

Bristol Technical College

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Head of Department of General Studies
C. B. CRAWSHAW, B.A.

Professor Mete Tunçay,
Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi,
Ankara University,
Ankara, Turkey.

your ref

our ref

16 April, 1971

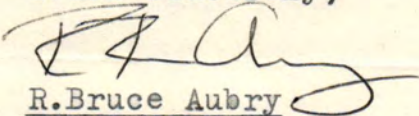
Dear Professor Tunçay,

Mr Kedourie of the L.S.E. has suggested that I write to you for help on a subject upon which I am working. At the moment I am cataloguing the archives of the I.L.P. which have only recently come to light, and are now in Bristol.

Among the Keir Hardie Papers I found 28 letters from Vice Admiral Ahmed Pasha (1909-1913). He joined the I.L.P. in 1910. I would appreciate any biographical details you could supply. Could Keir Hardie's letters to Ahmed Pasha be extant in Turkey?

I am also writing to the Director of Naval Archives and to Dr Fethi Tevetoglu.

Yours sincerely,

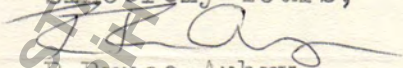

R. Bruce Aubry

17 Sept., 1971

Dear Professor,

I write again about Vice Admiral Ahmed Pasha. Since my last letter to you I have found more of his letters to J. Keir Hardie. When you have time I would like to know more about this Turkish member of the British I.L.P. I had hoped that the Vice Admiral's family might have preserved J.K.H.'s letters to Ahmed Pasha.

Sincerely Yours,


R. Bruce Aubry,
Department of Politics,
Bristol University,
Bristol.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL İKTİSADİ VE FİKRİ TARİHİ VE KÜLTÜRÜ

AMERİKALI VAKFI

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

ALFRED MARSHALL BUILDING 40 BERKELEY SQUARE BRISTOL BS8 1HY Telephone: Bristol 24161

Nov. 24, 1971

156 Ashley Down Road
Bristol 7

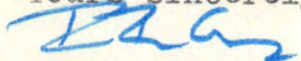
Dear Professor Tunçay,

Please forgive my slowness in replying to your last letter, but I have been busy with a crisis with my Archives Committee. It is settled at last but I do not wish to have another one. I almost lost my job because someone referred to the collection for three footnotes (before the Committee could discuss it in December). I am dealing with "extraordinary" people also! They would hammer me if they knew that I'd sent you my edition of the old Vice Admiral, but I have begun the discussion of the articles you suggest; we may have a decision before Christmas.

I apologise that I have to add to your problems.

The Society of Labour Historians are interested in your other problems. Is there anything I can do?

Yours Sincerely,



R. Bruce Aubry

TURKIYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VEKİFI
TÜSTAV

Dear Professor Tunçay,

I appreciate your understanding patience regarding the delay caused by the Committee's suspicion of 'academics'. You must be accustomed to such attitudes! Well, they have agreed to a use of 'it' for the purpose you hinted at. I made it seem to be their duty as internationalists! If you send me a translation of the articles I'll publish them here under a joint-byline (with an explanatory note of a discrete nature). The Committee thinks that I am writing it and this is the best move on my part. You are supposedly putting the 'Turkish' angle to it. Excuse all these necessary dishonesties.

R. Z. Ouluz

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

ALFRED MARSHALL BUILDING

40 BERKELEY SQUARE

BRISTOL

BS8 1HY

Telephone: Bristol 24161

156 Ashley Down Road,
Bristol 7.

Dear Professor Tunçay,

I sorry that you did not find Ahmed Pasa as significant as you had hoped. Doubtlessly Hardie found him a bit of a bore, but one can understand Ahmed Pasa's infatuation. Hardie's image as a hard working and honest Labour politician must have struck your countryman as remarkable compared to the corruption in the last days of Empire. We can hope that Hardie's letters of advice are more "significant".

The Committee controlling the copywrite does not meet until Christmas, and I sent you my typescript unofficially. Aside from the cost of photocopying all the letters, I must hesitate, out of discretion, to send them. Though I will send you today, one, as proof to the family.

What shall we do when we've finished the work? Would it be worth publishing an article jointly on the relationship, if you find the Hardie letters?

I agree with you that my asterisks were inadequate in number. I have more on my original copy. Let us wait until you search out the other side of the correspondence, before worrying.

I owe you many favours. Is there anything I can do for you? By the way did you see the "Guardian" on Monday?

Admirals in the I.L.P.? I've never thought of it! Deck hands, yes, but of-
ficers, unlikely. I'll ask about it.

Yours sincerely,

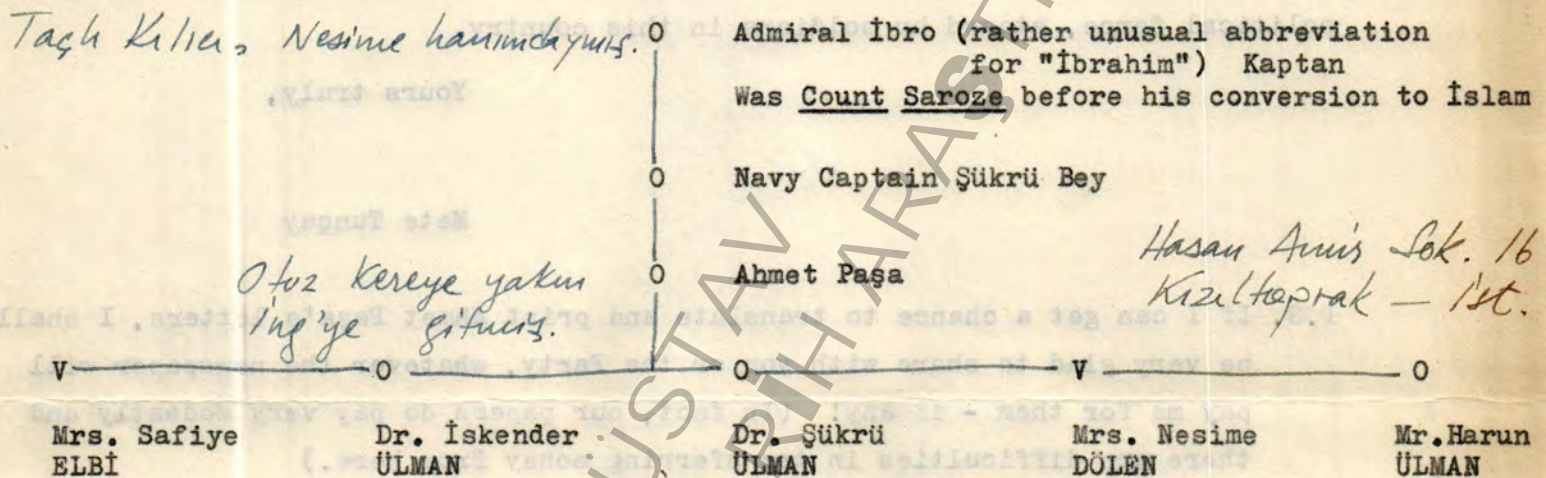
RBA
R. Bruce Aubrey

TURKIYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA YAKFI

Ankara, 1st November 1971

Dear Mr. Aubry,

I arrived here from İstanbul a couple of hours ago and found your letter on my desk. While in İstanbul I went to the "Maşukiye" village, on the countryside of İzmit to meet Mrs. Nesime Dölen, the youngest daughter of Ahmet Paşa, who lives there - now of course an elderly lady. She told me all about her father and family. She has acted as her father's private secretary in his late years. But she knows nothing about her father's correspondence with Keir Hardie. Unfortunately, there are no traces of Keir Hardie's letters. Ahmet Paşa must have been a secretive man at home about his political convictions. This is roughly how his genealogy runs:



Before I went to İstanbul, I wrote to my father to get in touch with Harun Bey (a Marine Construction Engineer) and inquire about Keir Hardie's letters - which he did promptly. But Harun Bey does not possess any of his father's papers (and nor do his elder brothers' widows). He advised me to visit Mrs. Dölen, his sister in Maşukiye. I left my address to both of them, in case they find anything relevant they will inform me. But, after these visits I have no hope of ever getting hold of the letters we are after.

In these circumstances, I think there's no use of a joint academic, noted and annotated publication of Ahmet Paşa's letters in English. However, the edited version of them which you sent me, may be serialised in a Turkish newspaper with some explanations as a couple of article-length pieces. One reason why I really would like to do that now is because there exists a parallelism between the doings of the Union and Progress Committee sixty years ago which Ahmet Paşa (naively) criticises and the existing situation of our military junta today. By publishing them as authentic historical material one would perhaps be able to express some of his own feelings in an Aesopian language. For this venture I do not need photo-copies of the whole correspondence - or rather the existing one side of it. I just want morally, I.L.P. Archive's approval. You mention that the party committee controlling the copyright affairs will not meet before Xmas. It is a pity to wait so long, because by then they may not be as useful as they would

now and also perhaps the newspapers will not want then to print such subversive (!) things. (I have a feeling that I may convince one to do so nowadays.)

Can you get me a permission for me sooner? If I shall be able to publish them, of course, I'll give you the full credit for finding these letters. I am sorry that we have failed in digging up -undoubtedly interesting- reflections of Keir Hardie on Turkey.

I have not seen the Guardian of last Monday. Its correspondent, a Mr. Hirst had come to me a fortnight ago. I hope he has written severely about the bitter political farce, staged by soldiers in this country.

Yours truly,

Mete Tunçay

P.S. If I can get a chance to translate and print Ahmet Paşa's letters, I shall be very glad to share with you or the Party, whatever the newspaper will pay me for them - if any! (In fact, our papers do pay very modestly and there are difficulties in transferring money from here.)

Resim yollanmayı vadedtim.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ

October 1, 1971

156 Ashley Down Road,
Bristol

Dear Professor Tunçay,

I sent you many thanks for all of the help you have given me.

I am enclosing a typed edition of Ahmed Pasha's letters (it is a carbon which you may keep for reference). In addition to this I am making the following copy of The Institute of Mechanical Engineers' "Memoirs":

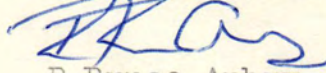
Vice Admiral Ahmed Pasha, ret., late Engineer-in-Chief, Imperial Naval Arsenal, Constantinople, was born in 1850 in Crete, where his father's ship was stationed at the time. He was sent to the Naval College in 1864, and in 1869 was appointed, as sub-lieutenant, to serve under the tutorship of the Engineer-in-Chief of the Turkish Navy. In 1873 he himself became Engineer-in-Chief and held this position until his retirement in 1909. He was promoted to captain in 1879, colonel in 1887, rear admiral in 1897, and vice-admiral in 1906. He became a Member of the Institution in 1887 and regularly attended the Summer Meetings of the Institution until 1914. He died on 31st August 1928.

If we can find the other end of this correspondence, the Archive would be interested in discussing a joint-publishing venture.

I will send you selected photocopies in my next letter.

Use my home address if it is convenient for you to do. I am at the University only once a week.

Sincerely yours,


R. Bruce Aubry

MEMOIRS.

Vice-Admiral AHMED PASHA, ret., late Engineer-in-Chief, Imperial Naval Arsenal, Constantinople, was born in 1850 in Crete, where his father's ship was stationed at the time. He was sent to the Naval College in 1864, and in 1869 was appointed, as sub-lieutenant, to serve under the tutorship of the Engineer-in-Chief of the Turkish Navy. In 1873 he himself became Engineer-in-Chief and held this position until his retirement in 1909. He was promoted to captain in 1879, colonel in 1887, rear-admiral in 1897, and vice-admiral in 1906. He became a Member of the Institution in 1887 and regularly attended the Summer Meetings of the Institution until 1914. He died on 31st August 1928.

JAMES ERSKINE AIRD left Aberdeen, where he had served a five years' apprenticeship with Messrs. Blaikie Brothers, to take up tea-planting in India, in 1889. He opened up the Deundi tea garden in Sylhet in 1894, and remained there as manager of the estate until his retirement in 1926, when he became a director of the Deundi Tea Company. As part of the tea garden works, Mr. Aird was responsible for the surveying, designing, and erecting of roads, light railways, bridges, and buildings. He was born in 1867, and became an Associate Member of the Institution in 1906. His death occurred on 4th October 1928.

HENRY ASHWORTH was born at Bolton in 1864, and, after finishing his education at Harrow, served a three years' apprenticeship at the works of Messrs. Dobson and Barlow, at Bolton. He then entered the cotton-spinning business of his father, John Ashworth, with which he was concerned throughout his career. Henry Ashworth invented a method of spinning cotton by means of double rows of spindles, with a view to economizing space, and his invention was exhibited at Brussels in 1887. This system of spinning was tried in a Lancashire mill, but was not successful. He was also interested in, and took out patents for, spinning on the bare spindle on the ring

3 Q

*The Institution of Mechanical Engineers
(Memoirs)*

LETTERS FROM VICE ADMIRAL AHMED PASHA
TO
JAMES KEIR HARDIE M.P.

1909

September 2 ✓
September 15 ✓
September 30 ✓
October 3 ✓
October 9 ✓
October 10 ✓
October 11 ✓
October 26 ✓
November 3 ✓
November 18 ✓
November 29 ✓
December 5 ✓
December 15 ✓
December 20 ✓
December 27 ✓

15

1910

January 9 ✓
January 29 ✓
February 23 ✓
March 8 ✓
June 6 ✓
August 28 ✓

6

1911

November 13 ✓
December 24 ✓

2

1912

October 28 ✓
December 4 ✓
December 29 ✓

1913

January 6 ✓
January 23 ✓

5

1914

September 14 ✓ October 22 ✓
November 1 ✓

3

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

AN EDITED VERSION OF THE LETTERS OF VICE ADMIRAL
AHMED PASHA TO J.KEIR HARDIE M.P.:(1909-1913)

Private and Confidential

Constantinople
Sept.2nd 1909

Dear Friend,

I arrived here last Thursday, the 26th ult. I will always remember you and consider our meeting.....the happiest event in my life. I earnestly wish you success in your worthy exertions and career. Unfortunately, I am in a country which has groaned in the grasp of despotic rulers and tyrants for so many years, and now we have on one side a soi-disant Constitution, on the other side Martial Law, and on the third side a weak King who is a puppet in the hands of a Committee, which is the ruling power with an unlimited despotism. The Committee's members, whether competent or not, must be in the highest positions...The best and ablest men are out of office. The poor country and people have been shifted from the grasp of one despot and tyrant (who was something by name) into several who are nothing. There is no Free Press, Free Speech or even Free Talk. If they were to know that I am writing you such things, they would hang me. Therefore, please kindly keep my name secret.

So dear friend,

With best remembrances

I remain,

Most Sincerely Yours,

Ahmed

Vice Admiral Ahmed, M.I.Mech.E. c/o British Post Office, Box 18, Constantinople, Turkey.

Makina Mühendisleri Enstitüsü Âzâsundan

Constantinople
Sept.15th 1909

Dear Friend Mr J.Keir Hardie,

....I repeat that, unfortunately I am obliged, until I find means, to stay and live in a place where despotism, favouritism, nepotism, corruption and injustice are concentrated. It is foolish for England to believe in the Constitution and Reforms here.

As I had written before, on one side is a soi-disant Parliament, whose members and officials, instead of being elected, have been appointed through the will of the Committee in order to promote its schemes... The ablest, best and most liberal men are out of office and not employed because they do not belong to the Committee. If one wishes to join the Government Service, whether one is competent or not, one must join the Committee; to do so one must pay. Under the old regime this bribe was

paid to the Palace; now it is paid to the Committee. Under the old regime the place was full of Palace spies; now they work for the Committee. No one can say anything against the Committee, whether it does right or wrong.....

Constantinople
Sept. 30th 1909

Dear Friend Mr Keir Hardie,

...The affairs here are as I had written before. As the majority of the members of our Parliament were appointed, instead of chosen... some of the local newspapers wrote about this... Instead of reasoning and accepting these statements, if right and just, or contradicting them, if they were not, they have made laws against the free press. The proprietors of these free papers were obliged to run away from here and from the persecution of the Committee. They went to Europe and some of them have been assassinated for the Committee; the assassins were not searched for or caught... Amongst the victims was Hassan Bey. One night while he was going to his residence, he was shot and killed. He was a great man, a true friend of Liberty and Socialism. He had run away from the oppression and tyranny of the old regime, to Europe; he was there until the change here, when he came back and acted as the Chief Editor of the journal, "Serbesti" ("Liberty"). So far as I know, many have run away to France and started newspapers to write about the faults and intrigues etc. of the Committee. But none of these papers are allowed into Turkey. If anyone is seen reading any of them, he will be put into prison at once by the spies of the Committee. I repeat that the place is full of spies..... As the industries were not encouraged and respected by the old regime (and still more hated by the present one), we do not have as many workers as other European countries. But we call "workers", all the labourers and peasants who form the Turkish population. Nothing can be worse than the life of a peasant here. We can say that a country which has groaned under oppression... cannot be reformed and put into good order in a short time. Very well, but after our recent changes, the foundations laid down and the initiatives are worse than before. Therefore the result will be worse..... All the Ministers and high officials are members of the Committee, and are uneducated and inexperienced men of bad principles. They are making laws and regulations suitable for promoting their schemes and intrigues, without opposition..... I am going to tell you something about our Navy and myself.

My family was originally from Candia (Crete), a Venetian colony, and their name was Saroze. My mother's family was of Irish origin, and my wife's Scots. After the Turkish Conquest of Candia, as the Venetians were educated, they were well treated and respected by the Turkish Government, which was better than that of the Venetian Republic (which was just like the present one here)... As all my family were captains and seamen, my grandfather was made Admiral of the Fleet, and he founded the Naval College. My father was also in the Navy. I have studied Engineering and have a First Class Diploma from the Naval College and two First Class English Diplomas. I have been brought up amongst the English, and never mixed with any society here. I never adopted the manners and customs of the place, but have done my best in my profession, of which I am almost the Founder here. In 1869, I entered into the service of Mr Alexander Shanks of R. NAPIER & SONS OF GLASGOW, and acted as his assistant in establishing engineering works, and in the design and manufacture of engines in the Government Yard and Arsenal. After the departure of Mr Shanks in 1876, I was appointed Engineer-in-Chief and continued until last year. I was the first Native, if I may call myself one, to design an engine here. 120 engines have been made from my designs, many of which have been published in English technical papers. I do not mean to boast, but to tell the truth, there is no one equal to me in my profession here. If any one doubts this, he can ascertain from the Institute of Mechanical Engineers of London that I am a Member of 22 years standing. I go to England every year, on my own account, to attend our summer meetings, to improve my profession... I belong to your Party in my heart. As there is no such party here, I belong to no party or committee in this place. I have never interfered in political matters. I have always been neutral, as I am now. When this change of government took place last year, I was at Bristol attending the summer meeting of the Institute. As soon as this change took place, the Committee named a Minister of Marine from their own ranks to act as they wish. This Minister is quite ignorant. He was a Palace Official of the old regime, an aide-de-camp of the late, abominable Sultan, who gave him one of his slave-wives to marry, as a favour. I hate such customs and do not believe in them. Through favouritism he obtained the rank of Vice Admiral, and now again, through favouritism and the payment of money, the Ministry of Marine. The Committee placed three young, inexperienced and ignorant officers in power (one was the son-in-law of the Minister). They are in power still, and the Navy Department is in their hands. As these fellows are inexperienced, bad, jealous and quite ignorant, and as they wished to promote their schemes and serve the Committee, they did not like to have anyone who is superior

to them, in every respect, to oppose their schemes. All the best and ablest officers were put out of their offices. As they were unable and afraid of responsibility, they engaged an English Admiral to take charge, leaving the ruling power to themselves. When this admiral came here, as all the competent men were out of their offices and as he did not find any competent officer, he asked for several English officers to assist him. They were engaged and now the Government pays about £8000 per annum for these English officers. We are not in need of them, paid for by the taxes on the poor peasant who is barefoot, starving and oppressed, while our own competent men are out of work doing nothing and getting pay. This is done to show themselves to ignorant and fanatic people that they are making reforms. We were not in need of an English Admiral as we have no Fleet to be organised by such a man, and no income to promote schemes and intrigues. We have many good and able officers trained in the English Fleet who can organise the present nonexistent Fleet. But they are all out of office now. The English Admiral, as he is quite ignorant of the place, manners and customs, made regulations which are unapplicable to this place, and thus the Navy Department, particularly the Engineering Department, is completely out of order and finished. I have presented many reports and programmes to our so-called Parliament for the organisation of our Engineering Department, but as they are against the sciences and technical men, no one has taken any notice. I am out of office also. As soon as it happened, I asked officially for the reason and wished to know whether I had any fault. Then it was officially declared that there was neither reason nor fault. You must not think that I complain on account of being out of office, because I receive my pay and have my rank. But I have them without doing any work while the place is in need of me. According to our laws and the years of my service, if I be retired and pensioned, I shall get almost one and a half times more than I get now. Again according to our laws a Vice Admiral is obliged to be pensioned at the age of 65, but as I am 59, I can be pensioned if I wish and get more money. But as I know the source: the poor peasants' taxes, through which I receive my salary without doing any work, my conscience torments and smites me. This causes me to lead a miserable life. If I get away I shall lose my pay and pension. I have a large family to keep. I could be employed in some part of the world as an engineer and technical man, but if I be ill and cannot work, what can I do? I am not a young man. Every department is in bad condition. The Committee ought to choose the best competent men to be employed and put the poor labourers and peasants on a better footing, and increase the income of the country by encouraging industry and commerce and do their best for Liberty. In a word, all the affairs here are bad...

They pretend Equality, Liberty and Fraternity, but only words not deeds. The salutation to a Christian is not the same word. The registration of a Christian is not the same title. What are those Armenian massacres? I repeat that nothing can be worse than the conditions and life of a Turkish labourer and peasant.... All the proprietors and editors of the liberal journals ran away to Paris and started their papers there. If you like, you can get one of them. I think the best one is "Serbesti".. I am soory to say that I do not know the address of the above mentioned journal to give to you. However if you write to any friend of yours in Paris, he can give you the address and send the paper. I do not read any local paper here, because I cannot read the newspaper of a country where there is a censor and no free press.

Constantinople
Octo. 3rd 1909

Dear Friend Mr J. Keir Hardie,

We had a very good medical school with quite a competent staff of professors, like Cadri-rashid, Professor of Physiology, and other celebrated men. Now they have been put out of their offices by the Committee, and replaced by their own members: Djenali Hamil, Rashid-tahsin, Ismail-deruish and others, who are ignorant and not fit at all for such positions. Now you can see that the once good medical school is also finished as well as our engineering and other departments.... The Minister of Foreign Affairs (he was Ambassador in London) is a good and honest man, but stupid and ignorant and not fit for such a position. However his wife, a Russian General's daughter, guides him. The Minister of Interior Affairs, Talat Bey, vice president of our Parliament, is quite inexperienced and ignorant man. He was an ordinary clerk in the Telegraph Office at Adrianople with a salary. When the Turkish Deputies were in England, he was at their head. England accepted them with proper respect and cordiality. They visited England last July, as they did the despotic and abominable Czar. Among the men who visited England there were only two competent and good men: one was Dr. Reza Bey and the other was Bastandi Effendi, one of our best, ablest, liberal and highly educated men, of many years' experience, is Ismail-Kemal Bey. He is an Albanian. He ran away while holding the highest rank and position in the Government, to escape from the oppression and tyranny of the old regime. He ran to Europe and spent all his time there. After the change of Government here, he came back and was elected a Member of Parliament for Albania. As he tried to do his best to oppose the bad conduct of the Committee in Parliament, he was obliged to run away again from the persecution, oppression and tyranny, imprisonment and assassination by the Committee. He is in Italy now.

If you read, "The Sunny South", by Captain F.C. Armstrong, published by Word, Bock and Co., London, and compare the affairs here with those of Venice which you will see in the above book, ours is the worst.... I receive my salary; I have my rank and I am in a position to enjoy every comfort of life. But unfortunately I am sucking the blood of the starving, oppressed and groaning peasant, without doing any work...

Constantinople
Octo. 9th 1909

Dear Friend Mr J. Keir Hardie,

....The Finance Minister, a member of the Committee like the other Ministers, is competent enough in comparison with the others who are nothing but members of the Committee. It is true that they have reduced the ranks of the officers, who had been promoted through the favouritism of the old regime, to the rank of their equals according to their years of service. But amongst them, many able and competent men, on account of they not being members of the Committee, have not only had their rank reduced but have been put out of the Service. The others like Mukhtar Pasha, a member of the Committee, have jumped from the favour of the old regime to the favour of the new ruling Committee. Yes, Mukhtar's rank has been reduced, like his colleagues, but he has been appointed Governor of Smyrna with more than double the salary. No doubt he is a good soldier, but not fit at all for such a post. Again, it is true that new governors have been appointed from the members of the Committee, but not chosen from able men.

Constantinople
Octo. 10th 1909

Dear Friend Mr J. Keir Hardie,

....A great friend of mine, a Doctor of Medicine and a man of liberty, wishes to go to Bombay to practise his profession there. Will you kindly write and send to me a letter of recommendation and introduction for him to some friend of yours there? He will take the letter with him to introduce himself. His name is Dr. Ali Saib Bey. He is the son of a celebrated General and of a very good family. He had his first diploma from the Medical School here. Then he studied five and a half years at Paris, and then he served nine years in the Army. As he is a man of liberal ideas and principles (which we have), he was banished and exiled under the old regime, and remained so for nine years. After the change of Government he came back, but as he again met difficulties on account of his liberal ideas and principles. As he has means enough and a good profession (which he is master), he is obliged to leave the

place and get away.

Constantinople
Octo. 11th 1909

Dear Friend Mr J.Keir Hardie,

....The Revolution was well organised, it is true. But it was not because of the Committee. It was because of the officers of the Army... There was not a single soul, except a handful of Palace officials, who were in favour of the old regime. Now, there is not a single soul in favour of the present new, despotic Committee regime except their own members, who are in high positions with high salaries, which they have never dreamed of. What you say is quite right. These are deeper than mistakes... When I receive your letters, I feel comfort and consolation.

Constantinople
Octo. 26th 1909

Dear Friend Mr J.Keir Hardie,

I have received the very kind letter of Mr M. Travers Symons, who has sent it while you were away.. I am very glad indeed to learn that you will kindly attend to my letters and send the letter of introduction. As the place is worse than ever I shall ask for my pension tomorrow. An English gentleman, Mr W. Mansfield of W. MANSFIELD & CO. Engineers, Creewood Buildings, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, came here to do some business, to buy the old ships of our fleet, which were to be sold by auction. He is going back to England this evening with disgust. In spite of his price being £10,000 more than the next highest, and being prepared to pay immediate cash, the Government did not let him have these ships, through some intrigue of which he will inform you, if you write to him. He will also let you know about this place. He is a friend of mine.

Constantinople
November 3rd 1909

Dear friend Mr J.Keir Hardie,

.....I have asked for my pension to be retired. I shall receive about £55 per month, and suck the starving oppressed peasant, conscience-struck, without doing any work... Vice Admiral Husni has also asked for his pension. He is a celebrated man of liberty. He was trained under Naval Instructor, Steven, in the training ship. He acted as his assistant and afterwards took his place. Rear Admiral Halil, a celebrated and educated man, brought up in the English Fleet, has also asked for his pension.... If any English paper, say the Daily News, were to

writ an article about the able men who are leaving the service (without letting anyone know that it is through my information), it would be good and interesting. It is very strange that some English papers speak highly, without knowing, of the Turkish Navy which is Zero. I have asked for an Electric-Tramway concession with Mr Rowland Edward Dixon of Leeds as capitalist, and for a tunnel concession with Mr H.I. Cooke, C.E. 90 Aylmer Road and his friends as capitalists, and for a railway concession, Soma and Bandirma, with Mr W. Ryle Wright, Consulting Engineer, 13, Victoria Street and his friends as capitalists. In spite of offering the most favourable terms for the country, we have almost failed, because we do not pay bribes. Mr Wright was here and he left for England last week in disgust. I presented a strong protest about these affairs last Saturday to the Grand Vizier. Now I am waiting for the result. My object in asking for these concessions was to develop the country, do good for the poor people who will find employment, and the poor peasant who will be in a flourishing state, to do good for myself and find the means so as not to take that pension.... In about three weeks our soi-disant Parliament, with its appointed members of the Committee, will be opened, while martial law is in full force.

Comment!

Constantinople
Nov. 29th 1909

Dear Friend J. Keir Hardie,
...I asked for my pension and succeeded. Now I am retired and receiving the same salary without doing any work, while my department is badly in need of me.. I am very anxious to hear from you, because your letters give me the greatest pleasure and relief.

Constantinople
Dec. 5th 1909

Dear Friend and Brother J. Keir Hardie,
I have received.. the enclosed cuttings of the journal of the International Socialist Bureau*, which you have so kindly sent. The proposition that you supported that "the Association should be admitted to representation on the condition that they dropped the word "Musselman" from their title, so as to make it include all creeds of workmen, "is quite right. The Musselman Turks who pretend to be enlightened, educated, and Europeanised, and who make up all the officials and members of the ruling Committee, are the worst. They are neither professional, technical, working, or tradesmen. They are corrupted hypocrites, despots, are against the sciences, arts and working men. Their education is a veneer. The proof is that, as they are afraid of unions, they put out the

most able artists, professional men and workmen, particularly engineers, as they do in the Navy Department, and hire foreigners. The ordinary classes and peasants of the Turks are pure, sober, clean, docile, inoffensive (unless pushed or persuaded), brave, hospitable and nothing can be better; and the Christians of this class are also the same. But they are oppressed, robbed and ignorant. Therefore very few of them can understand about association, union etc. Greeks: they are intelligent, good tradesmen, not many workmen, cunning, bigotted and unreliable people here. They have no friendly feeling for any one, even amongst themselves. Armenians: the part who are with the so-called educated party of Turks and officials are bad and unreliable. But the rest, the majority, are hard-working, good men of all professions here. They are reliable. I have an appointment to see Vartkes, Armenian Deputy of our so-called Parliament, on Monday morning. I shall sound him (an open talk about such things is not allowed) to have more information to write to you. Army: the majority of the officers are of the first mentioned class of the Turks, belong to the Committee to support their interests.... To mention the words: Union or Socialism and Liberty are dangerous here. Now, Dear Friend, if you kindly send me your programme which I can show and secretly try to create socialistic feelings and ideas here amongst the really educated classes. P.S. if it be known here that I write the above mentioned things and such liberal ideas, they will hang me. What a Constitutional country!

Constantinople
Dec. 15th 1909

Dear Friend and Brother Mr J. Keir Hardie,

I have done my best and utmost to get information about the association..but one can hardly meet any confidential and reliable man who knows anything about such things. I would have to go to Salonica, but under the present Government it is impossible for me to go there. The present Government has closed the best paper, "Sada-i-u-minet" ("Voice of the Nation" or "People"). I repeat that I am trying to do my best to create socialistic ideas amongst the real enlightened and educated classes here. But they ask me to see the programme of the association. The place is worse than before.

Constantinople
Dec 20th 1909

Dear Friend and Brother Mr J. Keir Hardie,

...I was struck when I saw an article in "Yeni-gazete" ("The New Paper"), one of the leading local journals, dated December 15th 1909, that the British Post Office here has sent back all the Greek newspapers containing liberal ideas. These papers had

been sent from Greece through the British Post Office to be delivered to those people to whom they are addressed. All of the liberal newspapers published in Paris by the liberal Turkish Party and sent here through the British Post Office are treated in the same way... It is a great shame that the British Post Office acts in this way to satisfy the despotic ruling power here.

Constantinople
Dec. 27, 1909

Dear Friend and Brother Mr J. Keir Hardie,

...What the paper says about Djemal Bey is quite right. He is an energetic man of a reformist nature (in his own way), as well as competent. There are two men amongst the Turkish officials who are worthy of the posts they hold; one is Djemal Bey and the other Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance, both competent and belonging to the so-called Committee of Union and Progress... I hope the present and disguised despotism of this Committee will be overcome again by a Committee of real freedom, justice, reform and liberty.. So far as I can tell, without freedom, justice, free talk, meetings, speech and press, all the reforms are temporary. Suppose Djemal Bey dies, a very bad man could take his place, and as no one can say anything against his bad doings, Djemal Bey's reforms will go with him... I hope Djemal Bey will try to do his best, as he did in previous cases, for abolishing the existing martial law establishing a real Constitution, liberty, free talk, free speech, free meeting and free press; these will facilitate his proposed reforms, and in the case of success, cause them to be permanent.

Constantinople
March 8th 1910

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

...The British Post Office have gone back to their old policy. They deliver all the letters and papers in a proper way... I repeat that I wish to introduce Socialism amongst the real enlightened classes here. But they wish to see a programme of it. Therefore, if there is any please kindly send me one.

June 6th 1910
Constantinople

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

I have received the enclosed "Independent Labour Party Membership Card" which you so kindly sent. I shall fill it in and send it to you. Please send two more of the same.

I hope you will kindly excuse me for not answering your most valuable letter sooner. I am so confused that I cannot describe it. In spite of doing my best, I find that a liberal man cannot live in this country. I have repeatedly written to you all about this place and there is no need to repeat it. Although I am quite neutral and never mix myself with any party here, yet my mind is too much occupied to find the means to get away from this place. I cannot join any party except yours.

Constantinople
Aug. 28th 1910

Dear Friend and Brother Mr J. Keir Hardie,

I have arrived here. I am sorry indeed to say that I had no chance to have the honour and pleasure of seeing you there. However my heart is always with you.

Constantinople
Nov. 13th 1911

Dear Sir and Brother,

I am very sorry indeed to give you trouble again, but the present circumstances compel me for the sake of humanity to do so. As a Socialist viz. defender of liberty, justice and humanity, I hope you will kindly accede to my following request and solicitation. Will you kindly hold and arrange a meeting to protest against the atrocities and disasters at Tripoli, and offer the British Government to mediate and set a stop to this useless human slaughter and carnage, and solve the question in a peaceful way. You know that as a Socialist, I am a neutral man. I do not mean to support the Turkish Government. but I mean to do good for Italian, Arab, Turk and all human beings. There is no doubt these disasters are the fault of the Turkish authorities, who have left Tripoli, without defences and soldiers, to be occupied by Italians. Again the same authorities pushed the Arabs to attack the Italians and cause these disasters and atrocities. If you kindly accept my request and find it reasonable, kindly let me know. If you wish, I shall come, see you and be present at the meeting.

Constantinople
Dec. 24th 1911

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

I have received your letter of the 15th inst. with great delight beyond measure and many thanks. What you say is quite right. I hope this carnage will soon come to an end. So far as I can see, the soi-disant civilisation of the present day is nothing till the

Socialism is accepted and established in all countries I repeat, I do not support the Turkish Government..As the same Government has left Tripoli without the necessary soldiers and defences, it has given the chance to the Italians to occupy and also to cause this useless human slaughter. Tripoli has been so many years under the Turkish rule. What has Turkish rule and government done there and in the whole Empire? No commerce, industry, sciences, arts and proper cultivation except robbery, slavery and eunuchs etc.

Constantinople
Oct. 28th 1912

Dear Friend and Brother Mr J. Keir Hardie,

...there is no need again to write about the Committee. Nearly four years now, instead of good reforms, liberty and justice, through their tyranny, bad government and Russian and Bulgarian intrigues in every part of the Empire, revolutions and massacres have continued and ultimately the present useless human slaughter and carnage have come forward. It is a great pity that the other Powers, instead of preventing the above mentioned carnage in a serious manner, some of them, enticed it for their unlawful interest. When Socialism has power, no doubt, such things will not take place. Although I have no share in this unlawful struggle, yet I feel so sad and think how I can get away from this place to some country where I can breath liberty, justice and freely preach Socialism

Constantinople
Dec. 29th 1912

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

I have received the enclosed news paper cutting with great delight beyond measure. I am very glad indeed that you have suppressed my name. So far as I can see, there cannot be peace, fraternity and happiness as long as the Committee of Union and Progress, that is still trying and doing their best again to gain power, is in existence. A workman and a professional or scientist are nothing here, because they can neither pay enough to the Committee, nor promote its schemes. The present Grand Vizier, old Kamil Pasha, is a man with English principles and Socialistic ideas, but his hands are tied by the partisans of the Committee. Look at the Palace expenses here. So many princes and princesses. As all the princes have that hateful harem filled with female slaves as their wives, they have families and children to pay for, more than is normal. I cannot understand this, because nearly all the world believes that God has created the first man, Adam; very well, if so, the same God has created one woman, Eve, to be Adam's wife. A Constitutional country in which women are sold and bought to be wives, as well as poor eunuchs to guard and keep

watch upon them in their prison harem. This place is in need of great change and reform.

Constantinople
Jan. 6th 1913

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

It is a great pity that some power does not stop the carnage and human slaughter that are still going on here. Old Kamil tries to make peace and real reforms. But as these, peace and reforms, are against the interests of the Committee, it intrigues and does its best and utmost secretly to entice its partisan officers and soldiers to continue the War, put down Kamil and gain power again. I repeat as long as this Committee is in existence nothing can be done here. Although the Committee is not in power at this moment, yet it is always intriguing and ties the hands of the Cabinet. So far as I can see there cannot be liberty, peace and happiness because there is no power here to vanish the Committee. Unless some other power vanishes it and establishes a good Cabinet or keeps old Kamil in his position to have free hands for reforms. What a cruelty! If a ruler's son, daughter or relation be a little indisposed, all sorts of remedies are applied and from the poor working man money is robbed and lavished. But if some or any of the working people, say a pitman, be killed by an accident in the pit no one takes any notice of him. The same ruler equips armies with the robbed money from the poor soldiers who compose and form those armies and pushes them to kill or be killed in thousands for his glory, for religion and a paradise... If I am wrong in my opinion, please correct me. Whatever you say I will willingly accept without any hesitation. Here are shocking scenes. All the Turkish population of the Greek and Bulgarian-occupied places are driven out, plundered, women are dishonoured, and many are massacred. Particularly in the islands the Greeks massacred with torture. Thousands come here as refugees, almost naked. Many perish on their way through cold and hunger. I can say that one cannot find a worse man than a Greek priest who allows these massacres. The Mohammedan priests are bad too, but they do not allow either the war prisoners or surrendered people to be massacred. If we look at Turkish history, we can see that when the Turks occupied those places, they neither drove out nor massacred the Greeks and Bulgarians etc., because had the Turks done so no Greek and Bulgarians etc would exist in those places. On the contrary, the Turkish Government was far better in olden days by allowing liberty to Greeks and Bulgarians etc for their religion, nationality and language. I repeat, all these destructions, ruinations, slaughters and massacres etc are due to the bad and tyrannical and despotic

government of the Committee and the despotic Russian Government's intrigues. But the Committee's Government gave the chance to the Russian Government to utilise its intrigues.

Constantinople
Jan. 23rd 1913

Dear Friend and Brother Mr Keir Hardie,

...I have received your letter of the 15th inst., and nothing can be more correct, clearer and right than what you say and suggest. I shall ask for an audience and talk with old Kamil..but unfortunately this Committee of Union and Progress is a blight upon this place. They still try to do their best to tie Kamil's hands to sign the peace. This Committee must change the word "Union" into "Disunion" and creator of hate amongst the different sects and nationalities, and the word "Progress" into "Retrograde Progression". There is another evil for which the religious war declaration of the Allies gives a chance to the Committee to intrigue and cause human slaughter to continue. In this case the Allies are also at fault, as well as the other powers, because instead of serving humanity, they force the Turkish Government to reforms only for the Christian population. But the other populations suffer from the same things. Therefore any Power that forces the Turkish Government to reforms for the whole population without any distinction, will be embraced by the people here. Had the Allies declared war to save the whole population from the despotism of the Committee and its bad government, instead of declaring a Religious one, and had they keep good order in the places they have occupied instead of plundering, massacring and driving out the Turkish population, they will be welcomed and even embraced. Perhaps even the soldiers might do the same. But the above mentioned bad conduct of the Allies gives a chance to entice the people and Army to continue the War and go against the Cabinet. Here is all bad and ignorant. The religious ministers of all the religions, Bulgarian, Servian, Greek etc are bad fanatics and instruments of war, massacre etc. instead of peace. For example 5th Chapter of St Matthew's Gospel, verses 39, 40, 42 & 44, all recommend unlimited mercy and advise to love enemies as much as friends. Therefore I cannot understand the meaning of a religious war declaration of the Allies. I hope peace will soon be restored. My principle object is to get away from this place and breath the breeze of liberty, justice and fraternity amongst my Socialist brethern. P.S. Please excuse and correct if I have anything wrong in my opinion.

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Constantinople

Sept.14th 1914

Dear friend & Brother Mr.Keir Hardie,

...I saw a very strange article, "The British Pro-German Leader", in the Daily Mail,* dated August 28, 1914. No doubt, what you said is quite right & just. As a Socialist, I deeply regret this unjust war & useless human slaughter & so-called glory. I was astonished when I saw the English government joined with Russia; this seems to a true undegenerated English heart & conscience & Socialist, the contact of gun powder with fire, to support Panslavism under the cover of Belgian neutrality. One can easily see the cause that compelled Germans to break the neutrality of it. Every free & reasonable man knows that Panslavism is against liberty, civilization, education, honesty, modesty & humanity etc. etc., as well as a decided Asiatic rival & enemy of England. Old English diplomatists & Queen Victoria always set to stop Russian aggression. Alas! now let them lift up their heads & see that one grandson tries to cut the throat of another favorite grandson & pushes his people to butcher & be butchered by his own race, Anglo-Saxon ... So far as I can see, if Germans crush down the Russian power, it will be a good service for the world & liberty & civilization etc. because then a revolution may break out & poor mujik may be a free man. It is a great pity for Belgium, such a fine country & people! What are Serbia, Montenegro & Russia in comparison? It is a great mistake for France to lend so much money to Russia to strengthen her to defy the world & try to make all his slaves according to the augerings of Masputin. So far as I can see, English government was able to avoid this war & thus do a great service to the world & humanity. Suppose England is fighting against the trade rivalry of Germany, what an injustice & shame! & suppose, you and I were sent to school, and you studied more than I did, then I, instead of doing the same & competing with you, I tried to kill you & remain as I was. If the English government go to war for an honourable & just cause, as she did in Inkerman, in spite of my old age & Socialism, I will volunteer myself for her Army.

Constantinople

Nov.1st 1914

....What I say refers to the English government & not to the greatest of nations, that has its name blackened in the Near East among reasonable, free & just men, as well as true & undegenerated Englishmen. ...What friendship can England expect from Russia & France after they

obtained their object? Here everyone says that single-handedly England, France & Russia are nothing against Germany. Formerly they believed that one word of England was enough to solve the most difficult international question; but now, here they say while England is fighting conjointly with France, Russia, Serbia, Montenegro & Belgium, against only German & Austria, & as she cannot resist the Germans with so many allies, her agent, Mr. Buxton* is trying & condescending to persuade Bulgaria to give her assistance. What a degradation! The English Embassy here sticks reports of false Russian victories on its gate & next day, these reports are officially contradicted. What a degradation for an Englishman to be proud of a false Russian victory! What an unjust act for the English & French fleets to bombard Catara* to defend Montenegro & to sacrifice Belgium; the lowest Belgian railway porter is a professor of Philosophy in comparison with the Kings & Ministers of Serbia & Montenegro. The result of this so-called glorious achievement was the destruction of an orphan asylum. Even the pure Slavs, who are under Austria & are fighting against the so-called Pan Slavist pretension & the danger of the Russian government whose object is to keep the whole world under its dominion & slavery, can understand better than the English government. What you have said & what you say is quite right; I hope, through your worthy & just exertions & of those like you, this carnage will end.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ

Constantinople
Oct. 22nd 1914

Dear friend & Brother Mr. Keir Hardie,

...I hope your worthy career, clear sight, brain & exertions will cause the working class movement to be soon strong enough to crush the war god and the secret diplomacy, & bring forth understanding between nations, discussed in the open light of day. In reality, all those kings, lords, earls & peers etc. etc. are the dependants of the working classes, whose gains through their mental & physical exertions & hard work are confiscated as taxes for their king's joy, pleasure & ruling power over their working class "feeders". How sad it is! They are not only treated by their robbers as slaves but on many occasions, as now, they are sent to butcher & be butchered for their so-called glory & ambition etc. What is a king? In reality, a servant of the working class. His Majesty's Army or Navy, what a strange name! The Army keeps itself through the taxes of the working class & the Navy is not only constructed by the working class, but also supplied & kept by them. The kings visit the hospitals and give presents to the wounded; those presents are bought with the money robbed from the poor wounded and working classes, & try to sooth their pains which were caused by their orders to satisfy their ambitions.... What a wrong policy it is to take Indian troops to war! When the remnants of those troops go back & tell others that Germany, almost single-handed, can stand against the Panslavist League, England, France, Belgium, Russia, Japan, India, Canada etc. etc., what will be the feelings of the Indian people against the English ruler? Will they not think that England is too weak and nothing single-handed? Suppose, England gains her day through the assistance of her Panslavic & despotic ally & saviour, at present, in reality a determined enemy & Asiatic rival. Then the Indian people will learn that, as England is too weak, she was saved by Russian power. If this saviour or Russia attacks, which is inevitable in the future, what will be the attitude of the Indian people against the saviour of their ruler? Now dear friend, I am very sorry indeed to say that English trade, prestige & influence in the Near East & here have vanished. The English name is a laughing stock here.... As the Capitulations* have been abolished & all the foreign post offices are closed as well as the British Post Office, my address is as follows-

Vice Admiral Ahmed (Retired),
Glata Post Office, Box No. 233,
Constantinople.

10 Ekim 1909

Aziz Dost Bay J.Keir Hardie,

... çok iyi bir dostum, bir Tıp doktoru ve liberal bir insan, Bombay'a gidip orada hekimlik etmek istiyor. Onu sizin oradaki bazı arkadaşlarınıza tavsiye ve takdim etmek için bir mektup yazmak ve bana göndermek lütfunda bulunur musunuz? Kendisini tanıtmak için mektubu yanında götürecektir. Adı, Dr. Ali Saip Bey. Ünlü bir generalin oğlu ve çok iyi bir aileden geliyor. İlk diplomasını buradaki Tıp Fakültesinden almıştı. Sonra beş buçuk yıl Paris'te okudu, dokuz yıl da Orduda hizmet etti. Özgürlükçü fikirleri ve (bizimkiler gibi) ilkeleri olan bir insan olduğu için eski rejim tarafından sürgüne gönderildi ve dokuz yıl menfada kaldı. Hükümet değişikliğinden sonra geri geldi, fakat özgürlükçü fikir ve ilkeleri yüzünden yine güçlüklerle karşılaştı. Yeterince imkânı ve (ustası olduğu) iyi bir mesleği de bulunduğu için burayı terketmek ve uzaklara gitmek ~~istiyor~~ durumunda.

İngiliz Bağımsız İşçi Partisi Başkanı

KEIR HARDIE'NİN

Trablusgarb Savaşı Dolayısıyla

FERİK AMİRAL AHMET PAŞAYA MEKTUBU

Ahmet Paşa (1850-1928) adında bir deniz subayının, 1909-1914 yılları arasında Keir Hardie'ye yazdığı 20 kadar mektubun çevirisini, bazı notlarla, üç yıl önce Yeni Ortam gazetesinde tefrika etmişim ("İngiliz İşçi Partisi'nde Bir Osmanlı Amiralı" 30 Eylül - 4 Ekim 1972)

Ahmet Paşa, kendisini, Bağımsız İşçi Partisi'ne üye olacak kadar "sosyalist" saymakla birlikte, bu mektuplarında genel bir insancılıktan ve toplumsal içerikli bir takım düşünceler beslemekten daha ileri bir bilinç göstermiyordu. Ancak, Keir Hardie'ye yazdıkları, İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminin bazı olaylarını eleştirici bir açıdan ortaya koyduğu için oldukça ilginçti. Ahmet Paşanın bir özelliği de, Trablusgarb ve Balkan Savaşlarıyla Birinci Dünya Savaşının yaklaştığı günlerde, bir "Osmanlı yurtseveri" tutumuyla sosyalist kamuoyunu Türklerden yana etkilemeye çalışmış olmasıydı.

Bana bu mektupların varlığını ^{buldum} haber veren araştırmacı R. Bruce Aubry o zaman asıl, Keir Hardie'nin Ahmet Paşaya yazdığı cevap mektuplarının peşindeydi. Fakat bunları bulamamıştık. ^{Daha sonra} Bu kere, Paşanın torunlarından sayın Emre Dölen Keir Hardie'nin bir mektubunu bularak bir kopyasını bana verdi. Bu kısa mektuptan, ^{bu kopyasıyla beraber} Ahmet Paşanın mektuplarının hiç değilse sonuçsuz kalmadığı anlaşılıyor. Keir Hardie'nin mektubunu, Ahmet Paşanın bundan önce ve sonra kendisine yazdığı iki mektubun arasında sunuyorum. ^{TSA 1908-1925 adlı kitabının 3. kısmında (1978) yayımladın (s. 63-65'de 75-76). İnce, arada belki bir,} 13 Kasım 1911

Size yine rahatsızlık verdiğim için gerçekten üzgünüm, fakat şimdiki koşullar beni insanlık adına böyle hareket etmeye zorluyor. Bir Sosyalist, dolayısıyla de özgürlük, adalet ve insanlığın bir savunucusu olarak, aşağıdaki rica ve yalvarışımı kabul etmek lütfunu göstereceğinizi umuyorum. Lütfen, Trablus'taki vahşet ve felâketi protesto eden ve İngiliz Hükümetinin arabuluculuk yapıp bu faydasız insan kıyımı ve kan dökümüne bir son vermesini ve sorunun barışçı bir yoldan çözülmesini öneren bir toplantı düzenler misiniz? Bir Sosyalist olarak benim tarafsız bir insan olduğumu biliyorsunuz. Amacım, Türk Hükümetini desteklemek değil ... fakat İtalyanlara, Araplara, bütün insanlara iyilik etmek. Bu felâketlerin, Trablus'u İtalyan işgaline açık bir şekilde savunmasız, askersiz bırakıp çekilen Türk makamlarının kabahatı olduğuna şüphe yok. Yine aynı makamlar, Arapları İtalyanlara saldırmaya ittiler, bu felâket ve vahşete sebep oldular. Eğer ricamı makul bulur ve kabul etmek lütfunu gösterirseniz, lütfen bana haber verin. İster-seniz gelir, sizi görür ve toplantıda hazır bulunurum.

Ahmet

E yazılı mektubun fotokopisi

EUROPEAN UNITY LEAGUE

FOUNDER:- SIR MAX WAECHTER, D.L., J.P.

TELEGRAMS,
"EUROFEDLE" LONDON.
TELEPHONE REGENT 2854.

39, ST JAMES' STREET,
PICCADILLY,

LONDON. S.W.

28th April, 1914.

Dear Sir,

Sir Max Waechter desires me to thank you for your letter of April 18th, and to say it is with great pleasure he places your name among the members of the Advisory Council of this League.

Yours faithfully,

H. Woodward

Secretary.

Vice Admiral Ahmed Pasha,

C/o British Post Office, No.60 Box,

Constantinople.

To Vice-Admiral
Ahmed Pasha.

Dec. 11th. 1923

Dear Comrade.

I have received your letters and must apologise for the delay in replying to them. I have been very busy of late. You will know about the General Election which has just taken place in Great Britain. The Labour Party has been very successful and has much increased its representation in Parliament. It has polled 4,348,000 votes to the Conservatives 5,359,000 and has now 192 members in Parliament. It is not improbable that our Comrade Ramsay MacDonald may be called upon to form a Government in the course of the next few weeks.

It would have been a great joy to our late Comrade Keir Hardie if he could have lived to see the party he formed grow to such dimensions. It will be a great responsibility if we have to take the Government, but we shall do our best to justify it.

I hope that things are now settling down in Turkey and an era of political and general prosperity is before you.

With fraternal greetings

Yours sincerely
Philip Snowden