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## The University of Chicago

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The University of Chicago

Those checked are to be put on the President's table; those marked "In the best to the Ilbrary; the others to be thrown out.

The article by Mr. Bird on Persia, in the October number of Asia, was instructive and interesting. Perhaps I may be permitted to add somewhat to the subject as bearing on the present state of affairs. in that country so little known in the United States.

It was my privilege to be in Persia in the autumn of

1918, as Director of the Persian-American Relief Commission.

In that capacity, I of course went as a private citizen of
the United States, with no official status or authority.

At the same time the expedition was made with the knowledge
and approval of the State Department, and the Director, as well
as another member of the Commission, Professor A. V. W.

Jackson of Columbia University, were requested by the Committee
of which Colonel House was chairman, and Dr. A. Mayer
was in active charge, to report for the Commission to negotiate
Peace, when appointed, on the situation in Persia and neighboring
countries. At the request of the Director, Dr. W. E. Post,
and Mr. Maurice Wertheim of the Commission, were also requested
to join in the report.

There was a further field in which it was proper that members of the Commission might be of use. When the Commission was formed in the spring of 1918, German-Turkish intrigue was in full swing in Persia and the surrounding lands.

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Appeal was made to all Moslems to join with Turkey in the war against the Allies, and especial effort was made to secure the aid of Taxtars and Turkomans and their kindred the Ottomans. If the Eastern Caucasus and Turkestan could be enlisted, if Persia could be inflamed against the English, if the Afghans could be brought in line, then it was hoped that the flames of insurrection might be kindled among the Moslems of India. Persia was evidently the keystone of the arch. German gold was spent profusely among Persian leaders. Every attempt was made to excite against the British, as allies of Russia, the animosity which had long been felt, and justly, by patriotic Persians against their northern neighbor. The Anglo-Persian agreement of 1907 was singled out as showing clearly the complicity of Great Britain in the Russian design to dominate Persia, and the central empires were painted as the friends of all Moslems and particularly as the champions of weak nations oppressed by the brutal might of the British. It obviously was to the interest of the Allied and Associated Powers that this sinister German-Turkish conspiracy should be overcome. It was known that among intelligent Persians the United States was regarded with confidence, in the assurance that there was no American desire for political control in that part of the world, or indeed in any part of the world outside its own territory. It was thought that American

of signs of the that orn design and low or that any the summer of the common of the strain of the state of the sensit and dank Mostana of their Portic was svicently the department of the arch. lottem guid was spank processly smoons foreign loadies. by payriotic sections and the store attended and the property of of reak nations of the same and the person and the same as The state of the state of the state and the state of the party areas for the company of Asserter to white and the free fact citizens going to Persia directly from the States and on a non-political mission, might succeed in making plain the attitude and policy of the United States as allied with the entente powers against Germany, and in that way might have some influence in detaching Persians from a German alliance, mand in allaying their ill-founded apprehensions of British dominance.

Conferences were held with the Foreign Office, and with the India Office in London, and with the Indian Government at Simla. Full information was given as to the situation in Persia, and very definite statements were made as to British aims in that country, - statements which the Director believed and believes to have been entirely frank and adequate. It must be borne in mind that in dealing with the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf there was what to an American seemed an odd confusion of British authorities. The Minister at Teheran represented the Foreign Office in London, but political officers and the army were under India, and the American visitor could not always be expected to know just where the line should be drawn as between the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office, the War Office and the India Office in London, and the Indian Government at Delhi or Simla. However that mattered little to the case in question as all authorities substantially agreed in their expression of views. The substance of it was that Great Britain did not with to become responsible for Persia, -

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did not wish to make it a protectorate or any other form of dependency of the British Empire. Naturally on the other hand it was desired that Persia should not be controlled by enemies of Great Britain, - that it should not be a source of disturbance for India. On the Persian Gulf, England had long had interests. The British navy for many years had policed those waters and put down piracy and there was a certain amount of English trade there .- trade which, by the way, was open to anyone else who cared to share in it. It was not desired that German controlled Turks should shut out British trade from Mesopotamia and should make the Shattuck-el-Arab a naval base for an attack on the line of communication with India. It was desired that Persia should have a strong self-contained government, capable of maintaining order and of enforcing its own neutrality. The foregoing entirely reasonable views as to Persia, I believe to have been those actually held by responsible British authorities at that time. Nor do I believe that those views have materially changed now. by the Commission

When the Persian Gulf was reached in the early autumn 7/9/8 this was the general situation:

The disaster of the first Mesopotamian campaign had been repaired, and the British advance had been pushed some ninety miles above Baghdad on the Tigris. After the Russian collapse, the Turks had poured into Northwestern Persia

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but they had been driven back and the British had followed and occupied the Persian military route from Baghdad as far as the Caspian Sea. Agerbaijan Province in the extreme Northwest of Persia, the Turks still held. The German plotters had been driven out of Persia or had been forced into hiding by British forces.

There was a substantial British military occupation of Persia then on the road leading from Baghdad to the Caspian, of South Persia and of the line from Quetta to the extreme northeast of Persia on the Turkestan border.

Persia was an independent and neutral state, but the invasion and occupation of its territory by the belligerent mules The Ciccino Courses British power was wholly justifiable. Turkish armies had occupied Persian territory and used it as a base of operations against British forces in Mesopotamia. German agents were actively at work in many parts of the country, plotting to induce Moslem priests to preach the holy war against the Allies, stirring up local mob attacks on British subjects, making Persia a base of operations for Afghanistan and India. British merchants and consular officers were attacked, others were siezed, their property plundered and burned. The Persian government had no power to prevent any of these violations of neutrality. There was no Persian army. The national constabulary organized under Swedish officers, so far from trying to maintain order joined with the Germans and Turks against the Russians. In short, Persia was used freely by the enemies of Great Britain

but they had beet driven back and the British and followed and occupied the Fersian military fours from Banhana as far as the Caspian Sea. Aferbaijan Province is the extreme Borthweet of Fersia, the furth still held. The German plotters had been driven out of Porsia or had been forced into hiding by British forces.

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for military operations and nothing but polite protest was done by Persia in defense of her neutrality. If in 1918, a German army had been formed in Mexico to attack the United States and Mexico had been unable or unwilling to prevent it, our armies would certainly have crossed the Mexican border.

In fact the government of Persia is feeble beyond description. It has little or no means of enforcing its authority. Provincial governors appointed by the central government must rely on themselves to organize a provincial police. Moreover the whole national revenue system is imperfect and unproductive. In 1911 Mr. Shuster, in the short time of his administration, brought order out of chaos and laid the foundation for an effective treasury organization. But since his time matters have fallen back and funds are lacking for even ordinary public functions. Without financial resources and without a national police, it is clear that a central government is helpless, and that is very mearly the case in Persia today. Were it not for constant financial advances from the British

for military operations and mothing but police protest was done by Persia in defense of her neutrality. If in 1910, a Garana army has been formed in Mexico to accord the United States and Mexico has been unable or unwilling to provent it, our and mexico has been unable or unwilling to provent it, our armies would certainly have ownered the Mexican border.

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There were perhaps a hundred and fifty leading men among whom the principal official positions seem to be distributed more or less in turn. The most of them explain that they are in entire sympathy with democracy. But there is also an organized democratic party with machinery of clubs, with provision for officers, meetings and discussions, and with definite expectations of placing its members sooner or later in political political office. Indeed party organization has gone so far that there is already a division which assumes the shape of an appositive organization. Each claims to be the only true Democratic party. A real general election will undoubtedly show many of these democratic leaders in Parliament.

Perhaps it is no great cause for wonder that intelligent Persians are apprehensive of the aims of Great Britain. They have on one side Endia, on the other side Egypt and Mesopotamia. Russia for a century has prevented Persian progress, and that shown a plain purpose of ultimately absorbing the entire country. It was only in 1907 by agreeing to the Russian treaty whereby Persia was divided into spheres of influence for the two powers, that England lost the confidence of Persians. In 1911, when the British authorities joined with those of Russia in

distributed more or less in turn. The most of thurs . posteconsis that the parties estine at one test test sightee. and discussions, and with definite expensions of office. Indeed party organization can constitute that the control Democratic party. A real general clocked will automorphis and was of these temporatin lyaders in Parliament. britain. They have on ere side Eraid, on the other side Defravant Resoponate. Russia for a century cas provented forcing Mr. Shuster, the Armenian head of the Persian finance system, from his post, this distrust was deepened. Then, during the late war, German and Turkish intrigue took advantage of this state of things to poison the minds of Persians still further, and when the quite necessary British occupation followed, the anti-British feeling was, naturally enough, materially increased.

On the other hand, in the United States, Persians were inclined to have great confidence. They knew that Americans had no political aims in that part of the world. They remembered the service which Mr. Shuster had rendered them. Many of them were eager to have the United States aid in putting Persia into a modern and strong position, to make it a going concern as a nation. To that end they suggested that Americans might be induced to become advisers, really administrators in the different branches of the government, finance, public works, police, education. They wanted American capital to develop the raw resources of the land, to build railroads, to open mines, to extend irrigation. Persia is a country of approximately 600,000 square miles, - about three times the area of France, with practically no railroads, and with few and poor wagon roads. Iron, coal and copper exist, but there has been no adequate survey to reveal the quantity.

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inalized to have great confidence. They was that appricant putting revela late a medera and atrong portition. on mane government- finance, public works, police, education. on mand and stant out . Jaine telfos ben lane . merl . sheet . willhams and Inever of wevers elappeds Oil is abundant. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company, controlled by the British government has a concession for the oil production of about three-fourths of Persia and is operating actively in a part of its field. The oil is transmitted by a pipe-line to the Shatt-el-Arab. There is no doubt that a mere beginning has been made thus far in realizing the possibilities of the Persian oil-fields.

It was desired by the Persian government in 1918 that Persia should have a seat at the Peace Conference in Paris. It was pointed out that the Peace Conference would hardly be likely to include other than belligerent powers but that it would be quite proper for the Persian government to lay before the Conference claims for indemnification for losses resulting from the war. This course was approved by the British government and accordingly a commission was sent from Teheran to Paris. When the claims were formulated they proved to be somewhat extraordinary. Against the Turks, the Germans and the Russians they were legitimate claims for war damages. The amount at and distribution could be ascertained only by a commission of inquiry. But the Persians demanded also a rectification of frontiers which would restore territory lost to Turkey and Russia over a period of a century or more. Such vast and Bizarre claims no doubt tended to prejudice the Persian case as a whole, and may have helped to postpone

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forcing Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American head of the Persian finance system, from his post, this distrust was deepened. Then during the late war, German and Turkish intrigue took advantage of this state of things to poison the minds of the Persians still further, and when the quite necessary British occupation followed, the anti-British feeling was naturally enough materially increased.

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Wines , to before wine a triber railing to some trickling for loves concline of

Russia ome / welley wer a person que centing Ended to prejudice The Person car as a voloce, and may have helped to porthuse are actual hearing ar Paris. In fact the whole question may france. In my event the Serian Commission aid not broced in getting their care before the l'euce (mference. The Anglo- Pecian braly adoption - The On hommer mus archima y 1919 priviles friche Peinan needs milines at m and from British bruces. In advance y finels mee make is pos-Tible for the feeble contract grownment to go an butil permanent an angements are much. British adviser met aid in the effective reorganization of the various tranches y quenomical. Butish officers hice beach in the formation y and ade quale nationed military - mue properly police free. The security I will throughout the lington and the establish med y a fund system of finance mee vitalize the entire gremment and enable in to proceed mithingfor land measures for the public weeface. First in the well y insputance of there is and a milletter notem y thusputation - rail roads and carriege Toucho! The economic development nice Them Ihr likelihood y the Comiter Materiale. the my to aid i the rehabilitation? Penia is abriance remote the Butish can be is and com and it well. The macpendence of Penia Umanies immestimes. How form the green ment will be come vaile, efficient mu pustiming mee dehend

THE CHINA MEDICAL COMMISSION
OF THE
ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

THE COMMISSION

HARRY PRATT JUDSON, LL.D.

CHAIRMAN
ROGER SHERMAN GREENE, A.M.
FRANCIS WELD PEABODY, M.D.

In the Persians Theneseers. The process need take Time. Many y their leading mere have no cue-Ceptime of the actual situation or job defficeellies mobre - cecustuction - a recuestruction which must be radical - character. Certainly ir wice take years, and not a few years at that, it become findremeling. he doubt there vice he show'th cuticism y the treaty, so pecially from people actuated y ill vier agomist Ingland. Itiel, in the whole is in the most effective may of fecuning the immediate advance Jessia beling the lines of moderne progress. Seena commit make this advance mither help. Theat Britaine came fin brech help. It is not a case for a mondali from the League y nativer, as teeria's On independent prime inviter te leceme a member of They League. her is is a Thing which of Enclavait. In beginning structue he made at mee, hit layed Criphatin en bot sides me may enthect te bee a beginning of the new Persia in the near futine Hang tradfusion