

Dear Prof Tunçay

TÜRK YEREL  
With best wishes please find  
enclosed the revised paper.

SYAK  
- thank you for every thing  
TAV.  
TABIR  
See you

AR  
Rifaat Said

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Socialistic Trends  
Against The Ottoman Coercion

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TİJSTAV TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

## Socialistic Trends Against The Ottoman Coercion

The Ottoman coercion against the Arabs, who were subjected to the power of the Muslims Caliph, multiplied.. This coercion took several means:

- "Turkification" i.e. the attempt to efface the Arab identity and impose the Turkish affiliation instead.
- Religious coercion, directed against Christians, particularly those of the northern region (Syria - Lebanon - Palestine), although the religious coercion assumed another feature, the ottoman caliph attired as the "Commander of the Faithful" and the Protector of Muslims, seeked to vanquish the Arab Muslims. He subjugated them to a double coercion, represented in the brute civil power and the religious power, which could hardly be opposed. Otherwise the opponents would be claimed as antagonists of Islam and the caliph. Furthermore they would be considered agents to the christian enemy, laying ambush for the Islamic caliphate.

Lack of any feature attributed to civil freedom. This marked the Turkish rulership - within the Arab regions particularly - with an obvious despotic character.

However, we would err to conceive that all Arabs or even the Arab intellectuals opposed the "Turkish caliphate". The presence of the European colonization (e.g. the British in Egypt) and the European threat in general against the ottoman caliphate forced many intellectuals, particularly the Egyptians with Islamic tendencies, to adopt a stance which favoured the ottomans to the European invaders (Christians). The matter became an altogether religious issue, when these intellectuals declared that weakening the "Islamic Caliphate" weakening Islam itself. Furthermore, an Egyptian Islamic legist, namely Sheikh Abdel Aziz Gawish, declared that "the loss of the caliphate means the loss of the Islamic essence".

There exist several historic evidences on that :

Moustafa Kamel, the Egyptian patriotic leader, who is considered the godfather of modern Egyptian nationalism, and who established the "Egyptian National Party" that is described as a pillar of the Egyptian national radicalism ... adopted for long a stance that backed the Islamic caliphate against the British occupation .. When a British journalist tried to embarrass him by asking him "Are you Egyptian?", He answered candidly. Egyptian Ottoman. Once more he asked him Egyptian or Ottoman? Again he answered clearly: Egyptian Ottoman"(1)

We must admit that Moustafa Kamel, inspite of everything, was unfailingly Egyptian. Moreover, upon his statue in Cairo is inscribed his famous saying, which has long inspired the Egyptians. "Had I not been Egyptian, I would have longed to be Egyptian".

Yet, it was a sort of patriotism blended with Islamism in confrontation of a strong foreign enemy - an enemy who could only be confronted by exuberant and kindled religious feelings.

However .. when Moustafa Kamel died in 1908, the National Party was on the verge of schism between its new leader, Mohammed Farid and his followers, who claimed that "Egypt is for the Egyptians" and who felt that following the deteriorating caliphate would lead them to further weakness, and between a traditional Islamic current, which considered that calling for Egypt's independence was a deviation from Islam, since it destructed the Islamic caliphate, and since - according to their Islamic beliefs - "No patriotism in Islam".(2)

However, this trend was temporary. It was soon overwhelmed by the Egyptian patriotism and by the successive developments of the Ottoman empire itself.

It could be stated that the major trend was opposing to the Ottoman caliphate, if not even antagonizing.

In confrontation of the three means of the Turkish coercion . . the elements of political and intellectual resistance were formed.

In confrontation of the "Turkification" policy, there existed the Arabism tendency, which is considered the historic and emotional source of the "Arabian Nationalism" concept.

In confrontation of the religious coercion, some rebellious intellectuals adopted an anti-religious stance. They concentrated mainly among the Christian Lebanese intellectuals, who were suffering from the Ottoman coercive rulers hiding behind Islam, and from the coercion and despotism of the proponent Maronite church, which interfered in these people's affairs. Among these are (Shelby Shomail - Farah Antone). Other Muslim intellectuals adopted a trend that searched within the depths of Islam for more human freedoms and less ruling powers. Hence came the call for a liberal Islam against that of the Ottoman caliph (among these are Sheikh Jamal Eddin Al-Afghani and Sheikh Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakbi).

In confrontation of despotism, there was the liberal call and the adherence to freedoms and democracy as a means of promoting the nation (among these is Wali Eddin Yakan).

However, it is worth noting that this division is purely theoretical. Many intellectuals adopted all three issues at once, while indulging in their struggle. For example, Shelby Shomail spoke of freedom, Arabism . . . Socialism . . . and laicism all together. Al-Kawakbi spoke of an Islam that protected human freedoms and promoted all Arabs, providing socialism, social equity . . . etc.

We must halt before an astonishing phenomenon, namely that the majority felt its way towards socialism, one way or another, at various levels of understanding.

Probably this matter calls for some meditation.

This region which was isolated to a great extent from the achievements of the European intellectuals (during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> C. and the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> C.) spoke fluently of socialism. This could be attributed to the urgent need of those intellectuals for a comprehensive and radical change for the entire standing system. Maybe they sought to distinguish themselves from the various hostile powers which opposed the Ottoman Empire, such as the European colonization power . . . etc. Maybe

they expressed the aspirations of people subdued politically, originally and categorically - all at once. Thus they blended their struggle against all that within a single frame work.

However, the astonishing phenomenon is that the writings of several Arab intellectuals, who opposed the Ottoman caliphate, were charged and even exaggerated with socialism and social equity. (It complied with the spirit of that epoch, but not with the popular movement at that time).

Before concluding this short introduction, it deems necessary to refer to another interesting phenomenon. Ever since Jamal Eddin Al-Afghani emigrated temporarily to Egypt, it has become the gathering point of all Arab intellectuals, who fled from the Ottoman oppression. When Egypt was occupied by the English, these intellectuals gathered in Egypt in an astonishing manner, due to the English animosity for the Ottomans.

To further clarify the image, we notice that Egypt, being the most advanced and prosperous Arab country . . . was a refuge to several Arab intellectuals, even those who did not fight the Ottomans but who simply sought wider domains for expressing their cultural aspirations in all aspects (journalism - theatre - singing - publication - education - various professional activities ... etc)

Thus, to concentrate on the reflections of this concept in Egypt is totally justifiable. Apart from a few exceptions (represented mainly in some activities of Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals, who emigrated to U.S.A) Egypt was the main domain for such intellectual and political activities.

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Before starting, it deems necessary to concentrate on an important question. Why did this occur in Egypt and not elsewhere?

We have previously referred to the British occupation (since 1882) and how it provided the chance to express anti-attoman feelings. However, this reply is inadequate, since there existed another European influence in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco ... etc.

Why did not all the open-minded Arab intellectuals gather therein?

Probably the more appropriate answer is that Egypt has witnessed a comprehensive cultural movement, ever since the epoch of Mohammed Ali. This distinguished it from other Arab countries.

We shall not harp on this aspect, but will only mark out certain features that are capable of clarifying Egypt's image at that time:

- "By the end of 1883, around 60 members of the Saint Simone group came over to Egypt from France. They roamed the streets of Cairo in a uniform of red shirts and white trousers. Their contributions were divided among delivering lectures in Arts and Literature, constructing the barrage, preparing geographic statistics and census, building cattle sheds, making a bust of the vali, teaching in language schools and schools of medicine, engineering and obstetrics, propagating the French language, establishing the school of agriculture, running the school of military engineering and the school of artillery, excavating for mines in th desert, preparing musical festivals, establishing an art school in Giza, as well as a general educational council, and constructing over 39 factories and schools .... etc".<sup>(3)</sup>
- In 1826 Mohammed Ali had Sent 37 students (among which 35 were Egyptians) to France, in order to specialize in the sciences of military management, chemistry, manufacture of arms, foundries, medicine and surgery ... etc.<sup>(4)</sup>

Mohammed Ali attempted to establish a modern powerful state. Maybe the following figures would display a clearer image.

- In 1839 the Egyptian army mounted to 277, 166 soldiers and sailors.<sup>(5)</sup>
- In 1837 the number of factories were 29 and the workers were 30,000.<sup>(6)</sup>
- In 1832 the students at Kasr El Aini school alone were 1,220.<sup>(7)</sup>
- The Arsenal of Alexandria included 8000 workers.<sup>(8)</sup>

- Meanwhile, an Egyptian Sheikh, dispatched by Mohammed Ali to Paris, returned after accompanying the students as a religious escort. This was Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi. He presented on altogether new concept to the Egyptians, demanding equality, constitution, the right of education, woman's freedom and furthermore he seeked a republican system.<sup>(9)</sup>

- During the epoch of Khedive Ismail (1875), the number of schools mounted to 129, including 13,830 students.<sup>(10)</sup>

Ismail dispatched 162 students to Europe, including one female student. They studied in Vienna, England, Italy, Germany and Switzerland. They specialized in medicine, pharmacology, natural history, law, engineering, arts, accounting and pedagogy.

Ever since the epoch of Ismail, several newspapers and magazines were issued. A parliamentary body was constituted under the name of "The Law Deliberation Council". The Opera House was constructed. A wide cultural upheaval was launched, extending to several domains (journalism - printing - acting - music ...., etc).<sup>(11)</sup>

Thus the Egyptian climate was more prepared than any ther to receive these ideas and welcome their launchers.

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Now, after this introduction, while speaking of the socialistic trends of the Arab intellectuals, who opposed the Ottoman caliphate, we can halt before three pirots.

- The Islamic Trend: represented by Sheikh Jamal Eddin Al-Afghani (taking into consideration that he was not a born Arab, although his influence on the Arabian policy and culture in general, and the Egyptian one in particular, is profound and effective) and Sheikh Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakbi.

- The Liberal Trend : Wali Eddin Yakan.

- The Laic Trend: Shelby Shomail, Farah Antone, Rafik Jabbour, Nichola Haddad.



We should affirm that these names represent simply examples of an intellectual and cultural movement, which exceeds by far those few names.

#### A. The Islamic Trend:

Jamal Eddin Al-Afghani was not an Arab. He was born in Afghanistan. Yet we refer to the fact that he played a significant role in promoting Egypt intellectually and politically by the end of Khedive Ismail's epoch and well into Khedive Tewfik's epoch. It could be stated that he was one of the fundamental instructors, organizers and intellectuals of the Egyptian movement, which was soon converted into a revolution against Khedive Tewfik, and against the attempts of the English to occupy Egypt. This revolution was under the leadership of the Egyptian Army officers, headed by Ahmed Orabi. It was designated the Orabi Revolution (1881 - 1882).<sup>(12)</sup>

Al-Afghani was undoubtedly an Islamic intellectual and combatant. Yet he was a religious man, unique in his kind. He affirmed that religion should comply with modern science. "If a conflict should rise between them, religion is to be interpreted in compliance with science". In his later writings he confirmed Darwin's Theory. Furthermore, he stated that the Muslim scientists were the first to call for the Evolution Theory, primarily Abou Bakr Ben Boushroun. He even proclaimed his abidance to socialism and emphasized its adherence to Islam in essence .. stating that "As for socialism in Islam, it is fused with the Islamic religion and is adherent to the morals of its people".

"The first who applied socialism are the successors of the Prophet Mohammed".

Probably this was the first time, where the word "Socialism" was applied directly and scientifically in Arabic writings.

Some people might imagine that Al-Afghani has applied the word "Socialism" as a literary or emotional term. In fact, he presented a correct and scientific definition of socialism. He states that "Socialism will retrieve a lost right for the majority of the toiling people". He also states that "Although the advocates of socialism are few today, yet one day true knowledge will prevail and man will know that all people are equal and distinction is attributed to those who are more beneficial and helpful to the society".<sup>(13)</sup>

What is more important is that such ideas were not seeds sown in a desert, but directed to a blazing revolutionary movement, that exploded by means of the Egyptian army soldiers and officers, backed by multitudes of intellectuals, tradesmen and peasants, all under the leadership of Ahmed Orabi Pasha.

When Wilfrid Blunt met Orabi (as minister of defence) he asked him about his program. Orabi offered him a simple and clear aperçu:

- Abolishment of the forced labour system, imposed by the Turkish pashas throughout the Egyptian countryside.
- Eliminating the monopoly of the Turkish pashas upon the water of irrigation.
- Protecting the peasants from foreign usurers.
- Spreading education for men and women alike.
- Free elections for a new parliament.
- Abolishing slavery.

It seems that the abolishment of slavery was of particular significance, since the English and Europeans in general accused the Orabi Revolution of being a retarded Islamic revolution, which seeks to re-establish slavery that has been annuled by the West.

For this reason, Orabi spoke at length with Blunt, concerning the issue of slavery. He stated that: Those who own slaves are the Khedive, the princes, the pashas and the Turks. Those are the enemies, whom the peasant movement seeks to overthrow. Orabi emphasized that the principles of freedom and reformation call for equality among everyone, regardless of race, colour or creed".<sup>(14)</sup>

Those were the concepts of this revolution's leader. What about its multitudes?

Upon the breakout of the revolution, the peasants indulged in settling their accounts with the Turkish landlords. They confiscated the lands, distributing them among themselves. They attacked the usurers, mainly Greeks, and took hold of the indebted

bills of exchange, and burnt them.<sup>(15)</sup>

Mr. Cartright, the general British vice-consul panicked and dispatched a message from Alexandria in June 26, 1882, informing his minister of foreign affairs that "an official piece of news was released by the government, stating that in a village near Benha, a Greek has been assassinated upon his refusal to give the peasants their indebted bills of exchange."<sup>(16)</sup>

Another version was as follows:

"Orabi asked for contributions from the people, in order to support the army in its struggle against the English. The chiefs of villages were unfair to the Turkish and Circassian Pashas (This might be the first time in which the Turks suffered "injustice"). The Chiefs of villages inquired if the Turks had brought over these lands from Turkey. This is Egyptian soil and we are the sons of Egypt. No one else should profit from it. Some even went as far as usurping the properties of the Turkish pashas and distributing them among themselves, asking the Turkish pashas to leave this country as destitute as upon their arrival."<sup>(17)</sup>

However, this revolution did not last for long.

Al-Afghani was banished from Egypt. The revolution was contained by the English army, through an agreement with the French (who facilitated to them the use of the Suez Canal) and through the Turkish caliph, who feared the consequences of such a popular revolution. Thus, he issued a fatwa to the effect that Orabi has deviated from Islam and antagonized the Muslims' caliph. Some Egyptian landlords also feared the consequences of a popular revolution, that might acquire a social dimension, reaching the extent of confiscating their properties and money.

However, the ideas were not vanquished. They proceeded on.

We shall halt before another Islamic intellectual, namely Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakbi.

Al-Kawakbi was a prominent man of religion in Aleppo. He plunged into a ferocious struggle against the Ottoman oppression. The Turkish turants nearly arrested him, which

forced him to flee to Egypt in 1899.

However, Al-Kawakbi was even unsafe in Cairo. The sultan's spies tracked him down and attempted to assassinate him. They stole from him the manuscripts of two of his most important books. "Greatness is God's" and "Journals of Koreishi". They dispatched them to Constantinople, where they were destroyed.

Thus, Al-Kawakbi chose to sign his articles and books under the name of "K. the explorer".

We have in our possession two books by Al-Kawakbi. The first is "Natures of Despotism and Ruins of Subjugation".

In his book, Al-Kawakbi violently attacks the despotic Ottoman system, declaring that "Despotism is the trait of the authoritarian government, which acts freely and blindly in people's affairs". He proceeds saying that "The despotic ruler controls the people's affairs, according to his will, not theirs. He judges them according to his whims, not their laws. He is well aware that he is a usurper and aggressor. Thus, he hushes up the multitudes by his heels, forbidding them to pronounce a word of truth or to seek it."

He affirms that the multitudes are capable of confronting despotism, once they realize the truth. He states that "Who are the populace? They are those, who once they're ignorant, they are afraid, and once they are afraid, they give in. Still, once they realize, they speak up, and once they speak up, they act".

He states that the despotism of the ruler leads to the despotism of the entire state organ on all levels.

"A despotic government is undoubtedly despotic in all domains, starting from the greater tyrant to the policeman to the attendant to the street sweeper." He proceeds saying: "The greater minister is the meaner. The lesser ministers are less mean. Thus, their levels of meanness is in accordance to their posts".

From this tenacious attack against despotism in the Ottoman state, Al-Kawakbi diverts his speech to the social system, stating that:

"The natural system is that any animal species does not devour itself, yet man devours man, exploits him and snatches away his efforts".

He asserts that Islam prohibits the acquisition of any surplus from another man's effort, and states that "Islam demands a fair and lawful means of earning money, i.e. from nature's abundance, or through trading, or in return for work or guarantees".

Islam demands that profit would not come through monopoly or plundering the weak, nor through the acquisition of lands that belong to one and all". Finally, Al-Kawakbi states that Islam seeks "the limitation of property".

Furthermore, Al-Kawakbi emphasizes that Islam "seeks to limit profit to man's needs. Excessive wealth leads to collapse of morals to both the rich and the poor."

Al-Kawakbi proceeds asserting that "Socialism is the secret that guarantees the success of the states". He states that "in most civilized western countries there exist organized societies, including millions of people. Such societies demand equality and similar rights. They seek to oppose the existing despotism".

Once more he affirms that socialism is not a western concept. "The successors of the prophet understood the Koran. They applied it. They established a government that dealt fairly with them and with the the poor alike. They instigated within the Muslims feelings of brotherhood and social ties. They provided socialistic modes of living, that are hard to find among brethren of one family, living under the wings of the same father and mother".

As for Al-Kawakbi's second book, it is entitled "Mother of Villages", in reference to "Mecca". Here, he visualizes a conference held for the Islamic peoples. It is attended by 22 representatives. Al-Kawakbi asks them questions and they answer him. Among his questions "What reason lies behind backwardness"? One member answers "Backwardness is due to poverty. In fact, the Islamic Sharia is built upon the fact that the poor are entitled to part of the rich people's money. Money is to be taken from the rich and given to the poor. However, the Islamic governments have reversed the situation. They gather from the poor and miserable to distribute on the rich."<sup>(20)</sup>

Al-Kwakbi remains in Cairo, combatting the Ottoman despotism, that hides behind Islamic statements. His combat is bolstered by pure Islamic attacks, condemning despotism and exploitation, and calling for freedom and socialism.

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### B- The Liberal Trend:

Wali Eddin Yakan . . is a descendant of a wealthy Turkish family. His grandfather is Ibrahim Pasha Yakan, the nephew of Mohamed Ali Pasha. (Yakan means nephew in Turkish). His maternal grandfather is one of the circassian princes, who fled to Turkey, in order to escape the Russian despotism. The Ottoman caliph welcomed him heartily and offered him vast lands and properties, especially within the state of "Siwas".

Naturally, his father, Hassan Sirry Yakan Pasha, dwelt in Egypt, but disagreed with the Khedive and fled to constantinople, where he married and begot Wali Eddin (1873).

After the death of his father, he returned to Cairo, where he launched a wide campaign against the Turkish Sultan, because of the latter's despotism. He wrote several articles and verses, attacking the Ottoman despotism. This irritated the "Ottoman Commissariat" in Cairo. It warned him more than once. Finally, the Sublime Porte allured him to constantinople, with the pretext of participating in a committee to be formed by Ahmed Galal Pasha, in order to set a new constitution for the Empire, based upon democracy. After hesitating, Wali Eddin agreed. Arriving there he fell in the caliph's snare. No constitution - No democracy. Once more Wali Eddin started his campaign with articles and verses. Finally, he was banished to "Siwas" for seven years. Upon his release, he returned promptly to Cairo, in order to resume his struggle against the Ottoman despotism.

Wali Eddin spoke at length on freedom in his articles and verses.

"Freedom is the ruler's enemy and the poor people's friend" "Miserable are the advocates of freedom. They seek to free the people from tyranny, but fall themselves under its yoke" "Freedom roamed the world, Whenever it entered a country, it set its

prisoners free, but when it reached Turkey, it was arrested and imprisoned in Yaldz".<sup>(21)</sup>

It did not suffice Yakan to defend freedom. He went as far as defending the poor labourers, inspite of his aristocratic upbringing.

"Dear fellow worker . I extend to you my oath of brotherhood. If you seek my love, I offer it to you. If you suffer injustice, my pen is your tongue, my word is your advocate and my life is your ransom".

Wali Eddin Yakan vehemently attacks the rich, saying that he entered upon a minister seated on a gilded chair "where every nail in that chair is more preeious than the worthless life of the minister himself".

Once more he defends the workers. "He who seeks to be unjust to the workers, let him do without them. Let those princes and wealthy people confess that they are not in need of labourers and their work. Let them put off their rich garments and march to the factories, rolling up their sleeves and manufacturing their needs. Then and there will they realize the value of work and the worth of workers".<sup>(22)</sup>

Finally, Yakan attempts to present us with a romantic picture of the society of which he is dreaming - a society whose wealth is confiscated for the welfare of the majority, not the extravagance of the rich minority.

"If wealth is spent on education, children would resemble prophets. If it is sown, grains of gold would sprout. If it is lavished on beggers, they would dress up from the most expensive stores and would have chocolate for breakfast".

In his struggle against the Ottoman despotism, Wali Eddin Yakan launches a ferocious battle against the men of religion, who are backing the caliph. He comments that "If we compile all the turbans of each man of religion in the Ottoman states, we would build a stronghold, that the British fleet itself would fail to destroy".<sup>(23)</sup>

We must record an important observation. Wali Eddin Yakan is an aristocratic liberal, yet in his struggle for freedom, he is led to the issue of equality and social equity furthermore, he vehemently attacks the men of religion, just like the laices.

However, because Wali Yakan was only liberal with a Turkish origin and affiliation, he did not sense the pressure of the British occupation in Egypt. On the contrary, he fully supported it.. because Egypt was the only country in the region, enjoying some fundamental freedoms such as the freedom of press and of expressing opinions. He did not realize that Egypt was deprived of the most important freedom - that of its nation.

In one of his books issued in Egypt, the first page carries a photograph of Lord Cromer (The British de facto ruler of Egypt) with the following phrase underneath "Egypt's Saviour". This turned the Egyptians, demanding the book to be banned. Moreover, Wali Eddin was upset by one of the false British statements that were declared from time to time, to the effect that Britain intended to evacuate Egypt. Although no one took such statements seriously, yet Wali Eddin found it appropriate to express his deep concern about the possibility of Britain's withdrawal from Egypt. He urged the English to remain in Egypt, lest the edifice of freedom should collapse (and maybe because he feared, lest the Ottoman rulership should return to Egypt).

Naturally, the Egyptians stood against Wali Eddin Yakan .. refusing all his writings.

Probably Yakan's stance from the occupation rendered all his words inadmissible, whether concerning freedom or the poor people's rights.

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### C. The Laic Trend

We come across four intellectuals, all Maronites - all from the region of the mountain of Lebanon and all striving for their cause from the Land of Egypt.

We halt before some significant phenomena that instigate the researcher.

#### The Stance from the British Occupation

Similar to Wali Eddin Yakan's stance was that of Shebly Shomail.. total and overt support to the British occupation, considering that the latter promoted Egypt and motivated it towards freedom .. (Freedom to him constituted the most important issue. It



represented the offsprings of the mind and intellect, and consequently advancement).

In one of his articles that turned the Egyptians against him, Shomail states that "Egypt - under the power of the English - has enjoyed an organized irrigation system, with a wider range of cultivation. Peasants have become enriched. Their lives are now worthwhile. Egypt has become financially stable, thus inspiring confidence. Freedom reached the extent that prison doors were wide open".<sup>(24)</sup>

When Egypt led its battle against the attempts of the occupation to prolong the Suez Canal capitulations (1909), the "Legislative Society" succeeded, under the pressure of a wider popular battle, to defy the occupation forces it voted against this proposal. Yet, Shomail stood up against the violent Egyptian current, he supported the occupation's requests. His justifications were that "the rights of states come before the rights of individuals, no matter how great the latter are. Furthermore, the rights of the world come before the rights of any state".<sup>(25)</sup>

Egyptians rose against his writings. One of the newspapers responded vehemently to Shomail's stance "the day on which the Egyptian nation conquered the occupation, your highness Mr. Philosopher criticized our action. So, kindly leave us to our ignorance and carry back your knowledge to your country".<sup>(26)</sup>

As for his stance from religion....

Shomail writes blatantly against religion. "Those who admit the presence of a power that created the world out of nothing, have no proof to their sayings".<sup>(27)</sup> He attacks men of religion "Religions are converted from the welfare of the people to a means of profit in the hands of those who manipulate them, in order to control the world, even through the destruction of humanity".

Moreover, his attack becomes exaggerated. "If humanity all over the world cuts the flesh of the leaders of religion, who are alone responsible for all the atrocities that were committed and still are committed in the name of religion, still humanity would not have taken its revenge for all crimes against man".<sup>(28)</sup>

Farah Antone also leads a battle against Islam. He is confronted by Sheikh Mohammed Abdou "Mufti of Islam". Their violent campaign is entitled "Islam and Christianity".<sup>(29)</sup> Egypt flares up and becomes on the verge of a serious sectarian dissension, except that both men cut their dialogue, in order to maintain unity among Egypt's Muslims and Copts.

Others like Nichola Haddad were more careful not to indulge so candidly in such matters.

Here we wonder. Why such an assault on religion. First comes religious terrorism launched by the Ottoman empire against the Christians of the Lebanese territories. There also comes the Ottoman coercion wrapped in a religious envelope.

However, this explains a stance against Islam, but why against Christianity as well?

A historian states that "The Protestant missionaries and the Maronite church exercised a great influence in Lebanon. They created an atmosphere of terrorism and dissension, in order to exercise full control on their people. This urged the Lebanese intellectuals to launch violent assaults on fanaticism".<sup>(30)</sup>

Nichola Haddad refers to his childhood in the mountain of Lebanon, and how he feared the discrimination campaign, led by some Maronite men of religion against Christians of other sects. His mother went as far as refusing to buy from one of the peddlars, just because he was a non-Maronite Christian.

Abbas Al'Aqad, a great Egyptian intellectual during the 20's, was interested in this phenomenon. He interpreted it saying "the Maronite church controlled the lives of its subjects in Lebanon. It leaned on its relationship with France, in order to tighten its grip on these subjects. It was a religious power, an intellectual leader, an establisher of schools, a printer of books, an educator of children and adults ... all this led some open-minded intellectuals to defy such an absolute authority".<sup>(31)</sup>

After these two observations, we shall hasten to the four intellectuals.

## Shebly Shomail:

A doctor - son of a Lebanese landlord - born in the village of Kafr Sham'a.. studied medicine in the Faculty of Protestants - graduated in 1871 - left for Europe in 1875 to spend a year studying natural sciences, anatomy and Darwin's Theory - came to Egypt to issue "Al-Shifaa" magazine. Soon, he became one of its prominent intellectuals.

In 1898, Shomail released a book entitled "The Philosophy of Evolutionism". It was a translation of Buchner's book "Six Lectures on Darwin's Theory (published in German in 1868)". \*

A great tumult arises around this book Shomail does not retreat. He defies and proceeds with his speech on the Theory of Evolutionism. He attempts to prove that man "is a natural being, not created". Shomail was greatly interested in natural science. Probably, he was the first to write about its latest developments in the Arabic language.

He defends freedom and attacks tyranny. He launches ferocious campaigns against the Ottoman caliph. He writes lovely literature and refined poetry. His articles infiltrate the various newspapers (All these articles were gathered in 1910 in two big volumes).

He calls for revolution . . . and socialism. Shomail refuses any ultra structure of the capitalistic society. He considers it fake and demands a new and reasonable ultra structure.

\* To comprehend the extent of defiance on behalf of Shebly Shomail to struggle for the publication of his book "The Philosophy of Evolutionism", it deems necessary to refer to 1882, when a violent dispute broke out in the American University in Beirut, which was then designated "The Syrian Evangelical College", when Dr. Lois delivered a speech on Graduation Day, hinting - just hinting - to Darwin. All the conservative doctors turned against him. To them Darwin was "The symbol of atheism and heresy. No reference is to be made to him, nor to his achievements, within the edifice of the college, under any circumstances".

Upon the pressure exerted on Lois, a number of students (50) united with him under the leadership of Georgy Zidan. They went on strike in remonstrance against the conservative current. However, the crisis ended upon the resignation of Dr. Lois and the retreat of several striking students.

(Refer to: Shafik Jaha. Darwin and the crisis, 1882, Medical circle. Beirut (1991).

He even attacks the law "Why should we judge the erroneous. Aren't we the ones who taught man to lie, because he saw us punishing the righteous. Didn't we teach him to steal, because we did not provide him with his needs"<sup>(32)</sup>

He calls for revolution "But the revolution should emanate from the people. there should be a sort of concealed agreement thereupon among the people. Such a revolution can then be neither conquered no resisted."

He goes as far as calling for a worldwide revolution "Where the peoples back one another and the nations support each other, in order to topple government and shuffle them for the better"

Shomail speaks often about socialism. He calls capitalists "Thieves of Society" "roaming and and romping thieves, protected by laws and governments".

Shomail tackles the "labourers' revolution against employers", for the sake of socialism.

"Socialism is an inevitable outcome of established introductions> It is achieved, regardless of all hesitations". "Socialism i like society. It is governed and imposed by general natural laws"<sup>(34)</sup>

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Then we come to another intellectual

### **Farah Antone:**

Born in Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1874. He graduated from Kefteen School. He traded in wood. Then he gave up commerce to run a school, established by a Roman Orthodox Charitable Organization. He strived to keep the school non-sectarian. The President was a Protestant, the director and headmaster were Maronites and the Arabic Language professor was a Muslim.

Later, he came to Egypt, because to him it was "the core of the world, from which science and knowledge spread like rays in all directions". He arrived in Alex in 1897. He

released a sophisticated cultural scientific magazine, entitled "The Ottoman Gami'a" (1899). Later, he dropped the term Ottoman and kept the title "Al-Gami'a".

A journalist describes "Al-Gami'a" saying, "it was a magazine for those who strived for new principles, and those who freed their minds from old-fashioned ideas. Its editor sought to liberate the oriental minds and social ideologies from the captivity of the past. He succeeded in establishing a new current of the modern era, the era of liberty and freedom from all restraints, apart from what reason entails."<sup>(35)</sup>

In 1907 Farah Antone emigrated to America, where he issued "Al-Gami'a" in New York. However, he soon returned to Egypt after the "Ottoman overthrow". Yet, his concepts were new. Over there, he encountered the American Socialist Vanguards, such as Eugene Debs (a founder of the American Socialist Party) and Henry George (author of "Progress & Poverty").

Farah Antone was perpetually enthusiastic, to the extent that one of his contemporaries described him as "an author who is always boiling over forty degrees" He also wrote in various domains. Philosophy - religion - defending freedom - socialism. He wrote tens of plays, to the extent that some people consider him a playwright.

We shall halt before his writings on socialism: He released an issue of "Al-Gami'a" on 1/1/1900. In the editorial, he wrote:

"This issue is released on the day where the 19<sup>th</sup>C ends and the 20<sup>th</sup>C. begins. This century is witnessing the flames of the French revolution. The latter has established the fundamentals of freedom throughout the world. Undoubtedly, the works of the 19<sup>th</sup>C are incomplete, because it only sufficed to speak of freedom and equality. We confess that socialism and socialists were welcomed. This helped democracy and supported the poor all over Europe. We tie great hopes on you - 20<sup>th</sup>C. may you proceed in safety and in peace".<sup>(37)</sup>

Farah Antone asserts that capitalism will eventually be conquered, after "conquering the social and political corruption". A socialistic state will emerge "a state of social collaboration and human solidarity among all the social strata".<sup>(38)</sup>

Farah Antone releases a famous play "Religion, Science & Money". It is a dialogue between representatives of labourers, capitalists, men of religion and scientists. In this dialogue, Farah Antone does not fail to provide the labourers with arguments and excerpts of Karl Marx.

After a lengthy dialogue, the labourers representative delivers a speech, urging them to carry a revolution "gather up before factories, farms and shops. Let us display our power. Let them know finally that we demand part of the profit or else death".

"Labourers emerge from every corner, clamouring "Long live socialism" "Socialism or death" The army soldiers were guarding the factories, so the labourers yelled "Hail, soldiers. We are all brethren, since we are sons of one nation, do not hurt us". The soldiers received orders to attack. They attacked - except for 50 soldiers, who dropped their arms and joined the labourers. The rest of the soldiers turned against their welfare and the welfare of the people. By the end of the day, the soldiers managed finally to disperse the labourers"<sup>(39)</sup>

Antone calls for an attempt to impose socialism by force, "other wise it will remain a theory forever" He kept writing tons of articles in magazines, defending the October revolution and attacking its opponents.

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### Nichola Haddad:

Another Lebanese who came to Egypt to work as a journalist. He married "Rose", sister of Farah Antone. He left for America with them and they all returned together.

Nichola Haddad is a cornerstone in the Enlightenment Movement. He was distinguished from Shebly Shomail, Wali Eddin Yakan and even Farah Antone in the fact that he acknowledged the feelings of the Egyptian people. He did not want to oppose such feelings. He realized that in order to influence the Egyptians, he had to evade any clashes with the two most important elements of their social awareness religion and their antagonistic stance from the occupation.

Thus, Nichola found a wider field of tackling the Egyptian emotions and delivering his thoughts to them. Concerning the British occupation, Nichola wrote "the liberation of Egypt from the British occupation is the wish of every Egyptian. This fact is indisputable. If I tell an Egyptian that the English are the Prophet Mohammed's servants, still he would say: I do not want them. The Egyptian accepts no discussion in this concern".<sup>(40)</sup>

Nichola Haddad wrote lavishly and extensively. But his most important writings were in sociology, natural sciences, the issue of defending international peace and socialism.

Nichola Haddad's socialism is distinguished by its equanimity and distinctness. It is clear-cut and effective, capable of influencing the citizens. (Not only because of its clarity, but also because Nichola was consistent with the Egyptians feelings).

We shall halt before an article and a book.

The article was published in "Al-Milal" magazine, one of the most widespread Egyptian magazines. It was published in 1918. In the article, Haddad states that: "Socialism is logical and reasonable. It is established on fair economic and social fundamentals. It necessitates the toppling of the present economic system and the establishment of a new system".<sup>(41)</sup> He proceeds saying "The injustice of the present system, of which socialist complain, is that it leads to the accumulation of wealth. This wealth is the fruit of the labourers' efforts. It falls in the hands of a limited category of people. The labourers are deprived of this fruit. A few individuals succeed in gathering inconceivable amounts of money, while thousands of workers beg for a living, and fail to find one. The system sought by socialists can be summarized as follows: Transferring all companies and utilities, in which labourers work, and all real estates from the hands of their owners to the hands of the government, where such productive utilities become owned by the nation".

These are reflections of the October revolution and what it provided to the socialist advocates in Egypt from clarity and audacity.

In 1920, Haddad issued a book entitled "Socialism". In his book, Haddad speaks of the capitalistic society, saying "It is the society, which allows unrestrained struggles among individuals. The strong profits from the fruits of the toiling poor. In other words, the strong is allowed to live on the expense of the weak. This is contrary to socialism, which necessitates that each individual enjoys the outcome of his labour, considering that everyone participating in labour should obtain the fruits of his efforts, accordingly."

Haddad further condemns the capitalistic society, making use of his direct contact with the American Society and his perusal of the American socialist writings. He says that "5000 Americans, ie. 1 : 200,000 of the population, hold the wealth of nearly all of America".<sup>(42)</sup> In an answer to a statement that the difference in incomes is attributable to proficiency and efficiency, he states that "The president of the republic of France should preside for over 41 years, saving all his salary, in order to collect a million francs. Similarly, the president of the American republic should preside for 50 years, in order to gather a million dollars. Rockefeller, the millionaire, should preside America for 10,000 years in order to gather his present fortune, providing that he does not spend a single cent of his salary".

Haddad categorically refuses any reformatory attempts or trials" to pacify the pains of the capitalistic community by the morphing of reformation". He states that "we want the labourer to obtain his rights and enjoy the fruits of his toil. He should find solution to his problems through justice and not through charity".

As for the closing chapter of the book, its title entails on further explanation. It is entitled "The World is destined to Socialism".

In 1921, the Egyptian socialists declared the establishment of a party of their own. Nichola did not contact this party. He confined himself to the role of the intellectual, although he tried to respond to some assaults against the party.

When Sheikh Taftazani issued a fatwa that Socialism is anti-religious, Nichola Haddad responded through an article, asserting that socialism is a social creed. It does not tackle religious matters, yet it is the most compliant social system, where all religions are



concerned"<sup>(43)</sup>. Haddad releases an academic encyclopedia entitled "Sociaology". It is probably the first Arabic-written work in this context. In spite of the academic aspect of the research, yet, its words are highly significant .. e.g. "Working under the capitalistic system is a sort of ubjugation. Man has not volunteered to work for more than his actual need. Alas, he is forced to 'do so",<sup>(44)</sup>

He also affirms that true democracy can only exist under socialism. "The actual democracy is incomplete, because it permits economic disparity. It will remain incomplete so long as socialism is not applied, and individuals are allowed to accumulate vast fortunes. Thus, authority will proceed exploiting under the pretext of democracy, since authority seeks money within a capitalistic society, instead of socking knowledge and morals".

In his book "The Development of the Social Structure", Haddad asserts that "a new economic system cannot be established, except through the destruction of any system pertaining to capitalistic economies, and except if private property of all means of production is abolished, and everything valuable becomes owned by the nation and managed by the government".<sup>(45)</sup>

Haddad issues another distinguished book in psychology entitled "The Science of Self-Discipline". He releases a number of politically - inclined plays and novels, all speaking overtly of the failure of the existing system, and the necessity to establish a socialistic society.

However, before ending our talk about Nichola Haddad, it deems necessary to clarify that he confined himself to the role of an intellectual and author. He utterly refused any participation in party or political activities of a socialistic tendency.

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### **Rafik Jabbour**

There remains another Lebanese . . . born in Kafr Fallous (1882). He is also a Maronite, born to an aristocratic family. He even led an aristocratic life at the wake of his career. Iran appointed him consul in the Ottoman state.

However, the anti-Ottoman Maronite, who was affiliated to his Arabdom, participated in assisting the son Al-Sherif Hussein, who was detained as a hostage by the Sublime Porte, to escape. In his capacity as a consul, with all that this entails from immunities, he helped him flee from Turkey. Once the son escaped, the father was able to declare his mutiny against the sultan. The "Jabbour" family still possesses the letter of thanks, sent by Al-Sherif Hussein to the head of the family "Rafik", because of his help to Al-Sherif's son.

The Ottoman authorities discovered the role of the consul, and considered him persona non grata. Consequently Iran was obliged to appoint him consul in Alexandria.

In Alexandria, Rafik Jabbour encountered a great surge of liberty, advancement and call for socialism. He blended perfectly well with all that.

Telegrams from the British High Commissioner were dispatched to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, complaining of an antagonistic role, assumed by the Consul of Iran in Alexandria. Iran tempted him by appointing him Consul General in Egypt, if he gives up politics. Still, he refused. He resigned and picked up journalism. He indulged in politics and became a socialist. However, he remained as editor in the Wafd Party newspaper (The Egyptian Bourgeoisie Party). He formed a Lebanese society under the name of "Youthful Lebanon". Then, he secretly joined the Egyptian Socialist Party, which later became "The Egyptian Communist Party". It seems he kept his membership secretive, in order to proceed with his work in the bourgeois papers.

In 1924, a decree was issued, dissolving the Egyptian Communist Party. All its central committee members were arrested. Here, the role of Rafik Jabbour, as a member in the secret central committee, became prominent.

Here lies the difference between Nichola Haddad and Rafik Jabour. They were both serene and clear-minded. They both adhered to the Egyptian struggle. Yet, Haddad preferred the intellectual role, while Rafik Jabbour indulged in the socialistic combat till the very end.

In 1925, he was arrested. His bill of indictment included a paragraph stating that:

"Rafik Jabbour - 43 years old - born in the mountain of Lebanon - editor in Al-Nizam newspaper (a Wafdist paper) - is accused of criminally conniving with others to commit homicides, propagate revolutionary ideas against the principles of the constitution, and encourage the toppling of the fundamental systems by force, terrorism and other means. He participated with others to commit the crime of forming a gang from labourers and peasants, in order to attack a group of landlords".<sup>(46)</sup>

Then and there the people realized that Rafik Jabbour was a communist, and that the socialistic - minded journalist "Mohammed Siddiq Antar", who issued several books on socialism, and who released an overt magazine entitled "Al-Hisab" is but Rafik Jabbour himself.

In the editorial of the first issue Al-Hisab magazine, Rafik Jabbour (Mohammed Siddiq Antar) wrote a decisive article: "For the sake of the toiling class of labourers and peasants, we issue this paper. For the sake of delivering the word to the governing authorities and the other classes in Egypt the word of this wretched and ill-treated class".<sup>(47)</sup>

Rafik Jabbour also asked permission to establish an overt party for labourers and peasants. He proclaimed that "Egypt's parties today are mere political groups, working without principles and proceeding according to their class interests. Such interests clash with the labourers' interests. However, the toiling class is entitled to interests and requests. It is entitled to establish a party, which would defend its interests and seek its requests".<sup>(48)</sup>

Jabbour asserts that this party can include the labourers of the cities and countryside, the destitute peasants, the educated people, the small professionals and the bourgeois farmers". "However, the party's spine, brain and heart should be the labourers. The party's law should be very careful not to allow the other classes to have control upon the party and manipulate its interests. The party should be made up of labourers, made for labourers and made by labourers".<sup>(49)</sup>

However, we notice that the movements of the Syrian- Lebanese intellectual progressionists were not totally isolated from the rest of their community.. When Shebly Shomail released his works in two volumes in 1910, the process of issuing these two volumes- with all their content of socialist, progressive, laic and even heretic ideas- was financed by donations gathered from the Lebanese community in Egypt, and even from some residing in Lebanon.

At the end of the second volume, we read a list of those who contributed with donations, under the title "Table of Names of my Beneficent Assistants".

The list includes names such as Amin Karam (Alexandria), Elias Sabbagh (Beiruth), Naguib Sarasak, (Alexandria), George Kirdahy (Alexandria), George Bey Sarsak (Beiruth), Antone Khoury (Mansoura), Assaad Nichola (Cairo), Adel Efendi Gabr (Jaffa), Nichola Himsy (Halab).. It also includes three Egyptian Muslims (50)..

Yet we would like to refer to the fact that the names of these Lebanese, who offered donations, belong to rich and lofty families None of these played a prominent intellectual or political role in Egypt. It seems that such donations were a sort of national solidarity between these Lebanese and a fellow Lebanese thinker, who was subjected to a blatant persecution from Egyptian Muslims. His courage and great knowledge were a source of pride to his country men.

However, the general conservative trend in the Lebanese and Syrian community in Egypt did not stop some well- organized progressive trends from appearing, such as the group of (Lebanon the Youth). Socialist and progressionist Lebanese joined the latter. Some of them later turned into communists.

This group was formed at the wake of the second decade of the twentieth century. It included Shafik Pasiour (an engineer, who later joined the communist party - Mansoura branch), Adeb Kash'amy (a worker in a tobacco company and a prominent unionist.

Later, he joined the Egyptian Communist Party), Antone Maroun (a lawyer- consultant of the general Trades Union- member of the central committee of the communist party-

sentenced to three years of prison in 1924- died in prison after a food strike, in protest against his ill- treatment. The Egyptian communists consider him the first martyr in their party) (51), Fouad Shamaly (unionist- member of the Central committee of the Communist Party- established later a party in Alexandria, which he called the Syrian- Lebanese Socialist Party, (Consequently, the occupation forces deported him to Lebanon, where he played a significant role in the Lebanese Communist Party), Rafik Jabbour (we discussed him in the first section of this study).

Thus, generally speaking, the group of "Lebanon the youth" seems to be a socialist group. Moreover, all its famous members were lofty cadres in the Egyptian Communist Party.. Furthermore, some information leads to the fact that one of the primary steps in the process of establishing the Communist Party- which was initially designated: "The Egyptian Socialist Party"- was the unification of Egyptian cells together with Lebanese cell belonging to the group of "Lebanon the Youth", as well as Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian and Italian cells. However, the Egyptian communists insisted that the principal leadership would remain purely Egyptian.

We notice that soon a conflict arose between Fouad Shamaly and the leadership of the Egyptian Communist Party. In a press statement, he called for the expulsion of non- labour leaderships from the party. He proclaimed: "I urge the socialist leaders in Egypt to leave the labourers in charge of all their affairs. Socialism emanates from the labourers. It is for the sake of labourers. It survives through labourers- not through tradesmen, landlords and lawyers (52).

In his statement, in which he announced the establishment of the Syrian and Lebanon socialist party, he blatantly rebelled against the commintern, stating that "we embarked on establishing a group that aims at defining Syria and Lebanon politically and economically. We said socialist- not communist- because communism deemed unfavourable. Upon setting our fundamental principles, which we derived from the Third International, they seemed contrary to our aspiration.. We are mere mouth- pieces of the helpless working classes. We seek to improve their circumstances as much as possible.

We aim at having the working classes and peasants assume full responsibility in running all their affairs, once the opportunity presents itself. (53).

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Considering the Armenian community, the general trend therein seemed to be an allegiance to the British occupation. This was a mode of expressing enmity to the Ottomans and a means of protesting against the persecution of Armenians under the Ottoman caliphate.

Probably it is no coincidence that the occupation resorted twice to Armenian agents, in order to abort Egyptian revolutionary movements.

During the Orabi Revolution (1882), the English sought a justification to interfere. The "Alexandria Massacre", started by a fabricated quarrel between an Armenian and an Egyptian. A great number of Armenians backed their fellow countryman. Later, it was proved that it was a premeditated setup. A riot broke out when Armenians roamed the city, claiming that the Muslims are attempting to massacre the Christians. Investigations proved later that a number of Armenians assumed the task of instigating this riot, which aimed at turning foreigners and Christians in general against the Orabi revolution, and furnishing the English with a justification for their intervention.

The same thing recurred, more or less, in Abdeen in Cairo during 1919, when the first sparks of the 1919 Revolution broke out. Bullets were shot from the windows of an Armenian at one of the demonstrations. A clash occurred between the demonstrators and a number of Armenians. (Investigations proved that he who shot the bullets was involved with the Security organs that were subjected to the occupation authorities). Again, the aim was to instigate the foreigners against the revolution and provide justifications for the occupation authorities, in order to take drastic measures against peaceful demonstrations.

However, this did not prohibit the existence of progressionist and socialist Armenian powers. Their first prominent role within the Egyptian revolutionary movements was when the Egyptian police arrested three Russians in January 1907. One of them was Armenian.

The charge against them was that they had escaped a death sentence in Tsarist Russia. The papers said that "The police discovered that they came to Egypt for a malicious aim. The Russian consulate informed the Egyptian government of this consequently, the police arrested them and found explosives in their possession. Thus, the three of them lost their right of political asylum... Deliberations are now underway, to deport them to the government of Russia" (Al Mou'ayed, Jan 21, 1907). This is the occupation authorities' version. The other version is that those three were sailors on board of the armored cruiser "Botmikin". They had participated in the 1905 Revolution in Russia. They were members of the Bolshevik Party. The occupation authorities - in connivance with the Russian consul - inserted some explosives among their belongings, in order to deprive them of their right of political asylum.

Naturally, the progressionist powers within the foreign communities took action, Cairo, Alexandria and Port-Said witnessed raging demonstrations and clashes with the police forces. It deems necessary to refer to the fact that the Egyptian papers always mentioned that the Armenian community was the foremost among those participating in such demonstrations. This could be attributable to the presence of an Armenian among the arrested sailors.

Al Mou'ayed (Jan. 21, 1907) mentioned that the Armenians arranged a food strike among the foreign communities in Alex, to express their solidarity with these Russian sailors.

A series of quick trials are carried out for those arrested in the demonstrations. Among them is "Harkis Alexin Trisian, an Armenian, 24 years old, working as a tailor. The charges against him is insulting his majesty the Tsar of Russia and descending the emblem of Russia " (54).

Furthermore, the socialist Armenians contributed in establishing "The Free Popular University" in 1901, in order to educate the labourers. This university was the pivot of socialist activity in Egypt. Italian, Greek, Armenian and Russian socialists participated

therein .. together with some Egyptians.

There exists a few pieces of information concerning a limited socialist activity among the Bulgarian community, Security reports contains some information on the activity of a number of Bulgarians among the lines of the Egyptian Communist Party at the wake of the twenties. One of the Party cadres said that during this period he was personally involved with a bulgarian cell, that operated within the framework of the Egyptian Communist Party. It was essentially composed of taxi-drivers. They specialized in forming an effective communication net work for the Party, in Cairo and Alexandria, thanks to their profession as taxi drivers.

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As for the Greeks, they constitute the largest foreign community in Egypt. They were most active and sympathetic with the Egyptian people from the onset, a coherence existed between the Greek communities and the Egyptians, whether in their class struggles or political combats. In March 18, 1894, the first communist pamphlet was distributed in Cairo, urging the Egyptians to celebrate the Paris Commune Anniversary. The pamphlet contained the following: "Lo! Labourers - Remember that this day is in memory of the Paris Commune Revolution. Lo! ill-treated Labourers - Let us stand hand in hand and shout together: Down with the greedy rich! Hail to the social revolution! Hail to communism" (55).

Among those arrested for distributing this pamphlet was a greek. In October 1894, the Greek labourers in the Suez Canal Co. organized a strike that was unprecedented in Egypt. It lasted for 15 days.

Several Greek personalities emerged admist the communist activity in Egypt. The Greek communists established an organization of their own. It remained active up till 1956. This organization collaborated actively with the Egyptian communist party, ever since its establishment.

Some of the names that played major roles Sklaaridis Yanakakis, a sponge tradesman,



who became known as the leader of the Greek communists and the link between the latter and the Egyptian communists. Other names are Malanos, Kazantazakis Nikos Nikolaidis, George Peridis, Konstantiniidis Peridis (the famous poet) and Zerbini (a millionaire who owned a huge soap factory in Kafr Al Zayat in Egypt. On his death, every body was astounded to find him leaving all his property to the International Communist movement. He appointed Stalin as a supervisor on the execution of this legacy. Naturally, the court refused the execution of this will, considering it null and void on grounds of mental disorder).

The Greek communists formed several literary salons, that succeeded in keeping the contemporary Russian literature in vogue among the The Greek community. They also established The Peoples Library\*.

The Greek communists, being the most collaborating foreign communists with their Egyptian peers, were subjected to several arrests and trials.

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In 1928, the Egyptian communists succeeded in forming a sort of coalition with the leaders of the "National Party". They even succeeded in having two representatives of their party, namely Abdel Hamid Sa'id and Sheikh Mahmoud Aboul Quyoum, to join the "Anti - Imperialist League".

There exists a British document that summarizes an article published in "Bandir Islam" magazine in Malawi (July 4, 1927), entitled "The Anti Imperialism League Seeking National Liberation:.. The document states that the article dealt with the League and its activities.. and thar Mazhar Al-Bakri (Syrian) has proposed the formation of branches to such League in each Arab Country. These branches were to be unified in one organization designated "The League of Liberation of Arab Countries".

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\* An important document on the activity and role of the Greek communists in Egypt, prepared by one of them upon my request, namely Nichola Papparidoti. It is a paper of 52 pages typed in French, entitled: "Petite Resumé du Mouvement Politique Grèc Egyptien."

Furthermore, Al-Bakri proposed the summoning of an Anti Imperialist Arab Conference in Cairo .. He asserted that contacts have already been done with a number Egyptian personalities to discuss this matter among these personalities member (I believe it was Hafez Ramadan Pasha, head of the, National Party). Representatives from China, New-Zealand, Indonesia, England and India were to be invited to this conference (56).

### *Footnotes*

- 1- Al-Rafe'i-Abdul Rahman - Moustafa Kamel -p. 61.
- 2- The leader of this current was the Islamic, Sheikh Abdel Aziz Gawish. For further details on this issue, see Al-Sa'id-Rif'at - Mohammed Farid - Cairo - 2nd edition, P. 45 and onward.
- 3- Diab- Mohammed Hafez - An article - in Al-Manar (Egypt) May 1989.
- 4- Zidan - Georgy - History of the Arabic Language Literature - Volume IV (1937) P. 21.
- 5- Al-Hadidi-Aly-Abdallah Al-Nadim - p. 15.
- 6- Al-Barrawi-Rasid - Economic Development in Egypt - p. 63.
- 7- Abdel Kareem - Ahmed Ezzat - History of Education in Egypt - Volume I - P. 140.
- 8- Al-Hadidi - Ibid P. 14.
- 9- See: Al-Tahtawi-Rifa'a - Approaches of Egyptian Minds in the Delights of contemporary Arts (Manahig Al Albab Al Misreya fi Mabaheg Al Al adab al'Asreya) and purification of Gold in the Summarization of Paris (Takliees Al Ibris fi Talkhees Paris).
- 10- Abdel Kareem - Ibid P. 833.
- 11- For further details, see Al-Sa'id - History of Socialistic Concepts in Egypt (Tarikh Al Fikr Al Shishtitaki fi Misr) - 2nd edition - p. 69 and onward.
- 12- For further details, Al-Sa'id-Rif'at - Social Basis for the Orabi Revolution.

(Al-Asas Aligtima'ee lil thawra Alorabià)

- 13- Emara-Mohammed - Jammal Eddin Al-Afghani - Complete Works P. 320 and onward.
- 14- Al Sa'id-Rif'at-Ibid P. 126.
- 15- Al- Sa'id- Rif'at- Ibid- p.87.
- 16- Nakash- Selim- Egypt for Egyptians (Misr Lil Misreyeen)- V- p.49.
- 17- Nakash- ibid- p.149.
- 18- Al- Kawakbi- Abdul Rahman- Natures of Despotism and Ruins of Subjugation- (Taba'e Al- Istibdad wa Masar'e Alistibdad) (1318 H.) p.34.
- 19-ibid p. 65.
- 20- Al- Kawakbi- Abdul Rahman- Mother of Villages (Om Al- Kora)- p.100.
- 21- Yakan- Wali Eddin- the Known & The Unknown (Al- M'aloum Wal Maghoul)- p. 63.
- 22- Yakan- Wali Eddin- The Black Pages (Al Sahaef Al- Sood) p. 57.
- 23- Yaka- Wali Eddin- Experimentations (Al- Tagareeb)- p. 32.
- 24- Shomail- Shebly- an article- Complete Works- Part Two (1910). p.207.
- 25- Shomail- an article "The World after 60 years"- ibid p. 293.
- 26- Shomail- an article "Freedom of Press"- ibid- p. 332.
- 27- Shomail- Philosophy of Evolutionism- p. 230.
- 28- Shomail- an article "Victims of Ignorance" complete works- ibid- p. 182.
- 29- Abdou- Mohammed- Islam & Christianity - (Alislam wa Al Nasrania) -5 th Edition (1357 H.).
- 30- Assaly- Kamel- Progressive Tendencies in Contemporary Arabic Minds (doctorate thesis- unpublished).

- 31- Al- Aqad- Abdas- an article - Al Balagh (daily paper)- March 5, 1924.
- 32- Shomail- ibid- p. 120.
- 33- Shomail- Philosophy or Evolutionism- ibid- p. 148.
- 34- Shomial- an article :Socialism"- complete works Volume II, P.152.
- 35- Ibarhim- Mahmoud- an article elegizing Farah Antone- Magazine of Al Sayedat Wal Rigal- September 1923.
- 36- For further details, see: Al- Sa'id- Three Lebanese in Cairo - (Thalthet Lobnaneen fi Al Kahira)- (1973) and onward.
- 37- Al Gami'a- 1- 1-1900.
- 38- Haddad- Nichola- an article in the magazine "Al- Sayedat Wal Banat"- (1907).
- 39- Antone- Farah- Religion, Science & Money - (Al Dien, wa Al Elm, wa Al Maal)- (a novel) (1903). p. 49.
- 40- Haddad- Nichola- an article in the magazine "Al- Sayedat Wal Banat"- (1907).
- 41- Haddad- Nichola- an article in the magazine "Al- Hilal" entitled "Socialism- What it demands and what it does not demand"- The 1918 set.
- 42- Haddad- Nichola "Socialism" (1920) p. 63.
- 43- Al- Ahram- 13- 9- 1923.
- 44- Haddad- Nichola- Sociology- Volume I- p. 235.
- 45- Haddad- Nichola- The Science of Social Structure- p. 313.
- 46- Bill of indictment issued from the office of the district attorney in the criminal issue (felony) no 827/ 195, on 8- 9- 1925 (original copy).
- 47- Al- Hisab- 6- 3- 1925, an article signed by Mohammed Siddiq Antar.
- 48- Al- Hisab- 1- 5- 1925, an article signed by Mohammed Siddiq Antar.
- 49- Al- Hisab- 15- 5- 1925, an article signed by Mohammed Siddiq Antar.

50- The total amount of donations gathered by Shomail for the printing of the book reached L.E. 580, which is a great deal compared to that epoch.

51- The Alexandria Chief of Police testified before the Criminal Court, which passed sentences in communists in 1924, He stated that :The evacuation of the striking labourers in the Alexandria factories, was a very difficult task for police, yet a single gesture from Antone Maroun was capable of dispersing them". (Details of the sentence issued by the Alexandria Criminal Court on the Communism case in 1924).

52- Al- Ahram- 26-1-1923.

53- Al- Ahram- 26-5-1923.

54- Al- Ahram- 24- 1- 1907.

55- Al Hilal. April 1894- - 184.

56- F.O. 377- Egypt and Sudan- File No. 101- Date 26- 7- 1927.