

RUSSIAN POLICY IN THE EAST.

IV.

TURKISH NATIONALISTS' PROGRAMME OF REVOLT.

HOW THE ALLIES FANNED THE FLAMES.

By Arthur Ransome.

[Mr. Ransome desires readers of this and subsequent articles to bear in mind that in writing them he has had access almost exclusively to Russian and Turkish sources; he adds that to some of the statements made there may be another side, but that these are accepted as the truth, and are acted on as such, in Russia and the East.]

REVAL, JULY 7.

The period that followed the Armistice produced in Turkey the revolutionary events which gave the secret society "Karaul" its opportunity. These events amounted to a general spontaneous revolt against Turkish officialdom. The revolt began in Eastern Anatolia, in the district of Erzerum. It was not at first anti-Allied, being concerned with more immediate opponents. The actual peasants and soldiers, taking their officers with them rather than being led by them, flung out the old profiteering officials. The country was full of deserters and soldiery who were inflamed against the Government that had entered the war and landed them in this mess of defeat, and against the grasping officials who were visibly profiting in every possible way. Resentment showed itself in riots and ejections. The old officialdom absconded as swiftly as it could and where it could, and a revolutionary period had begun. It was significant not so much that the old officials were replaced by new as that an attempt was made to choose these new officials by election.

A first congress was summoned in Erzerum with no wider object than to create some organ of self-government for the district. But the secret society above mentioned not only took control of this congress but also set about summoning other congresses throughout Anatolia and even in European Turkey. The Erzerum Congress, though in general non-political, had an immense majority of members more or less Nationalist, and more or less democratic in political colouring. There were a few Clerical Pan-Islamists. Little was done except to arrange for a larger congress, which met towards the end of 1919 in Sivas. The political character of this latter congress showed that the domestic revolution of Erzerum was turning into a Nationalist movement. The revolution in getting rid of the old officialdom found that it had new enemies in the shape of the foreign conquerors who, wherever they happened to be, defended law and order. The Turks, ex-

were actually only waiting to do exactly what the Allies wanted. The Allies may have taken these asseverations at their face value and assumed that, this being so, there could be no great harm in holding the elections, since the result would be to restore to power the men on whom they could count. Or it may be that they realised that, short of occupying all Turkey, they could not prevent elections altogether. They were in a strong position at Constantinople and in European Turkey, had ships in the Bosphorus, had disarmed the troops of the vilayets of Stambul and Adrianople. In their own spheres of influence the Allies did not allow elections, but with regard to elections elsewhere they took up a waiting position. The Turks are convinced that the Allies expected that the elections in Asia Minor would bring to the top the party "Huriet ve Itilaf," which, as I have already pointed out, was insignificant in numbers but openly favourable to the Allies and violently opposed to the revolution.

The result of the elections was to put a very severe strain on the democratic principles of the Allies. Of 130 delegates who came to Constantinople in February, 1920, only one represented the party of "Huriet ve Itilaf," and 127 formed a solid block pledged to carry out the Kua Mille policy. All the members of this block agreed to the so-called "National Pact," and, disregarding all previous negotiations, declared that on the basis of that pact and on no other basis they were ready to conclude peace with the Entente.

The National Pact.

Now this National Pact set out the maximum of sacrifices which its signatories felt could be made for the sake of obtaining a lasting peace, and declared that the Ottoman State could not continue to exist on any other terms. They said that territories with a Mussulman Ottoman majority make up an indivisible whole, but that the population of territories with an Arab majority were to determine their fate by plebiscite. They said that they were ready to submit to a new plebiscite for the territories of Kars, Ardaghan, and Batum, which they alleged had already voted for unity with Turkey, after the Peace of Brest-Litovsk (even at this point there was still no thought of alliance with Russia). The fate of Western Thrace was also to be decided by plebiscite. Constantinople, as the seat of the Khalifate and the centre of the Ottoman Empire, was to be free from all encroachment. Once this point was guaranteed, the question of the opening of the Straits for general traffic could be decided by agreement between Turkey and other interested Powers. The rights of non-Mussulman populations in Turkish territory were to be guaranteed in the hope that similar rights would be given to Mussulman populations in the surrounding countries. But from the point of view of benevolent financiers the last paragraph was the worst, for it demanded for Turkey an economic liberty similar to that of other States, and expressed the determined opposition of the signatories to any clauses in the eventual treaty of peace which should prevent "our political, financial, and judicial development," and added that stipulations concerning Turkey's financial engagements must not contradict these principles. That amounted to a definite statement that the regime of the Capitulations

CORRESPONDENCE

LAND AND LABOUR IN EAST AFRICA.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Your correspondent Mr. Luton has raised some important questions about East Africa. The answers, in brief, are these:—

In the countries in Asia and in tropical Africa we first conquered, we left the land in native ownership. In West Africa it is inalienable. But in our more recent territorial acquisitions, of which the most important are the East African colonies and protectorates, the Governments took possession of the whole of the land, and granted as much of it as they thought proper to Europeans. The area alienated in Kenya colony is five million two million acres. Six thousand acres is the commonest size of a "farm." These farms of a million acres have a market value of £5 million pounds. Not a penny has gone to the former native owners, and only a trivial sum has been paid to the Government in return for the purchase of freeholds. True, the former native population was in most of the alienated areas scanty. Even so, in 1901, though the population of Kenya is desert and worthless, the population was five times denser than in Queensland and sixteen times denser than in Queensland. Since then it has fallen 30 per cent, according to official estimates, actually probably 50 per cent.

A more important feature of policy in these land grants in Eastern Africa, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, and Kenya, is the pressure put on natives whose homes are in the unalienated areas to leave their homes and work for wages in the estates of Europeans. The methods used in applying that pressure amount to compulsion, and the Government co-operates with employers in keeping the wages at the artificially low level of fourpence a day.

Public opinion in Britain is slowly changing owing to the fact that the traditional British policy of ignoring, in tropical Africa, the demands of concessionaires and exploiters has been abandoned. What is wanted is pressure on the Government from the people to ensure (1) that every native family should have as much free land as it can use, (2) that in Kenya colony not a single individual or tribe owns a single acre of land nor has any security of tenure whatever, and that all East African Governments should permanently discard the policy of helping concessionaires to get cheap labour from unwilling natives; and (3) that these Governments, which have spent large sums of money derived from the industry of the natives in artificially stimulating production on the estates of Europeans, many of them absentee owners, should divert at least half that expenditure to encouraging and organizing industry in the areas still in native occupation.

The economic results of the East African policy have been most disappointing. It is time to try what improvement liberty might bring. And, above all, it is for British public opinion to insist that all these tropical

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ment that the regime of the Capitulations
had come to an end, and that Turkey de-
manded to be treated like any other indepen-
dent nation.

"It was, of course, obvious that Turkish
delegates who took up so patriotic and uncom-
promising a position could not have been legiti-
mately elected." So a cynical Turk summed
up the attitude of the Allies after the meet-
ing of the Parliament. A vociferous news-
paper campaign was started to discredit the
elections, and various risings, mostly in places
near enough to impress foreigners, were more
or less promptly staged. The effect of these
things was to add obstinacy to the movement,
and the Parliament itself was so far from
having any doubts as to the validity of its
credentials that, certain of having the
country behind it, it did things which it
would not have dared to do in any other cir-
cumstances. Thus it voted that the Cabinet
of Ferid should be tried for having concluded
an armistice on lines which had made possible
some of the later proceedings of the Allies,
and, further, for not having seen to it that
the terms even of this unsatisfactory armis-
tice were properly observed. It forced the
Cabinet of the non-party Ali Riza to resign.
A new Cabinet was formed, led by Salikh
Pasha, who was himself a member of the Kua
Mille party. Later on, in view of the Eng-
lish orientation of the Sultan and of the fact
that both he and the Parliament were too
near the guns of the Allied fleet, it is said
that Kua Mille had decided to depose
Mohammed VI., to place on the throne a
Sultan more likely to carry out their policy,
and, at least as a temporary measure, to shift
the seat of the Sultan and of the Parliament
into Asia Minor. The man named as a prob-
able new Sultan was Abdurrahman, son of
Abdul Hamid.

The Parliament was not given time to carry
into effect these later plans. We formally
as well as effectively occupied Constantinople.
We arrested the Grand Vizier, Salikh Pasha,
together with all the more prominent mem-
bers of Parliament, including more than half
the Parliamentary Block, most of the Minis-
ters, Abdurrahman, who had done nothing
except get into current gossip as a possible
new Sultan, besides many other people of
various ranks. The Turks complain that
seventy members of Parliament were deported
to Malta. Meanwhile, with the agreement
of the Sultan, who perhaps was delighted to
be rid of so masterful a Parliament, a
Ministry was formed led by Ferid, the head
of the party "Huriet ve Itilaf," which in the
elections had gained less than 1 per cent
of the popular vote.

THE SALARIES OF TEACHERS.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—The following information relative to
the salaries of teachers may be useful for
public consideration:—

The earliest age at which a certificated teacher
can commence professional duties varies from
20 to 23 years. The maximum salary which can
be secured by a man teacher during the pre-
liminary probationary period amounts to £85;
a woman can earn £52.

villing; natives; and (3) that these Govern-
ments, which have spent large sums mainly
derived from the industry of the natives in
artificially stimulating production on the
estates of Europeans, many of them with
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ing industry in the areas still in native
occupation.

The economic results of the East African
policy have been most disappointing. It is
time to try what improvement liberty might
bring. And, above all, it is for British public
opinion to insist that all these tropical depen-
dencies should be regarded, and treated, as
the property of their inhabitants.

If Mr. Lutton will write to me I shall be
happy to give him further information.—Yours,
&c.

NORMAN LETS.

Brailsford, near Derby, July 13.

BRITISH TRADE WITH ITALY.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—In this month's "Century" there is an
article by Carlo Scarfoglio in which the writer
implores Britain to take more of Italian ex-
ports in order to aid in getting them out of
their great trouble brought about by the depre-
ciated exchange.

The writer says: "There is only one solution
to the crisis which threatens English trade."
("You cannot in *aeternum* sell to a country un-
less you buy something from her.") Again,
speaking of a general improvement of trade:
"This result can only be obtained by encour-
aging exports from the nations with a depre-
ciated currency."

Our so-called Safeguarding of Industries
Act will tend to accentuate the Italian depre-
ciation of exchange by taxing some of their
goods 33 1-3 per cent, and thus excite the ani-
mosity of Italians, and at the same time tend
to make it impossible for them to repay the
money borrowed from us. This, indeed, would
be a strange beginning of that better feeling
between nations for which we are all looking.—
Yours, &c.

G. HINDLE.

Bastfield Mill, Blackburn, July 14.

LAKE DISTRICT VANDALISM.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—At the present time the attention of
lovers of the scenery of our English Lake Dis-
trict is centred upon the attempt of certain
persons to obtain permission to construct a
railway from Ambleside, through the Bothay
Valley, and over Dunmail Raise to Keswick.
The result is that the proceedings of the small
fry of vandals are apt to be overlooked. As a
case in point, I may mention that I discovered
quite recently the skeleton of a building of
forbidding aspect on a point of land which
juts into Lake Windermere, some half-mile
above Bowness, in full view of everyone who
passes that way by water. I understand that
a local tradesman is constructing a gravel
wharf, which is to be furnished with a high
chimney and machinery for crushing gravel
and stone. The National Trust has lately
expended a considerable sum in protecting the
shores of Derwentwater against profanation,
but I have not heard of any step being taken
to save Windermere, which has already been
quite sufficiently injured through the whole-
sale felling of trees. Is it too late to move?—
Yours, &c.,

TOURIST.

London, July 13.

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