population at the creation and extension of universities encounter such obstacles, the refined origin of which few can trace. The chief seat of learning for the Moslem Indians at Aligarh could not be transformed into an efficient university although over two hundred thousand pounds have been subscribed for this purpose and have been waiting for years at the disposal of the College trustees. In a recent parliamentary debate over the Indian Reform Bill it was mentioned that ninety-four per cent of Indians are still illeterate. What a credit to a "civilizing Power" which justifies the expenditure of many millions of pounds of Indian money every year on its Indian military and civil services! A very unpopular British official was kept in a very important educational post in Egypt for many years, although he knew nothing about the Arabic language and literature and entertained no sympathy whatever for the Egyptian aspirations for progress, social or intellectual.

It is impossible to suppose that the British statesmanship under the complete, or even predominant, control of the Labour power would not refrain from backing the views and projects of an autocratic caste against whom the hearts of the countless millions in the down-trodden Orient harbour a profound resentment. To follow the existing imperialistic masterdom in other people's native lands will require an ever-increasing expenditure of blood and treasure, as the future generation in the Orient will fight for freedom more desperately. The revolted conscience of the Eastern humanity finds the life no longer worth living under the degrading subjection forced upon them by alien masters.

* * *

The late Lord Kitchener was a conspicuous example of the men who gained fame and high title and received financial reward on account of their deeds in the Orient. He was received into the Egyptian service owing to the good-will of a

Khedive in whose name he was at first acting in the Orient. He had captured the stronghold of the Sudan from its native defenders, a large number of whom were done to death by his order while being wounded and helplessly lying on the battle-fields. He extended the work of his Sudan Expedition, which was prepared by the Egyptian money and composed mostly of Egyptian troops, to the South on the White Nile. There he had ordered the French officer, Marchand, who arrived there as a conqueror at the head of a detachment, to pull down the French flag which was hoisted on a spot then named *Fashoda*. He compelled the Frenchman to do so in the name of the Khedivial Government and its Suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, a case which was then considered by the English papers as a tactful piece of diplomacy. When Kitchener went to England soon after this event he was welcomed as a conquering hero and praised for his having "extended the frontiers of the British Empire". Amongst the places he had visited as the national hero a famous seat of learning had practically idolised him, and the students there unhorsing his carriage pulled it themselves. Chauvinism was then rising to the highest pitch through manifold imperialistic propaganda efforts in England.

Not long after the triumphal visit of Lord Kitchener, the late Keir Hardie wished to deliver an address in the same Great seat of learning. He had to be hurriedly smuggled away by a few sympathizers from the platform of oration which was assaulted by the infuriated scholars who were, to a man, deadly hostile to his views. This fury was natural enough to be excused. No set of men are more susceptible to a systematic instigation than the young students. An artfully organized work for propagating the ideas of national superiority and of the quasi-divine mission of England to improve the lot of other nations was then furiously pushed forward. Any policy followed by England abroad was right and would be conducive to the cause of justice, liberty and civilization all over the world! The work of propagating such notions was supported

heartfully by the capitalism (the greed of which would not be satisfied even if its grasping arms could cover all the money making enterprises of the entire world) as well as by its official associate, the conquering imperialism. Kitchener went down to the bottom of the eternal water in a more tragic way than the bones of the *Mahdi* of the Sudan which were taken from his eternal rest, from his blown up Mausoleum at Oum-durman, and thrown into the Nile by his command, an event which made the hearts of hundreds of millions of Moslem mankind invoke God's wrath upon England for her aggressive and domineering deeds abroad. Keir Hardie, on the other hand, wished to keep the British name clean by courageously and devotedly fighting for the cause of humanitarian understandings between nations, and for equal justice for all. Humanity at large must regard that Labour man as a far greater man than Kitchener, the hero of militarists, capitalists and kindred dominators of their fellow-creatures. Would that the British Labour elements had a few more leaders of the type of Keir Hardie at this juncture of world evolution!

The English papers of the imperialistic school of thought ironically allude from time to time to the "Kaiser's Socialists". This class of socialists in Germany apparently resemble to a few English Labour men who had been ministers in His Britannic Majesty's Government, or to some ultra-patriotic Labour politicians in England who perhaps aspire to become somebody of importance in His Majesty's service, and who constantly lecture to the genuine Labour elements on the wisdom of moderation and on the realization of their ideals through steady constitutional methods. "Moderation" and "constitutional methods" are fine expressions. They must be very pleasing to the hearts of the people in power, who, nevertheless, would not hesitate to resort to sharper methods in gaining their own points.

The British Imperialists have lately been adding to the already immense number of the Eastern Humanity who are directly or indirectly subject to their rule. The task of governing the new millions of subject-nations must secure many new openings to the caste of the officialdom in the Oriental service. New jobs will bring to the caste some more millions of sterling every year in salaries and pensions from the taxations wrung out of the pockets of poverty stricken Orientals. It is a dubious question whether the new sources of living of the British official caste in the Eastern services will appreciably contribute to the betterment of the life amongst the British Labouring classes. But one thing is perfectly certain: That is the fresh imperialistic enterprises in the Orient will enhance the already aggravated resentment which the injustice of the forced domination has been causing in every part of the subjugated East. It is natural that revolted feelings will seek means of vindication in all the conceivable forms; and as an obvious result of the revulsion of sentiment the efforts for the promotion of the British trade interests will be hugely hindered. Various messages sent lately to some European papers indicate that there is already a widespread talk in favour of boycotting as much as possible everything English all over the Orient. Something else, which must be of vital worth for a people, who claim to be a leading nation amongst the civilized communities of mankind, will be involved: that is the national honour. Dealing with this subject in the *Daily-News* of London (28th March 1919) an English writer said: "The danger is not to our imperial power. That can be delt by the firm hand, reinforced by machine guns, gas shells, and, at need, Sin. and Hin. howitzers. It is our honour that is in danger." It should be remarked here that even the firmest hand or the most brutal of all the instruments of repression will not shake the will of the seathing races of humanity, however disarmed they may be, who are now constrained to transform themselves into reckless desperados. Let the imperialists of England garrison every town and village in all the regions of the Orient under

their sway; and yet this will not assure servile submission to their rule. Judging from the bitter feelings which prevail all round, it can be concluded that "freedom or death" will, henceforth, be a general Oriental motto.

The official caste exercises a powerful influence upon the policy pursued by the high authorities in London as regards the Oriental Questions, and in all conflicts arising out of the methods of ruling alien races the views held by the caste seem to have almost the force of the Gospel of truth. The high Home authorities are either ignorant of what would be the right thing in far away lands of Africa or Asia, or else they do not entertain genuine sympathies for the populations who are not akin to themselves either in blood or creed or culture. It is quite probable that the minds of some of these supreme authorities are full of prejudices inculcated from their boyhood by their clerics or teachers against everything Oriental, more especially Islamic. In the estimation of the members of the official caste all the crying woes of the subjected Orientals are nothing but "noisy agitation fomented by the seditious and self-seeking individuals who, possessing some smattering of Western education, aspire to get government appointments". The caste expects, oddly enough, loyalty and gratitude from the mass of down-trodden beings upon whose lands its members impose its rule as irresponsible masters. For them the majority of the educated natives are not only sedition-mongers, but (as they take an active part in enlightening their own folk from the stupour of servility) they are often represented as individuals of anarchical schemes. Unable any longer to convince the world that subject-populations would remain contented and loyal under their "benevolent" rule without the influence of such agitators, the members of the imperialistic caste in the Orient are now beginning to charge the whole populations with rebellious defiance of the "established order". Read the reports upon the events in Egypt and India, you will then see that the autocratic caste invariably urges the adoption of the severest measures of repression of the nation-

alist movements in both countries. They are quite emphatic in suggesting to their countrymen and to high authorities at home that all the claims of the subject-races for national freedom should be rejected and discontent should be treated with absolute firmness. An odd example of such brutal mentality was published in the *Daily Telegraph* of May 2nd, 1919. The writer says: "The moral is plain enough—that Orientals invariably interpret magnanimous concession as weakness, that vacillation is fatal, and that there should be no parley with treason. No Government in Egypt or India can afford to yield to clamour, even though the bad feeling may have been born of mistakes or even injustice." The writer who is a retired official was in Egypt during the recent troubles. He was formerly a chief justice in India. Woe to the people who were subject to his tender jurisdiction!

* * *

The right thinking elements in the East never advocate hostile feelings against any nation of the West as a whole. In the case of the British people their earnest desire has always been to see some of their fine qualities copied by all the Eastern nations; while, on the other hand, it is a source of regret for them to notice that British people adopt uniformly lukewarm, if not prejudiced attitude, when the rights of Orientals are in question in spite of the fact that the British people have amongst them an uncommonly large number of men and women with a strong sense of justice. As one of the chief reasons of such state of unsympathetic feelings the part played by the British official caste and all the agents of the ultra-imperialistic British circles in shaping the mode of British public opinion on all matters Oriental, should be cited. It is notoriously well known that many members of the caste, even some higher ones, devote a considerable time to political penmanship; indeed some of them have been suspected as acting "own or special correspondents" to the journals with strong jingo tendencies published in England. Under the safety of anonymity some of these persons can represent

all the facts concerning the East with a deliberate fraudulency and thus prejudice the rights of the suffering races of the Orient. In India, more than any other subject-country of the Orient, prominent members of the British officialdom contribute to the influential newspapers more especially to those which appear in the English language. This is an essential point in the policy of the Anglo-Indian autocracy. It is mostly the published views of these officials which are wired to Europe as representing the feelings of the whole European community and even as the prevailing opinion of the sober classes of the general public on the burning questions of the time.

The resentment of the subjugated Oriental public against the British official element is not certainly indiscriminate. Fine qualities and businesslike capabilities of some of its members are highly appreciated. Uprightness is always respected and those British officials who recognize the justice of the aspirations of the people, among whom they work, to become free and self-governing, earn an imperishable esteem from the people of the land. Formally not only in the Oriental lands directly or indirectly under the control of Great Britain but also in countries with independence several British officials lent to them had created excellent records through their disinterested energy and their impartial devotion to the works entrusted to their charge, and they worked with a conscience free from all the intrigues in favour of the government of their own country. Unfortunately, however, in these days of the enraged imperialism with its insatiable lust for conquering and ruling permanently Oriental races such laudable exceptions are becoming rarer and rarer. In the place of personal dignity, which was so characteristic in the case of Englishmen of the old type lent to the service of the Oriental nations, there appears a loathsome arrogance. Suspicious intolerance took the place of the broad-minded sympathy of the olden days. In consequence efforts of the Eastern mankind for national free development and for self-redemption are now looked upon with an ill-will and grudge. Nowadays the British statesmen and politicians as well as the British officials

who are sent to the East appear to suppose themselves as God-sent protectors, patrons and rulers of the peoples of Africa and Asia. It is most condescending of the officials in the Oriental services if they call those who are under British rule "our fellow-subjects". An Indian once said significantly: Every Englishman has about three hundred and thirteen million native subjects in India, for the Englishman always speak of us as "our Indian subjects". Such a frame of mind is hardly worthy of the democracy of which English Imperialist Press boast so much.

One often hears from Englishmen themselves (who are not of stay-at-home category but persons of world) that those of their countrymen who settle back in England after serving a while in the Orient in military capacity or as civil servants exhibit a bumptious and irritable character. It is maintained that this kind of retired men do not always find open arms in the society at home on account of their aggressively pedantic show and self-assertion. No wonder; such gentlemen are accustomed to live in the Orient as autocrats within their spheres of authority, carrying out all their fancies and forcing their commands without hardly any check. They miss such sweet chances at home. In the whole Great Britain there could hardly be found a handful of persons who could tolerate their ways. In time of crisis in the East affecting the interests of the British Imperialism, many of those retired gentlemen, springing up from their obscurity with a nervous irritation, make speeches and write to the Press and theorize all-knowingly. It is characteristic that the chief remedy they suggest for asserting the British overlordship is the adoption of severe measures, rules and laws for the suppression of the agitation and for the protection of the *interests of civilization!*

THE PRESS, THE LABOUR AND THE EAST.

THE Labour's failure to secure a powerful parliamentary representation in the last General Election has been much exploited by the organs of the ruling circles. They attribute this failure chiefly to what they call the "sound patriotism" of the workers who would not, to sum up their arguments, "support persons of extremist views, revolutionaries and demagogues who wish to lead the British working people astray, upset the established order of things at home, damage England's prestige abroad and bring about the disruption of the British Empire" and so forth. Leading Labour politicians like Mr. J. H. Thomas have attributed this failure to the apathy of the working people in matters of such national concern as the election and voting. In a speech delivered at Lambeth a short while ago Mr. Thomas said: "They (working people) had no courage and honesty to vote". As a matter of fact the jingo element have secured an overwhelming majority not so much on account of their honest courage but more through the artfulness and audacity of their leading men. The jingo and imperialist extremists are still so powerful in England, and they could not be combated solely by moderation and constitutional means which the over-cautious Labour celebrities such as Messrs Thomas, Henderson and Clynes appear to be very anxious to impress upon the British Labour elements. It is hardly necessary to remark that public opinion of the classes, not thoroughly experienced in the World's ways and politics, is more meekly subject to the outside influence or suggestions than that of the worldly and well-to-do people. One must take into consideration of the powerful means possessed by the rich and ruling classes in the United Kingdom. These people can push forward their particular views, causes and aims much easier. They, moreover, have behind them the influence of the royalty from which they can derive moral support through invisible channels, although the possibility of such a party favouritism is always officially repudiated. They have behind them another bulwark in the form of unavowed benediction of the

influential ecclesiastics. High-titled Clergy may, at times of industrial and labour quarrels, appeal, with a sense of conventional impartiality, to the general public for national unity. But, as it is unnecessary to remind, the State-favoured Clergy, like the Royalty, has some sort of social and political affinity with the ruling classes. Quite naturally the financial world is not traditionally sympathetic towards the Labour which is a newcomer pushing itself forward in the social and political arena with unaccustomed claims. The ruling classes in England have a weapon which they could employ more effectively than any other instrument they possess against the opponents of their privileges, and that is the power of the Press.

* * *

It appears that the British Labour elements possess some well edited organs. Owing to the prolonged war time restrictions we are here, on the Continent, not yet in a position to know exactly the present extent of the influence of these papers. It seems clear, however, that the fractional conflict of viewpoints of various Parties and Unions create weakening factors for the influence of the Labour Press. It was one of the pitiable signs of inefficiency in its equipment for campaigning that the Labour had to use a solitary column in the pages of the *Daily Mail* during the general election and, of course, the column was offered to the Labour Party with a gentle courtesy. Like many conventional compliments, however, this courtesy also contained a cynical significance. The *Daily Mail* is a lively organ of the Northcliffe Press which is reported to be not hostile to the capitalistic theories. The head of this Press was made, as it is fresh in many minds, the principal agent of propaganda in enemy countries during the last stage of the war and it is affirmed by many that he had worked wonders in paralyzing the resisting power of the Huns of the Occident and the infidels of the Orient by ingeniously employing many deceptive methods which alarmed, confused and disunited England's enemies. Such a work must certainly appeal to the patriotic imagination of all

those persons who wish to see Britain's world supremacy confirmed by all means possible. There is, however, another point to consider in conjunction with this sort of patriotic zeal: How the Head of the Northcliffe Press had developed such a skilful capacity? Some persons say by practising for many years methods of mesmerisation on the British public, a large portion of which has ultimately become deliriously chauvinistic. As one result of this chauvinism the Englishman's good-old name is discredited in many countries and his noval ways of posing arbitrarily as a master and ruler of endless Eastern nationalities are thoroughly abhorred by everyone in the Orient who is not a traitor to his people. It is not right to show up the Northcliffe Press as the sole magic instrument for the use of the ruling classes. There are many big-paged, old-established English papers which represent the views either of the magnates of industry, commerce and finance or reflect the inflated jingoism of the ruling circles. At times the one or the other of these papers take up the cause of a particular class, sect or nationality. The unexamining public often admire the way of these papers for standing for the rights and liberties of the weak and oppressed. Their studied impartiality and well-guided pseudo-humanitarianism could only be discerned by those who know that such papers are silent or take a very lukewarm interest in the case of those nations of the Orient who regard the intrusion of the British imperialism into their countries as absolutely uncalled for and unjustifiable.

All these papers follow the *hide and seek* policy of the British diplomacy and show great and sustained eagerness in exposing the wrongs of other countries and nations in order to divert the attention of the world from the misdeeds of the imperialism they represent. Many enlightened Labour men and women rightly distrust all the comments of such respectable looking and pretentious organs of civilized jobbery, but they say that they read them only in order to get foreign news which these papers must have ample means at their disposal to receive. Only, the seekers of exact information should consult the opinions of

the foreigner, more specially of the Oriental, to whose country such information may relate. They could then learn in what degree of unprincipled ingenuity right is represented as wrong or truth as lie and *vice versa*. When the British Labour elements gain sufficient power to control the policy of their country and try to safeguard the interests of international good-will and peace, they should check, if they could not destroy altogether, the pestilential influence of these papers as well as of the news agencies whose official connections are well-known.

These papers and agencies nurse hatred between nations and jealousy between states. It is these organs which prepare the ground for the schemes of capitalist-supported governments for making conquests, by picturing such schemes of robbery as deeds of freedom, justice and civilization. It is the people who run these organs more than the chauvinistic painters, poets, novelists, dramatists, *learned* lecturers, *saintly* ecclesiastics with high official connection, and any other kind of the servants of organized propaganda, stir up public opinion for warlike purposes. Hundreds of thousands of families see their men depart for foreign lands far away from their own country armed, uniformed and garlanded in order to kill and to be murdered. Thousands of these bewitched members of humanity, mostly young and easily inflammable by the suggestions of propaganda works, go out to fight and conquer ill-armed or even unarmed races of the Orient. This is the kind of *patriotism* which the organs of jingoism encourage and exalt particularly. It is of course easy for any inspired diatribist to fire away from his writing table on a safe spot and under the cowardly cover of anonymity all sorts of poisonous missiles for the sake of L. S. D. Such papers praise in an encouraging style the duped warriors collectively, but they honour the militarists of higher ranks individually. These high ranked militarists love the war the most. The military activities mean for the most of them fame, reward, official position, social distinction and power. It is the common soldier, the son of the labourer or peasant who is exposed the most to death or

maiming. One wonders whether it is a cause of real consolation or pride for his family to see his name mentioned in the Rolls of Honour published in the "much esteemed" columns of capitalist organs.

In all the political topics of importance the hugely paged and widely circulated journals, faithful to the interests of the circles they serve, play their part attentively in the game of "divide and rule". They employ their dividing trick in the case of the Labour's efforts for the betterment of its lot in the same style as they employ it when they require to frustrate any project of the subject Oriental nations for their self-determination and free progress. Active and courageous Labour leaders, like the nationalist chiefs in the enslaved Oriental countries, are, in the estimation of these organs, demagogues, self-seekers, half-educated sedition-mongers &c., without whose *unscrupulous agitation* the people whom the imperialism protects and governs would remain quite and loyal. The authorities who hail from the classes, whose views these organs reflect, take paternal care in securing the welfare of the mass of the people. But the *mischievous agitators* always try to disturb the established order of things!

Of course the Press in every free country criticises any action or movement which affects the interests of general public. But the language of the criticism of the English jingo Press in the case of the deeds of militant Labour leaders is uncommonly harsh. While, in the case of the nationalist chiefs of the subjugated Oriental races, it is not only most harsh and insulting, but it is often compromisingly slanderous and affords excuse for the agents of imperialism in the East to proceed with the policy of suppressive persecution. The assaulted leaders of the Labour are now getting greater means of self-defence and vindication. The leaders of the persecuted nationalities of the Orient, against whom public mind is more successfully irritated, not yet possess sufficient means of repudiation. Nevertheless, the growing generation in the Orient who is sufficiently enlightened to feel the hardship of a degrading enslavement, is be-

coming quite desperate in the struggle for obtaining a decent place in the circle of nations. Depending upon the accounts one can gather about the true feelings of the growing generation in the Orient one inclines to conclude that it will regard politicians and journalists, who systematically prejudice Western mind against the Eastern efforts for freedom and independence, as personally responsible for the continuation of its slave-like existence. It appears more than likely that those "own" correspondents of the imperialistic journals who are quartered in Eastern towns (be they businessmen, missionaries, officials, officers or professional free-lancers) may, henceforth, be regarded as treacherous guests and may experience unpleasant treatment whenever their identity is discovered, for their deliberate infusion of falsehood. The more the imperialist organs abuse and misrepresent the Oriental case the deeper will become the sense of determination of the young generations to fight for their ideals.

* * *

Those Press people who lend their services to the capitalistic imperialism of the Occident in the Orient make the Moslem nations the chief victims of their misrepresentation, calumny and travesty. The greater success of their diabolical mischief in the case of the Moslem Orient is due to the fact that the public in Christendom is, to a very extensive degree, influenced by the prejudicial notions coming down from the old Crusading Ages. Even some highly cultured and liberal minded Christians would not part with their wrongly-inherited ideas about their fellow-mortals who happened to be born Mussulmans, although it is very easy to expose the ridiculously baseless foundations of their notions. The anti-Moslem fanaticism is atavistic and could not be rooted out even in this so-called enlightened age. Hence a chance for the anti-humanitarian factionists who serve the cause of an aggressive imperialism.

The situation in the East is quite lamentable. All the legitimate efforts of the young generation of Islam are liable to

be suspected, spied upon and frustrated. Individual contact of the enlightened persons of one Moslem country with those of another is subject to a fiendishly severe tracking. Even the most innocent Moslem international relations for business or intellectual or marriage purpose do not escape suspicion. The all-knowing persons who deal with the Eastern matters in the imperialistic Press find a pan-Islamic peril in every movement of the world of Islam. As a social system Islamism breaks many racial barriers between its adherents belonging to different countries and nationalities despite the alien intrigues directed against its uniting influence. There is no peril to anyone outside its scope. Most nations of Islam wish to be left free and are eager to make progressive developments and establish understanding with other communities of mankind who profess different faiths. As to "pan-Islamism" this is an expression invented by a West-European political penman many years ago and now widely used. He wanted to get a money-making concession from the late Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, and not being successful in his greedy hunt for fortune he started a campaign of misrepresentation in some journals against him, emphasising among other charges the so-called pan-Islamic danger supposed to be directed against the interests of "European civilization" in the Orient.

* * *

As it is unnecessary to mention, politically minded malcontents sometimes require to seek a place of refuge in a safe corner abroad when they find themselves exposed to molestation at home. Thus many Orientals, discontented with the state of things in their own countries, used to chose some safe spots in Europe and America to settle and carry out opposition or to do revolutionary works with convenience. England was once an ideal place of security for such persons, and more especially for those of them who used to combat the despotic rulers of their own country. The same England, formerly reputed

to be freedom-loving, after having become madly imperialistic and after having extended her dominating sway to every possible region of the Orient, began to show herself to be the most relentless enemy of all those who showed themselves active opponents of her forced domination in their native countries. Apart from the fact that there is no longer room for this category of persons in England, they are exposed in other possible places of refuge in Europe and out of Europe, to inquisitions of varying severity owing to the exercise of the British diplomatic influence. Reporters of the English papers of ultra-imperialistic type who happened to be quartered in such places can not find sufficiently strong words to abuse and accuse such persons. Nowadays the campaign of extirpation carried on by the agents of imperialism is not directed only against the avowed malcontents, but against every one of some note, belonging to any Eastern country, ruled or controlled by the British imperialism, while living somewhere away from his native Land. Almost all Oriental students are supposed to have some revolutionary disposition, if they are not actually accused of entertaining anarchical views. The reporters of jingo papers always honour the student class of Orientals with their particular attention. The most shameful of all these tomfoolish, yet brutal, charges against all the Orientals, who dispute the actions of the British imperialism in suppressing their national identity as independent people, is that they are, at times, represented as pro-Germans, if not actually accused as being German agents. It seems utterly inconceivable why all these Orientals should betray the interests of their own nation and play German's game, if Germany has any longer any field left to her in the Orient to push her games. Or one must be quite mad to wish to exchange, especially after bitter experiences, one alien domination with another; that is to say, to see the heavy yoke of the British imperialism replaced by, what might possibly be, the heavier yoke of German imperialism. Yet the inspired organs of the British jingos insist on such unabashed denunciations.

We remember a time when the decent sort of Englishmen used to denounce the "Yellow Press" of America. Was that Press really worse than the chauvinistic English journals of to-day, which carry on a most shameless campaign of calumny and misrepresentation against all perfectly legitimate Oriental efforts for free regeneration?



Other Works in English by the same Writer:

THE DIARY OF A TURK

Publishers: C. A. BLACK, Limited, LONDON.

THE CRESCENT VERSUS THE CROSS

Publishers: LUZAC & C^o, LONDON.

A STUDY IN ENGLISH TURCOPHOBIA

Published by the ISLAMIC SOCIETY of LONDON.

THE TURCOPHOBIA OF THE
ENGLISH IMPERIALISTS

Published with its French version in BERNE 1919.

Price Fr. 1.50