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## NOTICE TO MEMBERS

IN the year which ended in December, 1943, the *expenses* of the Society were £120 more than the revenue.

In the year which ended in December, 1944, the *income* of the Society was £313 greater than the expenses.

One REASON was that we received £234 from the Inland Revenue as the result of members having signed covenants to pay their nominal subscriptions for seven years. This increase in revenue has cost members NOTHING.

So far we have received just over 340 covenants out of a membership of over 1,640—that is 21 per cent.

The expenses of the Society are bound to increase in the near future: the Journal will again be published four times a year, the library is being restored, lecture and clerical expenses are rising.

This can ONLY be done if we increase our membership *and* if more members will sign covenants. REMEMBER that this does NOT cost you anything but it DOES help the Society's funds.

The Council again appeal for your help in the matter.

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## DEED OF COVENANT

I .....

of .....

hereby covenant with the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my lifetime whichever period shall be the shorter I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will after the deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of the said Society *a net sum of one pound and five shillings* such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this

..... day of ..... 19.....

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said .....

In the presence of .....

Address of Witness to your signature .....

.....  
Occupation of Witness .....

## NOTICES

THE principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

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## NOMINATION FORM.

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.....  
.....  
.....  
(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL  
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend <sup>him</sup><sub>her</sub> for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

*His*  
*Her* connection with Asia is :

## NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to notify the Office of any change of address, and to send a postcard if they do not receive lecture tickets and notices while home on leave. The Honorary Secretaries are grateful to Members who have drawn attention to changes of description or of permanent address as printed in the List of Members.

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Members and contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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In order to provide a centre in America for Asiatic studies at the University level the Iranian Institute and the School of Asiatic Studies are now united with the Institute of Asiatic Economics in the Asia Institutes of 9 East 89th Street, New York City, and invite Members of the Royal Central Asian Society when visiting New York to make use of the facilities for study there provided.

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*The Tropical Diseases Bulletin* for August, 1946, included an interesting summary of articles in the *Lancet* and the *Journal of the R.A.M.C.* describing the barbarous condition of Japanese camps for prisoners of war engaged on building the Burma-Siam Railway. In one case, among 1,600 British prisoners exposed to infection from cholera 173 became ill, and of these 57·8 per cent. died, whereas in a neighbouring camp for 250 sick Dutch prisoners only one contracted cholera and he recovered. This extraordinary immunity is attributed to recent and frequent inoculation. The October issue contains some valuable guidance on the use of mosquito larvicides, especially D.D.T. The *Bulletin* is published by the Bureau of Hygiene, Keppel Street, London, W.C. 1, at 30s. per annum.

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## COLONEL JOHN KELSO TOD, C.M.G.

COLONEL JOHN K. TOD, C.M.G., who died in August, 1946, had a life-long connection with India. The son of Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Tod of the Madras Staff Corps, and educated at Clifton College and Sandhurst, he received a commission in the Royal Irish Fusiliers in 1884, transferring in the following year to the Indian Army, the 7th Bengal Cavalry (later known as the 7th Haryana Lancers). He served in the Burma Campaign of 1886-88 as A.D.C. to Sir George White and was mentioned in despatches. After passing through the Staff College, Camberley, he served in the North-West Frontier Campaign of 1897-98. He was then seconded for work on two Boundary Commissions—that of the Burma-China Boundary in 1898, and of the Aden Hinterland Boundary in 1901-03.

In 1913 Colonel Tod was given an appointment on the Army Headquarters Staff, India, and served on the Staff during the European War of 1914-18. Subsequently he took part in the campaign in Transcaspia under General Sir Wilfred Malleon in 1918-19, being mentioned in despatches and awarded the C.M.G.; saw further service in Afghanistan in 1919; and commanded the Force in North-East Persia in 1920.

After his thirty-five years' service in the Indian Cavalry, where he was regarded as an officer of the best type, and had acquired a well-deserved reputation for courtesy and the sterling qualities of his character, Colonel Tod retired in 1920 as Honorary Colonel of the 18th King Edward VII's Own Cavalry (the combined regiment of the former 6th and 7th Bengal Cavalry). It is related of him that at the time of King George VI's Coronation the Indian officers of his regiment petitioned His Majesty that their Colonel might attend the coronation in the Abbey so that he could journey to India and tell them all about the ceremony. The request was granted and Colonel Tod performed his part of it, revisiting India in the cold weather of 1937-38.

Colonel Tod joined the Royal Central Asian Society in 1908 and gave devoted service to the Society as Honorary Librarian from 1931 to 1945, when ill-health unfortunately compelled him to give up work which was to him a labour of love.

He will be greatly missed, for those qualities which had gained the admiration and affection of his Indian soldiers had later endeared him to the members of this Society.

J. S. S.

# THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF HONG KONG

By VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CECIL HARCOURT, K.C.B., C.B.E.

Lecture given on November 13, 1946, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: We are honoured to-day by having as our lecturer Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, who has had, and is having, a very distinguished career in the Royal Navy. Had I the time I would tell you a good deal about both the unregenerate days of his youth, which probably would interest you most, and his more sober days of distinguished service, but I have not the time nor would you like me to do it because you wish to hear the Admiral.

I would, however, like to tell you that during the war among his many other services Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt commanded in succession the 10th, 12th and 15th Cruiser Squadrons in the Mediterranean, from 1942-1944. It was one of his squadrons which put up that fine fight in the Sicilian channel when, having dealt faithfully with the Italian escort, he wiped out the whole of the hostile convoy. In June, 1942, his ships carried out the heavy bombardment of Pantelleria which led to its capitulation, and among the cruisers was the flagship *Aurora*. Before he left the Mediterranean the Admiral had cleared the way so well that H.M. the King was able to sail in *Aurora* up the Mediterranean and nobody in the world could stop him. I will now clear the way for the Admiral.

I AM here to tell you something of the problems we had in Hong Kong during the military administration and how we tried to solve them. There were so many problems to be dealt with that I shall not be able to deal with them all, but if there are points in which any member of the audience is particularly interested and on which I have not touched when I have finished my lecture, I shall be glad to try to answer any questions.

When we went into Hong Kong in August, 1945, we immediately seized the dockyard because it had a wall round it. Next, we turned all the Japanese and Chinese out of that area and from there we were able to get into touch with our own ex-prisoners of war and the Japanese. The following morning I had the Japanese General on board to give him his orders. He was inclined to be argumentative; apparently the Japanese thought they were going to live alongside us and a good time had by all, but I reminded him that his Emperor had ordered unconditional surrender and that he was on board to receive orders; that those orders were that all Japanese armed forces and all Japanese civilians were to be off the island by 4 p.m. the following afternoon. The Japanese General tried to argue a little more, but when he realized it was of no use he discontinued. The orders were carried out, and from that time we had no further trouble apart from a few minor incidents.

The only opposition we met with when going into Hong Kong came from the suicide boats, one-man, high-powered, high-speed small single-seater vessels carrying a large explosive, which the Japanese used to try to steam into our ships, at the same time blowing themselves and their boats up. These boats were spotted from the air in a bay of an off-lying

island, and as we were going to our anchorage three were seen leaving the bay and proceeding towards us. They were immediately attacked from the air and sunk. We found that there were about one hundred or so of the boats in the area and they were soon all bombed and shot up, and we had no further trouble with them. These suicide boats were manned by a unit of the Japanese Army, not by the Navy; they were a tough lot of men and apparently the Japanese Navy was terrified of them. They asked us to round the men up, so a few days later we sent a couple of destroyers and rounded up 264 of the men, who were landed at Kowloon and marched out of the dockyard. A gunner's mate marched them out, but he was not satisfied that they were marching smartly enough, so when he got them to the gate he turned those 264 very tough men round by means of sign language, marched them back to the ship and then marched them out again, making them march smartly, much to the delight of our ex-prisoners of war who were watching the performance.

Our first impression on arrival was that Hong Kong was in a very bad way; there was absolute filth and neglect; the Japanese during the occupation had done nothing to clean the streets; they were littered with débris; if a house had collapsed it had been left as it fell, and many roads were blocked. In that part of the world there are heavy rainstorms which sometimes cause small landslides which partly block a road. None of these had been cleared away during three and a half years. One can only attribute all that neglect to incompetence on the part of the Japanese. The damage in Hong Kong, apart from the neglect, was not very great. The most serious damage had been caused by looting; every empty house, including all European houses up on the Peak, had been completely gutted, not only of furniture but of all woodwork and everything else; floorboards had been torn up and everything that could be removed had been taken. Indeed, it was a sorry sight and presented us later with a difficult problem. Bomb damage around the shipyards was heavy, for the Americans had well and truly carried out their task so that the shipyards were made of no use to the Japanese, though of course we had to put them in order again. Apart from that damage, the bomb and shell damage to Hong Kong was not very heavy.

While we were steaming in to our anchorage a leading Chinese went down to the water-front to find out what the crowd were talking about, and he afterwards reported that they were not in the least interested as to whether we were British or American or who we were; all they said was, "Well, thank goodness we shall eat again.". That is the state to which people are brought by a lengthy period of under-nourishment. Our own ex-prisoners of war told us that they chiefly talked about and thought of food, that they would do anything whatever for a little extra food; and when one hears the amount of conversation there is in this comparatively well-fed country on the subject of food that is quite understandable

Knowing all this, we at once set to work to see that the people were more adequately fed. Fortunately there was a good deal of rice which we were able to take over from the Japanese. We set the people to work in the shipyards, power stations and so on, and put thousands on to cleaning up the streets. Thus they were able to earn money with which



to buy food and so get themselves fit again, while at the same time getting the city in good order. To those who through age or disability were unable to work we distributed food through Chinese charitable organizations. Free rice was distributed at three o'clock every afternoon at various points all over the city; the distribution was arranged for the same hour at all points so that none could go from point to point and thus obtain more than one lot of free rice.

Money was at first a problem; notes had been printed in England, but they did not reach us until twelve days after we landed at Hong Kong, so that at first we had to pay people in rice and by promises. The only currency in Hong Kong at that time was the Japanese yen, which we did not acknowledge. When we introduced the Hong Kong dollar we tied it, first, to the pound by making it 1s. 3d. to the pound, and also to the price of rice by selling Government rice at 20 cents a catty, which was below the market price of rice at that time, so that we had to subsidize rice. We paid rather a heavy subsidy, but it was money well spent because it helped to stabilize the Hong Kong dollar. We were not, at first, quite certain how the population would receive this currency, because it rendered the whole of their money absolutely useless. But by the time the money arrived we had to some extent won the confidence of the population and we did not experience any trouble.

As an example of what the Chinese population had had to endure at the hands of the Japanese I relate one incident. Two or three weeks after we arrived in Hong Kong I took a walk round the big market to see what was going on, what was for sale, etc. I took with me the chief Civil Affairs Officer and my Flag Lieutenant, and I had a couple of marines as an escort and a young Chinese lad as interpreter. I walked round and talked with the people, but the Chinese lad could not get over it; he repeatedly said to my Flag Lieutenant: "When the Japanese Commander was here, if he went out into the town all the streets were cleared and if a man moved he was shot." He simply could not get over the fact that the British Commander-in-Chief was able to walk round as I did.

Our next task after feeding the population was to get the city repaired, and in that regard we were most fortunate in the men we had in the three Services and the equipment they had with them. The Fleet train of the British Pacific Fleet included several Repair ships, with whom there were a number of skilled engineers; there was good equipment, spares and material of all sorts available. In the R.A.F. we had a large constructional unit which was on its way to build airfields in Okinawa from which the R.A.F. were to bomb the Japanese. They were a first-class lot of fellows and they had fine equipment. Very soon both the Fleet and the R.A.F. were busy getting the power stations, water, tramways, telephones and all the other essential services into order again. To the Army fell the brunt of the policing and keeping law and order. At first we had no police; we started off with sailors and marines landed from the ships, and then we had R.A.F. men. Finally, we had a brigade of Commandos, and I made the G.O.C. responsible to me for law and order, with all three Services working under him. The men of all the Services did a very fine job of work. As always, the good sense and the

good humour of the ordinary British Service man was worth more to us than almost anything else we could have had. They were magnificent. I believe they did more to win the confidence and goodwill of the Chinese population than any other one single factor. I was very proud of them, as I am sure you all would have been had you been able to watch them.

Apart from all these skilled men there were lots of others who turned their hands to anything they could do so that order could be restored and essential services got into running order again. I remember the first train that ran along the Kowloon-Canton railway: the general manager of the line was a Lieutenant R.N.V.R.; the engine driver was a Naval Fighter Pilot, who complained because he could only get 10 knots out of the engine, but as he only had wood to burn that was not surprising. When we first got in there was not a scrap of coal in the place, but one power station was working—burning wood. It burned about 150 tons of wood a day, which wood was carried down and fed into the great boiler by coolies. It was six weeks before coal was available, and nearly two months elapsed before we got the lighting installation properly going.

Whilst the Services and the Government were only able to give encouragement to get everything going, and the European business section of the population played their part, the real work of rehabilitation had of course to be, and was, done by the Chinese. We were able to give them freedom, food, law and order, and a stable currency. Those who know the Chinese would expect them to rise to the emergency, and they did. When we got to Hong Kong there were hardly any shops open and there was nothing much in those that were open. Then gradually we saw more shops open and more in them; and the people began to look more and more cheerful. I felt one great step forward had been taken the first time I saw the young women coming out in their pretty coloured clothes instead of the drab-looking garments in which they had walked about during the Japanese occupation.

I would also like to pay tribute to our ex-prisoners of war, both civilian and Service. As soon as the surrender of the Japanese was announced they gained moral ascendancy over the Japanese; they demanded to be set free, and they were. They set to work to help to start things going and were a great help to the military administration. Most of them were unfit to work, and we had to put them off; nevertheless, many wanted to remain, but unless they were really fit we were quite ruthless in sending them home. The more stalwart remained to nearly the end of the military administration, some to the very end, and all the time they did magnificent work. When we arrived the morale of those people was extraordinarily high, and it contributed greatly to overcoming the difficulties with which we were faced.

As to supplies, prior to the collapse of the Japanese it had been planned in London to supply Hong Kong with governmental supplies when we re-occupied Hong Kong so that supplies could be kept going until trade was once more normal, but the sudden collapse of the Japanese found ships loaded ready for the invasion of Japan and Singapore. To switch all those ships to the task of supplying the re-occupied area and repatriating tens of thousands of prisoners of war was a very

great task, and things did not, in consequence of the suddenness with which the task became necessary, work according to plan. The supplies had to come from the South-East Asia Command, and being at the end of the pipeline it was a long time before they arrived in any quantity. However, we did not just sit down and wait. We tried other sources of supply. The British Pacific Fleet under Admiral Fraser helped me a great deal by sending ships, and we managed to get quite a lot in, entirely independent of the supplies sent to us as planned. Naturally the first need was food, and for the first three months we never at any time had more than a few days' supply in the colony, but we never ran out. It was hard going, but we managed, at any rate, to keep up a supply of rice, the staple food. Rice was rationed, but at the beginning of 1946 when supplies became more difficult the original ration had to be cut and eventually, the population having doubled during the military administration, we had to say we could not issue any Government rice except to those who could prove that they had been inhabitants of Hong Kong during five years previous to the war. Later still, about the end of the military administration, the situation in that regard became even worse owing to the failure of the rice crops.

The next great need was coal. We got our first coal ship after we had been six weeks in Hong Kong, and when that arrived we could not see another in sight, so we scrounged round and eventually I made a personal signal to General MacArthur to see if he could help us with coal from Japan. General MacArthur in these matters, as in all others, was exceedingly helpful; he was of great help in all our problems. We had some ships and we were able to send them to Japan for coal. From that time on supplies became more plentiful and eventually we accumulated a small stock for bunkering. As we know, there is a world shortage of coal, so that we were very fortunate in getting the supply we did and we were always grateful to General MacArthur for what he did to help.

In the port itself there were a number of ships sunk, but they did not hold us up. The shipyards, as I have said, were badly damaged and it was by no means easy to get them going; in fact, that is still a big job on hand. However, the facilities for loading and unloading were not too bad, though there was, of course, shortage of lighters and big junks, about 60 per cent. of which had been sunk during the Japanese occupation. That shortage made things difficult, but even so we were better off than Singapore where there were hardly any lighters left. Even when I came through Singapore in May, 1946, the whole of the loading and unloading was held up in that port owing to lack of lighters as much as to lack of personnel.

Housing presented a serious problem. I have told you that all the European houses had been badly looted. In order to get the trade of Hong Kong going we had to get the commercial population back into the city. Many of them returned as bachelors, but naturally after six years of war, families wanted to get together again. Personally I think one of the most important needs is to get families re-united, and it is to the advantage of all authorities to do that. We did not make nearly as much headway as we would have liked in regard to housing because of the

shortage of materials, and I gather from letters I receive that the lack of houses in Hong Kong is still serious.

Labour, and particularly wages, created another problem. In the old days a very low standard of wages prevailed in Hong Kong, as all over China, but that is quite a thing of the past. When we went into Hong Kong we took the 1941 wage rates, which were already above the pre-war wage, added a percentage on to them, and also put on a rehabilitation allowance to meet the high cost of living which we hoped was temporary, that allowance being on a sliding scale. With that the labour started to come in, and worked well; but there was a sort of undercurrent of discontent. Eventually we came to the conclusion that the cause of it was that anything that smacked of 1941, the pre-war mentality, was under suspicion and did not lead to contentment. So we introduced a 1946 wage, which was what we were already working to, plus a little more, and the fact that we had this 1946 wage plus the rehabilitation allowance seemed to give labour confidence. They accepted it and from then up to the end of the military administration, although there were problems to be solved, there was no real labour trouble. The credit for that is due to all sides. In the first place, the Chinese, both skilled and unskilled labour, played the game very well indeed. The Colonial Service officials handled the negotiations well and the European business community faced up to the problems with courage and broadmindedness. All parties, in fact, worked together, and to that we attribute the fact that we had not the continual strikes that were putting a stop to work in so many districts in the East.

Apart from the rebuilding of Hong Kong, our next most important problem was the restoration of good relations with the Chinese. Before we went into Hong Kong there were a good number of people in China who, I believe, confidently hoped and expected that they would go and occupy Hong Kong, and when we went in before they were able to do so they were very upset. However, we at once took steps to try to show that although we expected the Chinese to honour the 1943 Treaty by which Great Britain retained Hong Kong, we intended to honour the spirit of that treaty, which was fundamentally the acknowledgment of the national sovereignty of China. We did our best in that regard, but our first efforts were not crowned with much success. The people were very suspicious of us. That was, to my mind, very understandable. For instance, I knew the Canton river was full of mines laid by American aircraft, and I knew the Chinese had no means of sweeping the river, so I offered the authorities our help in the matter. They replied that they had already swept the river and did not need our help. Soon up went a ship with sad loss of life, and later they came and asked us to sweep the river. But the ice was broken, first of all, by the visit of Admiral Fraser, Commander-in-Chief of the British Pacific Fleet. He went to Canton and called on the authorities, and then went to Chungking and called on the Generalissimo. After that I sent representatives to call on the Chinese authorities at Canton who gradually won the confidence of the Chinese. Then Chinese authorities came to Hong Kong; they reported what was going on and what we were doing. When eventually they realized that we were there to help them,

to work with and not against them, they quite swung round, and from that time on they were not only most friendly, most co-operative and desirous of helping us as much as possible, but they were most generous in their appreciation of what we were able to do for them. It really became a great pleasure to work with those authorities. We came to various agreements to our mutual benefit. For instance, there was coal in North China. We had ships and we wanted coal. So did Canton. Dr. T. V. Soong, the Prime Minister, said if we could send ships to North China to fetch coal we could have it provided we sent a percentage to Canton, which we were glad to do.

Perhaps the biggest way in which we were able to help the Chinese was in regard to the passage of their armies through Hong Kong on their way to North China to take over the Japanese. For that the Americans supplied the ships. Our task was to pass them through Hong Kong, as it was the only port feasible for loading. Passing any foreign army through your territory, especially in a small area like Kowloon, is always fraught with liability to incidents, but the Chinese Army has peculiarities of its own, largely on account of its administration, which is very simple. A Chinese General commanding an army or a division receives a certain sum of money with which to feed and pay his troops. As they look to their own officers for food, pay and everything else, they also only take orders from their own officers. In consequence, when you have two Chinese armies in an area the men of one army will not take orders from the officers of the other, which complicates matters. However, all the Generals commanding these Chinese units were most co-operative, and probably the biggest asset in the solving of the problem was that my G.O.C., General Festing, was not only a very fine officer but he also had commanded Chinese troops in Burma, so that he not only knew a great number of the Generals but they had a very high respect for him. He also knew the idiosyncrasies of the Chinese Army and the best way of dealing with them. With the co-operation of these Chinese officers we got four armies passed through the territory without any serious incident.

Apart from that we had another problem with the military authorities. There were a number of Chinese troops, officers and men, who used to come to Hong Kong on leave, having friends and relations there. That presented a difficulty in regard to the discipline of these men, particularly as it is a tradition of the Chinese that they always carry their arms even when on leave. To have a foreign army or a number of troops come into your territory carrying arms is not at all desirable, particularly when some of the more uneducated Chinese soldiers have a habit, when they are told to do something they do not like to do, of taking a hand grenade out of their pocket, extracting the pin, and uttering the Chinese equivalent of "So what?" That sort of thing is, of course, intolerable, and we had to take steps to put a stop to it. Again the Chinese military authorities were most co-operative, particularly General Chang Fa Kwei, the Generalissimo's representative in Canton, who commanded all the armies in the area. We managed to get the carrying of arms in Hong Kong by Chinese troops on leave stopped. General Chang Fa Kwei sent an officer from his staff to Hong Kong to be on General Festing's staff; we had a small

Chinese military patrol which worked in with our own patrols, and if any Chinese military personnel was stupid we merely sent for this Chinese officer and he led the individual away, and if necessary he was sent up to Canton for disciplinary action. There were no serious incidents. I remember one minor incident when we had a Chinese officer arrested on suspicion of stealing. There was rather a noisy Chinese crowd; they were all very excited and a Chinese military patrol had been called out by a bogus and illegal telephone call. A British naval patrol was trying to control the situation, and while this was going on—it was about nine o'clock in the evening—a Chinese General who lived in Hong Kong, happening to be passing by, went to see if he could straighten out matters. Unfortunately, instead of being in uniform he was in Chinese dress, a long gown down to his feet, and on his head there was a rather strange European check peaked cap. When this strange apparition went up to the naval patrol and said he was a Chinese General, the patrol rather understandably replied: "I know, and I am the Archbishop of Canterbury." Happily, the Chinese General had a great sense of humour (he had received some of his education in England and understood the British mind). He persisted, and eventually was a great help in sorting things out. Life in Hong Kong, on account of these incidents, was rarely dull.

I would like, in conclusion, to touch on the problems we left over for the civil administration. We turned things over to them on May 1, 1946, and the following were the chief problems we left with them: First, that there were a number of people returning to Hong Kong and outside Hong Kong who did not realize that they had to have a 1946 outlook; that 1946 outlook is imbued with a spirit of national pride in China and the national sovereignty of China. The 1941 outlook is absolutely taboo. There seemed to be some who were either unwilling or unable to understand this, but if they continue in ignorance of the change they will be heading for trouble.

Among the first of the things which have to be introduced is the new Constitution. When the Governor returned he announced the approximate terms and is now taking action to get some form of self-government going in Hong Kong, roughly on the lines of a municipal council, to turn over to an elected body certain of the functions of government such as the L.C.C. perform in London. If they can get that going, and they hope to about the beginning of 1947, that will be a great step forward.

A second thing which we got going was to put Chinese in positions of responsibility in the Government. Previously they had been serving in an advisory capacity but not in any position of administrative responsibility. We started putting them into positions of administrative responsibility and they played the game and did extremely well.

Then there is the colour bar problem, which not only affects Hong Kong but is now all over the world. In Hong Kong, possibly its greatest example was that no Chinese were allowed to live up the Peak, which was reserved entirely for the European population. That has now been removed, and everywhere a man is judged by his merits and character and not by the colour of his skin. In this there must be, of course, no

lowering of standards. In fact, it seems to me to put on the Europeans an obligation to set a very high standard.

Another important factor was the police. Prior to the war the majority of the policing in Hong Kong was done by Indians under British officers. In this new Chinese national spirit they will not be policed by foreign races. They do not mind British officers, but if you were to try to control a rather excited Chinese crowd with either Indian police or Indian troops you would be asking for trouble. Before the war the Chinese in the Hong Kong Police were of very low grade; the wages paid them were so low that they only attracted the lowest class. During the military administration the Colonial Office agreed, and we instituted good wages which attracted a good class of Chinese. We started a good police training school and got a number of educated Chinese who were keen, and thus got the Police Force going. But it takes a great deal more than good wages and a police school to create an honest and efficient Police Force. In setting out on such a task you cannot ignore the age-old difficulties, particularly in China, those of squeeze and of the family loyalty—the pressure brought on members of the family to provide jobs and privileges for other members of the family. All those things have to be faced up to. The Chinese Police Force has been started, and there will not be a loyal and contented population in Hong Kong unless there is a really efficient Chinese Police Force. Until that is certain there is always going to be the need for a backing of British troops in case of disorders. There are great risks. There is risk, for instance, of strikes being called from outside Hong Kong by Chinese authorities outside the colony, but all those risks have to be faced, as they have been taken.

Finally, I would like to say something as to the future of Hong Kong. As I see it, and I speak from very little knowledge, Hong Kong was originally started as a trading port. As such it has performed a great function both for Great Britain and also for China, and it can continue to do so. It still can do for China a great deal that China cannot do for itself; that can be done by the British at Hong Kong. A great number of responsible Chinese are aware of that and acknowledge it. I always feel that Hong Kong has also another task. In China at the moment there is a great clash of ideas between the East and the West, especially in trying to set up what is called a democratic Government. It is no use trying to build a Western democratic Government out of Eastern materials. To do that is to make the old mistake of trying to put new wine into old bottles. You have to take the Eastern materials and I think you can then leaven the old Chinese civilization with some of the best things in our Western civilization. If in Hong Kong, where East and West live alongside one another, it is possible to build up an efficient and honest self-governing administration then a great service will have been rendered. In these ways I believe there is a very great future ahead for Hong Kong.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: It has been a great pleasure to old China hands to hear Admiral Harcourt describe the measures taken to relieve Hong Kong after the Japanese occupation, and we offer him our warmest

congratulations on the success of his endeavours. We all realize, the enormous amount of labour involved in taking over and in setting up a new organization. When you consider that he entered the city without a single soldier and out of chaos produced order, you will appreciate what the British Navy can do when put to it. Afterwards he carried on the military administration of the territories, and he showed us how such an administration can turn a chaotic state of affairs to restored law and order. I am sure it has all been built up on the best possible lines.

I have no doubt as to the possibility of forming an efficient Chinese Police Force, especially when I recall the case of the old Wei Hai Wei Regiment. That regiment was formed by British officers and non-commissioned officers, and it proved to be one of the finest fighting forces that have ever been organized in China. In every club and institution all over China you could still find men in the most responsible posts who served in the famous Wei Hai Wei Regiment. Under British officers it is possible to do anything with the Chinese; they are most adaptable, and when they admire and respect those responsible for training them the results are admirable. I always felt when out in China that the Sikh Police caused a great deal of trouble, especially in Shanghai; they are admirable policemen, but their ideas and those of the inhabitants are so widely different that much trouble will be saved if they can be replaced, as I am sure they can be, by policemen of Chinese nationality.

As to Kowloon and the leased territories, can the lecturer say what the future of the other side of the water is to be? Are we to relinquish our hold over them or to retain a certain amount of control? It seems impossible to hold Hong Kong without Kowloon and without considerable rights over the leased territory.

The LECTURER: We always acted on the assumption that we were going to hold them, but in the surrender terms which I had to sign on behalf of both the British Government and General Chiang Kai-shek as the Commander of the armies in the China area, I noticed they carefully left out all mention of Kowloon. These surrender terms had been negotiated at Chungking, and I know that there are a number of Chinese who think they will get it back. However, I agree with Admiral Kelly that we should hold Kowloon; otherwise we cannot perform for China the functions necessary for her welfare.

Commander CADOGAN: I believe the Japanese, during the period of their occupation, used or endeavoured to keep Hong Kong going as a port. Is it permissible for Admiral Harcourt to tell us what sort of force he had when he arrived at Hong Kong?

The LECTURER: The Japanese used the port until it was completely mined up by the Americans. The day before we got into Hong Kong I flew in an aircraft to the city and took off a British prisoner of war who had been commander of the dockyard, and I was told that no ship of any size had been in or out of Hong Kong for three or four months. As to the force with which I went in, I had a couple of cruisers, two aircraft carriers, one battleship; a depot ship, submarines and minesweepers; no merchant ships. The real danger when going in was caused by the mines. We knew the Americans had laid them and that they were sup-



posed to be sterile by July 1, which was two months before we arrived; but we know that although magnetic mines are supposed to be sterile after a certain period, about 2 per cent. fail to become sterile, and there was always that risk. I had not with me a minesweeper which would sweep those particular mines, so the risk had to be taken. We chose a channel and put a rough sweep over it, and as events turned out we were fortunate in getting through without incident because three months later an oiler only 600 yards off the channel put up a mine and broke her back.

Admiral Sir FREDERIC DREYER: I should like to support strongly all Admiral Kelly said in regard to the immense interest of the lecture and also what he said as to the policy of the lecturer which resulted in such a great achievement. I have gathered, from a number of letters received from residents in Hong Kong, that they were exceedingly sad when Admiral Harcourt left. They had great confidence in him, he got things going and he did not promise things he could not carry out.

I would like also to support what Admiral Kelly said with regard to the Wei Hai Wei Regiment. The regiment was formed shortly before the Boxer War; they showed how extremely valuable they would be as police because they fought against their own countrymen in the Boxer War. They are faithful to their masters and they would make excellent police in dealing with their own countrymen.

It is easy to ask questions, and particularly questions connected with statistics, but not always easy to answer them off-hand. Can Admiral Harcourt hazard an opinion as to the approximate number of Chinese there were on Hong Kong island? I well remember in pre-war days that it was an acknowledged problem as to what could be done to thin out the Chinese when war threatened and certainly when it began. Was Hong Kong packed with Chinese or was it possible to get the Chinese to leave?

The LECTURER: The Japanese actually gave every encouragement to the Chinese to go. When Hong Kong fell I understand there were nearly 2,000,000 people in the colony. When we arrived there were only about 600,000. The Japanese encouraged the Chinese to leave from the point of view of thinning out the population. Many of my own personal friends had walked right through the Japanese lines, carrying their babies and so forth, and got away without trouble. How many were at the outbreak of war on Hong Kong island and how many on the mainland I cannot say. In any case, I think it is just as densely populated now as it ever was.

Captain PERRYMAN: Was Admiral Harcourt able to rely on the Chinese to send him supplies? He only touched on the Hong Kong-Canton railway. To what extent was it regarded by him as a source of supply? Presumably the Japanese had blown it up? How soon was he able to get the railways running and to what extent did the Chinese co-operate in supplying the island with food, apart from rice? Were the supplies from overseas, from Macao for instance, helpful, the Portuguese having enjoyed neutrality?

The LECTURER: The Hong Kong-Canton railway had not been destroyed by the Japanese. I think the question of the supplies largely

boils down to this: if there are supplies and you are prepared to pay for them the Chinese will always get them through somehow. The trouble was that there was a shortage of supplies and also there was disruption of communications all over China right beyond Canton. We used to get some supplies from Macao; the Portuguese were exceedingly good to Hong Kong and maintained their neutrality throughout the war. Moreover, the Macao authorities were extraordinarily helpful to all the refugees from Hong Kong and a large number went there, although there were also great difficulties in Macao. The Governor of Macao told me that at one time he had people dying of starvation at the rate of 2,000 a month. He eventually broke the blockade by playing off the Japanese Army against the Japanese Navy, who did not trust each other. By playing them off one against the other, and with a certain amount of bribery, he managed to break the blockade.

The CHAIRMAN: It would interest those who have not already seen the notice in *The Times* to-day to hear that Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt has been appointed to be Vice-Admiral (Air) and Second-in-Command of the Mediterranean Fleet. And now, on your behalf and my own, I thank Admiral Harcourt for his deeply interesting and informative lecture.

# THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON WESTERN CHINA

By THE RIGHT REV. H. A. MAXWELL

Being the report of a lecture given on Wednesday, July 10, 1946, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is my great pleasure to introduce the Rt. Rev. H. A. Maxwell, Assistant Bishop in Western China, who is going to give us an account of "The Effects of the War upon Western China," which covers a very wide field. Bishop Maxwell is, however, well qualified to tell us about all aspects of that subject. He went out to China the year after I returned from that country—I regret to say that it is twenty years ago—so that he has had twenty years' experience of China and has lived in Chengtu ever since 1937, with a break of one year, until a few months ago when he returned to England. Chengtu is the capital of the far western Province of China, Szechwan, and during the war it has been the intellectual capital of Free China. Our lecturer was there for the largest part of the war.

PEOPLE in England are much interested in China, as I have gathered from experience gained while visiting universities in England, lecturing on the subject of China and hearing the questions which have been asked following a lecture. Those questions have indicated that people are asking for factual information presented in an interesting way. I propose to give you factual information from my own experience, not to quote what others have said, but to tell you what I have seen or what experiences I have had.

Rapid and great changes have been taking place in Western China over the last twenty years, and that should be borne in mind as the background to this talk on the effects of the War upon Western China. Unless there is realization of the rapid changes that have been taking place over the last twenty years it is possible to get things out of focus and ascribe all the changes to the war period. That would not be true. When I went out to China twenty years ago the place to which I went was Mienyang; it then took three months from England to reach that centre, by way of the famous Yangtze gorges up to Chungking, and then by junk on to Mienyang, which took five weeks by one of the house-boats. Nowadays it is possible to travel from here to Chengtu in five days by aeroplane.

On arriving in Western China in those days city after city reminded one of China as one imagined it to be 2,000 years ago. There was no reminder of modern civilization, except perhaps a few wash-basins from Japan or one or two thermos flasks which could be bought on the street. The houses and the streets were all as they might have been 2,000 years ago. Then came the motor-car. A road was opened between Chungking and Chengtu and another opened between Chungking and Kweiyang, so that you travelled up the railway to Kunming and from there to Kweiyang and on to Chungking. With the advent of the motor-road rapid changes took place. That is the background to my talk.

Now let us consider three of the reasons why there have been such

rapid changes in the last three years. The first reason is the migration of fifty million Chinese from East to Western China, and the emphasis is not upon the number of Chinese but upon the quality, for they were mostly of the better-class and the well-educated people. A large number of industries—I cannot quote the exact figure—moved from the east to the west; in Chengtu alone we had as many as six universities from other parts of China. When you consider the quality of the migration you can appreciate what a great influence such people had upon the west.

A second reason for the rapid change was the isolation in which we found ourselves in Western China. We were cut off entirely from the world for a number of years except for wireless and for what could come over "The Hump," as it was called—in other words, over the Himalayas to Kunming and Chengtu. It meant that the fifty million Chinese who had come from other parts of China were able to concentrate upon the development of Western China; they were not thinking so much about the outside world as about Western China and how it could be developed. Already a book has been written entitled *China Discovers Her West*. It was this group of educated people who discovered Western China.

The third reason for the rapid development of Western China was militarization. Thousands, if not millions, of farmers were conscripted; they were given not only a military training but a certain smattering of education which has largely changed their outlook, and many of those men have gone from Western China to many other parts of China and even into Burma and India.

#### VISIBLE EFFECTS

What are the visible effects of the changes that have gone on during the last few years in Western China? There have been many improvements in communications. The roads have been improved immeasurably. The old roads consisted of clay thrown up in the middle and stamped down, and then after the heavy rains they were left more or less in a quagmire. As against that, think of the hundreds of thousands of coolies at work building up stone foundations for those roads and making them useful for heavy motor traffic—and many of the American trucks were very heavy; they were used for conveying aeroplanes and so on. In the cities the roads were considerably widened. Our main street in Chengtu just outside our own church used to be 14 feet across; now it is about 45 feet across—a very fine road indeed. Then there has been the building of concrete bridges. Many of the old bridges and their arches have gone, and in their place there are ferro-concrete bridges which will stand up to considerable pressure from heavy loads. There has been a temporary improvement of buses; I lay emphasis on "temporary" because for a time the down-river people were able to introduce us to the better buses they had brought up and to persuade us to queue up for them, but when I left Western China the buses were thoroughly overcrowded; I have seen three men on each mudguard at the front and tiered right up, while the bus was packed jam-full inside and people were calling out, "Mind my foot." I mentioned this to Bishop Shen, and he said it reminded him of what happened in America. A passenger complained of

“standing on one foot all the way,” and a fellow-passenger replied, “Yes, it was my foot.”

Then there has been building of aqueducts in the rural centres, erection of higher buildings in the larger cities, such as banks and public offices and even shops, many being more up to date with glass windows and with goods set out more in the Western fashion. Around some of the larger cities, such as Kunming, Kweiyang, Chengtu and Chungking, there have been factories growing up.

### SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Let us consider next the sociological effects of the war upon Western China. There has been considerable migration from the cities to the country. Thinking of the air raids in Western China one cannot help but contrast them with those in England. In Western China the traffic was all one way: the bombs came down and nothing went up. As soon as the first air raid signal went in Chengtu many of the Chinese rushed out of the city. The second signal would sound, perhaps half an hour later, to warn those who remained that the aeroplanes had already left Chungking and were on their way to Chengtu, and then a lot more people left. But by the time the third signal went you knew it was impossible to leave the city and that you must face the bombs. There was a dead stillness before the bombs fell. Bird-lovers say that even the birds ceased to sing. I mention all this because of the weird sensation it was to go through an air raid in Western China. No one could blame the Chinese for wanting to leave the cities for the country when there was so little defence of the cities, but that migration from city to country had profound results—firstly, on those who went. As a result of that migration urban people have a new idea of what life in the country is like; for the first time they have come to appreciate what the agricultural masses are and what they are doing for China. Then there has been the effect upon the agricultural masses themselves. One thinks, for instance, of a school such as that known as “Oberlin in China” that went into the brigand-infested area and, as a result of its fine social service, cleared up the district and changed the whole tone of the area. That I can vouch for because it happened in our diocese. I have seen the effect.

Then a number of co-operative societies have sprung up all over the country. In pre-war days there were about 3,000 such societies; towards the end of the war there were 173,000 co-operative societies with a total constituency of 15 million people. In towns and in the country they are producing all kinds of things co-operatively, which is a most important factor from the sociological viewpoint. The Chinese plan and work so much in terms of the clan, but that is breaking down and they are now working co-operatively for the production of the necessities of life.

There has also been a change of attitude towards manual work. When I first went to China I remember some of the literati came to see Dr. Lechler of our Mission. With their long finger-nails, elegant gowns, highly decorative fans, perfect poise and choice of classical language they were princely men; they would never think of doing manual work.

When they saw Dr. Lechler playing tennis on a very hot day and noticed that he perspired a good deal, their comment was, "Why don't you get Chinese coolies to do that hard manual work for you?" That was twenty years ago. To-day there is a different attitude altogether. When you think of Madame Chiang Kai-shek going down on her knees and scrubbing hospital floors and of Dr. Chang of Nanking University going into railway carriages which had been set aside for the wounded from the front, and with bed-pans and bowls washing up the mess after two or three days' inattention, you can appreciate the change of attitude that has taken place among some in Western China.

#### EDUCATIONAL EFFECTS

The advent of universities with a very much wider range of subjects in their curricula has had a profound effect upon Western China. Engineering, chemistry and, above all, journalism at Yenching University, have created a desire for higher learning; it is surprising how many budding journalists have developed in recent years as a result of Yenching University. There has also been an increase in the number of middle schools and a desire generally on the part of students to obtain a higher form of education. They were content at one time with senior middle school education, which was almost equivalent to our Matriculation standard; now they want at least a university grade of education. Then there has been the opening of innumerable rural schools, with the object of abolishing illiteracy in China. It can, I think, be said that Dr. Jimmy Yeng has set the pace with his Tingshien experiment, for the Government has taken up his scheme and now all over Western China (and it is going to be true of the whole of China in the near future) there are rural schools springing up on all hands. I have been to those schools, and though they have not a very high academic standard they do teach the three R's tolerably well. That means that in about ten years' time 75 per cent. of the population will be literate, whereas to-day about 75 per cent. are illiterate. That will confront China with the tremendous problem of finding suitable reading material for such a large literate community. Already the printing presses of Western China are getting hot as they produce books quite inadequate in number and quality. The production of literature for all types of people is no easy matter.

Then the extraordinary intermixture of people from every part of China has focused the attention of the authorities in Western China on the need for a common language. Of course there was that problem in Shanghai and Hongkong in pre-war days, but think of 50 million people from all parts of China concentrated in the west, with their mixture of tones. I know something about this because I lectured in a theological college in Chengtu, and there eight students out of fourteen in the senior class came from different parts of China and their dialects were all different. Sometimes I could not make out what one student was saying, and neither could the other students; moreover, to the present day our General Synod of the Anglican Communion in China is still conducted in English. The Chinese are trying to break down those barriers between the various provinces and endeavouring to evolve a *lingua franca*, a

national language, but that is not going to be easy. There is an extraordinary mixture of tones. For instance, there is the classical story of a missionary who wanted to call a cheeky boy to him. What he ought to have said was "Lai ma," which means "Come"; what he actually said was "Lai ma" (in a different tone), which means "wet-nurse."

#### MILITARY EFFECTS

My wife has told me that twenty-five years ago, when she was out in China, the people used bows and arrows in local warfare. By the way, in Western China we have had sixty-four civil wars between the years 1911 and 1937, and we say these last war years in Western China have been our most peaceful years. As I have said, twenty-five years ago the people used bows and arrows; a few years later they started to use rifles, but could not make much of them. About ten years later the first aeroplane flew over Western China, and the Chinese used trench mortars to try to bring it down. Nowadays, largely as the result of the coming of Westerners—Americans, British and others—there has been a development of the military training, which is distinctly good. The standard of the army in China is not high. That has been one of the complaints of General Stillwell and, more recently, of General Wedemayer; but those of us who knew the Chinese Army in pre-war days think wonders have been effected.

#### AGRICULTURAL EFFECTS

The agricultural effects of the war upon Western China have been comparatively small. That is not surprising, for they are a most conservative people who do not take easily to changes. The agricultural colleges have done their best to impart improved methods of farming, but the Chinese farmers do not always appreciate them. They are practical-minded, and they say, "Oh yes, that form of oats and wheat may be better, but if you grow that form you do not get enough straw," and so on. They can always find a reason why they should not change their methods. There has been less change in the agricultural aspects than in any other aspect of life in Western China.

#### FINANCIAL EFFECTS

One could speak at considerable length about the financial effects of the war on Western China. In pre-war days the cost of living was ridiculously low: Westerners could live for about a dollar a day. The pound was then changing at about 12 to 14 dollars. A Chinese farmer could live on about 1½d. per day. I can say that because I have lived with farmers and know exactly what they eat, and I have worked out their cost of living. Nowadays the cost of living is very high. The rise commenced as soon as the war broke out, but it was not until the fifty million from Eastern China moved to the west that prices really began to soar. Most of the Chinese who came from the east were fairly wealthy and were prepared to pay considerable prices for everything. Again, another factor was our isolation. We could not get foreign goods into Western China except over The Hump by aeroplane. When I left

Western China towards the end of 1945 a bicycle was selling in Kunming for £240 in English money. It was costing some of our missionaries at the rate of £800 a year per person, living on food that was of a much lower standard than anybody in England had to put up with in war-time.

The farmers and the ordinary manual workers have been extraordinarily well off during the war period. I have gone into farms in pre-war days and noticed the state of their furniture and other belongings; I have gone again in war days and noticed the immense improvement that has taken place in that regard. One noticed the same improvement in the houses of the manual workers also. It was the black-coated people who suffered most, those with fixed salaries; they were the people in dire straits. It was jokingly said by the Chinese themselves that some of the minor officials used at night-time to take off the badges denoting that they were officials and then went and pulled rickshaws, which was one of the most profitable forms of employment in the war days. I can say that many of the teachers in China were at one time teaching in no less than three schools, going to one school and taking two or three classes, and going on to another and to a third, drawing pay from the various institutions. Even some of our own clergy were having to eke out their rather small pittance by going to a number of schools to teach.

#### POLITICAL EFFECTS

The political effects are interesting. First, a word as to the influence of the Central Government. In 1935 the Generalissimo visited Western China, and it was then that he made the historic statement that if the Japanese invaded the coastal provinces, then the Chinese would all gradually retire to the west and oppose the Japanese from the west. When he came out to the west the Generalissimo cleared out a lot of the corrupt officials. I happen to know that seventy had to go from one comparatively small place. He cleared out the Liking stations (tax offices) between Chungking and Chengtu, and there were twenty-eight of them, as I knew to my cost when I travelled up the river on a junk and had to face all those Customs officials who wanted a squeeze at every place.

When the Central Government moved up to Western China in 1937 they put into effect a number of radical reforms. They trained a number of younger magistrates, because they realized that the magistrates in China were far too old and old-fashioned. Thus they started a school for magistrates and trained a number of junior magistrates. They also gave political education to headmasters. Our headmaster had to go from our boys' school in Mienyang to Chungking, and there, with other masters, he received six weeks' training in politics. I am sorry to say they were largely National party politics, but otherwise he said he received a very good training. Schools and universities were also encouraged to join in party politics; inspectors were sent round to schools to see that all students were good party people, if possible. Although it was said that no one was obliged to join the party, yet considerable moral suasion was brought to bear towards that end. Visits to Communist areas were more or less prohibited, so that, by and large, the impression we gained, certainly up to 1944, was that the Government was bringing



pressure to bear all the time on the people to join their own party and to eschew the Communist party. That is one picture. Against that, it needs to be said that there were very definite trends towards more democratic methods. For instance, there was the formation of the People's Councils. In the remotest districts of Western China small People's Councils were formed in markets, towns and cities, and those councils had a representative say in the affairs of the nation. And at the end there was freedom of the Press; not until 1944 could that be said, but then, owing largely to pressure from the Americans and, to some extent, from the British, freedom of the Press was granted, and I can vouch for this because I read my daily Chinese newspaper: that some of the articles were of quite a stinging nature and very much opposed to what the Government was doing.

With regard to the attitude of local politicians, we might say that the majority became more national in their outlook; the minority became more provincial. One heard quite a lot in Chengtu about Szechwan for the Szechwanese and from my Fukien friends I heard about Fukien for the Fukienese. There were those who became more national and those who were at the same time becoming more provincial. For that reason it is very hard to prognosticate what is going to happen in the future.

#### INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS

There is a considerable amount of questioning with regard to Western civilization, and this on the part of the more traditional Chinese. I remember once speaking about the Great Powers in the presence of a number of well-educated Chinese, and then I realized what a *faux pas* I had made. One of the Chinese asked, "What do you mean by 'Great Powers'?" However carefully one stated the case one realized that a Great Power to our Western thinking is bound up, to a certain extent, with gunboats and military power. And then the questioner expressed the opinion that perhaps a nation could be a Great Power in a different sense. That is one viewpoint: the viewpoint of the more traditional Chinese who are questioning the value of Western civilization. They are trying to call a halt; they are trying to apply the brakes to China in its attempts to develop along the lines of Western civilization. But over against that there are the larger number who appreciate what the Allies have been doing and what Western civilization stands for, at least so far as material advantages are concerned, and, to a certain extent democratic civilization. An increasing number of students want to go abroad. Somebody has said that the doors of China are not open inward but outward. The Chinese are, to some extent, keen to have people from abroad, but they themselves are increasingly wanting to go abroad and get the advantages of Western civilization. There was an appreciation, I think, of General Stilwell, not on the part of the Generalissimo perhaps; General Stilwell was rather direct in his remarks, and perhaps he said some unfortunate things which were more diplomatically said by General Wedemayer. General Wedemayer, from all I could gather, was able to say more or less the same things but in a much more diplomatic and more oriental way.

## MORAL EFFECTS

With regard to the morale of the Chinese during the war I can say that up to the time of the fall of Hankow and Canton the morale was high. Those of us who had known China for a considerable number of years were happily surprised at the high standard of the morale of the Chinese. After the fall of Hankow and Canton we thought China might collapse. It did not. Deterioration did not set in until the Allies came into the country, and then I think the deterioration set in because the Chinese, unfortunately, took the attitude, "Now the Allies have come in we can sit back." That was devastating in its results. Quite a number of influential Chinese said to me in effect, "Now the Americans and English have come in we can rest a bit; we really have been going all out, and now we can rest on our oars." That was fatal. It was largely from that time that the differences between the Communists and the Central Government arose. I am afraid at the end of the war the morale was definitely low. In the schools there was a serious lack of discipline. The students were expelling some of their own presidents and principals from the schools, they were openly gambling in classes, and there was the terrible racket of the black market in big cities; that was carried on to an extensive degree.

## RELIGIOUS EFFECTS

Buddhist temples were used for schools and barracks. At the same time there were indications of a revival of Buddhism. I saw what might be called "revival meetings" of Buddhism. I was taken to a monastery where there were about 120 famous Buddhists from all parts of China, and after they had given lectures there were a large number of people who were so excited that they took their paper money and burned it, believing that the "spirit" from this paper money would go out and meet the needs of the soldiers who had perished in the war. There was tremendous enthusiasm on such an occasion. The Buddhists increasingly used Christian methods of propagation. They have opened libraries and preaching halls, and developed their form of worship in a way which would attract the non-Buddhist people. At the same time there has been an increased interest in Christianity, especially among the educated. One attributes that to at least two or three reasons: first, to the fact that the Generalissimo and many other well-known people are Christians and have given a Christian lead, but more particularly to the abolition of extraterritoriality in 1943. That abolition of the so-called unequal treaties in 1943 had a profound effect upon China. That I can witness to again and again. I have heard officials say, "Now that the unequal treaties are abolished you are one with us, you are our guests, our friends; all misunderstanding has been cleared away and now Christianity can come and expand in an unfettered way in China. The possibility before the Church for expansion in post-war days is very considerable." So said Chang Ch'uin, the Christian Governor of Szechwan.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion I want to sift the transient from the permanent, and say that the permanent results of the war have been that many Chinese from other provinces will remain in the west. That was open to question a year ago; but now that a year has gone by and many of these eastern Chinese have had the opportunity of moving back if they so desire, quite a number have decided to stay in Western China.

Secondly, people are more politically minded and in future there will most probably be a better form of government in Western China.

Thirdly, there is now much more education of the masses.

Fourthly, there is a new interest in, a sense of responsibility for, development of rural life.

Fifthly, there are more up-to-date shops and factories.

Sixthly, the pattern has been set for better communications and travelling facilities. I say "the pattern has been set"; I cannot say that the facilities at present are better, but the western Chinese do know now what ought to be done.

Lastly, among the educated especially, Christianity is taking its place with the other Chinese religions. Some would go so far as to say that the alternative before China is Agnosticism or Christianity.

"China Discovers Her West." It is equally true to say that "the west of China discovers the rest of China and part of the world."

Mr. J. N. LIST: Would the lecturer say that a trade route to the Indian Ocean via Lashio and Rangoon enters into the Chinese view of how Western China must develop—a permanent trade route free from political troubles as a back door into China?

Bishop MAXWELL: I have heard that question discussed at considerable length. We had a democratic group in Western China to discuss such problems, but we could never come to any conclusion on that very interesting point. It was a question of an alternative, and the alternative which seemed to gain more favour was to use the route from Haiphong up to Kunming. There is a railway as far as the latter place, and it would be necessary to get a better road from Kunming up to Kweiyang, the road at present being in a shocking state in spite of all the efforts of the Government. They did favour the other proposal also, but if it was a question of the choice between those two they came down on the side of the Kunming-Kweiyang road.

Mr. LIST: Then as a long-term policy the Lashio-Rangoon route does not enter into their considerations?

The LECTURER: I have not heard it so spoken of; they are thinking more immediately of the other route to the south.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: How did the population from the east get on with the people in the west? They have great difficulty in speaking to each other. Do they mix well? They are really two different races.

The LECTURER: That is a most interesting question and that, again, demands quite a number of answers. Generally speaking, some of them

got on extraordinarily well together. It depended largely on the attitude of those who came from the east. Some took up the attitude that they knew everything. When they adopted that hightly-tightly attitude there was a clash. When they came more or less as equals they got on extraordinarily well. It ought to be said against the western Chinese that they, too, were rather provincial in their attitude, and they looked on those from other provinces as outside province men, as they called them, corresponding to foreigners—the outside countrymen. Those from Eastern China did not appreciate that attitude.

Sir HOWARD KELLY: The development of education and the increase in journalism should hasten the adoption of a universal Chinese language.

The LECTURER: They are rapidly acquiring a universal language. Broadcasting will help a great deal in that direction.

Sir HOWARD KELLY: As to the possibilities of Western China, which after all to all but explorers is unknown, is it a country with great possibilities, agriculturally or in minerals?

The LECTURER: In agriculture I suppose it ranks with almost any part of China. That is the impression that those who have come from other parts of China conveyed to us. There is on the Chengtu plain a marvellous form of irrigation, a thousand-year-old system, and there we do not know what a drought is. There is iron there, also copper, and a certain amount of gold and other minerals. They are now finding petrol.

Colonel NEWCOMBE: Is coal or water power available for development?

The LECTURER: An American engineer is convinced that he can use their water power extensively. There is a big scheme on foot to dam the Yangtze above Ichang and in that way get quite large steamers up the river, and also get sufficient electricity supply. If it was possible to get decent-sized steamers up to Chungking it would be a great help—steamers about the size of the Dover-Calais boats. Already steamers go up to Chungking, but they are not large.

Colonel NEWCOMBE: What is going to happen when prices rise? Is the agricultural worker going to pay more for his food too? Is it going to be possible to get highly educated people to work on the land?

The LECTURER: That is one of the problems, and it is not an easy one to solve.

Brigadier-General S. WESTON: I believe the Americans had a Basic Chinese. I was the only British officer on board a British ship taking American troops to China, and they had a Chinese instructor who was teaching the troops Basic Chinese which they told me consisted of about 200 words. I tried to obtain one of the books, but they could not spare me a copy.

The LECTURER: It would be more than 200 words; probably about 1,000 words. It was composed by Dr. James Yen, who was over in France in 1914-18 and taught the coolies how to read. He has developed Basic Chinese of about 1,000 characters; he teaches the Chinese those 1,000 characters and with them they can get quite a long way.

Sir CECIL HARCOURT: Is not Mandarin becoming the national language?

The LECTURER: Yes.

Brigadier-General S. WESTON: I am not surprised at General Stilwell's expression of opinion as to the Chinese troops, because I understand that it was common for a Chinese Division not to arrive to meet its train and to ask that trains be delayed forty-eight hours, which of course would upset any military programme.

MISS DE CARDI: Is there any indication of an eastward movement of the newly established industries?

THE LECTURER: A movement from the west to the east? That I cannot say, because I left several months ago. From reports that have come to me, there has been a great deal of transference of some of the industries to the east again. There is going to be a bigger job than transference of some of the industries because it will be a terrific business to move machinery and so on.

MISS DE CARDI: I was particularly interested because Dr. T. V. Soong had expressed the hope that the Chinese Government would be able to establish industries fairly well in the north-west and keep them there after the war.

THE LECTURER: I believe that is the policy, and they are going to try to keep industries up in the west. They do not want them to move back. They will open up new industries down at the coast. It is a question of opening up the west and keeping it open.

Brigadier-General WESTON: Is it possible to open up the west for trade and business so far from the eastern seaboard?

THE LECTURER: That is largely a matter of communications. As to the development of the Yangtze, I learn that western boats will not be allowed on the river. I have received a letter from a missionary who had to go up on a Chinese boat from Shanghai to Chungking; he could not get a Jardine, Matheson or Butterfield and Swire; that route has to be developed. Then there is the southern route, and we hope the Burma Road will be developed. If those three routes are really developed we can see Western China becoming an important centre for commercial development because the resources are there.

Mr. PETER HUME: Could I go back to 1941 and ask about relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists, which the lecturer says only began to deteriorate with Pearl Harbour? I have always understood that the 4th Army incident in 1941 was the thing from which those relations never recovered. Secondly, as to China's attitude that the Allies had come into the war and that they could therefore sit back. That may have been so for a month or two. But after that, was not their attitude: These people put out in their propaganda that they are the men who can beat the Japanese—they can't do it; why should *we* go on? Can Bishop Maxwell expand on those two points?

THE LECTURER: To take the second point first, I think where I may have erred is in speaking too much from what actually happened in Western Szechwan. I do not know what other parts of China you may represent, but from the point of view of the Chinese in Western Szechwan the feeling was all the time—not just for a few months afterwards but right through to the end; I got it again and again—"Oh, well, of course ultimately it must be you who are going to win; we cannot do it." Many

of the officials came to me and said that, and it came out most clearly at the end in December, 1944, when the Japanese flying squad got as far as Kweiyang and there was almost a panic in Western China, such a panic that the American and the British authorities told the missionaries that they must leave, and we prepared to evacuate. Most of the women had to go, but up to that time the Chinese had said, "Oh, well, even if the Japanese do beat us we know that the Americans and British will carry on and will beat them ultimately in Japan." Their whole attitude was, "We will do what we can to help." Some of them did extraordinarily well. I gathered from the R.A.F. Group which was up in Chengtu at the end of 1943 that the Sixth Chinese Army in Burma had done extraordinarily well in the fighting, but apart from that the general feeling among the Chinese was, "We are sorry, but we are not well equipped; we cannot get the necessary equipment to wage a major war; we must leave you to carry on." I can only pass on my own experience. If that is not true of other parts of China I am sorry if I have given a wrong impression; but that was most certainly the impression one got in Chengtu and Chungking, in Kweiyang and in Kunming.

I have not enough knowledge of the facts to answer the first question. I have tried from the beginning of my talk not to quote what I have heard about other parts of China, but to tell you what the reactions have been in the west. We noticed in the west that as soon as the Allies came in, it was then that we in the west heard about the conflict between the Communists and the Central Government. It may not have been so. All I can say is, quoting from the west, that is what happened.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to say that the reports I have seen coming from various quarters were that the friction between the Communists and the Kuomintang had become acute in 1941, and that the Communist movement got a further start in 1941. You will get that out of Guenther Stein's book. Whether there was any relation between that and Pearl Harbour I cannot say.

With regard to the collapse of the Chinese morale, the reports I have seen differ a little from the impression that Bishop Maxwell has given of Western China. The reports were that during the first four years of the fighting the Chinese knew that out of their own resources they could not defeat the Japanese and drive the Japanese Army out; they were hoping that the English and Americans would one day come in on their side. Then the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and for a moment the Chinese were very elated. What they had been hoping for had happened, the Americans and the British were in on their side and now they were going together to defeat the Japs. Then came the shattering disasters after Pearl Harbour, and the reports I have seen show that the Chinese morale was wonderful. You would have expected their disappointment to be so great that they would have collapsed, but they stood up to it in a most extraordinary manner and their morale was very high indeed. I was in America in 1942 and had an opportunity of observing Chinese reactions there. Their morale began to weaken when it was gradually borne in upon them that these disasters meant that the war in China was going on interminably, and they were bitterly disappointed because, quite

properly, the needs of China were postponed for the needs of the happenings in the West. The decision was perfectly right, and it could not be helped; but from the end of 1943 onwards the Chinese became more and more disheartened until in 1944 they fell into a state of defeatism: It is not up to us to do more fighting; it is up to the Allies to do the job now.

Mr. LYTON ANDERSON: Is there any connection between Fort Hertz in North Burma and Western China?

The LECTURER: Not at present; there may be some wishful thinking in that regard. I was present when Dr. Abram from India came and spoke to us about Indian aspirations. I noticed the eyebrows of the Chinese present go up when this Indian said that India hoped Burma would ultimately revert to India. The Chinese have had eyes on Burma too. But that is all I have heard about Burma. In recent publications I have seen nothing about Chinese aspirations in that part of Burma.

The CHAIRMAN: As there appear to be no more questions or comments it only remains for me, on your behalf, to thank Bishop Maxwell for a most interesting talk. It is always a sign of a very good talk when it stimulates an excellent discussion such as we have had. It is one of the best afternoons on China we have had for a long time past, and we owe it to our lecturer.

# RECENT PROGRESS IN BURMA

By T. L. HUGHES, C.B.E., I.C.S. (RETD.)

Lecture given on September 18, 1946, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., D.S.O., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said: After service in France and on the Frontier during the first World War, our lecturer entered the I.C.S. in 1923, and retired to take up a political appointment in 1939, but returned to Government service in 1942, and was Chief Liaison Officer to Field-Marshal Alexander, who was at that time General Officer Commanding our Forces during the retreat from Burma in 1942. Mr. Hughes was mentioned in despatches, and received the award of the C.B.E. in 1943. He was Secretary to the Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, from 1942 to 1946. Mr. Hughes was one of the last civilians to leave Rangoon when it was evacuated in 1942, and he was the first civilian to return to Rangoon when the Japanese were expelled from the city in 1945. Mr. Hughes came home on leave lately, and to-day he will tell us what has been done to restore in Burma all that was destroyed during the Japanese occupation.

## I.—INTRODUCTION

### OPENING REMARKS

ON the last occasion when I had the honour of addressing this Society, exactly three years ago, I was able to tell you something of the 1941-42 Burma Campaign from the civilian point of view. Since then a great deal has happened, not only in Burma but throughout the world. The threats of war, bombing and like unpleasantnesses no longer hang over us, but we are beginning to appreciate that peace has problems no less formidable than war. In the course of this address I hope to give you some indication of the problems facing us in Burma and of the progress made in resolving them. Fascinating though the subject is, I fear I shall not be able to do more than touch on the confused Burmese political scene: rather will my talk be devoted to progress on the administrative side. Also I am making no reference to the frontier areas, that important part of Burma which is, roughly, the horseshoe round the borders of India, China, French Indo-China and Siam. This, again, is a special subject. We have with us this afternoon Mr. Stevenson, the frontier areas expert; he is the man to talk on that subject.

### PROGRESS UNDER DIFFICULTIES

Articles which have appeared in English journals and newspapers within the last few months may have tended to create the impression that Burma is stagnant, conditions static and progress negligible. If this address does nothing else it will provide evidence of substantial progress in the field of rehabilitating that war-torn country. True, the progress has not been as rapid as might have been hoped for; but for this state of affairs several factors have been responsible. The political scene is confused, and despite the best endeavours, first of Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith (whose resignation at such a critical moment in the country's history I am sure we all deplore) and then of the acting Governor, Sir



Henry Knight, it has not been possible to harness all shades of political thought to the vital tasks ahead. The administration is functioning under major handicaps, among which shortages of personnel, transport, stationery, accommodation, equipment and finance are the more important. An unprecedented wave of lawlessness is sweeping the country, against which the combined efforts of the civil administration and the military authorities are only just beginning to make headway. Communications, so thoroughly destroyed by the combination of "denial" operations and Allied bombing, are laboriously but surely being re-established. Supplies are only now beginning to arrive in anything like adequate quantities. Under the guidance of the various projects, the economy of Burma is beginning to flow through the veins of the country. And the devastation in the country is prodigious.

For all these reasons progress has not been spectacular, but the foundations of recovery have been laid, and while it would be idle to hope that Burma's troubles are nearing an end, there is ground for optimism that the machinery for recovery is now getting into top gear and driving ahead to the goal of a prosperous and reconstructed Burma, able to play her full part in the post-war world as a fully self-governing member of the British Commonwealth.

#### LIBERATION OF BURMA

On May 15, 1942, General (now Field-Marshal) Alexander, with the battered remnants of the Army which had fought a grim rearguard action through the length of Burma, crossed the Indo-Burma frontier near Tamu, and left the Japanese in undisputed possession of the major portion of Burma. Accompanying General Alexander as his Corps Commander was General Slim. On May 2, 1945, almost exactly three years later, Allied forces under the command of General Slim followed up a masterly combined sea, land and air offensive and re-entered Rangoon, having recovered Burma the "hard" way—*i.e.*, overland from India. Rangoon was liberated: the Japanese were in full flight. When our troops entered Rangoon they were given a rousing welcome by the inhabitants, many of them testifying by the rags in which they were clad to the "benefits" conferred on them by the "Greater Asia co-prosperity sphere."

By the enemy decision to withdraw from the city before our advancing forces Rangoon was spared from utter devastation. Even so, the "denials" carried out by British personnel in 1942 had combined with subsequent Allied air raids to cause destruction on a scale not met with in any other Eastern theatre of war.

When I entered Rangoon in June, 1945, close on the heels of the liberating Army, I found a distressing lack of every form of activity necessary to maintain human life. Of communications, nothing; not a train, tram, bus or conveyance was running. The streets were feet deep in filth, and the open drains had long since ceased to be other than a depository for more filth and garbage. Both the water and sewerage systems were out of action. At night there was a complete black-out, not so much for fear of enemy air action as because the means of

illumination was lacking. Whole blocks of the city had been laid waste by Allied bombing. The once trim, well-laid-out residential areas were overgrown with rank jungle and were dirty beyond description.

And what of the city's inhabitants? Scared by Allied bombing to two-fifths of their former number, the survivors were ill-clad, unkempt and dirty. Of soap there was none, and many suffered from skin diseases. Fear, the fear of the twin evils of Allied bombs and the Japanese Kempetai, lurked in the eyes and movements of the people.

Whilst not total, the economic devastation was paralysing. The expert demolition of communications, power plant, and port facilities in 1942 had been augmented by repeated and smashing blows of the Allied Air Forces. Hardly a major bridge had survived. Looting of factories and houses had completed the destruction. The economic life of the city was at a standstill.

Although the picture has been thus far confined to Rangoon, conditions throughout the country were in no better shape. I took the first opportunity to see for myself conditions in other parts of Burma. The up-country towns of Mandalay, Meiktila, Myingyan, Myitkyina, Bhamo, Prome, Toungoo, Pegu and other towns on the lines of communication were flat and lifeless. Burma lay sorely stricken from the two waves of the battle which had surged over and receded from her shores.

#### C.A.S.(B.) ADMINISTRATION

The formidable task of introducing some order into this chaos fell to the Civil Affairs Service, a branch of the Military Administration charged with the task of rehabilitation. Detachments of the C.A.S.(B.) moved with the Army and were peeled off as each district was liberated. The major tasks of C.A.S.(B.) included the restoration of law and order, the revival of the administration, the provision of food for a population dangerously near starvation in certain areas; of medical, health and water supplies; and of finance. The military administration encountered, and in the main surmounted, the most appalling difficulties. Their success can be attributed in no small measure to the fact that the Service was manned for the most part by officers of the civil administration of Burma; officers acquainted with the people and their language; officers who returned not as conquerors, but as friends of the people with whom they had formerly served.

#### THE HAND-OVER

In 1945, in wise anticipation of the hand-over to the Civil Government, Admiral the Lord Louis Mountbatten, S.A.C.S.E.A., had set up a Handing-over Commission to plan for the transfer of responsibility. The Commission, presided over by Major-General Rance, now Governor of Burma, had as members representatives both of the Government of Burma and the military administration.

When on October 16, 1945, H.E. the Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, assumed responsibility for the major part of Burma, certain departments of Government which, without detriment to their efficient functioning, could be transferred from military responsibility were taken



over by him. Other departments and services continued under military control for longer periods between that date and March 31, 1946, when C.A.S.(B.) faded out.

This planning involved the closest continuous co-operation between the military and civil authorities concerned. Although the short space of time in which the hand-over had to be effected, together with the limited facilities available to the Civil Government, prevented the task being carried out with ideal smoothness, it is a tribute to the soundness of the Commission's plan that the transfer was effected within the time available and without serious dislocation.

## II.—ADMINISTRATION

### GENERAL BACKGROUND

When on October 16, 1945, H.E. the Governor resumed responsibility for the administration of Burma, he and his officers were faced with well-nigh insuperable difficulties. Office and residential accommodation had in the main been destroyed by the tide of war: if not destroyed they had been looted; what was left was largely in military occupation. There were practically no records, no libraries, no furniture and no equipment. Transport facilities were of the sketchiest. Experienced indigenous staff employed before the evacuation had not returned in anything like adequate numbers, this for several reasons—first, casualties from sickness, war or other causes; secondly, the more lucrative channels of commerce and trade, which had attracted people away from Government service; thirdly, the absence of internal communications, which prevented Government servants in outlying places reporting for duty; and lastly, the aftermath of fear, which discouraged people from returning to urban centres likely to suffer from bombing. Since that time there has been considerable improvement: transport facilities have improved; office equipment, though still primitive and inadequate, is at least better than it was; the concession of a dearness allowance permits Government servants to struggle along on their pay; and with the end of hostilities the threat of bombing has been removed. Nevertheless, offices are still functioning under the most primitive and discouraging conditions, many of them in mat huts or private houses, with no stationery, no manuals, few forms and inadequate staffs. Improvisation has been the keynote of the administration in Burma since the return of Civil Government.

### AGRICULTURE

The vital importance of Burma's rice crop to a world faced with a parlous food shortage needs no stressing. Compared with a pre-war total rice crop of 7 to 8 million tons, representing an exportable surplus of some  $3\frac{1}{4}$  million tons, the 1945-46 harvest had fallen to a level of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, hardly sufficient for Burma's own requirements. To this distressing situation many factors had contributed. There was the general insecurity of life and property: cultivators will not cultivate beyond a subsistence level unless they can be reasonably sure of harvesting their

crop and enjoying the proceeds. Lack of cattle and agricultural implements and shortages of clothing and inducement goods also loom large in the picture. Some of these cultivators have only one garment. If they get wet they have no other garment to change into. We cannot supply them with clothing because we have not got it to give.

The reconstruction of her agricultural industry is the most essential factor in Burma's rehabilitation, and much careful planning has gone into the return of fallow land to cultivation and the resumption of her export surpluses. Some success has been achieved, but much remains to be done. Complete success can only be achieved by a restoration of normal communications, an adequate supply of consumer goods and cattle, and a return to the normal security of life and property.

Among the positive measures taken for the restoration of agriculture two deserve special mention. The drying up of normal sources of private credit has compelled the Government of Burma to embark on a large-scale programme of agricultural loans. Before the war a great deal of the agricultural credit was supplied by the Indian money-lenders. They are no longer functioning; they left the country in large numbers in 1942 and are afraid to return under prevailing conditions. The policy of supplying an expanding volume of public credit until the whole needs of the country can be met from this source is an important part of Government's long-term programme. For the current year's crop the total amount so far sanctioned for issue is Rs. 3 crores, about £2,000,000. Admittedly this sum is inadequate to cover the credit needs of the country, but the distribution machinery currently available could handle no more. Compare this sum with the Rs. 5 lakhs or so issued before the war as agricultural loans.

As an inducement to bring additional land under the plough, on Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith's suggestion a subsidy of Rs. 12 per acre has been offered on all land which was fallow in 1945-46 and is planted with paddy in 1946-47. It is estimated that this subsidy will cost Rs. 2½ crores. Wide publicity has been given to this offer, which has been generally well received. So far as stocks and distribution permit, the subsidy will be paid in advance in kind in the shape of agricultural implements, clothing, food, household and other essential commodities. These innovations do not, of course, exhaust the list of measures designed to encourage the farmer.

The official target for paddy cultivation this year is 8½ million acres, an increase of 2 million acres over 1945-46, but still 4 million acres short of the pre-evacuation figure. Whether this will be achieved depends mainly on the psychological reaction of the farmer to the stimuli employed, and also on the maintenance of law and order. On the whole, even in Lower Burma present indications are favourable. In Upper Burma, where there is little crime, there is little or no despondency; high prices have been obtained for the dry crops; the people are resilient and cheerful; money is unusually plentiful, and there is every hope of a return to near normal during the current season.

The tragic world shortage of cereals has induced in other countries a helpful interest in Burma's recovery, and especially in the rehabilitation

of her agriculture, of which there had previously been few signs. In spite of the meagreness of the 1945-46 crop, Burma has been able to assist deficit countries to the tune of some 350,000 tons of rice exports up to the beginning of June. This was made possible by drawing on old stocks of paddy still remaining in the hands of farmers from previous harvests.

#### CATTLE

Not least of the factors militating against the early rehabilitation of agriculture is the shortage of cattle. During the Japanese régime the protection of cattle against the diseases to which they are subject fell sadly into arrears, and this state of affairs was aggravated by the Japanese tendency to slaughter cattle indiscriminately for food, or requisition them for transport. With the liberation of the country, the most important task, falling first to C.A.S.(B.) and ultimately to the Civil Government, was the protection of the much-depleted herds of cattle against the major killing disease—viz., rinderpest.

Satisfactory progress in this task has been made, and it is now believed that the availability of plough cattle will suffice for the current year's crop target.

#### HEALTH

The Japanese interregnum has left behind in Burma a distressing trail of disease and sickness. Smallpox is prevalent throughout the country. Cholera is also capricious, appearing at odd seasons and in odd places. The home of plague has shifted from the dry zone, with Mandalay as its centre, to the Delta. The reason for this is the steady seepage into the Delta of the population of Upper Burma in an endeavour to escape the horrors of war. Dysentery, largely of the bacillary type, has been kept within bounds by the generous use of D.D.T. Malaria has been more than usually aggressive, and there has been a shortage of anti-malaria drugs for suppressive purposes, but the mepacrine position is now improving. Tuberculosis and leprosy are on the increase. Skin diseases, mainly representing a deficiency in oils and with super-added scabies, are still distressingly common. The general food situation resulted in the great majority of people being on the vitamin deficiency line, and there have been many cases of beri-beri. And there has been a marked increase in the incidence of venereal disease.

The medical and public health problems would therefore be quite sufficiently formidable were there available the pre-war facilities for dealing with them, but such is far from being the case. One in every three hospitals throughout the country has been destroyed. Where destruction has occurred recourse has been had to improvised buildings of various kinds—schools, court-houses, monasteries, or mat-and-thatch huts. Such hospitals as escaped complete or partial destruction were thoroughly looted of their equipment and drugs. Had it not been for the assistance given by the Army in drugs and equipment, civil hospitals would have found difficulty in functioning at all, for only one-third of the Y.W.P. stores for the first six months after liberation, the procurement of which was a military responsibility, had been received by April of this year.

To add to the difficulties on the medical side, many of the I.M.S. officers serving in Burma before the evacuation have preferred not to return there, and requests to India for additional I.M.S. officers have been unsuccessful. Additionally, deaths, resignations and the absence of full-scale recruitment have still further depleted the ranks. And the Sub-Assistant-Surgeon cadre is some 140 in defect.

Among the interior staff the most pressing need exists for the humble Indian sweeper. In 1942 sweepers evacuated in large numbers, and only a small proportion has returned. Meanwhile, the Burman has shown himself as unwilling as before the war to handle his own night-soil, and the deficiency in sweepers has led to considerable improvisation in the sanitation field, helped out by the generous use of that truly amazing insecticide D.D.T.

### PUBLIC RELATIONS

Publicity on a much more ambitious scale than was attempted before the evacuation is undertaken by the Public Relations Department.

The activities of the Department include the publication of a Burmese weekly newspaper, with a circulation of 50,000; the publication of a daily newspaper in English, *The New Times of Burma*; broadcasting (at the moment the usefulness of this section is limited by the dearth of radio receivers); films (nearly 2½ million people have seen films during the eight months ending May 31); and district publicity.

The Public Relations Department had few foundations on which to build (unlike more established departments of Government), and has had an uphill task to get going. Despite many difficulties which are still with it—lack of trained personnel, lack of apparatus, lack of finance and the general unsuitability of the lengthy and cumbersome processes of Government to a department which by the very nature of its work must act quickly and fluidly—the department is now beginning to find its feet. It has been accepted by the Burmese public after a period of suspicion (born of Japanese co-prosperity sphere memories) of anything savouring of propaganda; it is being increasingly used by other departments of Government; and from now on it should go from strength to strength.

### PUBLIC WORKS—BUILDINGS

To more than most departments of Government the task of rehabilitation has fallen heavily on the Buildings and Roads Department of the P.W.D. A district survey of Government buildings revealed that destruction was heavy in eleven districts, fairly heavy in eleven, and light in the remaining seventeen. But all undamaged buildings have suffered from complete neglect and the stripping of fittings and furniture. To meet the pressing need for accommodation, a large programme of temporary buildings has been put in hand.

### ROADS

A review of the condition of roads shows that of the all-weather mileage of 7,000, about 30 per cent. require heavy repairs, some 40 per

cent. were severely damaged and the remainder in a neglected state. With the staff and stores available and the acute shortage of transport it was only possible to undertake minor repairs, and to endeavour to arrest serious deterioration resulting from heavy traffic. Although the transport situation is now greatly improved and bitumen is now available, the commencement of a reconditioning programme must await the conclusion of the present monsoon.

#### GENERAL

In singling out the aforementioned departments for review, it should not be assumed that the remaining departments of Government have no tale to tell of difficulties encountered and overcome, or progress made. They have: but a detailed recital of their activities would swell this address to unmanageable proportions.

### III.—LAW AND ORDER

#### GENERAL REVIEW

Few of those who know Burma or are conversant with the history of the pacification of Upper Burma following its annexation in 1886 imagined that the law and order position would be other than a major headache when Civil Government returned. And so it has turned out to be. Violent crime—dacoity, murder and robbery—is estimated to be ten times greater than normal, while the police force attempting to cope with this situation is at an all-time low-level strength in trained officers and men. It would be idle to deny that the situation is grave and, in certain areas, bordering on the desperate; equally idle to hope that the moral degeneration from which that unfortunate country has suffered during four years of enemy occupation will be readily repaired.

#### CAUSES OF CRIME

The underlying causes of this appalling wave of lawlessness are in part economic, in part political and in part the aftermath of war.

The economy of Burma, so largely dependent on agriculture, was completely upset by the Japanese occupation. Deprived of his export markets, the farmer reduced his cultivation to a bare subsistence level, and many of those dependent on agriculture found themselves unemployed, with little to turn to except crime to avoid starvation. Once the Japanese realized the hopelessness of their position in Burma they were not averse from distributing arms and ammunition to the populace, knowing thereby that the liberators would reap an embarrassing harvest. And in this respect enemy efforts were implemented by the activities of various British and American hush-hush military organizations, whose duty it was to supply arms to the anti-Japanese resistance movements. In the result it was estimated that some 50,000 firearms were in the hands of unauthorized persons when Civil Government returned. Over 40,000



weapons and nearly a million rounds of ammunition have been recovered. Without a doubt political unrest has been one of the principal contributory factors to the crime situation. The hard core of the majority of dacoit gangs has been personnel of the Burma National Army or its successor, the Patriotic Burmese Forces.

#### METHODS AND NUMBERS OF DACOITS

In spite of the very creditable figures of illicit weapons recovered, there are still far too many in the hands of the lawless elements. Many of the dacoit gangs are better armed than the police; moreover, they are frequently led by ex-members of the Japanese-sponsored Burma National Army or the Patriotic Burmese Forces, not unskilled in the art of guerilla warfare. Their audacity is unparalleled. They attack towns on main roads, shoot up and loot motor traffic, and dacoit in close proximity to police stations and troop formations. The dice are heavily weighted on their side, for they know every inch of the country, and often slip away under cover of darkness when their job is done, or if they come up against trouble.

They terrorize the countryside, so that information is hard to obtain. Loyal headmen and sympathizers with Government are frequently murdered.

Some estimate of the numbers who have taken to this form of profitable sport may be formed from the fact that there are not less than 20,000 dacoits in prison, who have been convicted or are awaiting trial. The number killed in encounters with the forces of order cannot be less than 1,000.

#### COUNTER-MEASURES

With a police force more than a little untrained and with morale not at its highest, the last open season for crime was a period of fighting back against the dacoit. Only in those districts worst affected has it been possible to concentrate sufficient forces, civil and military, to take offensive action against the larger and better-known dacoit gangs. In every instance such measures have been spectacularly successful.

In all these measures the civil authorities have been able to rely on the fullest co-operation of the military forces. Active and continuous patrolling by troop formations has gone far towards keeping the countryside quiet, and where trouble has broken out on a large scale, reinforcements are immediately available to cope with it.

Nor must the part played by the Burma Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve be overlooked. In addition to patrols maintained throughout the Delta waterways, the recent acquisition of twelve L.C.A.s, on Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith's initiative, has permitted the extension of patrolling to the main river as far as Mandalay, and the effect on the gangs of dacoits infesting the waterways has been most marked. With the improvement in public confidence, convoys of boats are resuming their trade up and down the river, and throughout the Delta.

As a result of all these measures, progress against the crime wave is not inconsiderable. For the police the period has been one of difficulty,

hard work and danger, of alarm as to the future and of fear of political persecution. Government's recent directive has given great assurance to the harassed district official. Some of the improvement is due to the revived spirit of the villagers, with whom the concerted efforts of police, military and naval units have begun to show results. Particularly in the Delta, there has been of late a stiffening of attitude towards dacoits. Headmen and villagers have in many cases offered gallant resistance to dacoits. The distribution of firearms for village defence has also had an excellent effect on morale. Not content with merely beating off attacks, villagers have many times given chase to the dacoits with good results.

#### POLICE

The Civil Government took over the C.A.S.(B.) Police Force as a going concern, and its strength is now 60 per cent. greater than in pre-war days. A heavy programme of reorganization is in hand, and essential equipment is still lacking. Office and residential accommodation for the force is generally inadequate. Training facilities are few. The force is desperately in need of Class I officers. There is a marked lack of reliable public transport and rapid message communications, including wireless telegraphy. These are among the many disadvantages under which the police force is labouring. That they have been able to show such remarkable results in their campaign against lawlessness is therefore all the more creditable.

#### JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The judicial administration of the country is now fully functioning, although the volume of crime, coupled with the shortage of judicial officers, inevitably means delay in the disposal of criminal cases.

### IV.—COMMUNICATIONS

#### GENERAL PICTURE

Members of that small band of "Last Ditchers," who sailed down the Rangoon River on the evening of March 7, 1942, had every reason to be proud of their "denial" handiwork. The river front was aflame from end to end; oil installations were blazing furiously; the river fleets of Government and the Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. were scuttled in their scores; telegraph and telephone exchanges were hidden under a pall of smoke; road transport was set alight; and locomotives and rolling stock were scientifically immobilized. Nor was this organized destruction confined to Rangoon. As the enemy continued his relentless advance through Burma, the same process was repeated. Graves of the river fleet will be found at Prome, Mandalay, Katha and on the Chindwin; telecommunication systems were systematically destroyed; much of the road transport was burnt at Shwegyin on the Chindwin; most of the major road and rail bridges were blown; and little of the rolling stock

left behind for the Jap was serviceable. Burma was verily "scorched earth."

Justification for the policy pursued there is in plenty; and it was continued with ruthless efficiency by the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F. on an ascending scale. Who can doubt that the embarrassment caused to the enemy by battered communications went far to arrest his progress on the threshold of India, and saved that country from the fate which ravaged Burma?

Pride in the devil's work well done is, however, cold comfort when the task of reconstruction commences. A few months ago the Chief Telecommunications Engineer was observed looking sadly at the shell of the Government Telegraph Office in Rangoon and overheard to say bitterly, "I wish our 'denial' operations had not been so damned thorough." And that sentiment goes with the I.W.T., the railways and the ports.

### I.W.T.

Beyond a few pre-evacuation craft which escaped "denial" operations and Allied bombs, the whole of the fleet now being operated by the I.W.T. Board consists of service craft taken over from the military authorities. Many of these are unsuited to commercial operation; in addition, they comprise many and varied types, which involve difficulties in maintenance. Craft ordered from the United Kingdom as part of a costly rehabilitation programme are, however, now beginning to arrive.

Such progress as has been made has been achieved in the face of many difficulties, but the I.W.T. Board can look back to a period of not unsatisfactory development, and there are good grounds for believing that, given freedom from labour and other internal troubles, the task of providing adequate I.W.T. services on regular routes is in sight of accomplishment.

### RANGOON PORT

When the Port Commissioners took over the Rangoon Port from military control on January 1, 1946, they were faced with a formidable programme of work before the Port could begin to function efficiently for the proper reception of ships and custody of cargoes.

Much still remains to be done, but in general the progress made towards complete rehabilitation of the port is ahead of schedule. It says much for the organization of the Rangoon Port that, although hampered by a heavy reconstruction programme, the import traffic dealt with compares favourably with that of a good average pre-war year. Exports are unfortunately a fraction of normal owing to the dislocated economy of the country.

### RAILWAYS

There is little need to repeat here the story of the line as it was when the Civil Administration returned—the burnt-out rolling stock, the derailed and bombed locomotives, the stations reduced to rubble, the track overgrown with weeds where it was not torn up, the signalling system no longer existent, the bridges down, the staff dispersed. The

present brief survey will concentrate on progress achieved, and on difficulties which have been and are being encountered and which delay further achievement.

Before the evacuation the route mileage open to traffic was 2,060; on January 1, 1946, this figure was 800, and by the end of June had risen to 1,200.

During May, 1946, the daily net ton-miles averaged 690,000 as compared with 1,800,000 in 1938-39. In other words, with a little more than one-third the number of locomotives and rather less than one-third the number of wagons the average daily net ton-miles is 38 per cent. that of pre-war.

The progress of rehabilitation of line and services has exceeded expectations, but the delaying effect of the non-receipt of stores from India and the United Kingdom cannot be over-emphasized, and has been the chief handicap against which the railway administration has been labouring.

#### ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT

Earlier in this address has been mentioned the state of the roads of Burma. Since liberation the roads have suffered further deterioration under the combined stress of heavy military traffic and inadequate maintenance facilities. It will be many years before the roads of Burma recover from the neglect occasioned by the Japanese occupation.

Road transport run by private enterprise is confined to passenger buses which survived the Japanese occupation and are now operating on the shoe-lace and string maintenance basis. To handle all forms of Government road transport the Road Transport Board was conceived.

The greater portion of the R.T.B. fleet consists of vehicles taken over from C.A.S.(B.). The majority were in very poor condition, and until the Board have facilities to overhaul these vehicles the distribution of supplies must be seriously curtailed. Latest reports indicate that a large number of these vehicles will have to be scrapped as it would be uneconomical to repair them.

The total arrivals of trucks, etc., from the United Kingdom amounted on May 31, 1946, to 1,391 vehicles, and up to the end of June to 1,500 vehicles, against a total requirement of about 4,500.

Until the arrival of workshop and maintenance equipment from the United Kingdom the Board is operating under great handicaps. The Board plans to establish in Rangoon a large base workshop for the re-conditioning of engines, gear-boxes, axles, chassis, etc., both for R.T.B. and departmental vehicles. In fact, the quantity and quality of equipment ordered for the servicing of vehicles will make the R.T.B. Engineering Department the finest equipped vehicle maintenance organization in the East.

#### POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

The rehabilitation of the Postal Department has made considerable strides and is well ahead of the schedule planned in Simla. This is largely due to the progress made in the provision of transport facilities

for the carriage of mails. Up to date 252 post offices have been opened for the transaction of all normal postal facilities.

On the telecommunications side reconstruction work of an emergency nature has enabled the main telephone trunk lines to be put into operation.

## V.—SUPPLIES

### CIVIL POPULATION

In anticipation of the liberation of Burma, what is known as the Young Working Party produced estimates of the civil population's requirements on a "disease and unrest" basis. The estimates were framed to cover two years from the date of liberation, and were phased into six-monthly periods. Procurement for the first six months was a military responsibility. Liberation day dawned unexpectedly early in May, 1945. Amidst an overall world shortage of supplies, the programme could not be appreciably advanced, and the time lag has never been caught up. Although the period of military responsibility should have ended in November, 1945, the military programme has, in fact, not been completed to date. Thus up to March 31, 1946, out of 88 million yards of sorely needed textiles, only 21 million yards had actually arrived. As regards cooking oil—another commodity of which the country is crucially short—against a requirement of 12,000 tons, arrivals under the military programme have not exceeded one tenth of that amount. It is no exaggeration to say that the non-arrival of Y.W.P. supplies under military responsibility imposed a crippling handicap on the whole supply position from which it has not yet recovered.

The first shipment of supplies under the civil programme arrived ex-United Kingdom on January 19, 1946, and since then the flow has shown a satisfactory improvement.

## VI.—PROJECTS

### POLICY AND PLANNING

Planning for the restoration of Burma's economy commenced in the spring of 1944 in India, when a series of advisory committees was set up to examine the economic problems likely to face the administration on its return. Their reports brought out the necessity of a close measure of control over certain vital industries if the country's economy was to be restored in an expeditious and orderly manner. Arising from these recommendations, it was decided to create a number of Project Boards, each charged with responsibility for the revival of a particular industry. The policy of the Boards was controlled by the Governor: finance was provided by His Majesty's Government. To ensure that vital supplies were ordered well in advance, skeleton boards were set up in India, and these were superseded by regular Boards created in Burma on the return of civil administration. The regular Boards were normally composed of

officials and non-officials in equal numbers, and the non-official element included representatives of British, Burman and Indian commerce skilled in the particular industry concerned.

On Government's return to Burma, six Boards were operating in addition to the Burma Railways Board and the Rangoon Port Commissioners, the two statutory bodies functioning before the evacuation. These were :

Agricultural Projects Board.  
Burma Transport Board.  
Civil Supplies Board.  
I.W.T. Board.  
Road Transport Board.  
Timber Project Board.

In the plans formulated in Simla, it was recognized that on the close of hostilities Government would be faced with prospects of an economy completely disrupted by three and a half years of Japanese occupation, with processing plants largely destroyed, channels of communication broken, exports non-existent, and inter-district trade dead or disorganized.

On the material side, the plans made provision for the bringing in of the necessary processing equipment and spares, transport, personnel and supplies.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS

I do not propose to burden this address with details of the accomplishments of these Boards. I would, however, mention that on the agricultural side the Board concerned has pursued a policy of restricted buying of produce whereby prices have been maintained at a reasonable level: it has also been able to make available for export over a third of a million tons of rice. The Civil Supplies Board has had to face the problems of clearance, storage and distribution of all supplies procured by Government for the civil population. In spite of difficulties too numerous to mention, a swelling stream of foodstuffs, textiles and agricultural implements is now reaching the civil population. In addition, quantities of rice have been moved from surplus areas in Lower Burma to deficit areas in Upper Burma and Tenasserim. Some indication of the magnitude of the Board's operations may be gauged from the fact that in the month of May, 1946, gross sales amounted to Rs. 84 lakhs, or roughly half a million pounds.

The activities of the I.W.T. and Road Transport Boards have been referred to earlier in this address. Together with the railways, their activities are co-ordinated by the Burma Transport Board, charged with the control of the three main forms of transport. So well has this duty been performed that the initial acute overall shortage of transport has now been overcome, and the Board is able to accept all bids made upon it.

The Timber Project employs as agents a consortium of the timber firms operating in Burma before the war. The greater part of the milling capacity of Burma had to be reconstructed before operations could begin, but now a satisfactory output of teak and hardwoods is maintained, mostly to meet the requirements of the civil and military

authorities. The month of June, 1946, marked the heartening sight of the first export of teak to the United Kingdom since 1941.

Progress in the reconstruction of these vital industries has been much hampered by the non-arrival of supplies, by the state of lawlessness prevailing throughout the country and by the poverty of communications. There have been many set-backs and frustrations, and an ever-present need for improvisation. Looking back over the last nine months, however, marked progress has been made towards the goal of the rehabilitation of Burma's economy.

## VII.—CONCLUSION

### THE TASK AHEAD

In case it should be inferred from this report of progress that a spirit of complacency is abroad in Burma, I hasten to correct that impression. There is a truly monumental task ahead of the administration there, and what has been accomplished to date is but a tithe of what remains. Nor has everything gone like clockwork. There have been heart-breaking difficulties and frustrations; supplies have been inadequate in volume; communications still have a long way to go before they touch the pre-war standard; the physical rehabilitation of devastated towns has made no progress except on a mat-and-thatch basis. More than anything else, the grave state of insecurity throughout the country is impeding reconstruction. Nor does the political situation encourage any feeling of complacency: the political backing behind the recent police strikes is but one of the symptoms of the fever from which the body politic is suffering. And the resignation of the Executive Council has created a first-class political crisis.

Many of you here to-day have given the best years of your lives to that attractive country Burma, even as I have done. Remembering the fair and smiling land it used to be, you will all the more easily appreciate the immensity of the tasks which lie ahead. In truth, they are enough to appal the stoutest heart, and I feel sure you would wish to join me in extending to Sir Hubert Rance and his officers every good wish for the future, in the confidence that their efforts will soon restore prosperity to that once-fertile land.

Colonel HODGKINSON: I have been home quite a long time on leave from Burma; all I can do is to endorse what Mr. Hughes has said. To put it bluntly, Burma has "taken a packet." When a country has had two invasions right across it, the task of reconstruction is by no means easy. I was in Burma in the days when it was a grand country; those who have not been there since the war can hardly realize present conditions there. Pictures of "blitzed" Germany we often see, but we see very few of Burma. I have been concerned with films and photography in Burma and it has been exceedingly difficult to get personnel and

equipment for that purpose, but I hope before long people in Great Britain will have an opportunity of seeing pictures depicting the state of the country and showing what is being done, for, in the words of a Chinese proverb, one picture is worth 10,000 words. The pictures will give a truer idea than words of Burma as it is to-day, and it is to be hoped that the illustrated papers will publish more of the pictures than they have up to date. Burma is a distant country and tends to be crowded out. My second-in-command until the beginning of 1946 was Major Lawrence, who is now back at his old job and is concerned with the circulation of the *Daily Express*. When I came to England I went to see him, and he said it was no good trying to push across pictures of Burma, that people had forgotten Burma and that there were now more important problems. Personally I do not believe that to be true. It is all a matter of the way in which things are presented. If our publicity to the people of this country is along the right lines we shall have no difficulty in showing them conditions in Burma and interesting them in the country and thus reviving their interest. That interest exists was amply proved when about eighteen months ago I was sent to England by the Supreme Commander, Lord Louis Mountbatten, with a film of Burma with a view to arousing the interest of the people at home. The Ministry of Information, for whom I was working at the time, said I had no hope of succeeding; that the war in Europe was the main concern, D Day having recently occurred. We proved that to be completely wrong; we found that interest in South-East Asia was then very intense indeed. And it was not only the war in South-East Asia in which we tried to interest people; we wanted to arouse their interest in Burma and its people, and to help them to realize what our task was; that we were engaged not merely in driving the Japs out of Burma, but that we were responsible also for rehabilitating the country. To begin with, the Ministry of Information sent me to small halls in small country towns, and we found that so great was the interest that people were unable to get in; the halls were completely crowded out. Finally, the Ministry of Information had to send us to bigger halls. Mr. Stevenson was with me on two occasions, once in Cardiff and on another occasion in Hull. The audiences were enormous; the biggest was one of 3,500. That proves that interest in these outlying countries in which Great Britain has a responsibility does exist among the people of this country. As I said before, it is a matter of the way in which the information is presented; that is an important point.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to ask the lecturer what has happened to the Burma Military Police, of which General Sir Dashwood Strettell, who is with us to-day, was once such a distinguished promoter.

Mr. HUGHES: The Burma Military Police have, I am afraid, disappeared. There are now two bodies—one which calls itself the Armed Police, which is an armed branch of the Civil Police; the other is the Frontier Force, which does, to a large extent, perform the same duties as the Burma Military Police used to carry out on the frontier.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: I think the lecturer said that of 7,000 miles of road 40 per cent. had been destroyed. Will he forgive me for



pointing out that in addition a vast number of military roads have been built across from India into Burma, which roads will contribute to the value of Burma's road communications? I lived in Burma for many years and I know the frightful lack of roads there then was; there were then practically no road communications. The roads which have been constructed, possibly in impossible places, will lead to the future development of those districts to an important extent. People will gain a wrong impression if they think that 40 per cent. of the roads have been destroyed.

There is another small point which is rather of a military than a civilian character. I am told that there was a certain lack of foresight in the re-equipping of the ports. I understand that in Singapore there have been an enormous number of cranes delivered, but that when the Burma Government entered the market to try to buy cranes for their own ports they were told that they were much too late in the day; that Singapore was being supplied, and until those orders were completed it was impossible for the manufacturers in England to accept further orders. I do not want to fasten the responsibility for that on anybody or any department, but there was apparently a certain lack of military or civil foresight in re-equipping the Burma ports, and obviously Burma cannot exist and progress until her ports are in order.

I hope my remarks will not be regarded as critical. Having lived in Burma in earlier days and having spent some most uncomfortable times there during the recent war, I know the magnitude of the problem facing any Government in Burma.

The LECTURER: Group-Captain Smallwood has mentioned the military roads constructed during the war. They were built to help the retreat during 1942 and the return in 1945; naturally they have considerable value from the military point of view. From the civil point of view I am sorry to say those roads are practically worthless. The Imphal-Kalewa road is of no commercial use, and the question whether that road is to be maintained as part of the Imperial Defence policy is still under consideration. In regard to the Ledo road, down which General Stilwell advanced in 1944, that has already been abandoned. Apart from those two roads I cannot remember, offhand, the military constructing any other major road in Burma, so that the country is pretty well back to its pre-war system of road communications.

As to the cranes for the Rangoon port, I have not been very well in on the supply position. It may be that Singapore has stolen a march on Rangoon. If so, it is positively iniquitous, because Singapore is not nearly so destroyed as Rangoon. But the fact that the port of Rangoon is actually handling in imports rather more now than it ever handled before the war shows that, at any rate, it is not the lack of cranes which is preventing further progress.

Brigadier-General S. WESTON: I was in Rangoon just before the Japanese surrendered and in Singapore just after they surrendered. In Singapore, in one single day, Japanese currency which had been issued all over the Far East simply vanished, and the effects were spectacular. What were the effects when that happened in Rangoon?

The LECTURER: I think the policy pursued in Rangoon and Malaya was the same: that all Japanese currency was repudiated; it was declared worthless and so no value was attached to it at all. Those who suffered most as a result were not the inhabitants of the towns because, to some extent, they had warning of our intentions. They went out into the outlying districts and unloaded all the Japanese notes on the wretched cultivator and the farmer; they bought cattle, agricultural implements and anything the farmers would sell them, and paid very good prices in completely worthless money.

Mr. LYTTON ANDERSON: How is the Public Works Department in Burma being staffed in these days? It was completely in Burmese hands before the war. Are the Mokpalin quarries working and are the canals operating?

The LECTURER: As to the staff for the Public Works Department, efforts were made to recruit a European staff not only for the Public Works Department but also for the various other departments of Government, but we are still under the rather tight control of the Treasury. We found the terms we were offering, with the approval of the Treasury, were not sufficiently attractive to produce European recruits of a good standard. That applies not only to the Public Works Department but also to the veterinary, the medical and various other departments of Government. People will not go out to war-devastated countries where they have to take off their coats and do a pretty strenuous job of work unless they are well paid; and we are not offering them enough.

As to the quarry, Mokpalin is in an area which was in the hands of the Japanese until quite a late stage of the war; it was also the centre of a great deal of disturbance. Therefore the rehabilitation of the quarry has not been as rapid as we might have wished. In addition—a very important point—the bridge over the Sittang was blown up in 1942 and is still down, so that every piece of stone has to be ferried across the Sittang.

As to the canals, in Mandalay and Shwebo they are functioning almost 100 per cent. I think the official figure for last year's cultivated area was 86 per cent. of the total area; this year we hope to put the figure up to 100 per cent.

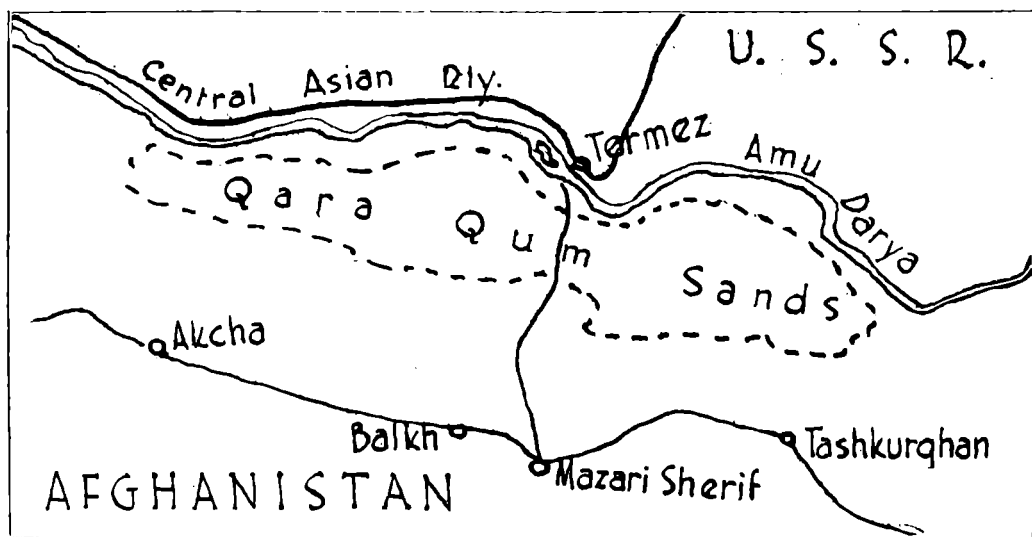
The CHAIRMAN: This summer the Society has had two outstanding lectures on the subject of Burma—one upon the war there by Sir William Slim, the other on the aftermath of war by our lecturer this afternoon. I do not think any of us, and perhaps not the public at large, have realized the task before those concerned with the rehabilitation of Burma, nor is it generally known what real progress has already been made. I am sure we all echo the lecturer's wish that success may attend the efforts of Sir Hubert Rance and his officers. Finally, I would like on your behalf to return our most sincere and grateful thanks for what has been not only a most informative but a very interesting and comprehensive lecture.

## A TRIP TO THE OXUS

By H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE

**W**HILE in Afghanistan last summer, on a round trip through the country, I was fortunate enough to get permission to visit the Oxus from Mazar-i-Sherif, capital of Afghan Turkestan. This was by no means easy, for, as the late Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* will testify, all kinds of obstacles are usually put in the way of the would-be traveller to that famous river, which for a long distance is also the frontier with the U.S.S.R.

The Governor of the province, the *Naib i Hukumat*, H.E. Gul Ahmed Khan, categorically forbade me to proceed there, and it was only by apply-



ing directly by telephone to the Prime Minister, H.R.H. Sirdar Mahmud Shah Khan, in Kabul that I got that decision reversed.

We started out, six of us—two *maimandaran* (foreigners' escorts), one policeman, a driver, a caterer and myself—in the 15-cwt. front-wheel-drive Dodge truck I was driving, on August 17. It was a very fine, cloudless day, luckily not too hot, as it can be very often in summer in this desolate part of the world.

We drove away from the Government rest-house where I was staying, down Mazar's ill-metalled central street, turned left where the bazaars begin, passed the *Roza*, or Ali's tile-covered modern mosque, and were soon outside the built-up area, moving over an extremely rough, white and dusty track, through desert bushes and coarse grass, heading north towards the low-lying horizon of the flat Turkestan plain. We bumped along, regardless of the discomfort, all of us, Afghans included, enraptured with the idea that we were really going to see the Oxus.

I kept an eye on the mileage meter. It was the only way to discover what the distance was, as the map could not be relied on. It looked like thirty miles, but it turned out to be fifty. There were, first, twenty-eight

miles of rough, hard track. It was a bit monotonous, although not difficult to find the way, as, except for a few alternative routes, there was only one to follow. We passed many mounds and the remains of ruined cities, mostly deserted, but some partly inhabited by wandering Uzbeks and Turkomans, whom we stopped to make sure of the correctness of our direction. They were dressed in loose cotton *chapans* or long coats, and, on their heads, in spite of the summer heat, great sheepskin caps, grey at the crown and black all round. They gaped at us out of their round Mongolian faces, unable to understand the Persian in which we addressed them. Occasionally we passed a patrol of two Afghan soldiers riding sturdy, white, local horses, smartly turned out in their khaki uniforms, with their rifles tucked under one thigh against the saddle. They saluted us as if they had been warned of our coming.

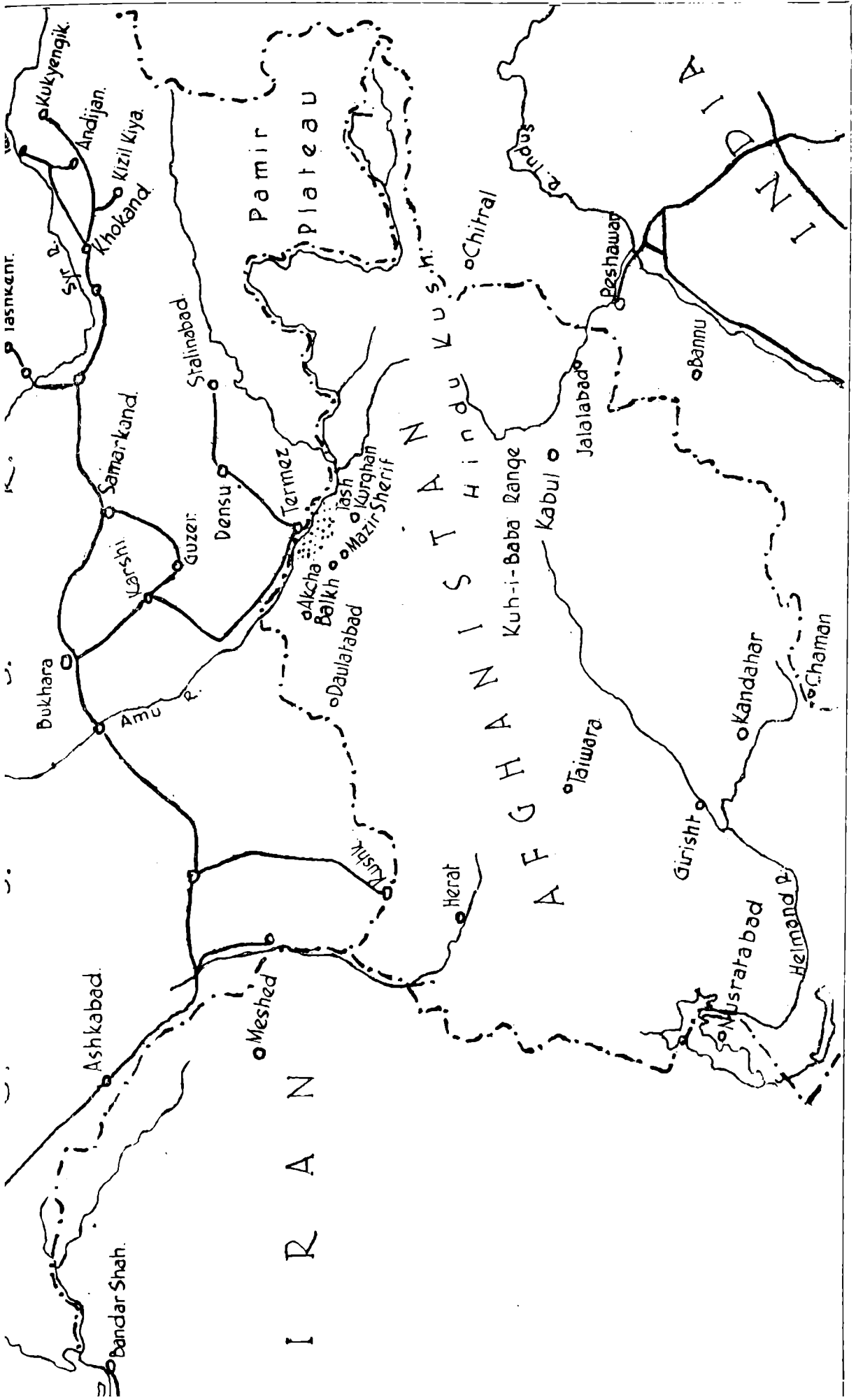
After two hours we reached a fortlike building on our right—*Askar Khanah*. Sand dunes were visible beyond, and I realized we had reached the difficult part of our trip—the Kara Kum desert's extreme easterly jutting-out tongue. The rough track took us up to the door of the fort, and a sentry in cavalry high boots and spurs raised his hand for us to stop.

The Afghans with me motioned him to come over to us, and after a short, shouted colloquy he was told to get into the car to show us the way onwards through the trackless sands. This he did, and we started off again, seven of us now in the truck.

There followed twelve miles of moderately undulating country. The dunes were never higher than about 80 feet, but some of them were so steep that I was obliged to get out and reconnoitre a way round them with the aid of all my passengers. It amused the latter immensely to be thus travelling over usually impassable ground, and their chattering and laughter was quite deafening. My Afghan driver, whom I thought I was well inspired not to let drive after we had got over a particularly difficult dune which we had slid down sideways three times in repeatedly unsuccessful attempts to get over before finding a passage round it, exclaimed with great gusto: "This isn't a car; this is a theatre!" Obviously they were all having a wonderful time.

We had nearly got to the end of the dunes when a police officer and two soldiers, all mounted, appeared in front of us, the soldiers each leading a saddled and bridled horse. We stopped, and they told us they had been ordered to come and help us through the sand belt. They seemed extremely surprised we had managed to get through in a car, and said it had never been done before. On hearing from them that we were not far from our destination, I climbed a dune and, sure enough, there was the historic river, broad and shining in the midday sun, wending its way through the desert, its banks affording green and fertile relief for a few hundred yards right and left. On the other side of it, in the distance, a town with smoking factory chimneys was to be seen—Termez in Soviet Russia. I felt elated at the sight and also with the feeling that I had succeeded where so many others had failed.

The police officer galloped off ahead, saying he would show us the way to the Afghan frontier post. We followed leisurely in his tracks,



Pamir Plateau

HINDU KUSH

AFGHANISTAN

INDIA

IRAN

Bandar Shah.

Ashkabad.

Meshed

Herat

Tajikara

Girisht

Kandahar

Chaman

Musratabad

Helmand R.

Kabul

Jalalabad

Bannu

Peshawar

Chitral

Termez

Alkha

Balkh

Daulatabad

Jash

Kurghan

Mazir Sherif

Stalinabad.

Densu

Guzeri

Samarkand

Vashchi

Bukhara

Amu R.

Ismkent.

Syr D.

Khokand

Andijan.

Kukyengik.

Kizil Kiya.

Indus

watching him and his mount getting hotter and hotter through their exertions. In another couple of miles we had reached the belt of vegetation and turned left parallel with the river. Here our guide met a patrol of his men and, beckoning to them, exchanged his steed for one of theirs. He galloped on in this manner for another ten miles. We passed meadows in which cows and horses were grazing, small clumps of mud houses whose inhabitants ran away and hid at the unfamiliar sight of our car, groups of trees and narrow lanes whose drainage ditches were bridged in a primitive way with boulders and logs. Finally, we reached Tash Guzer, and our police officer dismounted, sweating and panting, from a white mare which was practically exhausted.

This place was no village of any size. There were only five buildings—a tower, from the top of which a sentry watched the Soviet border, and four reed-and-mud houses comprising the Customs and police offices and their occupants' dwellings. The officer called out the guard of five men, got them to present arms, and himself stood at the salute, perspiration pouring down his red, congested face. I noticed he had an English whistle dangling from his left breast-pocket engraved with the trade mark *The Thunderer*. The Customs official, in European plain clothes and an Afghan fur cap, came and shook hands, and, leaving the car in the shade of a tree, we all went along to the river edge.

The path leading there was a narrow little lane between high reeds growing in the marshy, damp bank. At the end of it the Oxus, a quarter of a mile wide, yellow, swift-flowing, its waters full of drifting refuse, separated us from Russia's Central Asian possessions we could see opposite. That other side was barren and deserted except for a tower similar to the Afghan police one, and in which no doubt some member of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic's armed forces kept a lookout. Not a soul was to be seen.

Upstream the smoke of Termez's factories caused one of my *maimandars* to expostulate indignantly against what he called the backwardness of his own country, when, as he put it: "Over there, there are progress, industry and railways."

These remarks were characteristic of the present trend of opinion in Afghanistan, a reawakening of ex-King Amanullah's spirit of reform which may well bring about many changes in the near future.

I enquired about crossing, and heard that travellers arriving or leaving Afghanistan by the Russian train opposite were taken over in small rowboats. No regular ferry service existed and contacts over the border were discouraged. The last arrival this way had been the first secretary of the U.S.A. Legation in Kabul, Mr. Patterson, who had come from the American Embassy in Moscow by rail, over Samarkand and Bokhara last May. He had reached Mazar-i-Sherif by *tonga* through the sand dunes and by car from Askar Khanah onwards. The rowboat had made several trips all day to get his luggage over, a laborious proceeding, as the river's current made it necessary to land each time far downstream.

After scribbling my name and the date on the walls of the Custom house in seven different languages (Greek, Danish, English, French, Russian, German and Italian) in order to perpetuate the memory of this

first reaching of the Oxus at Tash Guzer by car, we ate a cold lunch in the police officer's room and immediately after took our departure.

We got back quite easily, the trip this time made less difficult by our previous experience and by the fact that we could follow our own wheel tracks through the sand. Some fifteen miles before Mazar we stopped to inspect a curious tower built of stone and encased in huge unbaked bricks; we had noticed it in the morning, but had left it for our return. Unknown and unrecorded by archæologists, I should say it was an ancient Zoroastrian fire temple modified by some Moslem architect. Known as the *Tower of the Middle* by the local inhabitants, it is used now as a police outpost; we found it garrisoned by three armed but un-uniformed *askaris*.

All this region, which was formerly the Bactria of the classical authors, is little known and partly unexplored. In conclusion, I can only express the wish that the Afghan Government may gradually relax the strict regulations which make it so difficult to travel in this part of the country at the present time. By thus enabling us to widen our geographical and historical knowledge of so interesting an area, Afghanistan would certainly be rendering a very great service to everyone concerned.

# MY VISIT TO THE PERSIAN OILFIELDS

By J. H. JONES, J.P., M.P.

Lecture given on October 23, 1946, Captain E. H. O. Elkington, M.C., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: Mr. Jack Jones has come to speak to us of his visit to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in South Persia in June, 1946. He was a member of a delegation sent out by H.M. Government, as a result of a certain amount of political agitation and consequent labour unrest in Persia, to enquire into the situation generally and to proffer the company such advice and assistance as the delegation was able to give in connection with the company's plans for the betterment of the welfare of its employees. Mr. Jones was a very happy choice. He is no stranger to the East; he served in the Imperial Camel Corps with Lawrence of Arabia during the 1914-18 war. He has been connected with the steel industry all his life, and is a trades unionist of knowledge and experience. He is thus well equipped to examine the complexities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's vast undertaking from all angles. I may add that during the recent war Mr. Jones was selected by H.M. Government to represent the war workers of Great Britain on a mission to the United States of America, and he has since been on similar missions to Austria, Hungary and Germany, so that we can look forward to a most interesting and instructive lecture.

I WANT to say at the outset how happy I am to be here. It is the first time I have had the opportunity of speaking to a Society such as yours. I do not claim to be a well-informed person as a result of having read a number of books: I had not the opportunity to go to the University, but I have tried with my limited knowledge to assess what is the position in the various countries I have visited. My intention this afternoon is to tell you in a forthright blunt Lancashire manner exactly what I saw, what I thought about it and what, in my opinion, should be done to put right the things I believe to be wrong and to improve some of those which were fairly good.

The visit to Persia was undertaken at exceedingly short notice. Members of Parliament are used, not altogether to doing as they are told, but they oblige by doing what they are asked. Late one Thursday night the Chief Whip of the House beckoned to me and told me I was to go to Persia. I thought he said Perthshire and thought to myself: A trip to Scotland; I will be able to do a spot of fishing. I was soon disillusioned, for when I asked what I was to do in Perthshire he said: "Not Perthshire, Persia, and you are to go on Sunday. The Foreign Office will tell you what it is they want you to do." The three members of the delegation went to the Foreign Office and we were told that our job was to proceed at once to Persia and to investigate, as far as possible, the troubles that were at that time prevalent in the oilfields which are in the possession and under the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Chairman has said that I was a happy choice; I do not know. I am bound to say I had two very fine colleagues on the trip, and although some of us are often inclined to assume that our political opposites are bad, I found myself in excellent company in the presence of Mr. Cuthbert,



the Member for Rye, Sussex, who happens to be an ardent Conservative; just as ardent an opponent of mine as I am of his. He proved to be an excellent colleague. Mr. Cuthbert had been in Persia as a banker for many years and knew a good deal about the practice of bankers in that part of the world. My other colleague was Mr. Lee, an ordinary Back Bencher like myself and, also like myself, he had been in industry all his life, knowing quite a lot about the engineering structure as regards the operation of a trade union in a large factory. He was the Shop Convener in the Metropolitan Vickers Works, Trafford Park, Manchester, where there are some 23,000 to 25,000 employees, and he knew how a huge undertaking should be run, looking at it from the trade unionist point of view, which is entirely different from looking at it from the point of view of the owner and controller.

We left England early on a Monday morning and found ourselves in Basra by teatime on the Tuesday afternoon. We had very short notice and the trip was a very quick one: Thursday night at the House of Commons; home to the North of England to attend to all the usual arrangements one has to make on such occasions. I possess a wife and six children, five of whom I am happy to say have returned to us from the Forces. Therefore I had some domestic arrangements to alter. But I found myself in Basra on Tuesday at four o'clock and I was in the home of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's manager, Mr. Ivor Jones, at Abadan at eight o'clock that night. I want it to be distinctly understood that I stayed with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's manager because of the lack of housing, not because of any sympathy for any particular manager or company. I went to Persia along with my colleagues to take a look at the undertaking in an honest way, with the intention not of seeing merely exactly what the company would have us see nor exactly what the trade union element or the workmen would have us see, but to see as much as possible of both sides of the picture so as to get full knowledge of the position there.

I am bound to say that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is a company larger than I had ever dreamed of seeing, from the point of view of technical equipment and size; it is a huge undertaking and its activities are not, in my opinion, widely enough known in Great Britain. I was amazed at the vastness of its undertakings. I have had the privilege of reading the company's balance sheet for 1945; it does not talk of tens of thousands of pounds but in the region of 95 million pounds. It is at the moment a company in which British taxpayers have the greatest holding, from the point of view of foreign assets. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is at the moment, to H.M. Government, from the financial point of view at all events, its best foreign asset. Therefore the taxpayers of Great Britain are involved in that regard. The company's primary objective, of course, is to get oil, and they get quite a lot of it. In the year 1945 the company produced in the Persian oilfields 16,937,430 tons of oil—nearly 17,000,000 tons. There are, I understand, 260 gallons in a ton of oil. In passing, I remind you that oil is as vital to the economic recovery of Great Britain as coal or steel or any other of our basic raw materials. Therefore it is vitally important that a continuous steady flow of oil, and

under conditions which H.M. Government and the taxpayers also approve, shall continue to come from that country.

There is trouble in Persia just as there has been in Great Britain. What is happening under the palm trees in Persia is happening because of the same fundamental causes that gave rise to what happened under the oak trees here sixty or eighty years ago; in other words, the economic needs of the native population are exactly the same as the economic needs of this or any other population: they need houses, clothes, food, regular work and hours of employment, and so on. I am bound to say that I found the needs of the employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company being pressed, in my view, in rather a peculiar way upon the company. I am not here to speak for or against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. It has its virtues and it most certainly has its faults. Their primary objective is getting oil, and I can say that the company's technical equipment and the technical efficiency of those who have gone out with the company to get oil are of the best. But I am not quite so sure about the minds of those people from the point of view of dealing out what I would call 100 per cent. social justice to those employed in getting the oil. That is a different story. That, of course, is brought about by evolution. There is no country in the world—I am talking to an audience who must have covered every country in the world—where if you advance technical knowledge you do not at the same time inculcate into the minds of the persons receiving that knowledge a desire for something better than they have hitherto enjoyed. I think it is agreed generally that it is a physical and mental impossibility to train either a Persian, a Hindu, a Chinese or any other person into a better standard of technical knowledge and not at the same time inculcate into the mind of that person a desire for something better socially. It was that desire for something better, backed up by circumstances which I shall relate, which brought about trouble in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's fields.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company employ a great number of people, who like us have had six and a half years of war. There were in Persia three occupying Forces—the Russians, the Americans and the British. They in turn brought to the Persian a tremendous amount of employment other than technical employment. The Chairman referred to the fact that in the 1914-18 war I spent a good deal of time in Egypt, Sinai and on into Palestine, Gallipoli and so on, and there I tried as a youth to study the way of life of the Druses, the Ruwallas, the Bedouin and the various tribesmen of the East. I learned to speak, rather badly, colloquial Arabic. I have always been interested in the problems of the East and therefore I was interested in trying to find out the cause of the trouble. We were taken round the technical installations, in the first instance, by the company—the usual thing; very usual even in this country of ours. It is usual for managements to show what they want visitors to see, but I am one of those inquisitive people who get lost occasionally on these conducted tours and try to find out some of the things that the company would not have me see. With my limited Arabic I was able to contact much of the labour element and to see and hear what was not for the seeing and hearing if the company had been able to direct the policy.

But there it was. We were taken round the technical installations and taken to visit the outlying areas from which the oil is pumped. In passing, I want to pay my tribute publicly to those gallant people who throughout six and a half years of war stayed out in those remote stations, seeing to it that oil was produced, so that our Navy and Air Forces could do their jobs and, in turn, make it possible for you and me to be here this afternoon. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's task has not been an easy one, particularly in the remote areas. They did a great job of work during the war and are still doing it under pretty strenuous circumstances, particularly at this very moment.

The company, of course, was anxious that we should see the installations, and I want to make a very strong point that whereas in this country industry confines itself to its industrial obligations and to those alone, out in Persia the obligations of the company have grown and grown until to-day the company finds itself responsible for, or is alleged to be the cause of, even a small sore on the face of a child living out in the villages in and around the company's reserves. It is true to say that because of the system that has grown up the Persian now believes in his heart and with sincerity that everything to do with his whole economy should be looked after by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company if he is an employee, or indeed if he is a relation of an employee of the company. The Chairman knows that to be true.

In Persia we had three occupying Forces who employed a tremendous number of the people and during the war the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company more than doubled its output of oil; it nearly trebled its employees. There, just as in Great Britain, housing, hospital accommodation, schools, electrical supplies and water supplies and all that goes to meet the social needs of a community came to a standstill from the point of view of major development. That is important to bear in mind. The occupying Forces left the country; they had employed Persians at fairly high rates of pay, the Americans in particular, and I say so definitely, at too high a rate of pay. It is on record that personnel of the American Forces sat outside the employment offices of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and in their way and style encouraged particular men to take service with the occupying Forces at a rate of pay much higher than the company were paying their employees, which, in turn, was much higher than the average rate paid by private enterprise in Persia, taking Persia as a whole. There we found the picture of a tremendous influx of new labour not only during the war but immediately on the closing down of the war; not only those seeking employment but their retinue of friends and relations coming in on to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's reserves looking for work and demanding certain conditions.

You may ask what that has to do with Members of Parliament. Well, the influx of this huge amount of labour plus the influx of a certain number of ideologists from the north created a position which forced H.M. Government to sit up and take notice. I have a fairly broad mind; I am not a Left Wing politician by any means. As a matter of fact, I do not claim to be a professional politician at all. I am definitely certain of one thing, and that is that the ideology of the Com-

munists emanating from Teheran and from further north has definitely been brought into being in and around the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, inside its works, and has been exploited to the full to create discontent and demands which, of course, had to be met. The employees of the company never knew what it was to be members of a trade union. Like all tribesmen, they took work either to help their original people who went out and received a little bit of baksheesh to do it, or for some other method of payment, but they had never known themselves banded together in some organization which could, in turn, do the necessary bartering with the firm or enter into consultation with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company from the point of view of establishing rates of pay and so on. Very naturally. With the spread of Communistic literature, Communistic ideology and all the things we find now coming from Russia, the ignorant, if I may say so, the semi-literate Persian workers—I am speaking generally, of course, not of the advanced Persian thinker but of the masses who came in from the hills and the desert and from under the palm trees—began to listen to this ideology that was being spread amongst them, and for four years, up to June, 1945, they organized themselves in an underground way into some sort of trade union entity. They never made that public knowledge. I believe the company had suspicions that something was going on somewhere, but they never came out into the open and made open demands upon the company. For four years some 51,000 people banded themselves together in an underground way and took into their ranks persons with definite Communistic ideology as their leaders. That is all-important. On May Day in 1945 the union decided to come out into the open, and they paraded in Abadan 81,000 strong; 81,000 people who are intent on serious business is an industrial force to be reckoned with, even if only numerically. But they had in addition to numerical strength become possessed of knowledge which they thought of advantage to them—that is, the knowledge spread amongst them from the north and from Russia itself. The company were faced with pretty serious demands. The same demands were made upon the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as were made upon companies in Great Britain: better housing; refrigerators, lighting, water cooling; better wages, and at once; better rations, better types of foodstuffs and so on, immediately and no waiting. Those were the sort of demands made on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and I say in the presence of members of the company that it was my candid belief, and still is, that because of the fact that technically minded people had gone out to Persia to the areas I have mentioned, technically minded persons only, the company found itself without the type of mind to deal with these demands being made upon it. It is one thing to have a technical mind; it is an entirely different thing to have that human type of mind which enables one to deal with social evils that emanate from technical advances in any part of the world. It is my candid belief, and I give it in all sincerity, that the company found itself without trained socially-minded personnel able to meet the demands suddenly made upon it by this huge organization of workers. There was bound to be a clash. Force meeting force always means a clash, and the company of course, to some extent, gave way to the demands. I felt from what I could see of

the evidence submitted to us that the company had made an effort to be reasonably fair. They had given increased wages; they had, so far as possible having regard to world food supplies from which we were all suffering a shortage, given rather better rations and so on; but it is my opinion that having done those things they did not continue to apply the type of thing that I am going to mention.

The trade union we met apart from the company. The trade union leaders were definitely Communist-minded people, but they were able to put before the delegation a fairly strong case as to why there was need for the institution of collective bargaining as between themselves and the company. I have here the file of reports and I have the report which I wrote within half an hour of leaving the conference with the trade union leaders. I had time to write that report, and it contains all sorts of allegations against the company which prompted the men to form themselves into an entity and to call that a trade union. Exactly the same has happened in our country. We, too, hear of the bad foreman who struck an employee; the individual who, it was alleged, was receiving graft at the expense of the rest of the men in the department, and so on. My firm conviction is that, having met the union, the company did not immediately follow up what I thought would have been advantageous to themselves and mutually advantageous to their workpeople, and that was to set up at once a department to deal with things other than those technical. It is highly important that there should be a department set up by the company, with specialized knowledge inside it, to deal with all matters affecting housing, hospital treatment, roadways, electricity, water and all the things that go to make up the economic life of people of that type. I am not alleging that the company have not done a great deal of good work. The company, as I have said, has taken upon itself tremendous obligations. Those responsible for running the company have become the technical masters in the place and they have become the persons, in the main, responsible for the good government of the people. That is a big job. I saw queues of people waiting for their rations, huge queues of sick people, some who were not so sick, some who were believing that someone else was having a day off because he was not so well, therefore "I may be not so well and also have a day off." I found, on questioning a man, that he was suffering from nothing at all; he just had a desire to be in company with one who was sick and was taking a day off and being paid for it. You will find that amongst people who are not so concerned with their obligations to their employer as we are in this country. I saw a host of people who complained bitterly about their rations, and I see a host of people who are doing the same in this country, even in my own constituency. I saw in Persia young persons who were adept at picking up technical knowledge. I say without my tongue in my cheek, that I have yet to see a nation of young people who are so adept at doing that as the Persians. It is amazing. I suggest to our young fellows who have not been abroad that they should go and see what the young Persians of fourteen and eighteen years of age are doing. We saw the schools, the workshops, the hospitals and so on. The company have done an enormous job. In Abadan I saw one of the finest technical colleges it has ever been my lot

to see; I also saw some fine sports fields owned and controlled by the company; also well-conducted stores owned and controlled by the company. I saw roads, forty-seven miles of them in Abadan, electrical installations, water and so on, far beyond anything one would have seen in that area, in my opinion, had it been left to the Persians themselves to develop. Having said that, one could say, and I think the company readily agreed, that there is still a tremendous leeway to make up. We saw plans being prepared for a new hospital exactly on the same principle and lay-out as our own Guy's Hospital in London; plans for new schools; and there were actually being built quite a host of good houses. But there is the need of the people, the urgent need for these things overnight, and it cannot be met at once.

Perhaps I might say a word or two about how we found the Government of the country. It was my experience to visit the local Persian in charge of the gendarmerie; we visited the official installed as the Chief of Police, but in no case in any one place in the whole of our visiting did I find anybody with any real authority. That is an alarming situation. We found some 80,000 employees of a company ready for mischief because, after all, despite the fact that the Persian is technically minded, at heart he is still a Persian tribesman, he is still very close to being what he originated from, and it does not take long, as far as I could see, judging by their gesticulations and the heat engendered in two or three minutes, for a Persian to forget he is at a conference with an M.P. or M.P.s and Management and be ready to draw his knife. They work themselves up into a frenzy of indignation in two or three minutes. That is the difference between the stolid Britisher and people in the Middle East. And the Persians are very lacking in knowledge of constitutional procedure as between employer and employee, which is to be regretted. Time alone will remedy that. But we also found a tremendous desire on the part of the company to try to meet these demands. I am bound to say that the type of man promoting this huge gathering together of so-called trade unionists, was a type of man quite different from the men we possess as leaders of the trade unionist movement in this country. That is one of the major reasons for trouble in Persia. Some of those present are sure to know more about the past history of the Persian Government than I am. The people have lived under all forms of exploitation. It was my candid opinion when I left Persia that he who could corrupt most and grab most appeared to be the most successful politician in that country. One would get answers from those in responsible positions which were far from being satisfactory from the point of view of their having an interest in their people. I saw a tremendous cleavage between the people who were assumed to have authority and the rank and file of the Persian population doing the work they were called upon to do. I have heard talk in this country of "class distinction," two words which should be forever swept out of the dictionary as far as we in Great Britain are concerned. If there is such a thing as class distinction we found it in places of that sort; there was a real disregard by the Persian at the head of affairs for the poor population doing the work down on the working-class level.

The company were then making progress. Consultations were taking place between the men and the management; certain concessions had been made; the company, from what we could gather from the trade union leaders, appeared to be going the right way to bring about wholesome respect for one another. But then came events which rather upset the machine. The Persian Government appeared to me to begin to feel that what they considered was their authority and their rights might be infringed. I understand an edict went forth from the Persian Government that no further consultations of the type taking place should be held between the union and the management and that they, the Government, would determine what the rates of pay would be. They clamped down, and arising from that edict that no further negotiations should take place there was serious trouble and some 45 men lost their lives; their heads were carted around on poles, and some 175 people were injured in the rioting that took place a fortnight after we left the country.

I have said that oil is vital to the British nation, and to get it we have to have a peaceful state in Persia. That is not an easy matter. It does not need me to tell an audience such as this that the world at the moment is grievously disquieted; there is unrest, suspicion, desire for advantage to be taken in the world's markets and so on, emanating from the Russians and probably, to some extent, from the Americans, and in regard to oil from both America and Russia. Therefore it is a big job to bring about a relationship between the employees of the company and the company itself without impinging or encroaching upon the rights of that Government which, after all, is a foreign Government, and we are bound to remember we are getting oil under a foreign concession. But I believe we can succeed. I believe, as I have already said, that the Persian is quick to learn; he is an extraordinarily adept person at learning things technical. I was amazed to see boys of fifteen doing arithmetic in English, writing English, working out sums in English and using micrometers, callipers and all the tools we use in this country, and doing an exceedingly good job of practical work in the workshops. I am a workman and not a politician; therefore I can judge a job of work when I see one, particularly an engineering job. But it is no earthly use either the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company or anybody else expecting a youth to learn to make beautiful divans and chairs for European use in a well-constructed house and at the same time not to expect those youths to want one day to sit on those divans and use those chairs. That is something that faces not only the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company but also H.M. Government here.

I believe the Persian is prepared to follow our way of life. I believe that most in the East are prepared to follow our way and Constitution, provided that they can be presented with the opportunity of learning our way of life and the Constitution. Probably I am going to say something that might not suit this audience, but in my bones I believe it to be true and some of you will have to forgive me for saying it. Until we send out into those areas the right type of people, people possessed of knowledge of industry, of social welfare, local government and all the things that are the real way of life in this country and stop sending out to those areas persons who may have a fairly good education as such but have no

practical knowledge of the problems I have presented to you, we shall not get very far.

I say with sincerity that our visit did do at least a little good. I listened yesterday in the House of Commons to the Foreign Secretary making his one hour and fifty minutes' speech on foreign policy. You may agree or disagree with what he said, but I am bound to say that that great broad-shouldered fellow known as Ernest Bevin, with the great heart he possesses, has on his plate at the moment the biggest job that anybody ever had in the history of Britain, a tremendous responsibility. He said in the course of his speech that he had read with interest the report of the delegation which had visited Persia and that he had proceeded, so far as possible, to implement its recommendations. That rather pleased an ordinary day-school boy such as myself, with the background of hard work in industry. It is an indication that if we, the Government, would do more of that type of thing, send out practical-minded people to talk to these unfortunate people, because they are unfortunate in the sense of not having had the same opportunity of learning the way of life and constitutional procedure that we have had in this country, they are asking for better things, they are asking for a higher form of life, and it is the job of this Government to give them the opportunity of learning how we run our industries, our trade unions and our employment agencies, and so on. I believe it can be done. But there is no time to lose. Of Russia we may think exactly what we care to think. I suggest she should be judged by what she is to-day compared with what she was thirty years ago. Russia is making great headway in her own way—that is, the spreading of her own ideology in the Middle East; making great headway, not because of the fact that she is right but because of the fact that we are not doing what we should do out in those areas. Therefore it is important that H.M. Government should, as I believe they are, be facing that responsibility. The Persian, as I saw him, is anxious to become not only a craftsman but a decent citizen. There are some who may not believe that, who may look at the background of the Persian and say they disagree with me; that they believe the Persian wants to remain where he was fifty years ago. There is no native race in this world that wants to stay where they used to be. That is a physical impossibility. No intelligent British want any race to stay where they were, because so long as races remain backward so long will we be refused the opportunity of advancing our own lives because, after all, the desire for the things that are better, the desire for a higher form of life, can only be of advantage to this country because we are a producing nation and we can export goods to those people who can pay for them in oil, in the case of Persia.

This talk has not dealt with some of the detailed information we were able to get. It has not dealt with the question of the European personnel out in Persia, and I am bound to say that they have their grumbles also. They are grumbling about lack of housing, lack of foodstuffs, increasing costs, bonuses not travelling in parity with costs and so on. I am bound, however, to say that I saw nothing wrong with the conditions enjoyed by those on higher levels so far as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was



concerned; but, having said that, the responsibility that they are carrying cannot, in my opinion, be offset by any advantageous conditions that they enjoy. Their lot is far from easy. The lot of the management in Persia is, indeed, an extraordinarily serious one. The manager of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company—I know he will not mind my using his name—Mr. Ivor Jones, was a splendid fellow. He and I have things in common because he is of Welsh extraction, and so am I. I believe that he and his co-directors are anxious to face this new responsibility. They realize that the days of exploitation which they had in that area are over. Exploitation of any native labour in any part of the world, in my view, if not over, is close to being over. The world is changing. Education cannot remain within the four walls of Britain. Every person who comes from this company, every new employee in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's service, carries with him modern knowledge. A Captain in the Army had a talk with a little boy I met, aged fifteen years, and the Captain foolishly told him that everybody in Britain had a house with a bathroom, etc. That sort of thing does not do us any good. A little fellow of fourteen years of age heard me speaking my colloquial Arabic, and he asked: "Do you speak Arabic?" I told him that I spoke a little, and he told me he spoke five languages—French, German, English (almost perfect English too), Persian and Arabic. I said: "You speak six languages, because surely you speak American?" To which he replied, "O.K.," he did. That little fellow took me into the mud hut where he had his quarters; he showed me the remnants of the carpet upon which he slept. Then he said, "I bring you my shirt," and when I saw it I asked, "Why don't you wash it; it's dirty." He had no soap. I asked, "Why not smoke less cigarettes and buy soap?" That was different; he hadn't thought about that. But this little fellow of fourteen years of age talked about "liquid gold." That's the point. He began to give me rather a broad hint or two that somebody somewhere somehow had told him that the Almighty had given that oil for the use of Persia's children and not for the British. When you hear children of fourteen years of age talking like that it is time to sit up and take notice, because that knowledge is permeating the Middle East: "This is ours and should not be taken from us except on our conditions and our terms." That can only be met by proper conditions, proper rates of pay, proper social amenities and all the things I have referred to, housing, hospitals, docks and so on.

My last word is this. Having said all that the company should do and some of the things that the company are doing, there is a tremendous amount that the Persian himself can do. That is important. The Persians should be given the opportunity of controlling themselves. They should be given the opportunity of having their own local government. I believe that if this country were to set about the job of sending out into Persia the right type of people to pass on the right type of knowledge in the proper way, we should get a response that at the moment we think impossible. Because, friends, I believe that despite all the troubles of this country (and since Christmas, 1945, I have been in Germany and in Austria and Russia, and lived with the Russians in the Occupied Zone of Germany, and also in Italy, France and elsewhere), this country

possesses something no other country has—a very fine knowledge of the constitutional way of life and a finer knowledge still of the thing that is right and decent. If we can pass on to the average Persian that knowledge of our desire to give to him, on the one condition that he also shall give to us the thing that is right, the thing that is decent, I am perfectly certain that that will result in a continuous flow of oil to Great Britain from Persia which is a vital necessity to bring about economic recovery, so that you and I and others in our land shall live the life we ourselves want, which has not yet been achieved, and which when we do achieve it will be far better than all that the Persian himself in his wildest imagination hopes to get.

Sir JOHN SHEA: I have not the knowledge to be able to discuss the technical aspect of what Mr. Jones has said, but I would like to say that his talk was just what we wanted. We are grateful to you, Captain Elkington, for having suggested the invitation and to Mr. Jones for coming to address us. I was completely absorbed and thrilled by what he said. We have had in this Society lectures on all the countries within the orbit of the Middle East, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Malaya and China, and we have been told about the conditions of the people of those countries and about labour conditions. How many of us, sir, really understand labour conditions in our own country, so that we may compare them with what we have heard? Most of us are not in the least versed in politics; we have spent our lives far from this country as soldiers or sailors or in the Government service in one way or another, and when we come home and retire and there are dockers' strikes or strikes in Smithfield Market, or when we cannot get the bus we want on account of a strike, it all seems wrong. We often do not understand what really is the bedrock reason of it all. Well, you, sir, can tell us, and give us the labour point of view. So we hope that you will come again and do so.

Mr. MACKINTOSH: Can the lecturer tell us what is the average daily wage of the employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Abadan, and how it works out in comparison with the average cost of living there?

The LECTURER: I have the figures here, but I think the answer, without going into the actual figures, is that the wages vary according to the type of individual and the degree of responsibility he has to undertake. The wages paid are, in the opinion of the trade union, not high enough to meet the increase in the cost of living. It is a complex matter. The company at one time paid so many rials per day, though not sufficient in my opinion. Then, due to demands because of the rising cost of living and the endeavour to stabilize it, the company instituted a form of rationing—they gave rations to their employees according to their needs. This was an endeavour to prevent inflation, because, after all, in such a community if the traders get hold of the material available they are in an advantageous position from the point of view of black-marketing. So that the company subsidized the cost of living to the tune of more than one million of money per year during the war, which of course, interpreted in my practical way, is equivalent to an increase in wages. Then the employees thought that was not quite good enough. Would the company

kindly cease giving them food and give them increased wages instead, so that they could buy the foodstuffs themselves? That took place. As soon as the men got their wages equivalent to what they had already had plus the value of the goods they were getting, they found themselves having to spend that amount of money with their own tradespeople in the bazaars and markets and found that they were being fleeced. There was then an immediate demand to return to the rationing system, because they felt they would be better off on that system. The position, then, was very natural: that having at one time received so much in money and so much in kind and then having reverted to so much in money and nothing in kind, they then wanted as much money as they used to have plus as much as they had in kind. That would have been a natural demand in this country also. Please make no mistake about that. Sir John Shea has suggested that I should talk to you about the labour troubles in this country. I should be very happy to do so. Well, the company found itself faced with this further demand, backed by the whispering campaign from the north: that "This is what you are entitled to and you shall get it, and if you do not, so what?" Cease work and so on; the use of the big stick and the strike weapon and all the things which are so unnecessary, because never was there a strike in the history of man which did not eventually have to be settled round a table. Why not settle it round the table to start with and not wait until all the misery has been engendered? The company gave better money in value; better rations in value; then they went back to all money and no rations, and then back to more money plus the same rations, and naturally the men having found themselves with money in their pockets tended to spend it unwisely; and I may say as a trade unionist and socialist that it is possible for working people to find themselves with more money than they know how to spend wisely. It is possible. That is one of the things we have to do, to educate people not only in Persia but in Great Britain how to make good use of the best possible amount of money. That was the picture. I am still satisfied, having regard to the technical skill of the average workman in Persia, having regard to the cost of living in the area, and having regard to the last balance sheet I saw produced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, there is still room for a little improvement in the Persian workmen's wages as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting and instructive lecture, and, as Sir John Shea has said, we only hope that we shall see Mr. Jones here again and that he will give us a talk on the labour conditions in our own country, when I am sure he will be as frank as he has been in regard to the labour conditions he found in the undertaking of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Persia.

With regard to wages and the reply Mr. Jack Jones has made, it may interest you to know that since Mr. Jones's departure other adjustments in wages have taken place. The wages of operators in the refineries at Abadan are now approaching those of the operator in a refinery in Great Britain. That is unfortunate in some respects because, of course, the efficiency of an operator in Abadan does not compare with the efficiency of an operator in this country—not yet. It will in time.

The lecturer touched upon the lack of the non-technical mind *vis-à-vis* local government and industrial relations. One has to bear in mind that at the beginning of the recent war the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was not required. So long as oil was readily obtainable from the Western Hemisphere and from the Dutch East Indies the oil requirements from Persia were very low; in fact, in 1941 the production of oil there fell from 10,000,000 to 5,500,000 tons. It was not until the entry of Japan into the war that H.M. Government awoke to the fact that these fields would have to be used, and thereupon the company was faced with an immense and immediate demand for the production of high-grade octane aviation spirit for the air fleets of the Allies. As only small quantities of this valuable product had been manufactured previously, enormous plants had to be imported and erected, so that production rose from some 140,000 tons to 1,200,000 tons per annum, and it may be said that the whole of the air fleet in the Middle East depended upon that production.

Of course, when the war broke out the administrative and non-technical staff of the company were more easily spared and went off to join the Forces, and their return has been delayed. They have had to be demobilized and are only now just coming back, with the result that the gap in administrative personnel is just as severe as the gap that has been created by the standstill in housing and other social amenities which are now being attended to. It is only fair to say on behalf of the Persian Government that they have been busy in bringing into being a labour law, and that prior to the promulgation of that labour law unions in Persia were illegal, so that the company had no right or standing to encourage trade unions in its own sphere of operations and by so doing would have transgressed the law. The Persian Government were anxious that no union should be formed and that agitators should not create strike action with a view to forming unions until the labour law had been promulgated. The labour law has now been passed and trade unions are legal and are coming into being. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is only too anxious, of course, to set about encouraging and enjoying industrial relations of the right nature, and is steadily making headway in order to bring about industrial relations such as Mr. Jack Jones has suggested should prevail.

I conclude by asking you to accord a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Jack Jones for his most instructive and interesting lecture.

# GEORGIA AND TURKEY: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By DR. OSMAN NURI KAZARA

This is translated from an article by Dr. Osman Nuri Kazara, which appeared in the Turkish *Aylık Ensyclopedi (Monthly Encyclopædia)*, sayı 17, cilt 3. Dr. Kazara, who is one of the younger school of Turkish historians and is himself of Laz extraction, has made a special study of the historical relations between Turkey and Georgia.

In view of the claims adumbrated in recent months by certain Russian and Georgian publicists, it is felt that Dr. Kazara's objective historical appreciation is important.

## HISTORY

**T**HE Georgians call themselves *Kartveli* (Kartvelni, plur.) and their country *Sakartvelo*.

The Georgians, like other peoples of Caucasia, represent the descendants of very ancient migrations into Western Asia.

The Georgian language, with its dialects, the principal of which are Kartlian, Mingrelian with Laz, and Svanian, is classified as belonging to the group of agglutinative languages generally known as Caucasian.

The connection of the Caucasian group with other families of languages remains obscure. While Friedrich Müller, Lepsius and Schuchart have regarded the Caucasian languages as "isolated," and Sayce, Hommel, Winckler, Bork and Marr have described them under the synthetic names of "Alarodian" and "Japhetic," De Morgan and Max Müller find connections with the Turanian group and Trombetti with Semitic. The Georgian scholar Michael Tsereteli has traced connections between Georgian and Sumerian (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916).

In prehistoric and early historic periods down to Hittite times, common elements are observable in the remains of material culture identified in Anatolia and Caucasia (notably at Alaca-hüyük and at the recently excavated sites in Georgian Trialeti).

The physical type throughout Caucasia is remarkably uniform, representing—with some variations towards dolichocephaly along the littoral of the Black Sea coast—a marked brachycephalic type.

The original inhabitants along the whole of the mountain zone stretching from the Pamirs to the Caucasus and the Taurus seem to have been of the brachycephalic "round-headed" type, generally known as "Alpine." A basic stratum of population among the Georgians and the Anatolians may be the modern representatives of these primeval peoples. From the seventh century B.C. repeated invasions from the steppes north of the Caucasus and from the basin of the Danube via the Balkans introduced new elements. Bashmakov sees in the Cimmerians a Circassian *Völkerwanderung* which has left traces in the place-names of the Black Sea and Caucasia—*i.e.*, Kirim, Gimri in Dagistan, Gümürü. The Scythians and their successors, the Sarmatians, probably represented peoples of mixed Caucasian, Indo-European (Slav) and Turki elements.

From the west the Phrygian invasions introduced Indo-European tribes who displaced the older populations from Central Anatolia and pushed these towards the Central Caucasus and Dagistan. Thus the Indo-European Muski, gradually moving east, left their traces at Mazaka (Kayseri), in Samtzkhe ("the Meskhian land" of the mediæval Georgian poet Rustaveli) and at Mtzkheta. With the Muski are coupled in ancient sources the Tubal-Tibarenoi, whose name forms in all likelihood the basis of the classical kingdoms of Iberia (later Kartli) and Albania (Shirvan). Among other original elements the Muski displaced the people of Kommagene, who may be identified with the modern Kumuh of Dagistan. Other late comers from the Balkans were the Armenians, who brought a type of Indo-European language to the valleys of the two Frats (Kara-su and Murat-su) and to the region of Lake Van, dislodging or absorbing the old autochthonous peoples who had founded the cultures of Hurri and Urartu (Chaldea).

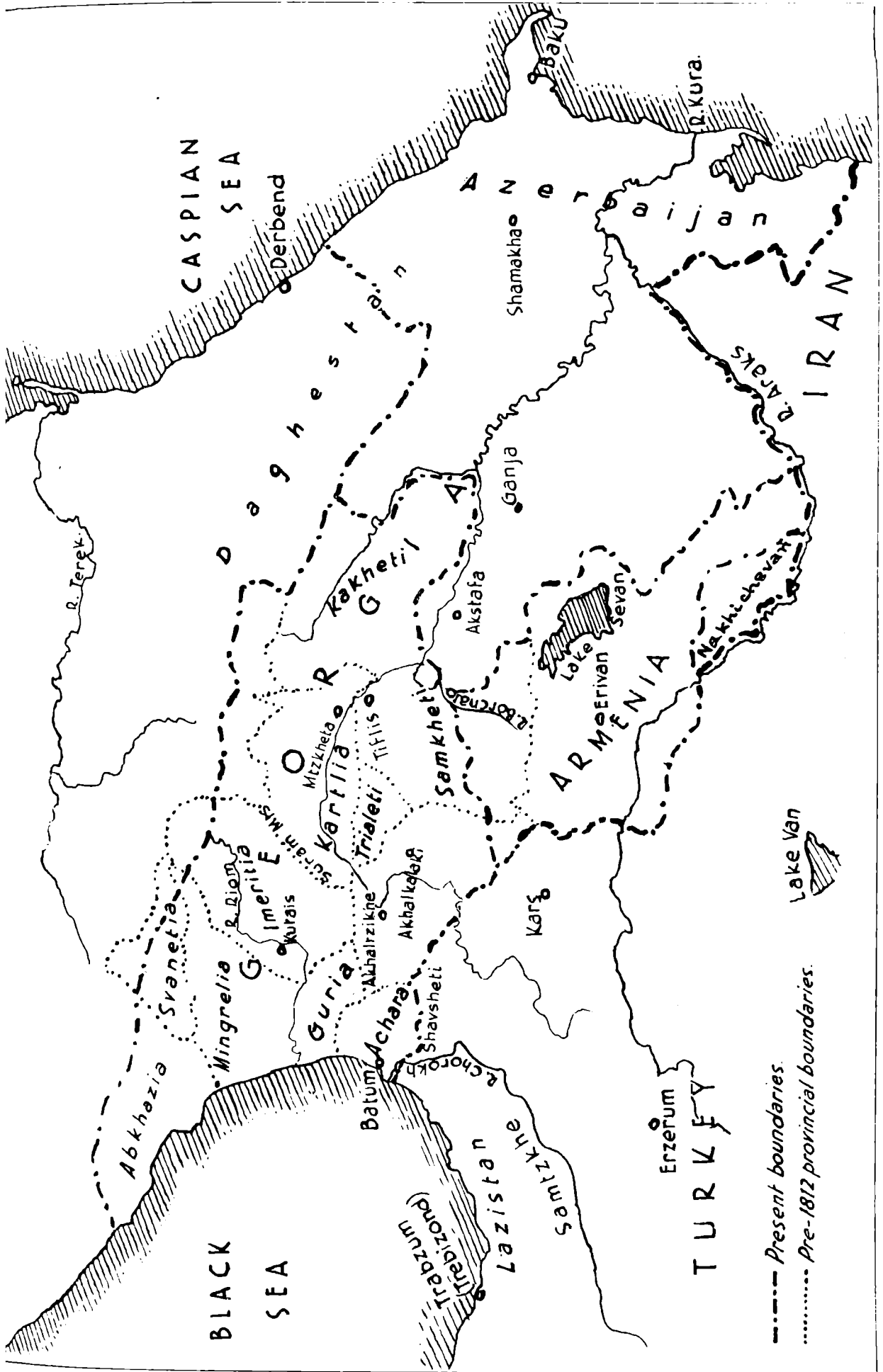
Turkish-speaking peoples have always exercised a major influence on the development of history in Georgia and throughout the Caucasus. As early as the fourth century B.C. the Georgian annals record the settlement of *Bunturki* ("primitive Turks," according to Brosset) in the Kura valley. The first centuries of the Christian era saw a continuous process of settlement of the eastern plain of Transcaucasia and the middle valley of the Kura by nomads (Huns and Avars and Khazars) from the steppes to the north of the Caspian. During the same period the civilization of Sasanian Persia (in which there was an important Turkish racial component) moulded the life of the Kura valley. Recent excavations by the Russian and Georgian and Azerbaijan Academies of Sciences have brought to light the flourishing state of this Sasanian civilization in the Kura valley and in Dagistan during the centuries preceding the Arab conquest of Transcaucasia. In the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., during the campaigns of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in the Caucasus, his principal antagonist was the Khazar Thong Yabghu.

#### KHAZAR-CALIPHATE PERIOD (SEVENTH TO TENTH CENTURIES)

During the first centuries of the Caliphate, Arabs and Khazars maintained an uneasy balance of power in Caucasia. In this period the Khazar capital at Itil on the Volga—a Turkish predecessor of the mediæval capitals of the Golden Horde—was, with Baghdad and Byzantium, one of the three great capital cities of the Middle East. The provinces of Eastern Transcaucasia—Aran, Shirvan and Mughan—were Turkish-speaking, and Arab geographers remarked on the similarity between the dialects of these provinces and Khorasan.

#### ABKHAZE-GEORGIAN KINGDOM (TENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

With their control of the Black Sea, the Byzantine Emperors maintained their influence over the Georgian provinces west of the Suram mountains, and under their protection a number of local princes were able to sustain and develop a Christian culture which in art and architecture closely resembled that of Byzantium. Chief among these princes



were members of the Bagratid family, who were established at Artanuch on the lower Choruh and in Abkhazia. This family, originally Armenian, actually claimed descent from the Jewish kings, and the Georgian ruling house, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, displayed the royal arms of Judah. When the Baghdad Caliphate fell into decline the small estates of these princes were consolidated into a kingdom under the ruling house of Abkhazia. The kingdom which emerged in the eleventh century, and which soon fell under the suzerainty of the Seljuk Melik Shah, was, therefore, Caucasian rather than strictly Georgian in character. It drew its strength from the Abkhazian and Alan (Ossetian) mountaineers and from the numerous nomad tribes of the middle Kura, many of whom were Turks, while some of the noble families who contended for supremacy were Armenian (the Orbelians and the Meliks of Lori).

### KING DAVID II: KIPÇAK COLONIZATION

The great days of the Georgian kingdom were in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. When the Seljuks and the Moslem world felt the impact of the first crusade, the Bagratid kings, although feudatories of the Seljuks, took their part in the general offensive of Christendom. In the second decade of the twelfth century, King David II occupied the country of the lower Choruh and the upper Kura and established suzerainty over the Turkish nomad population of Borchalu and the middle Kura. According to the Georgian annals, King David formed a special guard of 5,000 Kipçak Mamluks—all converted to Christianity—and, in order to augment his fighting strength, he opened the Daryal Pass to the nomads from the north and settled in Georgia thousands of Kipçak families. In 1122 David captured Tiflis from the Arab emirs who had ruled the city for 400 years, and two years later he established himself in Ani—a city which had been alternately the capital of Kurdish, Arab and Armenian princes.

Under King David's successors, notably George III and Queen Tamar, the Georgian frontiers were extended to the country of the middle Choruh and to the line of the Arap-Çayi and the Araks. For a few years Georgian garrisons were in Kars and Ispir; and the Georgians, in alliance sometimes with the Shirvan Shahs, extended their raids into Azerbaijan as far as Miana and Kazvin. But the Georgians never occupied Bayburt nor Erzurum. Political relations with the Saldukid and Seljuk rulers of Erzurum were often friendly, and Rusudan, the daughter and successor of Tamar, married a Seljuk prince, who became the ancestor of the later kings of Iméreti. Georgian relations with the Comnene dynasty in Trabzon were to remain close for two and a half centuries, but the Comnenes reigned along the coast from Kerasunt (Giresun) to Riza and Hopa and the influence of the Georgian kings never extended west of Gonia in Guria.

### GEORGIAN AND SELJUK INTERRELATIONS

The Georgian kingdom flourished for almost exactly a hundred years, from the capture of Tiflis by David II in 1122 to the defeat of King



George IV by the Mongols in 1223. Like the crusading kingdoms of the Levant and the Norman kingdom in Sicily, the culture of the mediæval Georgian kingdom was strongly influenced by Islamic civilization.

At that period Persian Seljuk civilization was as attractive to neighbouring peoples as French civilization was to Europe during the eighteenth century. The Georgian Court dressed in the Persian style and all Court or administrative titles took their origin from the neighbouring Seljuk kingdoms. Thus the rulers of Akhaltzikhe were called *atabegs* and their lands *Sa-atabag-o*—"the atabeg's country." The famous Georgian poets, Shōta Rustaveli and Sargis of Tmogvi, contemporaries of Nizami of Ganja, wrote under the influence of the Persian poets (*cf.* Rustaveli's *Man in a Panther's Skin*, which he calls "a Persian tale done into Georgian," and Sargis of Tmogvi's *Tale of Vis and Ramin*). The Georgians were strongly influenced by the mystical neo-Platonism of Jalal ud Din er Rumi, while Yunus Imre reflects perhaps the humanistic radicalism of Sargis of Tmogvi. Georgian connections with Seljuk Anatolia were indeed numerous. Marriages between the Bagratids and the Seljuk royal houses were frequent. At the same time intimate artistic connections are to be noted in contemporary architecture and sculpture—*e.g.*, the interlaced style in mural decorations.

#### MONGOL HEGEMONY (THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

Georgians and Seljuks alike were submerged by the Mongol invasions in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The Georgian kingdom was divided into Western and Eastern Georgia (Imereti and Kartli) under two Bagratid princes. At the same time the distintegration of the unity of the Georgian kingdom began when provincial rulers like the Atabegs of Akhaltzikhe made their own terms with the conquerors and became directly dependent on the Ilkhans. Georgian contingents were henceforth incorporated in the Mongol armies; a Georgian corps took part in the Mongol victory over Giyas-ud-din Kai Khusrau II of Konya, who himself was married to a daughter of the Georgian Queen Rusudan and whose army was commanded by the Abkhazian Prince Dardan Sharvashidze. With the decline of the Ilkhans in the middle of the fourteenth century, the unity of the Georgian kingdom was revived under King George V.

During the whole of the Mongol and Timurid periods (1223-1405) the political significance of the Georgian kingdom was out of proportion to the strength of the nation. Occupying a position which covered the main line of advance from south to north through the Caucasian passes, the alliance of the Georgian kings became important in the struggle for hegemony between the Ilkhans of Persia and the Khans of the Golden Horde with their capital at Saray on the Volga. This interesting conflict (which has never received specialized study) became a triangular struggle, which involved the whole of the Middle East between the Volga and the Nile when the Khans of the Golden Horde secured the support of the Mamluk dynasty in Cairo. Similarly Timur, in his repeated campaigns against Toktamish and against the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid in Western

Anatolia, operating from an axis based on "remount depots" in the Mughan steppe (*kishlar*) and the uplands of the Kura and Bingöl (*yaila*), found the Georgian King George VI—a redoubtable guerilla fighter—always on his flank. In the winter of 1386-87 Timur launched a first campaign against the Georgians, and in 1393 the operation was repeated with ruthless vigour. When in 1395 Timur undertook his final campaign against Toktamish, George VI again intervened to support the Jalairid Tahir Sultan, who was in revolt against Timur's son, Miranshah. The fighting in the Eastern Caucasus assumed such severe proportions that Timur suspended the march which he had undertaken against Moscow.

In 1397 a further punitive expedition into Georgia failed to eliminate George VI. In 1401, when Timur was preparing from his base on Bingöl his operation against Bayezid, he took care to cover his northern flank from any move by George by sending a force to take the castle of Tortum.

#### PERIOD OF OTTOMAN HEGEMONY (FIFTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES)

The disintegration of the Timurid empire saw the development of particularist tendencies throughout Anatolia and Caucasia. But the West Anatolian Ottoman power was gradually consolidated to the detriment of the Bagratid kings in Georgia and of the rather brilliant Turkoman dynasties whose power was spread from Azerbaijan to Erzinjan. Local particularities and civil war weakened the Georgian kingdom. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Georgian lands had been divided into the three "kingdoms" of Kakheti (Alazan valley), Kartli (middle Kura valley) and Imereti (Rion valley). The feudal rulers of Mingrelia, Abkhazia and Guria had established themselves as independent princes; and the *atabegs* of Akhaltzikhe (Saatabago or Samtzkhe), who ruled over the middle and lower valley of the Choruh and the uplands of the Kura as far as the defile of Borchum, had accepted Islam and become feudatories of the Sultan as hereditary Pashas of Akhaltzikhe. Like the Bosnian *begs*, the converted Georgian *dere-begs* of Samtzkhe and Achara soon became strong protagonists of the Sultan's interest and many Georgian nobles served with distinction in the Turkish administration. (In Baghdad, at the end of the eighteenth century, a Georgian family was established as hereditary Pashas with their own Georgian guard of *mamluks*.)

Turkish culture proved no less attractive to the Abkhazians (whose princes, the Sharvashidzes, became Moslem) and to the Circassians, while the Turkish pastoral tribes of the northern slopes of the Caucasus, Balkars and Karachayis naturally inclined to an Ottoman orientation. The Christian princes of Guria, Mingrelia and Imereti at the same time became subject to Ottoman suzerainty. The eastern provinces of Georgia fell equally under Persian influence, and by the seventeenth century the Bagratid princes of the Mukhranian line ruling in Tiflis had become Shiah Moslems. These Mukhranian princes, as also many other Georgians, came to play an important rôle in the politics of Isfahan during

the decline of the Safavid dynasty towards the end of the seventeenth century. The governors of Isfahan (*daruga*) were recruited from the Bagratid family, and other Georgian princes commanded in Kandahar, where the Shahs kept a standing garrison of Georgians.

#### OTTOMAN POLICY IN GEORGIA

The policy of a belt of buffer states round the shores of the Black Sea—initiated by Mehmet Sökülü and developed by the Küprülü viziers—depended on the maintenance of friendly princes in Wallachia and Moldavia, the Crimea and Imereti. This policy worked very well through the seventeenth century during the long reign of Alexander III in Imereti. In the same period the Turko-Persian Treaty of 1636 established the Suram mountains (which form the watershed between the Rion and Kura basins) as the border between Turkish and Persian zones of influence. This balance of interests resulted in prosperity for the towns along the main trade routes, and Akhaltzikhe, Kutais, Tiflis, Shemakha, Ganja and Erivan enjoyed no little wealth—as is illustrated in the accounts of contemporary travellers like Evliya Çelebi, Sir John Chardin, Olearius the Danish envoy to Shah Abbas, and Tolochanov the Russian emissary who visited the Court of Alexander III of Imereti.

#### RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF GEORGIA (SEVENTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

Russian expansionist interest in Caucasia had been evident as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Boris Godunov had planned dynastic marriages with the ruling families of Kakheti and Kartli. The great period of Russian imperialism under Peter the Great in the first quarter of the eighteenth century corresponded with the crisis in Persia which developed from the decline of the Safavid dynasty. Peter the Great was, however, never successful in his plans for eastward expansion. He had been checked by the Turks on the Pruth in 1711 and when, ten years later, he intervened in Persia and sent an expedition to Derbend, a Turkish army in Tiflis (June, 1723) forced him to suspend his policy of conquest.

The revival of Persian power under the Turkoman Nadir Shah restored Persian influence in the Caucasus, but after his death in 1747 the anarchic conditions to which Persia again reverted opened the way again for Russian expansion. In Georgia two remarkable kings, Taymuraz II and Erejle II—whose reigns together covered the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century—attempted to establish what might have developed into a Caucasian kingdom including not only Eastern Georgia but also the Turkish districts of the middle Kura (Borchalo and Kazakh) and the *Khanates* of Erivan, Shaki and Ganja. Erejle was, however, seriously weakened by his campaigns in Dagistan against the Avar Khans Nur'Ali and Omar, and as early as 1760 he sent his aged father to seek aid in Moscow.

The fate of Caucasia, with Georgia, was decided in the three long Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-74, 1787-92 and 1806-12. By the Treaty of

Georgievsk (1784) Erekle had already placed his kingdom under Russian protection. In the same year Catharine the Great finally annexed the Crimea. The treaty did not, however, save the Georgians from the disastrous sack of Tiflis by the Persian usurper Aga Muhammed Khan in 1795. The Georgians were seriously weakened by this Persian invasion and when, on the death of King George XII in 1801, there was threat of civil war, the Russians by a manifesto of the Emperor Paul incorporated the territories of the two "kingdoms" of Kartli and Kakheti into the Russian Empire. In 1803 Mingrelia was annexed to the Russian crown. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12 Solomon II of Imereti attempted to sustain his independence with the support of Turkish arms, and in 1812, the year of Napoleon's campaign against Moscow, there was a widespread rising in Eastern Georgia. But with the end of the Napoleonic wars the Russians established their complete hegemony in Georgia by incorporating Abkhazia, Guria and Svanetia. During the nineteenth century there were sporadic peasant revolts against the Russian Government, but many of the Georgian nobility, attracted by the Court life of St. Petersburg, reconciled themselves to alien rule, while the building of the Transcaucasian railway and the industrial development of Caucasia towards the end of the century gave the new Georgian and Armenian bourgeoisie of Tiflis many opportunities for personal advancement. It was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that a serious national movement for a revival of Georgian independence began to take form.

#### THE GEORGIAN-TURKISH FRONTIER

Further Russian advance to the west during the four Russo-Turkish wars which took place in the ninety years between 1828 and 1918 was largely checked by the dogged and determined character of the frontier population. While the Kars plain and the middle Kura valley as far as Atskhur and the parallel valleys of Akstafa and Borchalu up to the districts of Baydar and Kazakh, immediately south-east of Tiflis, had remained predominantly Turkish in character since the eleventh century, the lower valley of the Choruh and the mountainous massifs of Karchkal and Shavsheti were inhabited by a sturdy stock of very mixed origin. All the frontier between Gonia and Atskhur had been under Turkish influence since the fifteenth century. In the eighteenth century Prince Wakhusht, the distinguished geographer of Georgia, observed with regret that the Turkish language was replacing Georgian and that the people had abandoned the old Christian faith and had become staunchly Moslem in their ways. At the end of the nineteenth century the Georgian travellers, Prince Kazbegi and Professor Marr, both lamented the disappearance of the Georgian language, and Marr observed that Georgian was no longer understood in most of the villages of Shavsheti (*Studies in Armeno-Georgian Philology*, vol. vii).

Devoted and indeed fanatical Moslems, the peasants of Achara and Akhaltzikhe opposed a bitter resistance to the Russian invasion in 1828-29. After the defeat of the Turkish field army at Mecinkirt and the occupation of Erzerum by General Paskievich, the Russians found them-

selves unable to develop a further invasion of Anatolia owing to the formidable popular resistance along the whole range of the Pontic Alps. The Himsiogullar of Hulo, *dere-beyleri* of Achara, were the leaders. They undertook two formidable attempts to recover Akhaltzikhe and repulsed all Russian attempts to penetrate upper Achara. Similarly, the peasant levies of Lazistan checked near Bayburt Paskievich's attempted expedition against Trabzon.

Under the Treaty of Andrianople the predominantly Moslem districts of Akhaltzikhe (with Atskhur) and Akhalkalaki passed to Russia. As a result of the Crimean War (1853-56), the frontier between Turkey and Georgia remained unaltered, but in 1877 the Russians resumed the offensive against the Turkish eastern frontier. As in 1828, the Turkish army in the field—after an initial victory at Zivin-dag—was defeated and the Russians laid siege to Erzerum. But again, as in 1828, the popular resistance of the peasantry of Achara and Lazistan checked any Russian advance along the coastal range of the Pontic Alps. Throughout the war there was bitter fighting for Batum, and in the final week of hostilities the Turkish garrison, largely composed of local levies from Achara and Lazistan, repulsed a Russian assault which was intended to put the port in Russian hands before the opening of peace negotiations. Nevertheless, under the terms of the Treaty of Berlin the *sanjaks* of Batum, Cilder and Kars, including the whole of the sturdy population of this fighting borderland, were ceded to Russia.

#### INDEPENDENT GEORGIA (1917-21): THE FRONTIER QUESTION

During the first Russian revolution in 1905 there were serious manifestations of nationalism and separatist tendencies among the peoples of Caucasia, notably the Georgians and Armenians. A "Gurian Republic" was actually proclaimed in the area round Batum. When war broke out in November, 1914, between Turkey and Russia the Georgians remained quiescent, but a serious resistance movement developed among the Turkish and Moslem population of "the three *sanjaks*." This resistance continued in sporadic phases until the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917 and the dissolution of the Russian army on the Caucasian front. Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk "the three *sanjaks*" ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Berlin were, subject to a plebiscite, to be returned to Turkey, and at the beginning of 1918 the Turks occupied the line of the 1877 frontier.

During the same months the dissolution of the Russian State had evoked in Caucasia the formation of a "Transcaucasian Federation." This Federation entered into negotiations with Turkish peace delegations, first at Trabzon and later at Batum. When the component members of the Federation failed to agree it was dissolved, and the three independent Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia were constituted.

The Georgian Republic, under a Social Democratic Government which came to power at the end of 1918 as a result of a General Election, could only survive with difficulty in the conditions of the immediate post-war period. Their political position was notably weakened by the attempt

to hold the Artvin-Ardahan area (which had been evacuated by the Turkish army under the terms of the Armistice of Mudros) and by the failure to consider the claims of the Achars and of the peasants of Akhaltzikhe and Akhalkalaki for union with Turkey. The Georgian Government of President Jordania had also to face difficulties in Abkhazia and separatist insurrections in Mingrelia and Ossetia.

The Georgian Government had been recognized by Moscow and a Russian diplomatic mission had been established in Tiflis. Nevertheless, in March, 1921, without a declaration of war, the Red Army rapidly overran the territory of the Georgian Republic. The Social Democratic Government fled to Batum and subsequently took refuge in France. When the Red Army invaded Georgia the Georgian garrisons in Ardahan and the Choruh towns were withdrawn and their places taken by Turkish troops. The Russians, however, occupied Batum. This *de facto* situation was confirmed as a practical basis of settlement by two instruments subsequently entered into by the Turkish and Soviet Governments—the Treaties of Kars and Moscow (March and October, 1921).

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- See also articles "Tiflis" in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and "Gruziya," "Abkhazia," etc., in *Bolshava Sovyetskaya Entziklopediya*.
- For periodical literature see *Causasica* (Leipzig), *Georgica* (London), and numerous publications of the Georgian Academy and University of Tiflis.
- Fundamental works on the history of the rich literature of Georgia are in Georgian (*Kekekidze, Janashvili*); the subject has also been treated in Russian (*Khakhanov*, 4 vols.).

# CHALDEAN COMMUNITIES IN KURDISTAN

By A. H. GRANSDEN

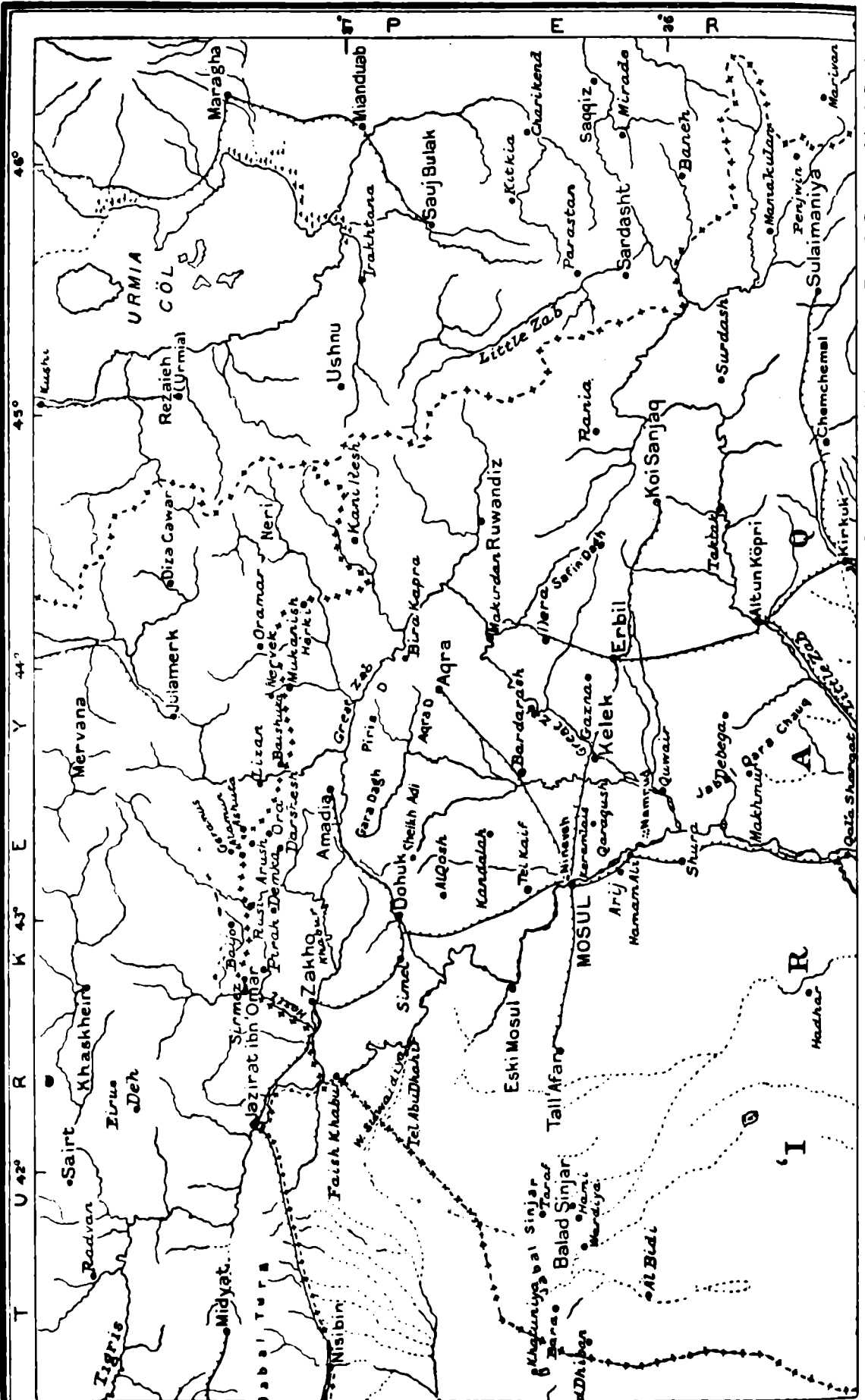
THE term "Chaldean" originally applied to the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia from whom the patriarch Abraham summoned his few followers for his long journey to the promised land. They made their name as astronomers and mathematicians and left a rich heritage for archaeological research.

When speaking of Chaldeans to-day they should on no account be confused with the Chaldeans of ancient time, since the Chaldean of to-day is only called Chaldean because he is a member of the Chaldean Uniate Church—that is to say, a Church acknowledging the sovereignty of the Pope, whilst at the same time adhering to its own rituals and appointing its own hierarchy.

The Chaldean Uniate Church is a comparatively modern offshoot of the great Nestorian Church, founded by Nestorius in opposition to the Imperial Orthodox Church of Byzantium. The Nestorian Church plunged with enthusiasm into missionary activity and established communities throughout Asia, Arabia and Eastern Europe, including churches in the Yemen, in Bokhara and Tartary, in Malabar and in China. Many of these communities were overwhelmed by the onrush of militant Islam, whilst others seceded from the parent body.

The Nestorian Church asserted that it was possible to distinguish the two persons as well as the two natures in Christ, as opposed to the Western Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. As the Christian religion began to take shape in the Byzantine Empire, so there became a tendency for the Eastern communions to break away not only from the Western Church, but also from the established Imperial Church of Byzantium. In A.D. 480, Barsouma of Nisibis (now Nisibin), acting on behalf of the Nestorians, made a declaration of secession from the Imperial Orthodox Church. He authorized the clergy to marry and introduced certain liturgical and doctrinal modifications. This step was applauded by the Christians in Persia, and the Churches in Syria and Egypt followed suit in A.D. 600.

It is impossible to discuss the Nestorian Church without taking into account its most ardent supporters, the Assyrians, who since the fall of Nineveh have been a subject race, though at the same time they have managed as individuals to retain the respect of the conquering races for their qualities as soldiers and technicians. In the course of centuries the Assyrians gravitated from their original habitat in Northern Mesopotamia to the highlands of Kurdistan, leaving behind them a residue who settled in the Plain of Mosul and the Jazirah. The Assyrians in Kurdistan developed a semi-autonomy, owing allegiance only to their maliks or feudal chiefs and avoiding as far as possible any contact with the governing authorities. These semi-autonomous communities later became known as "millets" or self-governing sects, a system of government



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instituted by the Sassanid Yezdigird "the Wicked" and perpetuated down the ages by the rulers at the Porte. Under the "millet" system a member of a subject race was responsible only to the malik, the malik to the patriarch, and the patriarch to the governing power.

The spoken and written language of the Assyrians is Syriac, an evolution of Aramaic, and the main dialects are:

(a) Maloulien. Originally spoken in the Damascus area but now almost extinct.

(b) Torani. The Jacobite dialect, spoken in the area of Jebel Tor, the Jazirah of Syria, Aleppo and in the Wilayet of Mardin.

(c) Soureth. Spoken in the plain of Mosul and the Jazirah, the highlands of Kurdistan and amongst the Assyrians in Iran.

The centre of Assyrian culture was at Urmia in Iran. This town was developing rapidly on modern lines when it was destroyed in the war of 1914-18.

The Assyrian highlanders of Kurdistan, the tribes of Tiari, Tkhuma, Jelu and Baz were, at the outbreak of the war of 1914-18, settled in what is now the Wilayet of Julamerk, where they existed resentful of any control and fought savagely with their Kurdish neighbours. As against this, the plainsmen of Mosul and the Jazirah tended to become more amenable to government and their harsh Assyrian characteristics became mellowed by contact with the outer world.

The downfall of the remnants of the Assyrian nation commenced when they declared war against the Turks during the war of 1914-18. Driven from their mountain fastnesses into the unwelcoming arms of the 'Iraq Government, their bitter anti-Islamic attitude and the intractable policy of their leaders excited many unhappy incidents, culminating in the slaughter by the 'Iraq Army of 300 tribesmen in the Mosul Liwa in 1933.

The plainsmen were different, as their contacts with urban life made them better citizens and broader in their outlook. Their separation from their mountain cousins commenced in 1552 when the Patriarch Shimun Barmama died and the vacancy was sought by two claimants. The first was his nephew Shimun Dinkha, who achieved the patriarchate by legal chicanery, and the second was Abbot Sulaka of the Monastery of Rabban Hormiz near Alqosh (Mosul Liwa). The Abbot was strongly supported by the plainsmen of Mosul, Erbil and Nisibin, and he was not content to abide by the decision. He appealed to the Pope, who created him "Patriarch of the East," thus forming a Church of the Plains (the Mar Elia) in opposition to the Church of the Mountains (the Mar Shimun).

For two and a half centuries the Churches worked in violent opposition, complicated for a time by the establishment by the Pope of a third ecclesiastical formation centred at Diabekr.

With the advent of the Dominican Fathers to Mosul (*circa* 1700), the Church on the Plains became subservient to Rome, by whom it was known as the Chaldean Uniate Church. In 1845 the Chaldeans became segregated from the Nestorians in a separate "millet" and were recognized as such by the Ottoman Government.

In the war of 1914-18 the Chaldeans were involved with the Armenians in the wave of anti-Christian persecution engineered by the Germans. Many fled to the Mosul Wilayet, where they were sheltered by the Wali. These refugees later settled in 'Iraq and, although inveterate grumblers, are satisfactory citizens and are well represented in the 'Iraq civil service.

All Chaldean priests ordained after January 27, 1940, must have undergone the full curriculum of training in an approved seminary, which has raised the standard of education and social conduct.

Given a fair chance by the 'Iraq Government, the Chaldeans should prove a useful element in the State.

NOTE.—The present Patriarch of Babylon for the Chaldeans is His Beatitude Mgr. Josef Emmanuel II Thomas, resident at Mosul, under whom are the Deputy Patriarch at Baghdad, and the episcopal Sees of Syria and Lebanon (administered from Aleppo), Zakho, Kirkuk, Amadia in 'Iraq, and Urmia and Sena in Iran.

The only available figures for the number of Chaldean communicants are those of the Vatican for 1932, but considerable changes have taken place since then, and the following are based purely on estimation :

Approximate figures for—

Mosul Liwa, 'Iraq ... ..	50,000
Baghdad ... ..	15,000
Basra ... ..	10,000
Kirkuk ... ..	8,000
	—————83,000
Mardin Wilayat, Turkey ... ..	7,000
Diabekr and elsewhere ... ..	1,000
	————— 8,000
In Iran ... ..	4,000
	—————
	95,000

# MARSH PEOPLE OF SOUTH 'IRAQ

By LADY DROWER

A lecture illustrated by lantern slides was given on the subject of the following paper on June 12, 1946, by Lady Drower. Both as Miss E. S. Stevens and since her marriage in 1910 to Sir Edwin Drower, K.B.E., from 1922 to 1946, the Adviser to the Ministry of Justice in 'Iraq, Lady Drower has written a number of books, some on travel, some novels, and especially some authoritative works dealing with the folklore and survivals of the ancient religions of the Middle East.

THE trip about which I thought I would speak this afternoon was, I am very much afraid, the last visit I shall ever make to the real interior of the marshes of Southern 'Iraq, though last spring I paid a visit to some of my old friends at 'Amārah and Qal'at Ṣāliḥ. It was with a heavy heart, for, as Colonel Dowson told you at a recent lecture, one is apt to become attached to those who have been one's friends and hosts on many an occasion, and to uproot oneself finally from a country in which one has lived for twenty-eight years means a real tug at one's heart-strings.

I flew home in 1940, leaving England by long sea in the autumn of that year, and reached Baghdad in January, 1941.

You will remember that 1941 was the year of the Rashid 'Ali intrigue, and when I returned it was very evident that the anti-British and pro-Axis propaganda were all too successful. The former had been carried on energetically, without much interference on our part, over a long period. Schoolchildren had been taught that Great Britain was an arch-criminal and an enemy to freedom, and many of those children were now young men thoroughly imbued with hatred of the nation which on paper was its ally and its friend. The bazaar, backed by the local press and wireless, was freely prophesying German victory, and those who sat on the fence were beginning to slide off—on the wrong side.

Amongst 'Iraqi friends in Baghdad I personally found no lack of cordiality; nevertheless, the mutter of coming thunder was evident on every side and we were not without warning of what was to happen before long. However, I planned two trips for that spring—one to the marshes of Lower 'Iraq, which was an old hunting-ground of mine, and the other to the north, to try to hearten our friends wherever they might be, and endeavour in a modest, and I fear somewhat inadequate, way to communicate some of our belief in ultimate victory to waverers and doubters.

I made the first trip—to the marshes—but the second was never made, because just as I was on the point of starting the storm burst. We women were taken to and besieged in Habbaniyah, and were later flown to safety and became refugees in India.

My first visit to the marshes of Lower 'Iraq, sometimes called the Great Swamp, and known to the 'Iraqis as Al-Khor, had been made many

years before, and during the years I was studying the Mandæan communities I had made a practice of going down into that part of 'Iraq regularly in the spring.

The Great Swamp must have existed since very early times, for the country is alluvial and subject to inundations whenever the two great rivers are in flood. The district, once the "sealands" of Chaldea, was inhabited during the Babylonian epoch and probably in Sumerian times. Ancient mounds rise here and there above the expanse of reeds and water, but have not yet been excavated. The local name for such a mound is *ishān*, and they are supposed by marshmen to be haunted. This protects them to a certain extent from the illicit digger, though such names as Abu Dhahab (Father of Gold), given to one of them, do point to possible hidden treasure. The prosperous Babylonian marsh-dwellers traded, no doubt, like their modern successors, in grain, fish, straw, reeds, reed-mats and such commodities. Drying and salting fish has always been a staple industry. Cultivation of rice in large quantities may have come later.

In the cultivated areas, such as those by the Chahalāh, Majarr and other minor rivers and waterways, one is still only within the fringes of the Great Swamp, although the villages are built of reeds and the roads are mostly water-roads; and one can reach many villages by car. The old railway bund from Basrah to 'Amārah, being higher than the surrounding country, is used as a highway; and between Halfayah and 'Amārah, too, there is a good car road. When one gets deeper into the marshes, however, the sole means of communication is a network of waterways. Here and there these form a veritable maze, and stories are told of strangers being lost for days in the labyrinth. The reeds are high and stout, sometimes as high as Scotch firs, so that vision is limited when one is passing amongst them. The slender marsh boats, with their high prows and sterns, are paddled or poled through lanes of reeds, which rasp against the sides of the boat in narrow places. Sometimes one comes to a large sheet of water, where a wind may cause sea-like waves. It once happened to me, whilst the guest of one of the marsh shaikhs, to be overtaken by a sudden wind. The tarradah was overloaded and water began to lip in, so that before we reached safety we were sitting in several inches of water and near sinking. I remember how the shaikh, who was Shaikh Fāliḥ aṣ-Ṣaiḥūd, alternately prayed and swore! Some of you will no doubt remember him. He was a magnificent figure of a man, weighing over twenty stone. Although he was over eighty he used no spectacles except for reading, and shot far better than younger men. He had a gun made for him so heavy that it was an effort for most men to lift it, and a bicycle built for him in England upon which he used to ride for a few yards. It took several men to hoist him into the saddle and several to get him off. Like most of the marsh shaikhs he had had a great number of wives—seventy or eighty—but his handsome first cousin 'Afera remained a permanency. I asked her once how she managed it. She said, "*Seher*" (magic). "They come and they go," she said, meaning the other wives, "but I get rid of them." She told me some of the magic methods she employed. Most of them entailed the recitation of rhymed incantations, which usually ended, "It is not I who say it, but

Solomon, king of the jinns." One of the charms was this: Take a hoopoe. Stand between two graves, one old and one new, walk backwards saying the incantation and holding the hoopoe behind your back. Cut its throat. You must not speak to anyone, but boil the bird till its flesh is seethed away. Take the wing bone and two other bones with a piece of gold, a piece of coral, a pearl and a little *mahlab* (wild cherry) perfume, place them in a sieve and hold the sieve in the water of a river or stream. The bone that floats upstream is a powerful amulet and very potent against a rival. For another charm there was a special incantation which should be said whilst smearing pig's fat on the rival wife's bedding and reed hut.

'Afera has no need for further magic, for Shaikh Fāliḥ, alas, is dead these several years.

I must get back to my proposed visit to the marsh shaikhs. I wrote to ask Cornelia Dalenberg at 'Amārah if she would accompany me. She was attached to the American mission hospital there and for years had done clinical and maternity work amongst the tribeswomen round 'Amārah. She thought nothing of being roused at three or four on a winter morning and going miles in her little car or by boat to some distant spot, in order to help some poor woman in difficult childbirth or other sickness. She was known and loved as Sitt Sharifa all over 'Amārah and in the marsh villages. Sitt Sharifa and I had known each other for years, and she had never yet been into the heart of the marsh country; I knew that she would gladly accompany me. She put me up in 'Amārah, and it was from her house that I called on the Mutesarriḥ in 'Amārah, Mājid Beg, an extremely able Kurd, to ask for assistance on the trip. Mājid Beg was most kind and helpful. After a few days in 'Amārah—which I spent in visiting and giving a little cinema show in Miss Dalenberg's courtyard (I shall call her Sharifa henceforward)—Mājid Beg sent for me and offered me the use of his official launch, complete with crew and policeman. It had a cabin which would sleep two—just the thing for Sharifa and myself. My servant and the men could always find quarters on the shore at night.

Mājid Beg planned out our trip with me, spreading the map on his floor and giving the men instructions as to the route. Finally, armed with pots and pans and provisions and a quantity of gifts for the tribal women, we set out one March morning. The launch was waiting for us by a large boys' school. As the children had been subjected to much distorted anti-foreign teaching, the boys hanging about the bank were inclined to be unpleasant and rude, but a few friendly remarks and a joke or two soon put an end to all that, and when we slipped our moorings and pushed off downstream a most cordial crowd of them waved us farewell. We were off.

The river was in flood and ruddy with silt, and the country on either side flat, the banks bordered here and there by willows just bursting into leaf. We went at a fine rate. When we left the Tigris and turned into a smaller river there were reed villages on either side, and I had to beg the crew to moderate our pace as the wash thrown up on either side was causing consternation. Piles of fuel-cakes on the low bank were swamped,

water-jars overturned, and mashhūfs\*—the mashhūf is a shallow marsh boat daubed with pitch—rocked so madly that their owners were alarmed, chickens flew in every direction, calves fled frightened into the reed huts which they shared with their owners.

As we went along it soon began to look like the marsh country. Half-naked children ran shouting along the banks and hoarse watch-dogs barked as we passed deeper and deeper into the home of the reeds.

The marshman's house is entirely built of reeds and made without a nail or a screw. The reed hut is like a gypsy's tent, the tenting being reed mats over a framework of tightly bound bundles of reeds. These bundles are called *shebāb*. The reeds are the stout *gasab*, and they are bound into shape by ropes of *bardi* or rushes. The larger reed huts, such as the shaikh's guest-hut, are really magnificent structures; a good guest-hut is sometimes as big as a small church. The sheaves of reeds which form the framework are planted in the ground when building, in two rows, then bent over to meet, and so neatly bound together that they often show no sign of a join at the summit of the arch. These ribs are often as much as two feet thick, and many archæologists think them the ancestors of the masonry arch.

Light comes from the entrance and in hot weather from the lattice-work at the sides, and it is a soft amber light that filters into the great coolness and dimness of a shaikh's guest-hut, sometimes varied by a shaft of brilliant blue sunshine from without which, if it falls on a brightly coloured rug, makes a pool of emerald and ruby in the sober interior.

Wealthier shaikhs sometimes prefer a brick guest-house—a truly lamentable exchange. These are usually furnished with European chairs and tables of poor quality and taste. In the reed huts guests sit on rugs or mattresses on the ground, supported at the back by well-stuffed bolsters.

The poor man's hut is much simpler. It is constructed in the same manner—reed mats over a framework—but it is smaller and untidier. Brushwood may be piled against the sides to keep out the cold north wind, and at the entrance some rushes are usually left unbound at the top, their plummy heads rustling in the wind. The entrance usually faces south. On the sides of the exterior of the hut you will often find rows of flat, thin, brown fuel discs spread along the horizontal ribs of the hut to dry. These are made by mixing chopped reeds with buffalo manure.

Reed villages are sometimes built on land and sometimes right in the water, and when one reaches the heart of the marshes one finds villages where every house stands on its own little island, artificially formed. In

\* *Mashhūf* has inner ribs, curving up from a centre-piece which ends in a long beak—the *anaq*. This pushes a way through the rushes and reeds. This name is applied in general to marsh boats. Largest marsh craft is the *bargash*; next the *tarrada* with arched cross-pieces which act as backs for persons seated on mattresses at the bottom of the boat. These passengers may be as many as ten or twelve. Reeds or mats are laid on the bottom. Outside they are studded with *girsā*, round nails, as decoration. Smallest form of boat is the *chalabiyah*. The most primitive form is a *shāsha*, or bundles of reeds. The usual way of propelling the marsh boat is for a man or men at the back of the boat to paddle, while a man in the prow punts the boat with a pole called a *mardi*, either of reed (*gasab*) or of cane (from India). A *mardi*, however, is quite enough without any paddlers if the polesman understands his job, and they all do.

the dry season when the water is low a foundation is made of mud, reeds and reed mats, trodden down firmly and reinforced by layers as the foundations grow solid, until a platform is formed large and strong enough to support a hut and a few cattle. At flood this platform can be heightened by the addition of more mats, rushes and earth brought by boat. In villages such as Chiba'ish (the word is simply the plural of *chibsha*, the name given to any artificially pressed-down platform) every house stands on its own little island. The streets are waterways, and the only way of going to visit your neighbour is to paddle over in a boat or on a bundle of reeds or to swim. Marsh babies learn to swim as they learn to walk and most children carry a paddle like a fifth limb.

Like the hut, the furniture is usually of mud and reeds. Clothes are hung over a rail of bound rushes, the bed is of reeds, the baby's little sheep's-wool hammock is slung on a framework of bound reeds. The storing bins for rice, flour and so on are of clay, so are the handmills, and the looms on which the women weave mats are of reeds and clay. There is always a clay pot with a cover—the *'idda*—in which the teapot and glasses are kept. The shaikh's wife will also display her dowry chest and a pile of many mattresses, sometimes reaching from floor to ceiling. Each little island hut has its shaggy watchdog, very tick-ridden, its small herd of buffaloes, some thin hens and a few cadaverous cows. Cows are not happy in these villages of many islands, for they are confined to a narrow space and, unless they can wade to some dry land, are fed on rushes. The same applies to the occasional sheep.

But the buffaloes are in Paradise. During the day they wade or swim off leisurely to their own favourite feeding-ground, returning at milking-time of their own accord or driven in by a small boy who rides on the back of one. They look prehistoric creatures.

The marshman is dependent on them for food, for they give him excellent cream, curds, butter and cheese. His staple food is rice, and for his bread he uses rice rather than wheat flour. The women make two kinds of rice bread, *sīha* and *riṣa*, which is somewhat thinner. For salad he has watercress and a plant called *lgat* (pink-flowering), which we were offered sometimes dressed with vinegar and oil. Then there is an edible rush, the *ageyl*, and the fluff of a bulrush is made into a sweetmeat.

I should tell you now more of our journey. We were passed on from shaikh to shaikh, the host of one day or one meal sending on a messenger to our next so that he might be prepared for our visit. The hospitality of the shaikh is impossible to decline, for his pride would be hurt and his good name suffer had he failed to give the best he could offer to his guest.

The procedure offered plenty of opportunity for talk and discussion of the war, which at the moment was just what I wanted. On arrival one is offered a glass of very sweet tea and cigarettes in the guest-hut, and it is not until a guest is actually seated that preparations are made for a meal. The sheep and chickens which are waiting are only killed then. They have to be skinned or plucked and then cooked. The rice, fish and the sweet (usually *mhallabi*, which is ground rice cooked in milk and flavoured with rosewater) are cooked too, so that it is anything from

three to four hours before the meal is ready, and somehow, even then, it often manages to be rather cold. The hours of waiting are filled with talk, and marsh Arabs are skilled conversationalists. After the meal had been eaten and our hands washed, Sharifa and I usually asked to pay a visit to our host's women, and there we distributed our gifts of some yards of silk, a cap or a toy for the children and some sweets.

Efforts were made to entertain us. One shaikh borrowed the school-master's old radio and attached it to our launch battery so that we could hear the news. Unfortunately, in spite of the most patient twiddling of knobs, all we could get was Germany or Italy, and our host grew apologetic. Finally we got some Cossack music, and we begged to listen to that instead. Sometimes we accompanied the shaikh shooting or went with him to his rice-fields. At night we were entertained once by a *basta*, which is the marshman's form of concert. Love songs were sung by a soloist, and when we asked for a war song it was sung to an accompaniment of snapping fingers. A small drum was sometimes played.

Sharifa and I both tried to produce a noise by snapping the first against the second finger, which is the proper way, but in vain, and after showing us how, a boatman in the *mashhūf* which was taking us on next day to another place told me that it is considered a great shame for a woman to snap her fingers before men. He was elderly and ugly. "If my wife were to do it," he said, cupping his hand suggestively, "I should cut her throat and drink her blood in my hands." I was a little indignant, and asked him why he had not stopped Sharifa and myself from doing it. "Oh," he said, "you Englishwomen are different; you are like men."

The marsh women enjoy dancing when they are by themselves, but think it a disgrace to dance before men. This is very different from the women in the north of 'Iraq, for Kurdish women dance the *debka* with men at any big feast.

A form of dance is performed by the marsh women as a mourning ceremony. They tear their dresses open, unbind their hair and throw their manes wildly from side to side, and beat their breasts, chanting in chorus to a leader. This leader is as a rule a professional and known as an *'addāda*, one who enumerates the good qualities of the dead and reasons for grief. I was present at one such dance years ago, the leader in this case being a man in woman's dress. He was skilled in improvising doggerel rhymes and was employed all over the marshes. His face was rouged and hairless, and he had given himself a female name. He was a convert to Islam from the Mandæan religion.

Men and boys dressed in female clothing are popular entertainers at marsh weddings, and only last spring, when I attended the marriage of a priest's son in one of the marsh villages, one of these male dancers had been engaged with the musicians. His long hair and woman's dress made him a rather revolting sight as he performed the wriggings and posturings usually performed by women, but he aroused great enthusiasm in the audience.

I mentioned the Mandæan religion a moment ago, and there are colonies of this interesting people, known locally as *Ṣabba*, in the



marshes, and families scattered here and there. They are good craftsmen, and make the river boats, tribal jewellery, fish-spears, fish-hooks, spades, ploughs and other tools. Another activity of theirs is magic. The marsh people go to the Mandæan priests for charms written either in Arabic or Mandaic. The latter, being in an unknown language and script, are thought very potent. They write charms against illness, possession by evil spirits, love charms of all sorts, and spells to bewilder enemies and rivals and so on. Large sums of money are paid for such writings.

We were lucky in sleeping on the launch, for spring is the flea season, and in the reed huts rugs and rushes are full of fleas. The crew and my servant complained at first that even *they*, comparatively inured, found sleep impossible owing to the fleas. As they said, "Chān as semech yanām bil kḥaūr, ahna nimna" ("Were the fish in the marsh to sleep, then we had slept"), meaning that just as the fish that can't close its eyes never sleeps, they hadn't slept a wink.

The spring lullaby in the marshes was provided by the frogs, millions of them, and the hoarse barking of dogs, for our policeman insisted that our nightly camping-place should be near the village of our host of the night.

Our last evening Sharifa and I wanted to have a quiet, simple meal on the launch and keep ourselves to ourselves, as the saying is. But the policeman would have none of it, though we had plenty of food for him and the crew. The shaikhs, he said, always put a watchman near the launch to see that we came to no harm. However, we made a compromise. We would tie up near Shaikh Faiṣal ibn Majīd's property—not a village, but a place where he had built a brick house for his family, family meaning women—and we could eat on board and keep quiet. So it was decided, but we had no sooner made fast than a man arrived bearing an invitation to eat with Faiṣal, who lived some way off. We excused ourselves, saying that we were too tired for the journey, though we thanked him for his offer of hospitality. Next came a message from the house, "The ladies wished to see us." This of course we could not refuse. We went over grass (later we discovered it was our hostess, Wajiha, who had planted it) and were taken into the house by a black slave. We had no sooner entered than the young mistress rose, gazed at me a moment, and then, crying, "It is you!" she rushed at me and kissed me on both cheeks. I greeted her warmly, but could not remember just who she was or where I had seen her before. By degrees I managed to find out that she and her mother had been amongst my visitors when I camped in a hut at Qal'at Ṣāliḥ, which I had often done in the spring. Qal'at Ṣāliḥ is a small town, or large village, in the 'Amārah district. This girl was not a tribal girl, but the daughter of a Basrah merchant. The mother, a widow in easy circumstances, lived in Qal'at Ṣāliḥ, and the girl, divorced from a former husband, was studying at the school, as she had a passionate desire to read and write. She was a good singer and much in request to sing at *maulūds*, religious gatherings at which chanting takes place. Faiṣal, hearing of her good looks and accomplishments, had wanted her for years, but her kinsfolk were against a tribal marriage. Finally he obtained her, probably paying a pretty

penny for her, and now she was his favourite wife. There was much more to her story, too long to tell you here, but very romantic.

We had to promise to return that evening. We did, and I made a happy request when, seeing that she was not wearing tribal dress, I asked to see her wardrobe. She got out dress after dress, piling them on my lap till they were up to my chin. She knew a number of magic incantations too, and had written them down. Her good looks and intelligence made it easy to understand why she was the favourite of the much-married Faiṣal, two of whose wives I had already met in 'Amārah. Marsh shaikhs made a great hobby of matrimony, and Majīd, Faiṣal's father, is reputed to have had at one time a new wife for every night of the year. This is possibly an exaggeration, but it is thought to be a mark of manly strength and wealth to have many wives and concubines.

A great shaikh's women wear a veil before strangers, but in general marsh women go unveiled. They are hard-working, merry and lovable, and often good-looking. Life is not easy for them. They are divorced for little reason, and the husband keeps the children if they are sons. A girl may not marry without her paternal cousin's consent. He can take her if he wishes, but if not, like a dog in the manger, he can forbid her to marry anyone else. If the girl marries a lover without the cousin's permission it is at the risk of her life, and cases of girls who have been murdered for disobeying this law of the paternal cousin's rights are numerous. No wonder that the love songs are often of disappointed or tragic love.

Well, the women carry on. They grind, cook, milk, weave, dye cloth, fetch fodder, bear many children and shoulder burdens till they grow old before their time. The *zilm*, the men, their taskmasters and oppressors, are also their children, their foolish ones, who often turn to them for advice and comfort, and many a woman rules her husband without his knowing it.

## REVIEWS

**Portrait of the Dalai Lama.** By Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

Pp. 414. 49 illustrations. 2 maps. William Collins. 1946. 21s.

Sir Charles Bell, Lawrence Memorial Medallist of this Society in 1937, has accomplished a great feat. Without detracting from the divinity and majesty of his great friend the thirteenth Dalai Lama he has made him intelligible and human.

Born in 1870, Bell won a scholarship at Winchester. After passing into the Indian Civil Service he went to New College, Oxford, and was appointed to Bengal in 1891. Nine years' varied work in the plains took heavy toll of a constitution which was never strong. In 1900 he was posted to the better climate of the Darjeeling district. Here he had frequent contact with Tibetans and with British-Indian subjects of Tibetan stock. He at once applied himself to learning Tibetan, and did this so thoroughly that in 1905 he published an English-Tibetan dictionary and a grammar of colloquial Tibetan; subsequent editions of which still hold the field as the best practical guides to the spoken language. In connection with the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa of 1903-1904 he was in charge of a party which conducted a survey for a railway from the plains of Bengal via Bhutan to Phari in Tibet, and a little later he was put in charge of the administration of the Chumbi Valley which had been temporarily ceded to Britain under the terms of the Anglo-Tibetan Treaty of 1904. After twice acting as Political Officer in Sikkim during the temporary absence of Claude White, who held the post for nearly twenty years, Bell succeeded White in 1908 and remained in Sikkim until 1918. He then decided to retire from Government service, but actually spent most of 1919 and 1920 on leave in Darjeeling, collecting material for his books which were to follow. He was thus on the spot when his services as Political Officer in Sikkim were again needed in 1920. The outstanding periods of his career were 1910-1912, when he established intimate touch with the Dalai Lama during His Holiness's sojourn in India; 1913-1914, when the treaty which has since governed relations between Britain and Tibet was being worked out at Simla; and 1920-1921, when, in response to the frequent and urgent invitations of the Dalai Lama and of the Tibetan Government, he visited Lhasa. He retired in 1921.

Bell then set himself to the task of making Tibet intelligible to the world. He published *Tibet Past and Present* in 1924, *The People of Tibet* in 1928, and *The Religion of Tibet* in 1931. The rest of his life was devoted to the present work, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*. It was with this book in view that in 1933-1935 he revisited Tibet and travelled in Mongolia, Siberia, Manchuria, and China. In order that he might complete it without disturbance he uprooted himself in the spring of 1939 from the pleasant home in Berkshire, where he lived surrounded by his Tibetan treasures, and went to British Columbia. There are passages in the book which cannot have been written before 1945, and on March 8, 1945, having accomplished this task of duty and affection, Bell died.

In order that the portrait of the Dalai Lama might be realistic it was necessary to set it against a Tibetan background and in a Tibetan frame. The result is a book which, without obscuring the central figure, gives the best account of Tibet, its people, history, government, and religion that has ever been written. Some of the main points which Bell brings out are that until religion became the dominant influence in their lives the Tibetans were amongst the most redoubtable warriors of Asia; the reality of religion not only in their monasteries but also in their homes; their love of truth and also of fun (Charlie Chaplin has no greater admirers anywhere than in Lhasa); the mediæval but efficient government of the country which he compares, to the advantage of Tibet, with conditions which have prevailed and still prevail in many parts of China; and the fact that China's claim to dominate Tibet is based on a partial and intermittent occupation of the country which began in 1720 and ended in 1911.

Bell points out that by race, language, and religion, Tibet is much more closely allied to Mongolia, the Indian Borderland, Nepal, Bhutan, and Burma than to China proper. From China Tibet has borrowed much, especially in the spheres of art, dress, and social behaviour. But Tibet's language is its own, and it is to India and Nepal that Tibet owes both the religion, which is its most precious possession, and its alphabet. Perhaps it is from Indian philosophy also that Tibetans have taken the idea that preparedness for war is not the best or only way to seek peace and ensue it.

A very good chapter deals with the question, "What is a Dalai Lama?" The first of the line, on the third of whom the Mongolians on their conversion to Buddhism were to confer the title of Dalai Lama, was born in 1391, the son of a herdsman who lived in the desolate highlands of Western Tibet. He became a disciple of the great religious reformer Tsong-ka-pa. He rose to great eminence in the Church and founded the monasteries of Drepung near Lhasa—now the largest monastery in the world—and of Tashi Lünpo. Some years after his death it was recognized that his spirit had passed into another priest, who accordingly became the head of the Drepung monastery. Bell interprets Dalai as meaning "All Embracing." Others have interpreted it as meaning "Ocean," a sense which is consistent with the Tibetan word "Gya-tso," which occurs as the final name of all the Dalai Lamas. Actually the two senses do not seem to be irreconcilable. The fifth of the line, who is still known as the "Great Fifth," had trouble with the King of Tsang, the area in which Shigatse and Tashi Lünpo lie. In 1641 Gusri Khan and the Oelöt Mongols came to his aid, defeated the King of Tsang, and gave the Dalai Lama sovereignty over Tibet. His sovereignty was acknowledged by the Chinese in 1650. He visited China and was treated as an independent sovereign. He declared himself to be an incarnation of Chenrezi, the God of Mercy, and his tutor, whom he appointed Grand Lama of Tashi Lünpo, to be an incarnation of O-pa-me, the Boundless Light. He began the building of the Potala palace and monastery on the site of the palace of an earlier king which had been destroyed. In the later years of his reign he delegated his temporal authority to his Chief

Minister, who continued work on the Potala and concealed his master's death for some years in order that he might complete it.

Other chapters contain much useful information regarding the Tibetan system of government and administration. At the head is the Dalai Lama, or, until a Dalai Lama comes of age at about eighteen, a Regent who is always a monk. Next comes a lay Prime Minister, and after him the Kasha or Cabinet of four, of whom the senior is always a monk and the rest are lay. The Prime Minister is not in the Cabinet. On the religious side the chief co-ordinator is the Chi-kyab Khempo. Next to him come the four Grand Monk Secretaries. Nominally their duties are confined to religious matters, but in fact their influence in other matters also is great. All ecclesiastical and civil officials, the number of whom throughout Tibet is 350, are members of the National Assembly, which is a sort of Parliament. Two features of Tibetan political practice deserve mention. One is that decisions by bodies such as the Kasha and the National Assembly are always unanimous. This is found to give weightage to minorities if they hold firm opinions and stick to them. The other is that not even in Parliament do Tibetans make formal speeches. A few words here and a grunt or two there are found to be enough to express an opinion.

The multiplicity of high offices tends to elasticity. It normally so happens that the Dalai Lama or Regent, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the National Assembly do not all function vigorously at the same time. From 1912 onwards the thirteenth Dalai Lama was an autocrat. But most of his predecessors had been glad to devote most of their attention to spiritual affairs and to leave temporal affairs to others.

Few can have anticipated that the thirteenth Dalai Lama would attain to eminence as the ruler of his country. Most of his predecessors had taken little part in secular affairs; since 1720 Chinese Ambans had in varying, though latterly diminishing, degree been the actual rulers of Tibet; and between 1815 and 1875 four Dalai Lamas, the ninth to the twelfth, had died young. About his early years not much information appears to be available. In 1876, the year of his birth, the British, desiring to gain touch and to open trade with Tibet, and believing with reason that the aloofness of Tibet was dictated or fostered by the Chinese, secured from the Chinese, without consulting the Tibetans, an agreement to protect a mission to Tibet. But the Chinese were unable or unwilling to carry out their undertaking, and a project for sending a British mission to Lhasa in 1885 was abandoned. After further attempts on similar lines it was decided in 1899 to approach the Tibetans direct, and two letters were addressed to the Dalai Lama by the Viceroy of India. These—owing to Chinese influence, as it transpired later—were returned unopened. Negotiations with China were then resumed. After prolonged correspondence with China it seemed almost certain that Chinese and Tibetan delegates would be sent to Kampa Dzong, a place a little to the north of the Sikkim-Tibet border, and Colonel Younghusband arrived there with an armed escort in 1903. The Tibetans adopted delaying tactics, and it was decided that a British mission under Colonel Younghusband should advance to Gyantse. After engagements in which the

Tibetans, who had no modern arms, fought bravely but ineffectually, Colonel Younghusband pushed on to Lhasa, where a convention was concluded with the Tibetans whereby British Trade Agents were to be stationed at Gyantse and at Gartok in Western Tibet, in addition to Yatung, where a Trade Agent had been established under an Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1890; trade was to be freely permitted at Yatung, Gyantse, and Gartok; and an indemnity was fixed, pending the payment of which the Chumbi Valley was to be occupied. Points of interest in connection with the Younghusband mission are that the Tibetans were greatly impressed by the prompt withdrawal of the British as soon as the treaty had been signed, and by the admirable behaviour of the British and Indian troops; and that subsequently the Dalai Lama made it clear that he himself had not been responsible for letting matters come to a head. It would seem that in 1903-1904, although he was then some twenty-seven years of age, he had not yet emerged to the position of being the actual ruler of his country.

Then came eight years of tribulation. Before Younghusband's advance the Dalai Lama fled to Urga in Mongolia in 1904 and on to China. He was deposed by Imperial Chinese decree, which the Tibetans ignored. The Chinese, alarmed by the Younghusband mission, the withdrawal of which had left a vacuum, proceeded to tighten their hands on Tibet. Arriving at Peking in September, 1908, the Dalai Lama was received with ostentatious splendour, but was made to bow the knee to the Emperor, whose predecessor had received the Great Fifth Dalai Lama as an independent monarch. In Peking the Dalai Lama brought about formal interviews with the American, French, Russian, and British Ministers. To King Edward VII he sent the message: "Some time ago events occurred which were not of my creating; they belong to the past, and it is my sincere desire that peace and friendship should exist between the two neighbouring countries." Already his horizon was widening, and in that message he stated a policy from which he never departed.

Leaving Peking in December, 1908, he arrived at Lhasa a year later. While he was still on his way he had heard that Chao Ehr Feng had overrun much of Eastern Tibet, had destroyed monasteries, and was advancing on Lhasa; and he had sent telegrams of protest to China, Britain, and elsewhere. In February, 1910, he fled from Lhasa through the worst of Tibetan winter weather, covering the 270 miles to Gnatong, the first inhabited spot on the Indian side of the border, in nine days. In Darjeeling the Government of India placed a modest but adequate house at his disposal.

Here the Dalai Lama and Bell met for the first time. It would have been good to listen in on them—both in the prime of life, both religious but broadminded, both courteous and mild in appearance, but with wills of their own and with tempers which needed to be kept under control. The Dalai Lama did well when, disregarding his kingship and godhead, he rose and advanced to meet Bell as an equal. The frequent conversations which followed were between the two of them, with no one else in the room. In their first interview (see page 92) the Dalai Lama blamed the Chinese for having precipitated Younghusband's advance on Lhasa,

accused the Chinese of having disregarded promises made to himself in Peking, and asked for British intervention. In the course of an interview with the Viceroy in Calcutta a month later he used similar language. His disappointment was great when he learned that Britain could not intervene and when a request to Russia also was refused. The Chinese again declared his deposition and the people of Tibet again ignored the declaration.

In 1911 the tide turned. Revolution broke out in China and the Chinese garrisons in Tibet mutinied. In 1912 the Chinese troops in Central Tibet were evacuated to China via India, and the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet. One of his first actions was to send four boys for education in England, where they were made welcome at Rugby School.

The Dalai Lama lost no time in seeking an adjustment with China. In 1913-1914 there was held at Simla a convention at which, for the first time, China, Tibet, and Britain appeared on an equal footing. Bell acted as adviser on Tibetan affairs to the British plenipotentiary, Sir Henry McMahon. At an early stage in the negotiations it was explicitly stated that previous agreements, if not revived by the new agreement, should be regarded as cancelled. After much patient labour an agreement was initialed in April, 1914, by the three plenipotentiaries whereby, in return for the concession by Tibet of Chinese suzerainty, Tibet was to be autonomous within an area termed Outer Tibet. In Inner Tibet (areas nearer to China) the position was left indefinite, except that the Dalai Lama's control over monasteries was assured. But two days later the Chinese Government, taking a course unusual in those days, telegraphed a repudiation of the action of their plenipotentiary. It was understood that it was only on account of disagreement as to the location of the frontier that China withheld full signature. The Tibetan and British plenipotentiaries then signed, as bilateral instruments, the agreement, a map defining the Tibet-India frontier, and new trade regulations. It was also agreed by Tibet and Britain that, pending adherence to the new agreement by China, the Chinese should be debarred from all privileges contemplated therein.

Bell shows that the Dalai Lama held that Tibet has never admitted Chinese over-lordship; that China, even at the times of Nepalese and British incursions, had failed to protect Tibet; that the actual relationship between the Dalai Lamas and the Manchu Emperors had been that of spiritual leader and lay defender; and that this relationship had ceased with the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama continued until the end of his life to explore every possibility of reconciliation with China.

In 1920-1921, at the earnest and repeated invitation of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government, Bell visited Lhasa. It was during this visit of nearly a year that he gathered much of the information which has gone to the writing of his books.

In 1933 the Dalai Lama died, aged fifty-seven according to our reckoning and fifty-eight according to Tibetan reckoning. Bell considers with good reason that, as a ruler, of all the Dalai Lamas he was the greatest. He left unsolved the question whether in the modern

world there is room for a nation, strongly individual but small in numbers, which puts religion first and desires to live in harmony and peaceful commerce with its great neighbours, India and China.

It is difficult in a review to do justice to this fine book or to the pluck of the man who spent the last fourteen years of his life writing it. It would be fitting that when a second edition of the book is published it should include a portrait of the author. The style is lucid, and considering how closely its 400 pages, amounting to some 175,000 words, are packed with information it is wonderfully easy reading. A second edition might with advantage include two additional maps—one of the area between Sikkim and Lhasa and another of the immediate vicinity of Lhasa—and the index might be expanded. From the phonetic rendering of some words, such as *Pari* in place of the more usual *Phari* (which some prefer to render as *P'hari*, indicating that there is no *F* sound in the word), it appears that if Bell had lived longer he might have made a new contribution to the difficult subject of the phonetic rendering of Tibetan words. A point on which some are likely to disagree with Bell is his practice of calling some people and places not by their Tibetan names but by a literal translation of these names, syllable by syllable, into English. Thus, *Dre-pung*, the biggest monastery in the world, becomes "Rice Heap Monastery"; *Tsa-rong*, whose rise to a high position is associated with the display of great valour and resource in covering the Dalai Lama's flight to India, becomes "Clear Eye"; and *Chikyab Khempo*, for which the normal English rendering is Lord Chamberlain, becomes "the All Covering Abbot." In the hands of anybody less expert in the Tibetan language than Bell such a practice would be dangerous. A chapter dealing with proper names and their meanings might have been most interesting.

But these are matters of detail. With true art the book, when every page of it has been read and re-read, leaves the reader still mystified with the question, "How do Dalai Lamas happen?" How is it that the son of a peasant can develop into a "Great Fifth" or a "Great Thirteenth," and that, in the presence of the child who is the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, men and women of different nations and of different creeds feel uplifted and aware that in the child there is that which passes their understanding? Is there perhaps in many of us that which, if people believe in us, can raise us to great heights; or is it also that Tibetans, disdainful to attempt to select a Dalai Lama but yielding to guidance which they believe to be divine, do actually discover what they go out to seek?

B. J. GOULD.

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**Rural Education and Welfare in the Middle East.** By H. B. Allen. H.M. Stationery Office. 1s. 6d.

This is an official Report which is eminently readable, and of interest and value to all who may be concerned with education and social welfare in the countries of the Middle East. The author, Dr. H. B. Allen, was for many years the chief local representative of the Near East Foundation, an American philanthropic society, whose object has been to assist the inhabitants of rural areas in



Eastern Europe and Western Asia, by initiating experiments at its own expense in rural education and social welfare, and having proved them successful to hand them over to the Government authorities concerned to develop and extend. From his centre in Salonika, Dr. Allen travelled between the wars throughout the Near and Middle East, conferring with educational, agricultural and health authorities, official and unofficial; suggesting fresh fields of enterprise; offering grants from the Foundation, and generally advising and assisting in a variety of ways.

When during the recent war the Middle East Supply Centre sought for an educational expert to serve on the Anglo-American Mission set up to advise them on agriculture, education and public health, what better choice could they have made than that of Dr. Allen, who from his long experience and sympathetic handling of educational and social problems was so admirably fitted for the post in question?

Dr. Allen's Report was submitted to the M.E.S.C. in September, 1944, and has now been published simultaneously by His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States. Though brief—it only runs to 24 pages—it is most comprehensive, and covers the writer's observations and recommendations made after an extensive tour of nearly all the countries of the Middle East in 1943-1944, including Egypt, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq, Palestine, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon and Persia.

In his introduction to the Report Dr. K. A. H. Murray, formerly Director of Food in the M.E.S.C., quotes a statement by Dr. Allen, with which all who have had experience in education in the Middle East will agree. "There is a tendency throughout the Middle East to erect an imposing superstructure in education without adequate foundations; to provide various forms of higher education when the great majority of the population is totally or largely illiterate. . . . In areas crying out for primary schools and for adult education to reduce illiteracy, for trade schools, sanitation inspectors, midwives, and vocational instructors in agriculture, the tendency is to deal with the arts and sciences and higher philosophies." How often has that criticism been made before, and with how little avail!

In only three of the countries visited by Dr. Allen did he find that something had been done to counteract this prevailing tendency. (It is of interest in passing to note that in all three it is British initiative that is responsible.) In Cyprus the Rural Central School at Morphou, and in the Sudan the training college for rural teachers at Bakht el Ruda are noted as doing work of real value in providing, in a rural environment, specialized courses for rural teachers. The third country that receives Dr. Allen's commendation in this regard is Palestine, where many years ago the present reviewer was privileged to collaborate with him and his colleagues of the Near East Foundation in an experiment in rural education. That this experiment has proved successful may be judged from Dr. Allen's words: "The village schoolmaster who, in the East, is usually a rather academically minded individual, is winning for himself the confidence of the conservative peasant. Many of these [Arab] village schools of rural Palestine have become important centres of community improvement."

In most of the other countries visited Dr. Allen found that little or nothing had been done for the rural population. In Eritrea and Ethiopia, for instance, Italian rule had provided no education at all except in a few of the larger towns. In Persia, again, where 85 per cent. of the population are rural, the peasants (who provide 90 per cent. of the national income) "for the most part are entirely without educational facilities, have practically no medical attention, are left more or less to themselves in matters of agricultural practice, and exist throughout most of the country under a type of feudalism that may be characterized as

mediæval." Dr. Allen believes the situation in 'Iraq to be little better, and in Egypt to be even worse. There certainly seems to be no doubt that in many countries of the Middle East the agricultural population, who form the great majority everywhere, are living in conditions of ignorance and squalor.

A vast amount of work remains to be done if Dr. Allen's recommendations are to be carried out. It will mean, too, a heavy expenditure of Government funds in all the countries concerned. Is the United States willing to help with substantial grants or loans? Unless some financial assistance is provided from outside it is difficult to see how the local authorities can face the cost alone. Even so, let us not forget the warning that Dr. Allen so wisely gives: "We of the West should not attempt to impose our form of government or our way of life on the East; nor should we measure their standards of living by our chosen yardsticks. In fact, there are certain realms in which the slow-plodding peasant or the freedom-loving nomad has much to offer to the hurried Westerner." It is not often that one comes across words like these in an official report. Let them be well weighed by all concerned, British, Americans and Arabs alike.

This Report is deserving of the most careful study by all who are interested in the welfare of the peoples of the Middle East, and not by educationists only. It is indeed an important document. If any effective action is to be taken on it, as we sincerely hope it may, it should be translated into Arabic (and Persian and Amharic) without delay, and widely distributed among all the countries concerned. Is it too much to hope that this hint be taken before it is too late by His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America?

HUMPHREY BOWMAN.

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**Nisi Dominus : A Survey of the Palestine Controversy.** By Nevill Barbour. Pp. 248; 3 maps. Harrap and Co. 8s. 6d.

At a time when discussions on Palestine are apt to be clouded by emotion and ignorance, this welcome and excellent book will enable its readers to grasp all the relevant features of the problems involved. Mr. Barbour has valuable qualifications wherewith to tackle his subject. Not only is he a scholar, but he lived for some years in Palestine, where he learnt Arabic and Hebrew thoroughly, being thereby able to talk freely with many Arab and Jewish leaders and to make a comprehensive study of the political and social questions on the spot. Incidentally, his evidence was heard by the Royal and Partition Commissions, and his duties in the Middle East Division of the Ministry of Information and other services have kept him in close touch with recent developments in Palestine.

Mr. Barbour has successfully avoided the pitfall into which so many writers appear to plunge—namely, that of becoming either violently pro-Arab or pro-Jew. He summarizes all the facts on both sides, his judgments are fair and he exposes with impartial candour the shortcomings of not only the Jews and the Arabs but also of the British Administration in Palestine. He has carefully studied almost every book, report and bulletin on the Holy Land, with the result that this present volume is very well documented, the excerpts from statements by Zionist leaders from time to time being of especial interest. Further, Mr. Barbour has the great gifts of conciseness and clarity, which make his book easy and pleasant to read, besides giving a graphic and vivid picture of the whole controversy without any sentimental frills. The author begins with a résumé of Jewish history in Palestine from the earliest records to the present era. Readers will learn, perhaps with surprise, of the extensive territorial ambitions of the Jewish nationalists in the first century A.D., and it would be interesting to know the authorities on which this account is based. In more recent times Theodor Herzl made vigorous attempts with the Turkish Sultan between 1895 and 1904 to establish an entirely Jewish State in

Palestine: the bait offered was the restoration of the finances of the Ottoman Empire, but the Sultan became suspicious, and, when Herzl tried to drag in the Kaiser as well, the Sublime Porte issued a firm rebuff that ended the matter. Herzl was, however, the forerunner of the extreme Zionists of to-day.

We then pass to a summary of the history of the Arabs in Palestine. The first milestone of Islam was the building of the Dome of the Rock, from which one eventually travels to the Arab uprising in the war of 1914-18, the correspondence of the Sherif of Mecca with Sir Henry McMahon, and the military exploits of the Emir Feisal and T. E. Lawrence. Then came the bombshell in the shape of the Balfour Declaration, the ambiguous phrasing of which is regarded in certain quarters as the prime cause of all the Palestine troubles since the first World War. After examining this question and its sequel very thoroughly Mr. Barbour explains that the *causa mali tanti* was twofold: (a) the unwillingness of His Majesty's Government to state clearly its own interpretation of the Declaration and enforce it; and (b) the intransigence of the leading Zionists in insisting that their own interpretations should invariably be followed. In this connection the report (pp. 96-97) of General Bols, Chief Administrator of Palestine in 1920, should be carefully read. After describing in plain language the hostile and abusive behaviour of the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem, their grasping attitude to every political issue and their refusal to obey law and order, the General finally recommends that the Commission should be abolished. Much of his report seems to be plain common sense, and one feels that, had it been acted on firmly by His Majesty's Government a great deal of the rioting and bloodshed in Palestine might have been avoided. Actually this report appears never to have been officially published and no effective steps were taken.

While pointing out the tendency of the extreme Zionists to prevarication and distortion, Mr. Barbour considers that "nearly all of Palestine's troubles might well be said to come from lack of national direction and control" on the part of the Government, especially in the matter of land sales and immigration. It was this latter point that finally roused the Arabs to frenzy and revolt, for it is difficult to understand why the Government allowed Jewish immigration to leap from 9,553 in 1932 to the excessive figure of 61,844 in 1935. By this concession, says our author, they revealed themselves as "lacking the courage or the power to act on their convictions," and thereby provoked the bitter Arab antagonism and disturbances during the "dark path of repression" from 1936 to 1939.

The announcement and failure of the Partition Scheme aroused considerable interest among the British public, which had rather an unexpected result, for on p. 197 we read that: "Throughout the summer [of 1938] a number of British inquirers, many of them warm admirers of the Jewish people, visited Palestine in order to study the situation at first hand; most of them returned to England with the conviction that Palestine could never be the solution of the Jewish problem."

Similar opinions were expressed in the House of Commons by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. MacDonald, who declared that "Palestine on account of its limited area could not be the solution of the Jewish refugee question," while in 1945 Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, told the House that "Palestine could not solve the whole problem of Jewish immigration."

Chiefly to placate Arab hostility and to provide a practical, if temporary, solution of the problem the Government issued the White Paper of 1939, which represents the policy of His Majesty's Government in Palestine to-day; it has been followed (1945) by the enquiry of the Anglo-American Joint Commission, whose report is still *sub judice* in London and Washington. Here Mr. Barbour stops, but one cannot help regretting that an expert with such a profound knowledge of his subject should not have offered his own suggestions for the solution of this thorny question. His book, however, is quite admirable and should be carefully studied not only by the general public but also by responsible authorities at Westminster and Whitehall, who may have to give important decisions for the settlement of the Palestine controversy.

**The Palestine Problem.** By Lieut.-Colonel R. B. Williams-Thompson. Four maps. Demy 8vo. Andrew Melrose, Ltd. 1946. 12s. 6d.

This is a thoroughly good book in so far as the author sets out to describe and analyze the background, factual and psychological, of his subject. It is difficult to point to any weakness in his perception or judgment, and no issue is shirked. The reader is much helped by a generous use of sub-paragraphs summarizing salient factors and arguments; press and other quotations are well and fairly selected; and statistics are mercifully kept to an unavoidable minimum.

It is indeed refreshing to read a book on Palestine which is truly without bias, and which avoids the misstatements, or at least misrepresentations, that, however unintentional, are so usual. The author might perhaps have been more liberal in his references to the British Administration, whose selfless and efficient service under the most thankless, and latterly dangerous, conditions is too often inadequately recognized.

The Personalities list at the beginning contains some inaccuracies—thus, Ibn Saud would be entertained to read of Ali (who was the eldest son of Sherif Hussein), referred to as “one time King of Saudi-Arabia”; it was a pity not to give Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer his rank, of which all Palestine was very much aware; Mr. Lloyd-George should have been included among the architects of the National Home; and Ragheb Bey el Nashashibi, for over twelve years the astute and dominating Mayor of Jerusalem, should certainly have been mentioned by name.

Like the Peel Report, however, which as a State document is a model of painstaking research and factual presentation, the book is weakest in its conclusion. The author sees the wood for the trees until he gets to the verge; so it is a real disappointment to find that he can only suggest “making the Status Quo” (a fatal phrase in the East) “work,” when it has so clearly proved unworkable.

It is unfortunate the publication of such a valuable study did not await the Anglo-American Commission's Report and the subsequent statement by His Majesty's Government, the Morrison Plan: for to that extent it is already out of date. The Morrison Plan goes back to the principle of the recommendations of the Peel Commission; a severe surgical operation is unavoidable, though not now a complete amputation. A Federal division of the country into autonomous regions or cantons is physically not so difficult as might at first be thought—a glance at the map on pages 72-73 will illustrate this—and leads up to what, it seems, can be the only ultimate political solution—that is, an Arab Federation, predominantly Moslem, which would absorb Arab Palestine, exclusive of the “Vatican” cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and with which the autonomous regions of the Christian Lebanon in the north and the Jewish National Home in the south would be integrated.

The reviewer may perhaps be pardoned if he recalls that over ten years ago a policy on just these lines was advocated before the Central Asian Society; but since then much water has flowed down the Jordan.

L. G. A. C.

**Syria.** By Robin Fedden. Robert Hale. Pp. 287; 32 illustrations. 1946. 21s. net.

Mr. Fedden's *Syria* is definitely a travel book, one that any wanderer in that delightful country would do well to take with him when travelling—for pleasure is no longer a forbidden luxury—but it is a great deal more. It claims to be the first comprehensive survey of Syria, past and present, that has appeared in English and, as such, will be read with pleasure and profit. The author knows the country intimately and has had the advantage of the assistance of the Free French Authorities in Syria and the Lebanon, enabling him to penetrate into remote parts of the country which he could not otherwise have visited.

It is an original book, the author having not only an artist's eye for the beauties of nature but a keen sense of the romantic and the unusual. He visits, for example, the village of Djoun, where that extraordinary woman, Lady Hester Stanhope, who stamped her personality on her generation, took up her residence, but he is more interested in a young guide who is credited with taking on the appearance of a faun than he is in the adventures of Chatham's grand-daughter. And whether describing well-known features such as Damascus seated in its fruitful oasis where

the apricot harvest is a sight to be remembered, or the evidence of Rome's greatness in the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek, he will find something to say that throws new light on ancient history or creates a modern impression. But the author is most interesting in the remote by-ways of the mountains, where not every traveller can follow him. Mr. Fedden describes the anomalous position of Syria among the nations as it accounts for her history past and present. It was a battleground; a frontier between East and West, with definite boundaries—the Taurus northward, the Euphrates to the east, the deserts to the south and westward the sea—which no sovereign state has ever permanently filled. It is a puzzle that has never been put together, and thus the unified picture has never emerged.

A country that can offer such varied scenery as "nine thousand foot snows overhanging a scorched desert" has its own claim, but the author describes the purpose of his book as being to visit "the astonishing and romantic monuments" which stand all over Syria in the deserts, in the mountains and along the shores, relating them to their background, and, in so doing, "to answer the questions which normally arise in the mind of the inquisitive traveller when faced with the ruins of places such as Ruad, Baalbek, the Oasis of Resafa and the Castles of the Crusaders. The approach is chronological, and each stratum of history with its embedded monuments is taken in turn, beginning with the Phœnician towns and ending with our times."

Having outlined his plan, Mr. Fedden, who knows the country from end to end, leads us to all sorts of places, many of them little known, which he illumines with his historical comments. And he misses very little. After visiting Antioch on the Orontes, once the third greatest city in the East, and the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians, he does not fail to follow on to Aleppo and Apamea, the Seleucid's Aldershot, where six hundred Imperial War elephants were housed, as well as the famous stud that supplied horses for their cavalry. A pleasant town with a mile-long arcaded shopping centre, which also boasted a Neo-Platonic School.

Some of the most interesting pages refer to the North Syrian churches, many of them placed in almost inaccessible spurs of the mountains, notably the magnificent Basilica of St. Simeon, the saint whose austerities left an undying memory in Syria. Things great and small pass before us in this entertaining book; if we pause before the stupendous castles that the Crusaders left behind them we are not too hurried to notice the home town of that intriguing person Philip the Arab, who was crowned Emperor of Rome by his fellow-soldiers on the banks of the Euphrates, and murdered by them some four years afterwards. His bust in the Vatican Galleries shows a stern, good-looking man, very similar in type to those of the modern Druzes who live round about in the Jebel.

In a book dealing exclusively with Syria, it is only natural that the author should be very much occupied with the Umayyad dynasty, which produced some very capable rulers who made Damascus a city of beauty and luxury, increasing the reputation for magnificence in what was for a time the seat of government of that empire, which eventually stretched from the Atlantic to the confines of China. But I cannot always see eye to eye with him. The Umayyads were town dwellers—merchants who had little contact with the romantic desert. They sent their young children to be brought up in the healthy air of the desert under the care of Badawin women, and they sometimes, as this book proves, built country houses for themselves in the wilds. But that was all. Muawiyya was the son of the Prophet's bitterest enemy, and not, I think, his brother-in-law; he cheated Ali out of the Khalifate, and caused his own son to be named as his successor, in spite of his promise to Hasan, who resigned his claim on the condition that his brother Husayn should be Muawiyya's successor. As to Yazid, he was hated and feared by his contemporaries, who should have known, and one of them compressed an account of his three years' reign into these pithy lines: "He reigned three years and six months; in his first year he killed Al-Husain, son of Ali (on both of whom be peace); in his second year he plundered Madina and sacked it for three days; and in his third year he raided the Ka'aba."

The book is well produced on better paper than we are usually allowed in these austere days; it is illustrated by photographs.

**Arabia Phœnix.** By Gerald de Gaury. Pp. 169; 64 illustrations. Harrap. 1946. 10s. 6d.

Lieut.-Colonel de Gaury's book *Arabia Phœnix* is primarily a description of a journey he made in 1935, when he accompanied Sir Andrew Ryan, the first British Minister to Saudi Arabia, on a visit to King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud at Riyadh, the capital of Arabia. In its chapters we read of the not-so-easy journey, first by aeroplane to the Isle of Bahrein in the intense heat of early autumn, thence by small sailing dhow to the port of Uqair, and then across the harsh desert and dune country to Riyadh by car. The return was made over the high backbone of Arabia by way of Duwadami to the outskirts of Mecca, and finally to Jeddah, which Doughty described as the place where "the Frankish consuls live in the pallid solitude of their palaces." One could always rely on Doughty to put into quaint Elizabethan English the salient points of a scene which the ordinary travel-writer might fail to notice.

De Gaury draws a vivid picture of life in Riyadh and in the precincts of the Royal palace, where, except for modern wireless and the motor-car, Ibn Saud ruled and lived in the atmosphere of the eleventh century. He tells us also much of the ways of the Beduin of the interior, who at that time, not so very long ago, were quite unspoilt by the impact of modern civilization, and who seem to be of a finer type, with more sterling qualities than those one meets farther west. Of the Wahhabi religion and its fanatical intolerance he says that, when Ibn Saud raised his puritan standard in the early part of the century, the nomad Arab had certainly become lax in his observance of the rigid laws of Muhammadanism for the desert is a harsh enough place without making it harsher. "Three Beduin three Muslims; two Beduin two half-hearted Muslims; one Beduin and no Muslim at all" was a saying which was commonly heard at that time. In this connection I wonder who thought of this form of metaphor first: the West Country farmers of England or the Muslims of Arabia? For in Dorset there is a somewhat similar age-old saw concerning the value of boys as workers on a farm: "One boy a boy; two boys half a boy; three boys no boy at all."

There is another chapter on sport in the desert in which is mentioned hawking with the saker falcon, a type approximating to our peregrine, the hunting being carried out in conjunction with the saluki, and with regard to this procedure it always seems that the gazelle, having had its eyes torn out by the falcon, is deprived of what one might call a sporting chance with the pursuing hounds. Then on the outskirts of Mecca the author mentions he saw a troop of baboons, and here I must register a complaint against other writers on Arabia, for previously I had never heard that these animals were to be found in the continent, though I lived just over the border for twenty years.

The last chapter—or rather postscript—ends on a query note, for in it Colonel de Gaury asks himself if the invasion of Arabia by all the facets of modern progress will be for the ultimate good of the country, and for the unspoilt people who live in it. This is a question which all those who know the Beduin and the completely carefree life he led under the same conditions that existed in the days of Saladin are asking themselves. Since the book was written, at least one industrial city with quays, docks, derricks, pipe-line and power plants has sprung up on the eastern shores of Arabia; at Bouhran, in the centre of the country, an American syndicate are working an age-old mine from which King Solomon obtained gold; the B.O.A.C. have four services weekly operating across the continent, with landing grounds at various points; and tarmac roads are being constructed along the camel *darbs* so that the six-hundred-mile-journey from Jeddah to Uqair through Riyadh is "now regarded as humdrum."

"Since the days of the Prophet Muhammad there has been no more important moment in Arabian history than now. How sturdily will she face her dilemma? There is little to guide us, for the Levant countries have long had intercourse with the West, and Egypt is almost international; only Arabia has until this decade remained in a cavern of seclusion, from which she is now emerging."

An excellent book, and an important one, that all students of the East should read.

C. S. JARVIS.

**New Yezidi Texts from Beled Sinjar, 'Iraq.** By Anis Frayha. Reprint from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 66, No. 1. 1946.

In his preface Mr. Henry Field tells us that these Yezidi texts were purchased privately by him when leader of the Field Museum Anthropological Expedition to the Near East near Beled Sinjar, the copier, who had both Arabic and Kurdish, having access to the original documents, two of which were on paper and one on gazelle skin. Dr. Anis Frayha, in his introduction, classifies the texts, which comprise the Kitāb al-Jalwah and the Miṣḥaf Resh, poems ascribed to Shaikh 'Adi, stories about Shaikh 'Adi and other Yazidi notabilities, genealogies and proclamations.

The first two manuscripts, thanks to the efforts of Père Anastase Marie de Ste. Élie and others, are already fairly well known. As described to me, the Kitāb al-Jalweh consist of pieces of fine gazelle-skin parchment. There are sixteen lines of writing to each page, the leaves being separate, loose and bearing no number. They are roughly shaped so as to form such figures as a crescent moon, the earth, the sun, two rivers, a man's head with two ears or horns, and so on. At the foot of each page is written the word with which the next begins, a usual form for such loose-leaved books or *ḳarasi*.

It is worth mentioning that the legends of creation given in the Maṣḥaf Resh differ considerably from the oral tradition of the people.

The remaining MSS., therefore, are of greater interest to the student, and Dr. Frayha's conclusion that they were originally written in Arabic by people familiar with the language coincides with my own belief that the Yazidis represent a graft by a group of mystics upon an original pagan local stock, whose own beliefs gradually superseded those of such mystics as Shaikh 'Adi and his group. The blood of these latter is perpetuated in the present shaiḳly class, which, thanks to a tradition which makes marriage with other classes tabu, shows a type much darker and more Arab-like than the fair-haired northern-looking villager in Yazidi districts.

As for the translation of the two first books, I suggest that comparison should be made not only with the translations in Layard's *Niniveh and Babylon* and Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, but also with Père Anastase's translation into French, which, again, varies considerably. I endeavoured to re-translate this in my *By Tigris and Euphrates*,\* and gave examples of the Yazidi script.

I notice that Père Anastase's researches into Yazidi literature are not mentioned, and unfortunately I have no access to notes as to where his articles on the subject appeared, but they were, I believe, in some Syrian publication.

Mr. Field and Dr. Frayha are to be thanked for having contributed to the meagre information about this interesting people.

E. S. DROWER.

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**Twin Rivers.** By Seton Lloyd. Pp. 230; 12 illustrations; 4 maps. Oxford University Press. 1945. 10s. 6d.

This is a remarkable book, for in a little over two hundred pages it gives the complete story of Iraq, a country which has more solid history to its credit than any other land in the world, Egypt not excepted. As an author who has refrained as far as possible from any attempt to write on historical matters owing to the vast amount of labour and research into books and documents it requires, I am lost in admiration of Mr. Lloyd's achievement in condensing so artistically and in such an interesting style all the happenings of that much-conquered land from the days of the Sumerian kings until the present time.

The story of Iraq, or Mesopotamia, is an almost unbroken series of invading and retiring armies, of sacked cities and wrecked palaces, and, above all, of the wanton destruction of an irrigation system, which turned Iraq from being one of the richest agricultural countries in the then known world into one of the poorest. As a record of man's inhumanity to man, and the general hopelessness of the human race, the book is pre-eminent; but history is history, and the volume should most certainly find a place on the bookshelves of all those who are interested in the

\* Hurst and Blackett, 1923.

Middle East, and who endeavour to maintain a reference library dealing with that part of the world.

C. S. JARVIS.

**Four Studies in Loyalty.** Christopher Sykes. Pp. 224. Collins. 12s. 6d.

In these four studies of personalities the author succeeds in not only portraying persons but also places and epochs with charm and skill. The first biography, that of his uncle and namesake, son of the notorious Surtees character, "Old Tat" (who, according to the youngest Christopher, ruled over his family in Yorkshire with "the vicious rage of a Stone Age tyrant"), is a vivid reminiscence of the upper circles of the Victorian age, that "calm noon of high Victorianism, with its solid furniture, its teeming wealth . . . its triumphant parade of domestic virtue," presided over by "little mysterious Victoria" and entertained by "fat, vulgar, dreadful Edward" with his sycophantic retinue of heavy swells, of "strange wild millionaires" and of those "loud and extremely rich men for whom the prince had an abiding taste."

Poor Christopher Sykes, with his fine presence, his drooping moustache and magnificent golden beard, was the most decorative of those "heavy swells" who had succeeded the eighteenth-century dandies, and he was the most loyal and the most long-suffering of His Royal Highness's friends and followers. He was an assiduous host, both in his Yorkshire house, which the prince found convenient for the St. Leger, and in London, and he devoted his life and his fortune to his royal master's entertainment. In return he was made a butt and a bankrupt, and after his death given a tablet over a royal chapel door, which furnishes the author with the text of an entertaining sermon on snobbery, which, as he puts it, "is rarely out of season in class-conscious England."

Of the three other sketches, that of Robert Byron is evidently the most important, but that amusing character Bahram the Kernani of Balliol the most effective, and the picture of a hideous tyranny, that of Reza Shah in Persia, is more impressive as his background and with his comments than by any factual description. Bahram acted as cicerone (and one gathers as pandar if required) to Europeans in Isfahan, and it was through his good offices, or diplomacy, that what the author neatly describes as "those jewels of experience," the mosques, with their radiantly tiled interiors, were opened to European view for the first time. Previously to this, criticism of Persian decorative tile work had depended almost entirely on the examination of gateways and domes, and of the spectacular but artistically inferior Madrassy tiling, so that the lifting of the entrance ban meant not only the infinite pleasure to the eye but a revolution in art criticism, for which Bahram is owed something by the West. In addition it appeared that though after imprisonment by Reza Shah he had been reduced to abject poverty, he resisted German bribes to conduct anti-British propaganda, on the grounds that it would be unworthy of a Balliol man. According to Mr. Sykes's information Bahram had never been to Balliol or to Oxford except as a visitor, but he had become a most enthusiastic "old boy," and his love of England and the English was more than mere eye-wash, as his story, though it is the story of his downfall, shows.

Mr. Sykes tells us in his introduction that he wished his final sketch to be the study of a "group" character, as he had discovered in his experiences with the maquis in the Vosges in 1944 that "circumstances could call forth manifestations of common character as marvellous or as terrible as the fullest flowering of an individual entity." He says he found the task beyond him, however, and instead, as a tribute to that town in the Vosges, presents a gallery of portraits of French men and women he met in those times of stress.

Well, what Mr. Sykes failed knowingly to do for France he has perhaps unconsciously succeeded in doing for Persia, for in this sketch of a witty self-indulgent old roué, to whom truth is unknown but the memory of the Balliol he never knew a loyalty to suffer for till death, and as glorious as the mystic truths of Jalal u'l din Rumi which inspired him in prison and brothel, he describes the spirit of those who live in "a poetic borderland whose landscape is as familiar as a meadow and hedges are to you and me," and who through conquest and tyranny and rape and corruption have kept in that self-indulgence that slips and falls from the hold of the helper, a



hard core that has maintained them in their fearful, ravaged, and unspeakably beautiful country, itself an overwhelming and terrible memorial to the transitoriness of earthly things . . . that immense plateau, once rich and well populated, now a gaunt waste, over which "Look and despair" is written large and legibly!

Finally, there is the study of the author's friend Robert Byron, at once a biography, an enthusiastic appreciation of the man, the friend and the writer, and a review of his work. Byron's best-known book, his *Road to Oxiana*, a record of a journey on which Christopher Sykes accompanied him, is a colloquial picture of Persia under Reza Shah and a guide to the origins and character of Persian architecture. His *First Russia then Tibet* I had to review years ago, and remember I found it uneven and somewhat precocious, and Mr. Sykes has no great praise for it here, but of his main work, *The Byzantine Achievement*, he says, "It contains perhaps the most successful synthesis of the problems of Byzantine culture that has so far been attempted," and adds that, in his biography of Gibbon, Mr. G. M. Young recommends it to any reader who wishes to correct the error of Gibbon's bias.

Whatever the value of his interpretation of Byzantine culture, Byron has a penetrating paragraph on the Greek character in this book: "A clever, conceited and inquiring race, intensely political and intensely democratic, reserved in its friendships, conservative in its beliefs, commercially gifted, responsive to the emotions of nature and religion, the Greek has endured, poised between East and West, child of neither, yet receptive to both." And again: "The most essential clue to their character through the ages, the Greeks are imbued with the same conceit as they ever were . . . a conceit so cosmic, deified, so part of the order of existence that outward expression of it is superfluous . . . this conceit renders them impulsive and therefore physically brave: it also deprives them of sound judgments in moments of crisis."

Byron, like so many visitors to Greece, came to love the Greeks, and writes acutely concerning them. His visit to the monasteries of Mount Athos in *The Station* is an example, Mr. Sykes considers, of his ability to enter states of mind that were foreign to his own nature. Among those "humorous and kindly men" the monks of Mount Athos, he, an agnostic, describes a Christianity "far different from that which has been extended and distorted through four centuries of uncongenial logic; a Christianity not yet moulded by Latin materialism to the convenience of an institution: not wrung by civil wars, combed with the burrowings of sectarians, and balanced between the parties of the State like a boulder of a needle; but a single path of exploration unclouded by doubtful ethics and hieratic blackmail."

Yes, undoubtedly Robert Byron was a brilliant young man, and his is the most interesting of all the loyalties: it was, as Mr. Sykes brings out by his quotations, to the "European consciousness," and to the survival of a corporate civilization, the laborious construction of two thousand years against a "retrograde industrialism." This is what Byron wrote in 1930, after a visit to India, from which he returned an admirer of the British raj, though by no means an imperialist: "I see the whole philosophy of Western history, already thrown aside in Russia and the United States, undergoing the supreme and ultimate test of its practical value. And if I say selfishly that without this philosophy the world will be no place for me, it is because in so saying I reflect the opinion of that small minority within the small enclave of peoples in Western Europe with whom alone rests either power or will to preserve the diminishing sanity of the race against a barbarous and rapidly expanding materialism."

E. FORSYTH.

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**Indian Route March.** By Louis Hagen. 7½" × 5". Pp. 192. Pilot Press, Ltd. 1946. 7s. 6d. net.

The author of *Arnheim Lift*, which was published anonymously and very well reviewed, was born in 1916 in Berlin. After a period in a concentration camp he crossed the Channel in 1936, and was naturalized this year. After serving as Lewis Haig in the Pioneers, R.A.O.C. and R.A.C., he obtained a Military Medal for conspicuous gallantry and leadership at Arnheim, and was then posted East in 1945. This background is necessary for the reader.

It is a pity he did not omit the first thirty pages. Most people will throw down

the volume in disgust, and yet the remaining chapters are not only first-class journalism but are written with real sympathy and understanding.

But it is hard to forgive "For well over a hundred years, surely the present state of affairs was entirely our responsibility. If 95 per cent. were illiterate, why the hell hadn't we taught them to read and write? If they knew nothing of nationalism, unity and citizenship, why did we not help them to find out about it? If this fanaticism caused them to fight over their religious problems, why did we not convert them to Christianity?" Later he produces really excellent answers to these questions, but why antagonize the reader to start with? It is true that there are "pukka sahibs who drink chota pegs" in "clubs." Anglo-Saxons have not yet advanced far enough on the road to a classless world to mix B.O.R.s and officials, in this or any other country, and here too the author could no doubt explain very adequately if he tried to. But the last seventeen chapters are on a high level, and show proof of amazing initiative and study of the various aspects of the Indian problem: the White man's burden, the Indians and their women, their paralysing religious beliefs, unbelievable Calcutta, education, art, food, medicine and the press. Both the studies themselves and the conclusions drawn are illuminating and full of reasoned thought. They have considerable interest as a sort of refresher course showing some of the changes going on in these days while India is passing out of the Commonwealth.

J. M. R.

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**Asiatic Jones.** The life and influence of Sir William Jones (1746-1794). Pioneer of Indian studies. By A. J. Arberry, Litt.D. 1946. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. Pp. 39; 9 illustrations; bibliography.

This memoir has been written to commemorate the bicentenary of the birth of Sir William Jones, whose qualities fitted him to play a distinguished part in one of the great periods of our history.

In the brief space allotted to this purpose Professor Arberry indicates the extraordinary versatility of a man whose work was recognized as outstanding by his contemporaries and has had an important and many-sided influence both during and after his lifetime.

Jones published his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, which long remained the standard work, in 1771; was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, as being "well known for his learning in polite literature and Oriental languages," in 1772; and became a member of the Club, Samuel Johnson's immortal coterie, in 1773. He was called to the Bar in 1774, and published studies, essays and translations on legal subjects—English, Athenian and Arabic law were included in them—as well as poems in Latin and translations in English and French from Oriental languages. He is described as constantly deploring the decline of the British Constitution and the tyrannical tendencies of George III. His sympathies were with the American colonists, and he opposed the slave trade.

In 1783 he received an appointment as Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal. This he had long desired on grounds of the opportunities which it offered of being of service to the millions of India and to his country, and for the pursuit of his Oriental studies. Soon after his arrival in Calcutta he applied himself to the foundation of the Asiatic (now the Royal Asiatic) Society of Bengal, and for eleven years he delivered the presidential address. One of his "great objects" was to arrange for the compilation of "a complete digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws." This received the approval of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis; and, assisted by pandits and moulvis, Jones gave unremitting attention to this work for several years, but died before its completion.

It has been claimed that he altered our whole conception of the Eastern world; that his influence on public opinion and general culture was extensive, and that it is visible in such famous poets as Southey and Moore, Shelley and Tennyson.

With a real knowledge of nearly thirty languages his approach to these studies was essentially humanistic. His liberalism was not confined to politics; but, in advance of his generation, as a student of comparative religion "he recognized in Islam and Hinduism creeds noble and venerable." In an age of severe classicism he

dared to seek to extend the frontiers of human knowledge and experience by spreading an understanding of Oriental literature and culture. In brief, he was a pioneer whose great achievements might be described in language very closely coinciding with that used to define the objects which the Royal Central Asian Society sets before itself. In his own words his interests included the "civil and natural history of such mighty empires as India, Persia, Arabia and Tartary." He was not pedantic and not only scholarly. He had practical objects in view, and devoted—and gave—his life towards their attainment.

If its title is unfortunate, or perhaps slightly repellent, Professor Arberry's competent sketch achieves its purpose, and should serve as an introduction to a series of essays by experts designed to cover the varied fields in which posterity is indebted to a remarkable man (in a volume which is being brought out by the School of Oriental and African Studies in London).

The commemoration of this centenary falls, not inappropriately, in a year which is a critical one for the future of Britain and India. It illustrates the nature of a cultural relationship which goes deeper than the surface cross-currents of politics. It may be regretted that Professor Arberry had to restrict himself so severely in his treatment of Jones's influence on the administration of the law in India; on the foundations of the study of comparative philology; and above all on English literature.

J. C. C.

**Introduction to the Study of the Hindu Doctrines.** By René Guénon.  
Translated by Marco Pallis. Pp. 351. Luzac and Co. 1946. 12s. 6d.

**Man and His Becoming according to the Vedanta.** By René Guénon.  
Translated by Richard C. Nicholson. Pp. 188. Luzac and Co. 1945. 12s. 6d.

From Monsieur Guénon's profound study and sympathetic comprehension of the Hindu doctrines he might have been expected to write an admirably lucid and balanced introduction to them. His main object being to explain the philosophical foundation upon which they rest, he would have done a great service to the ordinary reader if he had devoted the major part of his book to an objective account of them, adding a chapter or two to show wherein they differ from Western thought, and thus allowing the reader to be persuaded of their merit. But unfortunately he has not learned such a Hindu spirit of tolerant dispassion. Most of his book is taken up with a slashing attack upon Western civilization and thought: philosophers and theologians, Orientalists and devotees of Oriental religions; all alike are dismissed with contemptuous impatience. And he never ceases to patronize the reader, who is bound to respond with irritation and be less inclined to accept his conclusions.

When at last he comes to describe the Hindu doctrines themselves (for he has difficulty in restraining a tendency to digress) he is at pains to point out that their basis is metaphysical, deriving from the realization of the unity of knowledge and being. It is therefore logical that he should start with a discussion of Dharma and define it as a principle of order, should go on to derive the Hindu social structure of caste from this principle, and should finally give an outline of the six systems of Hindu philosophy, which, as he rightly says, are not six conflicting systems, but six different points of view from which the one philosophy can be conceived. But in his eagerness to emphasize the philosophical character of the Hindu tradition he cannot allow that it should be concerned with the problem of good and evil, and since to his mind this problem was the main preoccupation of the Buddha, he is not inclined to attach much importance to his influence. As a matter of fact, the Buddha was well aware of the philosophical aspect of the doctrines, and even a cursory study of the Abhidharma, which is an integral part of the Hinayana no less than of the Mahayana, will convince that he is the inheritor of the full Hindu tradition, which he re-states in the manner suited to his contemporaries. But even if he had been the mere moralist which Monsieur Guénon supposes, he should not be disregarded on that account. When it comes to the actions of the individual, all Hindu thought has stressed the all-importance of the moral criterion. Even the philosopher cannot afford to ignore morality, nor does the Veda ignore it: the basic premise of

the Mimamsa, which is an interpretation of the Veda, is that, action being the very essence of human existence, enquiry must be made into Right Action (for this must be the meaning given to Dharma when used in this connection). And morality is at the very heart of the teaching of re-birth and of all Hindu psychology.

If Monsieur Guénon had made it clear that he intended to confine himself to the philosophical implications of the Hindu doctrines and to ignore their moral and psychological implications there would be no reason to quarrel with him. But his argument that these latter implications possess no validity leads him seriously astray. For instance, despite what he says to the contrary, the Sankhyan Gunas do function on both the moral and the psychological planes, and it is a gross distortion of the teaching of re-birth to assert that no being can pass through the same state twice.

This bias against morality because it does not happen to be metaphysic, is paralleled by the prejudice which he shows in his approach to the six systems of philosophy. Instead of setting them out impartially, his declared preference for the transcendentalism of the Vedanta leads him to condemn the atomism of the Vaisesika as being opposed to the Veda, thus belying his previous admission that each of the six systems is an interpretation of the Veda of equal validity.

In his other book, *Man and His Becoming according to the Vedanta*, he finds a congenial task, and the polemics give way to solid exposition. He describes the constituents and evolution not only of the individual man but of the universal order. And his subtle understanding of the symbolism used in the Hindu texts enables him to shed an invaluable light upon many passages which would otherwise remain incomprehensible to the ordinary reader. Besides, in his copious notes he traces many interesting parallels to the teachings of the Vedanta in the teachings both of the East and West. The serious student will find this book most stimulating. But if he wishes to obtain a more precise account of the origin of Purusha and Prakrti he is recommended to study Chatterji's *Kashmir Shaivism*; and Evans-Wentz's *Tibetan Book of the Dead* would help to complete the picture of life after death.

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**China—Tibet—Assam.** By Colonel F. M. Bailey. Large Cr. 8vo. Cape. 10s. 6d.

This is an account of a journey undertaken thirty-five years ago by Colonel Bailey, alone except for a single servant, with the object of approaching, if possible, from the East the hitherto unknown (and problematical) Brahmaputra or Tsangpo "falls." The description of the "Problem of the Tsangpo," given in Chapter I of this book, is an extremely interesting one, not least because it gives an account (I should imagine for the first time, certainly in a "popular" type of book) of the early native explorers such as "A. K." and Kintup, names unknown except to those who happen to indulge in research in the history of the North-East Frontier. Sent out by the Survey of India to regions where no European then could go, their only equipment was, as Bailey explains, usually a dummy prayer-wheel, which contained a prismatic compass and a roll of paper, and a rosary of a hundred beads with which the explorer could count his paces. And the illiterate Kintup could not even take notes. His reports were recorded at his dictation four years after he had commenced his journey—four years of hardship and danger at the hands of both man and nature. Yet the accuracy of these men's work has been confirmed and testified to by many a traveller since. If only someone with the right gift would write the story of Kintup's adventures, or, better still, if only someone, perhaps Colonel Bailey himself, were moved to elaborate the story of the explorations of these almost nameless heroes, what a tale of endurance, loyalty and fortitude they could unfold.

The identity of the Tsangpo, the Dihang and the Brahmaputra, which are now established as the names of one and the same great river in its upper reaches in Tibet, its middle reaches on the confines of Assam, and its final stages when it flows through Assam to join the Meghna in Bengal, had long been a matter of speculation. For a long time also it was believed that the Lohit, or the "river of Zayul" as it was sometimes called, which flows from beyond Rima past Sadiya until it falls into the Brahmaputra at Kobo, *was* the Brahmaputra, instead of being one of its tributaries. And it was not only the Survey of India and their men who interested themselves in this problem. Between December, 1885, and January, 1886, Mr. F. J. Needham

of the Bengal Police marched all the way up the Lohit from Sadiya to Rima, a route no less difficult than it was when Bailey traversed it thirty years later, this being the first occasion on which a European had taken this route since 1855. Needham was the first Assistant Political Officer stationed at Sadiya, and held that post from 1882 to 1905. Unknown though he was to the public at large, it has been claimed for him, and with justice, that his work during those twenty-three years laid the foundations of the modern North-East Frontier of Assam. Though Needham held the mistaken belief that the Lohit and the Brahmaputra were identical, what he did do was to dispose of the theory, then held in some quarters, that the Tsangpo was identical with the Irrawaddy and not with the Dihang. Needham certainly proved the contrary, and no one will query the claim which he made in his report that he was "in the proud position of being able satisfactorily to settle a great geographical question" in that he could "confidently assert that no river in any degree corresponding to the Sanpo in size joins it [the Lohit, or, as he believed it to be, the Brahmaputra] between Sadiya and Rima and consequently the Sanpo . . . can be no other than the Dihong." In so doing he was only confirming the conclusions arrived at by "A. K." a few years before, to the accuracy of which Colonel Bailey pays such striking tribute.

What Needham did not realize, of course, was that it was the Dihang and not the Lohit which constituted the upper waters of the Brahmaputra, the Lohit being only an affluent of that great river.

Incidentally, while on this point, surely the author, or the printer more like, has made a serious slip on page 9 when he says: "Thus it was known with certainty that the Tsangpo of Tibet and the Dibong of Assam were one and the same river." "Dibong" must be a mistake for "Dihang." At the risk of being held to be captious, I should like to add one other criticism, and that is that it is far from correct to describe Assamese as a dialect of Hindustani (p. 143).

In 1911 Captain Bailey, as he then was, evidently had no doubts about the accuracy of "A. K.'s" conclusions, but what interested him was to decide how the Tsangpo found its way down from the high levels of South-East Tibet at 9,000 feet above sea-level to the Assam plains at 500. Unable to follow its route by approach through Tibet or across the frontiers of Assam, he conceived the idea of approach, albeit from an immense distance, through China. Hence the journey which forms the subject of this book. The story of his journey across China into South-Eastern Tibet is full of interest, and one can share his disappointment when, at Shugden Gumpa, on the very verge of the country it was his object to enter, he was turned back by the local Tibetan authority. This functionary, the Dzungpon, said he would either be killed by the Chinese as a British spy or by the Po Bas, whose country he hoped to pass through, either as a sort of Chinese or just because he was a stranger. In either event the Dzungpon would be blamed. So it is not surprising he put his foot down and refused transport. It must have been a bitter moment, but Colonel Bailey had the consolation, two years later, of making his way into the country of the "falls," a fact to which he briefly refers in the final chapter of this book. This journey was carried out in company with Captain Morshead, R.E., of the Survey of India. The pacification of the lower reaches of the Dihang and the surrounding country by the Abor expedition of 1911-12 enabled these two travellers to make a start from Mipi in an upper valley of the Dibang river, which runs parallel to the Dihang, and they were thus right on the ground and able to cut out the laborious journey that Bailey undertook in 1911. That story, as given to the Royal Geographical Society by Colonel Bailey on June 22, 1914, is a fascinating one, and I would venture to throw out the suggestion that it would form an admirable subject for another book.

The present narrative depicts in very modest terms the hardships and privations which the author underwent. His equipment was meagre. Food ran short, transport ran short, money came to an end, boots disintegrated, but the young officer went cheerfully on and his only sentiments were those of disappointment when on being turned back at Shugden Gumpa he was prevented from encountering even greater dangers and hardships. In spite of all handicaps, however, he mapped a great deal of hitherto unknown country, and acquired a great deal of valuable botanical and zoological information. There must be few travellers, for instance, who have had

the good fortune to observe that rare animal, the takin, at such close quarters and in such detail. It is sad that he has been unable to find a better set of photographs to illustrate his journey. Those that there are depict scenes and types of great interest, which make it all the more regrettable that they are not of better quality. But my greatest quarrel with the author is over his map. A book that describes an attempt to reach the upper waters of the Tsangpo surely deserves to be furnished with a map which illustrates more lucidly the courses of the Brahmaputra and the Lohit. An excellent map of the kind is to be found, for instance, in Volume XLIV, No. 4, of the *Geographical Journal*, which clearly gives the course of these rivers, and it might well, with perhaps an addition to show how the author attempted to approach it, have been reproduced in this volume.

R. N. REID.

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**Plant-Hunting in China.** By E. H. M. Cox. Pp. 230; 24 illustrations; maps. Collins. 1945. 12s. 6d.

In *Plant-Hunting in China* Mr. Cox has produced a remarkable book, so packed full of interest that one wonders why similar books have not been written of other countries.

He traces plant-hunting in that difficult country from the days when the hunting took place in the private gardens and nurseries of Treaty Ports, through the days when the hunting spread more widely into this vast country, and finally to these days of hunting in inaccessible and wild lands at the back of beyond, filled with rare and wonderful plants.

The actors that flit across this vast stage range from some that are mere names to great figures such as Fortune, Forrest, Farrer and Kingdon Ward. As one reads this fascinating book one learns many strange facts, and learns much of many great men. It is a book which is difficult to put down until one has read the very last word on the very last page; and so it is not surprising that one is spurred on to say at the end "A-hunting we will go!"

P. L. G.

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**Pacific Victory.** A short history of Australia's part in the war against Japan. By Hugh Buggy. 5¼" × 8¼". Pp. 302. Australian Ministry of Information. 1946.

There was a marvellous story to tell, and the author did his best. He knows how to write, but his department let him down. The lay-out, binding, maps, perspective are all quite unworthy of the great nation which, so to speak, found its soul in this all-out effort at defence of the Homeland.

The Central Office of Information, London, has issued a volume on the Burma Campaign by Frank Owen: comparisons are indeed odious. This contains about 120,000 words, as against some 135,000 words in *Pacific Victory*. There are 175 double-column pages, 7 inches by 9 inches, and the maps, pictures and strategic background show what can be done. The book can be laid open to read; there is no need to hold the pages open with both hands as in *Pacific Victory*. True, the Central Office of Information retains a more expensive editorial staff, but then these have more campaigns and more subjects and Services to traverse. The judgment of one man at the top should have corrected matters.

Another omission is any map of the Pacific war area. The author was faced with the problem, harder than in Burma, of describing numerous, somewhat similar campaigns in tropical jungle against the same fanatical enemy. Much could have been done with full-page line sketches to explain the various phases of the battle in each area—similar to that on page 215 of the *Battle for Burma*. Mr. Horrabin has shown what can be done in such drawings, and in fact most could have been culled from the English daily press. The fall of Rabaul and New Britain in January, 1942 (pp. 44-50), is a case in point.

It is hoped that these criticisms are constructive, and that the Australian Ministry of Information will at long last honour the debt they owe to the finest fighters in history by republishing the record in a more worthy form. If so, let the full story of participation by British and Americans be surveyed in perspective. It is difficult

to study the campaign as a whole in its correct proportions without, for instance, explaining how the costly efforts of the American Marines on Guadalcanal tied down large forces which might have imperilled the Australians in Papua. The same applies to co-operation with the British in Malaya, on which more pages are needed.

The courage and efficiency of the Australian soldier are probably unique. By national training and temperament they were probably more amenable to the exacting conditions of this jungle warfare than other Anglo-Saxons; and one Digger showed clearly he could beat any four Japs at their own speciality. No wonder MacArthur praised them as much as he dared. But when the author repeats his unconnected assertions as to how wonderful they are the reader is inclined to wonder, Who said they were not?

The campaign in Asia was lucky in its leaders—MacArthur, Wavell, Mountbatten and Slim are names which history will remember, and certainly MacArthur was not the least of these. The scope and imagination of his planning and the way he first hung on with meagre resources and later saved lives by the prodigal massing of material are lessons which have in their way changed the whole face of military history.

Yet this narrative, with all its faults, is enthralling and strikingly readable. It does show how one-seventh of the nation in the fighting Services made an all-out effort to save its country from a very real threat. Looking back, we can now appraise a certain phoney hollowness in Japanese offensives. No Staff College graduate would face such risks over such extended communications without far ampler machinery. With a hundred million tons of shipping the seven million "cannon fodder" might have brought it off. With a mere twenty million tons of shipping we now see they had not an earthly chance, even though the Americans did let them in by Pearl Harbour. Matsuoka's gamble was based on inadequate premises, and, as the diaries of our two Ambassadors have shown, many influential Japanese knew it. As General MacArthur saw (p. 274), the Japanese officer corps had neither the imagination nor the ability to organize Japanese resources for total war.

As the minister states in his Foreword, this pocket volume will serve to whet the public appetite for the fully documented account, now being prepared, of the Australian people's greatest struggle. He is right, and this book must appeal to every class of reader. It reveals what our Australian Commonwealth stands for.

G. M. ROUTH.

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**The Far East Must Be Understood.** By H. van Straelen. Pp. 150. Luzac and Co. 1946. 10s. 6d.

"It is the Far East, and particularly China, that can best teach and lead us." These words contain the pith of Mr. van Straelen's earnest plea for a better understanding of the Far East. The difficulties are considerable, as the author points out, in stipulating a decade of intense study, practice and observation as necessary for getting a real insight into Far Eastern life and culture. And to one so steeped by long first-hand experience in his subject as is the writer, irritation at the absurdities so often put out by tourists and correspondents is inevitable, though perhaps he pays more attention to them than they deserve. Nor, naturally enough, do the "old timers" escape his contempt—the business men who know no language but their own, and mix only with their own kind. The linguistic shortcomings of this clan were parodied fifty years ago in an amusing pamphlet by the late Mr. Bonar of our Consular Service in Japan. Whether the disappearance of the "old timer" prophesied by the author will benefit either China or Great Britain is another matter.

To many the chapter headed "The Diplomat of the Future" will be of the most interest as offering a concrete contribution to the solution of the problem. It should be read by all interested in the subject. Here space only permits me to say that the author appears to attach undue weight to the linguistic side. Everyone knows that it is a great advantage for an Ambassador to know the language of the country in which he is serving, and that it is indispensable that some member of his staff and all the Consular officers should do so. But other accomplishments and qualities are of even greater value to an Ambassador, and these may not be found amongst those,

inevitably a very small number, who know either Chinese or Japanese really well. After all, the great Lord Cromer knew no word of Arabic, and the late Mr. Donald ascribed his influence in China to his ignorance of the language. In any case, it is interesting to note that the latest "reformers" of the Foreign Service are dead against Mr. van Straelen's plea, whereas the old dispensation went far to meet it. For the separate China and Japan Consular Services, which produced such a long line of distinguished scholars, are now merged into one huge general service, in which no one is likely to give the many years necessary to master either Chinese or Japanese.

The useful bibliography at the end of the book and many passages in the text bear witness to the immense contribution to scholarship made by our own now defunct Consular Services in the Far East.

F. O. L.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

c/o POLITICAL OFFICER,  
SUBANSIRI AREA,  
N. LAKHIMPUR,  
ASSAM.

In a letter to the Council of the Royal Central Asian Society Mrs. Betts (formerly Miss Ursula Graham-Bower) writes :

Would you very kindly convey my most grateful thanks for the Lawrence Memorial Medal which reached me a few days ago, on the very eve of our first trip into our new sphere of operations.

After various vicissitudes—heat-waves, cloudbursts, floods, postal strikes and the general upset consequent on the Calcutta killing—my husband and I arrived here from Shillong at the end of September. The Agency is new, and there is no base and no bungalow : we are at the moment camped in a small circuit house, nominally in half of it, but in practice in as much as we can conveniently occupy. The office is in a spare hutment of the armed police lines behind us, and our transport, one truck, is housed under a tarpaulin in the compound.

Our trip up the hills was strenuous, but on the whole very pleasant. The country is perfectly lovely, but wild and exceptionally steep. Except for the areas opened up and mapped by Dr. Furer-Haimendorf and others in 1944-45 little is known about the interior, and deeper penetration will be difficult because of the length and steepness of the lines of communication. The foothill country is particularly broken, with almost vertical slopes of 3,000 and 4,000 feet in and out of main and subsidiary ravines; there are big rivers to cross, and it can be imagined what extensive coolie-transport is like in these circumstances. However, the route we took is much easier than that followed by the Haimendorfs on their first entry, when the better path was thought unsafe because of raids from hostile villages. After looking across the valley at the appalling hills they came over I honestly do not know how they did it : it was an astonishing feat.

The Panior river, which we followed for much of our trek, is a fine stream, and the fishing there must be the finest in Assam. Thanks to the efforts of the slave-raiding villages higher up the valley, it is practically virgin water, and the only man to try rod and line on it before us was Mr. Mills last year : he was pulling out six-pound boka at the rate of some ten to the half-hour.

We are at present ordering our affairs generally, and we hope to go up the hill again in another fortnight.





# Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXXIV

APRIL, 1947

PART II.

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# NOTICE TO MEMBERS

IN the year which ended in December, 1943, the *expenses* of the Society were £120 more than the revenue.

In the year which ended in December, 1944, the *income* of the Society was £313 *greater* than the expenses.

One REASON was that we received £234 from the Inland Revenue as the result of members having signed covenants to pay their nominal subscriptions for seven years. This increase in revenue has cost members NOTHING.

So far we have received just over 340 covenants out of a membership of over 1,640—that is 21 per cent.

The expenses of the Society are bound to increase in the near future: the Journal will again be published four times a year, the library is being restored, lecture and clerical expenses are rising.

This can ONLY be done if we increase our membership *and* if more members will sign covenants. REMEMBER that this does NOT cost you anything but it DOES help the Society's funds.

The Council again appeal for your help in the matter.

---

## DEED OF COVENANT

I .....  
of .....  
hereby covenant with the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my lifetime whichever period shall be the shorter I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will after the deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of the said Society *a net sum of one pound and five shillings* such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this

..... day of ..... 19.....

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said .....

In the presence of .....

Address of Witness to your signature .....

Occupation of Witness .....

## NOTICES

THE principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

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## NOMINATION FORM.

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.....  
.....  
.....  
*(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)*

*being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL  
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend <sup>him</sup><sub>her</sub> for membership.*

*Proposed* .....

*Seconded*.....

*His*  
*Her* connection with Asia is :

## NOTICES

MEMBERS will recall that in 1945 it was announced that the late Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., a former Vice-President and a Lawrence Medallist of this Society, had made a bequest to the Society of £500, together with part of his library. These books, to the number of 223, being for the most part works in English dealing with Tibetan subjects, have now arrived from California and are available for reference in the Society's library. They form a very valuable accession, in some cases replacing books otherwise unobtainable that had been destroyed by bombing during the war.

The Council is also grateful for the following gifts to the library :

*Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki: Texts from Khotan*, by G. Jarring. Presented by the author.

*The Incomparable Lady: The Life of Mrs. Ayscough MacNair*. Presented by Dr. H. F. MacNair.

*North and East of Musa Dagh*, by E. Metheny. Presented by Dr. S. Zwemer.

*Some Current Persian Tales*, by D. C. Phillott, and *Papers of the Persia Society, 1912-13*, and other papers on Persian subjects. Presented by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg.

*Neolithic Station in Kizil Kum Desert*, by H. Field. Presented by the author.

---

An exhibition of paintings by Professor Wu Tso-Rjen, of Peiping School of Art, will be held from May 6 to 24, 1947, at 16, Gordon Square, W.C. 1, under the auspices of the Universities' China Committee and of the Royal Central Asian Society. Most of the pictures were painted during expeditions to Tibet and the Kokonor area.

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The Council of the Royal Geographical Society invites applications, to be submitted not later than June 1, for a Travelling Fellowship in Geographical Research outside the British Isles, the stipend being at the rate of £500 per annum for not more than one year. Further particulars may be obtained from the Director of the Royal Geographical Society.

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Members and contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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ERRATUM: On pp. 272 and 275 of Volume XXXIII, Part 3/4, of the Journal, first and second paragraphs, substitute "9,440,000,000 cubic metres" and "9½ milliards" for "9,440,000 cu. m." and "9½ million" respectively.

REV. GEORGE W. HUNTER, M.B.E.

THE name of George Hunter has become almost legendary, so closely and for so long has he been associated with Central Asia. He had become part of it, and the Central Asian picture would be incomplete without him.

He reached China in 1889, returning to England on furlough for the first and only time in 1900, and after fifty-seven years of missionary service in the China Inland Mission he died on December 20, 1946, at Kanchow, a city of the Province of Kansu. Though he was first and foremost a missionary he was also a great explorer, and knew Turkestan, where he had spent some forty years, as no living man knows it. He was aggravatingly reticent about his findings, and travellers who visited him hoping to learn something of the social and political conditions of the land where he lived were baffled as their questions were met with a courteous phrase which told them nothing, and when the distinguished old man had bowed and bade them farewell at the door of the mission compound they realized that he had imparted but little information and committed himself to no line of judgment. It was passing strange that a man who so resolutely refrained from even normal conversation about political events should in the end have to suffer imprisonment on an accusation of being a British spy. The torture meted out to him during this term of imprisonment told very heavily on his mind and his health.

When first he came to Urumchi, in the early years of this century, the Cossack Consular Guard still rode about wearing scarlet *caftans* and high lambskin caps; but he saw many changes take place, and when he was imprisoned the dreaded secret police were at work everywhere.

The cruellest blow to George Hunter was that on being expelled from the country he was never allowed to revisit his home or even to collect his valuable books and manuscripts. Where they have been scattered no one knows. He died as he lived, a lonely man, far from his fellow-countrymen, and during his last illness he was nursed by Chinese Christians. He was one of the last great pioneer missionaries. It is regrettable that he has not passed on more of the accumulated knowledge which he possessed; but his is the honour which he most coveted, not the M.B.E. which the King was graciously pleased to grant him, but that of being a translator of the Scriptures into the language of some remote tribes who otherwise would not yet have had them.

MILDRED CABLE.

# PROBLEMS OF LABOUR ORGANIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By J. H. JONES, Esq., M.P.

Report of a lecture given on March 12, 1947, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, introducing the lecturer, said: This is the second time we have had the privilege of having Mr. Jones to address us. He was to have spoken to us about a month ago, but unfortunately he was ill at the time and could not come. I am glad to say he is now fit again, and is going this time to speak on Some Problems of Labour Organization in the Middle East. I have been hoping that he would, possibly, have also something to say on matters a little nearer home, because so many of us who have passed our lives in official or unofficial service in the Empire, and to whom often a twelve-hour day was the rule rather than the exception, are dismayed and confused by the state of affairs which we find in this country on our retirement here. There seems to be little dignity left in labour. The objective apparently is a maximum of pay for a minimum of work. So many of the strikes seem selfish and senseless. There must surely be some other side to it all. I hope Mr. Jones will enlighten us, and so we welcome you, sir, on this occasion.

I WOULD have preferred it had my subject to-day been the problems of our own country rather than those of the Middle East. Labour problems are difficult enough all over the world, but we are nearer to our own, and in regard to our problems here I see and know them as an ordinary fellow who has been, at the behest of democracy, sent to Parliament right from the heart of industry. There are, as the Chairman has rightly said, two points of view, and, fortunately or unfortunately, many get their views from the daily press or some other source which may not be altogether accurate. There are always two sides to every question.

To-day, however, I am to speak on "Problems of Labour Organization in the Middle East," a very delicate subject and by no means an easy one to deal with. One can easily speak of the things one can see on the spot; it is difficult to give first-hand information as to the position generally in the Middle East so far as the organization of labour problems there may be concerned. Those problems are so varied and so complex that it is difficult to see them in their entirety. I doubt whether it would be possible to get an Arab, an Iraqi, a Palestinian Arab or Jew, or a Persian or anyone else who might be living in the heart of the area concerned to come before this audience and give a really authoritative outline of the whole field of their problems which would be accepted by everyone as true. Labour problems in the Middle East are, of course, serious problems so far as Great Britain is concerned. We have to face up to that. I wish we could persuade other nations themselves to face their own problems as we seem to have to face those of other nations on their behalf. It would make the world a happier place and we should achieve satisfaction much more quickly. It appears to me that so far as Great Britain is concerned it has always been a matter of one-way traffic: we

have passed out wealth, information and help without seeming to get anything passed back to us in time of need.

This difficult subject of labour organization in the Middle East is one which affects our national and our international position, and I want to make quite clear that what I am about to say is not what our Government may be thinking. I do not know what the Government point of view is in regard to the Middle East; in fact, I do not believe the Government know exactly what they would like to say officially as to Middle East problems until we get clarity in regard to the discussions now proceeding in Moscow and satisfaction in regard to the position in Palestine, Persia, India and so on. Therefore, I am expressing my own personal point of view. You may not agree with me; if so, we shall have to disagree, but, I hope, leave this meeting as good friends. I shall try to put the position as I personally see it as a result of a study of the problems as and when I have had the opportunity to do so.

The information for talks such as this is obtainable from various sources. For instance, I recently had the privilege of speaking at length with the leaders of the Arab Palestine trade union movement. I have had the opportunity of talking with the leaders of the Jewish Palestine trade union movement; also I have had the opportunity of speaking with the leaders of the Persian trade union movement. The labour problems seem to me to be looked at from different points of view even by the leaders of the various trade unions in the Middle East, with their various political lines of thought. I have been looking carefully into a political and industrial report on the Middle East during the war, and thirteen different organizations are concerned. It is not my job to take sides. I am neither anti-Jew and pro-Arab nor anti-Arab and pro-Jew. There is something to be said for both sides. I am, first and foremost, a Britisher with an outlook based on the desire to give help and to bring peace and prosperity to those very disquieted parts of the world. When gleaning and gaining information you do often get the advanced or over-weighted point of view in each case. Indeed, when you are thinking of Persia, Turkey, Morocco and the other countries comprising the Middle East, it seems almost impossible to obtain a middle-line point of view of what is best for a nation as such. It is most difficult to assess the true values from the point of view of what we want to achieve; and when I say "true values" I mean the real sensible values and outlook of the fair-minded person, of whatever nationality, who wishes to put first the interests of his nation as against the interests of some section inside that particular nation. I repeat that it is most difficult to get really authoritative information in order to be able to ascertain the definite point of view of a nation as such. For instance, with all our advanced thinking in this country after centuries of education and political thought, and the fights that have been necessary to achieve our objects, he would be a bold man who attempted to say to-day what is the national point of view in regard to our own troubles in these islands; he would be a bold man who would care to say what he thought might happen to-morrow, or even to-night.

As to the Middle East I would say, whether looking at it as a group of countries or as individual countries, the problems can be divided into two



parts—political and economic. The question is which of the two is to receive priority consideration in the Middle East itself. Is the Persian, for instance, going to concern himself first with politics as such and then train himself up to a degree of citizenship as a result of which he will demand a higher standard of life, having put something into the common pool of his nation, or is he going first to demand that higher standard of life not caring from whence the wherewithal comes so long as he gets it, or is he going to try to co-ordinate the two and move in harmony with them? Because, whichever way we look at the problem, a country can only give to its people according to its economic capacity. It is no use demanding a wage from any industry unless the output of that industry provides the wage. I am speaking now as one who was always paid not by the hour or week but on output in the steel industry. If I made no steel I starved. That is not a bad system. There would be many\* in this country who would have starved many years ago if it had been a question of payment according to what they produced. But in regard to the Middle East my personal view is that because of the war, and because of the knowledge these people now have as to what is taking place in Great Britain, America, Russia and elsewhere, they get to a point at which they demand a high standard of life without having created the wherewithal from which their demand can be met. That sounds peculiar. In other words, they have not yet through their citizenship, their industry or their industrial organization put into the common pool of their respective nations what they are demanding out of that common pool. That creates a clash and trouble. It is necessary to consider how those difficulties and troubles can be overcome.

The question is which should come first. Let us think for a moment of the United States, where there is a high standard of living. There, politics are diametrically opposed to those who earn what forms the standard of life in the United States at the moment. There you have a capitalistic government in control of a highly industrialized population, a population highly organized and skilled in the art of knowing when and how to strike. In the United States wage rates keep on rising ever upwards, and the politicians keep on increasing the cost of living just slightly in advance of the wage rates, so that the wages are chasing the cost of living all the time, and sooner or later there will be a clash. Then there will be the desire on the part of the members of the various trade unions to have a form of government which will look after them; in the same way as we believe the clash came in this country, and we now have a form of government which, by law, safeguards what the workers and the unions have achieved as a result of trade union activity. In the Middle East there is not that industrialization; the people have not achieved, as yet, what we have in this country, a high technical skill, high business acumen and so on, out of which they can expect to get their due reward, but they are asking for that reward at the moment. Most of the people in the Middle East, as I see it, are demanding a standard of life as near as possible equivalent to that about which they have heard rumours, and indeed have seen at close quarters owing to the occupation by the American, British, Russian and other forces.

That raises the question as to what they are going to do, which of the actions is to come first. My own impression is that political action generally follows industrial action. Therefore, we have to concentrate for a minute on what the peoples of the Middle East are doing industrially. Many in this country have the idea that the Middle East is just one great arid desert; that there is nothing in the Middle East except flies, disease and ignorant people. We need to rid our minds of such ideas. When you have seen, as probably most of you here have done, what has been done in Palestine alone by the immigrants, the Zionist Jews if you like; when you have seen what has been achieved in certain parts of Palestine in regard to the cultivation of the soil and the production from it; when you go down to the shores of the Dead Sea and see what is taking place there in regard to the reclamation of salts, sodium, bromides and so on, and then go to see what is happening in regard to phosphates and the developments taking place in Palestine itself, you have the lie direct to the idea that the Middle East is full of screaming people who wear loin cloths and spend half their time killing flies. On the other hand, if you expect to find everywhere a highly industrialized, efficient set-up, wherever you care to go, then you will be disappointed. The Middle East is on the move; it is beginning to find out that it has its geological wealth; that it has wealth which can be exploited. Immediately you get industrial exploitation in any part of the world you get a movement on the part of the people to get their fair share of the wealth they are working to produce. In other words, wherever there is industrial exploitation or activity, call it what you will, there will always be a desire on the part of the people engaged in the particular industry to get their fair share as a result of the labour they put into obtaining the various products. You can go into the orange groves in Palestine and find Arab or Jewish labour which believes it is not getting a fair and square deal. You can go down to the Nile Delta, into the Sudan, into the cotton-fields, on the Egyptian State Railway, to Persia, to Morocco or other parts of North Africa, wherever you go you will find, as a result of the advance in industrial knowledge, that the desire of the people is to get, more speedily than those who own and control the various industries are prepared to give it, the standard of life which the people think they should have. Wherever anybody, even the members of a family, demand something sooner than they are entitled to receive it, somebody will have something to say about it. Wherever there is a desire for something which those in possession or control think should not be given so quickly, then there is industrial unrest.

One could speak at great length as to the methods that are being adopted. The Arab tribesman, the Persian tribesman, the educated Persian comes to England and is educated at Oxford or Cambridge. He comes to this country full of zeal and enthusiasm to learn our way of life, so that he shall take it back to be beneficial to the rest of his brothers and sisters in the nation in which he lives. Does it work out in that way? It has been proved time and time again that the fellow who gains knowledge in our country often uses it to exploit the lack of knowledge in his own country. Nobody can refute that statement. On the other hand, we have had many young people from this country—and indeed we should pay

tribute to them—who have gone out to other lands and freely given of their knowledge and service, to the great advantage of those countries.

The question is how to avoid these industrial clashes and put matters right. We have Persia with her oil, her weaving and other crafts; Egypt with cotton and other potentialities. Last week I attended the meeting of the executive committee of my own trade union, and there I read in detail exactly what amount of steel and iron is being produced in other countries where iron and steel production is taking place. I was amazed to learn that in Egypt of all places they are going to put down an iron and steel works. Deposits of pyrites have been found that can now be exploited and used for making steel there. Once they start making steel in Egypt it will not be long before they commence to make their own textile machinery; it will not be long, following that, before there will be less cotton available for Great Britain's textile machinery. Whatever happens as a result of industrial development in other countries has its effect, either adversely, or conversely to our benefit, in this country. Up to date I have seen very few things happen in other nations which have proved of real benefit to this country of ours, following upon the immediate request to this country for machinery and so on. Then there is the question of the phosphates, the bromides and other chemicals which Palestine is producing. There are also the agricultural potentialities, and one reads with interest of the introduction of better quality cattle and poultry with a view to raising the standard of life in that area, and of course that has its effect upon us because so soon as other people are in a position to export pedigree cattle there will not be so great a demand for the export of the pedigree cattle produced in Great Britain. That gives you some idea of how advancement in other countries affects our economy here.

You might ask what has Africa got? It has a tremendous amount of geological wealth: ore deposits, coal and other geological wealth. In addition, Africa has an enormous reserve of cheap labour. Do not forget that. Cheap labour is exploited all over the world—in Japan, China, India, and also in our own country not so very many years ago. Those are some of the problems which we have to face.

Turkey I know a little about, because I managed in a world-wide competition to obtain the offer of position of works manager of the new steel works owned by the State, run under nationalization and quite an efficient organization, which to-day is producing an enormous amount of good steel. There is immense geological wealth in Turkey. I had the privilege of studying the surveyor's report, because I did not want to go to manage those works and find I would not be able to obtain the raw material with which to run the works. I was satisfied that there was sufficient geological wealth in Turkey of all types such as we have in Great Britain—coal, limestone, ore, clays and so on—enough to last probably for the next twenty, thirty or forty thousand years. Those who made the survey stopped bothering about it after they had satisfied themselves that for the next two thousand years there was plenty available.

As you probably will have realized, in order to meet this industrial development in other countries you get the institution of trade unions. I am not going to say that they are good trade unions. You also get men

banding themselves together to formulate ideas as to what rates of pay they should receive in the industries in which they are now becoming engaged. I spoke at length when last I addressed the Society as to the position of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, where it was found that rates of pay were higher than the average wages paid by private enterprise elsewhere in Persia, and that was one reason why the Persian Government clamped down on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company having anything more to do with the settlement of rates of pay, because, naturally, if all Persian labourers decided to go where the best wage rates were paid, other enterprises would be without a labour supply. That is happening in other parts of the Middle East. In Palestine, for instance, there are two types of trade union. There is the Arab trade union movement, which is confined to Arabs only, and in some cases will take in a Jew as a member but not a Zionist Jew; he must not be a Nationalist or Zionist, but he must be an ordinary fellow politically, satisfied with non-partition and so on. Then there is the Jewish trade union movement, dealing with exactly the same type of industries, working side by side in the same factories, who will take an Arab, provided he is not anti-Zionist, into their ranks. There you have a clash of political thought operating inside trade union movements. A confusion in Palestine itself, and I add this in passing: it may be a good thing, looking at it from the anti-labour point of view—I do not know—that they have their private clash. I know American financiers and big bosses realize that it is a good thing to have the set-up they have in America, the C.I.O. against the F.L.O., and the Miners' Union; once those three great organizations come together with a common purpose the political bosses will have to look out, because numerical strength when it goes to the ballot-box can do remarkable things, but there must be numerical strength backed by individual knowledge. That is another matter entirely. You have in Palestine trade unions set up which are antagonistic towards each other. That may allow of a breathing space whilst they sort out their internal differences and until they get down to a knowledgeable state of affairs as to how a trade union should function and what its functions are. It is not true, by the way, that a trade union concerns itself only with getting a lot of pay for its members; that is one of its major objectives but not the only one.

You may ask who are the North African Arabs and what do they do. The North African Arabs held their first conference in Cairo on February 15, last month. They had there quite a galaxy of talent. They came to certain conclusions. For instance, they decided to set up a Joint Information Bureau for the three North African countries, to be established in Cairo; an office from which they are going to send out any information affecting the mutual interests of Arabs in the whole of North Africa. They are going to send delegates to the Preparatory Conference at Geneva and the Arab Conference. The whole of the Arab world is having its first big international conference and bringing Arabs from all the different countries to Cairo for the purpose in March, 1948. They are going to ask the Arab League to declare the protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco to be invalid and also to apply that to the colony of Algeria. These are

all important matters. The Arabs are beginning to move in the colonies controlled by the French; they are going to send out a special political policy and to submit it to the members of the Arab League and it is also to be communicated to U.N.O. In other words, the once illiterate Arab now considers himself a fit and proper person to be represented at U.N.O. Once you have the whole of the Middle East formulating a policy for the Arabs there, then you have to begin to take notice. It is no use saying that it does not matter; it is no use burying our heads in the sand and saying it will die out and not be effective, because the Arabs are in a special position. They are somewhat like the Russians: they can start where we have left off; they can at least gain all the advantages that accrue from the knowledge of our trade union movement; they can decide to pattern themselves upon it or not pattern themselves upon it. In Morocco the Arabs are banding themselves into a strong trade union movement. Tunisia also has its trade union. It is a little place we think about only when we open a box of dates. The average Britisher (not this audience, because it is deeply interested in these problems) feels no concern about it; he has his own domestic problems; he is wondering what his own Government is going to do next. He does not worry about Tunis except to wonder whether or not he will get from there his box of dates at Christmas; he thinks that is the end-all and be-all of Tunis. But the Arabs there held their first annual conference on January 21, 1947. A conference of trade union leaders in Tunis is rather remarkable. They are going to start discussing a forty-hour week for civil servants. I wish them luck, because if there is anybody I would like to see doing a real full week of forty hours it is a civil servant. (Laughter.) The Arabic language is the official language in all the administrative offices just as there is the use of Arabic language in primary education. Colonel Newcombe could tell you what should happen in regard to education in the Middle East. The tribesmen and their children are a big problem.

As to the political set-up you, of course, have little to learn in regard to what is happening in Palestine. As you know, they have there no autonomy of their own; there is no Government of Palestine by the Palestinians comprising both Jew and Arab or by Zionist Jews, or Jews as such, or Arabs as such. That is a very vexed problem which we will not go into now. You have the promises made by past Governments to both the Arabs and the Jews, and neither side seems to be willing to give way. There are tens of thousands of good British lads out there trying to preserve law and order among folk who are not trying to preserve it for themselves. That is another problem arising from a lack of any conception of real citizenship irrespective of what one may be. We do not say to a man in this country, "If you are a Jew or an Arab you shall not vote," or "If you are a banker you shall not vote." All here have a right to express themselves. That is why we have the finest democracy in the world.

Then there is the great Arab League, the Arab League which only two years ago came into being to formulate the policy for the whole of the political Arab thinking world, a League which has decided that it shall take care collectively of all the Arabs irrespective of where they may

be, but shall at the same time stand by and support any individual Arab community to the full, and that League has decided to give its full and complete support to the Arabs in connection with the Jewish problem in Palestine. That is another headache.

I meet people in England so misguided as to say that if we came out of Palestine, and the Jew and Arab went to war, there would only be one person in it, and that would be the Jew. Do not get such ideas into your minds. I am not taking sides, but I happen to know sufficient of the Arab world to realize that, spread out as they are, with their own peculiar ways of conducting warfare, and their ability to cut lines of communication and to live where you and I would certainly die—all these things have to be taken into account, especially when it comes to guerrilla warfare. I hope it may never be necessary to use force on either side and that sanity will prevail, so that they get a form of government which will satisfy the Jews and the Arabs; if so, it will satisfy you and me.

Then there is the Great Syria movement, with a view to bringing in the whole area covered in ancient times by the Assyrian Empire, and all the conflicting elements and individuals who for the moment have power in a big way, but not so big as if they were the heads of the Great Syria movement, and you have also Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Middle East. There is the ideology of one section as against the other even inside their own movement, even within the Arab League itself. That again is a problem.

One thing which the Arab League have decided, if I understand them aright, is that they are against domination by any of the big Powers. There again difficulties arise. In yesterday's Press you saw a statement that the United States is lending quite a serious amount of money to Turkey. If a settlement could be reached about Palestine, America is prepared to lend an enormous amount of money to Saudi Arabia and Palestine for the development of oil, new pipe-lines, railways and so on. You cannot expect money to be lent without guarantees; I have never known enormous sums of money borrowed without the person lending the money having some say as to how that money is to be spent and where the results of the spending of it are to go. Therefore you get the political ideology of nationalism: people who want their country for themselves, but who are without the wealth to exploit it to the utmost, having to borrow money from outside, and other nations bringing their influence to bear because of the fact that they are putting finance into that particular country. That is the American outlook on the loan of money. We want to preserve our identity in the Middle East, to be assured of cotton and oil supplies, and of friendship with the Middle East.

Then there is that other great nation away up to the north of Teheran whose ideology is spreading throughout the trade union movement. Some of the younger members of this audience may ask, How can a Persian get communistic ideas? How can Palestine trade unionists get into Russia? They do not go via the Black Sea or through the Caucasus into Russia; they get a visa into France and spend a little time studying a few of the so-called problems there. From France the Palestinian trade unionist finds a way into Russia. That is the route through which many

hundreds of Palestinian Arabs and Jews, Persians and others have found their way to Russia and got hold of the communistic ideology which is spreading to-day throughout the whole of the Middle East. Again there is a clash. Are they prepared to develop constitutionally with the help of British or American money, or are they prepared to accept help by the aid of the Big Stick, Russia? There you get a clash again, and then you ask a humble back-bencher like me to come and explain to you the problems of the Middle East!

You may wonder what the Sudanese is thinking about Egyptian domination. The Sudanese is a good type of fellow. I look upon him as a good soldier, and I had the privilege of serving with some of them. If I were asked to select a bodyguard I should choose a battalion of Sudanese. But, again, the Sudanese at points nearest to Egypt have a different outlook from that of the Sudanese living near to Kenya. There again you have a big and interesting problem.

I want to close on the question as to which of the two methods I have mentioned is going to prove the more successful, and what line Great Britain should take. It is a question of whether to proceed on lines of democracy or by means of force, or, as some would say, whether by means of the ballot or the bullet. It is a question as to who the people of the Middle East are eventually going to look to and who they themselves come to regard as their best friends. You may think that at the moment the United States are in that position because they are lending money. Later it may be Russia because she may be able, if need be, to lend some armed force. My own opinion is that the best friend the people of the Middle East can turn to in the long run is Great Britain, because, in spite of what some may think, I still believe in my heart of hearts that it will be realized that the way of life in this country, so far as constitutional and democratic opportunity of expressing ourselves is concerned, is the best in the world. Throughout the centuries, industrial activity in this country has been allowed to develop and at the same time, within reason (not always to the point that the trade unions would expect, but within reason), the labourer has been given a fair return for the labour he has put into the common effort. I think the labour problems in the Middle East can be solved by ordinary means, and especially through training and education. Education is a long-term policy. As those who have had the opportunity of serving and mixing with the tribesmen of the Middle East know, it is not possible to make them into sound and good citizens overnight. Many people in this country thought that when we changed our Government everything would come right overnight. It did not and could not. Such things take time. Your job and mine is to take every available opportunity of passing on, through every possible channel, a knowledge of British constitutional methods. If you happen to be of a political persuasion supporting the Conservatives, then pass on your knowledge of their activities and their way of life. It is far better (and I say this in spite of the fact that I happen to be opposed to the Conservative policy, though not to Conservatives as such) that you should do that than pass on no information at all. If you are a trade union leader, pass on knowledge of your trade union. If you happen to be a

school teacher or in business, with that high standard of decent dealing as between one business man and another which has been one of the foundations of the British Empire, pass on all the information you can in that respect, because the people of the Middle East are needing that information and asking for such help. If we do not pass on all the information and help that we humanly can we shall fail them. You may say it is not easy to help, that we want all the help we can get for ourselves, but you know that even in our extreme position to-day it would be far better to make that little sacrifice rather than to be partners in the crash that may come because of the lack of information and knowledge of the constitutional way of life on the part of those in the Middle East.

I have tried, very sketchily, Mr. Chairman, to trace the problems as I have seen them. There is a tremendous struggle in progress in the Middle East; a tremendous need for education, both industrial and political. I have only touched on a few aspects of the vast problem; just the fringe of a great subject. I am not, as I said at the beginning, one who has just returned from being mixed up with the problem on the spot; I have taken every opportunity I possibly could of studying it because I am interested in the way of life of all peoples. I believe that this great nation of ours, and it is still the greatest under the sun, cannot make progress unless other nations make progress at the same time. We cannot expect to progress as a nation and see other nations remain static. We cannot expect that any country possessed of geological wealth will fail to exploit that wealth for its own benefit. This country should do all in its power, both through diplomatic and industrial channels, through the trade unions and political parties, and in every possible way to pass on information and help to the people who are looking to us for such help and guidance, so that they have the opportunity at least of comparing what we believe would be best for them with what other nations think is best for them. There is no time to lose.

I hope you will accept what I have said as revealing the problem as I see it, not as the Government or any individual has laid it down for me to present. It is as I have seen it in my endeavour to keep abreast of present-day trends.

Lord HAILEY expressed his appreciation of Mr. Jones's lecture, particularly because he had not approached the subject merely as a study in the technique of trade unionism, but had, with great breadth of view, treated the position of labour as part of the many difficult problems of the Middle East.

Lord Hailey had previously had occasion to recall to the Society the growing interest shown by the world at large in the position of what used to be called the "backward" peoples. There was a very growing desire to see their standards of life improved, and there were many who showed impatience with what they held to be the slow advance made in particular for those sections of the backward peoples for whom the Colonial Powers were responsible. He was grateful therefore to the lecturer for his reminder of the fact, often overlooked by impatient critics, that in the long run the standards of life of any people must depend on the natural



resources of their country and their ability to make the best use of them. Despite what had been effected in some areas, such as Palestine, to which the lecturer had in particular referred, the natural resources of the Middle East were relatively small. The mineral resources were limited, and in the main their standards of life must depend on agricultural production. But even here there were many parts which were unfavourably situated in respect of both soil and climate.

Mr. Jones had pointed to a considerable advance in industrial development, and he held out promises of more to come. He had made out a good case for the use of trade union methods in the organization of labour, and the principle was one which was fully accepted by the Colonial Office in dealing with the somewhat similar problems in our own Colonies. We had in recent years done our best to stimulate the movement, both by legislation and by the establishment of Labour Departments, manned in some cases by men who had been trained in trade union practice in this country. The results had not always been crowned with success, for there was not in the Colonies that background of trained and responsible labour which had made the real strength of trade unionism here. But there had already been evidence in some areas of the value of having a definite organization of labour with which to deal; the recent railway trouble in Southern and Northern Rhodesia was a case in point.

But what of the great mass of labour in the Middle East which was engaged in agriculture? It far exceeded that engaged in industry. He (Lord Hailey) believed that Mr. Jones would agree that here the most essential requirement was to readjust the present system of land tenures. The curtailment of a system of landlord proprietorship which had, in present circumstances, no economic justification, seemed to be the primary need. These were, however, matters in which we ourselves could do little more than offer advice, based on the studies of our own experts on such questions.

Mr. Jones, in concluding his address, had made an interesting reference to this very topic—namely, the part which we ourselves could take in improving conditions in this area. He rightly pointed out that whatever the interests, whether strategic or commercial, we felt we possessed in the Middle East, we ought not now to look to force or the exhibition of superior strength to securing them. Such influence as we could now exert must be gained by proofs of friendship and good feeling. But Lord Hailey felt it was precisely here that our greatest strength lay. We should have our competitors in the Middle East. We shall, however, hold our place there not by material strength but by the moral values which inspire the confidence of others in the principles and the purposes of the British Commonwealth.

The LECTURER: In relation to agricultural problems, the trade union movement always looks upon the agricultural problem as part and parcel of the industrial problem of a country. As a matter of fact, in Great Britain the agricultural labourer through his trade union is just as big and strong a member of the T.U.C. as any other section.

One could speak at great length on the fellahin's opinion of the land-

owner and the landowner's opinion of the fellahin. The system of land tenure in the Middle East constitutes a serious problem, but it is only one phase of the problems that beset the whole of the Middle East. The clash is coming between those who own the land and those who till it.

The CHAIRMAN: At the beginning of his lecture Mr. Jones said that he did not know whether after he had finished we would wish him to come back again. Of that there is no question, sir; and we hope that when you do come again you will give us your own views on British labour. I am sure you all join me in thanking Mr. Jones sincerely for what has been not only most deeply interesting but very instructive.

# SOME HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

By SIR HARRY SINDERSON, PASHA, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.V.O.

Lecture given on February 5, 1947, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, G.C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It gives me particular pleasure to introduce Sir Harry Sinderson to you this afternoon because he is a friend of many years' standing. Sir Harry, as no doubt you all know, has spent a very long time in Iraq. When I arrived in Baghdad in 1921 with King Feisal, then the Emir Feisal, Sir Harry was there—he had actually been in the country since 1918—and it was not until the summer of 1946 that he finally retired. During his period in Iraq he held a number of important posts; he was Adviser to the Ministry of Social Affairs; he was Dean and Professor of Medicine of the Royal Faculty of Medicine, and Director of the Royal Hospital in Baghdad, while for many years he attended the Iraq Royal Family and the staff of the British Embassy, as well as a host of British residents and Iraqis. Sir Harry will therefore speak to us with the authority and knowledge gained from long experience.

The countries of the Middle East have from time immemorial been afflicted with a variety of singularly unpleasant diseases, which at times have become so serious as to threaten the efficiency and the well-being of whole regions, if not of whole peoples. The fight against disease and malnutrition is of immense importance, socially, economically and politically, and since it is also a fight in which we can play a useful part when we are asked to do so (and you know, of course, what magnificent work our doctors and scientists have done in that regard for many years) it must be a matter of interest to every student of the Middle East. We look forward to hearing from Sir Harry Sinderson about some of the health problems of the Middle East and about what is being done to tackle them.

I AM deeply appreciative of the honour of addressing such a distinguished assembly, and I thank you, Sir Kinahan, for the excessively generous remarks which you have been kind enough to make about me. No one knows better than I the immensity of the debt that the Middle East owes to you for the great and unfailing stimulus which you gave to the development of medical services and the improvement of conditions of health while Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior in Baghdad and later as our Ambassador there.

For the infliction of a paper on some of the health problems of the Middle East Colonel Newcombe is largely to blame. When it was first mooted—and there are too many of them for inclusion in one brief discourse—the suggestion was made that it should be confined to members of this Society who are engaged in medical and associated activities, in the hope that as a result of our deliberations there might emerge a panacea for presentation to the countries of this vast and important region to which we are bound by very close and affectionate ties. I did not favour this suggestion, however, as I was convinced that the problems and the means of their solution are already known only too well by the Ministries and the Departments of Health and Social Affairs of the countries concerned. My contention was that there was no difficulty in diagnosis nor

in the treatment to be prescribed, but, for a variety of reasons, of which finance was one, remedies were difficult to carry into effect.

I have mentioned finance. Another determining factor is an insufficiently wide appreciation by non-medical sections of administration, and by the general public, of the importance of these problems not only medically but politically, socially, and economically also. It is easy to blame Governments, but other sections of the community cannot be absolved from all responsibility, and until public opinion is sufficiently roused to demand greater and more effective action the budgets of the various countries are unlikely to provide the huge financial allocations which the solution of these urgent and immense problems demands.

No doubt the Arab League will seize the opportunity which its formation affords for consultation and for the co-operative effort which many of these problems present. Humanitarians, philanthropists, press, radio, exhibitions, and cinemas can all make vital contributions to the metamorphosis, though obviously the assistance which the press can give is limited in communities in which so many as 85 per cent. are still illiterate. The influence of broadcasts also is restricted to the relatively few possessors of radio sets and the frequenters of coffee shops; and the influence of cinemas, apart from rare mobile vans, is almost entirely restricted to the very small proportion of the population that can afford to see films, even should a cinema exist in their neighbourhood.

Obviously education is a factor of supreme importance, both in combating illiteracy and in the creation of a health consciousness among all sections of the community. And so I hope that a little more interest in these matters may here be kindled and that members of the Society in their respective spheres, and as opportunities permit, may be the means of spreading the gospel of prophylaxis and better conditions of life in the countries concerned.

I have spent twenty-eight very happy years in the Middle East. I have a great and lasting affection for it, and I trust this is sufficient guarantee that what I am about to say will not be regarded as cavilling criticism, but spoken as a friend and solely with a desire to be helpful and to see things become better.

It would serve no useful purpose—it would, in fact, be unfriendly—to close one's eyes and pretend that the Middle East has no health problems requiring solution. Obviously this could not be said of any part of the world, and proud though we have reason to be of the administrative system of State Medicine now in operation in Great Britain we cannot say that even in "this other Eden" no problems of health still remain. We ought to be very sympathetic to the countries of the Middle East, and not unmindful of the appalling conditions that existed in our own country at the time of the Industrial Revolution of the last century—dirt, disease, epidemics, overcrowding, and malnutrition—conditions which are among the problems facing the Middle East to-day. And, too, we must not forget that these countries have not only almost all our problems to contend with but many common to all hot countries as well as others peculiar to themselves.

Recognition of what has been experienced and overcome in Great

Britain should make us more sympathetic to countries now confronted with similar tasks, and at the same time be an inspiration to all who are striving for better things in that portion of the globe in which was situated the cradle of mankind.

I do not need to remind members of this Society that within the term "Middle East," itself a somewhat elastic expression, are included several countries, with very varied geography, climate, vegetation, people, and ways of life. It is obviously impossible for me to speak of the special problems of each country in a short review, and this afternoon I shall confine my remarks to some of those which are common to most of them.

A striking example of a problem peculiar to one territory is provided by pellagra in Egypt. Pellagra is a chronic disease affecting principally the skin, the gastro-intestinal tract, and the central nervous system. Pellagrins not uncommonly end their days in an asylum. Pellagra is a food-deficiency disease occurring among the fellaheen, whose diet is restricted largely to maize. Wheat is grown in abundance in Egypt, but it is more profitable to dispose of the wheat crop and live on the maize. In the more northerly countries of the Middle East maize is not cultivated so extensively and wheat flour is the staple article of diet, and pellagra is more or less unknown.

Food-deficiency diseases and the malnutrition which precedes them are, to my mind, as urgent a problem as any in the Middle East at the present time. In the majority of instances the degree of under-nourishment may be insufficient to cause classical symptoms of the various food-deficiency diseases, but, in any case, it lowers resistance to infections, and this—and I say it with little fear of contradiction—is the primary factor in the prevalence of disease in the Middle East at the present time. Not only are well-nourished persons less liable to infection, but in the event of one they are better able to overcome it.

Without adequate nourishment of its people no country can hope to enjoy good health, and without good health a nation cannot be happy. There is, then, a political and a social aspect of nutrition. Without good health a country cannot prosper. This reveals an economic factor, and possibly it is emphasis on this factor that is more likely than any other to impress on governments the importance of the subject. There is now more money in the Middle East than ever before, and it looks as if some of the countries will soon be enriched even more as a result of further new oil developments. Undoubtedly great changes are taking place, but we must not forget that the words "change" and "progress" are not always synonymous. New and ambitious irrigation schemes are being launched, new roads, bridges, airports, and railway extensions are under construction. All these are important, but surely not more so than adequate nutrition and healthier, happier people; and I am very strongly of opinion that most of the countries concerned, without any loss to security, could curtail their expenditure on armaments considerably—and they would be much better off with butter than with guns!

The importance of nutrition in national life is one which should be studied seriously and from many points of view in every country of the Middle East. Nutrition presents a big problem, and its solution is not

easy. However, it must be faced, and faced realistically. Pious invocations alone will not accomplish it. I do not advocate the reduction of existing facilities for medical treatment, but I am sure that if additional money cannot be found more benefit would accrue to the general public if budget provision for medical institutions were reduced, and the amount thus saved devoted to the provision of better nourishment for the poor and needy. I know that this contention is open to argument, and I shall be happy if it provokes it, as in so doing interest may be awakened, and that, after all, is the object of this lecture.

Medical authorities, unaided, cannot do much to combat malnutrition. More food and better food is the solution, and more meat, eggs, milk, fruit, vegetables in particular. These must be produced or imported, and government subsidies may be required in either case. Diet, of course, is not only a question of quantity, of calories, but of quality and variety as well. One does not have to worry about one's vitamin intake as long as one's dietary is sufficiently mixed, and it cannot occasion surprise that the frugal and monotonous fare of the fellaheen is deficient alike in calories and in necessary food factors.

In considering food, its preservation also is a matter of paramount importance, especially in hot countries. Ice is expensive and difficult to obtain, except in the larger centres of population, and refrigerators are a luxury of the few. It cannot be surprising that, under these conditions, food poisoning, the result of contamination by pathogenic organisms, is common in the Middle East. Flies, of course, play a part in the etiology of many such conditions.

There can be little doubt that the great prevalence of tuberculosis in the Middle East is due as much to malnutrition as to bad hygienic conditions, such as overcrowding. A crying need in most of these countries is for suitable segregation and treatment of tuberculous patients. Sanatoria exist in some countries, though, in all, the available accommodation is greatly below requirements and, unfortunately, the climatic conditions in general are unfavourable. Air-conditioning can overcome some of the problems of temperature, and the situation may soon be improved by the introduction of a specific remedy, though to date no drug of this nature has been found. I am thinking particularly of streptomycin.

It is extremely doubtful whether much greater production of meat, eggs, milk, fruit, and vegetables, already recommended, is possible of achievement without considerable reconstruction of rural life, and I fear this means some clipping of sheikhly wings. I am not an economist, but I think that farm units and sales through co-operative societies may be the solution. I visited Turkey as a member of the suite of the Regent of Iraq eighteen months ago, and, like His Royal Highness, was much impressed by the new peasant schools of that country. Their aim is not a secondary-school certificate, but an education based on rural needs, with a fuller and more useful life as its goal. However, this is outside my present scope, though I do think there is considerable risk in some countries at the present time of education outstripping absorptive capacity and thereby leading to malcontents and political unrest.

In passing, I should like to pay tribute to the fine work being done in

the hospitals and other medical institutions of the Middle East. Apart from good hospitals—and many of them are very modern buildings, splendidly equipped, though, alas! only to be found in the largest cities—colleges of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and nursing, and Pasteur, vaccine, calf-lymph, pathological, radiological, medico-legal, and research institutes are doing great work in many of these countries. The majority of these institutions, like most of the schools and higher colleges, at which education is free, are government owned and administered, and members of their staffs are government officials. In theory it should not be difficult to distribute doctors to the provinces, though in actual practice it is, and every string possible is pulled, and resignations even are made, to evade out-station appointment. This is not really surprising when one considers the lack of amenities in the provinces. It is certainly very regrettable from the point of view of medical aid in remoter districts, and the only solution is for governments to improve the lot of officials who are posted to out-stations by providing reasonable accommodation together with financial inducements. This is a problem of urgency and one which faces almost every country of the Middle East. The largest cities are supersaturated with doctors and the provincial towns inadequately provided for. Travelling dispensaries are employed in remote areas in some countries, but obviously their value is very limited, and they should be regarded only as temporary expedients.

In the Middle East poverty presents another problem, affecting health in a variety of ways. It would surely be fatuous at the present time for public health authorities to exhort the fellah to wear boots, have a daily bath, vary his diet, and brush his teeth twice daily on a remuneration of a shilling or so a day, while at the same time struggling to feed and clothe a large family, including possibly the progeny of three wives.

What is to be done? Obviously the fellah must have more money to spend if his standard of living is to be raised, and I am sure that the governments concerned realize this—and also that they know better than I what sources should be tapped to accomplish it. I sometimes wonder which should come first—greater productivity on the part of the fellah in order that he may earn more money and be better nourished and so more productive, or higher remuneration in order that he may eat more and become more productive. In other words, “Which comes first—the hen or the egg?”

There can be no doubt that, aided by fertilizers and modern machinery, agricultural production in the Middle East could be increased enormously. There is little inclination, however, on the part of the peasant, under existing circumstances, to exert himself further, as he would be extremely fortunate if he gained financially by so doing; and it must not be forgotten that the average fellah is unfit for very strenuous effort. He is commonly regarded as inherently lazy and apathetic, whereas it would be more charitable, and nearer the truth, were his lassitude and disinclination ascribed to ill-health and malnutrition.

Much of the ill-health is due to ankylostomiasis or hookworm disease, which, in some districts, affects almost 100 per cent. of the population. Although ankylostomiasis is rarely a primary cause of death it is an

extremely serious menace to health, and the associated anæmia, lassitude, and failure of nutrition may totally incapacitate its victim. It requires infestation with about one hundred parasites to produce appreciable symptoms. I am greatly indebted to the Wellcome Foundation for very kindly lending diagrams and actual specimens of hookworm to-day. The larvæ of the parasite, like those of bilharziasis, also widespread, though not usually so crippling an infestation, invade the human body chiefly through bare feet exposed to mud or water which has been contaminated by and as a result of promiscuous defæcation. The hookworm larvæ penetrate the skin, pass into the small vessels and, via the circulation, ultimately reach the lungs, from whence they pass up the trachea, and then, via the œsophagus and stomach, they reach the small intestine, where they attach themselves to the mucous membrane and begin their occupation of sucking the blood of their host. Can an infected man work harder? This is a difficult problem facing those working in the Middle East. In any case he needs boots or shoes to prevent reinfestation, and where are boots or shoes to come from? Hookworm disease, as I am sure you are beginning to see, presents an immense and very varied problem.

At present thousands of infected persons attend hospitals and dispensaries daily. The worms are expelled and the patient returns home—only to be speedily reinfected. Not a very sensible procedure, you will say, but the solution, simple in theory, is fraught with gigantic difficulties in practice, the greatest of all being the enormous expense involved. However, the situation must be met and met urgently. How can a heavily infected community prosper? Ankylostomiasis is very seriously impeding economic development in many parts of the Middle East. Irrigation schemes may be launched, agricultural effort intensified, and increased oil production planned, but until the hookworm is mastered there can be no great economic progress.

I have already hinted at the enormity and complexity of the problem. It is not only a question of boots or shoes. It involves adequate domestic sanitation, which, in effect, means new homes and new villages. It involves, too, control of irrigation, health propaganda, and mass treatment of infested communities. The Rockefeller Foundation has waged successful campaigns against this parasite in the past in many parts of the world, and, possibly, in view of America's increasing interest in the Middle East, it might be opportune now to solicit the Foundation's powerful and kindly aid in this gigantic, humanitarian task.

Worm infestations of considerable variety are common to all hot countries, but it is imperfect personal and domestic hygiene that is largely to blame. Everyone who has resided or travelled in the Middle East has heard of the tarmatade infestation, bilharziasis, familiarly known as "Bill Harris." It occurs in two forms in the Middle East, each due to a different species of the parasite—a common urinary form and a less widely distributed intestinal form. Prophylaxis is practically the same as for hookworm disease, so that measures directed against ankylostomiasis would also check the spread of bilharziasis.

After "Bill Harris," in larval form, enters the human body he makes



a tour of the circulatory system and, having reached man's estate and found an agreeable companion, he settles down in a nice little centrally-heated vein in the pelvic region and, immune from taxation and food control, he wraps his leaf-like body round his slim spouse, and thus they remain in close embrace for ever afterwards—or until natural death or injections of tartar emetic put an end to their idyllic existence.

All the common nematodes, or roundworms—the hookworm, incidentally, is one of them—are very generously represented in this region. Cestodes, or tapeworms, are represented by the beef variety; the pig form is rare as pork is eaten only by a very small section of the community. The most serious tapeworm infestation is that caused by a very small parasite which in its mature form infests dogs and jackals, and in its larval form invades the human body and causes hydatid disease—a slow-growing cystic condition which may involve almost any part of the body, but in 70 per cent. of cases is found in the liver. Human invasion commonly results from close contact with dogs, but contaminated food and water also may spread the disease. Treatment is entirely surgical, but please do not be alarmed! I did not meet with a case in a fellow-countryman during my long sojourn in the Middle East.

Before we say “good-bye” to worms let me tell you a story of an old lady who attended a temperance lecture. She was greatly impressed by the practical demonstration of the toxic effects of alcohol which was given by the lecturer. He placed an earthworm in some whisky, and it was dead within a minute. So impressed was the old lady that at the conclusion of the demonstration she asked the lecturer if he would mind telling her the brand of whisky he had used as she had long been troubled with a parasite herself!

Malaria is a very serious problem in all hot countries, and all varieties of the infection are met with in the Middle East. Although normally regarded as an endemic condition it does at times assume a virulent and very fatal epidemic form. This occurred in more than one region at the end of the recent war when British military personnel had left and prophylaxis was discontinued. The lesser prevalence of the disease during military occupation resulted in a lowered local immunity and once anti-malarial measures were relaxed a very fatal outbreak occurred.

Hundreds of thousands of pounds must have been spent on malaria control during the war, and our military medical authorities worked wonders in the areas under their administration. It is nothing short of a tragedy that the local organizations which they built up were not taken over by the governments of a number of the countries concerned. The hand of Providence was extended but not clasped, and one day a similar organization will have to be rebuilt—but meanwhile many lives will be lost.

The typhoid group of fevers is endemic everywhere and accounts for tens of thousands of deaths annually. This group and the closely related dysentery group of infections are spread in the same way—as one public health expert with an alliterative bent well remarked, by “drains, dairies, drinking water, and the filthy feet of faecal-feeding flies.” And may I here remark that there is a fortunate tendency for these common vectors

of infection to disappear in the hottest areas as summer advances, due of course to the desiccation of potential breeding places.

Inoculation against typhoid and paratyphoid fevers is growing in popularity as appreciation of its prophylactic value increases, and my advice to any resident is to have it performed annually and not every two years as usually recommended. Inoculation of school children is particularly valuable, as theirs is the optimum age for infection. However, inoculation alone is not enough. Dairies, drains, and drinking water must be supervised, and such matters should be entrusted to specialists in public health work. Unfortunately—I am speaking only from a health point of view—there is a streak of fatalism to be overcome in most of these countries, and this is a considerable handicap to apostles of hygiene in the course of their labours.

Domestic sanitation leaves a great deal to be desired, even in the largest cities, and few even of these have a water-carriage sewage system. It is easy to say, "Instal them," but, except in the case of new towns, the engineering difficulties are tremendous and, needless to say, the cost of installation is great.

Undulant fever, better known as Malta fever, the result of drinking the milk of infected goats, and Abortus fever, from the milk of cows, are widely distributed, though in general the incidence is not high. Pasteurization and the boiling of milk provide the only safeguard.

And now I propose to mention a problem which at first you may think hardly comes within the perimeter of this lecture—namely, the status of women. Not only has her status—her education, her position in the home and in society—a very important bearing on health but on every aspect of national life as well. I am of course speaking of the average woman and not of her well-to-do and enlightened sisters, who constitute a very small minority. I do not think there is any happening more calculated to improve the health of this vast area and to contribute more largely to its happiness and prosperity than the emancipation of women.

Some countries have already discarded the veil, and it will be a great day, the dawn of a new era, when it has been banished once and for all from all of them and when the slave-like rôle of women is a thing of the past. What is the lot of the average woman at the present time? I propose to be frank. She is an ignorant, child-bearing drudge. I may be scolded for saying this, but I do not mind as long as it provokes thought, for thought is the precursor of action. Is it to be wondered at that infantile mortality is so high? How can such a woman be expected to fulfil her mission as a wife, bring up a healthy family, and play her proper part in the character formation of her children? However, I think the outlook in this direction is now much brighter. The emancipation of women has begun, and I am sure that very soon all opposition, even that of religious bodies, will be swept aside and emancipation will proceed with irresistible force to fruition. May God speed it!

Venereal disease is a problem in the Middle East, but so it is in every country of the world, and, accepting the inevitability of prostitution, opinion in that area is divided as to whether it is wiser to recognize and

control public brothels or to drive all prostitution underground—or, in other words, into the Black Market! Speaking solely from the aspect of venereal disease, I do not think either procedure is likely to make any profound difference to the incidence.

I must make at least passing reference to certain epidemic diseases which during the past quarter of a century have shown very considerable reduction of incidence. Smallpox, thanks to vaccination, occurs now mainly sporadically, as do cases of plague and cholera. Typhus fever, mainly the endemic form, spread by fleas, and relapsing fever, which, like epidemic typhus, is lice-borne, are not as common as one might expect in view of the availability of these two blood-sucking vectors. In this no doubt climate is a factor. Almost all the common infectious diseases met with in temperate climates occur in the Middle East, though there are many interesting differences in severity and incidence.

The possibility of the introduction of diseases by air from other countries is a new problem which has always to be borne in mind, but to date precautions taken at the various airports appear to have proved very effective, and they deserve a word of congratulation. Yellow fever is one such disease. It is caused by a virus transmitted from man to man by a mosquito which exists in the countries of the Middle East, and so, should it be introduced from one of the endemic foci in Africa, a serious epidemic might result, and as the death-rate from yellow fever averages 25 per cent. it behoves the authorities to be ever on their guard.

Amœbic dysentery (not, like bacillary dysentery, a microbic infection) is due, as its name implies, to a protozoan invasion. It is extremely common, much commoner than the bacillary form, and much chronic ill-health results from it; and, sometimes, an abscess of the liver. Carriers of this infection present a problem, as they do in the typhoid group, the mode of spread of which is identical. No doubt a considerable number of gastro-intestinal ailments, which are common, are the result of chronic infection with this amœba, but coarse food and defective mastication are also factors not to be forgotten.

Leprosy has curiously limited geographical distribution in the Middle East and its incidence is low.

Rabies, at the time of the First World War, constituted an anxious problem, as the nearest anti-rabic institute was in India, but since that time facilities for Pasteur treatment have been created in most of the countries.

The bogy of heat-stroke is one which afflicts many visitors on arrival during the summer months, but it is not really a problem during normal peace-time conditions. The oriental sore, or "Baghdad boil," is another bogy which confronts newcomers, especially in Baghdad. It is spread by insect bites, and sleeping-nets and insecticides, especially D.D.T., afford the chief measures of protection.

I have already mentioned that the Middle East is confronted with most of the health problems of temperate climates in addition to her own. Naturally disease conditions show variations both of incidence and severity, but I do not propose to discuss these. I shall confine myself to a few of the special problems and special features which they may present.

The treatment of diabetes mellitus among the poor in isolated districts commonly presents an insuperable problem, as it is not only hard to persuade the patients of the need for daily injections but often equally difficult to arrange for them to be given. Fortunately, it is not a very prevalent disease.

A very fatal non-alcoholic form of cirrhosis of the liver occurring among the poor is a common condition. Its etiology is still obscure, but I have little doubt that it is essentially a food-deficiency condition, although alimentary toxins may play a part. Once established there is little that can be done beyond the relief of symptoms. An alcoholic form of cirrhosis is also met with, though much less frequently. Araq, or "lions' milk," as it is sometimes affectionately called, is the usual cause, but alcoholism, except in the larger and wealthier centres of population, is extremely rare.

Drugs, mainly opium and hashish, provide a problem in some places, but it is one which mainly concerns the police and Customs authorities.

A minor problem, which will disappear when the danger of charcoal braziers is more widely appreciated, is carbon monoxide poisoning. A colleague of mine in Baghdad had the misfortune to wake up one Christmas morning to find all his servants dead. They had gone to bed with lighted braziers in their rooms and with windows closed.

Among circulatory disorders, high blood pressure and arterial disease, commonly associated with kidney involvement, are extremely common conditions, and it is remarkable how popular is the apparatus for blood-pressure estimation. Even the most uneducated persons in the cities expect, and probably demand, to have their pressures taken whenever a medical examination is made. Heredity is an important factor in the etiology of these circulatory conditions, but possibly over-eating and a lack of exercise are contributory factors in the well-to-do, among whom the incidence is higher. Among renal conditions stone is very prevalent, and climate and diet play a large part in its causation.

Although acute rheumatism is not nearly so common as in Great Britain it does occur, as do all forms of chronic rheumatism. Scattered about the Middle East are a number of mineral springs eminently suitable for the treatment of cases of chronic arthritis as well as for a variety of other ailments, and no doubt one day some of them will become famed as spas.

It cannot be surprising that gynæcological diseases are extremely common, and I think it can be said without fear of contradiction that few women of the poorer classes enjoy as good health after marriage as before. Frequent childbirth, devoid of skilled attention, with no pre-natal or post-natal care, is of course the main reason for this unhappy state of affairs. Objection to examination by male doctors is readily understandable, but, and here I must tread very lightly, women doctors have not in my experience provided the solution one had hoped for. In time, no doubt, the women of the Middle East will appreciate that their own sex can provide doctors as good as men, but that day of enlightenment has not yet dawned.

I have already mentioned how difficult it is to get men to accept a provincial appointment. It is, not surprisingly, even more difficult in the case of women; and should they marry, as many do, the situation becomes

even more difficult, as official and domestic duties are not always easily combined!

Blindness of one or both eyes is very frequent in the countries of the Middle East. It occurs mainly in the poor and chiefly as a result of trachoma, offspring of flies, dust, and dirt. Institutions for the blind are few and far between, and I am afraid there is little hope of more being provided until other more urgent problems have been overcome. No doubt as social services grow and charitable societies expand, this problem, together with other similar ones affecting, for example, orphans, the aged poor, and incurables, will be faced.

In passing, you may be interested to hear of one occupation for which blind men are preferred. It is that of a muezzin. I remember once, as a member of a medical board, being confronted with a dozen blind candidates for such appointment, as government officials, in the Department of Amqaf, but board regulations did not permit anyone to be an official of any kind without good vision. After ministerial intervention the candidates were finally accepted. The Department of Amqaf had insisted that blind men as muezzins were preferable, as, being blind, no one would be able to indulge in slander concerning them and the roving nature of their glances as they looked down in summer upon the inhabited roofs of the city!

The treatment of insane persons leaves much to be desired. The problem is an urgent one and, like so many others, mainly a question of money. Even where asylums exist little is accomplished beyond incarceration, and few are able to get the expert treatment they require. In many parts the only possible place of detainment is a gaol. I recollect in one city the gaol and the asylum being adjacent, and prisoners and patients dressed exactly alike. In the darkness of one night a patient, by an incredible feat, climbed the asylum wall and descended into the gaol. He was much fatigued by his exertions and fell asleep by the wall, and not until he awoke did he realize that he was not a free man. The presence of an extra prisoner at roll call led to recounts and other complications, but, to cut a long story short, it was eventually discovered that the new arrival had previously escaped from the gaol, became insane while free, and been put into the asylum!

Facilities for dental treatment of the poor, other than extractions, provide another problem, and I do not see how it can be solved until some form of National Health Insurance can be introduced. Such a scheme could be promoted in stages, and no doubt one day it will, and thereby solve a number of problems of the poor; but for a long time, I fear, it will be unable to embrace the neediest of all—namely, the fellaheen. Dentistry is a painful subject and I will not prolong it, but before I close I want to tell you how one clever man in Baghdad avoided the pain of extraction.

He went to a dentist and asked to have a carious and painful molar removed. The dentist agreed, and said his fee would be 500 fils with a local anæsthetic and 200 fils without. "All right," said the sufferer, "I'll take an anæsthetic." The dentist was a busy man and he used two rooms. He made the injection and told the patient he had to do the same thing

in the other room, but would be back in a minute or two, by which time the anæsthetic would have taken effect. As soon as the dentist left the room the patient made his escape and proceeding to another dentist asked him to extract the tooth. The dentist told him his fees, identical with those of No. 1, and the tooth was removed painlessly for 200 fils!

I am afraid I have talked longer than I should have done. I thank you for your kind forbearance and I hope that I have not given the impression that good health in the Middle East is impossible at the present time. There are very many very healthy persons in those countries, and no better advertisement is possible than the health of Britons who have been resident there for a long time. One glance at Sir Kinahan should be sufficient, and then, dare I suggest, if necessary, you take a second look at me?

In conclusion, may I express the hope that my talk may be the means of stimulating a little more interest in, and sympathy with, the health problems of the countries of the Middle East.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: During World War I a great many of us suffered from what was loosely called sandfly fever, and another very common fever known in all the hospitals was that termed N.Y.D., which meant "not yet diagnosed." Could the lecturer say whether any improved treatment had been arrived at for sandfly fever, though that may not be the correct name? I suffered from it going up the Tigris once, and was cured by the skipper throwing three buckets of Tigris water over me. I imagine there are more up-to-date methods than that.

The LECTURER: Sandfly fever is one which affects newcomers and not the ordinary population, so that it is not a big problem. There is local immunity to it, but a new arrival contracts it very readily. I had it twice within six weeks when I first arrived in Iraq, but was afterwards immune. The heroic method of cure used in Group-Captain Smallwood's case appears to have been extremely effective. I do not believe there is any specific remedy for the disease, the actual cause of which has not been discovered, but there seems no doubt that it is an infection due to a filterable virus. For example, it can be inoculated experimentally into another person, and experiments of that nature were carried out extensively by the Royal Air Force some time ago. It is a short-lived fever, usually lasting about three days, and as regards treatment all one can do is to treat the symptoms and make the patient more comfortable. Actually there is nothing better than a preparation such as aspirin, which brings down the fever and at the same time rids the patient of the very distressing aches and pains which accompany the infection.

"N.Y.D. fever" was only a convenient form of nomenclature when the sick were evacuated, say, from a field ambulance to a base hospital. There had not been time to make an exact diagnosis and so the patient was moved as one having a fever the nature of which was not certain; he was sent to the base hospital as a case of "N.Y.D. fever" or "pyrexia N.Y.D.," the "N.Y.D." of which, as Group-Captain Smallwood has said, meant "not yet diagnosed." Blood tests, cultures, and counts were not usually performed in advanced field stations, as rapid evacuation of patients was essential.

Mr. E. SYKES: Can the lecturer tell us roughly—I know accurate statistics are lacking—what the infantile mortality rate is in the Middle East? I have heard that it is about 80 per cent. Is that too fantastic?

The LECTURER: I do not think it is too fantastic, considering the Middle East as a whole. As you say, vital statistics are extremely unreliable, except in the largest cities. The infantile mortality rate for a city like Baghdad, for example, does not give a true idea of the situation in country districts, where figures are undoubtedly much higher. I am not surprised at an estimate of 80 per cent.; it is probably not a great exaggeration if one considers the Middle East as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting and graphic account and, having heard it, I think that my description of the diseases of the Middle East as singularly unpleasant was mild. Sir Harry has said that everything is not as bad as he has described it, but I expect that after what he has said many of you who have spent long periods in the Middle East will consider it is a miracle that you are here to-day. We are greatly indebted to Sir Harry Sinderson for what he has told us, and on your behalf I express our sincere thanks to him.

# THE KHABUR VALLEY

By J. ROWLANDS

OF every thousand Europeans who know the Levantine Littoral hardly one knows the area or the history of the Khabur. This river, rising at Ras-el-'Ain ("The Head of Springs") on the Turkish frontier, flows down to the Euphrates south of Deir-ez-Zor through Syrian territory, and supports the life of a dozen nomadic tribes and a hundred thousand settled villagers.

Kurd, Arab, Armenian, Circassian, and Nestorian live in close proximity in villages perched on the hillocks or grouped round the wells, while the steppe-land undulates gently to the horizon. Near the river's source, at Tell Halaf, was a civilization hidden till modern archæologists unearthed its traces. This civilization on the Khabur has been named "the Mitanni," and it is of this civilization in Upper Mesopotamia that the Khabur has been most informative. It yet bears traces of earlier irrigation barrages and a prosperity which appeared to be lost for ever till it was rescued from the neglect of the Turkish overlords. Later the Hittites passed and in turn gave way to the Assyrians, a half-Semitic people. Greek, Persian, Mede, Roman, and Turk have all established outposts or patrolled the banks of the Khabur; while looking down from their rocky "Jebel Sinjar," the primitive and pre-Islamic pagan Yezidis have placated the devil with mysterious rites and earn to this day the name of devil worshippers. Throughout these ages, contemptuous of the civilizations which have passed, the nomads continue their way of life substantially unchanged since the time of Abraham.

To-day the desert, for such is the name of the steppe-country, is its own road, scarred by the passage of wagons into tracks between the villages; but each pimply hillock shows that time has claimed civilization after civilization, burying past villages in dust.

The Khabur flows on, malarial and somewhat sulphurous with the overflow from the sulphur springs near Ras-el-'Ain.

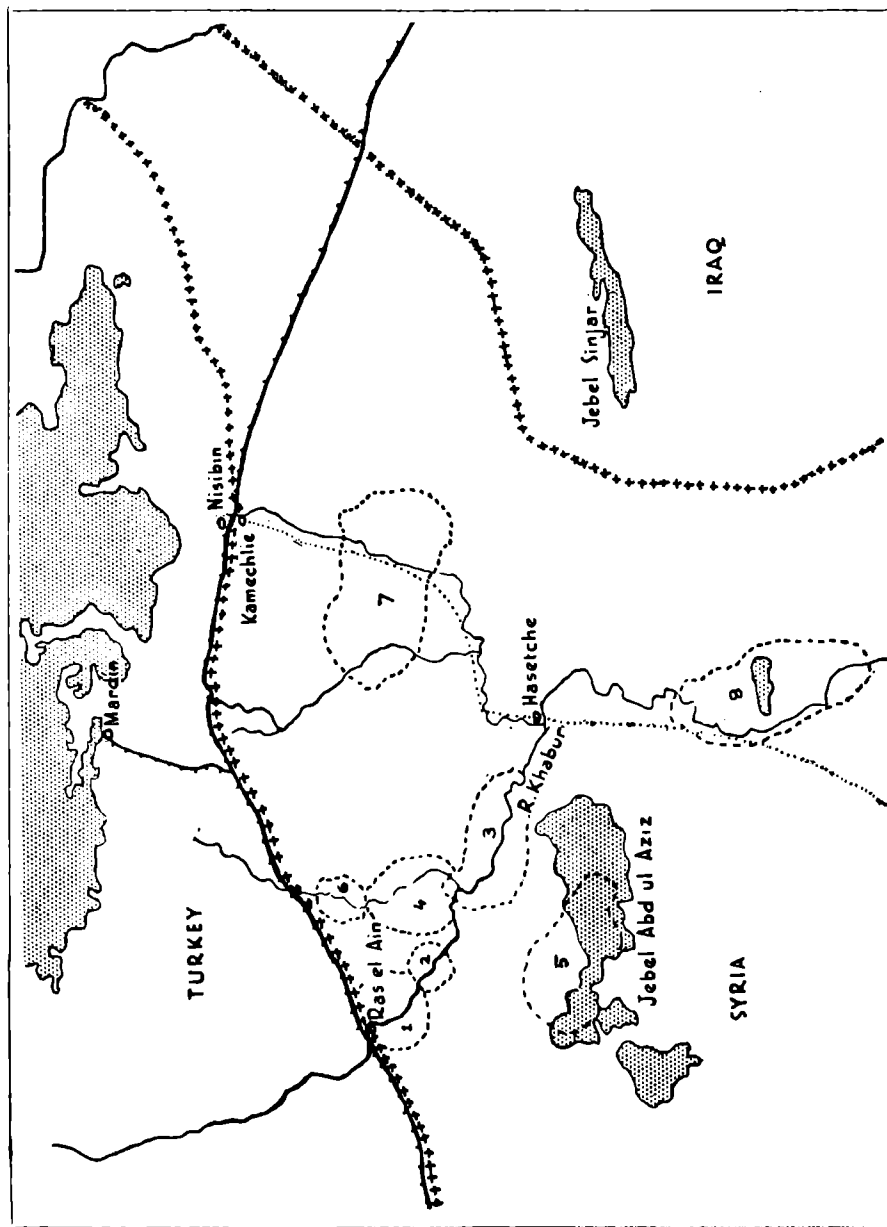
To-day the railway on which the Kaiser lavished so much talent, time, and engineering skill passes beneath the Turkish escarpment and does, in fact, constitute of itself the Turkish frontier, together with a barbed wire enclosure of twenty yards at every station. But the railway has had comparatively little effect on the average citizen of the north-east. Some trade inevitably passes along it, but with such a large open frontier smuggling is an economic proposition. Passengers can go to Aleppo in a night rather than take two days by car, but the Kurdish chiefs must needs beware that they step not over the frontier, even travelling to represent their constituencies in Damascus, lest they be arrested and shot belatedly for acts of rebellion committed as long as twenty-five years ago. They have already been tried and condemned *in absentia*. Unpopular though the French have been, and unluckily so considering their improvements to the country, the Arab of the interior recalls with greater hatred the suzerainty and the despotism of the Turkish Caliphs, their Kaimakams,



and their Mudyars. The frontier situation, therefore, remains continually delicate. Banditti abound, raiding into Syria and retiring to Turkish sanctuary, and however cordial London-Ankara relations have been, the kidnapping of Britons, which occasionally occurred during the war, did nothing to relieve the tension that existed between the great provincial headquarters of Mardin, high on its hill overlooking Syria, and Heseche on the Middle Khabur, or Nisibin and Kamechlie with their forts ostentatiously facing each other across a hundred yards of no-man's-land. Nor have local relations always been cordial between the frontier villages of Turkey by the railway and their Syrian counterparts a few yards away. When the Syrian headman receives the would-be Hajjis and issues them with Syrian identity cards (thus profiting both his faith and his pocket), the Turkish neighbours, who deprecate Islamic manners, are naturally offended, and when the respective military commanders on each side insist rigorously on numberless local protests and undiplomatic imprisonments of suspicious aliens, tension is inevitable. Modern blockhouses, tactically sighted along the Turkish side of the railway, and frontier guards, who from their demeanour could not be the cream of any army, do little to reassure the remnants of massacred peoples as to Turkish intentions towards their adopted Syria.

The present tribes of the North Khabur are mostly Kurdish-Arab in origin—Milli, Adwan, Harbe; but as one goes south the Arab elements appear more numerous—Sherabin, Jubur, Baggara (on the Jebel Abdul Aziz), Ageidat, and fractions of the great Shammar tribe, now independent in face of the greater Shammars of Transjordan. A singular tribe is the Circassian "Chechens," now few in numbers, who some eighty years ago migrated from the Caucasus. These Circassians have preserved their original costume to a considerable degree—the open smock, belt, boots, and Kalpek hat. A dagger is a sign of rank, and their dancing resembles strongly the stamping and kicking of the Cossacks. Malaria has reduced their numbers, but their villages appear, superficially and intimately, to set a standard of cleanliness far higher than that of their neighbours. The Chechens, incidentally, were recruited largely for the French Gardes-Mobiles and other organizations; their being amenable to discipline was one of the greatest recommendations, and this is surely not unrelated to the fact that they are perhaps the strictest of the Moslems on the river.

Of the Christians, who form a minority in the region, the most numerous are the Nestorian tribe of Assyro-Chaldeans. By tradition converted by St. Thomas Didymus, the Assyrians for centuries took refuge amongst the hardly penetrable Hakkiari Mountains of Turkey. There, in independence, they maintained their tribal integrity against Turks and Kurdish neighbours, a sturdy highland people in quilted patchwork coats and conical caps, the like of which have been found carved on stones dating from the Empires of Sargon and Sennacherib. In the Hakkiari these Nestorians were in the last century befriended by the Church of England, who, seeing the low level to which their priesthood had fallen, sent a purely educational mission to instruct "the Protestants of the East" in their own faith. The mission which was



- ++ + + + Political frontiers.
- + — + — Railways.
- ..... Rough tracks.
- Approximate tribal areas: 1. Milli-Adwan tribes. 2. Chechens. 3. Assyro-Chaldeans. 4. Sherabin. 5. Baggara. 6. Harbe. 7. Shammar Zor. 8. Agedat-fubur tribes. 9.

established founded a connection with Britain that has not yet been severed. Readers of this Journal will recall that when the Turks declared war in 1915 the Assyrians rose against them, and, when the might of Turkey was directed against them, were forced to leave their high mountains and seek refuge in the plains of Mesopotamia. This was a tragic exodus of a whole people, in which perhaps a hundred thousand died from exhaustion, starvation, the bullets of the harrying Kurds or Turks, and the diseases of the plains. Finally they were received and rationed by General Maude's army. Thus began the refugee complex still to be noticed, as among the Armenians of the later massacre. The League of Nations settled the Assyrians in Iraq, where large numbers of them served in the British forces, Iraq levies, and the oil companies. However, a difficult mountain people, Christian at that, was disliked by its Arab neighbours, and when the mandate of Iraq was prematurely surrendered in 1933 the Iraqi Army, thirsting for battle honours, committed a massacre of the almost defenceless Assyrians. A large number, led by Maliks Yaku and Loco of the Tiyari and Tkuma tribes, had entered French Syria to escape the growing persecutions of Islam. The French imprudently returned them to Iraq without disarming them, where the Iraqi Army met them and fought an indecisive action. The Assyrians, however, dispersed to their villages, only to find that Iraqi units had committed unprovoked atrocities on those they had left behind. To-day about 9,000 Assyro-Chaldeans are on the Khabur, resettled by the League of Nations, but the majority of their race remains in Iraq. The older leaders look back regretfully to the old mountaineering life in Turkey and dream, it seems in vain, of returning to it. The younger generation, however, has been brought up as Mesopotamian plainsmen, and of these many have entered commerce on the Littoral or in America. Their spiritual leader, Mar Shimun, resides in Cyprus under British protection. These Khabur Assyrians, talking Aramaic, the language of Christ, live close to the river in brick houses resembling beehives. They display in many respects a refugee complex, but, given the chance by their suspicious neighbours, they should be useful citizens, for they are considerably better educated and have a higher morality than their non-Christian fellow-subjects.

A day's journey by car down the Khabur from the Turkish frontier to the Euphrates, spanned by a handsome suspension bridge at Deir-*ez-Zor*, is an adventure. In summer the steppes may be afire, ruining the grazing for the flocks; in winter, when the rainfall is heavy, the route's defiles become a wellnigh impassable morass of mud. The Bedouin and their camel caravans will always give the stranded traveller welcome and may slay a sheep in his honour; the villagers will turn and stare into the Mukhtar's guest-room, as the stranger sits on a mat or divan of varying cleanliness, and sips Turkish coffee and exchanges greetings in the courteous formulæ of the East. The Mukhtar, for the honour of his guests, receives a tithe from every villager, and in a land of no hotels his house is the caravanserai and public-house of his village. The road, with bridges over the few deep wadis, and only intermittently metalled, runs through the ageless procession of Eastern life. It passes the tells, or hills,

many of which are crowned with a graveyard or a village, for the latter is usually built high up to avoid malaria.

Leaving the Turkish mountains out of sight and going south through the cultivation of the lower steppes, one sees the river winding to the east, meandering between and past the hill-masses of the Jebel Sinjar and Abdul Aziz. This latter contains almost the only timber to be found in a country which, it is said, was once a forest from Aleppo to Baghdad. Before reaching Hasetche, the centre of the Jezireh Provincial Government, there rises conspicuously to the east the Mountain of Thunder; its name is an eloquent survival of a tradition, for it is an extinct volcano; its boulder-strewn base hides a few nomad camps, with their fierce watchdogs, and tattooed women garbed in an almost uniform blue-black dress. From the crest the men can be seen grazing their sheep or camels on the steppes and children rounding up the goats amongst the volcanic rocks.

Hasetche, with about 20,000 inhabitants, possesses two Bishops—those of the Syrian Catholic and Syrian Orthodox faiths. An Armenian Catholic Bishop has his seat in the frontier town of Kamechlie, but it is little more than an administrative centre at the confluence of a tributary of the Khabur. It has no bank, being less of a commercial centre than the refugee town Kamechlie, which is on the railway. The fort is of modest dimensions compared to the ones needed for the military problems of frontier patrol to the north.

Civilization has made great strides in the towns and in some of the houses of the richer villagers; the luxury of the East is, however, rarely evident, for consumer goods have been a rarity. Because timber is imported from great distances furniture is sparse and rare; it is said that every tree needs a guard to prevent the Bedouin making a tent-pole of it. The tents and hospitality are the outstanding features of nomadic life. The ceremonious courtesies and even more punctilious blood-feuds, for causes long since forgotten, mark the nomad as a proud follower of a code of honour hard to understand until one has read Lawrence or Doughty.

Water fetched in skins from great distances is precious. In consequence their personal cleanliness is not of the greatest, and their guest may be required to accept the poor hospitality of a louse-infested mat and unhygienic dysenteric cookery. Coffee is served in tiny bowls the size of the hollow of an egg-cup, and the sheikh (or his head domestic, usually of obvious negroid extraction and of probable slave stock) will pour a few scalding drops from the pot on the dung-fuel fire. The guest will sip thirstily and belch, receive another cup, and perhaps a third (four errs on the side of greed). Such coffee is bitter and unsweetened but has a curiously refreshing effect. In the towns where water is no problem the guest is served invariably with the sweet thick black Turkish coffee.

No account of the Khabur could be complete without a reference to its economic wealth. It is a granary for the Littoral, and upon its rainfall depends indirectly the flour eaten by the townsmen of the Lebanon and Aleppo. Wheat and barley, usually black, are the staple crops, which are cut primitively by sickle and threshed by animal labour on the communal threshing-floors of every village. The cultivation is equally primitive:

two oxen dragging light ploughs over the fields, barely scratching the surface, and rotation of crops is practically unknown. However, under the Government monopoly of cereal purchases during the recent war, combine-harvesters could be seen plying the fields next to the hand reapers, followed by gleaners. The twentieth century seemed to abut on to a scene unchanged since Old Testament times. Winnowing, of course, is dependent on the breeze.

Under an irrigation scheme opened north of Hasetche a canal irrigating 7,000 hectares will replace dependence on rainfall and waterwheel. These waterwheels, great picturesque wooden structures, are driven by the current and lift buckets at the end of every spoke, tipping them into a crude watercourse trough that carries the liquid to the fields. They are, however, the work of skilled craftsmen, who, as a class, are dying out in the face of the engineers of the new world. North of Hasetche the Khabur runs between arable land of varying width from 500 to 1,000 metres; the land so cultivated requires at least 325 mm. of rain annually, but the provision of the canal means that three crops can be grown where one was raised before.

In spite of the wealth of the area, however, no bank exists on the river, though there is one in Kamechlie. The peasant hoards such wealth as his landlord leaves him.

In the area temperature varies from 15° to 53° C., which means that it possesses the extremes of Mesopotamian climate, and in summer the khamsin and dust storms are extremely detrimental to agriculture. Erosion inevitably contributes to the wastage, and as the land is bare of windbreaks in the shape of timber the wind and dust lay a damaging spell on the agriculture of the area. Away from the river strip the wilderness is gradually being reclaimed as more and more tribes establish settlements and as more immigrants arrive to seek a living on the slopes of the plateaux.

Cotton, tobacco, and sugar beet would all prosper on the largely colloidal soil of the valley, but have yet to be introduced. Paddy has been grown by aid of irrigation pumps on the upper river and fetches a good price, competing against Egyptian imports. It is a sign of importance and wealth for a host to be able to provide his guests with rice, and the sheikh who can do so preens himself on his rising prestige. Locusts, who make periodical descents on the plains from Persia, have been known to strip the rare gardens overnight, and the wild fires on the arid grass wildernesses have the sole virtue of destroying their eggs.

Such then is the Khabur, a land of promise under whatever régime it may find itself. It was once the scene of a mighty civilization (nearby Nisibin once had eighteen colleges in the University of the Nestorian Church), and now the twentieth century is making inroads on its time-old economy and society. Sheikhs are beginning to send their heirs away to be educated, but it will be a long time before the contrast of standards ceases. For generations to come the independent nomad will have none of the luxuries of the townsman. He has seen the civilizations come and go and remains indifferent to their glamour, to their benefits as well as to their disadvantages.

# CHINA TEA AND TRADE ROUTES

By P. E. WITHAM

Report of a lecture given on February 26, 1947, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Witham, who is going to speak on "China Tea and Trade Routes," tea being a subject of which he knows a great deal. After serving in the British Army during the first Great War, Mr. Witham very wisely gave up a military career and went tea-planting in Assam, where he spent fourteen or fifteen years. He then entered the service of the Chinese Government in China, they being interested in improving the quality of the tea grown there, and in arranging for new and improved trade routes between the tea-growing countries of Asia and China. Mr. Witham has a wide and varied experience of China. During the recent war he was interned as a prisoner of war for four years in Hongkong, but he does not seem to be any the worse for that experience.

THE origin of tea as a beverage is a matter of speculation, based upon the ancient traditions of China, India, and Japan. The first known allusion to tea is attributed to the Chinese Emperor Shen Nung, in 2737 B.C., who was famed for his efforts to introduce hygiene among his people. It is recorded that on one occasion he was boiling his drinking-water when some of the leaves from the branches burning under the pot fell into the water and gave the first infusion of tea. India, on the other hand, claims the discovery of tea to have been made by the Buddhist priest Dharma in the early Christian era, and there is another mythical tradition in this regard. In Japan the tradition follows the Indian one in so far as Dharma wished to keep a vigil of seven years, and agrees that during this period the saint was nearly overcome by the temptation to sleep when he plucked leaves at random from a nearby bush and, on eating them, he immediately felt refreshed and was able to continue his period of meditation without recourse to sleep. At this point the Japanese version records that the holy man, rather than break his resolution, cut off his own eyelids. These fell to the ground and in their place sprang up two bushes, which were the first tea plants. These are mythical traditions, but it is known that before they drank tea as a beverage the Chinese, in the eighth century A.D., took it as a medicine. They themselves claim that tea "came from the West," by which the Chinese mean that tea was not in its early days indigenous to China.

It is now known that the natural habitat of the tea plant is the rather nebulous border country between Burma and Assam—the Naga Hills and the Patkoi Mountains and the Shan States. Wild tea, in the natural form of trees, has grown in these regions for centuries.

The first record of any authenticity is that in the year A.D. 780 Chinese tea merchants, who were interested in tea, commissioned an eminent writer of the period, Lu Ju, to produce a treatise on the merits of tea drinking. This book was called *Cha Ching*, and was one of the first instances of propaganda in regard to any trading commodity. To-day

the International Tea Committee spends £400,000 annually on tea propaganda.

As I have said, three countries lay claim to the discovery of tea as a drink—China, India, and Japan. Although these three countries aspire to being the originators of this now nation-wide drink, the early records are all wrapped in complete mystery or pleasant phantasy. However, we know that tea as a beverage was common in China in the eighth century A.D., and that in the early years of the ninth century it was introduced into Japan by the Buddhist saint Dengyo Daishi. It was cultivated in five provinces and the then Emperor Saga reaped a rich revenue as a result of its introduction. Ever since then tea-drinking in Japan has been a matter of much ceremonial ritual. As you know, Japan originally derived much of her culture from China; it is a pity that she later adopted *Kultur* from Germany.

The first known record of tea in the Western Hemisphere is found in a book on the China tea trade by a Venetian traveller named Giambattista Ramusio, who wrote under the pseudonym of a Persian, Hajji Mahomet, a book called *Navigazione et Viaggi*, published in Venice in 1559.

As to the commercial aspect of tea, there is a record that the earliest consignment of tea to reach Europe came from China in a cargo for Holland in 1610, the tea being exported from Macao and carried in a Dutch ship. The first tea caravan is said to have reached Russia by the overland route in 1618, and there is no doubt that the Russians carried quite a large amount of tea across Siberia. It was not until well into the middle of the seventeenth century that tea was sold in London in a coffee house belonging to one Thomas Garraway. In 1681 the East India Company were receiving from their agents in China a regular supply of tea for the London market at the price of 12s. to 13s. per pound.

By the early eighteenth century tea had grown in popularity in England, so much so that in the middle of the century a somewhat acrimonious controversy arose as to whether tea was undermining the morals of the working classes and proving injurious to their health. The chief champion of tea-drinking at that time was Dr. Johnson, who consumed large quantities of the beverage and, as usual, rushed into the fray and defended tea as a perfectly harmless drink. John Wesley was at one time one of the main opponents of tea-drinking.

By the time of the Napoleonic wars the high price of tea, then about 5s. per pound, was a great inducement to smugglers, and in a certain Dorset village churchyard the epitaph on a gravestone records that the deceased was shot, his "only offence" being that of smuggling tea. Apparently Wellington thought a great deal of tea, because he made it an essential part of the rations of his Peninsular army.

In about 1830 there came into being the popular five o'clock tea, or the four o'clock meal as it now is. Previously tea had been taken in England as an after-dinner drink. A change in the tea trade came in 1833, when the East India Company's monopoly was ended by Act of Parliament, and thus other traders were able to develop the industry from China. A large proportion of the China tea trade passed into the hands

of Americans, and this led to the building of the famous tea clippers. But the British also built tea clippers, the first of which was the *Stornoway*, built in 1849 by Messrs, Jardine, Matheson and Co., and thus various firms became engaged in rushing from China to England the first of a new season's tea crop. Throughout this period China produced 100 per cent. of the world's tea, whereas in 1939 she only produced 12 per cent. of the total production.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century other changes took place. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General of India, and he recognized the possibilities of tea production in India. He appointed a Tea Commission to enquire into the possibilities of tea growing in Assam, and a certain Dr. Bruce went up into Northern Assam to found the first tea estate. There actually took place some smuggling from China of both tea seed and farmers who knew a great deal about the production of tea. In point of fact it was rather a waste of time, because many years later it was proved that the tea plant was indigenous to Assam, so that all this smuggling need never have taken place. The present high-grade tea plants are a hybrid of the China and natural Assam plant.

In 1876 Ceylon, previously greatly taken up with the production of coffee, suddenly discovered that the whole of her coffee crop had been ruined owing to an insect pest. The planters in Ceylon, with commendable foresight and courage, switched over at once from coffee to tea, with the result that to-day Ceylon, after India, is the second largest tea-producing country in the world.

Next, the Dutch started to produce tea in the East Indies, in Java and Sumatra, and Java was up to the commencement of World War II a very potent factor. The Dutch, with their genius for agriculture, produced teas of the highest quality, their tea factories being probably the most modern and best equipped in the world.

In recent years, since World War I, tea has been produced in the British Colonies in East Africa. Other countries which have produced tea in minor quantities are Rhodesia, Natal, French Indo-China, Malaya, Mozambique, Brazil, and Russia in the province of Georgia in the Caucasus. Nobody yet knows the amount of tea the Russians do produce. It will, however, be realized that China's monopoly in the tea world has been shaken to the core by the entry of all these other competitors.

In 1937 I was asked to go as Tea Adviser to the Chinese Government, and it might be interesting at this point to discuss some of the reasons why China, apart from having to share out with other competitors in the production of tea, has dropped so much. In the first place, the other countries I have mentioned, particularly India, Ceylon, and Java, organized their tea production on ultra-modern methods. The various companies concerned were mostly started in London, some in Calcutta, and with very heavy capital. The staffs, both European and Indian, were exceedingly well trained. There were units of production exemplified in the tea estates and scientific officers, together with every possible device, coupled with modern scientific usage. Even now aspiring tea planters take a course at Cambridge and London Universities before becoming actual planters. There are experts to analyse the soil, who can say exactly



to what extent it is defective from the point of view of tea production and advise how to remedy the defect by artificial manuring. The tea companies take great care of the health of their labour force. There are resident doctors and at least one hospital on each estate; also measures are taken to control such diseases as malaria and kala-azar. That is one side of the picture.

On the other hand, the production of tea in China is a purely cottage industry, it is a catch crop grown by farmers. There are whole areas without any of the ultra-modern advantages and there is no scientific manuring. The Chinese farmer has grown tea for generations and this knowledge has been passed down from father to son. The Chinese farmer is the prey of climatic conditions, and moreover—and this is one of his greatest disadvantages—he has not communications such as are common in other tea-producing areas. A farmer in China with thirty bushes is a rich man in the tea world. He grows his little plot of tea, and the time comes when it is plucked. He does not himself manufacture the tea; he takes it to another man who has collected tea from, possibly, ten or twelve farmers. The second man manufactures the tea, and so it passes on until it eventually reaches the tea exporter in Shanghai. Chinese tea production being dependent entirely on weather vagaries and every possible disadvantage, it is not to be wondered at that China's once pre-eminent position as the sole supplier of tea to the world has declined to that of the fifth or sixth tea producer in the world's markets.

And now a few words as to the parts of China in which tea is grown. Generally speaking, tea is grown all over Central, Southern, and Western China, but the exporting areas are all south of the Yangtze. Tea is grown all along the Yangtze valley—in Anhwei, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekjang (a green-tea producing area), right out to Yunnan in the far west and Kwangtung in the south. Formosa, formerly a Japanese colony, is a great tea-producing area. Formosa has now been returned to China, its original owner, and I imagine that Formosan teas will eventually form part and parcel of China's tea export.

Yunnan is interesting, because we all think of tea, a member of the camelia family, as being grown on bushes, whereas in actual fact it is not a bush at all. It is a tree about 20 to 30 feet in height; it is only kept cut in the form of a bush because it is easier to pluck the leaves from a bush. But in Western China, on the border of Burma, tea is still to be seen growing in tree formation, and the curious fact is that the inhabitants of that area often grow the tree on common lands and not on their own allotments. In 1939 I paid a visit to that area, because I had been told in Kunming that there was some extraordinarily fine tea grown in that part of the world. I was somewhat sceptical about the introduction of any unknown teas on to the London market. However, when I visited the area I realized that extraordinarily good quality tea was produced there. I obtained samples and sent them home to an eminent firm of tea brokers in Mincing Lane, the senior partner of the firm being a great friend of mine and probably one of the finest judges of tea in London. He telegraphed me asking where the samples had come from, adding, "They are the best teas I have ever seen." Up to that time these teas had been

used purely for domestic consumption in China. They had not only the essential China-tea flavour, with its delicate aroma, but they had also some of the depth of liquor and strength of Indian teas, especially the Darjeeling type, which once again proves that there is an affinity between China teas and the areas I earlier mentioned as being the original habitat of the tea plant.

India, Ceylon, Java, and the younger countries who have entered the tea world only make one kind of tea, black tea, commonly bought in the shops in England. China produces four types of tea: black tea, or "Hung Cha," as we call it in China; green tea, "Luk Cha"; brick tea; and scented tea. Black tea is exported to England and to the United States and other countries. Green tea is the tea which the Chinese themselves drink and is the most refreshing beverage I have ever drunk, especially when one is out in the country on a very hot summer day and cannot drink the water. Brick tea is a peculiar type of tea which is compressed into the form of bricks; sometimes it is pressed into a shape rather like a cricket ball, especially in Tibet. To-day brick tea goes principally to Tibet, Sinkiang, and Manchuria; 1901 appears to have been the peak year of brick-tea production. There was a big tea trade between China and Russia, but the Russian Revolution in 1917 killed that trade. It is interesting to note that even to this day brick tea serves as a form of currency in Sinkiang and Mongolia. A caravan can be paid for in brick tea instead of in dollars.

The scented teas are not so important; they are of local interest and are made round about Canton in the south.

Now let me say a word or two as to the situation in 1937 when I took up my appointment under the Chinese Government with a view to the improvement of China tea and an endeavour being made to regain lost markets. Unfortunately, about two months after my arrival there occurred what was known as the "Japan incident," the result of which was that my energies were fully occupied in trying to maintain Chinese tea exports. Very little time was left in which I could devote my attention to improvements. The Japanese threw a blockade all round the coast of China. Shanghai is the normal centre and market for China teas and for most of the other commodities produced by China. By November, 1937, Shanghai had passed into Japanese hands. I happened at the time to be in Hankow, and I wrote an official memorandum suggesting that as Shanghai had been lost to us we would have to revise our attitude towards imports and exports, not merely as regards tea but as to every other commodity. I suggested we should use the Canton-Hankow Railway, which had recently been opened, with its extension down to Hongkong, the Canton-Kowloon Railway; and that we should devise every possible means at our disposal for keeping alive the export trade of China so badly needed for the purpose of obtaining foreign currency.

The Chinese Government originated a company known as the China National Tea Corporation, a Central Government organization under the Ministry of Economic Affairs, but later under the Ministry of Finance, and also supported by the Provincial Governments in whose areas tea was

grown. We were faced with a complete revolution; it was necessary to reorganize entirely the tea industry and everything else. In the old days everything was carried down the Yangtze or the West River and went from west to east to the Pacific. It did not matter whether the ultimate destination was over in San Francisco in the United States, or Europe or Asia, the trend was down the river to the east, and that trend was now blocked to us. Eventually we utilized Hongkong, which, being a British port, was invaluable; but as the Japanese blockade tightened up, first one port and then another being lost to us, it really was exceedingly difficult to keep lines of communication open. We resorted to all sorts of subterfuges. Although it is against international usage, the Japanese Army had managed to get a lot of "squeeze" out of British firms. The Japanese had come up to Hankow, and by simply saying that nothing would be allowed to go down the river unless they were paid a percentage, the Japanese Army got very rich. On the other hand, the Japanese Navy were doing what in their eyes was a quite arduous job of work, but not quite so much incidental profit was reaching them. We decided to take advantage of this, but there are, of course, limits to what one can do in this way. It is not possible to go to even a Japanese Admiral and say, "Look here, what is it worth to remove your destroyers for twenty-four hours?" But we did find some Chinese intermediaries who went to the Japanese Admiral in Command of the Southern Area, or whatever he called himself, and intimated that at the cost of removing his destroyers from the port of Wenchow in Chekiang for twenty-four or forty-eight hours he would not be financially out of pocket. Thus we managed to get a good deal out of Wenchow. In fact, when the Japanese Admiral there was promoted, or demoted, our exports showed a marked decrease until we were able to re-educate his successor! But even those expedients could not entirely fill the gap, and we were gradually being driven further and further west and we were unable to see how we could continue to get the commodities out of the country.

I happened one day to read a book by Colonel Bailey describing a trip he had taken which led him out through Assam, an area I knew very well, into Tibet. I wondered then whether we could find some such route for our exports. We had the Burma Road, which started at Kunming, then travelled west past the Tali Lake, down to Lashio, through Mandalay, and on to Rangoon. That road took only about 12,000 tons a month. An alternative was the railway between Kunming and French Indo-China, down to Hanoi and Haiphong, which also took 12,000 tons a month. In that connection the French, to begin with, demanded their pound of flesh as regards freight, and later when the Japanese came in they refused to play, so that line of country was blocked.

My object in developing the new route was based purely on an endeavour to find a new commercial outlet. Later, that outlet was considerably modified for strategic reasons, because I happened also then to be working for the British Government, and it seemed desperately necessary that we should have an alternative to the Burma Road, because sooner or later China and Britain were going to be allies and we had to do our best to keep China on her feet.

By early 1941 the Japanese had swarmed over Indo-China and Siam, and had air stations from which they could bomb the old Burma Road. We had three alternative other possibilities, and they may seem fantastic, but the only remedies we had at that time were fantastic. I happened to know Dr. Joseph Rock, probably the best authority on that part of the world, and I went into the whole matter with him.

The first of our alternatives, known as the "A" Route, went from Tatsienlu in Eastern Szechuan. At Tatsienlu there was a motor road into China from Chengtu. This "A" Route would travel westwards from Tatsienlu along the Lhasa trail to Batang and on down, southwest, through the Zayul and the Lohit valleys to Rima and the Brahmaputra, and finally to the railhead opposite Sadiya in North-East Assam. This route meant negotiating several passes between 15,000 and 16,000 feet, and the time it would have taken to construct would have made it impossible.

Route "B," the second alternative, was also from North-East Assam, starting at Ledo, crossing the Naga Hills eastwards into Burma and going to Fort Hertz in the extreme north of Burma, thence across the Irrawaddy into Western Yunnan, and on to Likiang-Fu, where there was a motor road into China. That was a better route from the point of view of there being less formidable geographical obstructions, but south of the Himalayas there was not the protection which the "A" Route afforded from Japanese air raids.

The third or "C" Route was the easiest. It was also based on Ledo, from whence it would go south-east along the Hukawng valley to Mogaung, near the railhead in Northern Burma; from thence either to Bhamo, where it would join a branch of the existing Burma Road, or to Teng Yueh in Yunnan, also on the Burma Road. That is the road which later became the Ledo Road. That route had been suggested in 1939, and had it then been adopted we would probably have had a route into Burma by 1941 instead of our army having then to scramble out anyhow.

There are normally four trails or mule tracks between Burma and Yunnan—one from Bhamo, and one from Lashio (the original Burma Road), and two farther south not of much use.

I did not know what had happened to my suggestion except that when I was in Chungking in November, 1941, the Ambassador said to me that my idea had gone through and we were going to make a road. It was then rather late in the day, of course, but we hoped that something might be achieved and that we might find an alternative to the Burma Road and get our tea and other commodities out. By this time we could not segregate tea from any other product; we were taking Chinese commodities as one, and we needed, and badly, a route by which we could export those commodities.

In 1940 we were faced with another very great difficulty. In spite of the war with Japan we had managed to keep our export of tea up; in fact, in 1938, the first year of the war there, we actually expanded our exports by 2,000,000 lb. over 1937. But in 1940, China being outside the sterling block, all trade between England and China ceased, and thus one of our main markets was lost. The only way to keep China tea on the

move was to arrange a barter agreement, and one of the last pieces of news I heard before I was taken prisoner by the Japanese was that the British and Chinese Governments had signed a barter agreement for China tea. The subsequent entry of Japan against the British and the United States naturally prevented further tea operations.

I have spoken about the China tea trade in the past and tried to give some little idea of the difficulties that had to be overcome in more recent times. The Chinese Government did an enormous amount by establishing experimental stations and by trying to teach the farmers how best to grow tea. It was part of my job to go round to try to instruct Chinese farmers on tea production and manufacture, but communications were so difficult that much time was taken in travelling. Another great disadvantage to China tea is the middleman. On one occasion in 1937 I was in Hunan and I traced some tea from a farmer to Shanghai. The farmer himself had been given \$10 a picul, which is 133 $\frac{1}{3}$  lb. By the time that same tea had reached Shanghai it had gone through the hands of six middlemen and had reached a price of \$100 a picul. That does not help trade, especially when you have to contend with keen competitors.

As regards the future, we are faced with a complex situation. At the moment Java is a non-producer, and even if her political troubles ended to-morrow her tea estates have been so neglected that they would not be able to provide tea for some time; many of the estates have reverted to jungle, and it will be at least five or six years before Java becomes a tea-producing area again. Japan has also ceased to produce tea for export. China has Formosa, which is a valuable asset. There is at present a world shortage of tea, as we know from our present ration, but there is, I hope, a great future for China tea. That presupposes that prices are reasonable and that they compare favourably with those of teas produced in India and Ceylon and China's other trade rivals, and that the quality is equally good or better. Given these, I do not see why China should not recover much of her lost ground.

As a final word about tea and tea-drinking I might quote the words of Sydney Smith: "I am glad that I was not born before tea. It is a charming and gracious idea that women, and women alone, preside over the tea-table. But tea itself, since it first found its way into a cup, has been as much a masculine as a feminine drink." That is fairly certain; it can be said that men like tea just as much as women do. It is certain that in the old days men like Cobden and Palmerston drank gallons of tea; Gladstone was a great adherent to tea, for he took it bitter, strong, and even cold; Wellington, as I have said, made tea an essential commodity for his troops, as it has been for our own army up to the present day. At any rate, I am certain that from the day of the Ming Dynasty, with its egg-shell porcelain to the present day of the British working man with his dixie, men have drunk tea and spoken in praise of it.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting lecture on a delightful topic in which I have always taken a great deal of interest.

I do not believe a word of the story that the origin of tea can be traced back to the year 2737 B.C. That is one of those fairy tales that the

Chinese like to relate for the benefit of admiring foreign friends. The other date you mentioned, A.D. 780, is the first authentic record that we have. If tea was widely drunk at that time it had probably been in use for some centuries before, and that is really all we know for certain about it. Nor is it true that tea was first drunk in India and that its use was imported from India into China. That is part of the pose the Indians like to adopt—that, culturally, they are the elder brothers of the Chinese, but, of course, there is no foundation for any such claim, and in this instance there is no doubt that tea is one of China's great gifts to the world.

The British first obtained the seed of the tea bush from China and grew it in Assam and other places. It was then discovered that the tea plant was indigenous to India also, and from about the middle of the nineteenth century it was the Indian shrub that was cultivated and developed. It is interesting to note that all the tea imported from India is grown, with only one exception, on the native Indian plant and not on the descendants of the plants imported from China. The one exception is the tea grown in Darjeeling, and that is the same tea as the sample from Western China which the lecturer's friend, the tea broker in London, said was the most delicious tea he had ever tasted. The only Indian tea that can compare with China tea is Darjeeling. I have been drinking China tea all my life. It was a great grief to me when none of it came out of China after Pearl Harbour. I tried all kinds of Indian tea, and the only one I could drink and which I found quite good was Darjeeling. After having taken to Darjeeling tea I made the fortuitous discovery that that tea is the only Indian tea that is grown from the descendants of the China tea shrub.

It is a tragedy that the China tea trade has slumped to the extent it has, but that has nothing to do with the merits or quality of the tea. China tea is still the only tea worth drinking. Unhappily, we Outer Barbarians who live in the British Isles like rough black tea which has a bite; we have no perception of the delicate flavour of China tea. There is no mass-produced tea in China, for the Chinese drink tea much as we drink wine. We value wine for its vintage, and a wealthy Chinese will buy his tea because of the particular garden in which it is grown.

The price the Chinese pay for choice tea is fantastic. Even quite recently I have had presents of China tea from my Chinese friends, and I discovered it cost them about £7 or £8 a lb. It is of vital importance not only to China but to the world at large that the export of China tea should be developed again, but it is likely to be a difficult task because at the back of it lies the question of the political reorganization of China, the improvement of transport and of administration—not improvement of the tea. I hope that the efforts of Mr. Witham will bear fruit in that direction, and, if so, we shall owe him a great debt of gratitude.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: I ask Mr. Witham's permission to add one small historical fact to his remarks in regard to tea. In one of the old City churches—St. Olave's, Hart Street—there is a tomb dedicated to the memory of the merchants who sent tea to the United States and thereby caused trouble in Boston Harbour. The tomb is in the form of

a bale of tea and at each end stands a member of the Robinson family, the merchants responsible for sending the tea to the United States.

I was extremely interested in Mr. Witham's remarks with regard to tea having come possibly from the Shan States, in spite of Sir John's denial of that. During the recent war I was in Bhamo and was given some delicious tea grown under the supervision of Jardine, Matheson and Co., which tea came from the hills of the Northern Shan States. It was something between Darjeeling and China tea. So even if the Shans did not grow tea in the early days they are very successfully doing so to-day.

As to the resuscitation of the tea trade of China, I wonder whether in Hankow there is still that famous table in the Hankow Club where the old China tea traders used to sit? I believe there was a big round table in one corner of one of the rooms at which the tea dealers, Russians and others, sat and bartered for tea.

The LECTURER: When I left Hankow in 1938, two months before the Japanese arrived, the table was still in the Club and very much in use.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: With regard to the routes across from East to West, I lived for many years in Burma and I know what a great drawback the absence of roads in that country was. When the British drove their roads through the mountains to get into Burma to expel the Japanese I thought those roads would be of permanent value to the country in after years. It is, however, very sad to learn that they are now gradually going back to jungle and that those vital arteries opened up with the blood and sweat of our soldiers are now becoming useless. It is like crying in the wilderness to emphasize the importance of keeping open those roads, because that will rest on the decision of two countries both of whose Governments are going out of the hands of the British Empire. If anything can be done from the Chinese side to keep those roads open as trade routes from east to west it will be of extreme value.

I cannot sit down without hoping that the efforts made by Mr. Witham will meet with success, because I would be delighted to pay twice the sum for China tea, if I could obtain it, as for Indian tea.

The LECTURER: I heartily endorse all Group-Captain Smallwood has said with regard to the advisability of keeping these routes open. It is nothing short of tragic that we have spent so many lives and so much money on roads which are now reverting to jungle. When those roads were first suggested I for one felt the building of them would be not a purely war-time measure; that the roads were going to prove of some benefit to posterity. When it is realized that transport in Western China has now again to go right round by Shanghai, Hongkong, and Singapore, about 5,000 miles in all, and, in fact, that from Chungking to Shanghai, which is 1,400 miles, the transport is heading diametrically the wrong way, one is appalled. As Group-Captain Smallwood said, the matter is really now out of our hands unless the Chinese Government realize that it is of great advantage to them to open up Western China by an exit westwards rather than down in the opposite direction.

General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: Might I ask if the difference between the taste of even Darjeeling tea and China tea is due to the method of manufacture or to the shrub from which the tea is grown?

The LECTURER: The method of manufacture has something to do with it, but, to a certain extent, the soil also, because in Assam there are tea estates in certain areas which have a completely different characteristic from those in other areas. There is nothing that can be done to alter that characteristic. Undoubtedly manufacture also has much to do with the difference between the teas, but there is also a difference of soil and tea bush. Actually now in Assam, if Sir John will forgive me for saying so, the bushes have nothing to do with China. They are a hybrid. But the Nagas and the Patkoi of the Naga Hills do brew a concoction which they are pleased to call tea and which they drink out of a bamboo pipe, tea produced from bushes grown 7,000 feet up in the hills.

General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: I was interested to hear the lecturer's remarks as to the roads in China. In 1912 I was on an expedition to Northern Burma, and as a result of that expedition Fort Hertz was erected and I opened a road from Fort Hertz into China, which was a new road and could easily have been extended; in fact, it was such an easy route that the Chinese were able to make a rapid retreat in front of me!

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to add a word in regard to the question of roads between Burma and China. The real difficulty is the political problem of the relations between Burma and China, particularly now that the Burmese are going to run their own country. Burma is situated between two immense and densely populated countries, and the Burmese are afraid that their civilization may be crushed between that of India on one side and China on the other. I am not sure whether British rule has not been a little unfair to the Burmese in this respect. Burma was formerly a vassal state to China. After the British annexed Burma in 1885 Lord Rosebery discovered, to his horror, that Great Britain was committed to paying tribute to China, and a new treaty had to be hastily negotiated to relieve us of this obligation.

Mr. D. FORREST: What about the Formosan tea industry? Is that a plantation tea industry and not so much a peasant industry? If so, it should be possible to produce tea in Formosa on a fairly large scale and fairly quickly.

The LECTURER: I think the tea industry in Formosa was originally rather like that in China, but under the Japanese it was rather more similar to an estate industry. In Formosa two types of tea are produced, black and Oolong (Oolong being half a green and half a black tea), for the United States; but there should be, as the speaker observed, a much cheaper way of producing tea in Formosa than in China.

A MEMBER: I was in China in 1890 and I was told that the finest and best teas went to Russia, shipped from Shanghai.

The LECTURER: There was in those days a very big trade, but, as I said, the Russian Revolution in 1917 killed it. In 1882 the amount of brick tea made in Foochow was something like £180,000,000 worth. There was an enormous caravan trade going across to Russia.

Mr. D. FORREST: There seems some mystery as to where Russia is now getting her tea from, because the production in Georgia cannot be sufficient for the country's needs.



The LECTURER: I had an interesting experience in Moscow in 1937. On arrival there I called on Dr. Cheng, the then Chinese Ambassador. I told him I was interested in seeing some of this alleged Caucasian or Georgian tea. We eventually went round to a shop where we were sold what was supposed to be Georgian tea. It did not look very good. I completed my journey on the Trans-Siberian and when I reached Shanghai I analysed the tea. In actual fact the majority of it was very cheap Ceylon tea, not Russian tea at all. Nobody really knows to what extent Russia has got going in that area.

The CHAIRMAN: Is she not drinking so much tea now?

The LECTURER: If so, she is getting it from India and Ceylon by ship.

Mr. P. HUME: May I suggest that perhaps it was not as early as the Russian Revolution that brick tea finally stopped going to Russia. I remember being in Kalgan before the Japanese got there and a German firm was established there to trade with Urga and indirectly with Russia. They were sending a great deal of tea through Outer Mongolia up to the Siberian Railway, and more was going westward through Sinkiang into Russia. It was going by Mongolia as intermediary, but still it was getting to Russia.

The LECTURER: There was possibly a certain amount going by intermediary traffic, but I believe it to be an established fact that the Russian Revolution of 1917 killed what had been an enormously profitable brick tea trade. A certain amount of trade was revived in 1937 to 1938, but not in the form of brick tea so much as by other Russian help to China.

Mr. P. HUME: I am thinking of a revival before that.

The LECTURER: The brick tea trade had dropped to a few million pounds weight.

The CHAIRMAN: There was a highly organized caravan trade up to the first Great War. That was why Russian tea was supposed to be the best outside China, because it went overland and did not have to cross the sea and get a flavour from the ship's engines.

A GUEST: In a churchyard between Salisbury and Amesbury there is, as I was told by the vicar's wife, an old square tomb in which the smugglers used to keep the tea they smuggled, a tomb of the high box type, and it is said that people used to go to that churchyard and pick leaves from a shrub near the tomb and make tea from it. The vicar's wife told me that the seed had been sown from the original tea left in the tomb. Was that possible?

The LECTURER: There would seem to be a certain amount of faith about that! As a matter of interest, though there has been an endeavour to grow tea in England it is not an economical proposition. It is necessary to have about 120 inches of rain a year and also a very high humidity. The tea plant is kept in the form of bushes by pruning yearly. In Assam the plants are pruned every Cold weather when plucking ceases. In Southern India plucking is continuous. The bushes are pruned to get rid of dead wood and to keep them down in height, so as to make it easy for men or women to pluck the tea.

Brigadier-General WESTON: I suggest that the Russian trade with

China collapsed because their money collapsed after the Russian Revolution. A country can always trade if it has good backing for its money.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not possible to take caravans across a desert if they are liable to be robbed and the traders murdered. It is possible that the collapse in the currency had some effect, but that could have been overcome in some way; I am sure the Chinese would have overcome that difficulty; but it is not possible even for Chinese to trade if those who attempt to do so have their throats cut.

Brigadier-General WESTON: I am not so sure that the currency difficulty can be overcome.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: In 1919 I saw brick tea caravans in Urga in Outer Mongolia, and though it may not have been at all easy, there was a certain amount of brick tea getting through, because I handled the bricks myself.

The CHAIRMAN: Probably very little got through; I believe the trade was seriously disrupted.

A LADY GUEST: The best China tea used to come down the river from Shanghai in big sailing ships in 1880 and 1890.

The LECTURER: I do not think brick tea is the kind of tea we would like. Actually its strength is only one-sixth of the other tea, from our point of view.

The CHAIRMAN: It was compressed into bricks for the purpose of transport?

The LECTURER: Yes, and I remember an interesting fact a Chinese merchant in Hankow once told me. The tea is compressed by means of hydraulic presses and the merchants have on top of each brick a trade mark of their own, maybe a railway engine, a steamer, or ship in full sail. This Chinese merchant told me he erected a new hydraulic plant. When the old plant was in use the marks of four nails as the press came down were imprinted on each brick. He used just the same trade mark on the new press, but this new plant omitted the four nail marks, and he could not sell one brick of tea. The people thought it was another trade mark and different tea.

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE: I was in Outer Mongolia in 1910 when brick tea was used as currency.

The CHAIRMAN: We must now bring the discussion to a close. I am sure we have all listened with the greatest delight to what Mr. Witham has had to say and that we are most grateful to him for this most interesting talk.

# THE RE-OCCUPATION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

By A. T. CRIGHTON

Lecture given on September 25, 1946, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I need hardly introduce to you Mr. Crighton, for I am sure he is well known to you all. At the outbreak of war I was in the Ministry of Information and the most useful piece of work I managed to do during my period of two years there was to find Mr. Crighton and send him out as Press Attaché to Java, where, as I happen to know, he did a first-class job of work. In March, 1942, the staff of the British Consulate-General at Batavia were ordered to leave Java for Australia, but Mr. Crighton and a few war correspondents volunteered to stay, and they were allowed to remain. Eventually Mr. Crighton was captured by the Japanese, put in prison, and then transferred to an internment camp in Java, where he remained for three and a half years. After the Japanese capitulation he offered his services to the British military authorities, and helped, first, with the evacuation of British civilian internees, and later with the evacuation of all other non-British nationals. During this period Mr. Crighton acted as interpreter and adviser between the British and the Dutch and the Indonesians. He returned to England in April last, and he is now to tell us something in regard to the situation in Java following the liberation.

THE Netherlands East Indies did not loom large in the news during the war; in fact, it was not until after the capitulation of Japan that that part of the world became, as it were, top-line news. This afternoon I would like to speak, in particular, of my experience in Java, of the conditions there, and especially of such things as have been happening since the capitulation. You all know that the Netherlands East Indies consists of the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the outer islands, of which Java is the most highly cultivated and the most densely populated. It was shown at the last Census, in 1930, that there were 70,000,000 people in the Netherlands East Indies, of whom 40,000,000 were in Java alone.

I will not trouble you with details as to what happened during the years of internment; you have probably already heard of that. I will take you at once to the period of VJ Day, August 17, 1945. VJ Day was for us in the internment camps most disappointing; although many of us, owing to the secret wireless we had, knew VJ Day had arrived, there were no apparent signs of it from the outside world, because the Japanese deemed it wiser policy to withhold that news from the Indonesians, for the very good reason that for some years past they had been promising that Indonesia should become independent, and they had not fulfilled that promise. However, a series of hastily called meetings took place between August 17 and 19, and it was on August 19, two days after VJ Day, that Soekarno, under the pressure of the Youth Movement, declared Indonesia a Republic. We then found that although the Republic had been declared it was by no means unanimous throughout the whole of the Netherlands East Indies. In Java the Republican feeling was strongest; Sumatra we knew nothing about at that time, as under the Japanese scheme this island did not form part of the Netherlands East Indies as such; it came under the direct Japanese administration of Singapore. But Republican meetings were

held in Java, and everywhere we saw the white and red flags flying and heard cries of "Merdeka" being shouted through all the streets, which in Malayan means freedom. This, to us in the camps, came as a great surprise. We were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the British troops. Throughout the war the Japanese had reiterated endlessly, until we were tired of hearing it, "When the Americans come here they will find it a tough proposition," and so on. Therefore, we all thought that if and when that time came Java would be liberated by the Americans; but we heard at the last moment that it would be the British who would undertake the liberation of the Netherlands East Indies; in fact, it was a last-moment arrangement. Until the Potsdam Conference it had been felt that Java would be within the scope of American liberation and rehabilitation. However, it was decided at the Potsdam Conference that America could not undertake that task. Somewhat reluctantly (for she already had enough to do) Great Britain undertook to liberate the Netherlands East Indies. But Great Britain herself was by no means ready for this task. In fact, looking through some papers recently, I realized that it was not until August 29, nearly ten days after VJ Day, that the South-East Asia Command really got down to deciding what was to be done about liberating Java: how they could divert ships from Malaya to Java and send out rescue teams, medical supplies, food, etc. It was in Singapore that we saw the formation of the famous No. VI R.A.P.W.I. (Rehabilitation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees) Control Staff. This control team was sent out to Java from Singapore. Three parties were actually parachuted into Java to ascertain what the conditions were: whether it was safe for aeroplanes to land the staff and the supplies. On September 8 Major Greenhaus parachuted into Batavia with a doctor, some orderlies and a few wireless operators. He sent them to ascertain what could be done, and they reported that it would be safe to land anything he wished, in so far as an aeroplane would allow, and that troops could be landed at Tandjongpriok, which is the harbour of Batavia. Thus we saw, gradually, the beginning of the liberation. R.A.P.W.I. control teams went also to Sourabaya, but that proved unnecessary because there were not many internees there; they also went into Central Java under various able officers who led the teams. But at this time there was still no sign of actual soldiers; it was only gradually, as they could be released from Malaya and shipped from Burma and British India and elsewhere, that they were sent to Java and later on to Sumatra and the other islands. A complete hiatus was created. In this way I feel the resultant tragedy of what happened later was due to the time between VJ Day and the date on which the British troops arrived, which was several weeks. The whole country was already in turmoil, and gradually it grew worse. At that time there were no British troops to quell any riots or disturbances. Unfortunately, therefore, those of us who went out of the camps had to rely to a certain extent on the help and assistance of the Japanese. They had, of course, immediately received orders from S.E.A.C. as to what they were to do and what not to do, but in the case of the Netherlands East Indies the Japanese played their final trump card, and I regret to say, looking back and recalling the chaos they created, that they played it only too well.

Thus it was that we still had to have Japanese guards for the camps. It was horrible to have to see them there still on duty, but that had to be endured for safety's sake. In West Java we were fortunate in having General Mabushi, he being the only Japanese General in Java who really played the game and carried out Allied orders 100 per cent. The others handed over to the Indonesians their arms and everything else they could lay their hands on, entirely against orders from S.E.A.C. In West Java, however, things fortunately were quiet because there the General had both his men and equipment still under his command and kept them so until the end. It was quite apparent that the Nationalist movement had been in actual fact going on for many years even under the Dutch régime, but during the Dutch régime it had always been kept in check. In fact, if you look back at the figure of Soekarno, one of its leaders, you will find that he had been banished to one of the outer islands many years ago, and only comparatively recently—that is, before the war in 1938—was brought back to Benkoelan, which is in the south of Sumatra. Though virtually a prisoner, he was allowed to live there. The Nationalist movement had been going on for some time, but when the Japanese arrived they realized fairly soon that the country as such was not of very great interest to them, that they could not run it and, for economical reasons, there was not much point in holding on to it. Therefore they decided on rather a grand gesture—the freedom of the country was to be granted to the Indonesians. The Japanese approached Soekarno and several others and promised that if they behaved themselves the country would be theirs in the early future, as the Dutch were finished and done with. We used to hear in camp that on the first of the next month the Republic would be declared. But this never took effect. Finally, after the fall of Japan, the Japanese as their last act, two days after the capitulation, urged that arrangements be immediately concluded, and so was the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed on August 19, 1945.

After the trouble started there was much unrest. The Europeans naturally wanted to leave the camps and meet their families again, but S.E.A.C. ordered them to remain in the camps until such time as British troops were there to attend to food, transport and safety of the Europeans. But it was impossible to wait. The natural inclination of any man who has been in camp for three and a half years is to break out and try to find his family. Thus people were crossing the country attempting to find one another. The attitude of the Indonesians became more and more insolent. At first they started throwing Europeans out of the public vehicles, and then refused to sell vegetables and foodstuffs to Europeans. By this time British Headquarters had been established in Batavia and issued orders to the effect that the Indonesians must at once open their shops and sell to everyone, irrespective of colour, race or creed, but they took no notice of these orders, especially the younger "fanatics," a word I do not like to use, but it is one used in connection with the extremists. They started stirring up a great deal of trouble, demanding action from the Indonesian leaders; they told Soekarno that he was not being firm enough, that he must have no dealings with the Dutch, that if he must have anything to do with the British then it must be the

minimum and got over as soon as possible. We gradually saw this building up and realized that it could not be long before the bubble must burst. That happened on October 10, 1945, in Bandoeng. From our intelligence information we were aware that it was to burst all over the country on the same day, but, as usual, the method of communications amongst the party was not a strong point and so the outbreaks did not coincide. But I do remember, and probably shall never forget, the actual trouble starting on October 10, on which day all the shops in Bandoeng were shut, the markets closed and a general boycott of Europeans declared. But, worse than that, there was wholesale kidnapping of the European population and, in addition, the extremists started murdering people. On that occasion once more we had, unfortunately, to call on the Japanese to help us, because we still had no British troops in Bandoeng; in fact, we only had one representative there at that time, the head of the R.A.P.W.I. Control Staff. The Japanese rushed out with their machine-guns and cleared the streets in the particular way they do these things; it was effective, but not our way. The trouble ceased, and everybody felt they could carry on again; there would be no further trouble because the Indonesians, having seen what strong action had been taken, would not try any more of such nonsense. But we were thinking of the Indonesian as we used to know him in the peaceful days. Those of you who knew the Javanese will agree that they were really a peaceful people and not at all war-like. Although there was peace and quiet for a few days, soon the boycott started again, especially in regard to food. No food was allowed to be sold and most of the shops shut down. Any that remained open charged such exorbitant prices that the Europeans could not afford to pay for the food. Then the Indonesians went one further and started kidnapping their own people who supplied Europeans with vegetables, food or whatever else it might be. On many an occasion, unfortunately, a pedlar with vegetables, eggs or whatever he had for sale, *en route* to Bandoeng market or a bit of quiet selling to the Europeans, was caught by his own people and dealt with by decapitation. The British military authorities who were then in charge realized that the situation had become very dangerous.

You are probably wondering why matters should have come to such a pitch; if the army were out for liberation, surely, as in any operation in modern warfare, they had worked out their plan of campaign. And how was that planned? On intelligence information chiefly; and that was just the one important item which was lacking. When Great Britain undertook the liberation of Java and Sumatra there was virtually no intelligence information available, either from the Dutch or the Americans within whose scope this area had been previously allocated. Strange as it may seem, we knew practically nothing about the political situation in the Netherlands East Indies. There had been vague rumours about an attempt at a Republic being formed. Beyond that there was not very much known. It was not known that the Nationalists had already obtained such a grip of the country that the Republic was, in fact, a *fait accompli* when the troops arrived, not something which might happen in the distant future. Thus when the British troops did arrive, instead of

being received with open arms and given every assistance, they found a sort of passive hostile response. That became more pronounced as time passed, and complicated matters considerably for us, because the intention of the British occupying forces there, as in other countries, but especially in this case, was, in the first instance, to repatriate, look after and give every assistance to all prisoners of war and internees; secondly, to round up all the Japanese, put them in internment camps and then return them to Japan or deal with them as thought fit. When the British troops arrived they found themselves faced with a state of turmoil and riots. While looking after the prisoners of war and the internees and getting the Japanese out of the country was still their first objective, they found that they had, in addition, a hundred and one other things to attend to. They had to get the hospitals going and the medical supplies had to be brought in, and in every single way they found that they had to run the country as a country should be run from the civilian angle. In the towns, police forces had to be started, fire brigades, scavenging parties, cemeteries had to be looked after, and rebuilding of roads had to be undertaken. All those things the Japanese had neglected, so that when the British arrived they found there was virtually no civil administration. Most of the Indonesians who had been in jobs had left them when our troops landed. It is a miracle that the public utility companies, such as electricity and water, continued to function. It is a great credit, especially to the army, that they kept those public utility companies going all the time. True there were a few breakdowns here and there, but when you consider that electric power stations alone had hardly been looked after at all for three and a half years, the Japanese had taken very little notice of them, and frequent breakdowns were unavoidable; yet in spite of all these difficulties they managed to keep things going. For instance, in the town of Bandoeng in December, 1945, there were about 62,000 Europeans and, I think I am right in saying, about 20,000 Chinese; that community had to be cared for, and that was no easy job because in the meantime road and rail communications had been completely cut off. You doubtless remember reading in your newspapers of convoys which were ambushed *en route* from Bandoeng to Batavia, with loss of life, I regret to say, and also loss of material.

So finally the town of Bandoeng was more or less just one large camp. Brigadier-General Macdonald decided to divide the town into two parts, for the simple reason that with the small force available he could not guard such a large perimeter. As it happens, there is a railway which runs through the town, so north of the railway became the sanctuary of the Europeans and the Chinese and such of the Indonesians or any other races as were friendly towards us; the rest had to remain south of the railway. The northern part was about two miles square and in it there were about 80,000 souls who had to be looked after. The Chinese, on the whole, especially in the beginning, did not have to be fed to the same extent as the Europeans, because they had their own contacts and it was still possible for them to go over the railway to buy rice, vegetables, eggs and so on; for the Europeans this was not possible, and it also had been strictly forbidden because of the kidnapping which was taking place. Therefore we were faced with tremendous difficulties, and it looked as if

we would soon be starving as our supplies were becoming very low. Convoys were not coming in. A train convoy had been guaranteed, but it did not get through. We appealed to the R.A.F. in Batavia, and what they did was magnificent when you consider that in a series of by no means new Dakotas they flew that journey from Batavia to Bandoeng sometimes five and even more times a day, to and fro, bringing all the necessary supplies of food, even meat, sometimes even vegetables, flour and all such things as were required to feed the population in Bandoeng. They finally brought up the supply to 100 tons a day in order to keep us going. What we actually needed was 97 tons a day; if they could fly in 100 tons a day it gave us an opportunity to build up a reserve for a future date. The R.A.F. kept that up to the end, and they worked two ways: they flew to Bandoeng with the foodstuffs, and at Andir aerodrome we had a large transit camp to which people were brought to be flown to Batavia. In that way a vast travel bureau was organized; people were moved from the ordinary camps or houses in which they had been living, sent to the transit camp and carried off on the returning planes to Batavia. In that way the R.A.F. moved several hundred people day after day. That was the only method of evacuation from Bandoeng. But there were other places in Java which had to be evacuated, chiefly in the centre of Java, in Malang and the Jogjakarta area. As far back as November, 1945, I can remember being present at a meeting held at General Hawthorne's headquarters to consider how we could reach those people in the centre of Java, because we held only Batavia, Semarang and Sourabaya in those days, with a small part of the surrounding country. Malang was very much in the danger zone. One of our R.A.P.W.I. officers went with his men and, together with our troops, literally had to fight their way there. Finally, they got all the people back into Ambarawa, from whence they were transported by sea to Semarang, Batavia or Singapore. Unfortunately by no means were we able to evacuate all the remainder from the other parts of Central Java or from Solo and Jogjakarta. I believe I am right in saying that some 7,000 or 8,000 men, women and children until September, 1946, were still interned in those places, having been held by the Indonesians. Many of them have suffered already three and a half years of internment. The distance is not very great and you probably are wondering why we did not get those people out. It is difficult to explain the enormous complications; endless meetings took place between the British and Indonesians as to the how, why and where and when. It was due to magnificent staff work at headquarters in Batavia that finally the evacuation was not only planned but put into execution, and that people were brought on to the airfield at Solo and from thence flown to Batavia. There would at times be an interruption for one reason or another and evacuation would cease, but the whole time we had been working from Batavia in close contact with the Indonesians, trying to persuade them to release more and more of the internees. The Indonesians said they had not enough transport with which to get them to the airfield, so we had to send transport; in fact, everything possible has been done to help those people out.

A word in regard to the Indonesians themselves. I have spoken to a



number of the "moderates," but I did not have the opportunity of speaking to the extremists; had I done so I would not be here now. The conversations with the moderates have been most interesting; usually they said something to this effect: first and foremost we are Nationalists and we want our freedom, but we are the first to condemn the present methods whereby our Republic is handling the situation. They do not hold with the terrorism, kidnapping, murdering, etc., which are taking place; they very much fear, and rightly so, that this will result in a very bad Press in foreign countries, and their desire is to build up their prestige and not lower it, as they feel it is being lowered at present. That all sounds very feasible. Unfortunately, at the moment the more moderate people, those who really think matters out and try to form a good plan, are very much in the minority. For instance, we know quite definitely that Sharir does not approve of Soekarno's actions in many instances. But I gather that his point of view is that if he walked out of the Cabinet now everything would be lost as far as he is concerned with the Nationalist action, whereas if he can stay in, acting as a sort of brake on some of the more extremist actions, he can do something to save the country. The moderates say that they have not at the moment sufficient men trained either in the legal, the medical, or in the economic or technical fields to enable them to run the country; that they are not ready to deal with the export and import of oil, rubber, tea and sugar; that they have not sufficient men capable of organizing imports and exports, and neither have they sufficient men to run their own Government. What they want is their freedom. It is certain that none of them, the moderates included, want to go back to pre-war conditions, though the moderates realize that the time has not yet come for them to stand entirely on their own feet.

In March, 1946, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr (now Lord Inverchapel) went out to the Netherlands East Indies as an arbitrator to try to get the Dutch on the one hand and the Indonesians on the other together at the conference table, so that they might fully discuss matters and come to some conclusion; things could not go on as they were at that moment and it was evident that some definite conclusions had to be arrived at. Lord Inverchapel did a very good job of work and finally got the two sides together at the conference table. Various schemes and proposals were put forward and discussed, and in April Lord Inverchapel left, feeling he had accomplished something. Then you will remember that in that month an Indonesian delegation, together with Mr. van Mook, went to Holland, where a series of conferences were held. When Mr. van Mook and his colleagues returned with their proposals they did not prove to be acceptable to the Indonesians and the whole effort more or less failed. There has been a great deterioration in the situation since May last, and now there is a sort of division in their own ranks. On more than one occasion quite high officials on the Indonesian side have come either to the British or the Dutch authorities and said: "Look here, I have decided to throw my hand in and come over to your side. What can I do? Can you use me in any way, because the way in which things are being run is not my way of doing things." So we see Dr. Amir, a minister without portfolio in the first Soekarno Cabinet, who is at the moment in Holland, in an

article in which he puts forth his ideas quite briefly. From this article one realizes that not only in Java but even more so in Sumatra the conditions are absolutely chaotic. Now it is not a case of fighting for the Republic against the Dutch; it is the old tribal system coming in again, one wanting to fight against the other—in fact, against the Government and everybody else. From this article I gathered that the situation, especially in Northern Sumatra where the Achinese live, is absolutely appalling. The Indonesians do not know now where they are going or what is going to happen. It may be wishful thinking on our part when we hope that the more intelligent members of the Nationalist party will come to the conference table and ask to work with us and the Dutch. How far they will go in that direction I do not know, but at this moment Lord Killearn is in Java where, at the invitation of the Dutch on the one side and the Indonesians on the other, he is to act as the go-between at the forthcoming conference between the Dutch and the Indonesian groups, which conference is to be held in Batavia with a view to seeing if they cannot possibly reach some sort of agreement. It is sincerely hoped that a satisfactory conclusion will be reached.

Just consider for a moment what happens in the East when things are left unattended, be it a tea, rubber or sugar plantation or a factory, or whatever else it might be. Such things have only to be left unattended for a few months for the jungle to encroach and climatic conditions to cause everything to get into a most frightful state of ruin. The longer the delay to bring peace to the Netherlands East Indies the longer will it take to rebuild economically, because everything is going to rack and ruin. And that applies also to the large rice fields. After tremendous efforts the Dutch had managed in 1939 to make Java self-supporting in rice. Unfortunately production has fallen, the Japanese attitude being that the people did not need rice, that it was expensive and that they could plant, instead, tapioca, roots and sweet potatoes. Unless something is done soon there will be famine; there is certainly not enough rice for the needs of the population.

The first and most important event would be the restoration of peace to the Netherlands East Indies. Those who have been there before the war and can remember that lovely country can hardly realize what it is like under present conditions. Everything is in a deplorable state. I sincerely hope that the Dutch and the Indonesians will be able to get together and come to some definite agreement for the benefit of the Netherlands East Indies. Whether they will form a Constitution providing dominion status I cannot say, but I sincerely hope that they will come to some agreement, because as long as the present state of affairs in the Netherlands East Indies remains I can see only one thing looming ahead—namely, civil war—which is a dreadful thing. We can only hope that the Netherlands East Indies will be saved from that and that the present Mission headed by Lord Killearn will find a solution to the problem.

**A MEMBER:** Are any of the Japanese still under arms?

**The LECTURER:** There are no Japanese under arms and have not been for some considerable time. The only remaining Japanese in Java now

are those forming working parties under the supervision of the British, not the Dutch, and before the British leave (which I gather will be on November 30, 1946) the Japanese will leave.

Mr. EADY: I have just come from the Netherlands East Indies, and the latest news is that the Japanese to the number of 20,000 are to remain on under an agreement for a few years in order to help the Dutch put the country on its feet again.

The LECTURER: Your news is later than mine; my latest news on that point I had seven weeks ago, when it was decided that the Japanese should all leave before the British troops left. There will now be 20,000 in unarmed working parties?

Mr. EADY: Yes.

Mr. C. A. G. MACKINTOSH: What is the actual derivation of "Indonesia" and "Indonesian," and does the word apply to anybody in Java or Sumatra or to one particular race? What is Indonesian? Is not Malayan the common language?

The LECTURER: That is a tricky question. The inhabitants of the Netherlands East Indies have their own particular language, with Malayan as the common language throughout the whole area. Actually "Indonesian" only came into use with the inauguration of the Republic. I think I am right in saying that there was previously no such word in use; it is a word which has grown with the birth of the Republic.

Mr. MACKINTOSH: Do you think it was invented by our enterprising Press and journalists?

The LECTURER: I would not like to say.

Captain R. BOWEN: Indonesia is a long-established geographical term for the whole of the Netherlands East Indies, British Borneo, Annam and Malaya.

The LECTURER: Now they have taken the word as applicable to the Netherlands East Indies; but does that include Borneo? I stand to be corrected, but so far the agreement at the conference table is only in regard to Java and Sumatra.

Captain BOWEN: I do not know what the conference is discussing, but there is certainly a so-called Borneo representative attached to the Republic.

Mr. EADY: There are delegates from Borneo and Celebes.

The Hon. Mrs. MELDON: The lecturer said that the Japanese played their trump card only too well, and he later spoke of the attitude of the moderates and of the extremists and said that not a single Indonesian would wish to go back to pre-war conditions. What was wrong with the pre-war conditions?

The LECTURER: I will first give my explanation as to the Japanese having played their trump card, and this is only a personal opinion. Although they capitulated and lost the battle, as it were, they managed to throw a spanner into the wheels in South-East Asia and thereby cause the tremendous confusion of which we see the result in these days. In that way I mean they, unfortunately, played their trump card.

As to the Indonesians not wishing to return to pre-war conditions, by that I mean not so much living conditions but rather that the moderates

themselves wish to see self-government in some form or other. The reason for that, as in India and other countries, is that it is felt that these countries should now be given their freedom as individual countries. It is obvious that the Dutch, who have been in the Netherlands East Indies for three hundred or more years, have done a very good job indeed from the colonizing point of view; roadways, highways, waterways, irrigation, medicine and so forth have all been well planned and well established. That is why I feel very much for the Dutch. It is very hard for them when one considers the way things have gone. The Indonesians feel that now is their opportunity to establish themselves; had there been no war they would still have sought that opportunity, though the occasion might not have arisen for some years ahead. That was the sense in which I spoke.

Asked what percentage of the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the Netherlands East Indies are interested in the freedom movement, the lecturer said: That is another difficult question to answer. I see Major Gomme here; perhaps he could help?

Major GOMME: As you say, it is an exceedingly difficult question to answer. Out of a population of 70,000,000 probably 5,000,000 are intimately connected with the freedom movement and genuinely interested in gaining their independence. The peasants in the fields probably do not care what happens as long as they can get their rice; they are not politically conscious. I should imagine that in Central Java the percentage is a good deal higher than in West Java. I should not say that more than 5,000,000 of the total population are intelligent enough to understand what all the trouble is about.

Asked if the Indonesians were capable of carrying on the medical and irrigation services started by the Dutch, the lecturer replied: At the moment, I would say not to anywhere near the extent to which those services have been carried on by the Dutch. That is one of the biggest difficulties at the moment, and it is a difficulty that some of the people themselves realize—some of them.

Mr. C. A. G. MACKINTOSH: What is the size of the Dutch garrison?

The LECTURER: The last figure I heard mentioned was 40,000.

Mr. EADY: There are two Divisions at the moment and there are more troops on the way; presumably the British will not leave the country until reinforcements have arrived.

ANOTHER MEMBER: In talking to the moderate Indonesians did the lecturer gather that they had any opinion as to what their future relations with the Dutch would be? Did they contemplate needing the specialists among the Dutch?

The LECTURER: They were searching for a formula on that; it was a difficulty because there were not enough of them to get together and thrash the whole question out and then put forward a concrete proposal from their side, should they be so inclined.

They said they certainly did require Dutch technicians, scientists and people to handle the export trade.

The Hon. Mrs. MELDON: That being realized by the moderates, it seems to me that the one hope would be for one or two leading extremists

to be made to realize it also. Is there any hope of that gradually happening?

The LECTURER: There was a faint hope while we were in Java that that would happen; that the extremists could be talked to and reasoned with, but as far as I know, except in the case of Dr. Amir, who has come over for himself without persuasion, because he was not at all happy about the situation, there are few who could be reasoned with. There are some, but not a number. It would be possible from a nucleus of such men who can really speak for their own country to build up what might prove a sound basis to work on, but there are not many.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask one question with regard to the Japanese having played their trump card—that was the formation of the Indonesian Republic?

The LECTURER: Their trump card really was giving the chance, at the eleventh hour, for the formation of the Indonesian Republic, knowing full well that they were not in a state even to run that but that they would thereby put a spanner in the wheel and create utter chaos in the country.

The CHAIRMAN: What was the object of the Japanese in doing that?

The LECTURER: Originally it was planned for as far back as Christmas, 1943, I think. Quite a long time before that it was said that Indonesia was to be given its freedom, and it was always held out to them as a sort of desirable thing to have. The Japanese used that as a lever for forcing the Indonesians to do things; they said that so long as the Indonesians did this or that they would be given their freedom; that Japan did not want the country. That was dangled before the Indonesians as desirable and a bargaining factor. After the capitulation the Japanese should not have urged it—that is, at the eleventh hour; they should have given the Indonesians their freedom before or not forced it at all.

The CHAIRMAN: Up to a certain point Japanese high policy contemplated incorporating the Dutch East Indies into the Japanese Empire?

The LECTURER: That was at the commencement.

The CHAIRMAN: At a certain point that changed and they held out the prospect of an Indonesian Republic. Have you any idea why the Japanese policy in that regard changed?

The LECTURER: As far as I can gather they realized that from the mechanical point of view, when things were going against them in the war, they could not get their things away from the Netherlands East Indies. Even after the capitulation one saw on the dockside tremendous stores of all sorts of loot which had been carted from all over the country and had been on the dockside for a year or more because the Allies had cut off the sea routes of communication. The Japanese realized that as far as the island was concerned they could not get much out of it.

The CHAIRMAN: That was a short-term policy. It may be against the rules for a Chairman to do this, but I would like to give what I believe to be the correct explanation of the long-term policy as against the short-term view. Early in 1943 the Japanese High Command knew that they had lost the war and for that reason their high policy changed all over the Far East. Their object was to prepare the ground for staging a Japanese comeback at some future time after they had recovered their

strength. The idea of the co-prosperity sphere—a vast Japanese Empire with satellite states governed in the interest of Japan—was dropped, and in its place their propaganda dwelled on a policy of Asia for the Asiatics with Japan as leader of Asia against the white man. That propaganda was put out all over the Far East, including China, but the Chinese did not fall for it. It fell flat in China but not in Indonesia, because the Indonesians are, I believe, on a lower plane politically. They have not the vast background of the Chinese nor the long history that China has. The Chinese despise the Japanese and their propaganda did not make any appeal in China, but it did in Indonesia and the Japanese succeeded at the last moment in stirring up the Indonesian trouble.

Mr. AMEER ALI: I think the dropping of leaflets also made things unnecessarily difficult for the British landing parties. There is said to have been a proclamation dropped by Allied aircraft demanding the surrender by all the young enthusiastic self-styled patriots and others of their arms, and that proclamation was worded in no uncertain fashion. Did not that put the fat in the fire and lead to a good deal of resistance, bloodshed and so on which need not have happened?

The LECTURER: Yes, I well remember the occasion of the pamphlets you describe. It was ill-timed; it should not have been issued at that moment. There was then a terrible lack of co-ordination.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting lecture, and I always think the quality of the lecture is shown by the discussion it inspires. We have had an excellent and full discussion. It now only remains for me, on your behalf, to thank Mr. Crighton for coming and addressing us.

# JAPAN UNDER MACARTHUR

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. D. PROFUMO, O.B.E.

Report of a meeting on Wednesday, December 11, 1946. In the Chair, Lieut.-General H. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.

The CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure and privilege of introducing Brigadier Profumo, who has very kindly come to talk to us about Japan. He has had a very distinguished career. Before the war he was in the Auxiliary Air Force, and afterwards in the Northamptonshire Yeomanry. In 1940 he was elected to the House of Commons for the Kettering Division, and he then had the distinction of being the youngest Member of that House. In 1941, while head of the Northamptonshire Yeomanry, he was transferred to Air Force Command, the reason being that he had experience both of the Army and the Air Force. He went to North Africa during the invasion, and went through the campaign there and in Sicily. When the Fifth Army was landing at Smyrna the Air Force liaison with the Fifth Army was not highly developed, and Brigadier Profumo was sent to look after that side of things. Soon after that he went to General Alexander's headquarters as C.M.S. in charge of Army liaison, and remained at headquarters in that most important capacity until the end of the war in the Mediterranean. At the end of the war he came back to England and stood again for Parliament in the General Election but was defeated. After that he went out to Japan as deputy to Major-General Gardiner and as the Prime Minister's personal representative with General MacArthur, and also as Deputy-Head of the British Mission at General MacArthur's headquarters until June, 1946.

**I** REMEMBER once seeing a child with his mother walking past a big dog. He went white, and his mother said, "There is nothing to be frightened about; just walk past." The little boy replied, "You would be as frightened as I am if you were as low as I." I have that feeling in addressing this august gathering. But I am fortified by the thought of the honour you have done me in asking me to talk, and I hope that what I am going to tell you will add something to your already great knowledge of Far Eastern matters. Anyone whose idea of Japan was limited to what they had seen in pictures and on gaily coloured lacquer ornaments would have a great shock if they went and saw the conditions there to-day. It is not a country of geisha girls, tea parties, and cherry blossoms. The snowcapped peaks of Fuji look down on a sombre scene of destruction, desolation and disillusionment. I don't think I really need to go into the background of Japan and its history, but one wants to have something of that in mind when considering the problems that are now being faced there. Let us therefore run lightly over the period from the last ten years of the Emperor Meiji, the period during which they began to develop their policy of imperial expansion, until the present time. In the world war of 1914-18 Japan became a partner of a great world power, and was still able to concentrate on her imperialism. But she received a setback at the Washington Conference and then another later on at the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in 1923. Finally, the Manchurian incident in 1931 demonstrated to the world the clear intention of Japan's imperial policy. During this whole time society in Japan was being controlled by a section of people intimately associated with the expansionist policy. The

power of Japan's secret societies, headed by the Black Dragon Society, is not to be underestimated. I have personally seen photostatic copies of the papers of some of those societies, and it is incredible the influence they wielded over people, Government, and even Emperor. Another very large instrument of Japanese policy, domestic and imperial, was what is known as the "Zaibatsu," the large cartelistic clique of families which owned and controlled all the industries in Japan. The Emperor's influence has always been supreme, and unless one understands the minds of Orientals one cannot quite grasp what "Emperor" in the Far East really means to the people. He is supreme. He is a god. His word is law. All these factors, in addition to the very strict control of the Japanese mentality and outlook, paved the way for the Japanese finally to line up with the Nazis. Eventually came the last great world war. Japan has suffered in some ways less and in other ways more than other countries which were at war with the Allies. To start with, the bombing, except for the atomic bombs, was not so serious as in other countries. Many of the factories have escaped entirely and the majority of the means of communication have been uninterrupted. The roads of Japan were never good, but the railways were, and they have not been demolished very much. Many towns, except the important ones selected as strategic targets, have been unharmed. But Japan has suffered more in food production, because the concentrated programme of agricultural policy in order to feed the people during the war was far stronger than with us, who had the potentiality of our Allies to bring food into this country. Japan was completely cut off and all the imports she had before the war were nullified by the war. To-day the dangers which confront Japan are twofold. Both are dangers of reaction. One is the danger of extreme reaction back to the Greater East Asia feeling and the imperialist expansionist policy which was going on before the war. The other danger is from Soviet Russia. At the present time Russia is taking very little part in affairs in Japan, but is watching very closely indeed, as she is doing all over the world; and it is possible that if the Allies fail with their present set-up in Japan, Russia will feel inclined to step in and say, "Poor Japanese, you are getting a bad time and are liable to be pounced on by other countries. We would like to come to your protection and see that you build up a great nation." Those are the two great influences arising out of the dangers.

The policy of the Allies in Japan is one of democratizing the Japanese people, and one must get that fairly fixed in one's head before assessing the actions of General MacArthur and his staff. It is a policy which will be extremely difficult to effect, but it was decided on after great deliberation and orders were given to General MacArthur to that effect. I will try and trace the way it is going. The main cogwheel, indeed the hub, of all policy in Japan under the occupation at the present time is General of Army Douglas MacArthur. I could not speak too highly of this great soldier-statesman were I to try and talk for an hour on that particular subject. Among all the people I have met he is undoubtedly one of the greatest. From our point of view the most important thing is that he is a great friend, and a genuine friend, of



Great Britain. We have many friends in foreign countries, but we cannot have too many, and one does not want to ignore that when discussing or criticizing General MacArthur. In this last war he won the American equivalent to the V.C. (the Congressional Medal of Honour). He has had a vast experience in the Far East and of international and world affairs generally. He is a statesman as well as a soldier. Anyone who has served with him or under him during the Far Eastern campaign will say, however much they criticize his personal character, that there could not have been any other general who could have directed the war in the Far East on a "shoestring," as the Americans call it, more ably than General MacArthur. His co-operation with the Allies was of the highest order. While still fighting Japan he was planning his policy for when he should start to build the country up again, and in the last stages of the campaign he had decided on certain action to be taken when the time came to reconstruct Japan. He regards himself not only as the victor of Japan but also as its liberator. People in Japan have an immense admiration for him. MacArthur is in a strong position because, as a retired Chief of Staff, at any moment he can say to the War Department in America that he would like to relinquish his position—and there is no one else who could possibly take over his appointment. This leads to his being sometimes criticized as a dictator, but he is far from that. He is an extremely humane, kindly, family man; and he is ambitious to serve not only his country but the Allied cause. Let us go into the methods of occupation. To begin with there are the occupying forces. They are the motive power to back up the occupation with the Japanese people, and they are situated in strategic positions all over Japan. As a whole the Japanese Government has been kept—that was one of General MacArthur's first decisions. General MacArthur realizes that he has a very difficult job ahead, and he realizes that if he tried to do it with an occupational Government there would be great danger that when anything went wrong the occupation Government would be blamed; whereas in this way everything that goes wrong is blamed on the Japanese Government. The Japanese Foreign Office has been turned into a Central Liaison Office, and if General MacArthur wants something done he sends it in English to the Liaison Office, where it is translated into Japanese, and an order is given to the Minister of Agriculture, or the Minister of Home Affairs, or whatever it is. The Emperor still plays a very great part. General MacArthur has kept him there to use when he wants to do so. It is largely due to his influence that the demobilization has gone so smoothly. In America there is a Far Eastern Commission consisting of representatives of all Allied Powers, who sit as a committee. It is this Far Eastern Commission that decides policy, and their directions are issued to General MacArthur as to what he is to do. He works them out as best he can. Early this year, or at the end of last year, the Foreign Ministers decided to set up an Allied Council, an advisory body sitting in Japan itself, which was to "advise and consult" with General MacArthur on the day-to-day outworking of the Far Eastern Commission policy. General MacArthur took the decision as a slight, as a suggestion that he was not doing his job properly. However, the Council came into being with representatives of the British

Empire, China, the Soviet Union, and America. They asked General MacArthur to be chairman, but he declined and appointed his political adviser. A great deal of wrangling goes on in that Council, and it is very unfortunate that its meetings are in public so that all is known to the Japanese people. A lot of the discussion could better be conducted in private than in the full glare of publicity. General MacArthur has recently made a move to increase that Council so as to bring in other nations, with the idea that the whole Far Eastern Commission might develop into the Advisory Council, and he would get better support. Several nations now have diplomatic missions in Japan. The British Mission in Japan live in the Embassy in Tokyo, with its chief accredited to General MacArthur, instead of course to the Japanese Government. The missions watch the interests of the countries they represent.

There are two tasks in Japan. The first is a short-term one of demobilization, restoring law and order, and conducting war trials. The second task is the long-term policy. It is the democratization of the Japanese people. In estimating the progress of the short- and long-term policies one has to bear certain things in mind. The first is that the Japanese people are stunned by the reversal of policy and thought in Japan since the end of the war, and there is bound to be a period of inertia for a considerable time before the people are able to take action on their own behalf. The second thing is one that may not be obvious here but which is obvious out there, where the majority of the most experienced politicians and so forth are being tried as war criminals or are banned from taking office. The result is that with the exception of the Communists you really have not got any able leaders among the Japanese people. The next point is extremely important and one of the fundamentals of our policy. It is that there have been no decisions made about the length of occupation and control of Japan. That fact reacts unfavourably from the point of view of the co-operation of the people. They have in their minds a fear that we shall leave too soon and that there will be a reaction and they will suffer if they have helped us. The next point is that they are only interested in the immediate problems, such as the shortage of food and housing, etc. This prevents them from taking a real interest in "democracy." The final point is that they were surprised and contented in the early days of the occupation because they had been led to believe that we should put them in prison and give them a terrible time—they were surprised and contented because instead we were just and equitable. But that has given way now to discontent and resentment because the Allies get more food, motor-cars, petrol, and so on. The feeling is normal but rather strong, and only by very good leadership and example of the occupying troops can you overcome it. The discipline and bearing of the American troops is in general good. Before leaving Japan I was proud to be able to witness the arrival of the British soldiers. I have never seen anything that had such an effect immediately as that had on both Americans and Japanese. The presence of Empire troops is having a big moral effect.

Demilitarization has virtually finished. Over four million men have been brought back from overseas and have returned to family life from

the forces. That means that about two million people remain to be brought back. There was at one time a fright that the return of the Japanese warriors might cause unrest, but the reverse has happened: the Japanese soldiers, sailors, and airmen have suffered so much under brutal military laws and the like that they are glad the war is over. On the other hand, the civilians despise the military people, because they believe that, first, the politicians and, second, the military have caused the disasters that have happened to Japan. On the whole the ex-military people are settling down well, and probably owing to their experience in affairs they will make better democratic citizens than the others. The reduction of war potential has been a great problem, but it has been conducted with efficiency. Before anything was destroyed a vast army of scientists and statisticians arrived in Japan and examined every form of their war potential. We have broken up airfields, capital ships, guns, and so forth; but over and above the destruction of their war material is the breaking up of the "Zaibatsu." We are trying to destroy the great power those families wielded. The final thing in the short-term policy is the war trials problem. Minor war criminals are being tried and convicted every day, and publicity is given in the Japanese newspapers. In addition to that an International Tribunal assembled in Japan nearly a year ago has worked towards its climax, but it is no good pretending that the Japanese people are really taking much interest in the trial of war criminals. They are glad to find scapegoats, but there is no feeling of national guilt. Problems of food, clothing, and housing occupy their minds far too much for them to pay much attention to what is happening in the war trials. On the other hand the very slow and ordered progress of the international legal system is probably having a great effect on the Japanese, who see how careful we are being to establish international law and how fair Western justice is. They see what great pains are being taken. It will take longer than the Nuremberg trials because, for one thing, translation is so difficult and such a lengthy procedure.

Progress in democratization is being hindered by certain things. Democracy is no easy gamebird which can be brought to the ground by one well-aimed shot from a sporting gun. Japan has no idea of what democracy is. The people only know it as a way of life followed for centuries by other countries at the other end of the world for which, anyway, they have always had a certain amount of distrust. Patriotism, ignorance, and tradition are playing a great part in impeding the progress of democracy. General MacArthur realizes that it would be far more dangerous to force things on Japan than to follow a negative policy, and he is moving out of the way as fast as possible all the major obstacles which impede progress towards democracy; and, rather than trying to push things, he realizes that when the occupying troops do leave Japan they must leave behind something which the Japanese would like to follow.

You can say that when the atomic bomb fell it both restored and brought the Emperor down to earth, because during July, 1945, there had been a great difference of opinion within the Japanese Supreme Cabinet; everybody except the great Army chiefs had decided that the war was lost and were in favour of stopping it. But the powerful

Army leaders said categorically that it was impossible to invade Japan, and therefore the country could hang out until the Allies decided not to go on further with the war. It was only when the falling of the atomic bombs completely changed the conception of the invulnerability of Japan that peace was brought about. The war lords did not want to lose face so they left it to the Emperor to stop the war, and by so doing a great deal of the prestige of his ancestor the Emperor Meiji was restored to him. But whereas before the end of the war he had been a complete god, there have been efforts to restore the authority of the throne but to cut away its power. In his rescript this year the Emperor himself announced that his origin was not divine, and that there was nothing in the idea of the supremacy of the Japanese people over the rest of the world. Now he assumes the position of a democratic monarch and walks about dressed in plain clothes, visiting factories and bombed-out areas. All parties and all sections of public opinion are in favour of keeping the Japanese imperial system with the exception of the Communists. One cannot entirely get away from the idea of divinity that still lingers in the mind of the Japanese people regarding their Emperor. I went to the opening of the Japanese Parliament and a good example occurred. We were sitting up in the gallery and were told that the Emperor was to arrive at eleven o'clock. At ten minutes to eleven the clock stopped ticking, and everyone stood up and waited. When I looked at my watch again it said five past eleven. Suddenly the clock started ticking again, and as it reached eleven o'clock, to the very minute, the doors opened and the Son of Heaven came into the room dead on time according to the clock but really ten minutes late! "Time waits for no man" did not apply to him. It would be possible for him to be indicted as a war criminal, but quite wisely the Allies have decided to use him. He is much more use alive than dead, and at the present time he is the cornerstone for the master builder—MacArthur.

Every Government subject to outside control is bound to be weak. In Japan before the war the Government was very much centralized, and decisions were taken by groups of people who wielded great power. Those groups have been broken down and there is now no one strong enough to take a decision. The Government is therefore even weaker than it should be. I suppose considering the unpopularity of the Government and its immense tasks you can say they are doing the best job that can be expected. In Japan, energy and industry are the greatest assets of the common people. Those characteristics have not been destroyed by the war. Their new-found freedom is causing great satisfaction. For the first time the Press is uncensored, and they are making great use of it. I witnessed the first General Election and was surprised to see such a vast number of women (who were voting for the first time) taking advantage of the universal suffrage. Many said the women would not trouble to vote, but in fact they took it all most seriously.

One of the greatest current problems is that of the re-education of the people, and it is being pursued with boldness and imagination. General MacArthur had a party of all the most famous American edu-

cators to visit Japan not long ago, and they produced ideas as to how it could be done better. "Shinto" as a state religion has been abolished, and the teaching of other religions is going on in all schools. But the big problem, having destroyed the old textbooks and discharged the old régime teachers, is to get new books printed and to find new teachers who can be indoctrinated with democratic ideas. When a policy of this sort is being followed it must be in a guise and tempo that the Japanese people can understand, and it would be foolish to imagine that the Japanese are at present doing more than accept the change as inevitable. They are not taking part in it. One has to do the thing slowly and surely so as to build up on a sound basis.

The economic position is extremely shaky. The whole economic structure is based on the Potsdam declaration, which said that Japan should be allowed a level of economy which would permit her to sustain her own country and pay just reparations in kind, but not on a scale which would permit her again to constitute a threat of war. For that purpose she could have access to, as distinct from control of, raw materials. In practice, in working out that policy it is difficult to distinguish, because when you are considering iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, and so on, it is impossible to separate those which are essential to a peace-time economy and those which contribute to warlike preparations. Many decisions must be taken: one is as to what the reparations are to be; the second one is, what is the level of economy for Japan? In the meantime everything is very strictly controlled. Foreign trade is strictly limited. Only such things as food and fuel oil are being imported and a little silk, coal, and timber exported. Everything is rationed to the home consumer and there is an enormous inflation. Japanese economy is characterized by shortage of both raw materials and consumer goods. Bottlenecks are everywhere. There is unemployment, an enormous black market, and over all a great degree of uncertainty. Until there is a decision on the part of the Allies as to what the reparations are going to be, and what is to be the level of economy, there can only be an interim policy by General MacArthur in order to build up a democratic conception of industrialism in Japan different from what they had before.

Political thought in Japan is completely topsy-turvy. The three main parties are the Progressives, Liberals, and Social-Democrats. They differ little in their policies (if indeed they have policies), but they all claim to be able to solve Japan's current problems. The only party with real initiative is the Communist party. Whereas all the former great leaders of Japan are in prison or banned from holding office, the Communist party is for the first time a legal entity. In the past there have been underground movements, but they have been dealt with ruthlessly; so during the war there languished in prison dungeons and concentration camps many bold Communist leaders who had fought and studied hard for their principles. Now they are free they are vehement, clever men, and they are organizing a party in Japan. It is not a big party and it suffers in its membership because the main plank in the Communist platform is the abolition of the Emperor system in Japan altogether. The Communists did not arouse much enthusiasm in the last elections and their

party is short of funds, but it is building up and is to be reckoned with in Japanese policy. Whether there is any liaison between Moscow and the Japanese Communist party is doubtful; probably there is, but both the Russians and the Japanese Communists deny it. If it was known to be the case the Japanese Communist party would lose even the support it has, because the Japanese people are so terrified of the Russians.

The last major problem is that of food, and it is difficult to estimate correctly the needs of the Japanese people in order that they may be able to sustain a safe level of health, and at the same time to see that they do not get a greater share of the world's feeding stuffs than is right. One has to rely on Japanese statistics. It is difficult to get correct figures, but here are some facts. Before the war Japan used to import from 15 to 20 per cent. of her feeding stuffs. During the war all normal access to imports vanished and the Japanese had to get everything possible out of the soil. The 1945 harvest was a failure, and the rice yield fell to 30 per cent. below the normal figure. The repatriation of the Japanese people is swelling the number of mouths to be fed. The fertility of the metropolitan soil is low and there is a shortage of fertilizers. The food situation is not easy but there are no signs of starvation. In the country districts the people are well fed. In the towns there is a very grave shortage, particularly of rice. There is a huge black market. The great problem has been the lack of proper supervision of the distribution of food. In the rural areas the farmers keep what they want for themselves. Then they will sell, and what they sell very largely goes through the black market. Through the lack of forethought the distribution during the early part of the rice year was bad. It has been estimated by the statisticians that to give the Japanese an equitable diet they should have 1,350 calories per day. In point of fact there has been in the rural areas as much as 1,700 to 2,000 calories, but in the towns there has been only something like 900, and of that 500 have been distributed through the black market. That gives a picture of what is happening in Japan. There has been a definite necessity to import food, and that has been done under General MacArthur's auspices. There must be a stronger control of the distribution of food and a long-term sound agrarian policy, together with the early import of fertilizers into Japan.

I will sum up. Democracy is on trial, and whether it will work well depends very largely on the length of time we stay in control. One cannot say there is any fruit born yet as the result of the occupation, but very good seed has been sown by General MacArthur. He is doing an extremely fine job and is a wise and conscientious trustee of the Allies. Whatever our feelings about the Japanese people, one cannot deny the vital importance of trying to democratize and rebuild a friendly nation out of them. No one can deny the importance of this little group of islands situated between Russia and America, the two great ideologies which in the future might clash. If one fails in one's task of rebuilding Japan the whole of the tragic human sacrifice given in the Far Eastern campaign will have been of no avail. It should be our united endeavour to construct a friendly bastion of democracy out of the Land of the Rising Sun.

Mr. OSWALD WHITE : I should like to ask if there is any suggestion in Japan itself that the Emperor should abdicate in favour of his son?

The LECTURER : There is no suggestion that I have ever heard that the Emperor should abdicate. The Japanese have a high esteem for him as a person, but it is probable that when he has served his purpose pressure might be put on him to abdicate in favour of his son. The Americans are taking a great deal of interest in the education of the son. He will understand democracy better. The Japanese themselves are quite satisfied with the present Emperor.

ANOTHER MEMBER : I have been a long time in Japan. I was there first of all studying the language, and secondly as a military attaché. I have listened with the most supreme interest to Brigadier Profumo's speech. I should like to ask, What is the future of religion likely to be in Japan? In the past they have been more or less dependent on ancestor worship, which is the essential part of Shinto. Formerly they were more or less Buddhists, and I wonder if there is any urge back to Buddhism on the part of the people or what substitute they are likely to acquire in the future? It seems to me that the field there must be a fruitful one for the propagation of Christianity. I have always thought that the absence of Christianity before the Meiji restoration, when the old Emperor was brought back from Kyoto to Togo, very largely accounts for any bad conduct on the part of the Army. They have got no background of Christianity, as the Germans had, and they are really mediæval in their minds. After all, in mediæval times we were burning people at the stake and torturing them in the Tower. That probably is the condition of mind at which the Japanese have arrived, and it would account to a large extent for such atrocities as they have committed. I should like to ask how Shinto is being abolished and whether there is any urge back towards Buddhism.

The LECTURER : Shinto has been abolished as a *state religion* but is still permitted. The worship of ancestors is permitted in private but it is not allowed to be taught in schools. Nor may the Emperor pay official visits to shrines on behalf of the nation. That is merely the first step. The second step can be characterized by the fact that the very first people that General MacArthur allowed to come into Japan, on the introduction of outside people into the country again, were missionaries and bishops. The Bishop of Corea and Bishop Cooper of Tokyo are back. Salvation Army representatives have gone in, and people of all denominations from America are already working in their former areas. They tell me they are hopeful for a complete reversal to Christianity from the old State worship, but there is still a strong Buddhist element in the minds of the Japanese, and it will depend largely on the progress that education makes, plus the fact that you have allowed religious teachers to get back into Japan at once, whether we can make them into Christians. If not, the problem of democracy will be much lengthened. One can only be hopeful.

Major E. AINGER : You were talking about the re-education of the people. I am speaking of ten or fifteen years ago, at which time the major power in the villages appeared to lie with the returned ex-soldier

working hand-in-hand with the schoolmaster. You say the soldier has come back along with the officer class. How will you find sufficient schoolmasters to alter the close liaison with the military, who are taking orders from the general staff and working hand-in-glove with the education authorities? Another point is that when I was there such friends as I had of the extreme left wing were all of them men out for themselves. It was not that they really wanted to do anything for labour. What they wanted was to get a position for themselves. The Lecturer says the Communist party is honest and reasonable. Perhaps it is.

The LECTURER: I will link up the two questions. I do not think there is so much in the first one because latterly the military have not been keen on village politics. I have always read that what you have said was true in the past, but now the military government officials are in liaison with the village committees in maintaining law and order. The returned soldiers are taking a back seat. There may be cases where they are doing something. The problem of getting school teachers is extremely difficult, and has been aggravated by the fact that people back from the forces are not trusted. I agree about the Left Wing being out for themselves, but I will not say that there it is only a local thing. In all countries politicians tend to work in their own interests! On the other hand, it appears that the Japanese Communist leaders are far more genuine than any other politicians. The Communist party in Japan corresponds to what would be an extreme Left Wing of the Socialist party over here. What they may develop into with training I cannot say, but they will certainly have a great effect on the country's future.

A GUEST: Can you throw any light on the attitude of the Chinese?

The LECTURER: I can only say that the Chinese hate and loathe the Japanese, and much more now as the result of the war. There is no love lost between them.

ANOTHER GUEST: I should like to ask about the Japanese feeling towards Russia. One has to remember throughout that Russia has been the hereditary enemy, and I imagine she is so still. The obvious policy would be to provoke every kind of trouble between the Americans and Japanese. The Americans, I have been told, in the past were very pro-Chinese, but feeling against their foes is changing. Their love of the Chinese has diminished, and I imagine that in a few years' time the American dislike of the Japanese, or any vindictive feeling against them, will tend to disappear, especially if the tension line increases between the Soviet Union and the United States. I should like to know what the lecturer has to say about the Japanese general feeling towards the United States and Russia. The Japanese in the past have only admired one thing: the Japanese admire success, and have always done so. If they talk about England and democratic countries it is because democratic countries won the war. That there is no feeling of war guilt does not surprise me: there never has been in any country. I cannot help feeling that probably during the next few years the problem in the Far East is going to be the relations between Japanese and Americans, Japanese and Russians, and Americans and Russians.

The LECTURER: That is very true. The Japanese have always been



mistrustful of the Russians, and they are even more so now. It is very largely because there is much gossip as to what the Russians are doing in Corea. The ill feeling has increased, but it is possibly not so strong as the American feeling in many circles against Russia. In Japan, Americans are very much afraid of Russia, and believe she is keeping her eyes well open with regard to stepping into Japan herself. There are two points of view as to the Russian attitude towards Japan; but Russian help might be forced on the Japanese. The Japanese are generally fond of the Americans because they find them successful, rich, and much more lenient than was expected. That is one of the reasons they like MacArthur. They say, "If he should go what might we get in his place?" There is no question of being made to salute the Americans or anything of that sort. With regard to your remarks about democracy, I quite agree that the Japanese only admire success. It is our hope that we can prove to the Japanese that democracy would be as successful in their country as it has been in others.

Mr. P. B. HOME: How far down the line does the democratization process go? Is there any election for local government or is it only for central government?

The LECTURER: It goes right down the line; local elections and everything are supervised by local tribunals or local government officials. It permeates throughout every section of the community; it certainly is not only on the Government level. But it is awfully slow and there are no real signs of the thing taking much of a grip. However, the seeds are sown.

The CHAIRMAN: I know I speak for all of us when I say I have enormously enjoyed the lecture. It is very hard to choose any one passage in a lecture all of which has been so informative and intensely interesting, but I should like to refer to what was said about General MacArthur, who is, as was said, a great general and a great friend of this country. I think that passage in this talk has been particularly valuable, because there is no doubt that General MacArthur has not had a good Press in this country. There has been a lot of uninformed and ignorant criticism. That would be unfortunate in any case, but with General MacArthur it is doubly unfortunate because of the complex nature of his character. I have been reading a book about him by Andrew Grierson, who was in the forces under him and ended up in North-Western Europe. He was a great admirer and personal friend of MacArthur's. He describes his character as coldly logical on the one hand, and at the same time very sensitive and intuitive. General MacArthur watches the reaction in the Press all over the world, particularly in Britain, and is extremely easily hurt. That one particular point struck me as of extreme value in the talk given to us. The next thing is that the Lecturer has shown how MacArthur is busy putting up a bastion of Japanese democracy, always in the interest of the Western democracies and of Japan. On behalf of all I thank Brigadier Profumo very warmly.

# FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

**A**N account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to  $-5^{\circ}$  to  $-12^{\circ}$  F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about  $75^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$ . Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them. The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

light. It can easily be carried upon the shoulders and is not liable to get out of order. The iron point which contacts the furrow requires to be sharpened fairly frequently by the local blacksmith.

The ground is not much more than scratched, as it is dry and sandy, the furrow being only four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle. The clods of earth are broken with mattocks by the women, and it is not unusual to see villagers dragging a large bundle of thorns across the field to act as a harrow.

The weeding of fields is general but by no means universal in the country, and the necessity of taking advantage of every available article of food for the cattle leads to a regular and effective method of weeding the corn fields. About three weeks after the first blades of corn have pushed through the earth, women and children overrun the fields every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. The stems get disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders but are never really trodden down, and they recover their erect position in a few hours after the field has been watered. Another benefit of weeding the fields is that the corn gets the full power of the soil and an access of light and air is admitted to the roots of the plants.

The cereals grown in Ladakh are barley, wheat, buckwheat, mustard seed, peas, and beans. At villages not higher than 10,000 feet above sea-level it is usual to sow two crops annually. The first crop, which consists of barley, is sown on or about February 25, followed on August 25 by the sowing of a crop of buckwheat.

The order in which the various crops are sown is, first, beans, then wheat, peas, barley, mustard plant, and, lastly, buckwheat.

Barley is of two varieties, distinguished chiefly by the peculiarity of retaining or parting from the rough exterior capsule after the grain has left the ear. The first kind, called So-wa, is very much like the common barley grown in Europe. The second kind is called Shirok, of which there are five varieties—namely, (1) So Shirok, a slow or late barley; (2) Gyog Nas, quick or early barley; (3) Yangma or Yangkar, which is also early and of a whitish colour; (4) Nak Nas, black barley; (5) Drug-zur-Nas, or six-sided barley.

The husked barley has to be raised in places which are the warmest and most sheltered from the winds, and though the seeds of the Shirok can be sown in such situations the produce will be rough barley. The latter again yields naked barley at higher and colder altitudes, as in the lands round Leh (11,500 feet).

The So Shirok barley, or late barley, is sown in places where the temperature is not specially cold yet where the summer heat is not sufficient to permit the cultivation of two crops annually (one of barley and one of buckwheat).

The Gyog Nas is sown in very high altitudes (13,000 to 14,000 feet), where the days are very hot and the nights cold. It does not as a rule attain a greater height than one and a half feet.

Nas Yangma or Yangkar is cultivated everywhere and thrives in a temperate to warm climate. It is the favourite variety of barley, as its yield is good and little inferior to wheat. The porridge made from this

barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokhar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than seven-fold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

No matter where you go in the country you find that the people contrive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.



## BY JEEP TO CHITRAL

By LIEUT.-COLONEL V. PROUDLOCK

IT may be of interest to members to hear of a trip that has just been made to Chitral and back by jeep. This is only the second vehicle ever to have done the double journey.

It was at 6 a.m. on Thursday, October 24, 1946, that I left Peshawar in a jeep. The rest of the convoy consisted of a 15-cwt. Dodge with my W.S. 19, a very faithful wireless set which has never let me down, and three 15-cwt. Chevrolets, one carrying stores and petrol and the others a W.S. 19 and a W.S. 11 respectively.

About four miles south of the Malakand Pass the 15-cwt. Dodge truck with the stores ran into the inner gutter of the road. It was on the road again in a few minutes, but we could not take it on as the front spring was broken, so we transferred as much as possible of the load to the other trucks. We halted at the Dir State frontier levy post at Chakdara, about three miles beyond the fort, at 1 p.m. and left at 2 p.m., after tea with the Jemadar in charge. About forty-eight miles northward we ran into an electric storm and heavy rain, the first locally for seven months. The road rises all the way through beautiful mountainous country, well wooded with fir trees, and with a glimpse of the snow-covered Karakoram in the far distance. We reached Dir (4,624 feet and 161 miles from Peshawar) at 7.30 p.m., where we were met by the eldest son of the Nawab of Dir, Mohammad Shah Kusrao Khan Nawabzadeh, and were put up in the Nawab's guest-house. Beds were provided and an amazingly fine English dinner.

Next day Lieut.-Colonel F. D. Robertson of the Frontier Corps, one B.O.R., and I set off in the jeep with one W.S. 19. Our baggage went by coolies at 7 a.m. and the jeep at 9.30 a.m. The 2nd Mahsud Battalion, under Colonel Nath, are building the road, which has now got as far as five miles north of Dir, through the most terrific hills, and is wending its way up the Lowari Pass (10,230 feet). It has taken three years to build these five miles. Once the road is completed it will be child's play to do the trip by car. We went quite fast along the made road, rising about 1,000 feet. After that there is only a mule track to the summit, the only route into Chitral. We reached the top at 2.30 p.m., rising 6,000 feet, thus taking five hours to do fourteen miles. The other side is very much steeper, with a drop to Ziarat at 7,431 feet in four miles. The driving of the jeep over the pass was the most difficult I have ever experienced. Coming down we covered the descent in three hours; we had to build up a part of the road, which took three-quarters of an hour. We had been met at the top of the Lowari Pass by twenty men under a Jemadar of the Chitral Scouts, and an excellent tea of chupattis and boiled eggs was ready for us; we had had nothing to eat or drink since breakfast. The sun was just setting and the glow was marvellous on the snow-capped peaks on either side of the Lowari Pass and just above us—Ganesh Gar

(13,676 feet) two miles away as the crow flies, and Dabari Sar (13,439 feet). I took a couple of photos of this range.

We set off for Drosh as it was getting dark. The eighteen miles of road is motorable but very twisting. We arrived at 7.30 p.m. This is the headquarters of the Chitral Scouts and we stayed in their mess. I opened up on the W.S. 19 and got Peshawar, Landi Kotal, Abbotabad, Risalpur, Nowshera, and Kohat very clearly. I gave this W.S. 19 to the Chitral Scouts and installed it for them, it being the first set they have had so far. I also got through very clearly to Dir, who were using an old W.S. 11, which works almost as well as my W.S. 19. So in the end I also gave the Chitral Scouts two W.S. 11, for which they were very grateful.

On Sunday, October 27, 1946, we left Drosh (4,632 feet) in the jeep for Chitral town (4,840 feet), a distance of twenty-five miles, and we got there at 12.30 p.m. There we lunched with the Mehtar, His Highness Sir Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, K.B.E., who received us in his bedroom, as he had been very ill. His Prime Minister, Nazir-i-Alam Dilaram Khan, and the other ministers gave us a most excellent lunch, after which we went to say good-bye to His Highness, when I was presented with a length of tweed cloth and a *choga* (robe), both hand-woven in Chitral.

The view looking north and near the town is stupendous, with the snowclad Tirich Mir (25,426 feet) dominating Chitral. This beautiful State is to all intents and purposes cut off from India. The people talk a language of their own known as Khowar, and the majority are quite unable to understand Urdu or Pashtu.

At Chitral town I was fortunate in being able to take two photographs of Kafir women sitting beside the road, since these people seldom come to Chitral. They wear a curious black cap covered with cowrie shells; where the latter come from it is difficult to find out, as Kafiristan is many hundreds of miles from the sea.

On Monday, October 28, we started our return journey, stopping at Mirkhani, ten miles from Drosh, to inspect the Chitral Scouts fort, and reached Ziarat at 5 p.m. for the night. Next day, Colonel Robertson and twenty-five men of the Chitral Scouts took the jeep up the four miles to the Lowari Pass, taking two hours and five minutes, while to walk up took me two and a half hours, owing to the steepness of the climb. At the top of the pass, which marks the southern boundary of Chitral State, we said good-bye to the Scouts and drove down fourteen miles to Dir, where we were met by the 2nd Mahsud Battalion and were pulled across the river-bed to the end of the road.

At the Nawab's guest-house at Dir we were met by the Nawab's second son, a boy of sixteen, by name Mohammad Shah Budin Khan of Jandol, and the Nawab of Dir and Jandol, Sir Shah Jehan, K.B.E., himself paid us a visit after lunch. He presented each of us with a wonderfully embroidered *choga* and a round gold-embroidered cap. The conversation was interesting. He only spoke Urdu and Pashtu; neither he nor any of his sons have ever been to Chitral, though the eldest son is now visiting Peshawar.

# THOMAS HORTON OF QISHM\*

By V. H. DOWSON

## INTRODUCTION

ON pages 187 to 193 of Part One of *Colburn's United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal*, published by Hurst and Blackett, London, in February, 1868, there is an unsigned article entitled "A Renegade's Career." The bare facts of this biography, arranged, not as in the article, but chronologically, and stripped of the unknown author's embellishments and moral comments, are as follows:

## THE STORY

### *Newcastle*

The year before George III ascended the throne—that is to say, in A.D. 1759—there was born in Newcastle in England of poor but honest parents a certain Thomas Horton, named after his father and christened in the church of St. Nicholas. In 1771—that is, when the boy was about twelve years old—he was apprenticed to John Gillespie, described as also honest and as the head tailor and breeches-maker in the town, and whose shop was at the sign of the Golden Fleece in the Sandgate. In 1776, the year the Thirteen States declared themselves independent, when the lad was seventeen, and when he had come to enjoy the confidence of his master, he altered the amount of a cheque from £6 to £60 by adding a cipher to the figure and "ty" to the word. He kept the difference—namely, £54—and went to Stockholm on a collier.

### *Sweden*

In Stockholm, Horton soon spent his money, and then enlisted in the Swedish Army, where his youth and good looks attracted the attention of his captain's wife. The captain dying suddenly, Horton married the widow, and shortly afterwards was appointed lieutenant in the regiment.

### *Russia*

Suspicion concerning the captain's death having been aroused, Horton resigned from the Swedish Army and went with his wife to Moscow, intending to enter the Russian service, but, instead of doing so, opened a tavern on the north side of the Volga, where, combining smuggling with other means of making money, he speedily acquired much property. His wife, to whom he had given cause for jealousy, threatened to denounce him as the murderer of her former husband unless he mended his ways, so he murdered her the same night, tied up her body in a sack, which he threw in the river, the next day giving out that she had returned to her

\* This article embodies the substance of a lecture given at the British Institute, Basra, on October 29, 1946.

friends in Sweden. Three days later the sack was found by a fisherman, and the enclosed body was immediately recognized, whereupon Horton was arrested and accused of the murder. The proofs against him were overwhelming, the sack being identified as one he had borrowed from a neighbour the day before the woman was missed, and the piece of cord, with which its mouth had been tied, corresponding with another found in his possession and from which it had evidently been cut. Sentence of death was passed, but the judge, who had been bribed, caused the prisoner to be allowed to escape before it was carried out.

Horton reached the Crimea and joined a band of Tatars, of whom by his skill and daring he soon attained command. He was so active and his band caused so much trouble to the Russians that the Russian General induced him, by a bribe of 5,000 roubles and appointment to the Inspectorate of the Caspian Sea Coast, to betray his followers by causing them to fall into the General's hands; but, after three years as Inspector, Horton decamped with property to the value of 30,000 roubles.

### *Basra*

Our hero now renounced Christianity, and in the following year reached Basra, where he was regarded as an exemplary Muslim. Here with a large capital he began trading, and by the seeming honesty and justness of his dealings rapidly became one of the leading merchants, if not the leading one, of the town. He performed the pilgrimage to Mekka and assumed the title and turban of a hajji, thereby gaining still greater respect. The news of his conscientiousness spread so far that the Honourable East India Company, "anxious to have the commerce of the Sea of Oman in their hands," gave him their agency. Horton owned many ships of burthen and added to his wealth. The Deputy-Governor of Basra now seized for his own use the cargo of one of them on a frivolous pretext. Failing to secure redress, Horton secretly conveyed all his property on board his fleet, quarrelled with the Deputy-Governor at midday prayers in the mosque, stabbed him to the heart, and sailed from Basra, throwing himself on the mercy of the Shaikh of Kishmah.

### *Qishm*

The shaikh received Horton kindly, took him into favour, allowed him to buy land and slaves and to build vessels, and made him admiral of his navy. This consisted of seven pinks and proas, of twelve to sixteen guns, augmented by the hajji's to twelve; and with them the admiral committed many piracies, on one occasion capturing an armed brig belonging to the E.I.C.'s service, murdering all the officers and crew, and escaping punishment.

The shaikh, becoming afraid of the power and wealth of the hajji, which rivalled his own, issued a decree banishing him, and wrote him a letter announcing his suspension from office, permitting him to keep his money and goods, but ordering him to leave the island forthwith. To the letter he appended the fable of the snake and the fox and the Arab, the moral of which shows the fate of one whose kindness causes him to

cherish a being incapable of gratitude. On receipt of the letter Horton immediately marched into the interior with many followers, where he was joined by some of the chiefs, and seized hill forts. The shaikh set out against him with a force more than double the size of that of his opponent's, but Horton, who was the craftier and more courageous, and who had taken up an advantageous position, awaited the attack, and, in a pitched battle, defeated his adversary, who barely escaped with his life. Twelve hundred of the shaikh's followers were taken prisoner and shot, but the shaikh himself with thirty-five of his chiefs fortified themselves in the citadel of the town, presumably Inde. This Horton could not take, so by false promises he prevailed upon the defenders to surrender. All of them were then strangled; and, in 1795, at the age of about thirty-six, and nineteen years after his flight to Sweden, Horton made himself ruler of Kishmah.

His first step was to marry the shaikh's widow, his second to have himself proclaimed shaikh by the diwan. He now began to make himself popular. He amended the country's laws and severely punished those, no matter what their rank, who broke them. He made an excellent ruler and was respected and beloved by his subjects for his mercy and justice. The East India Company paid him a small sum for protecting from Malay pirates English vessels entering the gulf. In 1818 he had four wives and ten concubines.

#### *Visit of "Hope"*

In the same year the E.I.C.'s Sloop-of-War *Hope*, having been sent to cruise in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to protect English commerce, which was seriously interfered with by Malay and other pirates, struck a rock near the island of Kishmah. She was then run aground in a nearby narrow creek, but had scarcely touched shore when a company of soldiers marched down and lined the beach, thus preventing communication between the ship and the land. The captain was informed that he must write to the shaikh for permission before landing his crew or lightening his vessel. He accordingly sent him a request in English to be allowed to do so. In three days there came an answer giving the ship's company permission to land, ordering every facility to be given them to repair their ship, and inviting the captain and officers to proceed to the capital, there to be the guests of the shaikh. This invitation the officers accepted as they did not dare refuse. They were graciously received and lodged in the shaikh's palace, described as "a handsome but rather insecure edifice." The officers now learnt from an interpreter that their host was the Englishman Thomas Horton, who had become a rigid Muslim and who never spoke his native tongue, so that their conversation with him was always through an interpreter. The shaikh fêted the officers royally, and, having learnt that the ship's company numbered 120, sent them a present of that number of female slaves. These were delighted to be released from their bondage, though the captain was unwilling to accept them because of the responsibility they entailed, but, not wishing to offend the donor, he had no option but to take them with him to Bombay and to dispose of them there.

The story ends here, but the author adds the following description of Kishmah and its inhabitants.

### *Description of Qishm*

The island was called Indus or Kishmah and commanded the entrance to the Persian Gulf. It was about 100 miles in circumference, had many large villages but only one town, called Inde, situated on hills overlooking the sea on the south side, where the shaikh had his palace. This town, well built and well fortified, the natural defences being supplemented by those of art, and mounting upwards of ninety pieces of cannon on the parapets, might, in 1818, have been considered impregnable. The officers of *Hope* described it as "rather handsome, with well-furnished, gay shops, and streets of good width and regularly built." Martial law prevailed, and no one was allowed in the streets after sunset except the shaikh and his soldiers.

There were over 100,000 inhabitants on the island, a mixed breed of Malays, Persians, and Turks, who had nearly all the bad qualities of these races and few of their good ones. Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, is stated to have given a far from flattering account of his reception there by the ruler of the island.

### REASON FOR THE INVESTIGATION

That is the story published in *Colburn's Magazine* seventy-eight years ago. Because it was remarkable and because of its connection with the history of Basra and the Gulf, in which I am interested, I determined to try and discover more than was given here of the life of Thomas Horton, more especially in its Basra part.

Whence did the anonymous author obtain the story? All he says is, ". . . it was told by an officer of the *Hope* on its return to India, though from what source he gleaned it we are unable to say." The author, it will be noticed, does not say he himself was told it by the officer, nor does he say the officer recorded it anywhere in writing.

### CONSIDERATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE TRUTH OF THE STORY

From internal evidence, which I shall discuss later, I was inclined to believe that the story was untrue, or, at least, partly so, despite the air of truth imparted to it by its wealth of detail, had it not been for four considerations that appeared to me weighty.

The first of them was the nature of the journal in which the story was published. *Colburn's* was a sober magazine devoted to military, naval, and historical matters, often of a technical nature, but never to fiction. The second was the absence of any challenge to the authenticity of the story by later contributors to the journal. The third was that Curzon in his *Persia*, published in 1892, repeated the tale with the comment that it appeared to be authentic. Now Curzon was a person who wrote with care, whose opinion cannot lightly be set aside. Three other authors have also repeated the story, none in any way implying it was not true—Gosse in his *History of Piracy*, published in 1932, and Fuller and Leslie-Melville

in their *Pirate Harbours and their Secrets*, published in 1935. That the three last-named authors repeat the story with a few minor alterations is evidence not of disagreement but of carelessness. Furthermore, a writer signing himself A.R.L.M. (who may be Mr. Ronald Leslie-Melville), in the issue of June 30, 1934, of *Notes and Queries*, in the course of a short communication in which he outlines Horton's history as given in *Colburn* and in which he asks readers for further information, states that, though the writer's description of Kishm is at fault, yet there seems no reason to doubt the truth of the story. The fourth consideration is the support given by the Admiralty to the probability of Horton's connection with Qishm by their action in changing the name of the physical feature known in all the charts of the mouth of the Persian Gulf published between 1872 and 1916 as "Quoin Hill" to "Jabal Horton" in the 1924 edition. In passing, it is to be mentioned that the 1933 chart spells the name Hortan, but here presumably is only a copyist's error.

#### SEARCH FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

I now describe how I set about trying to gather more information on Horton. I know no Swedish or Russian, nor have I studied what has been written in English or French about those countries in the second half of the eighteenth century, so my efforts were directed towards elucidating only those episodes of Horton's life that took place in England, Basra, and Qishm.

One would naturally begin the search by consulting *The Encyclopædia Britannica* and *The Dictionary of National Biography*, but neither of these, nor any other encyclopædia or biographical dictionary or annual subject index of publications consulted or the British Museum subject index, mentioned Horton.

#### *Newcastle Records*

Baptismal records have been preserved in the cathedral church of St. Nicholas since 1558, but there is no mention in them of any Thomas Horton having been baptized there in 1759 or thereabouts. If the boy had been baptized in this church there is a likelihood that his parents would have been married there, but there is no record of any such marriage, or of the publication of banns for any Horton from 1574, when the old marriage and banns register begins, to 1812, when it ends.

In the hope that something might have been recorded of Thomas Horton the elder, the lists of the freemen of the city were searched, but, though they embrace the period 1409 to the end of the eighteenth century, the name Horton does not appear once; it seems, indeed, to be quite foreign to Newcastle. It then occurred to me that the name Horton in *Colburn* might have been spelled differently in the old registers, so a search was made for Howton, Houghton, and Harton, but without success. In the marriage register, however, three male Heatons are given, but either the dates of their marriages or their Christian names are such as to preclude the possibility of one of them being young Thomas's father.

used in Basra: possibly it is a corruption or a variant of the Christian Marqus; but if the form of the name does not allow us to determine with certainty the religion of its possessor the title at least suggests that he was not a Muslim.

### *Qishm Records*

Having drawn a blank in Newcastle and Basra, we now pursue our hero to Qishm.

Of the works I consulted to piece together the history of the island at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, I mention only the more useful—namely, the state papers of the Company, Wilson's *Persian Gulf*, Hill's *Piracy in Eastern Seas*, Miles's *Gulf Tribes*, Low's *Gulf Islands*, the same author's *Indian Navy*, and Dr. Jukes's report. The last is so important for our purpose that I must summarize a part of it.

This Dr. Jukes, who was dispatched by the Government of Bombay to Shiraz to reassure the Prince-Governor that the British were in Qishm solely to suppress piracy and that annexation was not contemplated, visited that island on his way, and, on August 14, 1821, reported on its history and ownership. He says the people of Qishm, dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of Mulla Husain, chief of the Bani Ma'in, in 1794 or 1795 (another account says in 1793 or 1794), invited Saiyid Sultan, the Shaikh of 'Uman, to annex the island. With this request the Saiyid complied; and he was still in possession of it at the time of Dr. Jukes's visit, though not living there, having appointed a connection of his by marriage, Shaikh 'Abd ar-Rahman Ma'ini, his resident governor. It is hardly to be believed that the Doctor, who had been specially deputed to study the history of Qishm, would have overlooked so important an event as its capture by an Englishman twenty-six years previously, if it had really occurred, yet he makes no mention of it. Moreover, the account in *Colburn* states that Horton was ruling in Qishm at least as late as 1818, only three years before Jukes's visit, but the Doctor's account, as already mentioned, is quite different.

### *"Hope" Records*

I now tried another way to confirm a part of the Qishm episodes: I searched the records of the India Office for *Hope's* log. In that dusty repository there are the logs of three of the Company's vessels of the name of *Hope* that voyaged between 1797 and 1856, but they were merchantmen, not sloops-of-war, and were either on the English or the China run, never reaching the Persian Gulf.

Low published a list of the ships of the Bombay Marine for 1802, which date is only sixteen years before the reported visit of *Hope* to Qishm, and the list reveals no sloop of that name; the sloops were *Mornington*, *Teignmouth*, and *Ternate*. Also I have received a letter from Dr. H. N. Randle, D.Phil., the Librarian at the India Office, in which he writes: "I have had the *India Register* for 1818 and 1819 looked up, and there is no *Hope* amongst the vessels of the Bombay Marine."

In the list of vessels built in the Bombay dockyard between 1736 and



1822 there is none called *Hope*, although apparently all, or almost all, the Company's sloops-of-war were then built there.

If, as it would appear from the foregoing, Horton never was on Qishm, why did the Admiralty in 1924 rename Quoin Hill Jabal Horton? To this question, which I put to them, they replied that the alteration was proposed by Commander C. S. Hickman, the commander of the Royal Indian Marine survey ship that surveyed the neighbourhood in 1918. I have not yet succeeded in establishing communication with this officer, or even in finding out if he is still alive, so for the present at least I am unable to state why he recommended the change; but I think it likely he came across, or his attention was drawn to, the account in *Colburn* or in one of the later copyists, and, without further verification, he accepted it as true, and then wished to perpetuate the memory of one he believed had had an important connection with the island whose waters he was surveying. The results of the Admiralty's 1924 excursion into historical research were not confined to the changing of the name of Quoin Hill to Jabal Horton; in the same year what had previously been blanks on the map of Qishm blossomed into Biscoe Bay, Jabal Biscoe, and Milne Head. None, however, would wish on historical grounds to deny to the memory of distinguished Political Residents the right to enshrinement amongst the place names of their consular district, whatever objection on political ones might be put forward by the sovereign power in whose territory the district lies.

#### INTERNAL EVIDENCE AGAINST THE TRUTH OF THE STORY

From the foregoing the conclusion that Thomas Horton is a myth appears inescapable. The internal evidence of parts of the story strengthens that conclusion. Firstly, the name of Horton's island is given as Kishma or Indus. Now, although Qishm has borne at least seven distinct names, spelled by various authors and cartographers in at least thirty different ways, the name "Indus" is not one of them. One would be tempted to believe that some other island, and not Qishm, was the scene of Horton's later life, were it not for the account's explicit statement that Kishmah commanded the entrance to the Persian Gulf; but, if we accept Kishmah as Qishm, the several references to Malay pirates, the mixture of Malays in the population, and to proas (Malay, outrigger, sailing canoes) become inexplicable. Turks, too. What were Turks doing down the Gulf? And is there any place in the world peopled by a mixed breed of Malays, Persians, and Turks? I think not.

If then the references to Malays lend support to the supposition that the author's Kishmah really lies in the East Indies, what are we to make of the references to Bruce's visit? This must incline us to the view that the island lies in the Red Sea, for a perusal of Bruce's travels with some care fails to reveal any evidence which can be adduced to show he was ever in the Persian Gulf.

As for the town of Inde, I can find no name resembling this either on the maps or in the list of place names of the island.

Three other minor matters in the account detract from its verisimilitude. The Company is said to have given Horton (who was in

There was a directory of Newcastle published in 1778, two years after young Thomas sailed for Sweden, but it contains no mention of Thomas Senior. It also contains no mention of John Gillespie, although it was certainly to have been expected that, had there really been a John Gillespie who was the head tailor and breeches-maker in the town at that time, his name would have appeared in it. In the church registers and in the lists of freemen, though the name Gillespie, spelled in various ways, is, unlike that of Horton, common, there is no John who could have been the head tailor in 1771, unless he who is shown, without mention of his trade, as having had his banns read in 1812 were he; but that is unlikely.

That the Sandgate was a known part of Newcastle in the second third of the eighteenth century is indicated by its being depicted on a map of the city published in 1769.

All then we can confirm about the Newcastle part of the story is that at the relevant time there was a church of St. Nicholas and there was a Sandgate and that Gillespie was a common Newcastle name.

### *Basra*

Having been unsuccessful in the search for corroboratory evidence of Horton's birth and early life, and, for the reason already given, having neglected any inquiry into the Swedish and Russian parts of the story, other than such a one as is included in the consultation of general reference works in English, I now turned to seek information about Horton in publications relating to Basra.

### *Date of Basra Residence*

Before describing how I set about that, I digress a moment to see how closely we can fix the dates of Horton's arrival in this town and of his departure hence. The anonymous author gives only two actual dates in his account, 1759, the date of Horton's birth, and 1771, the date he was apprenticed. He states, however, that the incident of the forgery took place five years after the boy was apprenticed. That gives us 1776. We can determine the date of *Hope's* visit to Qishm by the statement with which the story opens, which is, "Just fifty years ago, the Hon. E.I. Coy's sloop," etc. As the story was published in 1868 the visit must have been paid in 1818. The account further states that at the time of the visit Horton had been shaikh for twenty-three years, so he must have murdered his predecessor in 1795. Summarizing, we now have five dates:

Born	...	...	...	...	...	...	1759
Apprenticed	...	...	...	...	...	...	1771
Fled to Sweden	...	...	...	...	...	...	1776
Became Shaikh of Qishm	...	...	...	...	...	...	1795
Visit of <i>Hope</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1818

The Basra residence must thus have been between 1776 and 1795. We can still further narrow this interval from the statement that Horton spent three years as Inspector of the Coast of the Caspian Sea. The Basra residence must then have been between 1779 and 1795. How long should

be allowed for Horton's military service, for his tavern-keeping, for his sojourn with the Tatars, and for the period he spent as admiral of the Shaikh of Qishm's fleet we have no means of knowing. We can be reasonably sure only that the first three of these activities must have taken more than a year; indeed, the mere journey from Newcastle through Russia to Basra probably took a matter of several months. Furthermore, we are told that Horton renounced Christianity after leaving the Caspian and reached Basra the year following his renunciation, so we may conclude with some confidence that Horton's Basra residence did not begin before 1781, and probably not till a few years later, and ended not later than 1795, and probably a few years earlier. The Basra records, therefore, must be searched for the period of those fourteen intervening years.

### *Basra Records*

I have not come across any detailed Arabic, Basra history of the second half of the eighteenth century with the exception of that of Al-A'dhami, but both he and Longrigg are silent about our hero. The school histories, the '*Anwan al-Majd*' and *Zaki Salih*, give nothing to our purpose. We have, however, two excellent sources for Basra history in the period that concerns us, the E.I.C.'s records and the memoirs of travellers. At this time the dispatches of the Company's representatives here in our town were frequent and copious, and their contents have been made available in official digests; and at this time also the overland route between India and Europe through Basra was much used by Europeans, many of whom wrote books describing their travels, several of which contain accounts of Basra politics and affairs. It is hardly credible that no traveller would mention so strange and important an event, occurring at the time of his visit or shortly before it, as the murder of a deputy-governor by an Englishman, if it had really happened, especially when it is considered that several months were spent here by some of the sixteen European travellers from Irwin to Wellsted, who, between 1781 and 1830, visited the town and published their accounts of it, that some of the accounts are detailed, and that the total number of pages they devote between them to Basra affairs is as large as nearly 200, yet not one mentions Horton or the murder of a deputy-governor or the Company's agency as being in the hands of a Muslim apostate.

The actual words in *Colburn* concerning the last matter are, "His apparent conscientious method of dealing spread so far and wide that it got him the agency for the Hon. E.I. Coy.," etc. I am not clear what this means. Although the Company's representatives in Basra had previously been Agents, by 1781 the post here had been reduced to a Residency, and it remained such throughout the period during which Horton could have been in the neighbourhood. The Residents from 1781 to 1793 were Messrs. La Touche, Manesty, and Griffith, and when, in the latter year, Mr. Manesty moved the Residency to Kuwait, he does not appear to have appointed anyone answering to the description of Horton to represent the Company in Basra. At this period the Resident's local assistant was a *khwaja* named Marcar. This is not a Muslim name, nor is it one now

used in Basra: possibly it is a corruption or a variant of the Christian Marqus; but if the form of the name does not allow us to determine with certainty the religion of its possessor the title at least suggests that he was not a Muslim.

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As for the town of Inde, I can find no name resembling this either on the maps or in the list of place names of the island.

Three other minor matters in the account detract from its verisimilitude. The Company is said to have given Horton (who was in

Basra) their agency because they wanted to have the commerce of the Sea of 'Uman in their hands. In passing, it may be remarked that the term Sea of 'Uman does not appear in modern atlases: presumably what is meant is "Gulf of 'Uman." It is far from clear how an agent in Basra could secure that commerce for them; Masqat surely would have been the place to put him.

Again, the giving away of as many slave girls (our author, who has a flowery style, calls them "ebony angels") as 120 sounds improbable, so does the shooting of as many as 1,200 prisoners.

#### REASON FOR PUBLICATION OF STORY

We have now told the story, examined both the evidence in support and that against that part of it that is susceptible of examination with the resources at our disposal, and we have concluded that it is false. It is now natural to inquire, Why was it ever published? Did its author mean it as a joke, did he in error but good faith mix events from the lives of several men, or was his story an early example of some proto-Fascist's or proto-Communist's unscrupulous propaganda against the English in the Middle East? I do not know which, if any, of these explanations is right, but I incline to the opinion that the most probable is that the story was neither a joke nor propaganda but the recording by some too credulous listener of a drunken sailor's reminiscences mixed of fiction and of fact from many sources.

There were some real events in 'Iraqi, Gulf, and East-Indian history in the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century on which there could conceivably have been based some of those recorded in our story. There was the English pirate, William Davidson, who about 1789 (if my memory of his life serves me, for the notes I made on it I have lost) made himself ruler of an island in the Malay Archipelago; there was the Prussian, Baron Kniphausen, who, following a quarrel with the Mutasallim of Basra, retired from this town, seized Kharag Island in 1753, and from that base blockaded the Shatt al-'Arab until he brought the Mutasallim to terms; there was the notorious pirate, Shaikh Rahma bin Jabir of Qatar, who had many gruesome deeds to his discredit; there was the cruiser *Ariel*, which foundered near Kharag, and whose survivors were kindly entertained by the shaikh; there was the ousting of Mulla Husain from Qishm by Saiyid Sultan in 1793, 4, or 5, as has already been mentioned; there was the murder of Ahmad Pasha, Sulaiman Pasha's kahya, in Baghdad in 1796 by 'Ali, a Georgian slave, who the same night married Sulaiman's daughter; and there was the removal, to which reference has already been made, of Mr. Manesty's Residency from Basra to Kuwait in 1793 following a dispute with the Mutasallim.

There are similarities between events in the lives of the people mentioned in the previous paragraph and some recorded in "A Renegade's Career," but they are not striking enough for the suggested explanation of the origin of the tale to be completely satisfactory. We must conclude, therefore, not only that the story is untrue, but that the reason that prompted its publication remains undetermined.

## REVIEWS

**India : A Restatement.** By Sir Reginald Coupland, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Hon. D.Litt. (Durham). Pp. 288. Documents, statistics, index, maps. Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford). 1945. 12s. 6d.

The Indian debates in both Houses of Parliament in the early months of 1947, coupled, as they have been, with the communal disturbances in several Indian Provinces, have brought home to the well-informed and the un-informed the acute nature of the many-sided problems presented at this point in the history of the relations between British parliamentary democracy and the peoples of India. Professor Coupland's restatement will furnish both alike with a valuable summary of the facts covering a great part of the field relevant to an understanding of this relationship. This book, as he states in his preface, is an attempt to restate the main facts of India's connection with Britain as a whole, the historical background being sketched in and more attention being paid to other than constitutional questions than is the case in his three-volume *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India*.

The longer work was intended for students of politics and government, and took for granted a general knowledge of India's past and of the origin and character of the British Raj. But even the present single volume, which summarizes and, in the sense already mentioned, expands the dominant theme of the longer Report (the growth of Indian self-government), does not provide a complete treatment of the whole of the problem that is India.

The present book is divided into four parts, dealing with "The Process of Subjection," "The British Raj," "The Process of Liberation," and "The Future of India." After describing the beginnings and the expansion of the Raj, its political and economic aspects, and the difficulties in the way of an assessment of the resultant advantages and disadvantages to both countries, Professor Coupland goes on to discuss the problem of self-government, the birth of Indian nationalism, and the British response between 1861 and 1919, culminating in the "act of faith" evinced in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of the latter year. He outlines subsequent developments in considerable detail, bringing the story down to "The Present Situation" (*i.e.*, in September, 1945), and discussing the possibilities of a settlement between Indians such as would be required "in order to set India free." The final chapter deals with the conditions which appear to him to govern the question of a settlement between the Indian leaders and the British Government, in view of the latter's responsibilities, the honourable discharge of which he regards as involving certain obligations. These obligations include duties of defence, British treaty obligations towards the Indian Princes, British pledges to the minority communities, financial obligations, and the question of British trade with India. The position in regard to these matters leads to the question whether India will decide to remain within the British Commonwealth and an expression of the earnest hope of the British people that she will do so. This hope he describes as a matter of deep and genuine sentiment; and he associates it with the greatness of the conception of the Commonwealth and with the British tradition of service in India.

Professor Coupland's main theme is thus concerned with the development of the political situation and the long series of constitutional changes; but two secondary themes run through his book. The first is the persistence of the

British intention that India should eventually develop self-governing institutions. This (see document No. 2 at the end of the book) is traced back to Lord Hastings (1818), Sir Thomas Munro (1824), Lord Macaulay (in the House of Commons, 1833), and other prominent Englishmen. It will, indeed, have been obvious to every thinking man who ever served in India that it was the guiding principle of British rule, the spirit of which has been consistently and deeply opposed to the idea of permanent subjection. The Government of India, under the ultimate control of Parliament, has always been "the Government established by law" in British India. In order to understand the full significance of this, it will help if we attempt to imagine the very different system which would have prevailed if the opposite principle had been adopted on the basis of permanent subjection with its implication of autocracy. These considerations raise the question of the validity of Professor Coupland's thesis that a process of subjection has been followed by a process of liberation. Indeed, as he clearly recognizes, the early history of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, illustrates the great influence exercised by British ideas in bringing Indian nationalism to birth and in promoting its gradual development.

The other secondary theme is the Moslem reaction to the growing demand for self-government on the part of the predominantly Hindu Congress. As early as 1883 Sir Syed Ahmed, an Indian Moslem member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, believing that the Hindu programme spelt danger to his community, told the Moslems what would be the effects of Congress adherence to representative government in the British form. The system of election, pure and simple, he said, cannot safely be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community. The result of the Moslem reaction, largely inspired by his advice and direction, was the establishment of separate Moslem electorates.

The fact of separate electorates has, inevitably, dominated the whole course of constitutional development, and it continues to dominate the present situation. If the significance of this fact and the fundamental nature of its incompatibility with representative government in the British form have not always been generally or sufficiently recognized, either in England or in India, Professor Coupland would appear to be among those who have underrated it. His attitude on this point, also, may therefore call in question the validity of his treatment of his main theme—the development of the political situation and the series of constitutional changes.

The point is a crucial one, with supremely important bearings on the present relationship between the two Indian communities and on that between Britain and India. The conclusion is inescapable that so long as separate electorates hold the field Indian self-government—whatever form it may take—cannot closely follow the British model. As things are now, it is for Indians to say what the next step is to be. British political theory and British statesmen seem to have no promising constructive suggestion to offer at this moment, even though British interests are still closely bound up with the success of this great Indian experiment. Professor Coupland's comment—before the event—on the imposition of a time limit by the British Government is that such a pledge could not be given because, if it failed to achieve its purpose, it could not be kept. The British Government could not surrender its powers if there were no agreement among Indians or nobody to take them over. He himself does not go very clearly beyond the expression of the hope that India may remain within the Commonwealth. He says, however, that while the British Government cannot impose a settlement it could, at need, propose one for Indian consideration. He offers, not very hopefully, his own solution



on the lines of a minimal Central Agency in an Indian Union to include "a kind of Pakistan" different from that envisaged by the Moslem League.

The limits imposed by his treatment of the subject thus become apparent. His book is strictly a restatement; and a restatement covering only part of the subject of "India." While it deals with the historical background and other than constitutional questions, it does so in a limited sense only. It is obvious from the story as he develops it—particularly in those parts dealing with the later years of the British effort to prepare for the establishment of self-governing institutions—that there are factors in the situation not fully explained in this book. There are various references to the unreality of Indian politics, but there is no diagnosis of this unreality and its causes.

Perhaps an indication of the lines such a diagnosis would follow may be found not only in the crucial question of separate Moslem electorates, but also in such facts as the absence of any substantial political party to support the moderate or liberal leaders, the lack, broadly speaking, of constructive and progressive influence by Indian industrial and business leaders on the policies of the Congress and the League, the opposition of Indian politicians to India's war effort, and the complete absence of any positive effect in preventing the enlistment of an immense army of two million Indian volunteers.

In such circumstances the real nature of the forces behind Congress and the League and of their part in the Indian polity would appear to deserve a closer analytical study than it has received as a factor in the problem.

It is not within the scope of the Royal Central Asian Society to attempt such a study in order to suggest a solution, but its members must follow future developments closely in virtue of the fact that British interest in Central Asia arises, mainly and most directly, from the British position in India. Far-reaching changes in that position will affect all neighbouring countries. There are abiding basic factors, strategic, commercial and economic, as well as cultural, in the relationship between Britain and India; and this relationship began, as Professor Coupland suggests, with British interest in security for trade in India. This too is a theme which he does not follow to a very definite conclusion.

There are, then, matters in regard to which his treatment of the subject of India may be described as not fully comprehensive: those suggested above as explaining his "unreality" and those arising from the "abiding basic factors." The latter, and to some extent the former, involve India's position in world affairs and in relation to foreign Powers. His book deals with the constitutional, the internal, factors in the situation, and does not take into consideration in any comparable manner the inescapable external factors in which, however, permanent British as well as Indian interests are involved, and which should therefore be provided for by practical statesmanship. Immensely valuable as the book is as a restatement of the facts from a limited point of view, it presents one minor technical difficulty when used as a book of reference: its chronology is not always clearly set out, and it is sometimes necessary to read back for several pages in order to determine the exact period of the events under discussion.

J. C. CURRY.

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**The Man-Eaters of Kumaon.** By Lieutenant-Colonel J. Corbett. xvii + 212 pp. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

Nearly forty years ago there was published a most excellent book called *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo* by J. H. Patterson, and a number of Royal Central Asian Society members will probably remember it as being a very thrilling true story of the shooting of two man-eating lions, whose nightly raids on construction camps held up

the building of the Mombasa-Nairobi railway for several months. There have been many books on man-eaters and big-game shooting since this book appeared in 1908, but I would venture to say that not one approached it for real thrills until today when we have a book on much the same topic, except that the man-eaters in this case are tigers and tigresses.

Jim Corbett, or to give him his full title, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Corbett, was employed by the Indian Government in the 1920s and 1930s to eliminate several man-eaters, who were terrorizing several villages in the north-eastern part of the United Provinces. "Terrorizing" is the only word one can use in this connection; for one of the man-eaters, a tigress, had killed no less than 453 human beings before he shot her, whilst the activities of another, besides causing the complete evacuation of a village, had closed an important hill road for four years.

The book deals with the killing of eight tigers, all of whom had appalling records for man-eating, and the stalking of these beasts, until the opportunity occurred for the shot that killed, was in almost every case a most lengthy business and exceedingly dangerous. The average man-eater during his career of crime has had many narrow escapes, and slight wounds from the slug-loaded shot-guns of the villagers, and he is not taking any chances. If a drive through the jungle is organized he has a very shrewd idea that the best line of retreat is back through the beaters and not forward, and so for this reason the highly dangerous method of a one-man stalk was usually employed by Jim Corbett. It is those passages in the book where Corbett describes his feeling as he walks slowly down a tiger track in the jungle, sometimes moving crab-wise to face always the danger zone with the rifle at the ready, that cause the hair of the reader to rise on his scalp. The danger all the time is acute, for, though the tiger has a healthy respect for a skilled hunter armed with a weapon of precision, it is a respect which tells him that the best means of defence is attack, and on the many fruitless occasions when Corbett stalked the man-eater in the jungle he was very fully aware that he was being stalked himself!

Not only is the book remarkable on account of the material, but also because Corbett is a very excellent writer, and the volume is one of those which one cannot put down. I have read this reviewer's cliché so often, but, when I have begun to read the book which inspired it, have usually found it quite easy to put down. I will, however, stake my reputation as a reviewer that in this case the use of the cliché is justified, and that as the result many bedside lamps will remain switched on until the early hours of the morning. I am surprised that *The Man-Eaters of Kumaon* has not attracted the attention in this country which it undoubtedly deserves, and I recommend it most strongly to the readers of the Royal Central Asian Society Journal.

C. S. JARVIS.

**The Wild Green Earth.** By Bernard Fergusson. Pp. 288; 5 maps. Collins. December, 1946. 10s.

Bernard Fergusson dedicates this epic to the memory of all ranks of the Fifth Column and of the 11th Infantry Brigade who were killed or died, as free men or prisoners, during the expeditions into Burma of 1943 and 1944. "Truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out they might have had opportunity to have returned. . . . Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouth of lions, quenched the violence of fire . . . waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens . . . and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented . . . they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."

There could not be a better description of the experiences of that band of happy warriors. They suffered, it is true, but they found happiness in high endeavour and forgetfulness of self. That which was difficult was done immediately: that which was impossible was accomplished though it took longer.

Bernard Fergusson, now a Brigadier, crossed the Chindwin for a second time to operate behind the Japanese lines with a bigger and more comprehensive objective, in conjunction with General Slim's Fourteenth Army, though under the immediate direction, as before, of Wingate. That objective was, however, never fulfilled, for the untimely death of Wingate necessitated the withdrawal of the brigade. Was it, then, a failure? It was rather a change of plan and did not affect the final issue. The story of high endeavour, of ruthless discipline, of comradeship which overcame all difficulties, and of humour which would not be denied though facing overwhelming odds: this story will remain, live on, and uplift when the strategical aspect of the campaign has long ceased to interest all but the student.

The book is divided into two parts. First, are described the adventures of the brigade; from the crossing of the Chindwin, the periods spent at the semi-permanent bases of "Aberdeen" and Indaw inside the Japanese lines, to the anticlimax when Fergusson slept with his head on his hat for the last time in Burma; sleeping soundly till he was awakened to fly back to India. The second part consists of the lessons which he learnt: his estimate of his foe, and the fight against nature; the value of food and water; health in those primitive conditions; and the art of living and moving in forest.

This book is more than a valuable contribution to the literature of the war. It is a book to inspire and uplift and spur to effort. It is a book which every British father should give to his son.

The writer wondered when he first met Bernard Fergusson, on his return from active service, how long the attractions of life at home would claim him. The answer was not long in coming. The soldier has donned another uniform and is now second-in-command of the Palestine Police Force. May he "go with God" in that land whose holiness is now so sadly clouded by the mist of hatred and the evil spirit which lurks in the darkness.

J. S. S.

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**Studies in the Middle Way.** By Christmas Humphreys. Luzac and Co. 1946.

These essays are eminently readable and breathe the Buddhist spirit of sweet reasonableness. They should appeal to the person who seeks to know how the Buddha's teaching can help him to face the problems of every day, while he who is already familiar with it will find much to stimulate his thought.

Mr. Humphreys is obviously most attracted by the immediacy of Zen Buddhism, to which he devotes an admirable chapter. And his account of the religions of China is an excellent example of how much matter can be got into a small compass.

A volume such as this is particularly timely in a world which seems to have outworn many of its former convictions, and needs new faith to enable it to face the uncertain future.

H. O. C.

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**The Reddis of the Bison Hills.** By C. von Furer-Haimendorf. Foreword by J. P. Mills, C.I.E., I.C.S. Pp. 363. 85 illustrations and 5 maps. Macmillan, London. 1945. Rs. 20.

This masterly and fascinating study of a tribe of aboriginal Indians, living on the Eastern Ghats and maintaining themselves by primitive means or under the changing conditions brought about by contact with Hindu influences and modern economic and administrative developments, is of absorbing interest. It should appeal not only to the specialist or to the Indian administrator, but to everyone for whom the history of man's struggle with nature and the development of his civilizations have any meaning.

The Reddis live partly on the wild produce of the jungle and partly by a system of cultivation depending on methods which know nothing of the use of manure, draught animals or the plough. It consists in clearing a patch of forest, burning the wood and cropping for two or three seasons before shifting to new ground; and depends on a few simple instruments, the chief being the axe, billhook, sickle and

the digging-stick, which last ante-dates the hoe. The Reddi himself belongs to a culture stratum which is more ancient than the Dravidian civilization of India; and to him the coming of the Aryan is a thing of yesterday.

There are over twenty million members of aboriginal tribes of India, of which the Reddis are an important example. Their case shows the difficulties—and the danger of racial ruin—arising from contact with Hindu civilization and with modern conditions. That such a study has been made, and its results placed before the world in the form of this book, with its beautiful illustrations and lucid descriptive writing, under the auspices of the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, is an earnest of what can be expected from enlightened administration under Indian Princes. Moreover, the author's research into conditions of life among the Reddis has already had practical consequences in helping to bring about administrative measures, undertaken by H.E.H. Government for the protection of the aboriginals. This book is a wonderful piece of scientific analysis presented in the form of a finished work of art.

J. C. C.

**The Basis of Soviet Strength.** By George B. Cressey. Pp. 299. Illustrations and maps. Harrap. 1946. 15s.

**The Dark Side of the Moon.** With a Preface by T. S. Eliot. Pp. 232. Faber and Faber. 1946. 12s. 6d.

Both these books deal with conditions in Russia, and both were finished in the winter and spring of 1944-45.

*The Basis of Soviet Strength* is a well-documented factual survey of geological and physical reserves of the Soviet Union. It should be of value to those who teach geography, but it is too detailed to serve as a textbook.

*The Dark Side of the Moon* describes an inevitable tragedy with a surprising understanding, and at times sympathy with the motives of those who caused so much suffering.

Though *The Dark Side of the Moon* deals specifically with the problems which faced those who were deported from Poland in the early part of the war, it examines also some of the more difficult long-term problems which Russia has to face: it seems doubtful whether these can be treated in such a way as to allow that spiritual freedom to individuals which was the basis of the old European culture. Mr. Eliot, in his preface, states the problem clearly, and as to whether it is possible in these circumstances for the civilization of Europe to survive when "the chief centres of material power and wealth are elsewhere." Mr. Cressey's book shows how powerful the Soviet Union may become in the future, if she can make full use of her natural resources.

The two books are therefore complementary: both are written by outsiders who have first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia; in the one a sense of the importance of material, in the other of personal values predominates. Like Mr. Eliot, I would venture no opinion on the future influence of Russian values on European civilization as we have known it.

E. A.

**Americans in Persia.** By Arthur C. Millspaugh. ix and 293 pages. Illustrations. Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C. 1946.

Dr. Millspaugh served as Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia from 1922-27 and again from 1943-45, and his book is published by the Brookings Institute. This body announces as one of its primary purposes "to aid constructively in the development of sound national policies." This book seems intended therefore to be more than a recital of the causes leading to the failure of the Third American Financial Mission to Persia, and although deep and bitter criticisms and accusations are made, Dr. Millspaugh gives in the final chapter his proposals for the solution of the difficulties which now beset Persia and which may prove a source of conflict between the Three Great Powers.

The book opens with a brief description of the events leading to the First Ameri-

can Financial Mission of 1911, headed by W. Morgan Shuster. This came to an end after nine months, when an ultimatum from the Russian Government, backed by the deployment of troops towards Tehran, caused his retirement.

The Second American Mission, headed by Dr. Millspaugh himself, lasted from 1922-27, when "Reza Shah Pahlevi, possessed of a growing anti-foreign mania and a misplaced confidence in his own capacities, dismissed the Mission." There followed then the years of dictatorship under this despotic "unmoral" shah. "He was in some respects a great man, and in the sum of his qualities and achievements an extraordinary phenomenon." Dr. Millspaugh portrays the Shah with his "driving paternalism" as leaving the Persian people after his abdication "helpless, aimless, and irresponsible." It was to a country in such a condition that in 1943 Dr. Millspaugh was invited by the Persian Government to return at the head of a Third American Financial Mission. "Armed forces of Britain and Russia occupied the country. Insecurity prevailed. Prices were skyrocketing. Trade was in a slump and administration in chaos."

The Third Financial Mission followed the American tradition in Persia. Dr. Millspaugh was employed as a private individual in the service of the Persian Government, and the terms of his employment, which he negotiated directly with the Persian Government, gave him wide executive and administrative powers.

The main portion of the book is taken up with a description of the Mission, its progress and failure, and its relations with the Persian Government with the Occupying Powers. It is on the state and conditions of the Persian Government that Dr. Millspaugh makes his most severe and bitter accusations, and extending the analogy of Shuster's findings, published as *The Strangling of Persia*, suggests that "a nation may strangle itself, or at least adjust the noose that others tighten." He lays the blame for the lack of public morality at the door of Reza Shah. "The dictatorship destroyed both leaders and capacity for leadership. . . no new men of capacity and courage have appeared on the scene. For political leadership Persia is now using the vestiges of what it had twenty years ago, and it did not have much then." "In the Persian Government of 1943 dishonesty had become almost universal and practically a matter of routine." "Parliamentary disorganization, irresponsibility, incompetency and emotionalism contributed to the weakness, instability and timidity of the Cabinet." "During the two years of the Financial Mission, 1943 and 1944, we worked under four Prime Ministers and seven Ministers of Finance, to say nothing of two or three interregnums when we had no minister. A Cabinet usually fell when it had exhausted its power to supply the deputies with personal favours—never on a question of policy or principle except at those times when it had incurred the determined displeasure of the Soviet Embassy."

Such conditions alone would have been sufficient to have destroyed any hope of success the Mission may have had. The Mission, however, was opposed and attacked by all those who found profit or advantage in a weak Government. These included not only corrupt deputies and officials, but also the Soviet occupation forces, who showed an active and marked hostility towards the Mission. In a long chapter on Soviet aims and methods, Dr. Millspaugh accuses the Soviet Government of desiring a "thorough-going and exclusive domination over the entire country." "They intend that Persia shall be a puppet State, and until that end is attained the Soviet Government will not be interested in stability or good government in Persia. Chaos serves their purpose better than order. They want the kind of Government that can be purchased, hoodwinked, or intimidated." A sharp contrast is drawn between this and the British, who "looked forward to a self-governing and independent Persia, and would be content with equal economic opportunity." The Americans were indifferent and non-co-operative, and seemed to be activated mainly by a desire to avoid antagonizing the Russians. In view of all these obstacles and difficulties it is amazing that the Mission was able to carry on its work with some success for two years. This was perhaps due in no small measure to the high qualities, integrity, courage, and tact shown by Dr. Millspaugh himself.

As a way out of this conflict over the sovereignty of the Persian Government, Dr. Millspaugh suggests a three-power commission, depending for its authority and effectiveness on "openly stated and accepted executive functions or on the exercise of veiled and indirect but compelling influence." "An attempt to put foreign

control and foreign tutelage on an organized and rational basis." The necessary period to accomplish this task is estimated at 25-50 years. The success of such a plan depends on two factors. First, the willingness of Persia to co-operate, "acknowledging her weakness and her obligation to the world community . . . if she continued stubbornly to insist on her technical rights to sovereignty and non-interference in her internal affairs Persia can expect not less but more foreign interference." The second necessary factor is full agreement between the three great powers. "Moscow appears already to have accepted the alternative, a division of the world into two power blocs. If the United States and Britain decide likewise and act in accordance with the decision, they must draw a line around what they consider to be the Soviet world, and take their stand, together in uncompromising defence of that line."

While this book is of great value to all interested in Persian affairs, giving as it does so many details, experienced at first hand, of a critical period in Persian history, the impression made by the author is that of a deeply embittered man. The picture presented is painted harshly in black and white, without any varying intermediate greys, which are so necessary in portraying human weakness. The division of the world into two opposing power blocs is as yet premature, and should the Three Powers eventually reach an agreement or develop mutual understanding, it may be possible for Persia to develop herself without recourse to the drastic measures proposed.

A far-reaching paternalism, however benevolent, does not open an easy way to responsible self-government. If the Great Powers could show a high standard of international morality, Persia, co-operating in the various bodies of the United Nations Organization, may learn from their example.

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**Masterpieces of Persian Art.** By Arthur Upham Pope. Pp. vi and 204. 155 plates. Dryden Press, New York.

This book is the second of a series, *Masterpieces of Oriental Art*, to be produced by the American School for Asiatic Studies. The sections on Prehistoric Pottery, the Luristan Bronzes, and Sassanian Silver were contributed by Dr. Phyllis Ackermann, and those on the arts of the Book, Calligraphy, and Miniature Painting by Eric Schroeder. Dr. Upham Pope is the author of the introductory sections dealing with the History and the Significance of Persian Art, and of the remaining sections, the chief of which treat of Metalwork, Textiles, and Carpets. The book deals with the same subject as the monumental Survey of Persian Art in seven volumes, edited by Dr. Upham Pope.

While the book is based on the Exhibition of Persian Art held in New York in 1940, almost all the 163 folio plates (eight in colour) being of objects there exhibited, it is far more than a mere descriptive catalogue. It is indeed a critical study of Persian art through the ages, the objects depicted being used to explain and illustrate the principles—religious and cultural—underlying the art. Both London and Paris possess collections of Persian painting, which are believed to surpass those in America, while the author himself refers to the material in Leningrad, and says that to understand fully the art of Iran, especially in prehistoric pottery, Achæmenid sculpture, and mediæval ceramics, one must see the National Museum in Tehran. But he claims that the world's finest collection of Iranian art is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The wealth of Persian objects of art in public and private collections in America is such that they are representative of the best of Persian art in practically all its branches.

Most will agree in regarding Dr. Upham Pope's short chapter on the Significance of Persian Art as the most important in the book. Dr. Pope is an enthusiast, and some of his dictions may seem to need modification. He emphasizes the debt of the West to the East, but in the statement that "No important religion would now be what it is were the Persian contributions to be taken from it" the emphasis is perhaps exaggerated. His estimate of the civilization of early Persia will perhaps be questioned by those brought up in the Greek tradition: "The Achæmenid Empire was founded on a religious and ethical system deeper and truer than any which con-

trolled the external policies of any Greek city state. The corner-stones of this policy were racial and religious tolerance. Assyria had attempted a world empire based on "frightfulness"; it collapsed with startling suddenness, and in a few generations her great cities were merged with the dust of the land she oppressed so cruelly. But the Achæmenid Empire extended from Central Asia and the Indus to the Nile and the Ægean. By and large, peace and prosperity ruled throughout, and civilization made one of its great advances. Local religions and customs were respected and protected, exceptional regional autonomy was not only allowed but encouraged, and the obligation of the sovereign to promote "the welfare of his subjects was universally acknowledged and practised. For the hospitals, colleges, irrigation works, and transport facilities which the Persians built, including the first canal connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, the Egyptian inscriptions hail Darius as the 'Great Benefactor.'"

This passage is followed by a description and an appreciation of the Palace at Persepolis—"perhaps the world's most impressive 'ruin.' There is none of the coarse violence of so many of the Assyrian sculptures, with their gruesome scenes of torture, mutilation, and death. In place of horror and fear we have here a serene feeling of order, security, the awareness of a great and beneficent Presence which imparts to the whole scene a high seriousness. We see here a nobler conception of man; we feel the witness of a reasonable religion. That is the true index to the inner character of the Achæmenid régime."

Dr. Upham Pope's appreciation of Persian Art is sometimes highly coloured. But it is never superficial, and it is based on a knowledge and an understanding of the material of his subject, and on an enlightened study of the principles and purposes underlying its artistic expression, that will probably gain it the acceptance of all but the diehards of the Western tradition.

At the base of this art lay symbolism—symbolism sanctified by custom and religion. It followed that the end was decorative; but, as Dr. Pope says, this term is not adequate; "ornament" and "decoration" both imply an ancillary status. It is the art of true form as opposed to representational art. But he goes on with the following significant warning, which in itself is sufficient to show that his judgment is based on catholic, not to say conservative, principles: "The notion that the primary purpose of art is representation—a tacit assumption in the nineteenth century—has of late years been challenged with an impatience amounting to violence. The contrary and sound view that art is 'significant form' has, however, been pressed with extravagance and theoretical ignorance, with arguments riddled with fallacies, which have encouraged charlatanism amounting to delirium that has its roots in characteristic maladies of the age." The soberness of his judgment is further shown by his castigation of the high-falutin school of modern enthusiasts: he tells us that most of the stucco decoration in Sassanian and early Islamic buildings, in which some profess to see the beauty of primitive art, is battered and broken, and as sculpture is hopelessly commonplace and ugly.

While symbolism lay at the basis of Persian art, its dominant motive was æsthetic, and its purpose was to produce objects of beauty. This is especially true of the sixteenth century, the age of the flowering of art under the Safavis. In another of his writings Dr. Pope cautions us against those who would treat a beautiful Persian carpet as a glorified crossword puzzle: it is primarily a work of beauty; but to the Persian it would also stir up emotions that had their springs in religious tradition. Thus, in dealing with the American mate (unfortunately imperfect) of the famous Ardabil Mosque carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum, he explains that it represents the old Iranian notion of Paradise; the reward and rescue from the hardships of pilgrimage, surcease from pain and effort; while the pendant mosque lamp is a reminder of the sacred destiny of the carpet. This abstract representation of a garden as opposed to the formal garden carpet, the pictorial type, is further seen in the so-called Isfahans, of which America is fortunate in possessing in museums and private collections upwards of a thousand deserving the name. Of the so-called vase carpets, produced under Shah Abbas in the early seventeenth century and considered by some experienced connoisseurs to be the best of the Persian carpets, he says: "They are less dependent upon the minaturist and illuminator; they apparently have some connection with some of the rare painted mural ornament such as is to be found

in the late fifteenth-century mosque at Turbat-i-Haidari. They are in the grand style. While other carpets were tending towards more and more refinement, with the emphasis on elegance of detail, charm, and intimacy, these great carpets held to the other side of the Persian tradition, which preferred the robust and the monumental."

But, while Dr. Upham Pope is an enthusiastic admirer of Persian art, he is not blind to its limitations. His breadth of view is made manifest in the following: "Although it was in many respects, particularly in the designs of the great carpets, genuinely poetic, Persian art never achieved the suggestibility, the capacity to awaken echoes of the unseen, which characterized the greatest Chinese painting: and, despite one or two notable performances, in portraiture and the figural art Persia was almost wholly lacking . . . Although the formulæ which were developed in Persian art were numerous, effective, and sound, they too often became stereotyped and monotonous, and repressed freedom of observation and imagination."

The illustrations are excellent, and the whole get-up of the book, including the paper and printing, is calculated to excite the envy of those still restricted by war-time austerity.

F. B. PENDARVES LORY.

**Come Tell Me How You Live.** By Agatha Christie Mallowan. Pp. 191. Collins. 1946. 10s. 6d.

Some ten or twelve years ago an archæological expedition, led by M. E. L. Mallowan, staffed by Mr. Macartney, artist and architect, Hamoudi, guide, philosopher and friend, and by Mrs. Mallowan, set out from Beyrout with two cars, two drivers and a cook to that corner of Syria which borders on Iraq and Turkey, is watered by the Khabur and the Jaghjagha rivers, and is sparsely peopled by Bedouin, by small camps of displaced people, Assyrians and Armenians, with an occasional French police post and two small but flourishing new towns—Hasetche and Kamechlie. Kamechlie is on the Turkish border, and Nisibin, near by, is a station on the Turkish-Iraq (Berlin to Bagdad) railway. Although now so desolate, this plain was once quite densely populated, and on the banks of both rivers, and indeed far and wide, great Tells stand, giving evidence of buried towns and settlements and, as this was a highway of trade and early civilization, not only one town is hidden underneath, but one standing on the foundations of another, as London stands on the foundations of the Roman city; and as the Roman towns along the wall in the North of England are now covered with fields, so these, when they were abandoned, were gradually covered with earth. So little is known, and so much remains to be uncovered, that it is a paradise for the archæologist.

Mrs. Mallowan's narrative begins at the very beginning, with the buying of clothes, packing, travel to Beyrout, collecting the other members of the expedition and the cars and provisions. The journey to Aleppo, on through Palmyra to Der-ez-Zor, to Hasetche and so to the first camp, with its difficulties, its hotels, its heat, its headaches and its encounters bears the true traveller's touch—good to look back upon but not perhaps so amusing at the time. Arrived at their camp, the first three months were spent in exploring as many Tells as they could, to find out which promised to give the best results in as short a time and with as small an expenditure of effort and money as possible. When one wants to find out how the early men lived, built, made their pottery, and wove, it is sheer waste of time to dig through a large and well-built Roman town—and how much Rome had built here, and how solidly! Round and round innumerable mounds they walked, heads bent, eyes searching the ground for any signs which would help them, picking up figurines, bits of pottery, coins, but generally to the leader's disgust finding they were Roman. *Rome* was passed down the line, "*Min ziman er Rum,*" echoed Hamoudi distastefully. At last Chagar Bazar on the Khabur was picked out, with another Tell, Brak, on the Jaghjagha, for a further trial. Chagar Bazar had many advantages: it had not been occupied in force since about 1500 B.C., and gave promise of good results; there was water for the workmen, villages near by from which they would come to dig in between their harvesting, and a friendly Sheikh who would lend land on



which to build a house. In the meantime the expedition could enjoy "le camping" or take a local house. This was all arranged in the first season, and when they returned to dig in earnest carried through.

"It is good to have the Khatūn with us," said Hamoudi, the Khatūn always laughs—laughs and enjoys it all. Revelling in the lovely carpet of flowers which covered the plain in the spring, a reminder that they were in the fertile crescent, keeping an eye on the basket boys, piecing together bits of pottery, developing negatives and, in a "room of little ease," printing photographs, seeing to the household, noting down the idiosyncrasies of the members of the expedition and of the diggers, looking with an admiring eye at the magnificent Kurdish women, flaunting in many-coloured clothes, bullying their husbands, and thereby shocking the well-brought-up Arabs. Through it all, as Agatha Christie, she had to satisfy her publisher with more murder stories, though it may have been a little difficult in a land where murder is such an everyday occurrence, and so often and so casually acknowledged.

For a second and third season they worked at Chagar, and there is great satisfaction in the sentences which note their success. They had found new civilizations and the trade routes of the early people. "The entire lower half (after they had made a 'deep cut' from the top to virgin soil) was prehistoric. There are fifteen layers of successive occupation. Of these the lower ten are prehistoric. After 1500 B.C. the mound was abandoned, presumably because denudation had set in and the levels were no longer good. . . . One can make to oneself now a picture of Chagar as it must have been five to three thousand years ago. In the prehistoric times it must have been on a much-frequented caravan route, connecting Harran and Tell Halaf and on through the Jebel Sinjar into Iraq and the Tigris, and so to ancient Nineveh. It was one of a network of great trading centres." Descriptions of some of the finds follow, giving reality to the life that had been lived there. For the pundit there are the monographs published by the leader of the expedition, whose sixth sense, combined with his erudition, had led to such remarkable results.

Although the dig at Chagar eventually closed down, much remained to be done at Tell Brak, and a few weeks' work on the Balikh river also promised well, but the cataclysm of 1939 intervened.

Some day possibly the work may be taken up again and Mrs. Mallowan will have her wish—"Inshallah, I shall go there again"—and one hopes that the country will not have lost its charm, and the people their simplicity, that they may still be those "who know how to laugh and how to enjoy life; who are idle and gay, who have dignity, good manners, and a great sense of humour, and to whom death is not terrible."

A good book, and one for which we must all be grateful if only to learn that one civilization will follow another, but man remains, adapting himself to his surroundings, but connected with the far-away past by a remarkably simple thing, the design incised on the earliest pottery and still used by designers to-day.

**Lawrence the Rebel.** By Edward Robinson. Pp. 228. Lincoln-Prager. 1946.

The title of this volume may well arouse in a prospective reader the expectation of a personal study, and in his Introduction the author describes the book as a biography, which, he hopes, will help the man in the street to understand Lawrence.

The book is not a biography, and in the brief biographical details contained in its opening and closing pages there is nothing material not already well-known. The main portion describes—as is also foreshadowed in the Introduction—the politics attendant on the Sherifian campaign, the course of the campaign itself and Lawrence's part in it. The author amplifies, and in some cases clarifies portions of *Seven Pillars* by adding details of incidents collected from various records, books and other sources. In that sense the book is interesting, as a part record of certain phases of the historic campaign, naturally omitting several other phases and losing the literary power of *Seven Pillars*. As an addition to knowledge of Lawrence, as an individual or personal record, the book is of little value.

**Recipes from Baghdad.** Edited by May H. Beattie. Pp. 163 and xi. The Iraq Government Press, Baghdad. 1946.

This pleasant book, the result, as Lady Cornwallis says in her Foreword, "of friendly co-operation between Iraqi and British housewives, with help from the ladies of other nations," was compiled and sold in Baghdad for the benefit of the Red Cross, and we hear that it was in so much demand that a large edition sold out quickly.

Let us hope that some English publisher may decide to re-issue, for this is not only a collection of recipes Oriental and Occidental, but contains much lore of interest associated with some Arab dishes and beverages. We have, for instance, not only a careful examination of methods of preparing and brewing coffee, but an enumeration of the utensils used in its making, its social significance and tribal etiquette attached to its serving and drinking. The various kinds of curdled milk, laban and yoghurt, and how these are made are described, showing that the lactobacillus must be courted with great care and skill.

Those who have eaten of that delicious sweetmeat known as manna (*mann as-sama'*) when they turn to the recipe for collecting and making it, will find out why the Israelites gathered the precious gum off the ground instead of picking it off the trees—probably tamarisks.

In these days of meagre larders and carefully counted coupons such a book as this sets before us a Barmecide feast. The recipe for cooking manna, for instance, begins in a light-hearted way: "Take twelve kilos of manna, *a hundred eggs*. . .!"

A number of the recipes, however, can be read less wistfully, and Mrs. Beattie offers us many enchanting-sounding dishes which are within the scope of a post-war British kitchen, and her directions for measuring and method are always precise and clear.

A word of praise should be added for the clever illustrations by the Iraqi caricaturist, Suad Salim.

The book has been honoured by a charming introduction by H.M. the Queen Mother of Iraq, who summarizes the history of Arab culinary art from the time of the Caliphs up till to-day.

**The Agricultural Development of the Middle East.** By B. A. Keen, D.Sc., F.R.S. H.M. Stationery Office.

This is one of four reports prepared for the Middle East Supply Centre during 1943-45, representing the distillation of the evidence and views collected by experts of the Centre on the general problem of increasing the production of food in the Middle East. Though these reports originated from the special circumstances of the war and the need to relieve shipping difficulties by raising local production, the authors had the future very much in mind, and Dr. Keen's contribution to the series is just as relevant to the problems of to-day and the future as to those of the war. The Centre was established in 1941 and became a joint Anglo-American agency in 1942. In 1943 the appointment of a Scientific Advisory Mission to the Centre was agreed to, and Dr. Keen, then assistant director of the Rothamstead Experimental Station, went out among the first members of the Mission. He started his tour in October, 1943, and returned to England in January, 1945. He had not previously had specialized knowledge of the region.

The title of the report does less than justice to the span of the survey. Geographically the scope is much wider than what is generally understood by the term "Middle East," stretching from Cyprus in the north to the Sudan and Ethiopia in the south and from Persia in the east to Tripolitania in the west. Fourteen countries with seventy million inhabitants—Arabs, Egyptians, Persians, Abyssinians, Muslims, Christians, Jews, with British, French, Italian and other Western influences superimposed. Faced with such a geographical and racial range an agriculturist might well have sought to bring his subject into manageable terms by reducing it to the common denominator of science pure and simple. But Dr. Keen found that "to deal with the problems primarily from the scientific and technical aspects—vital though these are—would give insufficient emphasis to the real situation." Therefore he has

first dealt with the social and economic aspects, and by so doing he gives the flat scientific side of the question a third dimension, so that it stands out with the clarity of a stereoscopic picture, in proper relation to the whole range of the social and administrative structure.

After a brief factual outline survey of the conditions of agriculture in each of the countries, Dr. Keen goes on to a diagnosis of the obstacles to agricultural improvement. Fundamentally, he says, the universal obstacle is the system of land tenure with its insecurity and its inevitable drift towards fragmentation, which leaves no incentive to the farmer to improve his land or his methods. Technical difficulties are a second obstacle, and these derive mainly from the mediæval system of agriculture and also from the climate with its hot, dry summer which predominates over most of the area and imposes a dry-farming system.

Economic difficulties are also present. Industry is hardly likely to develop at a rate adequate to match the pressing need for agricultural improvement. But the agricultural system as it is can give no more than a low subsistence level, incapable of supporting the rapidly increasing population, and he feels that special attention should be given to agricultural development even though ideally this and industrial development ought to go together.

He examines the problem of raising the agricultural standard from two angles. First, by developing a better structure, and second, by improving the existing system. New systems could be started in the relatively undeveloped areas, where established custom is not a bar (it is not expedient to introduce a new system in an area where the old one operates until it is ripe for an evolutionary change). In a very instructive chapter Dr. Keen analyses all the large-scale agricultural experiments, such as the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, the Italian colonization schemes in Libya, the Latifiyah Estates in Iraq, the Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine. He finds a dominant feature—namely, the common services (provided by the organizations concerned), which are essential to success, and can only be provided collectively, such as marketing, grading, inspection, publicity, introduction of better varieties and improved stock. He concludes as a practical policy that the Governments might set up Public Utility Corporations to develop selected areas in this way. These would serve as demonstrations to the neighbouring traditional areas, who would learn by the example and thus undergo an evolutionary change towards better methods.

As regards improving the existing system, the problem as Dr. Keen sees it is twofold. First, the introduction of changes which could be absorbed by adult farmers without too much difficulty; and second, to foster evolutionary changes. Improved varieties and stock come in the first category. The evolutionary changes would all be in essence educational, especially of the children, and would apply not only to the farmers' children, but also to those of the landowner classes.

But it is not only the farmers themselves who have to learn new things and to cast off traditional practices instinctively applied. Dr. Keen has some lessons for the experts too, of which the following are examples. Most British officials regard public works as things which should be standing examples of amplex and solidity, but Dr. Keen instances a case where a village school garden was supplied with a chicken house costing as much as a fellah's yearly income, which antagonized the parents and defeated its object; the lack of humus as a factor in poverty of the land is a very common belief among Middle East officials, and many readers will be surprised to hear that Dr. Keen cannot take it for granted that the organic content of these dry-farmed soils ought to be increased, and is prepared to contemplate that the peasants' custom of using dung for fuel is defensible: Erosion problems, he says, are widespread, but "it is not certain that erosion is rapidly increasing, and in many instances it seems to be in a state of dynamic equilibrium." The irrigation engineer may sometimes apply a traditional remedy such as an expensive drainage system, in cases where the soil scientist, if called in to advise, would rightly recommend against such a course. The primitive implements of the fellah, especially the nail plough, have come in for much criticism in the past, which would not be so positive to-day; the baladi goat is viewed with the sternest official disfavour, but he is part and parcel of the farmer's economy and cannot merely be eliminated.

The lesson to be learned by the officials and the experts of the countries concerned is very clear: technical problems can seldom be detached from the inter-related social system and dealt with in vacuo on a purely technical basis. "The system may, indeed, have got into a vicious circle, but it is a complete circle and must be dealt with as such."

To have covered the ground and the subjects of his report in no more than 116 pages, to which are added an excellent selection of representative photographs, is a remarkable achievement. That it is a model of its kind is due very largely to the fact that Dr. Keen has studied the social environment first, and has related every aspect of his scientific study to this unifying human framework. By so doing he has imbued the whole subject with a human interest against which even an analysis of shavings from the hard dom palm-nut or statistics of the egg-laying capacity of the baladi fowl can be read by a layman with attention and interest.

There are few officials, whether technical or administrative, in the Middle East who can neglect, after reading this report, to ask themselves some searching questions as to the real justification for their accepted formulæ. There can be few, whatever the nature of their interest in the Middle East, who will not find some relevant and thought-provoking matter in Dr. Keen's report.

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The Bulletin of the Iranian Institute of New York, Vol. VI, No. 1, for December, 1946, describes, with photographic illustrations, a number of important Persian works of art, especially some now on exhibition in Teheran. There is also a paper on recent Russian research into prehistoric Asiatic life which is of great importance, and which tends to support the view that "there was in the prehistoric periods, from at least late paleolithic times on, One World to a degree unequalled in any historical epoch."

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The British Glaciological Society, c/o the Royal Geographical Society, published the first number of their Journal in January, 1947, in which papers on Extrusion Flow in Glaciers, by G. Seligman, and a report on a new method of glacier examination by means of a glacier pot-hole, will be of especial interest to members of this Society.

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The Middle East Society of Jerusalem, P.O.B. 7050, Jerusalem, was founded just over a year ago, and published the first number of its Journal for October-December, 1946. This contains articles on such various subjects as the Sultan Abdul Hamid Land Case, by Professor N. Bentwich; the Work of an Intelligence Officer, by the Hon. M. Charteris; and Soil Conservation, by G. N. Sale, with some equally authoritative and interesting papers on historical subjects. The annual subscription is £P. 1.

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The British School of Archæology in Iraq, 20, Wilton Street, S.W. 1, published at the close of 1946 Volume VIII of *Iraq*, the previous volume of which appeared in 1940. In addition to reports on excavations, this issue includes a most interesting paper by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop on daggers and swords in Western Asia before 600 B.C. Notice is also given of a studentship offered by the school in 1947-48 of the value of £250, with a supplement for travelling expenses. Candidates must be between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five and of British nationality, and intend research relating to the antiquities of Iraq or Syria.

## CORRESPONDENCE

In a letter acknowledging a copy of the review of his recent book, *Rural Education and Welfare in the Middle East*, which appeared in the last number of the Journal, Dr. H. B. Allen, Director of Education, Near East Foundation, New York, writes:

"Your review re-emphasized several of the points which I am anxious to bring out. When I visited Palestine in 1944 I noted the great progress in the rural schools, as mentioned in the report which you reviewed. I discussed this at great length with Mr. Farrell. I pointed out that it seemed to me they had reached a point where the village school agricultural teacher could do more for the whole community—the adult, the out-of-school youth, etc. Frequently, as you know, the agricultural teacher does a lot of other teaching. It seemed to me that in some places the experiment might be tried of having him devote all his time to agriculture and exclude most of these other things.

"Mr. Farrell agreed that something might be done for the youth who is not at school. I told Mr. Farrell that Palestine was far *ahead* of America in the field of school gardens, relating the village school curriculum to the village life, etc.

On the other hand, I explained that we had made rather unusual progress in dealing with the out-of-school farm youth, and that we should be glad to give one of his best men a scholarship to study this feature if he should ever wish to have this done. About a year later Mr. Farrell wrote asking if my offer was still good. I took the matter up with our board, and they were delighted to provide such a scholarship. Last April the man arrived. He was placed at a University in one of the States where the best work is being done in the field of agricultural education, particularly for farm boys not in school. The man selected was Mr. Rashad Sa'ad-ed-Din, one of the three assistant garden supervisors in Palestine. He is here on a one-year scholarship, which will expire this coming June, and has made so good a record that the University is going to give him a degree before he leaves. When he returns to Palestine I am hoping that at least one village school might be selected for a little experiment in a wider approach to community problems, with particular reference to the youth not in school up to, say, eighteen or twenty years of age."

H. B. ALLEN.

Mr. Farrell adds the following information:

"In recent years the co-operation between the Departments of Education and Agriculture has been very close at high levels. The main difficulty of the Education Department was lack of money: what money there was had to be spent on school children, not on adults. Further, from 1936-41 the Kadoorie Agricultural School, which was not under the Department of Education, but was expected to produce teachers of elementary agriculture for the primary schools, was generally in military occupation. Not long after the re-occupation of the Kadoorie School by the Department of Agriculture the Director transferred it of his own motion to the Educational Department. Since then there has been a regular flow of teachers trained in agriculture and pedagogics for service in rural schools. These teachers are regarded not merely as schoolmasters, but as local resident agents for the Agricultural Officer of the district. The care of young farmers and the instruction of adults is in the hands of the Department of Agriculture, but has been much obstructed by war conditions, lack of money and changes of British personnel.

"The relations between our Department and Dr. Allen were extremely cordial, and we were most grateful for his advice, assistance and encouragement."

THE EDITOR,  
JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

SIR,

I should be grateful if you would kindly publish the following comments on Mr. Ionides' article, which appeared in the July-October issue of your esteemed Journal.

Mr. Ionides, in his lecture on the Water Development of Palestine and Trans-jordan, accuses the Zionists of wilfully rejecting any economic basis for their estimates, particularly as regards the absorptive capacity of Palestine. Mr. Ionides' far-fung statement only discloses his complete unfamiliarity with conditions in Palestine. It is true that the decisions of Zionist bodies to buy land from Arabs, frequently at exorbitant prices, and to settle newcomers in areas not yet properly developed or equipped, were not primarily dictated by business considerations. But these activities—which incidentally were financed entirely from Zionist funds—cannot be judged from the economic angle of a private investor set upon immediate returns. They have to be seen in their long-term effect, where economics, and with it economic criteria, come in again. The history of Zionist settlement activities testifies to the soundness of their procedure. One of the conspicuous results of Jewish reconstruction work in Palestine is the rise in the standard of living of the total population accompanied by an expansion of the "living space" of the country. Since 1930 Palestine's total population has increased by not less than 800,000 people, whose economic position can stand any comparison with that of the populations in neighbouring countries.

Much has already been said and written on these and cognate subjects, but the manner in which Mr. Ionides treated the questions of land and water calls for a more detailed answer. In writing "what one can say absolutely definitely is that in determining the policy of Palestine it must be assumed that Palestine is agriculturally saturated" he completely ignores one thing—namely, that only a very small part of the irrigable area of Palestine is actually irrigated, and that there are still large areas of cultivable, but as yet uncultivated, land available in the country. The Royal Commission, an authoritative body, though cautious, was far more optimistic in its report, which says that the extent of the cultivable land cannot be estimated with any accuracy. This depends on "irrigation and the improved use of available water supplies, on the draining marshy areas, and on the adoption of new methods of agriculture, more especially in the hills. These last in turn depend on the amount of capital available." Zionist activity in this field has largely been determined by such considerations. The basic misconception under which a good many observers, Mr. Ionides among them, are labouring, consists in their regarding certain data relative to the extent of the cultivable area, marketing conditions, etc., as fixed and unalterable. As a matter of fact, those essential factors of the Palestinian economy have undergone a steady change brought about by the advance in scientific technique, the increased application of capital and the extension of the market.

To deal with some specific contentions:

(1) Mr. Ionides writes: "The agricultural development of Palestine . . . is at the root of the whole question of the absorptive capacity of the country. The Zionists in their publications have always maintained that." It is true that in Zionist publications of a generation ago great stress was laid on the rôle of agriculture in the regeneration of the Jewish people in Palestine. However, as a result of modern trends in developed economies, the ratio of agricultural to industrial activity has been markedly in favour of the latter, and modern economic thought regards this shift as inevitable. Persons engaged in agriculture in Jewish Palestine today form about 16 per cent. of total Jewish earners; and Zionist plans envisage even a slight reduction in this percentage. In the United Kingdom the corresponding proportion is 6 per cent., in the U.S.A. 20 per cent., in Australia 25 per cent.

It is further misleading to say that the population employed in agriculture proper amounts to-day to 870,000. This figure refers to the rural population as a whole, and not to the agriculturists whose number is considerably smaller owing to the growing importance of non-agricultural pursuits in the countryside: their share in the total will probably drop still more in the coming years.

(2) The absorptive capacity of the country for agriculturists is far higher than indicated by Mr. Ionides for the following reasons: Mr. Ionides bases his computation of the agricultural absorptive capacity of Palestine on the assumption that "10,000 cubic metres (of water) per head of agricultural population" are needed. As a matter of fact, less than half this quantity is annually consumed in Jewish agriculture, and Palestinian experts believe that there are possibilities for further reducing the amount of water per dunam through improved methods of water distribution. Obviously, therefore, calculations which are based on such an excessive consumption of water must be wrong. Moreover, Mr. Ionides has based all his calculations on water duty in the Jordan valley, which is the hottest part of Palestine, with, consequently, the highest water duty. Water duty, in addition, depends on the kind of plant grown, bananas, for example, requiring more than citrus, etc. Hence exact figures for water consumption cannot be computed unless locality, kind of plant, etc., are taken into account.

(3) Mr. Ionides refers to a plan to buy water from surrounding countries, adding: "It is an extension of the principle of immigration into the neighbouring countries." It is difficult to see how an agreement for the sale of a surplus product can be compared with immigration. With the same logic it could be contended that British purchases of Egyptian cotton are tantamount to British immigration into Egypt.

(4) With regard to the irrigation plans of the American experts, Mr. Ionides says: "Their estimates of water supply are inflated. They have taken all sorts of chances in their assumption. It is rather as if a bridge-player assumed he was going to get through a whole season, winning every finesse in every rubber." Mr. Ionides failed to give facts in support of this statement. Messrs. Savage and Hays, who rank among the foremost irrigation engineers of our time, have produced detailed plans, and it is with these that Mr. Ionides ought to have concerned himself when challenging their scheme.

(5) Mr. Ionides also said: "In point of fact, the figure of cost quoted by the papers to-day—whether it comes from the Anglo-American Committee or not I do not know—is £70,000,000 for this scheme, which, under the Savage and Hays plan is to irrigate about 2,500,000 dunams. This works out at about £25 to £30 a dunam; in other words, £100 for capital works alone." As a matter of fact, the Hays plan, the cost of which has been estimated at less than £50,000,000 (pre-war prices), will include also the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal and the cost of power schemes. Thus the price of water, based on full amortization of all investments and 3 per cent. interest, will be in the neighbourhood of 2 mils per cubic metre—that is, not higher than water prices in California.

(6) On well-boring in the Negeb, Mr. Ionides said: "All that was gone into in 1937 and 1938. Lots of wells were drilled, but the water was mostly brackish or in small quantities, or both." In fact, the well-boring programme of the Government (by no means a big one) was interrupted by the outbreak of war, and has not yet been completed. In all, twelve bore holes were made in an area of 12.5 million dunams.

I have the honour to be

Yours truly,

(Signed) ALFRED BONNÉ.

SIR,

Dr. Bonn  takes me up on a number of points, not all of which are to be found in my lecture. But he does not explicitly dispute my main thesis, which was that the potentialities of agricultural development through irrigation are not sufficient even for the existing population and their children. Consequently, if new immigrants are put on the land others will increasingly be forced off it. They must tend to seek employment in industry, and to the extent that they do so the proportionate employment in the two sections will swing towards industry. Dr. Bonn  says that "modern economic thought regards this shift as inevitable," and he seems to envisage much the same state of affairs as I outlined. Whether or not industry in Palestine can absorb an increasing proportion of a rapidly increasing population is another matter which does not affect my main thesis. But we in England are learning how

perilous an economy can be when it relies on food supplies from overseas, and we have only to retain our industrial exports, not to build them up virtually from scratch as Palestine must do—and in an unfavourable regional market at that.

As regards the economic basis of Zionist development projects, Dr. Bonné says: "These activities . . . cannot be judged from the economic angle of a private investor set upon immediate returns. They have to be seen in their long-term effects where economics, and . . . economic criteria, *comes in again*" (my italics). He seems to me to be saying, as I did, that normal economic considerations are not present, using the word "normal" in the sense in which it applies to other Middle Eastern countries and to the Arab part of Palestine, who do have to judge from the economic angle of an investor, and do have to look to immediate returns.

I did not ignore the fact that there are potentialities for irrigation development in Palestine. On the contrary, I said (page 273 of the Journal): "Obviously there are many possibilities of development." The point—which Dr. Bonné evades—is the relation of these possibilities to the needs of the existing population and their children, which should form a first charge on them. Dr. Bonné overstrains his interpretation of the Royal Commission's Report. This, at any rate, is a plain question of fact. They were at great pains not to commit themselves to any assessment of the possibilities of irrigation development. They were neither optimistic nor pessimistic. They said quite simply that they did not know, and recommended that a hydrographic survey should be put in hand at once to find out. Why does Dr. Bonné not mention the Partition Commission's Report, which gave in essence the results of that hydrographic survey, which took place in 1937 and 1938? To quote only the Royal Commission is like quoting terms of reference and ignoring the investigation itself.

My figure of 10,000 cubic metres per head was not based on irrigation in the Jordan Valley, as Dr. Bonné will see if he will read the second paragraph on page 272 once more. I have no doubt that there are statistics which could be used to support the belief that half this quantity of water will suffice for certain agricultural uses with certain irrigation needs under certain rainfall conditions to add to the supply, under certain market conditions and with certain conditions as regards the write-off of capital charges; it is a very different thing to apply such figures to a comprehensive project for the entire irrigation resources of the country, for Arabs and Jews alike with their very different economies, and as a basis for their support for generations to come in a very uncertain future. The most positive thing the Royal Commission said about irrigation possibilities was in their final and formal conclusions (page 369, Cmd. 5479): "Definite proof of irrigation facilities should be obtained before any additional settlers are allowed upon the land." That was what the Royal Commission, whom Dr. Bonné regards as authoritative, said ten years ago. Since then the population has grown greatly and is continuing to grow.

My point about taking water from the neighbouring Arab States was fairly clear, I think. The Zionists seem to claim that any water which is not being fully used at the moment is "surplus" in the sense that it ought to be diverted for the support of Jewish immigrants. Does he think that Arab countries ought not to expect to keep reserves for their own rapidly expanding populations? By including in the J.V.A. project Transjordan's share of the Jordan, for example, the Zionists are in effect proposing to transfer the corresponding area of potential irrigable land out of Transjordan and into Palestine—and already in 1938 there was land hunger in Transjordan as the Partition Commission reported. And water is not a "product" however "surplus" it may be; in the semi-arid Middle East water is the most important of a country's *capital* resources. Dr. Bonné embraces a very strange economic principle in his choice of analogy.

My criticisms of the J.V.A. project were on its hydrological aspects. The project is an exhaustive one, and its implicit hydrological assumptions can therefore be examined, even though only the global figure of the water estimated for is generally known at present. Dr. Bonné refers to detailed plans. It would be very interesting to see them. I would like to know, for example, what stream flow has been assumed (both groundwater flow and flood flow) for the various rivers, streams, and springs; what seasonal and annual variations have been taken into account; what margin has been allowed for cyclical variations; what allowance has been



made for evaporation and absorption in reservoirs and canals; what aggregate abstractions have been assumed for well areas and their reconciliation with inflow into the groundwater reservoir; how much of the water is to come from the neighbouring Arab States and the reasons for regarding it as "surplus" to their requirements; what duty of water has been allowed for various crops in various regions and for various communities, and how the general average is made up; what amount of *new* water the project reckons to make available; how many dunams of what crops this is estimated to protect; what allowance in dunams per agricultural family (Arab and Jew) has been allowed; where the new irrigated land is to be (a map would be useful); what method of distribution has been assumed from the distributaries to the field channels and from the field channels to the crops; how much of the water is to be allocated to Arabs and how much to the Jews; and how much of the water included in the project is already used for irrigation. Will Dr. Bonné give substance to his case by making these data available, for example in a contribution to the Journal?

I am grateful for Dr. Bonné's correction as to the cost of the J.V.A. project. I had supposed, as a matter of fact, that the £70,000,000 I quoted was at post-war prices. I see from *Palestine, Problem and Promise*, recently published in America, that at post-war prices it is estimated at about £100,000,000.

As regards the wells in the Negeb, I accept what Dr. Bonné says. But it does not controvert what I myself said.

Yours faithfully,  
M. G. IONIDES.

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MISS R. O. WINGATE

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS

IN the year which ended in December, 1943, the *expenses* of the Society were £120 more than the revenue.

In the year which ended in December, 1944, the *income* of the Society was £313 *greater* than the expenses.

ONE REASON was that we received £234 from the Inland Revenue as the result of members having signed covenants to pay their nominal subscriptions for seven years. This increase in revenue cost members NOTHING.

So far we have received just over 340 covenants out of a membership of over 1,640—that is 21 per cent.

The expenses of the Society are bound to increase in the near future: the Journal will again be published four times a year, the library is being restored, lecture and clerical expenses are rising.

This can ONLY be met if we increase our membership *and* if more members will sign covenants. REMEMBER that this does NOT cost you anything but it DOES help the Society's funds.

The Council again appeal for your help in the matter.

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## DEED OF COVENANT

I .....

of .....

hereby covenant with the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my lifetime whichever period shall be the shorter I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will after the deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of the said Society *a net sum of one pound and five shillings* such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this

..... day of ..... 19.....

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said .....

In the presence of.....

Address of Witness to your signature.....

Occupation of Witness .....

## NOTICES

THE principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

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## NOMINATION FORM.

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.....  
.....  
(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL  
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend <sup>him</sup><sub>her</sub> for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

<sup>His</sup><sub>Her</sub> connection with Asia is :

## NOTICES

At the beginning of the year 1948, the Society is moving its headquarters to 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, which is close to Portman Square and to Bond Street station on the Underground railway. A full account will be found on p. 246.

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The Council are very grateful for the following accessions to the library :

Presented by Colonel J. T. Woolrych Perowne, V.D., T.D. (a member of the Society since it was founded in 1901): A nearly complete set of the Proceedings of the Society as published between 1904 and 1913, together with some single issues of the Journal between the years 1914 and 1929, and also *Russian Affairs*, by G. Drage; *Turkistan*, by E. Schuyler, 2 vols.; *In Russian Turkestan*, by A. B. Meakin; *Russia in Central Asia*, by G. Curzon; *Bokhara*, by Dr. J. Wolff; *History of Bokhara*, by A. Vambery; *Russian Hosts and English Guests*, by J. T. W. Perowne; Two Historical Maps of Central Asia, published by Stanford (about 1900).

Presented by D. M. Reid, Esq.: *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, translated from the Greek by W. Schoff.

Monographs presented by the author: *Autour de l'Expedition d'Alexandre le Grand en Asie Centrale*, by R. Fazy; *Autour d'une Expedition chinoise sous les T'ang à travers les Pamirs et le Yasin*, by R. Fazy; *Autour de Gengis Khan*, by R. Fazy; *P. Ippolito Desideri à Lhasa, 1716*, by R. Fazy.

Presented by Squadron-Leader E. L. Macro: *Sa'udi Arabia*, by K. Twitchell.

Presented by Sir Basil Gould: *The Americans in Persia*, by A. Millspaugh.

Presented by Lieut.-Colonel C. A. G. Rundle: *Note on the Meo*.

Presented by Henry Field, Esq.: *Prehistoric Culture Sequence in Transcaucasia*, by A. Kuftin.

Presented by the author: *The Government of Iraq*, by M. Khadduri; *The Arab League as a Regional Arrangement*, by M. Khadduri.

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Members and contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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The Director of Survey of the India Command has recently issued an important note on methods of transcription of Tibetan names. It is intended to standardize the system used, and it is proposed to substitute a slightly simplified form of the system of transliteration laid down by Sir Charles Bell, and since followed by Sir Basil Gould and Mr. H. E. Richardson, for the earlier systems in use for map purposes. Members interested in the transcription of Tibetan names should communicate with the Director of Survey, India Command, Geographical Section, General Staff, New Delhi, if they have any suggestions to make.



# THE LAND OF THE MAHRA

By MAJOR T. ALTOUNYAN

**I**N 1946 there still remained on the southern shores of Arabia a portion of that great coastline which lay wrapped in mystery. The western portion of the coast, from Aden to Mukalla and beyond, was known and had been frequently visited. The extreme eastern portion, which forms the Sultanate of Dhufar, had likewise been visited by Bertram Thomas and others since. There remained a gap between Wadi Masila and the Kara mountains to the east which the great travellers of modern times had, strangely, omitted to visit, and consequently little or nothing had come to light about it. It was to explore this portion of the coastline and the country inland of it that I set out from London in early November of 1946.

This was the old Ash-Shihr or modern Mahra, of which the Periplus and the early historians wrote, reporting on the unhealthy nature of its coast and the wildness of its population, whose food was the abundant fish with which they also fed their animals. This was the coast which had been described as having neither cultivation nor palm trees, but where the frankincense trees grew in the folds of the hills and exuded the white resin which for centuries was to become the most valuable article of commerce.

Modern Mahra lies between the Protectorate of Hadhramaut to the west and the Sultanate of Dhufar to the east and the borders on the Arabian Sea from Musaina'a ( $15^{\circ} 05' N. 50^{\circ} 45' E.$ ) to Ras Darbat Ali ( $16^{\circ} 40' N. 53^{\circ} 05' E.$ ). To the north there is as yet no definite delimitation of frontiers but it extends roughly to  $19^{\circ} N.$  as far as the Sands. The coastal area is intersected by a series of mountain ranges that jut prominently into the sea, notably the Fartaq range, and alternating with these headlands and between them are a series of plains consisting mainly of sand dunes or low-lying lime or gravel hills, intersected further by dry water courses. From the narrow coastal strip the ground rises from foothills of 1,000 feet to mountain ranges of 4,000 feet. Beyond the main central range of the Fartaq extends the great plain of Ghaidha, consisting of sand dunes or low-lying lime features near the coast with rough and broken country inland. The ground from Qamar Bay rises gradually westwards to approximately 4,000 feet towards Jebal Kunmain ( $16^{\circ} 25' N. 50^{\circ} 25' E.$ ) on the Mahra-Menahil frontier. A network of great wadis intersects this sloping highland, notably the Wadis Jesaa, Mouba, K'Tut, Khufouf, Muraikh and Asm, along and through which the ancient track from Ghaidha to Tarim in the Hadhramaut lies. Thus the entire country, along the coast and in the interior, presents a variety of obstacles to travel.

Carrying only the barest necessities and sacrificing all comfort to achieve lightness, I made my approach to the Mahra from the west by way of Mukalla along the motor track until I reached its limit at Raidat Abdul Wadud. Beyond this point little was known of the country or of the state of the tracks so that there was no alternative to travel by camel.

There were no horses or mules, and later, in the Mahra, I found it strange that no one I spoke to had ever seen a horse.

With the help of Sheikh Abdullah Awadh, the local official, we spent several hours that evening in discussion and argument with the Thaayan tribe over my escort to Saihut. One would suppose it to be a simple matter in Arabia to hire a few of the camels that are to be seen squatting round any village. In fact it takes several hours of argument and discussion in which everyone takes part and has his say as the social custom requires. Agreement was finally reached with the Thaayan to escort me as far as the village of Eece, at the mouth of the Wadi Masilla, and at noon of the following day, November 29, 1946, I mounted my camel before a village gathering to commence the first stage of my journey into unknown Mahra.

The recent accounts I had heard of the country which I was about to enter had been discouraging, and many had been the expressions of doubt as to physical security there. I had neither personal arms nor any form of disguise, pinning my faith to the belief that I could build around myself an aura of immunity and inviolability by travelling openly and unconcernedly. In a country where every man carries a rifle from which he is never separated, the sight of a stranger travelling in this fashion drew astonished comment everywhere, and in places led to the belief that I carried a secret weapon, a rumour which I was careful neither to encourage nor discourage. The Hadhramis and the Mahra, if indeed they can be called Arabs, were nothing like the northern Arabs I had known, and my unfamiliarity with their ways and reactions made me not a little nervous of them.

That day and all the next we rode under a ferocious sun, through sand and lava, in the barren narrow coastal plain, which measures five to ten miles in width. During the morning of the second day we reached the ruined mound of old Musaina'a and, a little beyond it, the small cluster of low one-roomed houses of modern Musaina'a, built in loose lava stone, so that it could with difficulty be distinguished from its desolate black surroundings. Two young women here will for ever make me forget the filth and squalor, the smells and flies of Musaina'a. Instead, I will remember their smooth faces painted a bright lemon yellow and their eyelids painted an indigo blue, their white teeth flashing from behind deep indigo lips, silver bangles clanging at wrists and ankles, and each toe having its own white ring.

As we went along the track our party grew in size. We met other travellers, who became attached to us for company, and soon we had among us two sheikhs and a merchant, who were also making for Saihut. At the end of the second day, with sunset, we put down in Wadi Tamnun, near its two water wells, only to discover that an hour earlier a band of unknown tribesmen had deprived another party of all their camels at that very spot. There was a sudden panic and my companions urged me to leave for another place immediately. I argued that this was probably as safe a place as anywhere, as the robbers would by now be far away with their booty and not likely to return. Besides, two days of camel riding without a comfortable saddle to sit on had made me very weary, and just

then I didn't care about robbers or anything else. So I remained obstinate and we stayed where we were, without coming to harm, until an hour before daybreak, when we were on our way again.

Up to Wadi Masila, the country we had ridden through for two days had been very similar, with sand dunes and great patches of lava, and a complete absence of any vegetation. We had seen very few people, except along the sea shore, where scattered fishermen, in twos and threes, heaped their catches into large mounds, so that, in the scorching sun, the flesh rotted and stank, and the blood and oil seeped through a canal into a pit, from which the upper layer of oil was collected. The nauseating smell from these rotting fish heaps was quite overpowering and on occasions could be smelt from twenty miles away.

The first habitation we reached after Musaina'a was the mouth of Wadi Masila, where small clusters of palms and scattered mud houses snuggle against the walls of the great wadi. Here, in what is called Eece, we cooled for two hours, from the noon sun, and my Thaayan escort were prevailed upon not to dump me and return, but induced to carry me to Saihut. With only a few hours of daylight remaining, we crossed the open stony mouth of Wadi Masila, now no longer enclosed within its high walls, and covered the remaining sandy plain that brought us into Saihut as night fell.

The town, built in mud, stands a little inland from the open beach on a flat sandy plain, and has nothing in particular to recommend it. It is the largest and most important town in the Mahra, with its 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants of seafarers, merchants, and tribesmen. It is also the headquarters of the troublesome Zoueidi tribe, who, even then, were being openly defiant of the Sultan, in their refusal to surrender a man who had killed a minor member of the Sultan's household. There was no peace in Saihut, as scores of people constantly sat around me, or followed me about, all the while treating me with the utmost suspicion, as their interrogations of me proved. Somehow, all attempts to meet the chief of the Zoueidi tribe, to arrange my onward escort to Qishn, came to nothing, as each messenger I sent came back with a different or contradictory reply, and there seemed no way of getting at the truth. So, on my second night in Saihut, I left, at midnight, from a lonely part of the beach in a hired canoe, to cover the 50 miles or so to Qishn by sea.

The land route, from Saihut to Qishn, by way of Atab, takes two days by camel. In our flimsy canoe, with nine men rowing against a cross current, we covered the distance in twelve hours, by keeping close to the land, and clearing the great cliffs that jut out to sea all along this coast by the barest margin. The seamanship of the Arabs here, as on other shores, proved to be of the usual high standard. Working as a perfect team, they kept up a steady rate of stroke of twenty to the minute, throwing every bit of energy into each stroke by standing on their footrests and hurling their bodies back on to their seats. For the first three hours no one rested, and to those who know what even three minutes of hard rowing means in physical exhaustion this performance will seem quite incredible.

The town of Qishn, with its clusters of palms, is centrally set in a beautiful bay, fifteen miles across, with its two land promontories on either

side jutting a mile out to sea. From what must be one of the finest beaches in the world, the ground rises gently towards the ring of hills in the distant background that encircle the bay. Tidy patches of cultivation, watered by salty water wells, spread like a carpet between the shore and the small group of mud houses that form the town. Sea birds of all kinds, in their thousands, sit on the smooth beach, to peck at what the unfailing sea may next cast up. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful natural setting for a seaside town.

Qishn is the traditional seat of the Sultans of the Mahra, who are also Sultans of the island of Socotra. The hereditary succession to the title of Sultan of Qishn and Socotra is held by the Bin Afrir family, the present holder of the title being permanently resident in Socotra, and not having visited the mainland for a number of years. Sultan Ahmad Bin Afrir, a cousin of the Socotra Sultan, has become the resident Sultan of Qishn, and carries on the affairs of state, such as they are, assisted by his younger brother, Sultan Khalifah.

The country is entirely tribal and the social life of the tribe is regulated by tribal custom, so that although the Sultans are given their due respect they do not actually rule or exercise any great measure of control over the Mahra. Nevertheless, a treaty of friendship was concluded between H.M. Government and the Bin Afrir family in 1888, in similar terms to those with other Sultanates on the Southern Arabian coast, but, unlike the other Sultanates, the Mahra have been very much left to themselves without interference.

I remained in Qishn for two days with the Sultans Ahmad and Khalifah, and shared their simple life. There was no pomp or ceremony, or richly dressed attendants to serve us sumptuous dishes, such as one would expect to find in the house of an eastern potentate. Coarse cotton, or calico, instead of rich silks, adorns the lean figure of Sultan Ahmad, and, like everyone else in the Mahra, he walks about barefooted with a rifle across his shoulders carried at the horizontal. Sultan Ahmad, who is about sixty-five, with a white spade beard, spoke in a Bedouin dialect which I found it difficult to follow; but in spite of it we spent many hours in talking of the outside world. It was not surprising that in a country without telephone or telegraph, wireless or newspapers, that everyone was several years behind times with the general news. At Qishn and elsewhere people wanted to know if the war of the Christians was over and for how many years peace had been agreed on. Europeans were collectively referred to as Nasara, and strange were the stories circulating everywhere about the physical size and strength and the devilish machinations of the Nasara, whom they held in profound awe. A great number of the inland tribesmen had never heard of the English or any other nationality, but merely knew of the existence of an inferior and detested race whom they collectively called the Nasara, and of whom it was said that they never prayed and that they shielded their eyes so that they never saw the light from the sun.

Sultan Ahmad finally agreed to help me in my travels and presented me with a document which was to be my passport. With one Gidhi and one Hureisi as my escort, our party of three set out along the beach. At

the end of the bay, the waterskins were filled from the salty well and we penetrated into the sand dunes that form part of the Darja range. All next day we traversed the sandy plain between the Darja and the massive range of the Fartaq, that stood across our horizon like an impenetrable wall. Halfway across the coastal plain we entered the village of Sagr, in Bin Kelshat country, with its long and narrow strip of cultivation, and pursued the track beyond into Haswain.

My escort amused themselves by picking out in the dusty track the footprints of people they knew and discussing them with animation. At first I regarded this with scepticism, but it was later to be confirmed that they can, not only identify the footprints of friends, but claim to know the tribe to which any footprint belongs, be it human or camel.

Haswain is a small village, a little short of Ras Fartaq, and is the headquarters of one section of the Bin Kelshat tribe, who spread across the range. To cross the Fartaq range along the coastal road the traveller has to go by one of two passes, both of which the Kelshat control. The path nearer the point of the headland is the shorter, but is more difficult than the Houerir pass, which crosses ten miles inland and is less difficult for camels. These tracks are part of the great highway along the southern shores of Arabia, and to-day, as in past centuries, they form one of the connecting links between Eastern and Western Arabia, along which traders and pilgrims pass.

With the help of Sheikh Nasr, of the Bin Kelshat, who had at first been unfriendly, I procured some hill camels and an escort of three men, and we made our way towards the Houerir by way of the oasis of El Wadi. We climbed over foothills of lime and gravel and very soon the path became so steep that the camels stood and panted, refusing to go any further. As we reached the main range of mountains we encountered on our path huge sheets of smooth rock that sloped perilously towards the valley. There was only a faint trace on the rock surface, left by the rubbing of camels' footpads, to indicate the way of the path. At the sharp and narrow bends, with steeper gradients and more boulders ahead, the camels stood and complained loudly. They had to be given time to organize their feet, to enable them to turn in the narrow track, and prepare to take the next stride. I was the only one mounted, and I would a thousand times have preferred to have walked, had a leg injury not prevented my doing so. It is doubtful whether any other pack animal could have done as well as these hill camels, who combine the elegance of a gazelle with the agility of a goat.

That night we slept in a fold of the mountains, under the shelter of some dwarf trees, 3,000 feet above sea level. We were now three-quarters of the way up the range, and to keep warm we clustered around a fire that burned all night. Two hours more of climbing next morning brought us to the crest of the range, and to the beautiful vistas that lay before us. With our backs to the sea the huge sandy plain of Ghaidha lay to our right, with the villages of Nishton, Tabot, and Harut plainly visible, and, beyond them, the mountains of Dhufar towered pale in the morning mist. To our left, unending ranges of mountains extended as far as the eye could see. I felt disinclined to leave the cool fresh air of this

height for the suffocating plain below, with its flies and odours of rotting fish.

The descent of the eastern slope of the Fartaq is steeper and more perilous than the western slope. To remain mounted on the descent would be difficult and hazardous, as the track is rocky and very precipitous. It turns and twists and the camels slither and stumble as they put their feet on loose stones. It was late in the afternoon when we reached the plain and the inland salt lake, where we cooled the camels' feet by bathing them.

The next two villages, of Tabut and Harut, are in Bin Braafit country, and, not wishing to spend any more uncomfortable nights in villages, where I should also be expected to part with my Kelshat escort, we plotted to creep past both these villages under cover of darkness. At dusk we left the lakeside and crept to the seashore, to give the villages as wide a berth as possible. A huge full moon rose and hung over the sea and changed the night into day again. We were between the habitations and the moon and were sure to be observed, so we talked of passing the villages in the rear, but what seemed to us like a miracle suddenly happened; the moon was with us in our plot. A dent appeared in the lower part of her disc and rapidly spread so that as we passed Tabut she had lost most of her brilliance, and by Harut she had become completely eclipsed. My men became concerned, and asked if I had brought it about by some trick of the Nasara; but when they were reassured on that score exclaimed that God must be with me and had caused the eclipse to relieve my anxiety.

It was some time after midnight, with darkness hampering further travel, when we knelt our camels and slept where we stopped. We had travelled for more than eighteen hours that day and had had very little to eat. Before sunrise of the following morning we were away again with six hours of riding before us to reach Ghaidha.

The importance of Ghaidha lies in its being at the juncture of the inland route to the Hadhramaut valley and the coastal route to Dhufar. It is also close to the sea so that traffic and merchandise can pass through it to the four points of the compass. The town is in two parts, a quarter of a mile apart; the part nearer the sea being in Bin Kidda country and the more inland half in Bin Kelshat country. In the part nearer the sea, I became the guest of Sayyid Abdullah Bu Bakr, the chief notable, and a wealthy merchant. With his help we commenced negotiating for an escort to conduct me along the inland route to Tarim in the Hadhramaut. My plan had been a simple one. I had reckoned that in our journey we would cross the four tribal areas of Bin Kelshat, Bin Gumsait, Bin Sahol, and the Menahil, so that one man from each of those tribes, with myself, would make a small party of five. The Mahra, whom I found very talkative, found my plan too simple. The Bin Kidda laid claim on me for being in their part of the town. The Bin Kelshat claimed a bigger representation than any other tribe, as more than three days of the journey lay through their country. Endless conferences took place that lasted the entire day and were open to the general public to attend. Sheikh Soleiman, of the Kelshat, supported by his henchmen, came carrying an umbrella

stick shorn of all its spokes. The Chief of the Bin Kidda, a large and stooping figure with grey hair that hung to his shoulders, attended with a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. Scores of bare-backed men sat around us with their primitive rifles held upright in their hands. All day they argued and harangued and displayed their oratory and cunning. Late that night I was presented with an agreed plan for an escort of fifteen, at a cost of 300 Maria Theresa dollars each for the journey, which I promptly turned down.

In the succeeding days more heated discussions followed, with a steady deterioration in tribal relations. The Bin Kidda walked out in disgust, and the Bin Gumsait and Bin Sahol joined in. While these noisy and lengthy discussions were taking place I stole brief periods of solitude, until discovered by someone and asked to review all that I had seen so far.

The narrow foot-track from Raidat Abdul Wadoud had led from sandy beaches and stony plains over the formidable range of the Fartaq, and through the most populated section of the coastline. Along this highway and in villages we had stopped and exchanged the news with those we met. With friends the salutation had taken the form of rubbing noses, and with others a brusque handshake. Noticeable everywhere had been the state of constant fear in which the isolated section of the population lived. The sight of even a small party of mounted men had been sufficient to send everyone scurrying to the cover of bushes and rocks, from which they had pointed rifles until we had been recognized as friends. Instant suspicion and immediate resort to arms is a legacy of past and, to a lesser extent, present experiences, as the Mahra have been continually subjected to large and better-armed raiding parties from the North and the Yemen, and the law of arms remains the law of the country. My presence had everywhere aroused first suspicion and then extreme curiosity, which had not been satisfied until an explanation of the object of my presence had been made. Once suspicion had been overcome, they had brought their sick and wounded, the crippled and the mentally deficient, for me to cure. Most had had eye infection and some undoubtedly had been lepers with appalling body wounds, and it had not been easy to send away disappointed so much suffering humanity.

The main concentrations of population were in the townships of Saihut, with approximately 2,500 inhabitants; Qishn, with 1,000; and Ghaidha, with 1,500. In every village we met several households of Sayyids, who were of Hedjazi origin, and who, as claiming descent from the Prophet, received special veneration from the local population. They had established themselves in dominant positions in all branches of the community life, and, being of the moneyed class, they kept slaves as servants and as drawers of water. They were the traders, teachers, and arbitrators of their localities, and as such exerted no small measure of power.

Sheikh Mubarak, who was a co-guest in Sayyid Abdullah's house, often joined me in some hidden corner to have a chat. He had a handsome oval face, with deep-set humorous eyes, and wore a long grey beard. He was extraordinarily intelligent and thirsted for knowledge. He had been brought from a nearby district to prescribe for Sayyid Abdullah's daughter, who lay dying of a fever. With a reed pen dipped in solid ink of his own

making with soot and water he wrote passages from the Koran on pieces of paper and had them taken to the sick bed. "This is our medicine. What shall we do? We are not advanced like you, Nasara," he would say to me as if in apology for his form of medical practice. Two days later the beautiful lady died and was put in her grave within three hours, and the whole town shouted, "Heaven be praised!" and went in to prayers. Without expert medical opinion, and with such quick burials, I wondered how many must have gone to their graves when perhaps life was not quite extinct.

That night we sat in a circle of Sayyid Abdullah's friends, who included a number of chieftains, and discussed the "wars of the Christians." They were given a description by me of a modern battlefield with all the co-ordinated arms that took part. We talked of aeroplanes, submarines, radio-telephony, and television; and my audience sat in awful silence, with gaping mouths and hanging jaws, listening to what their brains could not grasp. When the guests had gone, Sheikh Mubarak and I sat talking till the small hours of the morning. He told me that the origin of the Mahra language was lost in antiquity, but believed that at one time it had a writing. With the advent of Islam (Sunni), which the entire population had now devoutly embraced, the language became infused with a certain number of Arabic words, and, as a recent adaptation, the Arabic alphabet was used to write it. Arabic was partly spoken and partly understood by coastal dwellers, but the inland tribesmen spoke only Mahri. The tribes numbered about twenty-five and the general estimation of the population was given as near 40,000. The main wealth of the Mahra was derived from the sea. Plentiful fish, cooked or salted, formed their main diet, as well as that of their animals. Fish oil and salted fish of the shark types constituted their main export, which provided them with currency for the importation of dates and other necessities. Agriculture on a limited scale around water wells was mainly confined to the growing of millet, which was ground to flour for baking. Scattered date palms produced an inferior and inadequate quantity of dates. Camel breeding and goat raising would not in themselves be sufficient to support the population without the help of the fish industry, which was the foundation stone on which the country's economy was built. The former flourishing trade in frankincense had dwindled into insignificance through neglect of the gum-producing trees, and no local craftsmanship had developed to produce the simple things for which they now resorted to outside markets.

On the fourth day of my negotiations, when everything that could have been said had been said several times over, and a general state of exhaustion had been reached, a compromise plan, suggested by me, received general assent, and on the fifth day we set out along the inland route towards Hadhramaut. We started off at the trot to give the journey a lively beginning, and we were seven all told. After five days of confinement in the foul air of overcrowded rooms, to be mounted and travelling in space again was wonderfully exhilarating and resulted in prolonged trotting. I was mounted for the first time on a really fine she-camel, of good pedigree, which had never carried anything less than a Sayyid; but, as usual, there was only a blanket to serve as a saddle.



My escort consisted of three from Bin Kelshat, one from Bin Gumsait, one from Bin Sahol and one from Amr Jeed, who was to be my personal attendant. The caravans took fourteen or fifteen days to cross from Ghaidha to the Hadhramaut by Es-Sōm, and we reckoned that, travelling light as we were, we should reach Tarim in nine days. Our main diet was going to be dates with a small quantity of rice and some millet flour for baking. Other items that we carried consisted of a quantity of tea and sugar, three water skins, and a quantity of dry fish for the camels. That night we agreed we would rise an hour before sunrise and be away ahead of the sun and ride for five hours before resting the camels. Then we would rest for two hours and ride another five hours until sundown.

For the next two days we rode due west through and along the stony bed and the dwarf bushes of Wadi Jesaa. We passed through the oasis of Douhal, with its two Kelshat forts, and reached Kheis el Murait, with its water wells and palms. Here the Wadi Jesaa curls around Murait and alters its course to the northwest to join Wadi Erma, in Amr Jeed country, six days away. Here also the Bin Kelshat country ends and the Bin Gumsait country begins, although the oasis itself belongs to the small menial tribe of the Awabthe.

Here we entered a tributary of Wadi Jesaa, called Wadi Mouba, which runs due west, and leads into the oasis of Ghaidha, with its water wells, cultivation, and palms, fifteen miles west of Murait. We had been climbing steadily ever since leaving Ghaidha, by the sea, and had ridden through a series of wadis which alone showed any signs of life. We had reached a plateau several thousand feet high, consisting of rough and crumbling lime hills, parched and lifeless, except in the beds of dry watercourses, where we frequently saw gazelle feeding on the scrub. Provided everyone was mounted, we were able to pass quite close to these gazelles; but as soon as anyone dismounted to take a shot at them they kicked up their heels and vanished like the wind. The only other sizable animal we had seen was a small grey fox with an absurdly long and thick brush. I had expected to find snakes and scorpions and carried in my pocket a small piece of ambergris, which my host at Ghaidha had given me, instructing me to eat a small quantity immediately I was bitten or stung, but, luckily, the occasion never arose. It was generally said of it that a small quantity, the size of a match-head, eaten with milk, was a sure cure against poison. It was also believed to give physical strength and general good health. I have since tested the validity of this statement by consuming small quantities of ambergris, and the only effect I can record is that it produces nausea and might well be taken as an emetic.

From Kheis el Ghaidha we travelled for two days through Wadi Mouba, with nothing in particular to see, apart from the distant lime hills that shield the Mahra from the quarter of the Great Sands. We were in a complete wilderness with neither habitations nor people visible. In the cool of the mornings we trotted to the tune of a song the men sang in turn, and which the camels seemed to know and like. It had a fascinating and soothing air and its rhythm seemed to fit in with the jolts the trotting animals produced.

By eleven o'clock in the morning the heat from the sun became so

intense that we were struck speechless, and the camels hung their heads and slowed their pace. It began to cool off again an hour before sunset, and by the time it was quite dark we were clustering round the fire to keep warm again. Each nightly stop was immediately followed by a short period of great activity before there could be any rest. The camels were hobbled and let loose for the night to feed on what scrub they could find. Firewood was collected, sometimes from over a wide area, a fire was lit, and everyone selected his particular patch of ground on which to sleep. The meal took no time to prepare, as it mainly consisted of dates; but a pot of tea, made Arab fashion, with tea, sugar and water all put in at the same time, was kept brewing until bedtime.

My nightly problem was to pin-point our location on the inaccurate map I carried. Recognizable features, like wadis and mountains, were not indicated, so that a course could only be plotted by estimating distance and direction travelled each day. Distances could be calculated fairly accurately by keeping a check on time. My camel took ninety strides to the minute in ordinary walking, and her stride measured  $34\frac{1}{2}$  inches, which produced an average of 3 miles per hour. Time spent in trotting was reckoned double and so a distance of 260 miles was reckoned for the inland route from Ghaidha to Tarim, which we covered in nine days.

We usually sat around the fire for a couple of hours each night and talked. Friendly as my escort were, they were reluctant to answer my questions about names of wadis or tribal boundaries, and I had to use devious methods, usually by tackling them singly, before I got any information, which I had then to recheck by questioning another. They liked to talk on other subjects, and many were their questions about the Nasara. All six of my escort were married with one wife each. One had produced no offspring and the remaining five had produced twenty-six between them, of which ten were alive and sixteen had died before attaining the age of one. The butt of all jokes was one named Hamad, who had produced seven daughters in succession, all of whom had died. It was also Hamad who had heard of the existence of the motor car, but could not imagine what sort of "legs" it had!

Our sixth night we spent in Ras Mouba, close to Jebal Kunmain, on the Mahra-Menahil frontier. This was the quarter from which the raiders from the Yemen and the Great Sands came, and the men seemed suddenly to awake to a new alertness. That night, as we sat around the fire we were challenged out of the darkness by distant voices. Some we answered and the rest we ignored. One persistent voice, which had demanded the names of our tribes and our number, was promised safety to come and see for himself. Several hours later he appeared out of the darkness with his 1874 rifle levelled at us. He was a handsome Menhali, who, by way of conversation, told us a tale of two wolves which the previous night had eaten two babies as they slept in a cave, and he then rose to leave. I had sat silently watching him, but now I insisted he had become a friend and must stay as our guest until the morning. I said it was cold and we had a big fire, and we should sit and drink sweet tea until the morning. Reluctantly he was persuaded to stay and we watched into the

dark and listened attentively, barely able to keep awake, until it was time to move again.

Up to Jebal Kunmain the ground had risen from sea level to approximately 3,500 feet, but as we passed into Wadi Tahun and Wadi K'Tut, in Menahil country, the ground sloped towards Wadi Masilla, and became very rough. From Wadi K'Tut we passed first into Wadi Khufouf, then into Wadi Muraikh, which leads into stony Wadi Asm, with its cliffs on each side like mountains. We were getting very near to Wadi Hadhramaut now, and, with the end of the journey near, we took new heart and began to forget our fatigues and the three waterless days. We travelled all day through the intense heat of enclosed Wadi Asm, with its large white pebbles making progress very slow. In a most difficult part of this wadi we overtook a caravan of some eighty camels, heavily laden with dry fish and fish oil, which had left El Ghaidha thirteen days previously and appeared to be having a difficult time of it. We entered Wadi Masilla, between Fughma and As-Som and spent the night on the banks of a mosquito-infested stream in which we bathed, in spite of the dirt that came floating down it. We were all conscious of its being the last night that the party would be together and there was that added friendship and courtesy in our relations. The men kept reminding me of it with expressions of regret and I found myself becoming sentimental over the next day's parting with this rough band of men. I had driven them hard and had made them march to the clock, averaging ten hours of riding a day, and they had responded gamely, but the effort had been too great for camels and men. The third day out from El Ghaidha we had had to exchange one camel for another, as he had not stood the pace, and five days out my Sahol escort had to be left by the wayside for the same reason. The remaining men were proud, they said, to have escorted the first Nasrani to cross that country, and it became obvious that I had to act the *grand seigneur* and offer them a feast. A passing peasant, leading a fat ram, provided the opportunity, and a large fire was built on a layer of white pebbles and the ram was slaughtered in the name of God and in honour of the Nasrani. When the pebbles had become white hot, the fire was swept away and chunks of flesh were laid on the hot stones to cook. The heart, the liver, and the kidneys were offered to me, and the remainder, head and feet included, was divided into five, so that each one got a cut from every part and every man had a phenomenal pile before him. I never saw the end of the meal, but in the morning all that remained was a small pile of white splintered bones which had been cracked open and sucked of their marrow, and not even an ant could have got a meal off them.

Next day we rode through Ainat and reached Tarim and the end of our journey.





## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, on Wednesday, June 18, 1947, the President, the Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The proceedings opened with a vote of thanks to the President, proposed by General Sir John Shea in the following terms:

General Sir JOHN SHEA: My Lord, I crave your indulgence that I may be permitted to occupy a very few minutes to pay you a tribute of thanks on behalf of the Council of the Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—To our profound regret, Lord Hailey who has held the office of President of this Society for six years, has decided that he wishes to retire from that office. We have had many illustrious Presidents on our Roll, but none who has done more to further the interests of this Society than Lord Hailey. He has given us the prestige of his name, and he has always taken the deepest interest in the welfare of the Society. He has given us wise counsel, and, in addition to all this, it is indeed most remarkable that a man who is engaged so deeply in public affairs and has so many other calls on his time should have found it possible to be so regular in his attendance at our lectures. Not only has he given us great encouragement by this, but he has also made a most distinguished and helpful contribution to our discussions by the masterly and erudite criticisms and remarks which he has made.

My Lord, on behalf of the Council, and indeed of the whole membership of the Society, I would express most grateful thanks and our very deep obligation to you. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT expressed his gratitude for the Chairman's kind expression of appreciation, and then called on Lieut.-General H. G. MARTIN to read the Honorary Secretaries' report for the year:

There are at present 1,672 names in the Members' List, but of these 38 members have not been heard from since early in the war. Forty-three members have resigned during the year, and the Society has learnt with regret of the death of 46 members, which includes 6 members previously reported missing and now officially presumed killed in action during the war; and the following distinguished members of the Society: Major-General H. Rowan Robinson, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., who was a Member of Council from 1936 to 1941; Colonel J. K. Tod, C.M.G., the Society's Honorary Librarian from 1931 to 1945; General Sir Cyril Noyes, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E.; Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., LL.D., D.Sc.; the Rt. Rev. Dr. L. Roots, and Sir George Stapylton Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

One hundred and two new members have been elected during the year, so that the total membership has increased by 14 above the figure for last year. The Honorary Treasurer, I feel sure, will be telling us in

his report that he would like a very much larger net increase in membership in view of the greatly increased running costs of the Society, and the desirability of issuing four numbers of the Journal in the year. A majority of this year's new members are young men taking up positions in one or another country of Asia, especially in administrative work in the Middle East, both nationals of those countries and Englishmen. The Society would welcome also more members from among those who are at work in the Far East or who have connections with Central Asia.

After a seven years' interval the Members' List was re-published last autumn and has been greatly appreciated as a means of keeping members in touch with one another.

Twenty-five lectures were held during the year. The Persia Lecture was given by Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Wheeler. Among five lectures on China were those by Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt on the Administration of Hong Kong, and by the Rt. Rev. H. A. Maxwell on the Effects of the War in Western China. The Anniversary Lecture by General Sir William Slim was on Some Aspects of the Campaign in Burma. Mr. J. H. Jones, M.P., gave two lectures on the Development of Labour Organisation in Persia and in the Middle East. Sir Harry Sinderson lectured on Health Problems in the Middle East; and among illustrated lectures H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Mlle. Ella Maillart gave accounts of their recent journeys in Afghanistan. Professor Leo Mayer spoke on Saracen Costume.

Unofficially, through its members, in co-operation with the British Council and with the Foreign Office, the Society has been studying how best to help students from Middle Eastern countries.

Lord Hailey is retiring after six years as President. During these years he has given the Society the inestimable benefit of his vast knowledge of men and affairs—a benefit which no words of mine are needed to stress.

General Sir John Shea is retiring as Chairman. He has been annually re-elected since 1940. I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing something of what the Society feels it owes to Sir John Shea for acting as our Chairman during these difficult years. It has been a very great pleasure to serve under him and with him on the Council. He has brought to the service of the Society all those gifts of administration and leadership and the experience of men and affairs that made him a great commander in the field, and the Society has cause to be grateful for all that he has done for it. We hope that on becoming an Honorary Vice-President, he will not disappear altogether into the empyrean. Sir John Shea is retiring at this time because he feels that it is not in the best interests of the Society that one man should continue as Chairman too long. It is in keeping with his whole record that he should feel the interests of the Society come first, but it would be a disaster if the Society should lose his services altogether. If at some future time Sir John Shea should feel disposed to resign his position as Honorary Vice-President with a view to being elected to the Council again, we hope he will not hesitate to do so. (Applause.)

The Society's lease of the rooms at 8, Clarges Street, W.1, expires next year, when it is hoped to move to No. 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square,

W.1, if negotiations at present is progress with the Palestine Exploration Fund can be brought to a successful issue. The Society owes Colonel Newcombe, Sir John Pratt and Major Ainger an immense debt for the part they have played in these negotiations. The Honorary Treasurer will be giving more details about this.

The President then called on Major E. AINGER for the Honorary Treasurer's report :

During the early part of this year we received information that the lease of the Society's premises, which expires in March, 1948, would only be renewed on terms which were so disadvantageous that the Council could not accept them. Negotiations were therefore initiated with the Palestine Exploration Fund, and I am happy to tell you that, thanks to Colonel Newcombe making the first advances, an agreement has been reached in principle between the Councils of the two Societies. Under this agreement we shall have the use jointly with the Palestine Exploration Fund of the Ground Floor and Basement of their freehold house at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1 (close to Bond Street Tube station). Miss Wingate with an increased staff will act as joint secretary to the two societies.

On the financial side we do not make substantial gains, but we have got security of tenure of suitable premises for a rent which in effect is no greater than that paid by us during the last seven years. In view of the position as to office rents in London generally, I am sure you will agree that this is satisfactory.

I hope you will bear these facts in mind when considering the accounts. During the year ended December, 1946, Life Subscriptions and Entrance Fees were increased by some £125, but our investments are still not fully equated to our Capital Liabilities, and I fear we shall not be able to find the cash to increase them to the full extent desirable. Our Expenditure rose by over £200 (this being largely attributed to increased salaries) and our excess of expenditure over income was about £150. This gap can only be closed, I think, if we obtain an increased membership: it will help too if more members sign Covenants, the percentage of members who subscribe under Covenant is still surprisingly small.

Either towards the end of this year, or early next year, we shall be involved in heavy expenditure in connection with the move from Clarges Street to Hinde Street. These payments could, in my opinion, justifiably be taken from our Capital account.

But I seriously deprecate the fact that unless we can increase our membership, capital will have to be used to meet a recurring deficit on our Income and Expenditure account. Miss Wingate has exercised every possible economy; I would remind you that we now publish the Journal only three times a year instead of four times as we did before the war. The cost of printing and paper has risen and is still rising, and I can see little prospect of reducing our expenditure further.

I will end, therefore, with a further appeal to you to interest others in the Society in order that we may increase our membership, and so put the finances of the Society again on as sound a basis as they were before 1939.



It was then proposed by Sir John Pratt, seconded by Colonel G. M. Routh, that the Accounts for the year ended December 31, 1946, be approved and adopted, and this was carried unanimously. (See page 242.)

The PRESIDENT: I have now to put to the meeting recommendations for the new Council who are to take office in the ensuing year. The first is the recommendation regarding the President. Sir John Shea said a moment ago that the Society had in the past had many illustrious Presidents. I am certain, however, that the members will agree that the name which I have now to propose will, without any doubt, prove to be one of the most illustrious of all the Society's Presidents: namely that of Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. Earl Wavell. (Applause.) The approval of members is so obvious that I need not add anything to justify the recommendation. Lord Wavell has, of course, been a member of the Society since 1934, and he was elected an Honorary Vice-President in 1943. For the rest, let me say how privileged we are to be able to welcome here as our President so great a soldier, so great a scholar and so distinguished a writer as Lord Wavell. I am sure that his Presidency will add prestige and distinction to the whole life of the Society.

And now I come to the Chairmanship of the Council. Lieut.-General H. Martin paid an eloquent tribute to Sir John Shea, and I should only like to add to it my own appreciation of the services he has rendered to us. I know the difficulties experienced by the Chairman of such a Society as this in obtaining lecturers. Never has he failed to get us speakers of distinction or to secure for us lectures of interest. I feel amazed, too, at the continued youth and buoyancy of Sir John Shea himself. It is a quality which we can all admire, though I do not think many of us can aspire to the buoyancy, brightness and vividness of outlook which distinguish him. I would only add my great feeling of personal respect and affection for Sir John Shea, and join in the general regret that he has felt that he must resign his office.

The name I have to put to you in his place is also one which you will, I am sure, receive with acclamation: that of Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart. We are fortunate to be able to look forward to enlisting the services of a man with so distinguished a career, so well-known for his unique services as a soldier, so well-known also in many other fields of activity, and among them that of British special military Representative with the Government of China.

The proposal was seconded by Group-Captain H. St. Clair Smallwood and carried unanimously.

The President then put to the meeting en bloc, the names of the following Officers, Vice-Presidents and Members of Council—*Vice-Presidents*: Oswald White, Esq., C.M.G., D. Nevill Barbour, Esq.; *Hon. Treasurer*: Major Edward Ainger; *Hon. Secretaries*: Colonel Stewart Newcombe, D.S.O. (Near and Middle East), Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E. (Central Asia), Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G. (Far East); *Hon. Librarian*: Colonel F. M. Bailey, C.I.E.; *Members of Council*: Colonel W. G. Elphinston, M.C., Sir Horace J. Seymour, G.C.M.G., C.V.O., General Sir William Slim, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C.—whose election was carried unanimously on the motion of Colonel

J. T. Woolrych Perowne, seconded by Air Chief-Marshal Sir Christopher Courtney.

Mr. F. Kingdon Ward, F.L.S., was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The President announced that on his retirement as Chairman, General Sir John Shea was elected by the Council an Honorary Vice-President of the Society.

#### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT: The Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal for 1947 has been awarded to Mr. Charles Ridley Pawsey, C.S.I., I.C.S., M.C., who has been for the last ten years District Commissioner in the Naga Hills, on the Burma border of Assam.

Mr. Pawsey has been uniquely successful in persuading a most primitive people to lay aside their blood feuds, to adopt new methods of agriculture, and has, since the war ended, helped the Nagas in restoring their economy and is training them in self-government.

During the war, owing to his unique personal influence, Mr. Pawsey secured the staunch adherence of the Nagas to our cause. They proved invaluable in giving intelligence as Scouts, and in harrassing the enemy in many ways. Mr. Pawsey remained in Kohima with the small beleaguered garrison, enduring great hardships and extreme danger, thereby holding the country not only firm but actively loyal. This is an award which, I am sure, meets with the approbation of all members.

And now I will, with your permission, add one or two remarks regarding the position of the Society.

Firstly, I think that all here would wish to place formally on record our obligations to Sir John Shea for his tenure of the Chairmanship of the Council. He has, in his turn, been good enough to refer to the fact that I have for six years held the office of President. I can assure you that I have valued this greatly. The range of studies with which the Society is concerned has always been one of my own great interests in life, and I have never attended a lecture here from which I have not felt that I have gained not only information but something even more valuable—new points of view and new interests. I have to thank the members of the Society for their great indulgence to me, for, unfortunately, not only have I had to be absent from England for considerable periods since I have held this office, but also I have fallen a victim to the many commitments with which one is assailed when one is supposed to have retired from active life and to be a person of leisure. I should, I suppose, have withstood that temptation; for if I had, I should have been able to have given more time to the Society. I can only regret that I have been able to be less regular than I should like to have been in my attendance here and I thank you again for your indulgence to me in that respect.

And now what in regard to the position of our Society as it stands to-day? I venture to recall something that I think I have said on previous occasions, but which I do not scruple to repeat. Our interests are wide; they cover the vast field of Asia, and one is justified in saying that never have the problems of Asia been more important than to-day. In the last

few years we have seen, in the Mid-East in particular, events of startling and almost dramatic significance, and among them the rise of the Arab League to something that is more than an aspiration, to something indeed that has become a political fact. The problem of Palestine has never been more acute; it not only involves much of great concern to our own position in the Mid-East, but has become a problem of international scope. We have again to face the situation arising from the new and strongly asserted independence of Egypt; and the problems arising from the position now occupied by Persia as a close neighbour of a new and more dynamic Russia. Nor must we forget the situation created by the developing self-consciousness of Iraq.

So much for the Mid-East. It has always been a little doubtful how far we, as a Society, should concentrate our attention on the Near and Middle East, or how far our active interest extended over Asia as a whole. We may perhaps have tended to leave the problems of India to the specialist societies in that field. They have, in truth, enough to do in concentrating their attention on them; if, as it is said, a crisis a day keeps the doctor away they must be in a healthy condition. But with that exception, our interests have in fact been catholic: we are equally concerned in the Mid-East and in the Far East. But there is one factor that I think is now forcing itself on us, namely, that it is no longer possible to think either of the Mid-Eastern or Far-Eastern countries in separation. It is true that each of the Asiatic countries may retain its own nationalistic outlook and perhaps its separate political or economic outlook, but there is a growing tide of Asian solidarity. It is a solidarity that is evidenced not necessarily by conflict with European interests, but certainly by contrast with them. And it acquires particular importance in view of the fact that we have been coming now into something like an ideological conflict with the Soviet Union in regard to the Far East.

Those are important facts. One may see them reflected in the Pan-Asian Conference lately held in India. At that conference there was not only strong nationalistic interest demonstrated by every country represented, but there was something like a combined interest in Asia as a fact in itself, an interest which manifested itself both in the economic and the political sphere.

But there is another factor which applies to us in the United Kingdom in particular. In the old days our interests with these countries were largely of a political nature and our economic relations were influenced by our political connection. To-day, when so many countries that were formerly attached to us are being swept by a kind of tidal wave away from their old moorings, we have come to stand in a different relation to them. More and more, the old political ties are being broken and economic relations changed. More and more has it become obvious that if we are to retain their goodwill, and if we are to work in harmony with them, then it must be through means of greater understanding of their history and their social history and greater knowledge of their culture. That must be the fundamental basis of much of our influence in the future, and it is that fact which serves to give us an additional sense of the importance attaching to our own mission as a Society.

And now, I must not stand further between you and Mr. Perowne's lecture. Mr. Perowne first went to the Middle East as private secretary to the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, and then transferred to the service of the Colonial Office. After some years in Palestine he went to Aden, where his work was on the Political side. In 1941 he was sent with the British Forces to Iraq in connection with the Ministry of Information, and became Oriental Councillor at the British Embassy in 1944 at Baghdad, whence he has just arrived this week. Not only, therefore, has his experience been wide and his qualifications great, but he comes, if I may so put it, fresh from the field of action.

# LIFE IN BAGHDAD

## ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

By STEWART PEROWNE

I AM very conscious of the privilege which I enjoy this afternoon in addressing this Society, on the occasion of the Anniversary Lecture. As one of the members of the Society who spend their lives overseas, I know I speak for hundreds of my fellows when I say that the Royal Central Asian Society is not to us a body of people which meets periodically in London but a living bond and influence on our lives and work. To have the pleasure of addressing the Society is one to which one naturally looks forward. But may I preface my observations this afternoon with two caveats: first, in the presence of this august audience I regard myself less as a lecturer instructing students than as a candidate facing examiners. Secondly, it is possible to live as many lives in Baghdad as in London and what I say about life in Baghdad is based merely on my own observations, and I do not wish it to be regarded as in any way a dogmatic statement of affairs and politics in that country.

A century ago, indeed but thirty years ago, antiquity was almost the only interest that attracted visitors from the West to Iraq. Ever since the days of Herodotus the imagination of man had been kindled by the tales of Nineveh and Babylon, and to no nation had they made a greater appeal than to the Bible-reading British. In the early years of the nineteenth century archæology, as a science, was almost unknown; but there was a fairy-tale glow, reinforced and ratified by religion, which gave to the activities of Rich, of Layard and of Rawlinson an almost saintly aura; particularly when the gigantic results of their labours were hauled in triumph to the national temple, the British Museum. Rossetti dedicated a sonnet to them, for they were the stuff of poetry, not science. A far cry from modern archæology, with its "levels" and its laboratories, its potsherds and flints, where a broken bowl, or the fragment of a clay tablet are treasured, for the history that lies buried in them, as a block of stone may reveal to the eye of science the presence of oil or uranium.

The oil age was to come in Iraq. It is there now. But as we stand in the halls of the *Mustansiriya*, or before the gold masks and daggers in the Baghdad Museum, we slip back in time—how far? To the dim, unknown, unknowable eras of Sumer and Babylon and Nineveh, or to the nineteenth century, when our countrymen gave these civilizations, as it were, a second birth?

Oil and science, that is the new age. But before we return to it, there is another aspect of the past which arrests us, for it is as romantic as antiquity, though far more inconstant. Claudius James Rich, the almost fabulous British Resident in Baghdad during the first two decades of the last century, gained his fame, it is true, by his descriptions of

Babylon and Nineveh. But it was not for that that the East India Company paid him. No; he was sent to Baghdad to foster commerce, and commerce requires communications. For more than two centuries, ever since the establishment of the British factory in Aleppo, the eyes of Englishmen had turned towards the overland route to the East. Sir John Shirley, on his way to Persia, had sailed down the Euphrates, roared at by lions from the bank, menaced by the "King of the Arabs" at Ana, and had then taken to the land near Baghdad, where he was fleeced by the Turks. Other Englishmen followed him; but it was only in the days of Rich that a regular postal service was established and maintained. So it came about that in 1820, as Rich was encamped before the gates of Suleimania in Kurdistan, waiting until the astrologers should fix on an auspicious day for his entry into the town, one of his messengers arrived with a despatch from London. It announced the death of king George III. At once Rich arranged for the onward journey of the courier to Baghdad, and so to Basra, where one of the Company's vessels was waiting to take the news to Bombay. In this way, the time of transit from London was reduced by one-third—for it took six months by the Cape route, only four by the overland route.

Shirley had travelled by river. Rich's posts came by camel. This was speedier, but useful only for the conveyance of correspondence. Suppose a regular river route could be opened, would not that serve for the transport of goods? Thus it came about that Colonel Chesney's famous expedition was undertaken. Its story has often been told. The object of the undertaking was defeated; but as an example of enterprise and endurance the journey has an abiding place in the literature of exploration. To convey, in the year 1835-36, two prefabricated steamships to the coast of Syria, to transport them bit by bit across the desert, to assemble them on the banks of the Euphrates and to navigate them down that treacherous stream—whatever might be the material outcome—that in itself was an achievement. Where Shirley had heard the lions roaring, Chesney heard them too. One of the ships was lost in a hurricane above Ana. The Government of Bombay caused a memorial to be erected at Basra, recording the names of those who perished and those who survived. It was inscribed in letters of gold on black slate, in both English and Arabic. Until recently, this memorial lay neglected in a disused cemetery at Basra; but it has now been rescued, and installed, for all to see, in the main entrance of our Consulate-General at Basra. This is, I believe, the oldest inscription in both Arabic and English in existence.

(In passing, we may note another relic of the overland route in this same Consulate-General. It is a clock—a brass clock, clearly old, and English, yet with Arabic numerals on its dial. Its history is this: It was made in London in 1690, for export to Aleppo. Thither it duly went, and there it stayed, until it was discarded in favour of a newer, more glittering successor. It was consigned to an Aleppo lumber room, whence it was rescued by a member of H.M. foreign service, who brought it with him when he was transferred from Aleppo to Basra.)

To return to Chesney. By a stroke of historical irony he himself, in a way, contributed to the chain of events which was to deprive his great

adventure of the practical commercial advantage he had sought and foreseen for it. For it was Chesney who established the fact that the sea levels at Suez and what is now Port Said are the same, and thus, as de Lesseps himself declared, made the Suez Canal a practical proposition. With the construction of the Canal, interest in the northern route disappeared. Only in our own day, with the advent of the automobile and the aeroplane, has it returned. That is a cliché, I know; but I am not ashamed of uttering it, because it is modern Iraq, Baghdad of to-day and to-morrow, that we are considering; and it seems to me that to the understanding of modern Iraq by Britons two things are necessary. First, some appreciation of how long, honourable and productive Britain's association with the country has been; secondly, how sudden, almost cataclysmic, has been the change wrought by the coming of the internal combustion engine. It seems to me important not to confound the two: yet it is sometimes done by European and American observers. They appear to assume that our connection with Iraq began in 1916 only, and that because the motor-car and the aeroplane, and all that they together symbolize, have ever since been familiar in Iraq, the development of modern Iraq should follow the same lines as that of modern Britain or America, and at the same speed.

So far as we Britons are concerned we are not newcomers of but thirty years ago, military conquerors, invaders. Let us disclaim and forget that transitory rôle. No; we are the responsible, proud inheritors of a creative tradition of at least two centuries, enriched and ennobled by a list of great names which has continued into our own day and generation. But the motor-car and the aeroplane *are* upstarts. Last month, I drove across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. The road is excellent. The wayfarer's comfort is enhanced by the welcome which awaits him in the neat houses and bright gardens of the Iraq Petroleum Company's stations. It is hardly more than a day's journey. By air it is but an hour or two. In England, the coach gave way to the postchaise, the postchaise in its turn to the railway, the railway to the motor-car, the motor-car to the aeroplane. A Telford, a Macadam, a Brunel, a Rolls, orderly as the procession of Britain's monarchs, they succeed and fulfil one another. Not so in the East. Let me give an example.

There is a certain senior official in Baghdad who is often regarded as a pioneer of the younger generation. And rightly so. He is a man of great energy and understanding; a man in the prime of life, completely contemporary in outlook. But ask him where he was educated, and he will tell you that he went to school in Aleppo; that, to get there, he travelled by carriage; and that it took him twenty-four days from Baghdad. Twenty-four days, travelling by daily stages, from khan to khan, from Baghdad to Felluja, to Ramadi, Hit, Haditha, Ana, Abu Kemal, Deir ez Zor, past the remains of Assyrian and Roman and Byzantine forts—once again the familiar route which Shirley and Chesney traversed by ship, and before them, Xenophon, Trajan, Julian and many another by land. This route was still in use thirty years ago, but to-day it is dead and gone. There has been no evolution, no gradation; at one blow antiquity is killed and buried. To-day, the khans are in ruins, the

towns of the upper Euphrates are shrinking. The only source of vigour is the Iraq Petroleum Company's station at Haditha, which provides lucrative employment for some hundreds. A creation of fifteen years has supplanted a tradition two hundred times as old. Oil and its children have won. Materially speaking, that is. But it is easier to change material conditions than it is to change mental and spiritual habits.

The chief problem in Iraq to-day is this fundamental re-adjustment. The necessity for it has never occurred before our day; it may never occur again. But here and now a young nation is striving to adapt itself to a new world. We Britons find the task hard enough. It is far harder for Iraq, because the distance to be crossed is so much greater. Take, for instance, the sheikh of the tribe through whose lands lies the route we were discussing—the Duleim. He is the successor of that "king" who roused Shirley's fears. The present sheikh is respected and obeyed throughout his tribal area, which stretches from Baghdad to the confines of Syria, an area, let me add, in which he maintains complete tranquillity. He is also a well-known figure in Baghdad society; you meet him at cocktail parties, you meet him on the race-course. He is a Member of Parliament, he owns shiny, elongated motor-cars. He still wears the traditional Arab dress, but he has abandoned the tent for a house. He prefers the aeroplane to the camel as a means of transport and the radio to the tribal bard as entertainment, the gun to the hawk (he has both) as a means of sport. His old great-uncle, whom you may meet in his diwan, will tell you tales of battles with the Turks, in which he himself was a leader. Of his brothers-in-law, some wear Arab clothes and are still "down on the farm," and of the others two are young lawyers, and one is studying agriculture at California University. To call such a man—and he is typical of many to-day—"reactionary," "a feudal anachronism," is as fair as to accuse of reaction a traveller who perforce has to make a journey by 'bus, while you do it in a Rolls-Royce.

It is time we left the museum and returned to the life of to-day. But our contemplation of antiquity may be of help to us in our attempt to understand the present; it may acquit us, perhaps, of the reproach of Mr. Bernard Shaw, that nowadays too many people know the X Y Z of subjects of which they have not studied the A B C.

In Baghdad we usually take a ride in the hour or two after dawn. At that time, the air is fresh with the breeze from the north. It seems to bring us a breath from the still snow-clad mountains above Mosul. Mosul in spring is a city of roses. Every public and private garden is ablaze with roses, every bud on every bush is in full bloom, so that each garden bed is, as it were, a colour-organ with every stop out. They sell roses in the markets, and great panniers of rose-petals, too, for the making of rose-water and attar. The men carry roses in their hands, as they go about their affairs, and hand them to you as you greet them. Something of this scented atmosphere seems to be wafted over Baghdad at day-spring, when the veils of mist lift from the river and the houses stand out, for all too brief a time, like the buildings in a Canaletto picture. At dawn and sunset, silver by morning, golden in the evening, spanned



by those two bridges of seeming jade, modern Baghdad asserts its lineage, its descent from bygone, legendary beauties.

We ride by the river-side, through groves of fruit-trees, along the west bank. A month ago the palm-trees were in flower and below them, in their order, the peach, the almond, the apple and the orange. Below them again grows the emerald-green corn—three crops in one grove. Of fruit-trees, only the palm can face the heat by itself, the others need its protection, or they would be burnt by the sun. The corn, it is true, can grow by itself; but so strong is the light, even under the double shade of the palms and their protégés, that you can grow a third crop—wheat or barley. When grown in this way, it is usually mown before maturity and used as feed for animals. The Baghdad spring is soon past. Now, all that we see, as we ride along, are a few last white mulberries and the brilliant brick-red flower of the pomegranate; here and there, a wild rose, the old-fashioned damask rose of the Persian miniatures, still survives: but in Iraq, as throughout the Near East, the pomegranate flower signals the end of spring.

The river is beginning to fall now. Our anxiety about floods is over. April is the danger month. If the snows which feed the Tigris and those which swell its affluents melt together, as they sometimes do, there is danger. If the melting is sped, and the escape of the water impeded, by a warm south wind, the danger becomes acute. This year we hardly experienced any winter—on only one morning in December do we recall seeing a film of ice on a puddle—so that there was not much snow to melt, and the river never became menacing. But last year Baghdad was nearly engulfed; snow was abundant and the fatal south wind blew upon it. The Government, to save the capital, had to breach the bunds to the north of it and inundate hundreds of square miles of good farm land. Then came the unforeseen calamity. The bund of the Diyala, the tributary that joins the Tigris below Baghdad, burst; its waters submerged the Iraq army depot, and stood at the very gates of Baghdad. The south wind still blew, and inch by inch the water crept up the one frail bund that stood between it and Baghdad. All efforts were concentrated on the bund, and Baghdad was saved, by a matter of centimetres. But for weeks the city was an island, and the loss of crops was enormous.

Cannot this perennial menace be overcome? A great flood prevention scheme is in active preparation, which, it is hoped, will tame the rage of the Tigris, even as the works which are already in progress near Ramadi will humble that of the Euphrates. In both cases, the principle to be employed is the same—the use of a natural depression as a kind of appendix; for the Euphrates, Lake Habbaniya, for the Tigris the Wadi Tharthar. The possibility of constructing a dam higher up on the Tigris or one of its tributaries is also being examined.

Of necessity we keep on or near the river bank, because the band of palm and mulberry trees which give us shade is but a hundred yards deep. The reason for this is not at once apparent, because we are never out of hearing of at least one engine, rhythmically and asthmatically driving a rotary pump, which supplies the silt-laden water to a canal. These canals run far inland. Why have the palms not followed them?

The answer is that the palm trees were planted before the coming of the engines, when the water was raised by hand or donkey, and that now it is not worth planting palms on land where they will so soon be cut down to make way for the new Baghdad—the modern capital which is to restore to the west bank its ancient importance and to revive the glories of Mansur's Round City. The plans are complete. Already the new railway station is rising, work on the new *Bilat*, or official palace, will soon begin, and the boundaries of a new sports club are being marked out.

As we ride, we seem to be escorted by birds, birds great and small. Over the river, we see, first, the easy-going, nostalgic sea-gull. On the islands, perhaps, a grey heron or two. Rarely and unforgettably, in the winter, we saw the great white heron, standing like a wraith in the morning mist. Waders there are in plenty, but they prefer the stagnant waters of the Washash Canal. Plovers, too, we see on the fields, and we hear the morse-like messages of the unseen black partridge, as he signals to his mate. Before us fly the hoopoes, around whom there is a halo of sanctity, for was it not a hoopoe which bore King Solomon's invitation to Queen Bilqis?

Turning to the river again, we watch the duck as they wheel warily away. We are now approaching the king's palace; and on almost every turret we see a stork's nest, with the reverend and dignified occupants—like tutors or chaplains—gliding to and from the fields, or holding committees on the tiles. As if to mock them, the magpies, untidy and anarchic and rather pleasantly light in the head, flap and flop about. No wonder they have the reputation of being thieves; the poor things are obviously incapable of anything so dull as work. And how they have prospered. Thirty years ago, they were rare; now you see them everywhere. But we live in a gangster age, as the cynical, skulking crows would be the first to admit. Sleek pigeons, from the Baghdad mosques, come out every morning and settle smugly on the same lucerne patch. Clouds of starlings roll out over the cultivation, and at dusk roll back to the groves. Little wrens speed along the ditches from thistle to thistle, which are to them great trees; and everywhere fly the swallows, rejoicing in the secret of a fourth dimension. On the telegraph wires sit the black-and-white kingfishers, proudly conscious that the wires were strung across the canal for their especial convenience. And sometimes we see the white-fronted kingfisher, whose back is vivid green, and flashes like lightning. And these birds seem so tame. You can watch them from as close as you can watch the Prince Regent's three English swans, which have now come to complete this delightful and unconfined aviary.

We have already passed the palace, and we bear inland on our journey home. Suddenly, as we turn the corner, we are met by a sight which contrasts as sharply as possible with the calm shades of the river-side. We are on a parade ground, where everything seems to be going on at once. There are troops drilling, troops at target-practice, troops doing physical drill; over there a group is practising basket ball; here, another, football. One soldier is trying the high-jump; a second is put-

ting the weight. In each case, we note, the group is led and encouraged by a young officer, who takes his full share of the exercise. Who are these troops? They are the Royal Bodyguard, the *corps d'élite* of the Iraq army. And who are the officers? The sons and nephews of pashas and ministers perhaps? No, they are not. They are young men drawn from every section of society, every part of the country, and they owe their positions to their own merits, physical fitness, and personality. The soldiers are all volunteers, not conscripts, and they, too, have been drafted to the Guard from different regiments on account of superior intelligence or physique. Membership of the Royal Guard is a prize, not a perquisite.

Around the periphery of the ground we see a procession of horses, and as they approach us we examine them. What beauties they are! Chestnuts and bays, out for exercise. They belong to the commanding officer of the Guard, who is a well-known rider and trainer, besides being a very efficient Commanding Officer. This year he is to be one of the judges at the International Horse Show. After these animals have trotted past us, we see another small group of horsemen moving at a walk. They attract our attention from afar, because all three of them are riding greys which flash like silver in the morning sun. The leader is dressed in jodhpurs, like ourselves, and, like us, seems out for a morning ride. Every now and then he stops to speak to an officer or man. Slowly the trio approaches us, and we realize that it is the Prince Regent, followed by his aide-de-camp and his groom. We dismount and bow as he draws level. He reins in, and greets us in English. In repose his features have a serious, at times almost a sad look; but as soon as he speaks they are illuminated by a vivacious smile, full of sympathy and humour. His broad forehead, large eyes set widely apart, and the lines of his nose and mouth recall Renaissance portraits, and not without reason; for the Prince Regent is a young man of the renaissance.

As we mount we discover yet one more group of horsemen moving across the ground and, with them, six couple of hounds. They are the Royal Harithiya pack, the Prince Regent's own, brought from England last autumn. And what sport we have had with them! What Plato said of the life without philosophy may be applied to the life without horses in Iraq, and, to prove it, add hounds. They are with us now, and recognize us as old friends. It does us good to hear the familiar names: "Marksman," "Wary," "Galliard," "Gentle," and the rest; though the kennel-men, who learned their art with the Royal Exodus out at Habaniyah, assimilate the unknown to the known, so that "Woodbine" becomes "Good-bye" and "Landlord" "London."

Looking round over the apparently limitless, even, treeless plain, you would wonder where sport could be found; but try it, and at once you discover, to your joy and peril, that what looks so dull is really by no means so. The plain is not limitless and even; it is divided, just like the chessboard in *Alice Through the Looking-Glass*, by a network of ditches. "Squire-traps" they are indeed, these waters of Babylon. They are all of different breadth and depth. Some are to be jumped, some waded, some avoided. Some are at ground level, some raised on dykes, some

screened as of old with willows, which have caused many an unwary horseman to sit down and weep. Then there are the patches of irrigation that look so lush and are so treacherous to those who try to cross them. And the third hazard is the most subtle of all. A horse is only happy on what it has been brought up to. Our horses are quite at home on the hard, hard tracks, or the stubble fields or fields ploughed by the ox-drawn plough, even in the bean patches and enclosed gardens. They have known these from infancy and they will not falter upon them. But the tractor they have not known. Keep away from tractor-ploughed land, or ten to one, over you will go, roly-poly, you and your horse together. As we look at the pack, we recall our past runs, with the "The Scarlets" and the silver-grey horses glistening in the sun, and hounds going away, away, their voices like a ring of bells. And here an Arab and there a Briton saying farewell to his steed; and we long for next season.

His Royal Highness has left the parade ground; we see him riding back to his house, which is a quarter-of-a-mile distant from the king's palace. He nears the bridge and passes the round garden with the fountain in the middle, which is the first sight of Baghdad to gladden the eyes of the desert traveller. The tea-house by the canal bridge is known as "Claridge's" from its royal *ambience*; and now its guests come forth to salute the prince as he passes. The police on the other side present arms and the traffic halts. Suddenly, a little boy pushes his way past the police. They look, enquiringly, at the prince: they do not forbid the boy, for he is only exercising the immemorial privilege of an Arab to seek redress for injury from his ruler. This lad, we notice, is on crutches and has only one leg. "I am oppressed," he cries. The Prince Regent at once reins in, listens to the story. With a kind word to the lad, he calls his aide-de-camp and seems to be giving him directions. Then he rides on and we, too, return home. Later, we hear what happened. The boy had been run over in Basra by a 'bus belonging to the municipality. His right leg had been amputated below the knee. He had applied several times for compensation and had received none. So now he sought redress from the Prince. He obtained it: he was housed in the Palace, found work, and promised that when he stopped growing he should be given a fine metal leg. When we heard the story we felt that the boy could hardly have got more had he stood for as many hours as he had waited minutes in one of our up-to-date queues, filling in those forms which are the glory of our democratic heritage, and applying to one or more of those ministries which have efficiently replaced the outmoded shrines of a more superstitious age.

To that petitioner and to others of whom we heard tell was granted a happy issue out of affliction. But their presence, and the plight of others whom we have seen, casts a dark shadow over the bright picture. For poverty there is, both in town and country; and its alleviation is one of the chief aims of all who love Iraq. The peasants, many of them, are tribesmen and, as such, though they must till the land of their sheikh and pay him a portion of the yield, yet know that they can rely on him for support. They will not starve. But it will be hard for them, still harder for their over-worked, over-laden women, to better their lot.

Others are de-tribalized, working for absentee landlords. But far worse off is the urban proletariat, country folk who have come to the towns, as the countryfolk in all times and countries have done, to find work. As always, it is a dangerous leap. In Iraq, as elsewhere, it has given rise to a rash of squalid habitations on the outskirts of the big cities, where the conditions of life are pitiful. These quarters are not as extensive, as disease-ridden, as foul, or as vicious as were similar areas in British or American cities when they were passing through an analogous stage of development; but they are bad enough—too bad for modern Iraq.

The evil is being combated in various ways: First, by the organization of workers into trade unions. This is a slow task. The workers are politically immature, and are apt to fall victims to adventurers who use them for their own selfish ends. This plays into the hands of the reactionary rich; and so the vicious circle spins. But the Iraq Government, aided by some of the ablest of the younger generation, by journalists and others, and led by a Prime Minister who has unrivalled administrative experience first as a district officer, then as a district governor, and finally cabinet minister over a period of years, is tackling the problem in earnest. So is the Iraq Petroleum Company; and the formation of trade unions is being pressed ahead in all sincerity both by the Government of Iraq and the Oil Company. The Iraq Labour Law of 1936, amended in 1941, is thoroughly up to date. It is drafted on an International Labour Office model. For instance, it provided for holidays with pay before those were a legal obligation in Great Britain. Secondly, housing schemes are being actively promoted, both by the Government and by private enterprise. Despite the difficulties of supply occasioned by the war, work is going ahead. Thirdly, there is a movement to revive the countryside. Many a sheikh and landowner is seeking to adopt modern methods of agriculture. Rural schools, too, are being improved. One sheikh has just spent £50,000 on the building and equipment of a secondary boarding school for his little town and its neighbourhood. Opinion throughout the country is in favour of reform and development, and to that end the Government of Iraq asks for more and more Britons, whose skill and experience, they feel, are needed for the execution of its many plans. In fact, the demand for Britons exceeds the supply.

This may cause surprise; it seems, superficially, so contrary to the general spirit of the age in Asia. Superficially it is; but this speculation brings us face to face with one of the problems of the age—the relation of economics and politics. They are so easily confounded: to leave economics out of political calculations is fatal, but it is equally disastrous to substitute economics for politics, and to attempt to cure political ills with economic remedies.

We saw much to make us think during the ceremonies which marked King Feisal's twelfth birthday on May 2. In the early morning we stood on a balcony in Rashid Street, the main street of Baghdad, to watch the troops go by. First, came the mechanized artillery and then the signallers; then a pause, and then His Majesty's Horse Guards—the chestnut squadron with officers and men in white tunics and helmets and with blue breeches; the troopers carrying lances and pennons, the

officers wearing white plumes. And what horses! We know them well: "beauteous and swift, the minions of their race." The crowd clap like mad—Arabs do not cheer—as the troops approach, and we could feel their proud satisfaction at hailing their own army on their own King's birthday, just as we do in London. As the squadron clatters musically past us, their commander looks up at us, smiles and salutes, as do some of his brother officers who are friends of ours. We have hacked with them, hunted with them, dined and picnicked together. One of them we recently saw at the Baghdad Horse Show clear a five-foot timber fence on an Arab pony, which for an Arab is held to be a record. The Prince Regent that same evening entertained a thousand guests in the garden of his house, and the King was there among them. Hundreds of coloured lights shone from the trees of the garden, there was music, there was gaiety and everyone felt pleased with everyone else. Is there another court in Asia, or another capital, where such balance exists? And what is the reason? It is not an economic one. It is simply this: Iraq went from occupation to independence in twelve years. Among the guests on that occasion were men who had fought to win their people's freedom from the Turks and had lived to see the creation, with Britain's help, of their kingdom. Others are young enough not to have known those great events. But in all their days they have seen no king but their own king, no flag but their own flag. They have none of that sense of humiliation, of distraction and all too often of frustration which is the result of domination by even the best of aliens.

My tale is told. I do not wish to adorn it, and it is not for me to point the moral; but I feel that my experience in Iraq, which has been amongst the happiest of my life, has perhaps been a proof of that outlook on international relations which our President mentioned in his anniversary address, and to which he drew eloquent and timely attention in the article which was published in *The Times* on June 14. Modern Iraq started, admittedly, as an experiment; its political origins and development were different from those of any other territory, but I believe that it has succeeded in doing two things: First, finding the foundation for its own internal and external progress; secondly, realizing what all of us now have to realize, that nations, like individuals, cannot live to themselves or of themselves, but must be part of a larger society. No state in that part of Asia with which I am directly or indirectly acquainted has done more than Iraq, or possibly as much, to accept the international obligations of nationhood. That is why a Briton, if he goes to Iraq, feels, and is made to feel, that he is among friends. Iraq can be proud, in going forward in the new post-war age, that having started as an experiment, it is now established as an example.

The PRESIDENT: I am sure you would wish me to thank, on your behalf, the lecturer for his vivid and informative account of modern life in Iraq. I do not propose to delay you by pointing to any lessons to be drawn from his lecture. But it has suggested much food for thought. In particular and above all it points to the importance of recognizing the spirit of nationality, and of realizing that national self-respect must receive its expression in constitutional terms. That spirit is the strongest

force known to modern times, and it can only have its outlet by giving to those countries which are now under any form of subjection or control the full power, in due season, to manage their own affairs. They must ultimately have that power, whatever the consequences may be to the outside world, or whatever the consequences may be to their internal conditions. And there is no escape from that lesson.

# OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF KUWAIT

By LAURENCE LOCKHART, B.A., Ph.D.

## ANCIENT TIMES

THE history of the Arab shaikhdom of Kuwait as such is relatively short, as it covers little more than two centuries and a quarter. On the other hand, the territories of which it consists (which amount in area to some 6,500 square miles) have often, in remoter times, been the scene of events of no small historical importance.

It is probable that these territories came successively under the sway of the Sumerians, Elamites, Kassites, and Archæmenians, but of these occupations nothing has, apparently, been recorded. The earliest link with ancient times that has so far been discovered in Kuwait is, curiously enough, one with the Western world. In 1937 a stone\* bearing a Greek inscription was found in the wall of a small building of dressed stone standing 700 yards to the south-east of the village of az-Zur, on the north-west coast of Failaka Island, when the building in question was being demolished. The English translation of this inscription is as follows:

Sotel(es)  
An Athenian and Oistra  
To Zeus Saviour  
Poseidon  
Artonis  
The Saviours.

It is believed that this inscription was cut to commemorate the rescue from shipwreck of Soteles and his companion Oistra (who may have been his wife or slave). The date cannot be determined with exactitude, but it is thought to be between 400 and 100 B.C. It is possible that the ship on board which Soteles and Oistra were travelling when it was wrecked may have belonged to Nearchus's fleet, which reached the head of the Persian Gulf at the beginning of 325 B.C. Alternatively, and with perhaps slightly more probability, the vessel may have been detailed to take part in one of the expeditions which Alexander the Great subsequently despatched to explore the western shores of the Persian Gulf.

Nothing of any consequence appears to have taken place until nearly 600 years later, when part at any rate of what is now Kuwait was incorporated in the Sasanian Empire of Persia. Shapur I (A.D. 309-379) is said to have caused a great ditch to be dug from Hit, on the Euphrates, to the northern shore of Kuwait Bay, in the vicinity of the site of the existing hamlet of Kazama, in order to prevent the predatory Arabs from making incursions into the Sawad, the fertile "black" lands of Mesopotamia (so called in order to distinguish them from the dun-coloured desert wastes).

\* This stone is now preserved in the Political Agency at Kuwait.



### THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

Three centuries later, in A.D. 633, the celebrated Muslim General Khalid ibnu'l-Walid, who had earned the title of "Saifullah" or "Sword of God" by his repeated victories over the Arabs hostile to Islam, marched to attack a Persian force that was encamped near Kazama. In true knightly fashion the engagement was preceded by a single combat between the opposing generals, in which Khalid was the victor. He then led his men in an irresistible charge against their dispirited foes. This victory was the forerunner of the great battles which shortly after resulted in the overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty and the Arab conquest of Persia.

### MEDIÆVAL TIMES

We learn from the famous geographer and historian Abu'l-Fida (1273-1331) that Kazama was in those times a well-known place, evidently far larger and more important than it is to-day. Apart from this statement, nothing, apparently, has been recorded regarding those regions between the time of Khalid's victory and the advent of the Portuguese towards the close of the sixteenth century, nearly a thousand years later; but it is certain that for several hundred years they formed the southernmost part of the Caliphate province of al-Iraq. The Portuguese doubtless profited by the good anchorage in Kuwait Bay, and they are said to have constructed a fort on the small low-lying island known as Al-Qurain ("the Little Horn") which is situated a short distance west by south of the present town of Kuwait. It is probable that this fort was built on the slightly rising ground at the southern end of the islet, but no trace of it now remains. In later times, when the town of Kuwait was built, it was frequently called Qurain, after the island; English sea captains corrupted this name into "Grane."

### THE FOUNDING OF MODERN KUWAIT

The starting-point of the history of the State of Kuwait was in A.D. 1716, when three clans of the great Anaiza tribe of Northern Central Arabia decided to give up their nomadic ways and settle down. They chose for the site of their chief settlement a low sandstone ridge on the north-west side of the promontory called Ras-al-Ajuza ("the Cape of the Old Woman"), on the southern shore of Kuwait Bay. Close to this ridge were a number of wells of brackish water which gave the place its name, for *kuwait* in local parlance signifies a small number of wells (the usual meaning in Arabic is "little fort"). These settlers, like all Arabs, took kindly to the sea and gained their livelihood by fishing and pearling.

The site was in several respects well chosen. It was strategically placed close to the entrance to the Shatt al-Arab, the anchorage in the bay was excellent, and it was possible, by means of breakwaters, to construct a harbour that could accommodate all the types of sailing craft that plied in the Gulf. Moreover, good caravan routes rendered access to the interior easy, thus making it possible for Kuwait to become in due course the *entrepôt* of Northern Central Arabia. On the other hand, the place suffered (and still suffers) from the disadvantage that the local water

behaviour of the Turkish authorities, temporarily transferred its agency from Basra to Kuwait.\*

A number of years previously the Al Khalifa, one of the clans that had settled at Kuwait earlier in the century, had amicably seceded and had temporarily taken up its abode at Zubara on the Qatar peninsula, in order to be nearer the main pearling banks. In 1783 the Al Khalifa, with the aid of the Shaikh of Kuwait, seized the Bahrain islands from Persia and established their rule, which, except for a short intermission in the opening years of the nineteenth century, has lasted to this day.

#### DANGER FROM THE WAHHABIS

Both in the late eighteenth century and in the first half of the succeeding one, Kuwait was repeatedly threatened by the fierce and warlike Wahhabi zealots, a danger that was to recur in quite recent times. When Harford Jones (later Sir Harford Jones Brydges) was at Kuwait in 1792-3 there were almost daily alarms, and there was in consequence often difficulty in drawing drinking water from the wells situated just to the southwest of the town (those within the town yielded only brackish water). The wall surrounding Kuwait was then in a ruinous state, but the Wahhabis were deterred from pressing home their attacks partly because of the presence of a small guard of Indian sepoy at the British factory and of a cruiser belonging to the Company that was anchored off the town, and partly because of the Shaikh's possession of a large cannon. On one occasion a single discharge from this cumbrous weapon bloodlessly put to flight a body of 500 Wahhabis.

In those days the shipping of Kuwait, like that of other places in the Gulf, was often preyed upon by pirates. One of the most notorious freebooters of all time in the Gulf was Rahmat ibn Jabir; he was a native of Kuwait and flourished in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He did not exclude the shipping of his own birthplace from his unwelcome attentions.†

When J. G. Stocqueler visited Kuwait in 1831 the town had declined considerably in importance, and he estimated its population at no more than 4,000.

In those days Kuwait, like other small States on the fringes of the then far-flung Turkish Empire, often paid only nominal allegiance to the Sultan. The Shaikh sometimes recognized Turkish suzerainty by the payment of tribute, but there were times when these payments were discontinued and independence was almost complete.

#### KUWAIT INCREASES IN IMPORTANCE: 1840-1860

The decline in the fortunes of the town proved to be only temporary, and by 1860 or so it had more than made up the lost ground. Palgrave,

\* Late in 1821 the British Residency at Basra (the Agency had become a Residency in 1798) was, for similar reasons, temporarily transferred to Kuwait.

† For details of the career of this formidable ruffian, see J. S. Buckingham's *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, pp. 356-358, and Francis Warden's *Sketch of the Proceedings (from 1809 to 1818) of Rahmah Bin Jaubir, Chief of Khor Hassan*, and its continuation by Lieutenant S. Hennell in *Bombay Selections*, vol. xxiv, pp. 522-528.

who was in Arabia in 1862-63 (but who never visited Kuwait) spoke very highly of the skill and daring of the Kuwaiti mariners, who, he said, were foremost among the seafarers of the Gulf. By this time the town had become the most active and the most important in the northern part of that inlet. He went on to say\* :

“ Its chief, 'Eysa ('Isa) by name, enjoys a high reputation both at home and abroad, thanks to good administration and prudent policy; the import duties are low, the climate healthy, the inhabitants friendly, and these circumstances, joined to a tolerable roadstead and a better anchorage than most in the neighbourhood, draw to Koweyt hundreds of small craft which else would enter the ports of Aboo-Shahr or Basrah. The inhabitants are Mahometans, Arab Fashion, that is, tolerant to others and not over-rigid to themselves; Wahaabeeism is carefully proscribed, and all the efforts of Nejed have never succeeded in making one single proselyte in Koweyt. In its mercantile and political aspect this town forms a sea outlet, the only one, for Djebel Shomer (Jabal Shammar), and in this respect like Trieste for Austria.”

#### KUWAIT ENVISAGED AS A TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAY TERMINUS

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards Kuwait attracted the attention of several successive groups of financiers and others who were anxious to construct a railway from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to the head of the Persian Gulf. The first of these groups consisted of the Duke of Sutherland, General Chesney, and certain other persons of note, who planned to build their line from Alexandretta to the Euphrates valley and thence downstream to the Gulf; they considered that both Alexandretta and Kuwait “ possessed all the requisites of first-class harbours.”† The main object of this scheme was to strengthen and improve British communications with India. For various reasons, such as the opening of the Suez Canal, this project never materialized. The late Lord Curzon severely criticized it as being unsound on both economic and political grounds, and drew attention to the fact that the Turkish Government, through whose territory most of the railway would have had to pass, had never been consulted. As will be seen below, both Russia and Germany were later to cast covetous eyes on Kuwait for similar reasons.

While this railway project was still being entertained, Kuwait became linked with the outside world in different fashion, for the British India Steam Navigation Company made it a port of call for its ships. Save for a period when, owing to Turkish protests, its steamers ceased to frequent Kuwait, it has remained a port of call for them ever since, and in later years other shipping firms have included it in the itineraries of their vessels.

\* *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii, p. 386.

† See the lecture entitled *The Euphrates Valley Route to India*, which Sir William Andrew delivered to the National Club on June 16, 1882.

## KUWAIT AND THE GREAT POWERS: 1871-1902

In 1871 Midhat Pasha, the energetic Governor of Baghdad, in pursuance of his policy of extending the authority of the Sultan in Arabia, visited Kuwait and conferred upon the Shaikh the title of Qaim-Maqam (Deputy Governor) of that State; the Shaikh's acceptance of that title constituted his acknowledgment of Turkish suzerainty. Midhat Pasha, however, fell from power a year later, and it was not long before Turkish authority in the Persian Gulf area relapsed into its previous nebulous state.

Later in the century Kuwait, by reason of its geographical situation, became a veritable bone of contention between Turkey, Russia, Germany, and Great Britain, and it was also directly involved in the great struggle for supremacy between the rival houses of Sa'ud and Ibn Rashid. Ibn Rashid, the ruler of the Jabal Shammar, much coveted the port of Kuwait, through which so much of the trade of his inland domain had to pass. It was indeed fortunate for the small shaikhdom that her ruler, Shaikh Mubarak, who came to power in 1896, was an extremely astute and capable man. He began his period of rule by securing a regular source of revenue; this he accomplished by levying a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all goods entering his State, including those coming from Turkish ports. In 1897 he, like his grandfather before him, accepted the office of Qaim-Maqam from the Turkish Government, but had cause to repent of his action when that Power sent a quarantine inspector to Kuwait and showed other signs of firmly establishing her authority there. In September of that year, fearing complete absorption by Turkey, he asked for British protection, but the British Government urged him to remain under Turkish suzerainty. A similar request made a year later met with the same reply. Events soon occurred, however, which caused Great Britain to change her views. In 1898 Count Kapnist, a Russian subject, endeavoured to obtain from the Porte a concession for the construction of a railway from the Mediterranean coast to Kuwait, and there were persistent rumours that Russia had her eyes on that port as a coaling station. This threat of Russian intrusion resulted in Great Britain concluding a treaty with Kuwait on January 23, 1899, whereby the ruler of the latter undertook never to cede or lease any portion of his territory to any foreign government or national except with the express authorization of the British Government. In return the Shaikh was assured of British protection in case of need.\*

The conclusion of this treaty could hardly have been more opportune, because Germany, in pursuance of her *Drang nach Osten* policy, was planning to make the south-eastern terminus of the Baghdad Railway on the north side of Kuwait Bay. In 1900 a party of railway engineers under Herr Stemrich, the German Consul-General at Constantinople, carried out a survey of the route to be traversed by the Baghdad Railway to the Persian Gulf; attached to this party was the German military attaché at Constantinople, who was to report on strategic matters. In due course

\* For the text of this treaty, see Aitcheson's "*A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*" relating to India and neighbouring countries (1933 edition), vol. xi, No. xxxvi.

the mission arrived at Kuwait, where Herr Stemrich was courteously received by the Shaikh. Herr Stemrich inquired whether he could purchase a site for the terminus of the Baghdad Railway near Kazama and lease a larger area around it. The Shaikh, mindful of his treaty obligations to Great Britain and distrustful of Germany's motives, disregarded the lavish promises made by the Consul-General and politely, but firmly, refused his offer.

Undeterred by this rebuff, Germany thereupon incited her ally Turkey to seize Kuwait. Shaikh Mubarak was at that time in no position to resist, as his forces (as will be seen below) had just suffered a defeat at the hands of the followers of Ibn Rashid. Great Britain, however, had received warning of Turkey's intentions, and when a Turkish warship, crammed with troops, steamed into Kuwait Bay, she found that a British cruiser had preceded her. The Turkish captain prudently withdrew after being informed that fire would be opened on his vessel if any attempt to land were made. Danger soon threatened again, this time from the interior, for Ibn Rashid set out with a large force to take Kuwait. However, the outbreak of a revolt in his own domains and the landing of a small number of British troops on Kuwait soil caused him to return whence he had come.

Germany, however, had not given up her aims; under her influence Turkey connived at an attempt by Shaikh Mubarak's nephews to seize the town by armed force, a move that was countered by British naval action. In 1902 Turkey, clearly at German instigation, established military posts at Umm Qasr and on Bubiyan Island, in order to enable her ally to build the terminus at or near the former place; it was considered that the Khor Abdullah would provide a good and safe anchorage for large vessels. British intervention, exercised once more, prevented the realization of this scheme.

#### SHAIKH MUBARAK AND IBN SA'UD: 1900-1904

In the early years of the present century the feud between the house of Sa'ud and Ibn Rashid flared up again, and Kuwait was directly involved. Fortune favoured Ibn Rashid at first, and not only was Shaikh Mubarak defeated, but 'Abdu'r-Rahman Ibn Sa'ud, and later his twenty-year-old son 'Abdu'l-Aziz were forced to take refuge at Kuwait. 'Abdu'l-Aziz was then at an impressionable age and was, moreover, very intelligent. He could not fail to be greatly struck by the able manner in which Shaikh Mubarak ruled his small realm. In 1901 Shaikh Mubarak and the young 'Abdu'l-Aziz took the field against their common foe. While Mubarak sought to advance on and attack Hail, Ibn Rashid's capital, 'Abdu'l-Aziz made Riyadh, the ancient home of his family, his main objective. On March 21, 1901, Mubarak's forces came to grips with those of Ibn Rashid near Sarif, to the south-east of Hail, but they sustained a crushing defeat and were forced to retire to Kuwait. It was just after this set-back that Turkey made the attempt mentioned above to seize the shaikhdom. Very soon afterwards 'Abdu'l-Aziz made a second attempt to recapture Riyadh, and this time his efforts were crowned with success. The young man

firmly established himself in Najd, and, when his father, 'Abdu'r-Rahman, renounced his rights, he became King 'Abdu'l-Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

#### BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS KUWAIT: 1903-1914

In November, 1903, the late Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, paid an official visit to the Persian Gulf. Amongst the places he visited was Kuwait, where he was very well received. Shortly after his return to India he arranged for the appointment of a political agent to Kuwait, a step that led to an ineffectual protest by Turkey.

The policy followed by Great Britain at that time in regard to Kuwait and other places in the Persian Gulf was well enunciated by Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary of State for India, in a speech in the House of Lords on May 5, 1903. On that occasion he said:

“ It seems to me that our policy should be directed in the first place to protect and promote British trade in those waters. In the next place I do not think . . . that . . . those efforts should be directed towards the exclusion of the legitimate trade of other Powers. In the third place—I say it without hesitation—we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal.”

With the British attitude thus well defined, Germany made no further endeavour to obtain a foothold in Kuwait, and Turkey abandoned her plan of re-establishing her authority there by force. In 1907 Russia, humbled by her defeat at the hands of the Japanese, concluded an agreement with Great Britain with regard to their respective spheres of interest in the Middle East. Although Kuwait was not mentioned in the treaty, it was felt that no further danger was to be apprehended from Russia in so far as she was concerned. Two years later Great Britain and Turkey began a series of negotiations that resulted on July 29, 1913, in the conclusion of a convention which provided, *inter alia*, for (i) recognition by Turkey of Great Britain's special treaty relationship with Kuwait; (ii) the territories of the Shaikh, although nominally forming part of the province of Baghdad, were to be autonomous; (iii) the Shaikh was to have direct control over a limited area surrounding his capital and a sphere of influence extending for some distance beyond its borders; (iv) Turkey would not extend the Baghdad Railway to the south of Basra without first obtaining Great Britain's consent. Owing to the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in the following year, this agreement was never ratified.

In the meanwhile the situation in the interior of Arabia had undergone a radical change. Young Ibn Sa'ud, after his recapture of Riyadh, had gone from strength to strength in Najd; he had greatly weakened the power of the house of Rashid, and in 1913 he had driven the Turks out of the province of Hasa, thus gaining direct access to the Persian Gulf and partially encircling Kuwait in so doing.

## KUWAIT DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

For some time before Turkey became involved, as an ally of Germany, in the first world war, the situation in the Persian Gulf appeared full of menace. There were reports of Turkish troop movements southwards from Baghdad, with Kuwait, it was said, as their destination. In order to maintain not only her own position in the Persian Gulf, but also to protect her Arab friends such as Shaikh Mubarak and to safeguard Abadan and the oilfields of the A.P.O.C. in the Persian province of Khuzistan, Great Britain decided to send an expeditionary force to the Gulf. This force arrived in time to seize Fao, at the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab, on November 6, the day after war between Great Britain and Turkey was declared. Three days before the landing at Fao, Sir Percy Cox, the chief political officer of the expeditionary force, wrote to the Shaikh requesting him to attack and occupy Umm Qasr, Safwa, and Bubiyan and to co-operate with Shaikh Khaz'al of Mohammerah in driving the Turks out of Basra. He also asked the Shaikh to safeguard the British merchants there. In return Sir Percy Cox promised that, after the capture of Basra, it would never be returned to Turkey and that the Shaikh was always to hold tax free his gardens between Fao and Qurna. Furthermore, he assured the Shaikh that the British Government recognized his shaikhdom as an independent government under British protection.\*

At the outset of the operations in the Shatt-al-Arab an incident occurred which resulted in the adoption by Kuwait of the existing flag. Up to that time the Kuwaitis had had none of their own and had invariably used the Turkish flag. When a British patrol vessel sighted a motor-boat flying Turkish colours proceeding upstream, she fired a shot across her bows and forced her to stop. It was then found that the motor-boat belonged to the Shaikh of Kuwait and that she was conveying messages from him to his ally, Shaikh Khaz'al of Mohammerah. As it was obviously necessary to dispense with the Turkish flag if incidents of this nature were to be avoided, the Shaikh of Kuwait evolved the present standard, consisting of the word "Kuwait" in white lettering on a red ground.

In December, 1915, Great Britain concluded the treaty of 'Uaqir with Ibn Sa'ud, in which the latter undertook, *inter alia*, to refrain from any act of aggression against Kuwait. The position of that small State thus seemed to be as secure as it could be; the tide of war had receded northwards and there was now, apparently, no danger to be apprehended from the rising Power of Najd.

## DEATH OF SHAIKH MUBARAK AND ACCESSION OF SHAIKH JABIR

On January 3, 1916, that benefactor of his small country and staunch friend of Britain, Shaikh Mubarak, died. His death was followed by a struggle for the succession amongst his three sons, Jabir, Salim, and Nasir, but of these Jabir was recognized as the rightful heir. However, Jabir, who had followed his father's policy of friendship with both Great Britain and the house of Sa'ud, died before the year was out.

\* For the text of this letter, see Aitcheson, vol. xi, No. xlii.

## ACCESSION OF SHAIKH SALIM, DECEMBER, 1916

He was succeeded by his brother Salim, a man of very different mould; he was an astute but not a very far-seeing man. Heedless of the fact that Ibn Sa'ud's territories now marched with his along the whole of his southern border and that his neighbour had by now built up a strong military force by means of his *Ikhwan*, consisting of fierce and fanatical Wahhabi zealots, he threw in his lot not only with Ibn Rashid, but also with Turkey, thus breaking his father's treaty obligations to Great Britain. Salim was also unwise enough to encourage certain tribesmen in the province of Hasa to revolt against Ibn Sa'ud. Although Salim took no part in military operations on the side of the Turks, he allowed supplies for them to go through his port. In consequence of Salim's conduct, Great Britain blockaded Kuwait from February, 1918, until the end of hostilities with Turkey, and warned him in July that the assurances which she had previously given to his father and himself would only be continued if he prevented any act in his territory against the interests of His Majesty's Government.

## WAR BETWEEN SALIM AND IBN SA'UD

In 1919 Salim was unwise enough to aggravate his bad relations with Ibn Sa'ud still further by quarrelling with him over some frontier question (the frontiers between their respective realms had never been precisely determined). The result was that Ibn Sa'ud not only placed an embargo on all trade with Kuwait, but even went so far as to order his general, Faisal ad-Darwish, to attack Kuwait with a body of the *Ikhwan*. Forewarned of this development, Shaikh Salim sent a force to await the foe at Jahara, near the western end of Kuwait Bay, where there are wells and a cultivated area and where Shaikh Mubarak had built a fort (this fort is still standing). In the ensuing battle the *Ikhwan* were defeated, but the people of Kuwait so feared a further and more serious onslaught that they, in the short space of two months, surrounded their town on the landward side with the existing wall. It is four miles long, fourteen feet high, and is pierced by four gates. Beginning on the seashore to the east of the town near Ras al'Ajuzah, it runs inland for one and three-quarter miles, then westward for some distance, and finally turns to the north-west and rejoins the coast between the south-west limits of the town and the modern settlement of Bandar Shuwaikh (where the Kuwait Oil Company has jetties for landing plant and equipment).

Not feeling sufficiently secure even when this wall had been completed, Shaikh Salim sent his nephew, Ahmad ibn Jabir (now His Highness Sir Ahmad ibn Jabir as-Subah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.), to come to terms with Ibn Sa'ud. Ahmad had succeeded in winning the friendship and esteem of the Wahhabi monarch when he received news that his uncle, Shaikh Salim, had died on February 27, 1921. He therefore hastened back to Kuwait.

## ACCESSION OF SHAIKH AHMAD AL-JABIR

Amad reached Kuwait on March 29 and was appointed Shaikh in succession to his late uncle. The new ruler, besides maintaining cordial



relations with Ibn Sa'ud, reverted to the traditional policy of friendship with Great Britain.

#### FRONTIER SETTLEMENT WITH SA'UDI ARABIA AND IRAQ: 1922-3

In consequence of the *rapprochement* with Ibn Sa'ud, Shaikh Ahmad was able to settle by friendly agreement the question of their common frontier (always a difficult matter where areas frequented by nomads are involved). In the convention signed at 'Uqair on December 2, 1922, by Ibn Sa'ud and the Shaikh\* it was provided that the frontier was to start at the intersection of the Sha'ib 'Auja with the Batin depression (at the point where the Kuwaiti-Iraqi frontier also begins), whence it was to run just south of east for fifty-six miles to the point where it intersected the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. From there the line followed an arc of a circle, with Kuwait as its centre and a radius of forty miles, to the coast of the Persian Gulf three miles south of Ras al-Qaliya. As the two rulers had conflicting claims to the territory to the south of this rounded portion of the frontier, they agreed to make it a neutral zone over which each possessed equal rights. The zone, which covers 1,800 square miles, has a maximum length of fifty miles from east to west and an average width of forty-five miles.

The Kuwaiti-Iraqi frontier was likewise settled by friendly agreement. This frontier, like the one between Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, begins at the point of the intersection of the Sha'ib Auja with the Batin depression. It runs north-north-east along this depression for eighty-five miles to a point just south of the latitude of Safwan, whence it turns eastwards, passing just south of the Wafwan wells and the conspicuous Jabal Sanam (the reputed site of the ancient city of Teredon or Diridotis) and reaching Zubair Creek between Umm Qasr and the northern end of the Khor as-Sabiya. The frontier line then follows the Khor Shatana and the Khor Abdullah to the mouth of the latter, thus including in Kuwait the islands of Warba and Bubiyan.

#### BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS: THE DISCOVERY OF OIL

In the period between the accession of Shaikh Ahmad and the outbreak of the second world war, Kuwait, thanks to his wise and beneficent rule, prospered greatly. From the material point of view, the most outstanding event during this time was the granting in 1934 of an oil concession over Kuwait territory (exclusive of the neutral zone) to the Kuwait Oil Company, a concern in which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Gulf Oil Corporation are jointly interested. After an initial failure to strike oil at Bahra, on the north side of Kuwait Bay, the Company turned its attention to Burgan, twenty-eight miles south of Kuwait town. This time the Company succeeded in finding oil, and, when further wells were also successful, the existence of a major oilfield was proved. The economic consequences of this discovery will be of great importance to Kuwait.

\* See Aitcheson, vol. xi, No. iv.

### KUWAIT DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

After the outbreak of the second world war the possibility of a German break-through to the Persian Gulf led, first, to a curtailment of the Company's operations and then, for a time, to their complete cessation. Active exploitation was, however, resumed at the earliest possible moment.

While oil development suffered this temporary set-back during the war, the Kuwaiti shipowners, on the other hand, reaped a rich harvest. Owing to the shortage of shipping, they were able to secure a large proportion of the carrying trade between the Shatt-al-'Arab and India. In other respects, except for a marked rise in the cost of living, Kuwait was unaffected by the war.

### POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT AND POSSIBILITIES

The Kuwait Oil Company has made rapid progress since it resumed exploitation work in 1942. It is exploiting what is regarded as potentially one of the largest oilfields in the Middle East, if not in the world, and it has established an oil-loading port at Bandar Ahmadi near Fahahil on the Gulf coast, which is connected by pipe-line with the Burgan field. The first shipment of crude oil from Kuwait was made in June, 1946.

The gradual replacement of the camel by the more mobile lorry has led of late to the port of Jedda securing an increasing share of the trade with the interior of Arabia, of which Kuwait held for so long a virtual monopoly (Jedda, by reason of its greater proximity to the seaports of the world, has a marked advantage over Kuwait). Nevertheless, although Kuwait is suffering to some extent from this encroachment, she has in other respects (notably in oil development) far more than made good the loss, and there seems no reason to doubt that she has a most prosperous future before her.

## POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN

By H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE, LL.D., G.C.R.,  
R.E., C.B.

Luncheon lecture given on May 21, 1947, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We are greatly honoured by the presence of Prince Peter of Greece, who has been kind enough to consent to lecture on "Post-War Developments in Afghanistan." His Royal Highness proposes to take that subject first and then to show a short film descriptive of his latest journey in Afghanistan during 1946. I am sure you will agree that the lecturer is singularly fitted to talk on this subject, because he was at school in Paris with the now reigning King of Afghanistan and is intimately acquainted with the other members of the Afghan Royal Family. In fact, we may say that he has had the freedom of Afghanistan presented to him, and we look forward with eagerness and expectation to what he is about to tell us.

FIRST, I wish to thank Sir John Shea for the kind words with which he has presented me to you. I trust I shall be able to live up to your expectations. I was in Afghanistan for roughly two months in the summer of 1946, and, as Sir John has just said, I was virtually given the freedom of Afghanistan by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, with whom I was at school as a boy in France. Thanks to that, I was probably in a position to see more of Afghanistan than most travellers can.

You may think it curious that a Greek should address you on the subject of Afghanistan. I recall that last year when I was at a lecture given to our Society we heard a charming Swiss lady speak about Afghanistan, but in her case the connection happened to be mountains; she being a famous mountaineer, it was normal that she should have visited Afghanistan, which is a mountainous country. In my case the link is different. Those of you who remember past history will recall that of all Western nations the Greeks were the only nation whose people settled down for some time in Afghanistan; that country, which to-day is still independent, has never been conquered by any Western nation except by the forces of Alexander the Great for the short time he was there on his way through to India. Because his successors set up one of the Hellenistic Greek kingdoms which succeeded Alexander's passage through that part of the world, there are still in Afghanistan many remains of the Hellenistic period. It was for that reason I wanted to visit the country. The French Mission which has been working there for the last twenty years has uncovered many interesting objects, but there is still much to be done, and so I thought it worth while taking three months' leave from Cairo, where I was then stationed, and motoring to Afghanistan overland from there. I could, of course, speak about those Hellenistic remains, but it would probably be of more interest to the members of this Society if I dwelt on post-war develop-

ments, both political and economic, in Afghanistan. In view of the present state of India, I feel sure that, for the British, public conditions in Afghanistan to-day are of greater interest than the Hellenistic ruins which interested me.

I am in a position to give you some idea of political and economic developments in Afghanistan because I was given many facilities to see for myself, and I am sufficiently intimate with the Afghan royal family to know what has been going on. I met also other leading personalities: the Prime Minister of Afghanistan; various diplomats, of whom Sir Giles Squire, the British Minister, was one of the most helpful; and, curiously enough, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in Kabul, who has been there for the last fourteen years and who did not seem in any way to resent the fact that we had been at war for the last five years. I was also in Afghanistan as correspondent of *The Times*, and was able to write a few articles for that newspaper, which, of course, was an extra reason for investigating conditions. Finally, a friend of mine in Cairo asked what trade possibilities there might be between Egypt and Afghanistan, and that enabled me also to look into commercial prospects between Afghanistan and the outside world. So I think I have a sufficient idea of conditions in Afghanistan to enable me to give an outline of the political and economic aspects of the country.

Let me commence by refreshing your memory of past events in that country, because what is going on in Afghanistan now is, naturally, a consequence of past history. I will try to sketch events in Afghanistan since it came into the picture as a country vitally linked to events in British India. One can say that Afghanistan became of interest to the British Government when in 1838 a certain Captain Vikovich arrived in Kabul from the Russian Government. The Government of India was so much perturbed at his presence there (because at the time both Britain and Russia were spreading across Asia, though from opposite directions, the British having come by sea, the Russians by land to Central Asia) that the Government of India sent Sir Alexander Burns to demand from Dost Mohammed Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, that Captain Vikovich should leave the country. The Afghans refused, and the Government of India decided to enter the country with an Anglo-Indian army, which met with disaster in the first Afghan War in 1841. The British envoy, Sir William MacNaughten, was killed, with his staff, and the troops were massacred, only twenty survivors reaching the plains of India. Dost Mohammed Khan, who had taken refuge in Russia during these events, returned, but in 1857 he was wise enough to conclude an agreement with the Government of India which put relations between the two countries on a different footing. Twenty years later the Anglo-Russian Convention fixed the Oxus River as the permanent northern frontier of Afghanistan and the limit of Russian extension from Central Asia southwards. The Amir of Afghanistan in those days was a collateral descendant of Dost Mohammed Khan, Amir Sher Ali, who, because of the Russian pressure on his State, demanded of the Government of India a guarantee not only for himself personally, but also that his dynasty would remain on the throne. Naturally, the Government of India found it impossible to commit

themselves to this extent, so Sher Ali, in bad humour, agreed that a Russian mission might go to Kabul, while refusing entry to a British mission. This gave rise to more tension, and in 1878 the second Afghan War began, which also ended in disaster, the then British envoy, Sir Louis Cavanari, and the entire staff of the British Legation being murdered in Kabul. The Afghans were obviously difficult to understand and to get on with, and a punitive expedition was despatched from India in 1880 to obtain from the successor of Sher Ali Khan, the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, his signature to a treaty which allowed the Government of India to administer the foreign relations of Afghanistan, and, in compensation, a subsidy was granted to the Government of Afghanistan to enable its army to be reorganized on a Western basis. The Russians, of course, reacted to this agreement, and in 1885 they seized the north-west part of Afghanistan, known as the Panjdeh, where the frontier now descends towards the south. That area was seized by Tsarist troops, who were marching down towards the Indian frontier at a dangerous rate, and the town of Herat was then fortified both by the British Military Mission and by Abdur Rahman Khan, in the anticipation that the Russians would go farther, but they stopped where the frontier now is. In the nearby town of Maruchak on the Murghab River, near the frontier, talks were initiated between the representatives of the Russian and British Governments, which led in 1885 to an agreement fixing the frontiers of Afghanistan as they are to-day, and it was agreed that the Afghans should remain outside the zones of influence of both the Government of India and the Tsarist Government in Central Asia.

In 1907, a Convention recognized Afghanistan as a buffer State and fixed the frontier in the eastern end, in Wakhan, so that India and Russia had no common frontier; and that same frontier with what was then the Empire of China, exists to-day. Everything appeared to be settled, and for a long time there was peace. It was only in 1919, at the end of the first world war, that the then Amir of Afghanistan, Amanullah, who later styled himself king after the demobilization of the British troops following that war, thought it good to try to seize territory on the north-western frontier, and he marched into India. After a short campaign he was halted and an armistice was signed. The Commander-in-Chief at that time was Nadir Shah, who became King of Afghanistan, the father of the present King. A treaty was signed in 1921 which gave up the subsidy the Government of India was paying the Afghan Government, and the Afghans recovered the right to administer their own foreign affairs. Amanullah, though he had been rash on this occasion, was even more rash in Afghanistan itself. He tried to Westernize it so quickly that eventually a revolution broke out and the people drove him from the throne. His cousin, Nadir Shah, was then Minister in Paris (that is how I was at school with his son, because the boy was educated in the nearby *lycée* to which I went); but he returned and won the throne back from Bacha-i-Saquo, leader of the revolutionaries, and it is his branch of the family which has been reigning ever since. Nadir Shah was the eldest of five brothers, descendants of a nephew of Dost Mohammed Khan, the first of the dynasty, known as Yahya Khan,

that is why the five brothers, of whom Nadir Shah was the eldest, are frequently referred to as the Yahya Khel brothers, "Khel" meaning "clan" in Afghan. The brothers of Nadir Shah—Aziz Khan, Hashim Khan, Shah Wali Khan, and Mahmud Shah Khan—have held leading positions in the country since 1929. The first was King until 1933, when he was succeeded by the present King, Muhammed Zahir Shah; the second was Minister in Berlin, where he was assassinated by an Afghan student, and he was the father of the present Minister at the Court of St. James's, Sardar Naim Khan. Muhammed Hashim Khan was Prime Minister for seventeen years, from 1929 to 1946; he was probably the most prominent personality in the whole of Afghanistan. The fourth, Shah Wali Khan, took Kabul from Bacha-i-Saquo, as head of the army corps which entered the city, and is now Minister in Paris. Finally, the last of the five Yahya Khel brothers, Mahmud Shah Khan, is to-day Prime Minister of Afghanistan, having become so in May, 1946, after having been Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Army.

The Government of Muhammed Hashim Khan, who, as I have said, was for seventeen years Prime Minister of Afghanistan, is the Government which ruled Afghanistan during the Second Great War. You will remember that in 1941, at the time when British and Soviet troops entered Iran, pressure was put upon the Afghan Government to surrender the Axis nationals who were in Afghanistan, and Hashim Khan acceded to this. It seems that this was not an easy decision. It was necessary to call together the great assembly of the chieftains of the tribes, who objected to the request, they regarding it as an interference with their internal affairs, but eventually Hashim Khan was able to convince them that it was the only way to avoid trouble and that to resist would do no good to anybody, not even to the Axis nationals. So they were handed over to both the British and Soviet authorities, and Afghanistan thus avoided being dragged into the war and remained neutral until the end.

This brings us to present conditions, and I would like now to give an idea of the internal situation before passing on to the relations of Afghanistan with the exterior world.

I arrived at the western frontier of the country from Meshed, in Persia, at the end of June. I was in the country until the beginning of September, 1946, and during that period I went round the whole of Afghanistan. Entering from Meshed, I went down towards Herat and the south, then to Kandahar on the Helmand River and up to Kabul. I had an opportunity to go down to Peshawar and to visit Taxila. Returning to Kabul, I travelled north to visit the historical Hellenistic sites at the foot of the Hindu Kush, and then across the Hindu Kush to the centre of the country to visit some other famous places, the Buddhist sanctuaries at Bamian. I then returned to where the Kunduz River runs north towards the Oxus and paid a visit to Mazar-i-Sharif, the capital of Afghan Turkestan. I was lucky enough to get as far as the Oxus, the Government giving me permission to do so when they do not allow their own nationals to go there. I returned over the northern route to Turkestan, through Iran, back to Cairo. Therefore I was able to get a complete view of the whole of Afghanistan. I tried to travel from Herat direct to Kabul by the route

which goes through the country of the Hazara—they being the descendants of the troops of Genghis Khan—but the road was too difficult; it was in a bad state of repair and I was advised not to travel that way.

I was lucky to arrive in Afghanistan at the end of June, just when a change had occurred. In May, Hashim Khan had resigned and the country seemed to be starting on a new period of its history. As elsewhere, a demand for reform had arisen, but Afghanistan, having been neutral, the demand took a somewhat different form from those elsewhere. I should say it was rather an awakening from a long period of tension during which the Afghans had been worried lest they be dragged into the war and had made no attempt to change anything; they just carried on as they were with the rather conservative policy of the then Prime Minister, Muhammed Hashim Khan. It was only after his retirement at the end of the war that the demand for reforms became more insistent, especially from certain quarters. The exterior appearance of the country as I entered it was peaceful. Especially, coming from Iran, one had the impression that there were no problems of great acuity as in Iran. The country had been neutral during the war, and international questions which were dividing other countries seemed to have been settled about a hundred years ago. It was only as I advanced towards Kabul and talked with the Afghans who accompanied me that I came to the conclusion that beneath this apparently calm surface there was quite a lot going on and that the country was stirring. Of course, I was struck at once by the local colour of Afghanistan. I had come from Iran, where probably two-thirds of the population wear European clothes, though some seem now to be returning to their native dress; but everybody in Herat and on the road towards Kabul was dressed in Oriental fashion. It was a pleasure to see them in their well-preserved national appearance. I had the impression that I had entered a Pathan reservoir.

It was apparent that the Afghan Government had during the last six years worked very hard; the roads were better than in Eastern Iran, where they are worn out by supplies being carried to Russia. I stayed at a very good hotel in Herat, and I saw rest-houses in other places where one was safe from vermin. Those of you who know India will appreciate it when I say I even found sheets, and very clean ones, on the beds. The food was good. Towns had been urbanized to a large extent; big avenues had been driven through the bazaars, and roundabouts had been built for the traffic. Public security seemed to be excellent; there were police posts every twenty kilometres, and the troops and police I met on the way had a smart appearance. I could get very little information from my travelling companions, who had been sent to me by the Afghan Government. The Afghans seemed to be very "security-minded," and no wonder, in view of the difficult position in which they have been for the last hundred years. Nevertheless, they certainly are very conscious of the Great Powers on their frontiers. I recall when I reached the town of Kalat-i-Ghilzai, to the north-east of Kandahar, that, when I asked my maimendar why there were so many troops about, he, pointing towards the Indian frontier, said: "Because we are very close to the English frontier." The people do not talk of the "Indian frontier," but of the "English frontier," which shows

their outlook. Anyhow, I was able to gather from this man that the major recent event in the country's history was the resignation of Muhammed Hashim Khan, who had been so long Prime Minister, and the assumption of the premiership by Mahmud Shah Khan. This was further explained when I reached Kabul. There I gathered that it had been necessary for Hashim Khan to resign because he was so concerned with the more conservative policy which had been successful after the abdication of Amanullah. With the end of the war and the disappearance of the fear of international complications and of being dragged into the war, it was necessary to satisfy a large section of the population, those more educated people who had had contacts with foreign countries—with the United States of America, with England, with the U.S.S.R.—who demanded that Afghanistan should awake out of its lethargy and that more modern reforms should be instituted. This demand had taken a concrete form in the resignation of Hashim Khan and the assumption of the premiership by his brother, Mahmud Shah Khan, who is very much loved by the people. He is believed to have more liberal ideals than Hashim Khan, his elder brother. It was thought that with him at the helm of State it would be possible to bring about the reforms the country so much wanted. He at once launched himself on a new programme, one item in which was the freeing of political prisoners, those who in the days of the revolution had favoured Amanullah and had been imprisoned or exiled to distant parts of the country. This measure proved to be very popular as a sign that he wished bygones to be bygones and that a new policy would be inaugurated. This new policy was officially approved by H.M. the King of Afghanistan at the opening of the Afghan Parliament on July 21, 1946. In his speech from the throne, His Majesty stressed that he was very willing that reforms should be carried out in the country so that the standard of living of the Afghans should be raised. You may be surprised to hear that the King opened Parliament and made a speech from the throne, but since 1931 Afghanistan has been a constitutional monarchy, Nadir Shah having been responsible for getting the Constitution drawn up and for starting the political life of the country on constitutional lines. The King reigns but does not govern; his Prime Minister does that, though up to now the Prime Minister and the greater part of the Ministers have been drawn from the Afghan Royal family.

The Afghan Parliament is composed of two houses, the Senate (the Majlis-i-Ayan) and a House of Representatives (Majlis-i-Shura-i-Milli), the latter being elected and the Senate being nominated by the King. I believe they are attempting to make the transition from a patriarchal tribal government to a more modern State in which people can be objectively and impartially governed. Actually the main assembly of the Afghans is that which is composed of tribal chieftains, which I mentioned earlier as having been called together to approve the decision of the Government to hand over the Axis nationals to the Allies. This body is known as the Loe Jirga, and it is this body which carries most weight in the country; it is only assembled in moments of national emergency and has not been called together since 1941.

In conclusion, I think it can be said that there has been, since hostilities



have ceased in the world, a revival of Amanullah's spirit of Westernization; it seems that the present Prime Minister is a man who is going to try to progress in the same direction. I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Afghanistan, Ali Mohammad, if such Westernization was more possible now than it had been in Amanullah's time, and he assured me that even then it might have been possible for the people to accept it, as they had done in Turkey and in Iran, but that the administrative machinery of the Civil Service was not ready for it then, and so it was not possible to progress; but in the meantime, during the reign of Hashim Khan, the administrative machinery had been brought to a higher pitch of efficiency, and he had no hesitation in saying that he thought Mahmud Shah Khan would be successful in establishing his new policy.

On the economic side there seemed to be certain difficulties. The reforms on which the Afghans are so keen, mean, as His Majesty said in his speech from the throne, a raising of the material standards of the Afghans. This, naturally, needs larger expenditure on public services. The difficulty is to get sufficient money. Afghanistan is a poor and somewhat barren country. It has mineral wealth which is unexploited, very little agriculture; practically two-thirds of the population are herdsmen and do not live in a settled fashion. So where is the money to come from? That is the difficulty. I questioned many foreign diplomats and Afghans, but none could tell me what the Budget figures were. So far as I could make out, the Budget is never published and its details are practically unknown. The fact that two-thirds of the population are practically nomadic makes it very difficult to raise taxes, because to impose taxes on these people often gives rise to conflicts with authority, and it is not wise to get involved in fights with such tough people as the Afghans, especially near the frontier. The Government seems to have got round this difficulty by monopolizing exterior trade. They buy up from the local people whatever can be exported and export it at a higher price, and the "rake-off" goes to the Government and is the principal source of national revenue. The main export is lamb-skins, Karakuli or Karakuls, which are sold to America for prices up to \$25 a skin. I saw a depot in Kabul with 7,000,000 skins, so that you will realize that Afghanistan has a favourable dollar balance. Carpets also are sold abroad, and the main bank of Afghanistan, the Bank-i-Milli, is organized for the export trade; it has various departments where goods for export are negotiated with exporters and importers from foreign countries. Another source of revenue for the Afghan Government is also the fact that during recent years they were unable to buy from abroad because of war conditions, and that they have a certain amount of money which has accumulated and which they can now use for those reforms. A five-year plan has been inaugurated, and the Minister of Economics, Abdul Mejid Khan, a financier with many international connections, is running it. It provides for irrigation of the country. The plan is to irrigate round about Kandahar, where the Helmand River comes down from the Hindu Kush and runs towards the oasis of Seistan in Iran. An American firm has been engaged to undertake this work, and I saw them very busy on this irrigation plan. They want also to build a dam and a canal parallel to the river. Next, they want to

harness all rivers running down from the Hindu Kush northwards towards the Oxus. That is where their main water-power comes from. They have already a certain number of factories, which I visited, including a cotton mill at Puli Khumri, a soap factory at Baghlan, and another cotton-spinning mill at Khanabad. Also the Afghans want to start a new power-house in that neighbourhood further to industrialize the area. Then they are planning to rehouse the population in the cities, the conditions under which the people live now being somewhat primitive. They want to develop road communications and to build more bridges over the rivers, because those they have now do not stand up to the spring floods. I understand that there is a large bridge being constructed across the Oxus towards the Central Asian railway in Soviet Uzbekistan. Characteristically enough, this five-year plan makes no provision for petrol concessions, though American prospectors have discovered oil in an area north of the Hindu Kush near the town of Sar-i-Pul. There are no provisions for building railways in Afghanistan, the only country left in the world without railways. Finally, the Afghans do not expect to start any air-lines through the country, though both India Airways and other companies have been continually attempting to enter Afghanistan. Recently, however, the Director-General for the T.W.A., the American airway company of the Middle East, General Benjamin Giles, flew to Herat to try to make arrangements to start a local Afghan air-line, but I do not think with any result so far.

The fact that the Afghans have not thought fit to provide for oil concessions, railways, or air-lines is due to their fear of being dragged into complications with neighbouring countries; they prefer to let things go for the time being because, as they cannot do things themselves, they do not want to give concessions to Powers who may enter their country. Strategically, of course, the Hindu Kush is no longer a protection to Afghanistan. Under present-day modern conditions it would be necessary to have a very powerful army and very efficient weapons to prevent a modern army coming over the passes of the Hindu Kush, passes which are quite easy to cross.

To pass to Afghanistan's relations with other countries, I would like to tell you, first, about the political connections and, secondly, the economic connections with other countries. One can say that ever since the troubles I recalled to your minds in my short historical outline, the foreign policy of Afghanistan has been to try to keep a balance between the large competitive Powers on the borders of the country while avoiding entanglement with them; that is to say, to retain as much of its own independence as possible. The Afghans seem to be expert at this, and have acquired in the last hundred years perhaps more experience than other countries, including my own. During a conversation with the Minister of Public Education, Najibullah Khan, a young man of thirty-five who has a good deal of experience, though he has only held the post of Minister for the last year, he spoke to me with a feeling of superiority of the Afghans as compared with the Indian politicians, whom he accused of being idealistic and not sufficiently realistic. "We Afghans," he said, "recognize facts and do not get lost in theories and ideals." So far the Afghans have been able to

ward off external complications by employing the nationals of smaller countries. Then, before the recent war Germans were very much in the fashion, and it is thanks to them that factories have been built, bridges constructed, and many of the roads exist in a good state of repair. But they also had Turks in Afghanistan. There was a Military Mission attached to the Army, which is still in existence and which originally was headed by Jalal Pasha. They still have a Turkish Economic Commission, presided over by the cousin of the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Numan Menemençoglu, and a Medical Mission, which since I was in the country has been replaced by a French Medical Mission. The French colony in Kabul is considerable, and people arriving there from India are surprised to find so many Afghans speaking such fluent and perfect French. That is due to the fact that upper-class Afghans have all been to the French college. Medical students have been sent for training to the French university, and the French Archæological Mission has done excellent work, especially under Monsieur Hackin. Lately Americans have been in Afghanistan; one cannot refer to them as "nationals of a smaller country," but they are sufficiently far away to be a kind of neutral country from the point of view of the Afghans. Thanks to the dollar balance which Afghanistan has, it has been possible for the Government there to employ a firm of American engineers, Morrison and Knudsen, to build bridges, dams, canals in the area around Kandahar, which firm, I understand, are also building the four-kilometre bridge to Termez in U.S.S.R. territory. The chief engineer of the Afghan Government is an American who has been in the country for the last three years, a Mr. Alexander. I understand that in March of this year the American Government asked to be allowed to send teachers to Kabul to reopen the work of the American college there. I met a very few Poles in Afghanistan, a few Czechs, a few Swiss, and, curiously, no Greeks! Afghanistan is the only country in which I have not met my own compatriots; none have migrated there, not even small shopkeepers. The only exception I noted to this employment of nationals other than Russian and British was the fact that the officer-in-charge of British planes transferred to the Afghan Air Force is an Englishman, Wing-Commander King, of the R.A.F. That is probably because he came with the 'planes to show Afghan pilots how to use British Hurricanes and Gladiators as they should do.

The present Prime Minister, Mahmud Shah Khan, is keen to have better relations with the U.S.S.R., and though he is over fifty years of age he has been taking lessons in Russian during the last few years and is able to speak Russian with the Russian Ambassador in Kabul. Soon after the resignation of Muhammed Hashim Khan the Soviet Government started negotiations for the settlement of the dispute about the Oxus frontier, which had been going on for certainly over ten years. The Afghans claimed the half of the river as theirs; that is, that the frontier between the two countries along the Oxus lay in the middle of the stream. The Russian Government claimed that the left bank was the frontier. It appears to be a somewhat trivial quarrel; but the fact is that there are islands of a certain importance in the river, and if the frontier is on the

left bank those islands automatically become Russian. Characteristically enough, the Soviet Government settled the dispute in favour of Afghanistan without further discussion.

Since Mahmud Shah Khan has come to power, more and more well-educated Afghans from Kabul have been taken to Tashkent on visits—taken by air in the 'planes of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul. There have been rumours of a Russian Military Mission to the Afghan Army, though these were not confirmed; and also rumours of damming the Murghab river which runs through the Merv oasis, to irrigate the Panjdeh, but I do not think any such arrangement has yet been made.

In the economic sphere the Afghan Government would like to follow the same policy of balance between the two Powers which are on its borders. But naturally the circumstances of world trade do not permit them to do this, especially since the last war. They have been lucky with their main export, karakuls. As I said earlier, these are exported almost exclusively to the United States of America, and that has enabled Afghanistan to have a very large favourable dollar balance. There is no exchange control in Afghanistan and Customs duties are not high. It is one of the few countries into which I have been able to drive my car without Customs' documents. Carpets and *poshtins* (sheepskins with the fleece inside) are exported all over the world; fruit, which grows in the Kandahar area and round Kabul, is sent to India, together with the mineral produce lapis lazuli, which is appreciated by the inhabitants of the North-West Frontier province of India. Before the recent war imports seem to have come from all over the world, as far as I could ascertain, and this seems to have been the case since the earliest antiquity. M. Hackin's discoveries at Begram, north of Kabul, near to the old capital of the country, which discoveries are now in the museum at Kabul, show to what extent things were imported from all over the ancient world, from Hellenistic Western Asia, from Egypt, from China, from India. Nowadays it seems to me to be very much the same. I had an example of that at Kandahar when I paid a visit to the Governor of Kandahar province. While I sat talking to him I noticed that the electric fan on the table—the weather was very hot—was of Japanese make; that the tea was served in Russian teacups; that the furniture was made in France; that the cutlery used at dinner was British; the glassware Czecho-Slovakian; the decoration of the room was Italian (he had been Minister in Rome); his house had been designed by an Indian architect; he had an American Ford car; in the bathroom the heater was German; the telephone was a Swedish make, Erickssen; his radio was a Dutch Phillips; his clock Swiss; in fact, the only Afghan thing I saw in the house was an Afghan dog—one of the only two Afghan dogs I saw during my whole journey of two months in Afghanistan.

With the outbreak of war, naturally, imports from the Soviet Union dropped immediately. The Russians were themselves too much in need to be able to export anything to neighbouring countries, and of course all Japanese and Central European imports into Afghanistan were cut off also during the war period. That meant no more petrol from the Soviet Union, no more food or piece-goods from the Soviet Union,

Europe, or Japan. So the Afghans became almost entirely dependent on the Government of India, who never ceased to send them supplies, and for that the Afghans are very grateful. It is noticeable in these days that the bazaars right up to the Russian frontier are full of goods from India, cotton goods and other piece-goods all having come from India. The petrol I used on my tour was Burma Shell petrol. Soviet petrol is not to be found anywhere. In gratitude to India, just about the time I was in Afghanistan, the Afghans made a present to the Government of India of a large amount of wheat to facilitate the solution of the famine problem.

That is an outline of the present situation. Everything is on the move, and it is difficult to say whether the conditions I have described will last. I do not want to be so presumptuous as to prophesy, and under existing circumstances it would be difficult to say what will come, but certainly the Afghans' main preoccupation is the situation in India. They feel that the British withdrawal from India is likely to cause a situation in which they will no longer be a buffer State between Russian Central Asia and British India, and they are somewhat perplexed as to what to do. They hope for better relations with the Soviet Union and perhaps for a close association with the Federated Moslem-Pakistan State in India, but these are just hypotheses and only time will prove whether or not they are workable. My own feeling is that the Afghans hope very much that the British will not break off all connection with India, and that peaceful conditions may continue there so that it may be possible for the Afghans to maintain those relations with India which have always been a central feature of their foreign policy.

Asked if there were schools for the children of the people, H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE replied: There were only Quranic schools. The Westernized schools are run by foreign missions in Kabul.

Major-General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: I was fortunate enough to go up to Kabul and Bamian in April, 1939. I was interested in what His Royal Highness said in regard to the Civil Service in Afghanistan. I had a long talk with H.E. Hashim Khan, and I asked why it was such a difficult matter to get a passport and visa in order to get into Afghanistan. I had an invitation from the Afghan Government, but even so I could not get a visa. He replied that the reason was that they had no Civil Service; owing to the revolution every civil official had disappeared in one way or another, and the younger men had not yet come into the picture. The consequence, he explained, "is that everything is centralized in Kabul. I, being Foreign Minister, everything is sent to me, and I can assure you it is much more of a nuisance to me than to you."

I should like to ask whether His Royal Highness noticed what my wife and I thought peculiar for the East: that in the covered bazaar at Kabul—it was April, just before the annual festival—there was an extraordinary absence of flies. I cannot imagine why, but there were no flies; we both noticed it, though the British Minister in Kabul had seemed never to have thought about it.

Another interesting thing about Afghanistan to us: I was commanding the Peshawar district, and to go from Peshawar to Nowshera at any time after dark I had to have an escort in my own area; but I drove from

Landi Kotal to Kabul with no sort of guard on the road. Ladies were not supposed to travel on this road without escort, but I know two girls whose escort having failed them travelled on by themselves without escort. This seems to show either that the security arrangements of the Afghan Government are extraordinarily good or that the villagers are extraordinarily frightened as to what would happen if they did any harm to anyone passing through.

As regards the Air Force, you might be interested to know that a year before we were in Afghanistan a man came out from the Bristol Aeroplane Company with British 'planes—I do not know whether it is the same squadron leader who is there now—and a certain number of Italian 'planes also came. The Italians were too cute; they sold 'planes cheaper than the British did, but they were knocked-up 'planes which had failed in Eritrea, and when they got to Kabul and went up into the air they came down more quickly than they went up. The British got a good deal of kudos out of this because our 'planes did not descend unintentionally.

H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE: I noticed that flies were very much fewer in the campaign in Libya than in Egypt. Similarly, that might be accounted for in Afghanistan by the dry climate. I played hockey in Kabul and found I could not perspire, though I ran about as hard as I did elsewhere. It is also curious to notice that in the whole of Afghanistan one never sees a beggar, or very few. Therefore Afghanistan, with no flies and no beggars, is much more interesting than most Oriental countries.

As to the frontier, my experience was that it was much safer once you were beyond the frontier area. I also discovered that the Afghans seemed to be having as much difficulty with the tribal area along the frontier as the Government of India has. Their policy seems to be to push those troublesome elements into India as much as possible so that they are dealt with by the British Army, and the Afghan Army is free to deal with other things in the rest of the country. It is just along the frontier that things are difficult; once you get beyond it things are the same as when Sir Dashwood Strettell was in the country in 1939.

The CHAIRMAN: We are deeply indebted to His Royal Highness for having given us such a vivid picture of conditions in modern Afghanistan. Not the least interesting was the official attitude towards events and possibilities in neighbouring countries. We can readily understand the concern with which the Afghan Government views those possibilities, especially when they turn their eyes towards India. Sir, we are most grateful to you. We do thank you for having come and interested us so very deeply.

# RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ANATOLIA AND THE CAUCASUS

By M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.

Lecture given on May 14, 1947, Major-General Sir Dashwood Strettell, K.C.I.E., C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is scarcely necessary for me to introduce Mr. Philips Price as he is so well known to most of those present. Before the 1914-18 war he spent six years travelling in Central Asia, and during that war he was representative of the *Manchester Guardian* in Moscow. Since then he has always kept in touch with Eastern Russia, and has recently returned from a tour in the Eastern Caucasus and Turkey. In view of the United States support of Turkey it will be interesting to hear the latest news from there.

LAST autumn, after a journey through the Balkans, I arrived at Istanbul and spent a month in Turkey. After staying at Istanbul and Ankara I visited the industrial area of Zunguldak on the Black Sea and then drove by car across the north-west Anatolian plateau back to the capital, visiting provincial towns and villages and seeing something of the agricultural life and the forests on the way. Having twice before been in Turkey in the days of the old Ottoman Empire, and not having been there since, I was able, after thirty-five years, to witness what seemed to me the most astounding change. Looking back on what I saw, I have come to the conclusion that this great change in Turkey is in no degree less than that which has come over Asiatic Russia, particularly the Caucasus, since the Russian October Revolution, and which I dealt with in my lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society in February, 1946.

First, a word with regard to historical origins. As you know, the people who live in Turkey and speak modern Turkish are descended from the followers of Othman, a chieftain who broke away from the Seljuk Turks, the Turanian race who occupied what is now Asia Minor or Anatolia, and came originally from Central Asia. Racially, these Turks have been mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants of the Anatolian plateau, going back to far-off Hittite times, and mixed also with Armenian, Arab, Greek, and Circassian blood through inter-marriage in the harem. The Ottoman Empire, which arose out of the activity of the Othmanli in Asia Minor, became from the fifteenth century onwards a powerful political force all over the Near and Middle East. Originally efficient, and indeed welcomed by the population of South-East Europe when Turkish arms came there, it later became corrupt and inefficient, and the history of the nineteenth century in South-East Europe is largely a history of how the vacuum caused by the declining Ottoman Empire was filled. The revolution which was led by Kemal Ataturk in 1922 showed that that decline was arrested, and that is a most important factor in the political and economic make-up of that part of the East. The return of Kemal Ataturk in October, 1922, put a stop to this decline, but at the expense of many important factors which had previously been at work. The whole idea of empire was abandoned by the Turks and the domination over non-Turkish races was

given up; the policy of the new régime became a policy of developing the natural resources of Anatolia to bring about a national resurgence of the Turkish-speaking people in which racial minorities were no longer to be recognized.

In this connection the proximity of Turkish Anatolia to the Soviet Caucasus is not without interest. There can be little doubt that the immense material progress made in recent years by the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis of the Soviet Republic of Transcaucasia, bringing with it the emancipation of women and freedom from domination of a Moslem priesthood, has had its repercussions in Turkey. I described in my last lecture what I saw in Soviet Azerbaijan and pointed the lesson which the end of the feudal landlord system and the development of public works, irrigation, and power schemes in the Caucasus will ultimately teach the Azerbaijan Persians to the south of the Araxes frontier, who are subjects of the Shah. There have been big changes which are obviously not going to be without influence upon the eastern part of Turkey, more particularly, upon people of a similar religion and language, the Shi'ah Moslems south of the Araxes, the river that divides the Caucasus from Turkey; but also a lesson was there to be learnt by the Turks in the six eastern vilayets of Anatolia adjoining the Caucasus—Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, Kharput, and Diabekr.

For the whole of this region of Eastern Anatolia, the Transcaucasus and North-West Persia, must be taken as a geographical unit. It consists of a high plateau across which the mountains run, roughly, east and west, which mountains are no real barrier—it is easier for communication to take place between east and west than between north and south—the bulk of the mountain formations run east to west, and that has had its effect on the history of the area. For centuries armies of invaders have passed across the country from east to west. The armies of the kings of Persia passed over it in pre-Christian times to invade Greece. The West then returned in the person of Alexander the Great, and later in the Byzantine Empire. Then the Mongols under Hulagu Khan caused the pendulum to swing back from the East. They were followed by the Seljuk Turks and the Othmanlis, on whose race and culture the present Turkish régime was originally based. But in the last hundred years influence from the north has been felt and the isthmus of the Caucasus has been the source through which Russian power has extended southwards to impinge on the old kingdom of Persia and on the Turkish political system. In Czarist times the influence of Russia was felt in the form of a gradual conquest of territory after a succession of Russo-Turkish wars. After the Crimean War, for instance, in 1854 Russia took and held the fortress of Kars, which now belongs to Turkey again and is right on the frontier, but was held by Russia until the October Revolution. In the war of 1877-8 Russia advanced to Erzerum; but under the Treaty of Berlin she had to relinquish it, and in the last world war she advanced on it again. To-day the influence of Russia is less territorial and more political. The influence of the October Revolution is undoubtedly a disturbing influence all over this part of the Middle East. The backward and landlord-ridden peasants of Persia see in the region north of the frontier material progress taking place, while



reforms in Persia are much talked about, but little has actually been done up to now. In Turkey, on the other hand, conditions are different. The national revolution of Kemal Ataturk brought about a new spirit, and the Turks seem to have found a reply to the Russian influence seeping in from the Caucasus. They have, in fact, opposed Russian Communism by undertaking reforms in their own way. They are turning to Western Europe and America rather than to Russia for inspiration in their national revival. Since the decline of the Ottoman Empire the pendulum has swung back once more from the West. But it is influence of a Western European type, not the Slavonic type, that is penetrating Turkey. I have only one comment to make in this respect: I hope the Turks will not too slavishly imitate us in the West or copy our faults as well as our virtues.

My own impression after my visit to Turkey, and after having in the previous year visited most of the Arab States, is that Turkey is the most competently governed of all the States of the Middle East. I except, of course, the Soviet regions of the Caucasus, where there are competent and efficient régimes; but they are Communist-inspired and hence distasteful to the average Turk. One well-known Turkish writer told me that the only chance for Communism to get any supporters in Turkey would be if it were not associated with Russia. Indeed, the old Russo-Turkish antagonism which has been evident for centuries, arising largely out of Turkish control of the exit and entrance to the Black Sea and which has played such a big rôle in history, is there to-day once more. When Russia and Turkey were weak, as they were after their revolutions, they became more friendly to each other; but as the régimes began to consolidate the old antagonisms arose once more.

In the case of Turkey, the native will to live and reform his country, which lay hidden for centuries in the Anatolian peasant, burst forth in 1922. The hour found the man in Kemal Ataturk. Coming to Turkey as I did from the Balkans, I could not help being struck with a certain similarity in the régimes of the Balkan countries and Turkey. All three of them—Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey—have had revolutions, all three have a national leader, either alive or dead, who is greatly venerated. There is Tito in Yugo-Slavia, Stambuliski (now dead) and Dimitroff in Bulgaria, Ataturk (who is also dead) and Inonü (who is alive to-day) in Turkey. All three are engaged in a national revival, an economic reconstruction in which Socialistic measures play some part. There are State-owned industries and mines now, while peasant proprietorship remains the fundamental principle in the villages. In other words, State capitalism and peasant democracy largely constitute the set-up in all these countries at the present time. Finally, all three countries have secular governments and are either hostile or indifferent to the established religions of the past, whether Christianity or Islam. They treat both alike, as far as I can see. But there are differences as well as similarities. There is a difference, as I saw, between Turkey and the Balkan Slav countries. The latter are controlled by Communist governments, and only one point of view can be expressed. Politics are totalitarian and the power of the executive and of the secret police is supreme. Turkey, too, had a phase of this kind and it lasted for some time after the national revolution. But recent develop-

ments show that Turkey is moving in the direction of adopting Anglo-Saxon traditions of government. They have not yet attained this position fully, but the direction is plain. Thus opposition parties exist in public life, with an often very outspoken criticism of the Government in the Press. The Turkish legal system aims at preserving civic liberties and does not give only lip-service to them, as in the Slav countries. There is, of course, a rather severe press and libel law in Turkey which, if harshly used, would curtail free discussion. But this has not happened yet. In general, however, it can be said that Turkey is feeling her way towards Western European forms of statecraft. This can also be said of the Arab countries. But the Turkish system seems to me healthier, because the political democracy which seems to be emerging in Turkey is not dominated by a land-owning aristocracy or by an urban plutocracy as it is in some Arab countries, particularly Egypt.

I would now say a word about my actual experiences during the month I was in Turkey. First, however, let me say something about the physical structure of Anatolia, because unless one understands that it is not easy to comprehend the natural economy of the country. The point to bear in mind is that the centre of Anatolia is a high plateau rising up to 4,000 feet in the valleys and to 6,000 or 8,000 feet in the mountain ranges which run east and west across it. This central plateau is dry and hot in summer and cold in winter; in other words, it has the typical Central Asian continental climate. The rainfall over parts of the interior which are farthest from the mountains is not more than 5 inches a year. Against this, the rainfall of the Black Sea and Mediterranean coast is heavy, rising in Lazistan to over 50 inches and in other parts from 30 to 40 inches a year, so that here there are forests and dense vegetation. The interior, on the other hand, is dry and can only be farmed by irrigation or by careful conservation of moisture that is obtained by a system of what is called dry farming.

I visited villages in the neighbourhood of Ankara, the capital, and also stopped in several as I motored on my way from the Black Sea coast to the interior. I found conditions of farming were somewhat primitive. In many villages the land was scratched by small needle ploughs, as they are called, which are much the same as those used by the ancient Hittites 3,000 years ago. They were drawn by underfed oxen, and the speed of cultivation is so slow that favourable periods of the season are often lost, and with them much potential crop yield. The use of tractors here would make all the difference, but because of the nature of the ground that is not possible; they can only be used in the plains. Conditions in the hilly country are often very poor; and here and on the mountains on the edge of the plateau it is also impossible to introduce tractors because of the nature of the country. I saw several villages near the Black Sea coast where large populations were clinging, as it were, to very rough hillsides and eeking out a poor living. In one village of this type which I visited I found seventy houses and families of from six to seven children. There were only eighty cattle in the village—*i.e.*, slightly over one per house—and they were nearly all draught oxen. They were very poorly fed. There were a few sheep, but no goats, and I asked the headman of the village why. He replied that goats were forbidden by the Turkish Government.

That indicated a lot. The Turkish Government have at last taken steps, which is more than any of the Balkan governments have done, to prohibit goats in certain areas in order to conserve forest resources. Not only did I believe what the headman of the village told me, but I had evidence of it later when travelling through the rest of the country during the journey I made across the north-west part of the plateau. Nowhere did I see any goats in any of the villages where there were forests, and the peasants did not seem to complain. The Anatolian peasant is very law-abiding and respectful of tradition; I believe he realized that it was, on the whole, in the interests of the country that he should not keep goats.

The type of cattle I found in the Turkish villages was poor. There are the black cattle of Central Anatolia and the red cattle from the eastern parts, of which a certain number came into the region round Ankara. Unfortunately, the Anatolian peasant has not yet acquired the art of growing fodder crops and is content to grow, mainly, maize and wheat and to feed his cattle all winter on the straw. Very little alfalfa grass is grown and no attempt is made to improve conditions for the animals by better feeding. Consequently, although in some cases they introduced Swiss and Hungarian cattle to try to improve the breeds, those breeds from Europe have deteriorated, largely because there has been insufficient maintenance of condition through proper feeding. Fortunately, the land of Central Anatolia is fertile, and even by primitive methods some sort of crops can be obtained. I saw, when travelling on the main-line railway from Istanbul to Ankara, heaps of wheat piled up at the railway stations waiting to be taken to the elevators, and some of it had been sold abroad—some to India. So that, in spite of the very primitive conditions, there is production, which shows what potential wealth there is in the country if only modern methods were adopted.

The journey I made by car from the Black Sea to Ankara gave me a remarkable view of a cross-section of the country. I crossed three mountain ranges running parallel to the coast, each one higher than the last, the highest being Ala Dagh. Roads were fairly good, but there were not enough of them, and some had been damaged by autumn rains. In the mountains and valleys picturesque little Turkish villages of wooden houses like Swiss chalets, with little barns, propped up on poles, for the maize crops, were dotted about the valley sides and interspersed with forest and uncultivated land. Here and there a glimpse could be seen of the blue waters of the Black Sea, while to the south the ranges of snowy mountains of the Ala Dagh were silhouetted against the clear sky of the Anatolian uplands. I stopped at a house in the provincial town of Devrik and saw the local governor. Here I saw considerable evidence of systematic exploitation of the forests; there were big lumber operations in progress, and all the evidence seemed to show that they were carried on on a systematic scale, and, although replanting was not actually being done, natural regeneration was enabled to go on. In the Balkans I saw no evidence of that at all; I think it was in Macedonia, owing to the keeping of sheep and goats, that forests were largely deteriorating, and there was evidence of soil erosion taking a terrible toll. I had the impression that that process had begun in Anatolia and was being arrested, at least where

I was, by the measures taken by the Government. Of course, as one goes farther south in Anatolia the forest gradually peters out and the land becomes drier and drier and one comes out on the open plateau. There one no longer sees the pretty little Swiss chalets of the Turkish villages, but mud-brick houses, with flat roofs, scattered about on the upland plateau, with a salt lake here and there and large tracts of cultivable land which might be, and which here and there was being, cultivated by tractors.

I might mention, incidentally, that while crossing the mountains on this journey I made a collection of specimens from the various trees. It is interesting because somewhere here the flora of Europe and Asia probably meet. That collection is now being examined at the Herbarium at Kew.

On my return to Ankara the second time I visited the Agricultural Research Institute and spoke to a number of competent and well-informed agricultural scientists, including animal nutrition experts, botanists, and soil chemists, all of whom had been trained in Germany. I found that they were all fully aware of the tremendous need for agricultural improvements in Anatolia, and they were busy dealing with the problem. They have the backing of the Government, which has taken over three-quarters of a million acres of derelict, half-desert plateau north of Konia and another area at Rusileya on the Syrian border. This land has not been cultivated since Roman times, but there are now State farms where 125 American tractors and 100 caterpillars are in use. Boys from the villages are trained as agricultural mechanics and make 100 lira a month, or about 8s. a day taking the lira at the present rate of exchange. From all accounts the young peasants take well to mechanics. Dry climatic conditions cause low yields, but the area is so immense that this does not matter to any great extent. There is danger, however, that overcropping with wheat may cause dust-bowl conditions if alternative cropping is not soon adopted. The pressure to grow wheat has caused a neglect of growing catch-crops. The experts at Ankara told me that the dry conditions make the use of artificial fertilizers very difficult, and they have clearly not solved the problem of continuously farming this dry plateauland of Central Anatolia without long periods of fallow.

In general, one had the impression that the Turkish Government is fully alive to the need for agricultural research, and indeed their whole philosophy of statecraft is based on the successful handling of this problem. But there is no doubt that without considerably greater resources and knowledge progress will be slow. The American loan should provide a useful incentive to further steps in the desired direction. More particularly, I think, it will enable the Turkish Government to demobilize, to some extent, the Army and to develop road transport. As far as one could see from the Budget figures, at least 50 per cent. of the expenses of the State are incurred for the Army and the various forces connected with the Army, which is a serious handicap to a country like Turkey, which is potentially but not actually rich. The authorities have felt it necessary to maintain this expenditure, largely because of the war of nerves carried on by Russia against them, and which has continued for over a year. If something can be done to relieve Turkey of this expenditure it should

enable the Government to demobilize part of the Army and to develop road transport, which would have an economic as well as a military significance. One of the reasons why Turkey keeps such a large army mobilized is because in the event of trouble it would take such a long time to mobilize her forces on account of the absence of good communications. If there were better roads constructed between the principal centres of Ankara and Istanbul so as to link them with the east, it would be possible to keep a smaller number of men under arms. Expenditure of this kind cannot be regarded as aggressive or military, because it would also have an enormous economic significance. I noticed that the road from Zunguldak to Ankara was not bad, but it was the only road of its kind anywhere across that part of Anatolia, and it had been damaged in several places; we had to make detours to get round, because the heavy rainfall in certain parts of the country had damaged the road from time to time. The Turks have not sufficient machinery to repair and construct roads; that is something which the American loan might help forward, and it would prove of general economic significance for the development of the country.

As regards the industrial development of Turkey, one has the impression that the Turkish Government is devoting much time, energy, and capital to the building up of heavy industry, particularly coal, steel, and metallurgy. In the State development plan it is noted that not much is being done in regard to the construction of plant for agricultural machinery or for rural processing industries. Nor is much being done for road construction machinery or for shipbuilding. Possibly it is hoped to fill the gap with the American loan. The danger, as I see it, is that Turkish economy, which is fundamentally agricultural, may get a little out of balance if heavy industry is over-developed at the expense of the lighter processing industries. There are, of course, textiles, paper-making, wool, tobacco, and dried fruit industries, and many of these have been taken over by the State and run as utility corporations. But there is also quite a lot of private industry in these latter categories; and indeed the Government say they have no desire to suppress private enterprise. Of course, the trouble was that in old Turkey in the mines and heavy industry the bulk was owned by foreigners, and the Turkish Government after the revolution laid it down that foreigners must not be allowed to hold control of key industries in Turkey. As the country was not rich (there were no really rich men in Turkey, as in Egypt and some of the Arab countries), the State stepped in and took over foreign possessions. That is how Turkey has come to have a large number of State-owned industries. They say they have no desire to suppress private enterprise, but they are going to keep key industries in the hands of the State. Foreign traders, of whom there are a large number in Istanbul, can still carry on, and do so, but the nature of their business is, perhaps, different from what it used to be. I think, on the whole, trading is on a much healthier basis than it used to be in former days; we are trading now with the Turks as equals, which is good for all concerned.

I made a very interesting tour of the industrial region of Zunguldak on the Black Sea, which is an area of about fifty square miles of really first-

class coal right on the sea coast, quite invaluable as an industrial asset to Turkey. In 1912 I had landed here for a few hours from a coasting steamer. Then I saw little villages with peasants working for French and Italian companies, scratching the hillsides for outcrop coal. This time I went there by sleeping car on the night train from Ankara and found a modern industrial town with all the latest equipment in the mines. I found also competent young Turkish engineers who had been trained in Britain and in America running those mines. In the old Turkey I remember all commerce and industry was in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The Turks sat in Government offices and despised business and industry. It is the other way round to-day. Young Turks try to get into industry. About six years ago the Turkish Government took over the Zunguldak coalmines and also constructed great steel works not far away at Karabük. The latter are not yet in full production, but the coal output has reached just under 4,000,000 tons a year from fifteen pits. Plans are laid for raising the output to 25,000,000 tons. I was impressed by the machinery in use in the mines. They had underground haulage systems worked by Diesel engines, electric power pumping, machine cutters at the coal-face, and compressor drills. I went down two mines and found equipment better than in some of the mines in my own constituency. Nevertheless, the output per man is low—·7 tons per man shift, compared with 1·1 in United Kingdom mines. The reason for this, of course, is that industrial workers and miners in Turkey are mainly unskilled. There are 31,000 miners working at Zunguldak, of whom only 8,000 are permanent skilled or semi-skilled men. The bulk are peasants from the villages who come in to work on a compulsory system of indentured labour for six months in the year, spread out over six weeks at a time. They are housed in hostels near the mines and have excellent canteens with clothes and health services all found. I visited these establishments and was astonished to see how much had been learnt about social welfare in other parts of the world. The wages of the men were 3½ liras a day, which, when one counts the food, clothing, and health services, amounts to 5 liras a day, which is the equivalent of 10s. a day in England. I visited a village where I saw the peasants who had returned from their six weeks' work in the mines. They had brought back about £2 a week clear to the village, which, considering the poor standard of the Anatolian peasant's life, must mean a considerable item in his budget. I saw working in these mines a large number of Lazis, Persian-speaking Turks, Muslims. They are not under any compulsion; they come to the mines voluntarily. The State manager at Zunguldak told me that the management was not satisfied with this system of indentured unskilled labour because it is inefficient, and therefore the production is far too little per man. They want to have a more permanent staff of trained men. This depends on the development of road transport and the running of buses to fetch the men to and from the villages and on the development of housing schemes in the neighbourhood of the mines. It is here, again, that the United States loan might prove helpful. If the loan can be used for development of this kind it will be excellent.

Finally, I saw something of the cultural life of modern Turkey. At

the Teachers' Training College at Hasan Olan, near Ankara, one sees a praiseworthy attempt to train young teachers for the Anatolian village schools. The College is one of the show places everyone is taken to see, and it certainly is worth a visit. It is very successful and, with similar institutions in other parts of Turkey, is turning out nearly 2,000 teachers a year. There is a tremendous drive going on to get primary education in all the villages. Large sections of the population are still illiterate. I would not like to venture to give the percentage—probably the Turks do not know that themselves—but, at any rate, illiteracy is being steadily abolished.

The whole tendency of education is, of course, secular and utilitarian. Great stress is laid upon technical subjects, while the humanities and classics are rather kept in the background. This is similar to what is going on in all Middle Eastern countries and the Balkans. At the same time, I was glad to see in one educational institution I visited—namely, Hasan Olan—statues of famous Turks of the past, including the reforming Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha, and even great generals like Mohamet the Conqueror and Osman Pasha. But in general the tendency of modern Turkey is to forget the past and think only of the future. I was surprised and a little shocked when I was taken to the Musical Conservatoire at Ankara to hear nothing but European music; very competently performed, it is true. I heard an excellent concert of Beethoven and Chopin music, but when I asked if anything was done to develop the native music of Anatolia, which is extremely rich, very ancient, and more complicated than European music, I was rather put off. Finally, they took me to the department where the investigation of native Anatolian music is being carried on, but they seemed somewhat ashamed of it, and in this respect were in contrast to the Russians of the Caucasus, who have done a great deal to develop the native music of those parts, and with tremendous success, as I explained in my last lecture to the Society. Turkey, in fact, is so keen on imitating the West that she sometimes forgets her own cultural heritage.

The same is true of religion. When I visited a State reformatory near Ankara and was told by the governor that the young delinquents came mainly from the towns, I ventured the remark that possibly the influence of Islam, being stronger in the villages than in the towns, may have produced this result. This was, however, stoutly denied, and all the Government department officials with whom I spoke denied that Islam has any influence for good or for evil. The Moslem religion is regarded as purely a private matter, and no encouragement is given to it by any State institution. This is understandable, for there is unquestionably a reaction against the abuses of Islam and the stranglehold which the mullahs had upon old Turkey. One feels that the pendulum has swung rather far in one direction and that a swing-back may now be due. Indeed, I have seen the report of an interesting debate in the Turkish Parliament, which debate took place after I left the country, in which members both of the Government and of the opposition parties expressed the view that the indifference of the State to religion and moral instruction had gone too far. The debate caused a big sensation and resulted in the intervention of the Prime Minister.

Turkey is, indeed, passing through a similar phase to that which happened in Russia, the Church being made to expiate the mistakes of the past when it was too closely bound up with the State. The indications as to the future seem to be that, while modern Turkey drives ahead in her tremendous task of developing the natural resources of Anatolia for the benefit of the working people and peasants of the country, she will probably soon pause to remember that she is the inheritor of a cultural past based on Islam, from which she can draw even to-day.

Mr. BUCKMASTER: I understood that the Turkish Government had drawn up a scheme to link their railways up with the Persian railways. Has there been any development of that project?

The LECTURER: I have not heard of any. I did not go into that region; I should like to have done so, but there were difficulties at the time and it was getting late in the year. I do not think there has been any railway construction since the war, though there was a considerable amount prior to it. There is now a railway running through to Kars, up to the Russian frontier; I believe it is a narrow-gauge line in the latter part, but so far as I know there has been no extension to the Persian frontier east of Lake Van. One interesting development is that there is an agreement signed between Turkey and Iraq for the flood-control of the waters of the Upper Tigris. That treaty has been ratified by the Turkish Government, but not as yet by Iraq. It will be of great importance for the development of the eastern vilayets, where floods are a great nuisance; it will also enable electric power and irrigation to be undertaken in the region south of Lake Van, and that will have a great deal of effect in pacifying the rather turbulent Kurdish population, which has always been restless. I am certain that the Turkish Government is anxious to spend more on the eastern vilayets, though, for a number of reasons, up to the present time not much has been done. I believe the present intention is to start work in that area as soon as possible and to carry it as far as possible; no doubt railways will play a big part in the development there.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: Mr. Philips Price has given us an extraordinarily wide conception of the developments which have taken place recently in Turkey; he only passed a month there, and I have recently passed four and a half unbroken years in the region, but he acquired a great deal more knowledge in his month than I in the four and a half years. It seems to me that the trouble with Turkey is lack of man-power. She has a population of 18,000,000, whereas it is a country which could support a population of about 40,000,000. Out of the 18,000,000 there are about 800,000 men mobilized, and that has taken them from the villages and away from work on the development of the country.

On the question of the development of roads, those of the older generation will recall that there was a deliberate policy in that regard: the Turks never built roads, so that their country could not be invaded; lack of roads was always a great form of protection, and very efficient it proved. In the past several Russian excursions got as far as Erzerum, but none got beyond; they all died on the spot, and the whole of the Erzerum plateau is covered with the graves of Russian expeditions. But now, with the development of modern military science, naturally the lack of roads is not of



the same importance for protection. Tanks do not need roads; they can make their way without them. So the Turks might as well facilitate communications by road. Even in my time, only two years ago there was not a road from Istanbul to Ankara. It was possible to drive from one to the other over the hard earth in the summer months, and that was all. I believe that more roads are now being built, especially in the south.

As to the tree problem, Kemal Ataturk was a man who had a perfect passion for trees. Everybody knows that goats and trees do not go together; you have one or the other, but never both together. Ataturk did very well in that respect.

I do not know whether Mr. Philips Price knows the works at Karabük, which are now one of the most important works in Europe. They had a tremendous output during the war and rendered very valuable service to the Allies.

One point to bear in mind is that Kemal Ataturk destroyed the influence of the Moslem religion deliberately. Think of the power of the man! In a bigoted country, such as Turkey then was, to abolish the authority of religion is something fantastic. He knew that with the retrograde influence of the Moslem hierarchy he could never get anywhere; he realized that if he did not do away with the Moslem religious laws he would never get a modern State. It is very unfortunate, but it is a melancholy fact that he decided he had to do it. I am sure that the imams and other religious leaders had brought it on themselves.

Mr. Philips Price has, in his short statement, told us something of the developments taking place in Turkey, and I do not think those who have been in that country can be sufficiently grateful to him for the eloquent way in which he has told his story.

Mr. NURI EREN: In the presence of Mr. Philips Price and Admiral Sir Howard Kelly I scarcely like to speak about Turkey, because these two great experts on Turkey apparently know certain things about my country that I do not know myself, so when I tender my congratulations to them it is as a Turk, for they have opened my eyes to certain facts.

However, I want to point out one piece of information that Mr. Philips Price seems to have missed learning, and that is the fact that the Turkish Government is building a railroad through Hakiari to the Persian frontier; and that railroad has been under construction for the last four or five years. It was due to be finished some time in 1943, but owing to lack of material during the war years we could not carry on its construction. Now as we get the necessary machinery and the rolling stock the work is being continued, and I believe it will be completed in the near future, and then the railway between Turkey and Persia will be linked with Istanbul and Ankara.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI: I am sure that Admiral Sir Howard Kelly did not mean to imply that the Moslem religion as such was an impediment to progress, because it certainly is not so elsewhere. I do not know anything about the Turkish clergy or what their action was, but certainly if you take primitive Islam as originally preached it is just as capable of adaptation to modern life as any other faith. In these days of irreligion it is a pity, as Mr. Philips Price has indicated, that people in Turkey have

turned too far away from the Moslem faith, and they are probably finding it a good thing to turn back.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: I realized after I had spoken that I was heading for trouble when I made that remark, but I qualified it by saying that it was Kemal Ataturk's view, not mine.

The CHAIRMAN: It only remains for me, in your name, to thank Mr. Philips Price for his lecture. I am sure he has opened our eyes to the possibilities of Turkey. Any who fought against the Turks in the 1914-18 war will be, I am sure, only too glad to know they are going ahead, for, as we learned on many occasions, there are no better fighters in the world.

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. One of the saddest days in my life was when I heard we were in the first world war against Turkey, because during the two journeys I had made to the country before the year 1914 I had come thoroughly to like the country and the people. I feel in many ways they are more akin to us than the Russians because they have been a ruling race for so long that they are open and frank; they talk straight, and whenever they say something you may be sure that that is what they mean. The Russians, of whom I am also very fond indeed, who are most attractive and intelligent and more brilliant than most people, always keep back something; they use speech to hide thoughts and not to convey them. It is much easier for us to understand the Turks because they are so much more like ourselves. With the alliance we have got now, and have had all through the recent war, we are trying to do all we can to help them. Alas! we cannot do much; it has to be our American cousins who do most. At any rate, we can prepare the way for Anglo-Turkish understanding and American-Turkish understanding, and I shall always be happy to do whatever I can to help in that regard.

# ISLAM IN MODERN TURKEY

By URIEL HEYDT

## I. REFORM

**A**TATURK'S revolution in the sphere of religion as in other spheres was but the final stage in a development which had begun several generations earlier. Modernization is generally regarded as having started in the time of Sultan Selim III, a contemporary of George III, who tried to form a modern army to take the place of the once famous Janisseries. The impact of Western ideas, however, was not strongly felt until the period of the political reforms known as Tanzimat, which began in 1839. Although brought up in the traditional ways of Islam, the spiritual leaders of that generation turned to the West, and particularly to France, whence they imbibed not only their ideas of political freedom and patriotism, but with them a belief in rationalism and human progress. With mixed anxiety and shame they looked upon the backwardness of their country and demanded far-reaching political and social reforms, and above all education for the masses.

Namık Kemal and other writers of that period believed in the eternal values of the Islamic-Turkish culture. But they criticized Islam as it had developed during the centuries and turned back to the original faith of Muhammad. Abdul Hak Hamid, regarded by many as one of the greatest Turkish poets of modern times, depicted early and classical Islam in a romantic light. In his well-known poems he fiercely attacked the Muslim clergy of his time who frightened the people with gruesome stories about Hell and the Day of Justice and who, unaware of the development of modern civilization, censured those who studied Western science. With burning enthusiasm the poet called upon his compatriots to turn their attention to this world, to enjoy its beauty and to work for its progress.

The first period of Turkish modernism, which roughly conforms to the Enlightenment period of many Continental nations, came to an end in the late seventies of the last century. This change was the result of external influences, such as the growth of the positivist and materialist movements in Europe as well as of internal developments. The reactionary and tyrannical regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid II suppressed all political and intellectual freedom in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the waves of Western thought which in the previous period had stimulated Turkish culture began now to flood it unchecked, thus undermining all traditional values. This led to the beginning of a cultural crisis which has not been solved to this day. It was the clash between Eastern and Western civilization, coinciding with the transition of Turkish society from a feudal to a capitalist structure. This clash, of course, was not confined to Turkey, but had its parallels, both in causes and effects, throughout the whole of the Middle East. The cultural heritage of the East gave ground along the whole front. The spiritual leaders of this period, who gathered round the journal, *Servet-i Fünun* (from which their literary school took its name), were spellbound by the splendour of Western civilization. Looking even

upon their own people through European eyes they were almost automatically bound to adopt the common contempt of Western Europe for their country (or more precisely their city, since this movement, like the previous one, hardly passed beyond the boundaries of Constantinople). No wonder, therefore, that Tevfik Fikret and his friends adopted a highly critical attitude towards Islam, regarding it as one of the main causes of their national decline. In this atmosphere of pessimism, exaggerated intellectualism and slavish imitation of the Paris of the *fin-du-siècle*, the Turkish educated class was in danger of losing all its cultural and moral traditions and becoming typically Levantine, of the type that Hüseyin Rahmi described so masterfully in his contemporary novels.

While the Turkish intelligentsia was indulging in cosmopolitan dreams, Abdul Hamid tried to bolster his tottering regime by a policy of Pan-Islam. The Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din al Afghani, the founder of this movement, was received with great honour at the Sublime Porte. However, this Pan-Islamic trend was in the main political, and, as has been pointed out by the Turkish sociologist, Ahmed Emin,\* even as such was but a myth, created in European minds. In any case, this movement had little influence on cultural development in Turkey except in retarding the process of secularization during Abdul Hamid's rule.

As a result of the Young Turk revolution of 1908-09 the autocratic Sultan was deposed, and those liberal elements who hoped to save the Ottoman Empire by radical reforms on Western lines came to power. They represented the rising Turkish middle class, whose attitude to religion found expression in the Islamic reform movement. The liberal wing of this movement, which can be compared with the school of Amir Ali in Indian Islam, was led by Prince Mehmet Sait Halim, who served as Grand Vizier during part of the First World War. His article, "Islâmlaşmak" (Islamization), published in 1918, aroused much interest at the time and was regarded as a kind of programme of the reformist movement. The more conservative wing of this movement, on the other hand, was headed by the famous poet, Mehmet Akif, the chief editor of the party's organ *Sebilürreşad*. The Turkish reformists had close connections with the similar movement in Egypt, particularly with the Al Manar circle. Mehmet Akif himself translated into Turkish some writings of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh, the great Egyptian reformer.

Like the Egyptian modernists, the Turkish reformers were of the opinion that true Islam was no obstacle in the way of modernization. On the contrary, as Islam was the highest form of religion and perfectly compatible with reason, it could and should serve as the basis of Turkish life in all spheres. But the teaching of Islam had to be re-interpreted and adjusted to the necessities of modern life. For this purpose the principle of *Mâşlaha* (the good of the community) should be made use of and, even more important, the gate of *Ijtihad* (the free interpretation of Canon Law) should be widely re-opened. These ideas are well known to everyone familiar with the development of Egyptian modernism.

Just as the Protestant and Calvinist Reformation in the West stressed the importance and ethical value of active and practical work in this

\* Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, 1930, p. 180.

world, so did Mehmet Akif in his poems attack the fatalism, indolence and sensuality which had taken root in Turkish Islam and issued a call to action, sobriety and manliness. There is a striking similarity between these ideas and the teaching of Iqbal, the famous Indian-Muslim reformer. It is hardly accidental that these Christian and Islamic reform movements each coincided with the beginning of a capitalist order in their respective countries.

The reformist movement formed a part of the liberal trend in the Young Turk or "Union and Progress" movement, which under the slogan of Ottomanism tried to save the multi-national Ottoman Empire by granting equal rights to all its citizens without distinction of religion or race. With the failure of Ottomanism, however, the reformist trend was superseded by the rising national movement which was to become the decisive factor in modern Turkey. The leader of this movement was Ziya Gökalp, the most important Turkish thinker of this century. Like the reformers, Gökalp regarded Islam as the most perfect religion, but held that in the course of its development it had been polluted by foreign elements. In the *Islâm Mecmuası*, the organ of the national movement for religious questions, Gökalp and his followers tried to find out what were the fundamentals of Islam and what was "örf," *i.e.* the elements which depend upon time and place and are liable to change accordingly. From this attitude it was only a short step to the conclusion that all the social, legal and political rules of Islam, which form the main part of the Sharī'a or Canon Law, had ceased to be a satisfactory code to regulate the life of the modern Muslim.

At this point the nationalists parted company even with the liberal reformers. Devoting their main attention to the establishment of a modern national State, Gökalp and his friends regarded religion merely as *one* of the spiritual forces in Turkish life, which should be adjusted to the major element of nationalism and national culture. Their aim was to separate religion from the State and to establish a secular State in which religion would become merely a question of the individual and his conscience. In 1917 Gökalp submitted to the Congress of the "Union and Progress" Party a memorandum in which he demanded the virtual abolition of the Meşihat, the office of the powerful Sheikh-ul-Islam, and of the Ministry of Religious Endowments (Waqf). The Young Turk Government indeed made a few hesitant steps towards the secularization of the Ottoman State, but these innovations, including a new Family Law, were abrogated after the Turkish defeat in 1918. Apart from a general reluctance to make fundamental changes in the structure of the Ottoman State, the Young Turks were restrained from any secular reforms by Imperial considerations. The prestige of the Caliph as the head of the Muslim world and the importance of Islam as the emotional link between the three main nations in the Empire (the Turks, the Arabs and the Kurds) were political assets which could not be lightly discarded.

## II. REVOLUTION

The failure of the declaration of *Jihad*, the Holy War, in 1914, the Arab revolt in the following year, and the secession of all Arab lands from

the Ottoman Empire opened, however, the way to a new attitude to Islam in Turkey. After the first World War Mustapha Kemal, the founder of modern Turkey, carried out most of Gökalp's programme of nationalism, except that in the matter of religion he went much further. Ataturk was not satisfied merely with the separation of religion from political life. He decided to eliminate Islam entirely from the social and cultural life of his people, and to place even purely religious activities under strict State control.

In the beginning, however, Mustapha Kemal was anxious not to stir up too much religious opposition to his movement. During the War of Independence against the Greeks he himself used to pray to Allah and the Prophet, and the national hymn, the *Istiklâl Marşı*, which was written at that time by Mehmet Akif, had still a strongly religious tinge.

When his regime became stabilized, however, Ataturk set out on the road of radical reform with the object of transforming as quickly as possible his Oriental-Muslim country into a secular European State. The Caliphate and the religious courts were abolished, European legal codes were adopted to take the place of the Islamic Canon Law or of the civil law based upon it. The Meşihat and the Ministry of Evqaf (Waqf) were closed, and their functions were transferred to minor Government departments. All dervish orders were banned, the Christian calendar was introduced and Sunday was declared the official weekly holiday. Women were given equal rights with men in most spheres. The Latin script was adopted instead of the Arabic one, and the study of religion as well as of the Arabic and Persian languages were prohibited in all schools. Clergymen of all denominations were forbidden to wear their ecclesiastical robes outside their places of worship, statues were erected in many places in contravention of Muslim law, and the Quran and the call to prayer had henceforth to be read in Turkish instead of in Arabic.

This policy found formal expression in a change in the constitution. In April, 1928, a bill introduced by 121 members of Parliament under the leadership of Ismet Pasha (to-day's President of the Turkish Republic, Ismet İnönü) was adopted, abolishing Islam as the official religion of the Turkish State. And in 1937 clause 2 of the Constitution was enlarged by a sentence defining the character of the new Turkish State as "republican, nationalist, democratic, étatistic, *secular* and revolutionist."

While the Turkish Parliament was discussing the question of transforming Turkey into a secular State, an attempt, and as far as I know the last serious attempt, was made to reform Islam within the framework of the new national State. The Faculty of Theology of the Istanbul University appointed a committee to enquire into the scientific bases for the reform of Islam in Turkey. The chairman of this committee was Ziya Gökalp's disciple Köprülüzade Fuat, the famous turcologist, who to-day calls himself Fuat Köprülü and has recently been in the public eye as one of the leaders of the new opposition party in Turkey. As the result of its investigations the committee drew up a report which was submitted to the Ministry of Education and published in the press in June, 1928. The report pointed out that the Kemalist revolution was based on two foundations, scientific thinking and nationalism. Religion, like every other social

institution, had to meet the requirements of present-day life and to follow the path of evolution. Reform of Islam, however, was inconceivable if it were to be on mystical and irrational lines; it had to be carried out scientifically.

The practical suggestions made by the committee were on rather a limited scale, and were concerned mainly with such improvements in public worship as the introduction of Turkish as the language of prayer and sermons, allowing the use of musical instruments in religious services (both contrary to the practice of traditional Islam), and raising the general standard of sermons. The Ankara Government, however, did not accept even these modest suggestions. The committee was dissolved, and when the Istanbul University was reorganized in 1933 the Theological Faculty was abolished and an Islamic Research Institute was established in its place.

It is, then, interesting to examine the reasons for Ataturk's success in carrying out his programme of secularization without causing any serious opposition or provoking a civil war, for the disturbances in Western Anatolia were no more than local clashes, and the Kurdish revolt was to a large extent due rather to political and social factors than to opposition to religious reforms.

It is often said that Ataturk's revolution was possible only because the Turks had never really been a religious people. They served, it is alleged, only as the "sword of the prophet," that is to say for them Islam was mainly the means to win a large Empire. This opinion, like every generalization of the kind, will not bear any close scrutiny. Assuming that the Turks as a race were not particularly interested in metaphysics and religion in general, it must never be overlooked that a large part of the population of Anatolia was not of Turkish origin but consisted of descendants of converts, and converts frequently show greater loyalty to their new faith than those born into it. The strong influence of the mystical (Sufi) movements in Anatolia is further evidence that the Turks were not merely men of action. Other reasons for Ataturk's success in eliminating Islam must be sought, and the following factors seem to be most relevant:

Firstly, the process of rationalism and secularization had begun, as we have already seen, at least two generations earlier and had estranged many intellectuals from the traditional religion. Secondly, the Anatolian villagers, who were not exposed to those external secular influences, were, owing to their long history of poverty and oppression, used to submitting to the order of any ruler, be he Sultan or President. And particularly did they obey the Ghazi who had liberated them from foreign domination, while the Caliph-Sultan had co-operated with the enemies of Turkey after the 1918 armistice. Thirdly, the Quran and other holy books of Islam belong to the national legacy of other peoples and are written in foreign languages, while Islamic culture had not bequeathed to the Turks a classical literature of outstanding value in their own language. Fourthly (and this seems to be a factor which is often not sufficiently appreciated), the dervish movements, which had drawn hundreds of thousands of Turks of all classes into their spheres, had for many generations under-

mined the position of orthodox Islam. Long before the beginning of the reformist movement these Sufi orders had required their adherents to regard as the essential element of religion, not the ceremonies and social obligations of official Islam, but the love and knowledge of God, which was to be acquired by introspective training and collective ecstasy. The Bektashi order, the most popular and numerically strongest of the dervish orders in Turkey, was particularly famous for its contempt for orthodox Islam and its representatives. The following lines from Bektashi poems written some fifty years ago in Istanbul may illustrate this attitude :

“ Thy ablutions, fasting and thy prayers . . .  
 O devout one, to Paradise will not bring thee;  
 Forsake the water of Zemzem, drink wine . . .  
 Asceticism and hypocrisy lead not to God.”\*

### III. RESULT

What is the position of Islam in Turkey to-day? D. E. Webster, an American sociologist who lived many years in Turkey and knew conditions there intimately through his work in Turkish schools, replied in 1939: “ It is a multiple question to which there are about as many answers as disputants. There is plenty of opinion but a great lack of objective information.”†

Islam has lost its position as the official religion, and its once powerful institutions have been abolished. Ataturk's revolution has not created the autonomous Muslim “ Church ” that Gökalp envisaged in his later period, but has turned religion into a State function like education. A generation ago the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the head of the Ulema and supreme Mufti, was an important member of the Cabinet, who had to examine whether the laws of the State conformed to Islamic Canon Law. His successor in modern Turkey is the Director of the Government Department for Religious Affairs, whose authority is limited to the supervision of religious services, the appointment of clerical functionaries, etc.

However, the rulers of Turkey have not followed the Soviet example of an aggressive anti-religious drive. In the Bill on the abolition of Islam as the State religion it was explicitly stated that “ the principle of separation between religion and State does not mean that the Government favours an irreligious attitude. Its aim is to prevent religion from becoming an instrument in the hands of the rulers of the State.” The same opinion was expressed by Ataturk himself in his famous Nutuk, the thirty-seven hour speech in which he, in October, 1927, surveyed the history of the War of Independence and the national revolution.‡

A member of the Turkish Press delegation which visited India during the last war told a Muslim leader in Madras: “ In our country, as everywhere else, there are people who pray and others who do not pray, people who observe the fast of Ramadan and those who do not. But the Government no longer intervenes in these matters, which are regarded as being a matter solely concerning the relations between the individual and God.”

\* J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Derwishes*, London, 1937, pp. 90-1.

† D. E. Webster, *The Turkey of Ataturk*, 1939, p. 278.

‡ English edition, p. 684.



Indeed, everybody in Turkey, including Government officials, has been allowed to observe religious ceremonies in public, although in Atatürk's time it was not regarded as good form to show too great an attachment to the traditional ways of Muslim life. Apart from the Aya Sofia (Hagia Sophia), which has been converted into a museum, no mosques have been closed by the Government. Many of them, however, are deserted and decaying owing to a lack of active interest shown either by the public or the authorities. During the nights of Ramadan and other religious feasts the minarets are illuminated, a sight which fascinates every visitor to Istanbul. Kurban Bairamı, the feast of the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Şeker Bairamı, marking the end of the fast of Ramadan, are still regarded as official holidays, although the new national festivals, commemorating important events during the War of Independence and the foundation of the Republic, are celebrated by the authorities with greater splendour. The number of people attending the mosques on the high feasts and of those who fast during Ramadan is still considerable. The press contains frequent advertisements of specialists in circumcision, strangely enough often with their photographs, as well as invitations by the families of deceased persons to take part in the ceremony of reading the *Mevlûd-ü Şerif*, a traditional Turkish poem of the fourteenth century describing the birth of Muhammad in a popular form. The indifference of the Turkish people to the religious ban on alcohol should not be traced to the secular policy of the Ankara Government. The consumption of *rakı* (arrack), the Turkish national drink, was considerable even before the Kemalist revolution. On the other hand, the absence of Turks from the Haj, the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, is due to the fact that the Government does not favour the participation of their nationals at this, the pan-Islamic meeting *par excellence*. For the same reason there is no connection between any religious institution in Turkey and Islamic bodies outside its borders.

The class mostly affected by Atatürk's secular reforms was, of course, the clergy—the Imams, Muftis, preachers, etc., who have been reduced to a life of great economic hardship. Many muezzins are said to rush from mosque to mosque to make their call to prayer from different minarets in order to eke out even the most modest livelihood. Others serve as librarians, junior civil servants, etc. After the closing of the religious seminars, in which, twenty-five years ago, thousands of future Ulema studied, the few young Turks who want to take up a religious profession have now to study privately. No wonder that this class showed the strongest opposition to Atatürk's reforms. The poet Mehmet Akif, for instance, left Turkey for Egypt when the wearing of the traditional turban was prohibited. By now, however, most of these opponents of the new regime have died, and many of to-day's religious functionaries have compromised with the new order, either out of conviction or, probably in most cases, to keep their jobs.

The new generation born and educated under the Republic is largely indifferent to religion. This fact is hardly surprising. In elementary and secondary schools, both Government and private, the teaching of religion and even the reading of the Quran is prohibited. Parents, it is true, are

allowed to give their children religious education, but few parents are interested and competent enough to do this. In addition, there are many practical difficulties to be encountered by a young Turk who would like to know more about the religion and traditions of Islam. Arabic and Persian, the classical languages of Islam, have been eliminated from the curriculum of Turkish schools. And the language of Turkish literature up to the beginning of this century was so over-loaded with Arabic and Persian words and expressions that to-day even a graduate of a Turkish secondary school would hardly understand it without using a dictionary. All this literature was printed in Arabic script, which is studied no more in Turkish schools; while the number of Islamic works reprinted in modern, *i.e.* Latin, characters is very small indeed. The Quran has been translated into modern Turkish, but in this form it has lost its awe-inspiring strangeness and classical beauty, as the translations—there exist several—are far from reaching in Turkish literature a position comparable to that occupied by the Authorized Version of the Bible in English.

The lack of interest in religion is clearly shown in the very small number of books on religious matters published in modern Turkey. According to an official bibliography, of more than one thousand books published in 1939 there were only twelve books on religion, four of them being prayer-books and collections of sermons, four catechisms and four books on Islamic ethics and ritual. In the press, too, religious questions are hardly ever discussed. Islamic reform, which in the decade of Young Turk rule was one of the main subjects of discussion among the Turkish intelligentsia, is no longer given any attention. The hope that, after being disestablished and reduced to its own resources, Turkish Islam would revive as a spiritual force has hitherto not been fulfilled.

#### IV. REACTION

However, "a young Moslem . . . (who) has perhaps never studied the Quran and dislikes what he knows of the Canon Law, yet is intensely conscious of being a Muslim." This observation, recently made by a writer on modern Islam in India,\* is equally applicable to Turkey. A Muslim Turk, irreligious though he may be, would strongly resent being taken by mistake for a Christian or a Jew, and would even dislike to hear Islam criticized by a foreigner. The reason for this surprising inconsistency is that for hundreds of years being a Muslim was identical with belonging to the ruling class dominating the despised "Giaours." Even to-day the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey do not in practice enjoy full equality with the Muslims, although in recent months some discriminations have been abolished. The average Turk does not regard himself (as a Catholic Frenchman or a Protestant Englishman might do) as belonging to *two* social groups, the Turkish nation and the Muslim community. For him the Muslim-Turkish society is a single entity. Even a non-religious Turk holds, or at least feels, that Islam is part of his national character.

This Muslim self-consciousness in relation to the outside world accounts

\* W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London, 1946, p. 8.

for the strong opposition of public opinion to all missionary activities. The Y.M.C.A. institutions and the many foreign schools in Turkey were compelled to discontinue their religious teaching and ceremonies. And when, as happened from time to time, Muslim students in non-Turkish schools adopted the Christian faith, the Turkish Press voiced strong protest. Very typical of this attitude is an article in the semi-official paper, *Ulus*, which was published several years ago on such an occasion. "Everybody can think and believe what he likes," the writer said, "but by no means can we agree that a culture should spring up in our midst which is entirely strange to our intellectual outlook. Religion is not only a matter for the individual, it is also definitely a cultural and social question."\* Turks seem to be afraid that conversion to another faith would mean that the convert would turn his back on Turkish society and lose his Turkish national feeling, which proves how much—partly, perhaps, subconsciously—they still link religion and nationality together.

While in the towns the process of secularization is going on rather rapidly, Islam is still deeply rooted in the countryside, and particularly in the remoter provinces of Eastern Anatolia. Several years ago, in the summer of 1943, twenty-seven people were brought before an Ankara law-court under the charge of belonging to a dervish order. Most of the accused were peasants and artisans, whereas their sheikh was a young townsman dressed in the latest European fashion. One of the witnesses stated that one day he saw the sheikh riding a horse with two people taking the reins and others running after him. When one of the on-lookers remarked that such honour was not given even to the Prophet, a woman replied, "Don't take the name of this man into your unclean mouth; may Allah gather us under his flag on the Day of Judgment." Here is a typical example of the cult of dervish sheikhs as it still exists in Anatolia despite the 1925 law banning all Sufi orders.

Strong Muslim feeling is not limited only to uneducated villagers. It exists also in certain urban classes as shown by the *Islamic-Turkish Encyclopædia*, edited by a committee of clergymen and scholars, which began to appear in Istanbul during the war.† In the preface Islam is described as a turning-point in world history, and it is pointed out that European civilization borrowed most of its fundamental values from Islam. In marked contradiction to the ideas of the founders of Kemalist Turkey it states that the Turks embraced Islam because this religion perfectly suited their national spirit and character. The editors strongly criticise the *Encyclopædia of Islam* published in Europe, alleging that "it was written by well-known Christian missionaries and by orientalist who did not spare any effort to prepare the ground for Christian propaganda."

There can be little doubt that such an encyclopædia could not have been published in Atatürk's time. When, at the end of 1938, İsmet İnönü was elected President of the Republic, many people expected a change in the official attitude to religion. İnönü has been known for his moderate and rather conservative views. And indeed, since he came to power, a slightly more favourable attitude of the Ankara Government

\* *Ulus*, Ankara, February 10, 1936.

† *İslâm-Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I, Istanbul, 1360 (1941).

towards Islam has been discernible. The position of Imams in the army has been improved. A number of mosques of historical or architectural value have been repaired. It was decided to erect a statue of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II, indicating a greater appreciation of the Muslim past of the Turkish nation, and so on.

This new tendency has grown noticeably in recent months. In the course of a debate on the Education budget in the Turkish Parliament last December, several members expressed the view that religious instruction should be reintroduced in Turkish schools to counteract the effects of Communist propaganda. Recep Peker, the Prime Minister, himself replying to these suggestions, stated that the practice of Islam, as well as of all other religions, was absolutely free in Turkey and that all worship was protected by the State. Religion, he pointed out, is concerned only with the relationship between man's conscience and God, and those who want religion to influence the affairs of this world are poisoning social life. The Turkish people had suffered so much in the past from an excess of clericalism and religious prejudice that they were averse from using it to counteract Communism.\* The idea, however, was not lost. In January of this year the Council of the Republican People's Party, the party in power in modern Turkey, decided to agree to the resumption of religious instruction on condition that it would be non-compulsory, outside the regular school curriculum, taught in Latin characters and under Government control.†

Some foreign observers commenting on the recent revival of religion in Turkey trace this phenomenon to the general feeling of anxiety about external threats to the independence of Turkey. An additional factor, as far as the official attitude is concerned, may be the recent break with Ataturk's policy of aloofness from the Muslim countries of the Middle East. While it is very doubtful whether most Turks would agree to the recent declaration by an Arab statesman that "Turkey is one of the strongest pillars of Oriental civilization,"‡ at least a temporary shelving of the anti-Islamic tendency in Turkey's foreign policy seems to be regarded in Ankara as expedient and timely.

There is, however, an internal reason for this new trend, which may be more important than these reactions to the new international situation. Rapid westernization, both material and spiritual, has caused a deep social and moral crisis in Turkey. As in so many countries in the world to-day, nationalism alone does not seem to be able to solve all the inner problems which Turkey now faces. It is significant that the Turkish Press has recently published many articles stressing the importance of religious education to re-establish ethical values in private and in public life. In what appears to be the beginning of a period of greater democratic freedom in Turkey, Islam may try to regain some lost ground in this former centre of its power.

\* *Ulus*, Ankara, December 25, 1946.

† *Ulus*, Ankara, January 28, 1947.

‡ Sheikh Yusuf Yasin of Saudi Arabia in an interview given in Cairo (cf. *Cumhuriyet*, March 24, 1947).

# ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIPS

By A. G. MARSHALL

Lecture given on April 30, 1947, Brigadier-General S. Weston, D.S.O., M.C., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Marshall, to those of you who do not know him, was before the war a consulting engineer, who spent some thirty-odd years in Russia and had a great deal of personal contact with the Russian Government. His connection with Russia dates from 1910, and up to 1938 he had for many years spent some two or three months each year in the country, and was frequently called upon to act as a go-between in connection with negotiations of the British and Russian Governments in regard to commercial and political matters. When the little difficulty arose over the Lena Goldfields and an endeavour was made to settle it, without success, at the end of five years they sent for Mr. Marshall, who settled the matter in five weeks! You will realize that he has had most exceptional experience, and I will not detain you longer because I am sure you want to hear him on this most interesting and highly controversial question of our relationship with Russia.

THE last time I had the pleasure of talking to you about Russia was on June 4, 1941, and on looking through my notes I was interested to see that I had nothing to retract.

The war was then almost two years old, and without going into details I will summarize what had happened up to then.

Following Munich we had given our guarantee to Poland, but without Russian co-operation were unable to do much to help her. Russia's price for this co-operation was half of Poland, the three Baltic countries and a free hand in Finland, which were terms we could not accept. Hitler did so, and Ribbentrop signed the Russo-German Pact, under which Russia became an unfriendly neutral pledged to supply Hitler with raw materials.

Russia, as the results proved, by her Pact with Germany had precipitated a war, with herself as a neutral, and the prospect of the eventual defeat of Germany, whom she feared, with the exhaustion of Germany, France and ourselves; and the peoples of all three nations, sick of war, turning to Communism on the Russian pattern. She would thus accomplish what the Third International failed to achieve.

Russia, although starting somewhat too late, had still been able to seize the bulk of the Polish territory promised by Hitler, and the three Baltic countries, and had fought a successful but unexpectedly difficult war against Finland.

Germany had conquered Poland in a *blitzkrieg* and later occupied both Denmark and Norway, then Holland and Belgium, and it was in 1940 that we succeeded at Dunkirk in extricating our troops, but not munitions, and that France fell and the R.A.F. saved us from invasion.

On June 10 Italy joined Germany in declaring war against France and ourselves, hoping to reap a harvest she had not sown.

The next year saw further German progress with the occupation of Yugoslavia, Greece and Crete.

America had not yet joined us, but had in lease-lend given us enormous

material assistance when our cash payments were nearing exhaustion. That was the position, but it was soon to be altered.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler, aiming, I believe, at a stalemate in which the war would be indefinitely prolonged, broke his Russo-German agreement and invaded Russia. Churchill's reaction was the immediate adoption of Russia as an ally and the forgetting of the Russo-German Pact.

By October, Germany had acquired domination over Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, France, Holland, Luxembourg, Greece, Crete, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania and in reality Italy—in fact, almost the whole of Europe. It was against this picture that the invasion of Russia took place. In North Africa things had not gone too well for Germany, Italy had lost Abyssinia and we were holding Egypt.

But in November, 1942, at El Alamein and Stalingrad, we saw the first signs of the turning-point.

With this résumé, which I want you to bear in mind, I will now turn to Russia.

Russia is so vast in area that the position of any invading force is that it may, as was the case with the Japs in China, become bogged down and eventually defeated by the length of its lines of communication and the impossibility of keeping them protected.

Our efforts to assist Russia were carried out at great expense, not only in money but in loss of life, and, judging by the reports of many of those actively concerned, with little appreciation or thanks from the Russians, who, I think, could never rid themselves of the impression that we had some ulterior aim, deleterious to them, in view. The identity of the origin of the 'planes, tanks, motors, etc., was very quickly lost by the removal of the labels "Made in England" or "in America." The mass of the Russians assumed from the instruction plates being in Russian that they were made in Russia.

Hitler's first year's campaign took his armies to the gates of Moscow, where he wintered. In his second year's campaign, he decided to capture Russian oil, and advanced along the Black Sea littoral to the Caucasus and Stalingrad. Had he gone for either objective he might have been successful, but by going for both he overstretched his forces and lost both objects. Russia would have lost her oil and the possibility of continuing an effective defence if either objective had been achieved.

The winter of 1942 saw Hitler abandon the Russian venture and start his retreat, and the marvel to me was not that the Red Army were able to make his rearguard actions expensive in men and materials, but that he ever succeeded in extricating his troops over those thousands of miles without a major disaster.

The end of 1943 saw the Russians entering Poland and Roumania. In this year Russia was pressing us hard for what they called a second front, and was forgetting that we were already fighting on a number of fronts.

Turning again to America; Japan, by Pearl Harbour in December, 1941, had brought America into the war on our side, and the end of it was thus made certain as a victory for us.

The unconditional surrender of Germany took place on May 8, 1945, and was followed by that of Japan on August 15, 1945.

These events are so comparatively recent that I need not remind you of any details and can now talk about the difficulties of the peace and the possibilities of the future.

The basic difficulty really lies in the conflict between the Western Powers régime and that of the Russians: Democracy and individual rights over the State *versus* Russian Communism (or State Capitalism, to give it its right name) and the State's absolute right over the individual.

In many respects the Stalin régime resembles that of Hitler. Both of them involve dictatorships and rule by force, supremacy of the State and almost serfdom for the individual, aggression on and occupation of outside territories; but there is one most important difference: Hitler believed in achieving his aims by military power, but Stalin fears a war and desires to do the same by subversive propaganda.

At first this was carried on by the Third International, which in due course was officially dissolved. It had accomplished its purpose, and it has now become possible for its work to be carried on by groups of the actual citizens of the various countries converted to the Russian ideals and taking their orders, often I believe without realizing it, from Moscow and behaving as if they were Stalin's subjects. Even if he wanted to, I believe at the present stage Stalin would find it difficult, if not impossible, to "call them off." The harm has been done, but she can and should stop fostering them.

Russia, against her wishes, became involved in the war, and but for help from the U.S.A. and ourselves would have been defeated. She has suffered enormous losses in man-power and industrial and other material destruction. She does not look on man-power as we do, and most of her victories in the German retreat were bought by this and not by the use of strategy. Her material losses will take time to replace, but her natural wealth is so great that she will be able to afford them and her financial losses have been immensely less than ours.

We made mistakes at both the Teheran and Yalta Conferences in our desire to keep her in the war, and an attempt was made at the Potsdam Conference to put these right. Allowing her to advance past the Polish frontiers and take Berlin was one of the most tragic of these errors, and we and America should have taken Berlin and Vienna and kept German frontiers intact.

As the result, Russia has come out of the war with an enormous belief in herself, and it will be a long time before she realizes that she is only one of the Great Powers. The Russian people have been taught to believe that Russia won the war with little help from the Western Allies, and, getting no information to the contrary, belief is easy. This type of propaganda still continues in the Russian Press.

Russia joined the United Nations not with the object of being ruled by the decisions of U.N.O., but with the firm decision to use U.N.O. for the purpose of over-ruling the other nations. Her insistence on the veto was the first overt sign of this and I was not the only one to fear the results. Her use of the veto has fully borne out these fears.

"What is Stalin's aim?" you may ask. I would reply that he has not given up his almost religious belief that the U.S.S.R. has in its system the

cure for all human ills and the secret of success for its adherents. His motto is still "Workers of the World Unite," and, like all fanatics, he is not open to conviction.

We would have no objection to his creed or his fanaticism so long as it applied to the U.S.S.R. and its inhabitants only, but we cannot but object to his attempts to make it universal, and particularly to his attempts, which, as a result of rule by force, have been remarkably successful, to add to the territory under Soviet domination.

He has extended their territories both westward and eastward and has done more than realize old Tzarist ambitions. He is still not satisfied, and would like to add Greece, Trieste, the Dardanelles, parts of Germany and Turkey, as well as, under a protégé Government, parts of China to the late Japanese territories he has taken over already, including half of Korea.

The Moscow Conference has broken down on fundamentals.

Russia suffered severely in the war, but this was very largely her own fault for facilitating its commencement.

She did not participate with us after the last war in German reparations and therefore did not learn as we did the failure of reparations.

We are endeavouring to build up a stable peace and we have not yet forgotten that Versailles proved a very unstable one. Russia did not figure at Versailles, and there is perhaps some excuse for her not having learnt the same lessons as we did.

Turning to the present situation, this time I would like to see a peace treaty with Germany on British lines, with the eventual result of a prosperous Germany prepared to be as good friends as South Africa has proved. Peace which is only established by the maintenance of treaties by force can never be as sound as one relying on friendship and prosperity. It may be, and indeed will be, a difficult task, but it is one worth while striving for, and Russia unfortunately still relies on rule by force.

You read in many papers that "we must try to understand Russia." I agree, but it is even more essential that we should get Russia to understand us.

My contacts with the U.S.S.R. have mainly related to business, but at times they have been in the field of politics. After all, there is not much difference in methods, and I can say definitely from long experience that Russia admires firmness, is intensely obstinate herself and frankly does not understand the meaning of the word compromise. Any suggestion of compromise is taken as a sign of weakness, and when made is not accepted as concluding the business but only as a basis for a new series of discussions to obtain a further compromise. I have therefore welcomed the firmness shown in Moscow by both Bevin and Marshall. They have also shown great patience.

Russia does not desire war and we do not want Russian territory, but we do not approve of her increasing her old territories by force. We do not want to interfere with her régime so far as Russia is concerned, but we do not like her interfering with our own régime or other people's by force, infiltration or hostile propaganda, etc., which are not likely to promote friendship.



Russia is faced with many difficult problems: amongst them that of large sections of the people getting out of hand during the war and breaking away from Soviet methods; the return of soldiers who have seen how people live in other countries and would like to do the same in Russia; impoverishment due to the war; the destruction of industrial plants, housing, etc. All this has to be put right, and her people see the promised land flowing with milk and honey as far off as ever and show signs of dissatisfaction with the continual promises of "jam to-morrow."

Stalin sees in German reparations from current production a short cut out of her difficulties, but such a short cut would really be taken out of British and American taxpayers' pockets in making good German deficits, and frankly neither of us are willing to make this sacrifice and we are financially unable to do so even if willing.

The last time I talked to you, in 1941, I emphasized the absolute necessity of ourselves and America co-operating, and I do the same to-day even more emphatically. If proof of this were wanted it can readily be seen in Stalin's continual efforts to drive a wedge between us.

We have seen a series of Foreign Ministers' Conferences, and in every one of them, and most of all in the just-concluded Moscow Conference, we have seen agreement readily reached by America, France and ourselves, and this vetoed by Russia unless she was able to obtain all her desires.

In the case of the Paris Conference, which concerned Eastern European countries, we gave way a lot to Russia, as we recognized her greater interest in them, and the U.S.A. was not so much concerned as with Germany and Austria. Our doing so did not lessen Molotov's obstruction in Moscow, but it did play its part in making Marshall and Bevin realize that there was nothing to be gained by compromise.

Shortly after the war was over I was talking at the Foreign Office about U.N.O., and I said then in respect of the granting of the veto that we should in the end have to tell the Russians that the United Nations was something like a football team: all the members had to play together in accordance with certain rules and that if one of the team wanted to play in accordance with rules of his own he must drop out.

I have often been asked, "What does Russia want?" In reply I can say that, just as when negotiating a contract, Russia wants to get her way in everything and in every respect. If you want their order you may be tempted to give way on some point, but if you do you will have to give way on others, only to find then that your doing so is used with a competitor to get him to accept the order. In political negotiations it is much the same. Stalin will not be happy until he gets everything and achieves Hitler's desire of ruling the world. His officials have to obey orders or lose their jobs.

Stalin feels that the longer he delays, the more the chance of a breach between America and ourselves and of the fulfilment of the Marxian prophecy of the downfall of capitalism coming through slumps and unemployment.

Russia does not want a real peace with prosperous and contented neighbours such as Germany and Austria. She pours abuse on us,

promulgates disproved untruths against us and uses the journal *Soviet News*, issued by her Embassy here, for anti-British propaganda. Neither Marshall nor Bevin were satisfied with the Moscow Conference, but Molotov was, for he had been successful in creating indefinite delay.

A word now with regard to elections on the Soviet system, either in Russia or any of her satellites. On any other system of free and secret ballot the result would be anti-Communist, and under these circumstances one can understand why Russia cannot consent to any such election taking place.

The ease of Hitler's advance through Russian-occupied Poland and the Baltic countries should have taught her a lesson. These countries and Finland looked on Germany as a liberator rather than an enemy. In talk with Russians a little while back, and in response to the statement that Russia had to occupy the countries on her borders for defence purposes, I said that the best defence for a nation was that all countries on her frontiers should be her friends, looking to her for protection if attacked; and the reply was that Russia could not afford to rely on this.

The best way of building up real international friendships is interchange of trade, and no two countries are more suited to trade with one another than Russia and ourselves, as both of us want the other's products. We are anxious to restart trading, but Russia is not very responsive. As in the past, she links up her trade with politics and it would, she feels, be against her interests to see us once more prosperous and well-contented. The trade done so far since the war is ridiculously small, and orders accepted by her for timber, small as they were, have still not been delivered.

Russia, pre-war, had built up a reasonably good reputation for "credit," but by her actions during and since the war she has largely lost this, especially with the Government. There is a growing feeling that her word cannot be relied on either with regard to commercial, financial or political undertakings. Her defaults on the payments due on both the Tetuihi and Lena Agreements which were made by the Soviet Government for purely political reasons, were both examples of this, and neither of these defaults have yet been made good.

Her agreement with China in the political field is another example of this.

Her failure to adhere to the Potsdam Agreement and insistence on her reading of the earlier Yalta and Teheran Agreements being accepted is another and more important instance.

I have been trying to deal in a very short time with the many-sided problems of the peace and the future so far as it concerns Russia, America and this country—and, thank God, America does come into the picture.

I will sum up my views in a few words.

1. If Russia is to remain in the United Nations she must drop her interference outside her frontiers with other nations' affairs.

2. Russia does not want war and would be afraid of its results, but if she continues her present attitude it is quite a possibility.

3. British and American co-operation must be retained, and this should

not prove to be difficult so long as the Government keeps free from the Communist party.

4. The peace treaties with Germany, Austria and other ex-enemy countries must enable them to recover and become prosperous at the earliest possible date.

5. Trade on an international basis must be re-established and all financial or other difficulties made subservient to this.

6. The removal of all need for war is the sole guarantee for the continuance of peace.

7. The United Nations must be given a sufficient force to enable them effectually to prevent breaches of the peace in just the same manner as a police force does, and apart from this all nations must largely disarm.

8. It must be made impossible for any one nation by the exercise of a veto to prevent decision or action being taken by the United Nations.

Before concluding I would add a word or two as to atomic warfare. We are all of us aware of the discussions that have gone on regarding atomic-power development, the secrets of the atomic bomb and disclosure of the same by the U.S.A. The basic principle the U.S.A. has laid down covers the right of control and inspection by some approved body set up by U.N.O. Russia covers such a huge area that one doubts the possibility of effective inspection even if she were ready to agree to it.

Apart from this, Russia so fears the entry of foreign nationals and the effect on them of what they see and hear, coupled equally with the effect on her nationals of contact and the exchange of ideas with foreign nationals, that I find it quite impossible to credit that for years to come Stalin would be prepared to grant rights of effective inspection whatever he said to the contrary.

The CHAIRMAN: You will all agree that we have listened to a most interesting lecture.

Sir RONALD STORRS: When Mr. Marshall had those interesting discussions with Russian officials or private persons with regard to their treatment of neighbouring frontier countries, had they no sense of immorality or shame in their reply? Did they not admit to having signed agreements and then completely gone back on their signature? For instance, in the case of the Balts.

The LECTURER: The Russians are like Jesuits. The Jesuits say the end justifies the means. For instance, they say they could not possibly let Poland be independent because it is quite possible that Poland might go "Western," and if it did, it is next door to us." In regard to Poland, I asked them: "Did the Poles in the half you took, did the people in the Baltic countries you took, join you in fighting against the invasion by the Germans? No, they joined the Germans, whom they said were liberating them from your rule, and if you occupy a country you are bound to have that." The Russians said in reply that they could not help that; that they must occupy these countries for their defence.

Group-Captain H. SMALLWOOD: Is there not some very strong underground opposition in Poland against the present arrangements with

Russia? I spent several weeks in Poland just before the recent war started, and I could not help seeing the strong hatred that existed for everything Russian so far as the Poles of that day were concerned. I cannot believe that the whole of that hatred has disappeared because of a slightly changed Government.

Has Mr. Marshall any knowledge of Russian influence with the so-called Communist forces in China? One hears of the tremendous influence that Russia is gaining in Manchuria and that she is controlling three-quarters of Korea. It seems that there must be very strong Russian influence behind the Communists in that part of the world.

The LECTURER: In answer to the first question, Group-Captain Smallwood's belief is perfectly correct. There is a very large body in Poland who want a free Poland and want an end of the Russian domination there. It is hard for them to get a voice because if they do they are liable to arrest and "disappearance." At any rate, it can be said that the Poles are not willingly putting up with the Russian occupation.

As to the second question, I had intended to deal with that matter in my lecture but I omitted it because of time. It is a very interesting position in China. The Russians asked Chiang Kai-shek's Government to send representatives to Moscow to discuss an agreement. Representatives went, and an agreement was discussed, settled and signed. Under it Russia undertook to hand over to the Chiang Kai-shek Government the whole of Manchuria and other territories which had been taken possession of by the Japanese, and Russia was to receive in return certain commercial and industrial rights, also certain rights in certain ports and half control of the railways, and one or two other similar rights. That was all agreed and signed. Chiang Kai-shek expected that the agreement would be fulfilled, but when they started to land forces in North China on the agreed dates in fulfilment they found that the Russian troops were not there to meet them and to hand over, as it were, the keys of the citadel. Instead, they met with the Chinese Communist Government armed by the Russians with Japanese munitions, who, instead of handing over the keys of the citadel, resisted the landing of Chiang Kai-shek's forces. The Russians, in the meantime, had also taken the majority of the industrial plants in Manchuria as "reparations." The Chinese Communist Government, on the other hand, when asked if they are under the control of the Russians say they are quite independent, etc., but, like some of our Communists in Great Britain, they may think they are not under Russian control, but, as a matter of fact, they are very nearly, if not quite, so.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: I would like to ask a question as to the personal position of Stalin. I happen to know a certain M. Gavrilovitch of Serbia, who is the only foreign friend Stalin has ever had. They have had many conversations, and Gavrilovitch told me that he thought Stalin was, and always would be, a dyed-in-the-wool Communist, though at the same time he is a realist and realizes that on principle Communism cannot be put into effect. That is why Stalin has shown in many of the decrees issued in the last year or two considerable advance upon the ordinary ideas of Communism. There is a certain spirit of moderation. When Stalin

disappears in the ordinary course of nature, does the lecturer think the situation will be considerably worse under those who replace him? There seems to be the idea that Stalin is more of a moderating influence and that when the military and the other folk come into power, whoever replaces Stalin, the situation will be, perhaps, worse rather than better. Does the lecturer think so or not?

The LECTURER: Stalin followed Lenin and he reversed to a certain extent the Lenin system. Lenin was striving after Communism, but he did not make a success of it and had reverted in his "New Economic Policy" to a form of capitalism. When Stalin came into power he abandoned practically the whole of the old doctrines of Communism and adopted under the name of Communism what is in fact State Capitalism. In State Capitalism he has succeeded in establishing a very powerful machine under direct Government control.

Stalin is undoubtedly in control of Russia through the Military, the whole Governmental organization, the O.G.P.U. and so on. With regard to what would happen if Molotov or Vishinsky went against Stalin's wishes, I think you could say good-bye to them. As to what will happen in Russia when Stalin dies, it is impossible for me to say who will succeed in occupying his place. During the war Stalin not unnaturally made the Army predominately important, but since the war he has certainly been lessening their importance in favour of other branches of the Government, which is again quite understandable, and the Army can no longer be regarded as "first priority." In Russia there might be a swing to the Right, but there is no sign of it at present. There are many people in Russia who dislike the present system, whilst many others, particularly the higher officials, like it, and not unnaturally, as they are in a position of power. If Stalin on his deathbed says that Molotov has got to take his place I do not think it necessarily means that Molotov will be successful in taking his place. It may be Voroshiloff or someone else.

Major CHENEVIX TRENCH: Does the lecturer think the Russians are likely to take any strong line on Palestine and U.N.O.?

The LECTURER: On Palestine, Egypt and India, Russia's principal interest is the creation of trouble for Great Britain. She is not averse to seeing us in difficulties and troubles. I do not think Russia will take directly a strong line in Palestine; she will probably instruct one of her satellites to do this for her. If Palestine had been Turkey she might have been inclined to do so, for Russia is anxious to get control in the Dardanelles and over as much territory on the Mediterranean as she possibly can, but without other things taking place I do not see her occupying an isolated Palestine. I can, however, see her backing up the Jews or turning her attention to the Arabs, or doing anything else likely to create difficulties for us. Russia does not want happy, contented Arabs unless they are under Russian domination.

Lieut.-General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: Does Mr. Marshall think that the obstinacy of Russia in the late meetings in Moscow is due to their hope and expectancy that in the near future, say in two or three years, there will be a big slump in capitalist countries, and that by waiting and playing for time she will be in a position to push her propaganda still

more than she does at present? Is not that the main reason for Russia's present obstinacy?

The LECTURER: The Russian Government are convinced that there is bound to be a very bad slump and bad unemployment followed by an absolute downfall of capitalism. Russia's delaying tactics in Moscow are the same as if she were negotiating a contract. The longer she can keep off the settlement you want to get the more you may come up to the terms that she wants to get and thinks she will get if a settlement can only be put off long enough and you are anxious enough to want to get her order. It is the same in political matters. Russia thinks that if she can put off settlement there will be ultimately some likelihood of our agreeing, for instance, to her having reparations out of German current production, which we certainly cannot do.

Major AINGER: The lecturer dealt very much with the Mediterranean and the Eastern position, but he did not touch at all on the position in Denmark and Scandinavia. How is Russian policy going in those areas, where I have always understood the desire to be to have an exit to the Baltic and the exit to the Black Sea in Russian hands?

The LECTURER: I think Russia would be very pleased to have an opportunity of occupying or converting into satellites the territories of Scandinavian countries, but to-day I do not think she sees her way clear to take any effective action other than infiltration and subversive propaganda. I feel sure you need not fear anything in the nature of military action by the Russians against Sweden, Denmark, Norway or even further against Finland.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I would like to hear from the lecturer something about internal propaganda. I think he said it ought not to be any affair of ours as to what goes on inside Russia. It seems that it ought to be some concern of ours if what is going on in the outside world is continually distorted in the Berlin and Russian Press. Do the Russians believe to be true the anti-capitalist propaganda which goes on in Russia?

The LECTURER: They are getting it in season and out of season; they practically never hear any contradiction. If such propaganda goes on all the time and nobody contradicts it, what is left for the Russians to do? They must believe it is true. The picture which people in Russia have of life outside their country is so distorted as to be almost unbelievable. For instance, there are escalators in the underground railway in Moscow. Moscow published in her Press that the escalators were a Russian invention, whereas escalators had been in use for years past in other countries. Nevertheless, the Russians believed their Press, and they are bound to, when they are told such things day in and day out and no one contradicts. Take the help given during the war by the British and the Americans to the Russians: we and the Americans had to insist on the Russians printing in their Press that we had given help, and also we had to insist, to some extent, on the nature of that help being recorded, otherwise it would never have been done; but these single instances were soon forgotten in the spate of articles showing how they had won the war single-handed.

Mr. CURRY: I understood the lecturer to say that the Communist parties of the world were, in some sense, under control from Moscow.

Does he suggest that that control is a sort of moral influence or that there is any kind of machinery of control?

The LECTURER: Definitely machinery; definitely there are people over here who may be even Britishers in the pay of the Russian Government, and we and others have had instances of that in the past. I cited as an instance the way in which the Communist party over here deprecated our doing anything in the war until Russia was affected, and then they were told by the Russians that they had got to help Russia, and there are numberless other instances.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have had an exceedingly interesting session. Mr. Marshall remarked to me just before the lecture that the great thing in the world as it is to-day is to take an optimistic point of view. I am certain that he has presented a point of view which has increased our optimism to such an extent that we cannot but see that the length of time before the next war breaks out may possibly be measured by a very few years!

I was impressed very much by what he said in regard to international trade. For a long time, for many years before the last war, I have held the view that without trade between countries there is bound to be strife and war; that mankind is so constituted that they will either trade or fight. I am convinced—I do not know whether others will agree or not—that if the Russians choose to remain in hermetically sealed quarters, as now, it is only a question of time before they are bound to break out in some form or another and the world once more be exposed to the extreme inconvenience of having to take them on. In any case, whether pessimistic or optimistic, I am sure we are all extremely grateful to Mr. Marshall for an astonishingly interesting survey of the Russian situation and, above all, his inside peep into the Russian mind and the Russian mentality.

Mr. MARSHALL: Might I add one word in thanking you. I have a pencil sketch made of me in Russia, and underneath it are the words: "The super-heated optimist"!

# THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. JOSEPH WOLFF

By D. M. DUNLOP

**T**HE reading public knows the subject of this article, if it knows him at all, as one of the very few European travellers who visited Bukhara while Turkestan was still independent under its Khans. Wolff was in the Central Asian capital in 1844, twenty years before Vambéry, and this alone merits attention. But the fact that it was then his second visit—the first having been in 1831-32—and the singular circumstances in which the journey of 1843-45 was made suggest that Wolff was no ordinary traveller, and this is amply borne out by the story of his life.

Born in Germany, the son of an orthodox Jewish rabbi, Wolff broke with his family and at the age of 17 was baptized. After a year or two he settled in Rome as a student of theology and candidate for the priesthood. When he had been for some time in the Collegio Romano, his views on papal infallibility, expressed without hesitation in the most public manner, made him obnoxious to the authorities. He had to abandon his intention of taking orders in the Roman Church and was even obliged to remove himself from the city.

At Rome previously he had met Henry Drummond, a somewhat eccentric British M.P., and now proceeded to England to visit him. Wolff had already enjoyed the support of wealthy and generous friends, both in his own country and in Italy. Once again he seems to have had no difficulty in establishing himself. At this time there were in London a number of favourably placed people, of whom evidently Drummond was one, who found Wolff's enthusiastic religious views highly congenial. It must have been by their help that he was able to go to Cambridge, where he studied Oriental languages under Samuel Lee and made the acquaintance of the zealous Evangelical, Charles Simeon.

Between 1821 and 1826 Wolff's career entered a new phase. He had become a member of the Church of England, and, though still a layman, spent these years abroad on long preaching tours which took him as far as Egypt, Palestine and Iraq, and even Persia. He had come to regard himself as specially responsible for his own countrymen, the Jews, and undoubtedly gave a considerable impetus to Protestant missions in this direction.

Shortly after his return to this country Wolff met for the first time that other strange man, Edward Irving, the once celebrated preacher and friend of Carlyle. He was introduced by Irving to Lady Georgiana Walpole, a daughter of the Earl of Orford, and married her a few months later. Thereafter references to "Lady Georgiana" occur continuously in his letters and journal. He was evidently very proud of his aristocratic wife. The friendship with Irving continued, at least for some time. There are one or two indications in Irving's writings that Wolff's peculiar views had made a deep impression on him. Wolff was certainly present at the six-day meeting in Drummond's house during Advent, 1826, as a result of



which Irving's Catholic Apostolic Church was founded. His attitude when disaster overtook the unfortunate Irving a year or two later does not seem to be recorded.

Up to this point Wolff's career bears a strong likeness to that of another Jew, Moses Margoliouth, who about this time took orders in the Church of England and published a book of Eastern travels, somewhat in Wolff's vein but of considerably less originality. After his marriage Wolff undertook further travels of a new and remarkable character. It is this later development which gives him his niche in our own temple of fame, *The Dictionary of National Biography*. In 1828 he announced that he was going to the East in search of the lost ten tribes of Israel. This might seem an unpromising enterprise, and it is perhaps surprising that he found support. But Wolff had not only given evidence of his zeal in preaching Christianity to the Jews; he appears to have enjoyed a great reputation as an authority on Oriental matters in general. Edward Irving (who was of course no judge) described him as "the most learned Eastern scholar perhaps in the world." Whether people believed in his ten tribes or not, Wolff was able to make his arrangements and duly started out, accompanied by his wife.

He left her at Alexandria (February, 1830) and proceeded alone. By July, 1831, he was in Teheran, where he had been six years previously. It is from this point, the limit of his earlier journey, that Wolff's travels become of first-class importance. We read occasionally that in such-and-such a place he came on Jews of such-and-such a tribe. But it may be doubted if even Wolff thought that he had solved the ancient riddle of the lost ten tribes. For ourselves, certainly, it is what Wolff himself did that is of interest.

His route from Teheran was different from Vambéry's, whose dervish friends skirted the Caspian, taking Vambéry with them, and passed through Khiva on their way to Bukhara. Wolff struck east rather than north from Teheran, and we soon find him at Turbat-i Haidari, on the far side of the Great Salt Desert, where, according to his own account, he was made a slave, or perhaps rather held to ransom. As soon as he got his freedom he went on to Meshed, and thence to Sarakhs and Merv. Passing through the Desert of Merv he reached the Oxus and came, via Karakol, to Bukhara. This was almost virgin country for a European traveller, and Wolff's experiences should be read in his own words. For two months he remained in Bukhara, where he claims to have been treated with the greatest hospitality, and then left the city, travelling south-east to Balkh and Bamian in Afghanistan. At the latter place, or in its neighbourhood, he suffered another serious mishap, for he was robbed of all his possessions. Yet he managed to continue on his way and finally reached Kabul and India, though in a state of almost complete destitution.

In Turkestan his religious activity must have been confined to private or semi-private conversations. It seems incredible that he preached openly either there or while destitute in Afghanistan. In any case, the journey, Teheran-Bukhara-Kabul, was a very remarkable one. So Wolff himself seems to have thought. Later he styled himself "Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ for Palestine, Persia, Bukhara and Balkh," and the bombast,

to judge it no more severely, no doubt led many people to discount his real achievement.

The years from 1831 were spent by Wolff in various labours. In 1836 he was in South Arabia and Abyssinia. He had had the happy idea to secure copies of *Robinson Crusoe* in Arabic. These, when introduced among the inhabitants of Hodaidah and San'a in the Yemen, caused a great sensation, the Arabs declaring that Robinson Crusoe must have been a great prophet. They were no doubt all the more ready, as Wolff certainly intended they should be, to receive the Arabic Bibles and Testaments which he showered upon them. It was typical of Wolff that when an ancient house in San'a, called Qasr Sam (the Castle of Shem), was pointed out, he should have been inclined to believe that this was an authentic link with Noah. Equally typically, while on board a small Arab ship sailing from Jiddah to Massawah, he read the Bible in Amharic, a language which may have been known at the time to less than a dozen of the most learned professors in Europe. Again, on this journey there was solid accomplishment. How many before him had passed from San'a to Aksum and the other Abyssinian towns? But the accomplishment is obscured by his manner, and his descriptions of some of the most interesting places on earth leave much to be desired.

The great exploit of Wolff's life was his second journey to Bukhara. This was made in 1843-45, with the intention of discovering the fate of two British officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, who were known to have been imprisoned there some time previously. Much public sympathy was felt for the unfortunate officers and their families, so that Wolff on this occasion had the support of a strong committee at home. Proceeding to Teheran, he started for Bukhara by approximately the same route as previously, and he maintained as before his character as a man of religion. In the interval, however, he had become a Church of England clergyman and acquired the degree of LL.D from Dublin University. He was now entitled to display considerable academic splendour and, in fact, was, as he says, "dressed in full canonicals" all the way from Merv to Bukhara. In Bukhara itself, when invited to the Khan's presence, he invariably wore gown and hood. The Khan had never seen anything of the kind before, and after the first audience sent a special messenger to enquire why Joseph Wolff was dressed in black and red. Wolff readily replied, no doubt to the Khan's satisfaction, that this was the dress of the great mullahs of England. To wear hood and gown in Central Asia was not so absurd as may appear. Wolff's action, though contrary to the advice of his Turcoman escort, was based on a sound instinct. Centuries before, the Western ecclesiastics who visited the Mongols had found that respect was paid to their special dress and religious insignia. The description which Wolff gives, complacently enough, of his entry into Bukhara is no doubt to be relied on. A deliberate campaign of publicity, as we should say now, had been carried on by him, even before he left this country. He had spared no pains to let the Eastern world know that he was proceeding to Bukhara to try to save the British prisoners there, and he had emphasized rather than concealed his character as a religious man. All this and his ceremonial dress now had their full effect, for evidently he entered Bukhara almost in triumph. A similar reception was accorded on at least

one occasion by the Turks of Constantinople to Sir Stratford Canning, who made his way from Galata to Taxim among scenes of indescribable excitement with shouts of "Elchi, elchi!" ("The Ambassador!") filling the air. Wolff too heard the same shout in Bukhara. But it seems more than likely that in his case among the unschooled Turcomans, the religious feelings of the people were uppermost, and that they connected him with the appearance of the Mahdi, which, according to Muslim eschatology, is to announce the end of all things.

In spite of his efforts and ingenuity Wolff's mission was a failure in its main object. He did not rescue the British officers, as he had all along hoped to do. Both had been killed some months before his arrival. He himself had considerable difficulty in getting away, for the Khan of Bukhara, understandably enough, had a great fear of espionage. Popular demonstrations like those on his arrival marked his departure from Bukhara. His route was not, as previously, in the direction of Kabul, but westwards, to Teheran, passing through most of the places he had visited on the outward journey.

There can be no doubt that this was a great exploit. The telling of it is marred by Wolff's naïveté and flamboyancy. So no doubt was the performance itself. We cannot think that a connoisseur of human action and motive—a T. E. Lawrence, for example, who judged himself and others so mercilessly—would have been moved to admiration by seeing Wolff in function. It is perhaps from such causes that he failed to gain the full attention of the official and scientific worlds. When the traveller returned to this country he duly made a report to his committee and in various other quarters. But no great welcome like Vambéry's was accorded him. Wolff retired to the quiet country life which he had left and remained till his death vicar of a Somersetshire parish.

Certainly, whenever the great names of Eastern travel come under discussion, Wolff's claims will have to be considered. As to the man himself opinions will no doubt differ. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, after observing that he was at home in any kind of society in Europe or Asia, says that he fascinated rather than charmed by his extraordinary vitality and nervous energy. Some degree of censure is implied by this, and it would appear from his writings that he was in fact rather aggressive and opinionative. These and the other faults we seem to find in Wolff are not, however, evidence of serious obliquity, and his merits in certain directions were undoubtedly great.

In his full development he can best be understood, perhaps, by comparison with W. G. Palgrave, also the son of a Jewish family, who was for a time a Catholic priest and later distinguished himself as a traveller. Like Wolff, Palgrave was perfectly at home in Muslim society, yet ended his life in another quarter of the globe, professing views of the sort associated with Anglican piety. Palgrave lacked Wolff's enthusiasm and occasional absurdity. He gives the impression of having been no less learned, and certainly a far more cultivated man. It is very interesting to observe the same kind of impulses carrying both men, in spite of their differences, to a closely similar destiny. Palgrave's contribution is well known, Wolff's less so, but the journey to Bukhara in 1843-45, when all qualification is made, must continue to command our respectful attention.

## REVIEWS

**Sa'udi-Arabia.** By K. S. Twitchell. Pp. 192. 24 pp. photographs. Map. Princeton University Press. 1947. \$2.50.

Princeton University Press have done well in adding this work of Mr. Twitchell's to their series of publications relating to the Arabs by eminent American scholars like Philip Hitti and Nahib A. Faris, and it is pleasing to be able to handle once more, in this era of our own "authorized economy standards," a book so good in its style and format.

If it were possible for the Americans to put forward one of their citizens as a prospective successor to our own G.O.M. of Arabia, Philby, they would be amply justified (although they would not achieve success) in naming Karl Twitchell. Friend and neighbour of the Philby family, friend of Ibn Sa'ud, and one of the world's authorities on the physical geography, geology and agriculture of Arabia (see his *Report on the United States Agricultural Mission to Sa'udi-Arabia*, Cairo, 1943, 400 copies printed in English and Arabic), Mr. Twitchell has spent most of some fifteen years away from his home at Burlington or Mamaroneck, in the exploitation of the natural wealth of Ibn Sa'ud's kingdom, under the auspices of the Sa'udi-Arabian Mining Syndicate, the concession of which was actually signed on December 23, 1934. He has had, also, experience of the natural resources of the Yemen, which he visited in 1927. In his present work Mr. Twitchell has given us an up-to-date survey of Sa'udi-Arabia, not only in relation to his own particular subjects, but also in regard to geography, the kingdom's economic prospects, its social and political developments generally. His work is authoritative and scholarly. There might be room, however, for improvement in his chapters on political and social development, where he is occasionally inclined to sketchiness and bias; there are also a few minor inaccuracies in the text, but these are lost in this entirely excellent survey, which, to quote a familiar publisher's "blurb," "will be welcomed by scholars and laymen alike." Special mention should be made of his chapter on oil. To the British layman no doubt this chapter may come as something of a surprise, and for him it is a useful sketch of the subject, although it does not, apart from Mr. Twitchell's personal aspect, give any hitherto unknown information on the oil resources of the Persian Gulf littoral, a subject whose bibliography includes many scores of works, since it has been well written up both in British and American journals.

Although they do not attain the standard set by Scott and Britton in the Yemen, and Ingrams and Stark in the Hadramaut, the photographs are good, even if some may appear to have suffered somewhat from mediocre reproduction. There is a good index and a satisfactory map. A common fault with books such as these (Colonel de Gaury's *Arabia Phœnix* is an obvious exception) is that they are not documented, they contain no bibliography or bibliographical annotations; *Sa'udi-Arbaia* is no exception, and that is a pity, as a list of modern works which would give amplification on his subjects would be most welcome to those not conversant with Arabian bibliography.

*Sa'udi-Arabia* is at present not being published in this country. This is to be regretted, as such an up-to-date authoritative work on Sa'udi-Arabia is seriously lacking in this country. *Arabia Phœnix* is, bibliographically speaking, in a different class. It is to be hoped that a British publisher of enterprise will obtain the rights on this book at an early date.

ERIC MACRO.

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**One Hour of Justice.** By Cecil Alport. Dorothy Crisp and Co., Ltd. 8s. 6d.  
Dr. Cecil Alport held the Chair of Clinical Medicine in the University of Cairo from 1935 till he resigned at the end of 1943. He wrote his book in retirement in Kenya in answer to a challenge issued to him by the Minister of Education in the Egyptian Senate to write a "Black Book" which would expose "the shocking conditions under which the poor live, and the disgraceful state of the hospitals of

the country." His object is to mobilize public opinion, British and American, against the alleged greed and self-interest of the ruling "pasha" class and in the interest of reform.

With Dr. Alport's sincerity and good intentions all impartial readers must sympathize. He has prepared a very strong indictment. In particular the picture he draws of the diseased state of the *fellaheen* is terrible. "All along of muddle; all along of mess; all along of doing things rather more or less": it is, unfortunately, a story which is repeating itself all over the world as Great Britain surrenders the reins of government.

All the same, for your reviewer at least, Dr. Alport has rather spoilt his case by over-statement. He has overdone the *sæva indignatio* to the detriment of balance.

H. G. M.

**Foreign Mud.** By Maurice Collis. Pp. 318. Illustrations. Faber and Faber. 1946. 21s.

Every member of the R.C.A.S. can but read Maurice Collis with gusto. *Siamese White* is fascinating. *The Great Within* one goes out of the way to recommend to friends, to show and share literary perspicacity. Even *Burmese Trials* has latent richness, in spite of some apparent lack of opportunity in a previous career. This is not the first time a frustrated pandit has found freedom and fully merited literary fame as a writer. Mr. Collis is an indefatigably skilful collator, a lucid narrator, and has the knack of maintaining interest and coaxing his reader into believing that everything he says is not only dogma or history but factual.

William Hickey should be read again, after or before *Foreign Mud*. Though Hickey was a diarist of events thirty to forty years prior to those detailed in *Foreign Mud*, it is well to appreciate that he reveals nothing peculiarly venal in Sino-British relations or in "Canton-Hong" dealings, beyond, here and there, pastel tints of some shadiness. In *Foreign Mud* a pervading taint besmirches all parties concerned. Almost alone impeccable were the "honest British sailormen," and that, to follow Mr. Collis, was because they were not given the chance of being otherwise wayward.

The one, and perhaps the only, beam in an absorbing book, is that the author attempts too much in essaying to interpret the Oriental minds, motives and objectives of the Chinese Viceroy, Commissioners, other officials and Hong merchants. I found neither Chinese nor Japanese as subtle or inscrutable as they thought us to be. Mr. Collis reviews, and previews, events and consequences too readily; why Mr. Lin (or Mr. Fu) acted as he did, or didn't, and how if he had acted otherwise he (Mr. Lin) would have failed, or not failed, in his purposes. It is true *How qua* or *Mow qua* and other *quas* are excused for their "civilized" astuteness—even so, accusable always of having an eye to the main squeeze. On the British side is all piracy, brigandage, smuggling and filibustering, predominantly something which we condoned—but the Chinese could never condone—as of "gentlemanly" vintage.

The publisher's note states with naivety that "the details about the opium traffic itself, how it was conducted, and what the opium smugglers are *really* like is particularly *fascinating*." The reviewer would delete "fascinating" and read, "what the book reveals." The career, activities, avarice and cold-blooded machinations of smuggler Jardine have surely served as model for the subtle Mr. Wu, of movies, talkies, and other villain projectors, of a happily passing generation.

As to who started the first Opium war—and many lay the blame primarily and heavily on the Chinese—*Foreign Mud* is the conclusive answer. Mr. Collis's careful convincing composition and research, *inter alia*, among the very archives of the No. 1 Buccaneer, absolves the Chinese.

Mr. Collis does his best to palliate the British official and non-official of the day, and deftly excuses and exculpates (or does he?) the East India Company, for growing opium for sale to the Chinese by fair means or by foul. Opium for China was one of the main sources of Indian revenue. Here in England, where "we had to have tea" (and rhubarb), Whigs and Tories alike accepted the view that, for the good of India and the Hon. John Company, opium must be smuggled, or, anyhow, forced into China by hook—or by crooks.

With commendable (Chinese?) finesse Mr. Collis puts the facts across us, and we

and Chinese friends are grateful. He has done it with consummate skill, and, as always, "in beautiful writing, sensitive and clear, in a style so bare and fine trained," to quote Keith Feiling reviewing *The Great Within* in *The Observer*.

As evidence that by-gones are by-gones with us, as we would wish also in China, *Foreign Mud* is happily dedicated to one of the present heads of the firm founded by Jardine, and the less notorious Matheson, both of whom evolved in due course as "Honourable" Members of Parliament. The illustrations, reproductions of paintings by J. Prendergast, Thomas Allom, Geo. Chinnery (appropriate name), Captain Elliot, and R. Beechey of the R.N., and contemporary artists of the Western school, make one wish that we could some day see an exhibition of these and of other artists of fame—Borget, the French artist, Zoffany, R.A., and others, who lived and worked for so many years in India and China of the late eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries.

W. KIRKPATRICK.

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**Singapore—A Police Background.** By René Onraet. Dorothy Crisp and Co., Ltd. Pp. 152. Map. 1947. 12s. 6d.

The publishers mention on the dust-cover that the chapters dealing with Chinese Communists appeared in *The Straits Times* early in 1946. Judging by internal evidence some parts of the book were perhaps written before the end of the Japanese War and others after that date. They also describe it as a "fascinating anecdotal story of Malaya"; but though much of it is light and even conversational in tone, it is more important than this phrase suggests.

The author tells an entertaining and instructive story of life as lived by British officers recruited in England to fill the higher executive and administrative posts in the modernized police service of the Colony. It is a colourful and varied life in the richest of British Colonies; one which has owed its rapidly increasing wealth mainly to the production of rubber and tin and to the entrepôt trade of Singapore. This story covers the period in which, with the rest of the world, it stepped into a new age represented by the internal combustion engine, a spate of scientific inventions and two world wars.

Against this background we are shown how the establishment of ordered government in this part of Asia under the conditions of this age forms part of the story of a great British achievement; and how an important aspect of this achievement has been the development of a highly organized police force under professional officers. This book, by one of those officers, is written with obvious sincerity. Its professional soundness is touched here and there with vivid description and with imagination lighted by wide human interests.

There is a delightful account of a stay of eighteen months in Southern China about thirty years ago which we owe, in part, to the broadminded policy of the Colonial Government in sending its police cadets to that country to learn the Chinese language. This policy was adopted because the Chinese population of the Colony is its most important element.

Apart from the normal work of the police, with its many points of contact with the life of the people, the author was closely concerned with matters having a bearing on high policy. From this point of view his brief references to Chinese politics and Chinese and local Communists are not without importance and deserve attention from everyone interested in or concerned with the present-day relations between the Great Powers. In particular he suggests, with reference to the Government of the U.S.S.R and the Comintern (pp. 117-8), that, if ill-feeling and suspicion are to be removed in the future, it is better that the truth concerning the past should not be concealed; and that the best foundation on which to build future good relations is an evident and firm intention (on the British side) to continue to resist illegal alien influences. He states that the Russian Government controlled the Comintern; that the latter influenced seemingly parochial affairs in Malaya through the Chinese Communists; and that past Communist and subversive activities in Malaysia (Malaya and Indonesia) have been proved to have been bound up with Russian intrigue and Russian money.

Interest also attaches to his view (p. 127) that the mainspring of Japanese policy

was fear of the consequences of a future industrialization of China rather than belief in a (Japanese) predestination to world supremacy.

His remarks about military intelligence and counter-measures suggest that there was inadequate liaison or a lack of understanding, before the last war, between the military authorities and the police in the Colony. If this is so, the primary responsibility must presumably rest in London and not with the Colonial police. The principles involved may be of interest for future reference.

General sympathy will be felt for the author's indignation at irresponsible suggestions, apparently emanating from certain British and other sources, to the effect that the early Japanese successes in Malaya were due, not to the obvious and indisputable military factors, but to failure and ineptitude on the part of the Colonial Government and its officials and, rather more vaguely, to the way of life of British people in South-East Asia. Although it is not intended to serve so small a purpose—and indeed no such defence seems necessary—his story as a whole should serve to convince any reasonable person, who had entertained these suggestions, that they have no substance.

The author lived very close to many of the varied and unique problems arising from the presence of a preponderant Chinese population in a British Colony in circumstances which may give them even greater importance in the future. It may be that he was too close to these problems to see them in perspective. Perhaps some of the unsatisfactory developments among the Chinese in Malaya may be due to the absence of some of the factors which make for balances in the social life of China; and to the fact that they are living under a (to them) foreign administration based on Western philosophy and ethics and on the unassimilated principles of British law. The position is complicated in virtue of the fact that their numbers and the wealth of some of their community give them great weight locally; and by the reactions arising from their presence among a native community which is culturally less advanced, commercially and politically less influential, and more seriously affected by an enervating climate.

The Malays are a people who have not made and are not making history. They are overshadowed by the Chinese in criminal as in other matters, and they therefore figure less conspicuously in this narrative. The author is, however, at pains to show that, while sometimes difficult to deal with, they have been trained by their British officers to form the backbone of the subordinate police.

Although the treatment—and the title and some of the chapter headings—tend to disguise the fact, there is an essential unity in this book. It is an account by an eye-witness and a participant in events. These events form part of the great story of the development of a British system of administration as applied in varying circumstances in many parts of the world. This story is told against the background of a modern police force as an important element in that system—under the Rule of Law—in one Colony.

J. C. C.

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**Mountain Prospect.** By R. Scott Russell, with Foreword by Geoffrey Winthrop Young. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xvi × 244. Index. Chatto and Windus. 1946. 18s. net.

A very readable volume, with forty-six really excellent illustrations and seven sketch-maps. The author is an enthusiast. To him any time not spent in mountaineering or botany is wasted. But the unusual element in his writing is that his enthusiasm is infectious. The reader begins to wonder whether any earthly thrill comes up to mountaineering, its problems, its friendships and its challenges to Nature.

In the long years of prison life at Singapore, where he tended the gardens, writing this record helped him maintain his mental standards, a polished record registering wholehearted effort, nostalgic in its memories of the great open spaces so little akin to "Changi by the Sea."

From the pen of the trained mountaineer we find a comparative study of five hill scenes—the Southern Alps of New Zealand, the Matterhorn and Zermatt, Lakeland, the arctic volcano of Beerenberg on Jan-Mayen Island, and the Karakoram. He loved them all. Possibly the untrodden solitudes of his earlier climbs still claim his

allegiance, but the sherpas and the plant-life and the vast scale of the Himalayas must run a close second. His comparisons of the relative climbing conditions will appeal to experts, but the whole story will interest a wider public.

G. M. ROUTH.

**An Australian in India.** By the Right Hon. R. G. Casey.

"In January, 1944, I set out on what was to me the uncharted sea of the Province of Bengal. I said publicly that I was going to India with an open mind—what I meant was an empty mind."

So Mr. Casey opens his book and justifies the claim that all Governors and Viceroyalties going to India with untrammelled minds have been more acceptable to Indian politicians than the Indian Civil Servant, who is Ma Bap, and Huzoor, and rightly so to 90 per cent. of the people of the country who are to be the real beneficiaries—and sufferers—under the new dispensation.

Mr. Casey breathes, and passes on to the reader a high-velocity volume of fresh air, with suitable cold blasts.

After a fairly quiet time politically—for the first few months—"I had caught my breath again," and one can see that throughout his two years he administered such withering draughts right and left as he now delivers in retrospect.

"The Bengali," presumably Hindu and Moslem alike, he found "to be temperamental to a degree . . . probably the cleverest and quickest of Indians. . . . He has the name of being fanatical and politically minded." "Bengal has been neglected," is Mr. Casey's finding, and the accumulated neglect of the past is coming home to roost.

Mr. Casey's statement that the climate of Bengal is such that "Indians from other parts of India dislike having to serve there," is open to modified rebuttal. It is a common saying all over Upper India that you "go to Bengal with a lota and return with a lakh." Almost the entire commercial community in Calcutta, Marwaris, come from Marwar or Bikanir and other native States in Rajputana. The police force are largely (in Calcutta entirely) Tewaris and Pandays from the United Provinces. The domestic servants employed by Europeans and Indians (including Bengalis) are Kahars from the United Provinces or Gwalas from Orissa. The taxi-drivers are Sikhs. The best carpenters and shoemakers are Chinese. All over Bengal and Assam every tea garden has the indispensable Kaya (Bania), all from Rajputana. Most of the tea-garden labour and labour in jute mills and most industrial factories in Bengal came from the Provinces. Surely, then, it is rather that Bengal offers opportunity and attraction to Indians from all over India, perhaps for the very reason that Mr. Casey gives, that Bengalis are "without the gift of initiative and capacity for solid work." This is a rather too wide and unfair generalization. Mr. Casey believes that the prospects of Bengal are, to put it mildly, indifferent, "unless the possibilities of irrigation, drainage and river control are most energetically pursued." He returns to irrigation again and again with admirable enthusiasm and argument, as the major means of salvation.

Very many must vehemently disagree with his appraisal of Mr. Gandhi—judging from the rest of his appreciations of "Politics and Personalities in India" Mr. Casey is clearly not otherwise hoodwinkable.

His best chapter may be on Pakistan, where he apprehends the inevitable "reprisals" which must result when both Pakistan and Hindustan have their own minority problems to contend with, and to use as bargaining points to be settled by uneasy equivocal compromise or by murder and arson.

On the Indian States Mr. Casey premises that it "cannot be denied that the existence of autocratic Indian States is anomalous," and, as he observes, "constitutes a serious part of all Indian constitutional and political problems." This is too easy; he who runs may surely read (and these words may be entirely refuted before they appear), and must know that Hindus and Moslems must and will ultimately compromise. In the best Indian (commercial) circles, when Ram Lal, mercantile magnate or menial, has a grievance, or a case for which he knows compromise is the only solution—and it is essential that he should "show his red eyes," look fierce and uncompromising—he unwinds a few inches of his tape turban and lets the loose end



fall over his ear. His opponent then knows for a certainty that exactly what Ram Lal wants is a compromise—protest he ne'er so loudly. So Jinnah and Nehru *v.* Cripps and Jinnah *v.* Nehru. The question of the States is easier still. Inevitable secession in bits and pieces, or amalgamated, independent of anybody, or as new States formed by compromise or conquest.

Mr. Casey is clearly uncomfortable on the question and absence of really intimate and friendly social relations between Indians and Britishers, official and non-official. Question: Has there been in the last fifty years in Calcutta or Bombay any leader of the British non-official community, or President of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Jute or Cotton or Piece Goods Association or banker who could string together a single sentence in any vernacular grammatically or pronounce *one* word correctly? The answer is in the negative. It is still not too late to mend. If it would have been helpful in the past it is an obligation for the future.

W. KIRKPATRICK.

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**Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier.** By Abdul Qaiyum. Pp. 77. Hind Kitabs, Bombay. 1945. Rs. 3.12.

This little book, written by a Muslim supporter of the Indian Congress Party, published in 1945, is interesting as throwing light on the problem of Indian unity and the tendency towards disintegration, which exists in India to-day. The author, like so many of his type, labels his political opponents scoundrels and blackguards, and denies them the credit of being sincere and patriotic according to their own lights. He follows the new fashion of flattering British administrators by praising their personal integrity and honesty, while attributing every evil motive to the powers who have formulated the policy by which India has been governed until now. He cannot credit that British policy had any aim except that of territorial aggrandisement, and attributes the most sordid motives to every move made by the British on the frontier. In contrast to his praise of the British administrator, his abuse of Indian officials and Indians associated with the Government outruns all bounds, and he accuses them of being traitors for the sake of money and power.

The first three chapters deal with the Frontier and its people, and are accurate as far as they go, though naturally coloured by the partisanship of the author. His conclusions, however, are illogical, and he clearly does not know himself whether the Pathan homeland is geographically part of India or of Afghanistan. At one moment he talks of the sturdy independence of the Pathan and his historical connection with Afghanistan and at the next of his political and financial dependence upon India. He describes the Frontier plain as "one vast orchard, which can very largely satisfy the demand of the Indian home market," and refers to the well-developed irrigation system carried out by the Government, and then later complains of neglect shown by the authorities in this matter. He comments on the "appallingly high rate of murder in the Province and to the custom of the blood feud which exists amongst Pathans, and follows this with the criticism that too great a sum is spent annually on the police, while blaming the British for failing to stamp out crime and the blood feud.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's description of the Pathan character is fair, but tends to ignore its weaknesses and fails to draw conclusions from the facts. For example, he emphasizes their love of independence, but does not show how this is so narrow as to militate against united action by the various tribes. He is, in fact, so anxious to paint a glowing picture of the Pathan to contrast with what he considers the black aspect of their treatment by the Government of India that his enthusiasm defeats his argument and overwhelms whatever logical sense he may possess.

In Chapters IV and V the author turns to political movements and personalities. Here again his contrasts are vivid, and Congress supporters are white as driven snow, while no shade is deep enough for the complexion of their opponents. He attributes Congress action to such altruistic motives that its members seems saints on earth, while he again accuses the "Khans" and tribal leaders of treachery, dishonesty and purely selfish aims, attributing their actions solely to a desire for power and wealth.

He goes on to discuss British policy on the Frontier, and bewails that the British have aimed solely, as he alleges, at oppressing the Pathan by force, neglecting his economic welfare and his social development. He forgets that there is, in fact, little or no interference with Pathan every-day life in the tribal areas as long as peace prevails, a policy which is in accordance with his own demand for liberty of action by the Pathans themselves. He alleges that any efforts to assist the Pathans are hampered by the intrigue of British political agents and by the tyranny of the tribal leaders, and even goes so far as to claim that any "incidents" which may have occurred on the Frontier have been engineered by the British to justify their policy of "oppression." He fails, however, to explain why the British should organize disturbances, the settlement of which costs more lives and money than any policy is worth, and he ignores the plain fact that the tribesman is a quarrelsome individual, whose nature demands that from time to time he should fight with his neighbour or expend his surplus energy on a raid into the "settled" districts.

He concludes with two chapters on the economic aspect and the picture of things to come. Here again logic is lacking, and while he stoutly asserts the Pathan's right to independence he demands financial aid from the Centre for the economic development of their homeland. He rightly shows where development could profitably be made, but scoffs at private enterprise, and expects the Government to implement the various schemes put forward for the increase of industry and the improvement of agriculture in the zone. He expects the money to be obtained by curtailing the large police and militia forces and by grants from the Centre, ignoring the fact that without security no development is possible and that charity is never a sound basis for national welfare. He forgets that a race, especially one as proud as the Pathans, should depend upon its own efforts and the enterprise of its people rather than on grants from a distant Central Government, which, if it exists in the new India, will have many demands upon it from all quarters of the land.

The author of this book fails to consider the Frontier problem from an India-wide aspect, so that his solutions are rarely feasible. Further he is lacking in vision since, though admittedly he was writing two years ago, he failed to see the centrifugal tendencies in Indian politics, which were obvious even then, and which have led to the acceptance of a partition of India. Recent events and pronouncements have shown clearly that the frontier will stand by its Muslim neighbours or will demand independence for itself, but will never under any circumstances submit to the rule of a Hindu-controlled Congress Government in Delhi. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's book itself shows this, since, though writing as a Congress supporter, his underlying theme is independence for the Pathans.

J. E. F. G.

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**The British in India.** By P. J. Griffiths, C.I.E. Robert Hale. 10s. 6d.

"The blessings of peace, the establishment of law and order, the introduction of Western education, and the freedom of speech and appreciation of liberal institutions that have followed in its wake—all these are things which stand to the credit of your rule." This was the verdict on British rule in India given by Mr. Gokhale, one of the creators of the Indian Congress Party, and it is to a great extent the perfect reply to opponents of the British in India.

Many writers, British as well as Indian, have gone to great lengths to show that the British have done nothing good for India. Many others have sought to defend it with equal vehemence. Both parties have often spoiled their case by over-emphasis and by wilful blindness to facts unfavourable to their argument. Mr. Griffiths has avoided these weaknesses, and within the limits of the size of this book he has given us the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He has throughout been dispassionate and has given credit where credit is due.

He speaks with authority and a grasp of his subject, since he has worked in India, not only as a member of the I.C.S., but also as one of the British commercial community; while when a member of the Central Legislative Assembly he met the outstanding figures in Indian politics. He has had opportunity to meet all

types and classes of Indians, and is able to consider the problems of Indian political development from different points of view. His book is thus based both on theory and the study of official documents, and upon experience and a knowledge of the personalities involved. It is a logical statement of credit and debit, and while it can in no way give offence to any party it suppresses nothing that is relevant. The author has been scrupulously fair in the presentation of his case, so that the book may rather be compared to the summing-up by a judge than to a speech from the counsel for the defence.

First comes an account of India today as seen through the eyes of a conscientious traveller, and the contrasts in that land of contradictions: the great Westernized cities and the primitive life in the villages; nationalism and communalism; the bullock-cart and the railway; the ranting politician and the calm, industrious peasant. He summarizes the case for decision as follows: (1) Have the British in India produced the political and social conditions which render progress possible? (2) Has the progress of India under British rule been as rapid as that of other countries under more or less comparable conditions? (3) Has Britain put obstacles in the way of the development of India by Indians themselves? (4) Has India, after these last two hundred years of British rule, the capacity for rapid future development; or, to put it another way, is Britain leaving India fit to govern herself?

The author goes into Indian history to show how Hinduism developed, and its impress on everyday affairs in India. He explains how the Muslim invasions, too, are the cause of many present-day problems. Under Muslim rule India did for a while have unity at the cost of liberty. There was no communal problem in those days, and the following saying of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji shows the reason: "I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal; be assured that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have, therefore, given orders that just sufficient should be left to them from year to year of corn, milk and curd, but they shall not be allowed to accumulate and hoard property." Akbar's wisdom mitigated this policy without weakening the Muslim grip on India, while Aurangzeb's fanaticism, without the power to control his subordinates, alienated the Rajputs and so led to the downfall of the Mogul empire and further chaos and disunity.

The development of British rule out of the purely commercial enterprises of the East India Company is treated clearly, and how in place of mercenary and dubious activities came the sense of trusteeship and responsibility. He discusses the problem of how far our own ideas should be imposed upon Indians, and how far they should be allowed to continue in their own ways. Many of the Englishmen who counted for most in nineteenth-century India were stern men of God. "Their lives were dedicated to the uplift of India—and for them uplift meant Anglicization."

The author then goes on to the Indian problem of today. He shows that all but a small handful of Indians look on themselves as Hindus or Muslims, Punjabis or Madrassis, and have no conception of an Indian nation. A Muslim of Bengal will refer to the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal as Bengalis, but to himself as a Muslim. I have met the same outlook in the Punjab, where a Christian of the second generation, a man of position and culture, talked of "We Muslims." The author also explains the problems of pressure on the soil, and that the blessings of modern medicine and a good administration have increased that pressure and the difficulty of solving its problems.

The question is how Britain can make India govern herself without resorting to bloodshed and civil disturbance. The solution has turned out to be one which the author has not considered in this book, since it is one which none in authority in the past have approved—namely, Partition. The subsequent chapters, however, and indeed the whole book, show that logically this is the only answer, and that after the failure of the 1937 Federal Constitution and the refusal of the Cripps offer no possibility of a united self-governing India remained.

It is shown that the conduct of caste-Hindus has been the chief cause of communal troubles, and that history is at its root. The Muslims fear oppression and dream of past glories. The Scheduled Castes consider the tyranny of the Brahmin, and are loth to lose the equality before the law which Britain has given them and

to surrender the liberties they have achieved. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, these two minorities fear Congress rule and have demanded safeguards. The Muslims have obtained theirs in the shape of Pakistan, but the Scheduled Castes will have to exert themselves to retain their position and obtain further recognition of their rights as human beings. Whether religious bigotry or a sense of right will prevail among the new rulers of Hindustan remains to be seen. The future prosperity of India is involved, since it must be remembered that a great proportion of the industrial workers of India are members of the Scheduled Castes, and failure to treat them with fairness and justice may well wreck the whole industrial machine.

His study of Mr. Gandhi is extremely interesting, and considers him as a man and a political force without becoming involved in ideologies and personalities. He fairly assesses Mr. Gandhi's services and disservices to India, and the dictatorial powers he wields in the conduct of affairs within the party. There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi is one of the forces which have prevented the development of a united India. The author's dispassionate treatment of a very delicate subject is rare, and few even of Mr. Gandhi's most enthusiastic followers could object to it in their lucid moments.

The contrast of the dreamer of dreams and mystic with the man of law and reality, Mr. Jinnah, is enlightening. The latter, with inflexibility and astuteness, has made use of the errors of his opponents and the turn of events to create a body which has proved more than a match for the Congress Party, and which has won the greater part of its demands. Inevitably the Muslim League has had to insist upon independence for Muslim majority areas.

The problem of the Indian States is briefly but clearly outlined. I know from experience how strongly the States feel on the matter of independence. Few, if any of them, would consider any transfer of paramountcy to a purely Indian Government. The author shows how the Congress Party drove the Princes to reject the 1937 Federal Constitution by its widespread campaign of agitation in the States in 1938. He concludes that "no settlement of the question [of Indian Federation] can or should be imposed upon the Princes against their will."

From early in the nineteenth century the aim was to prepare India for self-rule, and the Cripps offer was, in fact, an offer of everything that India and the Congress Party had been demanding. It was only a quibble over interim arrangements which prevented its acceptance, and that gave the impression to many that the Congress Party was not ready for independence but preferred the rôle of critic to the position and responsibilities of a governor. The British offered what no other ruler has ever offered to a subject people—namely, the right to govern themselves as they please and to continue or discontinue a connection with us as they may see fit.

In no way has Britain exploited Indian industry, or manipulated Indian finance to her own profit, nor has she failed to develop India within the limits of a free economy. If Indian industry has not progressed as far as it might, this is chiefly due to the lack of initiative among Indian financiers. Elsewhere Britain has improved what she took over from the Moguls—*e.g.*, Sir T. Vijayaraghav Acharya stated that in the Punjab alone the annual value of crops raised by irrigation-canals amounts to £800 million, or about a third of the total national income of India. The author quotes the words of Mr. Gokhale, given above, and shows how Britain has developed Indian thought and prepared the country for self-government. In only one sphere does he find that charges might be sustained—namely, education—though he reminds us that this has been a "transferred" subject since 1919, in the hands of Indian Ministers and not British officials. I feel he might find us to blame for having fostered too great a love of book-learning and too great a neglect of practical handicrafts. The present system has left India with a large element of would-be bureaucrats and an unnecessarily primitive farming community. The blame for this misplaced emphasis is perhaps ours; the failure to change when opportunity offered must be equally borne by Indians.

Mr. Griffiths' book will serve as an admirable basis for the study of Indian politics, and should be a success in America as well as in this country, since it tells what everyone interested in India wishes to know.

J. E. F. G.

**Studies in Third Millenium History.** By T. Burton-Brown. Pp. 116. Three plates. Luzac and Co. 1946.

The writer has set out to trace cultural, trade and international relations in the Near East in the third millenium B.C.

While agreeing with the main theme, that there was a great deal of interchange in the prehistoric period, this reviewer would not agree with many of the parallels chosen by Mr. Burton-Brown. For instance, the argument that the occurrence of an odd "votive bowl with bevelled rim" in Egypt marked the coming of a fresh people to Egypt hardly seems convincing.

These studies are extremely short and condensed. To discuss the material of almost any one section would require a volume of the same length as the present work. Thus the vexed question of Egyptian Chronology is dismissed in two and a half pages.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Burton-Brown, having amassed so much data, should be so much out of date. A considerable amount of work has been done on the subject of Near Eastern Chronology since 1939. Mr. Sidney Smith's *Alalakh and Chronology* lowered by two hundred years the date of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and this has generally been accepted, although Professor Albright has since suggested an even lower date. In view of this it is unfortunate that Mr. Burton-Brown should have relied for many of his arguments on criteria that are no longer valid. It is a pity that the author did not wait until he had time to study this later material before publishing.

V. S. W.

**Heirs of the Prophets.** By Dr. S. M. Zwemer. Pp. 137. Moody Press, Chicago. \$2.

An account of the administrative organization of Islam by the veteran missionary and writer, this book provides in astonishingly small compass information drawn from a lifetime's reading, about the different functions and places of the religious officials and brotherhoods of Islam. It seems primarily intended for those who have only a slight acquaintance with the subject, but the numerous footnotes give references to a much wider bibliography to which the reader may turn for further information.

The author begins by warning his readers that he differs from many authorities in holding that "Islam today undoubtedly has clergy and priesthood," although he agrees with Dr. W. Thomson that in Islam there are none "who have authority to administer sacraments or pronounce absolution." He therefore explains that he uses the word clergy in a "Protestant rather than Roman Catholic" sense. The book is clearly written for those familiar with the church organization of non-episcopal America. Readers who are not American Methodists or Baptists will wish that Dr. Zwemer had omitted the analogies constantly drawn to explain the work of the various Muslim officials, since these are likely to prove either misleading or irritating. The spirit of the society within which their functions are carried out is completely lost in a too literal translation. "To become a Sufi is the Islamic equivalent of entering the monastic life," writes Dr. Zwemer, a statement with which all would agree, but he then not only omits any explanation of the fundamental differences between the two, beyond saying "we must realize that it is *Moslem* not Christian mysticism"—an omission that might be due to lack of space—but adds, "If these saints and darwishes are not clergy and priests, what are they?" To which the answer is obviously "saints and darweeshes." In any case they certainly are not monks, for it has always been true that "there is no monasticism in Islam."

Fortunately Dr. Zwemer often forgets to draw parallels when he gives interesting and full descriptions of Al Azhar, of the personnel and endowments of the mosque, of religious lawyers, and of many local customs in different parts of the Islamic world, for which the reader will find this book a most useful and authoritative work of reference.

# CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

SIR,

I have studied with great interest, in the July-October, 1946, issue of your Journal, three papers which deal with subjects near my own field of work as meteorologist to the Palestine Government. Colonel Dowson's wide knowledge and unbiased representation of it is always a source of enjoyment, with which is combined a feeling of the deepest respect. To Mr. Mackenzie's account of Transjordan one point is perhaps worth adding: the admirable gift of the people for observing natural phenomena. I remember a delightful evening at Bair in Eastern Transjordan, where I enjoyed the hospitality of the Arab Legion and questioned one of the soldiers about the occurrence of dew. No scientifically trained observer could have given a more elaborate and precise picture of the distribution of dew and its formation on different objects. But as soon as we touched on matters known only from hearsay, Arab fantasy came into its own. For instance, when I asked about the occurrence of snakes, I was treated to one of the most beautiful and colourful of Arabian Nights' stories. For an hour or more the narrator sought to satisfy himself—and me—by telling dozens of fantastic snake stories, none of which bore the slightest relation to fact.

With regard to Mr. Ionides' paper, may I first draw attention to a misprint (corrected on pp. 272-5 in the issue of the Journal for April, 1947) of "millions" for "milliards." Although Mr. Ionides does not need to be corrected, for his calculations are based on the correct figures in milliards, others less conversant than he with the water resources of Palestine may quote the misprinted figures for their own calculations and conclusions.

There are other points which have struck me. Mr. Ionides quotes the Report of the Partition Commission as stating that the agricultural population is about 50 per cent. all told. (I am not able to trace the reference to this figure in the Report of the Partition Commission.) Certainly the Commission had the best statistical data at its disposal for estimating conditions in 1938. Now, according to the census prepared by Mr. E. Mills in 1931, which is certainly a most reliable source, 54 per cent. of the total population was then living on agriculture; and in 1938, according to Mr. Ionides' citation from the Partition Commission, the figure was 50 per cent.; while the most recent official publication, by P. J. Loftus, the Government Statistician, in 1944 gives figures which work out at less than 40 per cent. living on agriculture. Thus I see a steady decline in the percentage, while Mr. Ionides bases his conclusions on the assumption that now and in the future the 50 per cent. figure remains steady. That is not, so far as I can see, to be deduced from the official statistics, nor if the world-wide trend towards industrialization and urbanization be taken into account. Moreover, the proportion of the Jewish population that lives by agriculture is much smaller than that in the other communities. I feel there must be something wrong in the principles on which Mr. Ionides bases his conclusions. He gives for 1946 a figure of 870,000, while from the Loftus Report I can only draw 650,000 for 1944. I think therefore that Mr. Ionides, basing his figures on a constant rate of 50 per cent. for the total population, may be mistaken in anticipating a possible 1,270,000 agriculturists in Palestine in 1970. From the official data so far published one can see that the ratio of those engaged in and living on agriculture is about 1:2 in the Jewish and 1:4 in the Arab sectors; since the Jewish farmers support smaller families.

On pp. 274-5 Mr. Ionides says: "Unless water is flowing into the underground reservoir from which the well draws, the level of the water will drop and the reservoir will be drained." No one will question the truth of this, but he continues: "That is what is happening now in the coastal plain." It is true that in one restricted area over-pumping has resulted in the intrusion of sea-water, and in another area a fall of seven metres in the water-level has been observed; but the official *Survey of Palestine, 1945-46*, goes on to say: "With the exception of those three areas in which the lowering of the water table has given cause for concern

there is, generally speaking, room for a considerable increase in pumping from the underground reservoirs of the country"; and in a special chapter on the Coastal Plain the same publication states: "There is room for further development by water pumped from these underground reservoirs."

I should not like to close without saying how whole-heartedly I agree with Mr. Ionides' remarks on afforestation and its imaginary effect on the increase of rainfall. In the discussion Colonel Dowson quoted a casual talk I had with him on the subject some years ago. What he quoted fully represents my opinion on the matter: I entirely agree with Mr. Ionides that the effect of afforestation on rainfall is negligible. Forests, however, are very valuable in conserving rainwater once it has fallen; and will regulate the flow of streams and run-off; a fact that is not sufficiently appreciated in Mr. Ionides' paper, nor does he mention the importance of afforestation as an agent in recreating the soil and in combating erosion. Anyone interested in the welfare of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria or Lebanon must regret the tremendous amount of soil erosion that was formerly allowed to occur in those countries. Afforestation, and also the development of land-terracing, should now be encouraged by all possible means. Besides adding to the beauty of the countryside, both play a most important rôle in the preservation of the soil and of water.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

R. FEIGE,

Palestine Meteorological Service,  
P.O.B. 44, Jerusalem.

SIR,

I am grateful for Dr. Feige's correction. It should have been milliards, not millions.

As regards the 50 per cent., I did not mean to give the impression that this was contained explicitly in the Partition Commission's Report. I said it was "*based on figures given in that Report.*" Pages 23 to 33 contain the data. The figure I used is in effect on a par with the 54 per cent. quoted by Dr. Feige, but I rounded it downwards so as not to exaggerate. During the period to which it relates, pressure was already forcing the agricultural population to find other means of subsistence, and the percentage at that time forms a datum for comparison. I did not mean to suggest that it would remain static. On the contrary, it was the main purpose of my lecture to show that the agricultural potentialities through water development would be insufficient even for the present agricultural population and their children, in which case clearly the percentage must decline.

I know there is a school of thought which holds that this is in line with general world trends towards industrialization. But the pressure on the land and the urgent need for development cannot be denied, and the doctrine that the trend is all to the good is fallacious and dangerous. It may be a good thing to cast a cover of virtue over necessity, but it is another thing altogether to argue that the virtue lies in the necessity itself rather than in the acceptance of it. It leads to the conclusion that since virtue is good more of it will be better; that the necessity is not a necessity at all; and that the people of Palestine must be rather carefully watched lest they should upset the balance of the country's economy by being tempted to want to stay on the land. In a letter dated July 11, 1947, Mr. M. Sitz, writing from Jerusalem, says: "It is clearly recognized that a well-established urban population is a pre-requisite for the development of local agriculture and that the agricultural population should never be more than a certain percentage of the total population." Palestinian economic thought has travelled a long way since the days when it used to be claimed that Palestine is a land aching for the settler's plough. As late as 1946 Chatham House could write (in *Great Britain and Palestine*, 1946 edn., p. 70) that in demanding an open door for immigration the Zionists support their claims by estimates "in the main based on the potential expansion of Palestinian agriculture." The newer idea, reflected in Dr. Feige's letter, in the reference to Mr. Sitz's letter, and in Dr. Bonnè's letter on p. 220 of the JOURNAL is very

interesting. Since the general tenor of this correspondence on my lecture has been to dispute its theme, I am bound to observe that if any doubts had been left in my mind as to the correctness of my conclusion that Palestine should be regarded as agriculturally saturated, they would have been quite dispelled by the indications that Zionist economists have executed a *volte-face*, and are taking the line that industry, not agriculture, is the basis for the claim of absorptive capacity, and that agriculture must be kept in a secondary position and not allowed to absorb too much of the population. "But it is conceivable," as the Anglo-American Committee said on p. 25 of their Report, "that the passionate expansion of an economic structure, upon a dubious basis of natural resources, might lead to over-development on such a scale as to render it top-heavy to the point of collapse." It is as much in the interests of the Jews as of the others in Palestine that the economic facts should be seen for what they are.

I think Dr. Feige was reading rather more into the text of my remarks about wells than is really there, and certainly more than I meant. I sounded a warning against the too-frequent assumption that wherever the existence of water is proved indefinite development of wells can be counted on. I instanced what is happening in the coastal plain, and Dr. Feige gives details of some specific cases which go to illustrate my point. The cautious phrasing of the official quotations he gives indicates how limited are the prospects which can really be counted on. If the human miseries which over-development and subsequent retreat bring are to be avoided—there are many examples in recent history in other countries—the potentialities must be proved, not merely surmised.

I agree that *prima facie* it ought to be the case that forests help water supplies. What I doubted is whether the benefit is "something of which practical measurable advantage can be taken." I know of no data to give reasonable proof of this in the Jordan region; I know of a good deal which points the other way. There are of course amenity and other values which may have great weight. But we should know what we are spending our money to get, and what we shall not get for it.

As regards erosion, I have as yet seen no evidence that it is of the accelerating kind. I believe it has reached a sort of stability at the bottom of the trough as the result of events long past. The difference is vital. If it is accelerating, something has to be done and done quickly. If not, then it is proper that it should be regarded as a rebuilding job, not an emergency defensive measure, and as such should be treated on its economic merits along with forms of development. Many of the latter are more profitable in terms of results achieved for money spent. Once again, we should know what we are going to get for our money.

I share with Dr. Feige his regret at the damage which has been done to the land in the past, and his feeling for the beauties to which it can be restored. I only hope that the forces at work will not spoil the qualities which ought to grow in Palestine, by misjudgment of the quantities.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

M. G. IONIDES.



