

MOBILIZING THE MUSLIMS: OTTOMAN-GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN WORLD WAR I*

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Abstract

On 2 August 1914, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire agreed on an alliance, and the Ottoman Empire officially entered into World War I on 29 October 1914 as one of the Central Powers. In November, jihad was proclaimed by the Ottoman Sultan. The Ottoman and German governments published pamphlets, leaflets, and newspapers to mobilize Muslims in India, Egypt, and other dependencies of the Allies. They aimed to incite mutiny among native populations in their armies, foster Pan-Islamism, or create pro-German sentiments. While some of the propaganda materials invited Muslims to holy war, others used the Caliphate and the Ottoman Empire as a bridge to reach the Muslims. This article examines German and Ottoman propaganda to mobilize Muslims against the Allies.

Keywords: Allies, Jihad, German Empire, Ottoman Empire, Propaganda, World War I

* This work was supported by The Scientific and Technological Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) under grant 2219. This article is based on a paper given at the IAS Talking Points Seminar: Ottoman-German Propaganda in World War I held at University College London Institute of Advanced Studies on 16 March 2022.

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Müslümanları Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı-Alman Propagandası

Öz

2 Ağustos 1914'te Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Alman İmparatorluğu bir ittifak üzerinde anlaşta ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 29 Ekim 1914'te Merkezi Güçlerden biri olarak I. Dünya Savaşı'na resmen girdi. Kasım ayında Osmanlı Sultanı tarafından Cihad ilan edildi. Osmanlı ve Alman hükümetleri Hindistan, Mısır ve Müttefiklere bağı diğer ülkelerdeki Müslümanları harekete geçirmek için broşürler, bildiriler ve gazeteler yayınladı. Amaçları ordularındaki yerli halk arasında isyan çıkarmak, Pan-İslamizmi teşvik etmek ya da Alman yanlısı duygular yaratmaktı. Propaganda materyallerinin bazıları Müslümanları kutsal savaşa davet ederken, diğerleri Halifelığı ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu Müslümanlara ulaşmak için bir köprü olarak kullandı. Bu makale, Müslümanları Müttefiklere karşı harekete geçirmeye yönelik Alman ve Osmanlı propagandasını incelemektedir. **Anahtar Kelimeler:** İtilaf Devletleri, Cihat, Alman İmparatorluğu, Propaganda, Birinci Dünya Savaşı

On 2 August 1914, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire agreed on an alliance.¹ The empire officially entered World War I on 29 October 1914 as one of the Central Powers after two Ottoman vessels attacked the Russian Black Sea coast. Russia responded to the attack by declaring war on the Ottoman Empire four days later, followed by Britain and France. In November, Jihad was proclaimed by the Ottoman Sultan. Germany regarded the proclamation of jihad by the Ottoman Sultan as an asset. The aim of Germany was to provoke Muslims in the colonies of the Allies to revolt, forcing them to maintain their armies and arms in their colonies, and preventing them from moving all their munition to the European fronts. The proclamation was not able to mobilize the Muslims living under the rule of the Allies nor did it create very strong opposition. However, the fear of jihad did have an impact on the British Empire's military decisions and propaganda. In fact, the British Empire's fear of jihad, Pan-Islam, and Islamic propaganda preceded World War I. Harold Nicolson, Permanent Under-secretary at the Foreign Office said in 1911:

"This would only assist towards the creation of a power which, I think, in the not too far distant future-should it become thoroughly consolidated and established-would be very

¹ Erik-Jan Zürcher, "The Ottoman Jihad, the German Jihad and Sacralization of War," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany,"* ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher, Leiden 2016, p. 13.

serious menace to us and also to Russia...Germany is fortunate in being able to view with comparative indifference the growth of the great Mussulman [sic] military power, she having no Mussulman [sic] subjects herself, and a union between her and Turkey would be one of the gravest dangers to the equilibrium between Europe and Asia".²

The British Empire acknowledged that the Ottoman Empire had power over the Muslims³ and tried "to exploit a British protection of Islam as a political asset, after the German manner".⁴ Lord Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, stated: "Turkey gains by knitting Islam together as a political force, for she will always head and control that force. We should play for religious equality and the principle of nationalities".⁵ The British Government tried to alleviate the impact of the proclamation by creating counter-propaganda materials. The proclamation of jihad shaped the structure of the war propaganda of the Ottoman Empire. It influenced the discourse of the revolutionary movements in Egypt and India. The Ottoman and German propagandists were working in cooperation with Indian and Egyptian nationalists as well as Middle Eastern agents. Indian Ghadar Party, Indian Independence Committee, and Askhuwatul Islam (Society for Islamic Brotherhood) supported the Ottoman Empire through their propaganda publications. Furthermore, jihad pamphlets and leaflets were produced and disseminated in colonies and dominions of the Allies, and states under their sphere of influence.

It has been accepted in the literature that the Ottoman Empire was taken into war by Germany. This has been the view of wartime propaganda as well. It was believed that the scheme was carved out and carried out by Germany. This argument has its roots in the contemporary view of Entente powers. Analyzing the writings of Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Tilman Lüdke commented on the perception of the Entente powers: "During the war and its immediate aftermath Entente commentators were convinced, and neutral sources seemed to bear this out, that Germany had deliberately dragged the Ottoman Empire into the war, and had made itself master of Ottoman affairs between 1914 and 1918".⁶ Therefore, while German propaganda in World War I has been examined, this has not been the case for Ottoman propaganda. Much attention has not been given to written propaganda materials of the Ottoman Empire which were designed to mobilize Muslims living in the territories of the Allies. Gottfried Hagen's *Die Türkei im*

² Tilman Lüdke, "(Not) Using Political Islam: The German Empire and Its Failed Propaganda Campaign in the Near and Middle East, 1914-1918 and Beyond", in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany,"* ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher, Leiden 2016, p. 67.

³ Lord Hardinge, FO 371/3380, 1918, File 146, The National Archives (TNA).

⁴ Lord Hardinge, FO 371/3380, File 146, TNA.

⁵ Lord Hardinge, FO 371/3380, File 146, TNA.

⁶ Tilman Lüdke, *Jihad Made in Germany: Ottoman and German Propaganda and Intelligence Operations in the First World War*, London 2005, p. 47.

Ersten Weltkrieg: Flugblätter und Flugschriften in arabischer, persischer und osmanisch-türkischer Sprache aus einer Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert is one of the rare books that concerns itself with the Ottoman war propaganda and written materials. Hagen examines the propaganda leaflets and pamphlets in Heidelberg University's collection. Tilman Lüdke's *Jihad Made in Germany: Ottoman and German Propaganda and Intelligence Operations in the First World War* is a book that sees Ottoman and German propaganda in World War I as a common project of the Ottoman Empire and Germany. It examines their operations to promote jihad and analyses why German and Ottoman propaganda built around Pan-Islamism failed. A later publication on Ottoman propaganda is *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany"* edited by Erik-Jan Zürcher. The book is a compilation of articles discussing several aspects of the Ottoman proclamation of jihad in World War I. Tilman Lüdke contributes to the book with a chapter, *(Not) Using Political Islam: The German Empire and Its Failed Propaganda Campaign in the Near and Middle East, 1914-1918 and Beyond*, discussing briefly Western views on perceptions of Islam, the structure of the Intelligence Office for the East (IOfE), and cooperation of German and Ottoman propagandists with the Egyptian and Indian nationalists.

For Germany, the main institution promoting Pan-Islamic propaganda was "Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient (Intelligence Office for the East-IOfE)", established in September 1914. Max von Oppenheim was its director. Later, "Nachrichtenstelle der Kaiserlich Deutschen Botschaft (Intelligence Office of the Imperial German Embassy) was established in Istanbul in April 1915.⁷ The IOfE published pamphlets, leaflets, and appeals to be circulated in India, Afghanistan, North Africa, and Central Asia. It also published al-Jihad, a newspaper for Muslim prisoners of war from 1915 to 1918 in several languages, including Arabic, Tatar, and Russian.⁸ The office had Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Chinese, and Russian sections. Each section had German and native personnel under a German director. The personnel was academics, diplomats, businessmen, and missionaries.⁹ The staff of the Turkish Section comprised of Halil Halid Bey, a former Ottoman consul-general in Bombay; Selaheddin, an Ottoman naval commander; and Dr. Saadi, a journalist.¹⁰

Influencing public opinion, the dissemination of information, and propaganda were very new concepts for the Ottoman Empire. It had only

⁷ Lüdke "(Not) Using Political Islam", p. 83.

⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "Ottoman Jihad or Jihads: The Ottoman Shi'i Jihad, the Successful One", in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany"*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher, Leiden 2016, p. 118.

⁹ Lüdke, "(Not) Using Political Islam", p. 83.

¹⁰ Lüdke, "(Not) Using Political Islam", p. 85.

managed to establish a semi-official news agency, the Ottoman Telegraph Agency in 1911, long after realizing that it was insufficient to buy off foreign news agencies and journalists for their loyalty only lasted until they were paid a higher price by another party. During the Balkan Wars, only a couple of propaganda books were written. Therefore, during World War I, it was not possible to speak of a well-organized, systematized, and institutionalized propaganda campaign on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. While word of mouth was still a method practiced by Ottoman agents sent to colonies of Allies in predominantly Muslim areas, written propaganda materials were also produced and disseminated as well. The Ottoman Empire did not have a propaganda institution, at least not an official one, and an organizational scheme that can be traced in the documents. The British Foreign Office documents at the National Archives reveal that Ottoman Ministers in foreign capitals were involved in the propaganda effort. This is an indication that the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs was part of it.

The Ottoman Empire published two propaganda newspapers for Muslims living outside Anatolia. These were *Cihân-ı İslâm* (*Jehan-i Islam*) and *Musavver Çöl* (*The Desert Illustrated*). *Cihân-ı İslâm* was published every ten or fifteen days in Arabic, Turkish, and Urdu by Cem'iyet-i Hayriyye-i İslâmiyye. Sometimes the articles were accompanied by a Persian translation as well. The War Office, M.I.5. believed that *Cihân-ı İslâm* was being published by the "Turco-German bureau in Constantinople".¹¹ However, such a bureau did not exist. It is a possibility that M.I.5. named Intelligence Office of the Imperial German Embassy in Constantinople as the Turco-German bureau in Constantinople. An M.I.5 report states that it was attempted to send *Cihân-ı İslâm* into England but it came to notice.¹² The owner of the newspaper was an Indian, Ebû's-Saîd el-Arabî el-Hindî Efendi, and its manager was Yûsuf Şetvan Bey.¹³ It began its publication on 9 April 1914, shortly before the Ottoman Empire's entrance to World War I. The journal had 53 issues and the last issue was published in 1915. The newspaper published news to challenge propaganda disseminated by the British Empire and to falsify their news. Its entrance to India was banned by the British Empire in August 1914, it was therefore not influential.¹⁴ Whereas, *Musavver Çöl* was published in Beersheba, every 15 days from 10 November 1916 to 28 May 1917. It had 12 issues. It was the only Ottoman newspaper published in Palestine in World War I and was the second Ottoman newspaper that had ever been published in Ottoman

¹¹ FO 371/2788, TNA.

¹² FO 371/2788, TNA.

¹³ Ziyad Ebüzziya, "Cihân-ı İslâm", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 7, İstanbul 1993.

¹⁴ Ebüzziya, "Cihân-ı İslâm".

Palestine. The other one was Kudsi Şerif published in Jerusalem from 1904 to 1909 and from 1913 to 1915.¹⁵

Egyptian and Indian revolutionaries cooperated with Ottoman and German propagandists. Pamphlets, leaflets, and newspapers were produced by Indian and Egyptian nationalists to initiate uprisings against the British Empire and also inform foreigners about their cause. Shortly before the war started, the Ghadar Party decided to participate in writing and disseminating anti-British propaganda. The Ghadar Party was part of a revolutionary anti-colonial movement that advocated independent India. Its printing and central offices were based in San Francisco.¹⁶ Har Dayal, the editor of the Ghadar newspaper announced in a December issue of the Ghadar newspaper that Germany would declare war on England and that the party must attack England when the war starts.¹⁷ The newspaper supported the Ottoman Empire. Its issues underlined that England was trying to create factions in India as it did in the Ottoman Empire. Besides, supporting the Ottoman Empire through articles, the Ghadar Party took part in the physical distribution of Turkish propaganda materials. A report of M.I.5. states that as early as March 1915, Turkish literature was distributed.¹⁸

In September 1914, Chempakaramann Pillai, an Indian revolutionist proposed to the German Consul in Zurich to publish Indian anti-British literature in Berlin which led to the establishment of the Indian Independence Committee. Eighteen members of the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin¹⁹, among whom were Hardayal, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Hafiz, Dr. Haider (Bhupendranath Dutt), Chempakaraman Pillai, Dr. Prabhakar, and Barkatullah²⁰ forming the Indian Section of IOFE. In March 1915, the committee sent a special mission under Basant Singh to Mesopotamia to distribute Turkish and Muhammadan literature among the Expeditionary Force.²¹ Indian Independence Committee did not only address Indians but also after May 1915, they started publishing pamphlets in French, Portuguese, German and Dutch. *India's Royalty to England* was published in these four languages in July 1915.²² *British Rule in India Condemned by the British themselves* published in 1915 by the Indian National Party in

¹⁵ David Kushner, "The Musavver Çöl-An Ottoman Journal in Beersheba at the End of World War I", in *Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman (CIEPO)*, eds. Ekrem Causevic, Nenad Moacanin, Vjeran Kursar, Berlin 2010, p. 167.

¹⁶ Seema Sohi, "Sites of 'Sedition', Sites of Liberation: Gurdwaras, the Ghadar Party, and Anticolonial Mobilization", *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, 10, 1 (2014), p. 5.

¹⁷ FO 371/2788, TNA.

¹⁸ FO 371/2788, TNA.

¹⁹ Tilman, "(Not) Using Political Islam", p. 85.

²⁰ FO 371/2788, TNA.

²¹ FO 371/2788, TNA.

²² FO 371/2788, TNA.

English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese.²³ Another Indian revolutionist community, Akhuwatul Islam (Society for Islamic Brotherhood) was publishing its journal the Akhuwat (the Brotherhood) in Urdu in Constantinople.²⁴ Two brothers Abdul Sattar and Abdul Jabbar Kheiri were its editors.²⁵ The journal challenged Indian pilgrims' loyalty to the British Empire.²⁶

The leaflets and pamphlets produced by Egyptian and Indian revolutionaries criticized the British rule in their colonies and protectorates. Dr. Mansur Mustafi Rif'at was one of the people who wrote pamphlets that were critical of British rule, especially in Egypt. He was an exiled Egyptian nationalist in Switzerland, working for the Arabic section of the IOFE. He also was the leader of the Club des Patriotes Egyptiens based in Geneva.²⁷ He published his first pamphlet called *Un Verdict Sur l'Angleterre* (A Verdict on England) in Geneva in May 1915.²⁸ His later pamphlets were *Damaging Evidence Against English Hypocrisy: Two Dates 1882 and 1914*, published in 1915 in Berlin, *Les Intrigues Anglaises contre l'Islam* (*English Intrigues Against Islam*), published in Lausanne in 1917.

Dr. Mansur Mustafi Rif'at's *Lest We Forget: A Page from the History of England in Egypt* (*Ṣahīḥ min ta'rikh Injiltirā' fi Miṣr*) is an example of seditious propaganda that reminds of unjust rule and cruel treatment of the British Empire. It was written in English and Arabic in May 1915. The pamphlet was reminding Egyptians of a conflict that took place in Denchawai in 1906 which resulted in the execution of four Egyptians by the British and the flogging of eight others in public.²⁹ The account of events was given, explaining that English officers shot a woman and set a farm on fire when they went pigeon-shooting on private property. It was only then a fight took place between the Egyptians and officers. Rif'at tried to prove that it was the wrongdoing of the officers that provoked the locals and that the locals were not responsible for the death of the captain that they were accused of. Therefore, the convictions the Egyptians received were unjust. It had six photographs that showed the execution in action, including one which was taken at the moment one of the Egyptians was hanged.

Besides, publications of the Indian and Egyptian revolutionaries, and the newspapers Cihân-ı İslâm and Musavver Çöl, another group of propaganda materials prepared to mobilize the Muslims against the Allies were the jihad leaflets

²³ FO 371/2788, TNA.

²⁴ Majid Hayat Siddiqi, "Bluff, Doubt and Fear: The Kheiri Brothers and the Colonial State, 1904-45", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 24, 3 (1987), p. 236.

²⁵ Siddiqi, "Bluff, Doubt and Fear", p. 236.

²⁶ Siddiqi, "Bluff, Doubt and Fear", p. 236.

²⁷ IOR/L/PS/10/464: 1914-1915 P 3136/1914, the British Library (BL).

²⁸ FO 371/2788, TNA.

²⁹ Rif'at, Mansur Mustafi, *Lest We Forget: A Page from the History of England in Egypt* (*Ṣahīḥ min ta'rikh Injiltirā' fi Miṣr*), 1915, p.3.

and pamphlets. Some of them started or ended with quotations from the Quran.³⁰ They would speak of European nations or specifically target the British Empire.³¹ They mentioned past and recent conflicts between Muslims and Christians to convince them that the English or Europeans are and have always been the enemy of Islam. For example, a leaflet translated from Urdu, “*English Friendship for Mussulmans*” referred to crusades and claimed that the aim of the British Empire was to destroy the holy places, Mecca and Medina, and ultimately Islam, “*the English have always acted on Richard’s policy to wipe out Muslim empires and thereby Islam itself, take Egypt and the Holy Land first and then destroy Mecca and Medina*”.³² The proof of this British mission was their contemporary offenses in Muslim territories, “*they have taken Egypt, Muscat, Zanzibar and Koweit*”.³³

Whereas, in an anonymous Arabic pamphlet that emanated from Basra and was being distributed in Khorramshahr, it was the Europeans with the same mission “*the European nations, the worshippers of the Cross, have resolved since centuries to oppose Islam, to hate Muslims, and further, to annihilate their religion, to efface their sovereignty and kingdom from the face of the Earth*”.³⁴ As stated earlier, the pamphlets provided its audience with proof from past and recent events to solidify its claim that the ultimate goal was to abolish Islam and annihilate the Muslims. In this case:

“*So, thou seest them attacking us, Muslims, every day, encroaching upon our towns and countries as they desire: and their fanaticism requires no proof or argument, and has been expressed on several occasions by their leaders and statesmen, such as Gladstone, Honoto (?) and Peter the Great. The actions and proceedings of their clergy and missionaries have proved that these infidels, who have deviated from the religion of God and his Apostle, strongly desire to destroy the Kaabah and the tomb of the Prophet, to burn up the great Quran, to extirpate religion, to convert Muslims and to baptize them in every possible way, as was done several centuries ago in Andalusia and several days ago in the Balkans*”.³⁵

Like the propaganda materials prepared for the British home front, the pamphlets and leaflets calling Muslims to fight against the Allies were gender orientated, challenging the manhood of those who refused to fight.³⁶ In a leaflet prepared in Persian and Arabic, it was stated: “*While I see that 30,000 German women take part in the war for defending their country and honour and sacrifice their lives in this*

³⁰ IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914, P 3136/1914, BL.

³¹ “English Friendship for Mussulmans”, Mss Eur E 288: 1914-1919, BL.

³² “English Friendship for Mussulmans”, Mss Eur E 288: 1914-1919, BL.

³³ “English Friendship for Mussulmans”, Mss Eur E 288: 1914-1919, BL.

³⁴ IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914, P 3136/1914, BL.

³⁵ IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914, P 3136/1914, BL.

³⁶ For further information on emphasizing traditional gender roles, and drawing men as saviors of women in European propaganda during World War I, see Lisa M. Todd, “The Hun and the Home: Gender, Sexuality and Propaganda in First World War Europe” in *World War I and Propaganda*, Leiden 2014.

*direction, why should we, who claim manliness, spare our lives in defending our dear religion and dear country?*³⁷

In a similar manner to how the invasion of Belgium by Germany and the atrocities committed against women and children were described in British propaganda pamphlets, jihad pamphlets spoke of atrocities committed against Muslim women and children in recent wars. In a leaflet targeting Arabic speaking audience, Muslim men were reminded of atrocities committed against the Muslims in the First Balkan War (1912-1913). It stated:

*“If ye, Oh Muslims, do not remember the atrocities of Europe and her barbarous tyranny, have you not seen and heard what has been done by her yesterday in Tripoli, Khorasan and Azerbaijan and the countries they have usurped in the Balkans? These will suffice for warning you. It was only yesterday when the savages of the Balkans in Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece were instigated by the master politicians of Europe against your old men and people and burned them with guns and rifles, attacked your children and infants whom they butchered, violated your women-folk with every sort of shamelessness, attacked your mosques and prayer-places and the tombs of your forefathers which they destroyed and burned up”*³⁸

These past events were bound to reoccur and men had the mission to save women, children, and Islam. Muslim men had to *“be prepared for defending the Holy Quran, the House of God, the holy sepulchers of the Prophet and of the Imams, and for safeguarding the honour of your women and daughters and use your life and property in the cause of God...”*³⁹

Jihad pamphlets referred to Europeans as savages, infidels, worshipers of the cross, tyrants, and crusaders. Therefore, proving Germany and Austria were not like the rest of the evil Christian countries was necessary. Pamphlets and leaflets in which Germany tried to prove its commitment to Muslims were prepared. It tried to prove that it was not a threat but a friend to Muslims and a protector of Islam. Its friendship with the Ottoman Empire was solid proof. It used the Caliphate and the Ottoman Empire as a bridge to form a bond with the Muslims. For example, in an Urdu Pamphlet titled *“The First Year of the World War”*, it was stated:

“One of the reasons why France, England and Russia hated Germany was because the latter loved Islamism, and always tried to make the Mohammedan powers strong to protect them. The German merchants did not trade with Eastern countries with a view to ruining them (like the other nations) but traded fairly and honestly, and always with the view that the Mohammedan merchants should grow stronger. The French, English and

³⁷ Persian part of the leaflet, IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914, P 3136/1914, BL.

³⁸ Arabic part of the leaflet, IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914, P 3136/1914, BL.

³⁹ IOR/L/PS/10/463: 1 Oct 1914-8 Dec 1914 P 3136/1914, BL.

Russians traded solely for gain, and with a view to looting and rendering weaker the persons they traded with".⁴⁰

The Berlin-Baghdad Railway was a symbol of this friendship, cooperation, and union not only between the Ottoman Empire and Germany but also Austria. In "*A Short Account of the Causes and Important Events of the War*", it was stated:

"On the 30th April 1915 took place the ceremony of opening a bridge across the Euphrates on Baghdad railway, another symbol of the union between Germany and Austria and the Turkish Empire. Even amid the distractions of war this railway scheme is being pushed on to its conclusion, is short, the events of this war have proved that Germany and her two Allies are able to preserve the integrity of their empires for all time".⁴¹

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire's proclamation of jihad shaped the content of its propaganda materials and the course of the empire's propaganda. The proclamation did succeed in taking the support of the Indian and Egyptian revolutionaries. They supported the Ottoman Empire and criticized the British rule in their publications. The Ottoman Empire published newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets that had the primary aim to mobilize the Muslims against the Allies.

Some of the pamphlets and leaflets appealed to religious sentiments and invited Muslims to fight against the enemies of Islam. Enemies of Islam were either the English or the Europeans except for the Germans and Austrians. In order to make this distinction clear, there were other pamphlets and leaflets that expressed Germany's fondness for Islam and Muslims to distance itself from the rest of the European empires. The pamphlets and the leaflets reminded their audience of the past conflicts, wars, and atrocities committed by the Christians against the Muslims. The pamphlets and leaflets did not only call for jihad and underlined the hostility of the British against Islam to mobilize Muslims. Some of them were designed to point out the mistreatment of indigenous people under the rule of the British Empire. These pamphlets tried to convince the native population that they had better lives and a flourished country before the rule of the British Empire.

⁴⁰ Translation of the Urdu Pamphlet "The First Year of the World War", Mss Eur E 288: 1914-1919, BL.

⁴¹ "A Short Account of the Causes and Important Events of the War", Mss Eur E 288: 1914-1919, BL.

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