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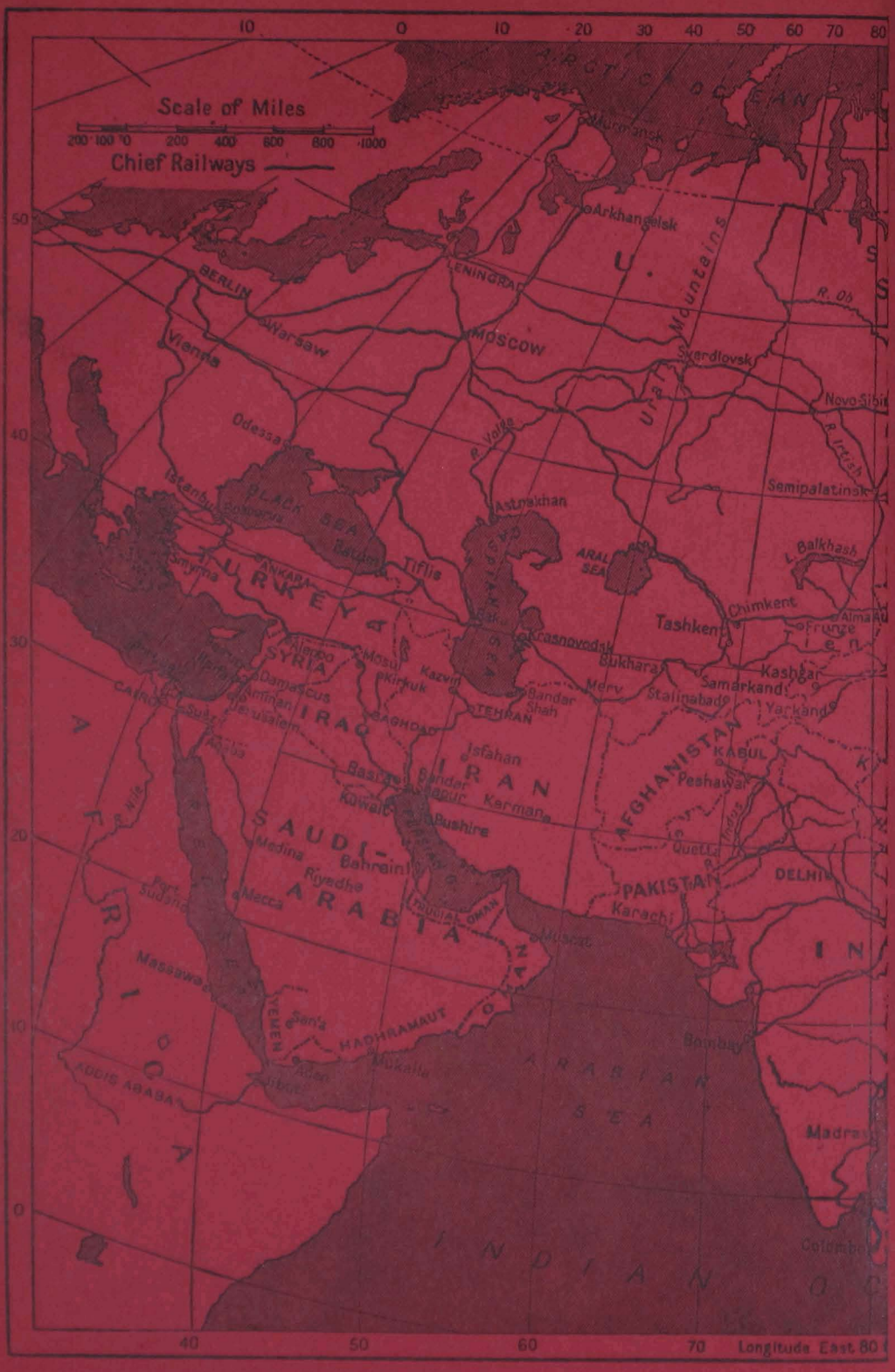

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ANNUAL DINNER

This will take place at Claridges, London, W.1, at 7.30 p.m. on Tuesday, July 16. Formal notice will be sent to all members in due course.

NOTICES

The Council acknowledges with gratitude the following:

Pakistan, 1955-56. Pakistan Publications, Karachi 1956.

The Indian Year Book of International Affairs, 1955, Vol. IV. Pub. under auspices of Indian Study Group of International Affairs, University of Madras. Madras, 1955.

Central Asian Review, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1956.

H.A. Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 1, Abstracts 1-71.

The Voice of Turkistan, No. 1, Summer, 1956.

Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists, No. 5, June, 1956. The Hague.

India Müvészete. Kiadja, 1956. Irta: Baktay Ervin.

Kina Müvészete. Budapest, 1956. Irta: Miklös Pal.

Administrative Science Quarterly, September and December, 1956. Cornell University.

Az Iparmüvészeti Müzeum Évkönyvei, II, 1955.

Lamak and Malat in Bali and *A Sumba Loom*. Th. P. Galestin, L. Langewis, Rita Bolland. Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, No. CXIX. Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology, No. 53, 1956.

Tonkin, 1644-45. Journaal van de reis van Anthonio van Brouckhorst. C. C. van der Plas. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam. Mededeling, No. CXVII, 1955.

De Islamietische Staat en De Grondwet, 1956, van Pakistan. R. L. Mellema. Koninklijk Institut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam. Mededeling, No. CXX, 1956.

Carnets de Voyage en Orient (1845-69), publiées par Fernande Bassan. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1955.

Un Rite Sumérien de Fécondité and *Textes Religieux Sumériens* (*Suite*). Par Raymond Jestin.

Responsibility for opinions expressed in articles published, and for the accuracy of statements contained in them rests solely with the individual contributor.

IN MEMORIAM

SIR BASIL GOULD, C.M.G., C.I.E.

IN the passing of Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E., our Society has lost another of its more distinguished members. Born in 1883, he was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. He passed into the Indian Civil Service and thence entered the Political Department of the Government of India, where his career was brilliant and diversified. In 1913 he was placed in charge of four boys sent from Lhasa, as an experiment, to be educated at Rugby. He became Private Secretary to the Viceroy, and then served for seven years in Persia. Later at Kabul, as Counsellor, he was instrumental in the evacuation of women and children from the British Legation. He held various posts in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan. In Quetta he nearly lost his life while succouring the infirm and injured in the great earthquake. His last years of service were as Political Officer in Sikkim and for Bhutan and Tibet. Here he took the opportunity of acquiring proficiency in the language of the Tibetans and of learning their habits. In 1936 he headed a British Mission to Lhasa, at a time when relations between Tibet and China were even more than usually strained, and when no successor had been found to the great Dalai Lama who had died four years previously. In Lhasa he made many good friends, several of whom came to visit him and Lady Gould in their home at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. Sir Basil was widely recognised as a leading expert in Tibetan and was able to keep in touch with conditions and events there. Indeed his advice was not infrequently sought by the Foreign Office. Always a keen yachtsman, he used to race, often with success, in his own Y.O.D. *Genesta*, from the Royal Solent Yacht Club, whereof he was a Flag Officer.

The funeral service, at St. James's Church, Yarmouth, was attended by many friends, including a representative of the Royal Central Asian Society and of the Royal Lymington Yacht Club.

Sir Basil Gould is survived by his widow, Cecily, daughter of Colonel Brent-Good, of Yarmouth, and a young son, also his son Richard, now a Master at Wellington, the son of a former marriage.

H. W. T.

COLONEL H. W. TOBIN, D.S.O., O.B.E.

(Honorary Secretary of the Society for Central Asia)

TOBY will be greatly missed by all his many friends, not least those who have served with him on the Joint Himalayan Committee, which sponsored the 1953 Everest Expedition and its successor, the Mount Everest Foundation. One of the things which most impressed me about him was his sincere desire to encourage the development of mountaineering among young Indians and Pakistanis, thanks to whose Govern-

ments so many British climbers have enjoyed so many advantages in exploring and climbing in the Himalayas. I was struck, too, by his loyalty and affection for his old friends among the Münich climbers, in particular Paul Bauer, as a result of his experience with them on their outstanding expeditions to Kangchenjunga in 1929 and 1931. Despite the bitterness engendered by the last war, Toby had the vision of comradeship among mountaineers, which transcends political, social and religious barriers; he had also the courage to voice this view at times when it has not been easy to do so.

Toby's lasting memorial will be the Himalayan Journal, of which he was editor until his death. Among many mountaineering publications, I have always considered this to be the best of its kind. He did it so well because he loved the Himalayas, the people with whom he travelled whose home is there, and all those others who love them, too.

JOHN HUNT.

A RECENT VISIT TO MONGOLIA

By Hon. IVOR MONTAGU

Report of a lecture illustrated by lantern slides delivered to the Society on Wednesday, October 10, 1956, Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B.E., K.C.B., in the chair.

The Chairman: Mr. Ivor Montagu, who has kindly come to talk to us to-day, tells me that he started life as a zoologist and led zoology expeditions for the British Museum in the Hebrides, Carinthia, Croatia, the Carpathians and the Caucasus in the 1920s. Since then he has worked mainly in the film industry and as a writer, and has visited many countries, particularly in the last ten years, including the U.S.S.R., China, India and Java. In September, 1954, he travelled some 1,200 miles in Mongolia. He brought back, amongst other things, the Mongolian dress which Mrs. Putnam is wearing for you all to see.

LET me at the outset disclaim any expert knowledge of Mongolia, in the sense that I was there with my wife for only three weeks in September, 1954. It appears that I was the first English visitor who had visited the country during the last thirty years, and my wife was told that she was the first Englishwoman ever to make a visit there, but we learned that another English visitor, Mrs. Bulstrode, had been to Urga in 1912. It seemed therefore desirable to try to learn more about the country and its people, and this I have tried to do, so as to be able to put our own experiences into proportion, there being nothing in the English language which depicts the modern state of the country. From that point of view, I apologize if the information I give is imperfect and somewhat superficial, but it is offered as being the only information there is at present available about that part of the world.

And now a few words as to the character of the Mongolian People's Republic. This independent State, as it claims to be (the former Outer Mongolia), lies between China and the vast bulk of the Soviet Union. The Great Wall separates China from Mongolia, but many Mongolians live on the Chinese side of the Great Wall. Mongolia itself is some 600,000 square miles in extent, about seven times the size of Britain and about the size of France, Spain, the Netherlands and Germany together. The population of that area is only 1,000,000, or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per square mile, and it is nearly homogeneous, being comprised mainly of Khalkhas and Oirats. The largest minority is the 6 per cent. of Kazakhs. In the U.S.S.R. there are 250,000 Buriat Mongols, whose culture is different because they live in the forest region and have always been mainly hunting and fishing folk rather than livestock herding, as the Mongols of the plains have been. On the other side of the Chinese frontier there are 1,400,000 Mongolians very much intermingled with Chinese settlers. For example, the Mongol autonomous region in China (former Inner Mongolia), although there are about 1,000,000 Mongolians in it, has a total population of over 6,000,000.

The country itself consists mainly of a vast plateau about 4,500 ft. in

height, though the average height is 6,000 ft. because there are also large higher mountain chains. Geographically, there is to the north the taiga jungle and mountain forest which extends over the whole of Northern Europe and Asia and comes down as far as, or further than, Lake Baikal. Then there are the grassland plains on which there is the characteristic livestock herding, and this changes gradually, as one goes south, into the Gobi. We call the Gobi a desert, but the people themselves insist that it is not; they regard it as a semi-steppe. Where people, livestock and plants exist is not thought of as desert; desert, in the view of the people themselves, is sand only, and it is reckoned by them that only 3 per cent. of their territory is really desert. The Gobi desert, of which our explorers and travellers tell us, is nearly all the other side of the frontier.

The climate varies from extremes of 108° in summer to 80° below freezing in winter. The weather changes with extraordinary rapidity. During the month of September when we were in the country on one occasion the day was so hot that we could hardly do anything but laze about in the utmost heat. By nightfall the temperature had fallen, and next morning the whole landscape was covered with snow. The sun came out and the snow had all gone by the afternoon. On another day, dry, sunny and pleasant, we went to the cinema in a provincial town. When we came out again rain was falling so heavily that we could hardly get back to where we were to sleep because the streams had become torrents and the fords all around were impassable. The next morning the heights of the hills were covered with snow, but the wet all ceased by the afternoon. That uncertain climate is characteristic. The mountain chains interrupt any general gradual change in the weather. There are many large lakes and several rivers. Even in the desert area there could be seen from the air big pools of various colours, possibly due to different plankton in them, so that the Mongolian says: " Only he who does not know Mongolia thinks of it as entirely rolling grassland," though that is the main characteristic and that is what has throughout all recorded history come to be regarded as the basis of the country's economy.

Mongolia is well known to us by the fact that, historically, tribes from there, under the conquering khans, conquered first China, then Central Asia and Khwaresm, ancient Rus, continuing right on into Europe as far as the Adriatic, the then entire known world. This empire, founded in the thirteenth century, lasted only 150 years and then, later, in the sixteenth century, the Mongols were themselves conquered by the Manchurians, and the Shamanism which had been their religion, or absence of religion, had engrafted on it Lamaism from Tibet. From then on the Mongolians became as a people subordinate and they were even beginning to die out in the present century as a part of the Manchurian Empire in China. They obtained formal independence in 1921.

The economy of the country now remains what it has always been, basically livestock herding. There are 26,000,000 animals, which should be enough to ensure that there is no real poverty. I was told that a herdsman and his family can live, fairly, off 40 animals. Most of the herding families we met had herds numbering about 200. In view of the size of the population and the proportion of it engaged in other pursuits, you will

realize that is a basis for an economy which should be able to support them all comfortably.

The basic forms of livestock are five: the horse, the most honoured beast; the camel; the cow, which includes the yak; the goat; and the sheep. I do not know why—shepherds will probably know—there are always goats in big herds of sheep. In addition to the yak and the cow there is an intermediate animal of which I previously knew nothing, called a hainag, a first generation cross which is stronger than either parent in the male, and in the female produces more milk. There is a second generation cross, but it is always a weakling. Breeding is not taken further.

Livestock herding is basic to the economy of the country and represents, according to the present figures, 90 per cent. of the economic life; it is so basic that there is actually a currency in animals. In addition to the coins, which are the mong and the tugrik, corresponding to the rouble and kopek of Russia, there is an animal currency called the bot, one cow or one horse being a bot, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ camels or 5 sheep or goats.

Livestock herding, or what we might call the agrarian economy, is divided into three sections: private arats—arat means herdsman—production associations and State farms. Production associations correspond, to some extent, to collective farms as known in the Soviet Union, but they are looser forms of association and the Mongolians insist that they are different for that reason. Of course, the economic basis is different in as much as the basis of the collective farm is ownership of land in common, and there is no ownership of land in Mongolia, and there never has been in the sense in which we understand it. The herds are owned privately or by the production associations or State farms. There is a strong effort by the Mongolian People's Republic to reduce nomadism as part of the process of raising the standard of living and particularly the standard of culture. It is quite clear that it is much more difficult to have a school or any of the comforts and amenities of civilization when nomadism takes place over a very wide area. We called on several herdsmen who had just finished moving to their summer and autumn pastures. They move four times a year. Except in the south, where dryness makes it more difficult to find sustenance for the animals, the distance of seasonal trek is now perhaps only some 15 to 10 miles between one place and another, and the production associations are endeavouring to build up places in which the population can find a school, a shop, a club, reading rooms and so on. The private arats can, when on the move, take advantage of mobile shops or school tents, or they can also leave their children in a boarding school. In some inhabited places the only two buildings one sees are the school and hostel. The children from the earliest age, say from five to six years, will ride to school 30 or 35 miles and back each day. If the herdsmen are moving further than this they put their children into the hostels.

The production associations are stated to include 15 per cent. only of the animals, so that they are more a model, something which is encouraging a direction rather than as yet serving as a basic part of the economy of the country.* The way in which, apart from culture, there is an effort to improve the standard of living, is by the digging of wells and the grow-

ing of fodder and particularly the provision of winter shelter for the animals, none of these having been known previously in Mongolian life.

The State farms, on the other hand, represent the introduction of new forms of production. There never was any agriculture in Mongolia. The Mongolians were taught by the lamas that to dig would result in disturbing evil spirits, and so that was discouraged. Consequently the people grew no grain and no vegetables. Here and there across the plains one sometimes sees a few vegetables growing near miserable huts; these are very few in number, relics of attempts that different Manchurian governors undertook in the past to make Chinese settlements. Also the Mongolians never kept ducks, hens or pigs, creatures that could not accompany nomads on their horseback travels. The State farms are enormous in extent, and there are about one dozen of them. Visiting one, we were asked one morning if we would like to go and see the hay cut, and we found we should have to go a distance of 80 miles to do so. On the State farms, agriculture is beginning, and already there has been produced, we were told, enough grain to supply the people's needs in flour. The people are beginning to eat bread, which they had never previously done, and also to eat poultry and pigs.

There is the beginning of industry. The figures given me were that 60,000 are now engaged in industry, in the form, on the one hand, of craft co-operatives which make building materials and clothing, also felt and traditional craft objects, etc., and, on the other, of State industries, of which the chief are a big modern food factory, factories producing spirits, a wool-washing factory, a Biocombine producing sera for veterinary use, and an electrical power station; there are also coalmines. Mongolia contains big mineral resources, and there is gold in the mountains, together with a large coalfield which is said to contain, at an estimate, some 500,000,000 tons of coal. There is another coalfield (Nalaikha) near the capital, Ulan-Bator, from which supplies for all the power needs are obtained. There are repair stations, but no machine building or anything of that kind. There is a good deal of skilful repair work. In order to make clear to you to what an extent the character of the Mongol has changed, I mention that a traveller who went to the country in 1912 said that " The Mongol never has worked and it is doubtful if he ever will." The very few industrial enterprises in that earlier period were staffed mainly by labour brought in from Russia or China with, occasionally, a few seasonal Mongolian workers who were supposed to be very lazy. One cannot say that is the case now. The Mongols will turn their hands to any job required. When the electric lighting failed in our room, after we had spoken to the maid by means of a few words from the dictionary, along came an electrician and set everything right in a second or two. Again, we were allowed to go travelling in the grasslands. Before we left, there were made for us thick, heavy leather coats, because we were told that if the car became becalmed and benighted and a sudden wind

* Note from the lecturer for this report: A message received from Mongolia since delivery of the lecture states that the production associations have made unexpected progress in the last two years both in number and range of activity that there are now 600 of them and they are now known as agricultural co-operatives.

came we should get chilled and that would be bad. Perfectly fitting, fine leather coats were made for us within a matter of hours, which are now still being worn most gratefully in the English climate. And far out in the countryside, when we were deciding to return to the capital, we found there was difficulty with the car. The chauffeurs with us were really marvellous; they kept up an average of 30 miles an hour across the grassland tracks, a pace which in the hands of any less expert drivers would have led to speedy wreck. When the trouble with the car was discovered they immediately went off, and although there were no towns visible anywhere or known to us to exist, in three hours' distance they had found the necessary spare part, come back and did the repair. So that the question of Mongols not being willing to work or able to do a technical job does not any longer arise.

Nearly all imports come from the Soviet Union, though the Mongolians are beginning to obtain some from other European countries and, since the change in China, Chinese tea and food is beginning to come back into the country. Some of the articles that have to be made, such as crockery, gramophone records, and so forth, are made to the Republic's order and commission by factories working in the Soviet Union. It is clear that there is an effort to build up light industries using materials regarded as being especially available, and, secondly, a repair base for their transport and so on, but at the same time without trying to become in any sense independent from the point of view of industrial goods.

Now as to the lamas. Every traveller who went to Mongolia in the early days, and up to quite a late stage after the foundation of the present Republic, reported the complete subjection of everybody, not only morally and mentally, but economically, to the system of Lamaism. The actual figures given by travellers in the early days were that 40 per cent. of the adult male population were lamas. One can appreciate the effect on the economy of the country of bearing that enormous weight of population entirely outside the productive processes. During the first period and up to about the late 1930s the number of lamas actually seemed to have increased, or at any rate up to the early 1930s. As far as I could make out the transformation of the country is extraordinarily recent. I had no idea of it. I imagined that Mongolia became a Republic in 1921 and that the people then started to change things; actually, however, it seems that the change is less than ten years old, for various reasons about which I shall not conjecture here. But the main point is that, now, lamas have practically disappeared. Some of the big lamaseries and temples have been turned into museums. When we visited a functioning lamasery in the capital we noticed that all the lamas were sixtyish and, rather cruelly, I asked them what was going to happen in twenty years' time. They answered embarrasedly with a smile and the Buddhist equivalent of "The Lord will provide." It was clear they had no idea what their future would be. Except for a very few, nowadays functioning lamaseries do not exist. In the yurts among the old people one often sees a small Buddha, but the younger generation pays no attention to Lamaism at all, and in conversation about it is indifferent or even jocular. You will have heard previous travellers describe the obos or lamaistic cairns, probably of even

an older origin, on every pass. The cairns are still there, but now have thrown on them, in place of offerings and prayer flags, bits of old tyres, worn-out spare parts and so on. When I said to our chauffeur: "What about putting a stone on that cairn just in case?" he roared with laughter. The fantastic thing is that one has to realize that that change has happened in a country in which almost one in every two of the men now over the age of, say, forty to forty-five, was once a lama.

Another extraordinary item which gives a picture of the changed background and transformation came to my notice. I came upon some statistics showing the growth of craft co-operatives which developed very slowly (as did everything else in the early days of the Republic), and then at a certain stage suddenly began to increase in number. This was at the time when the big lamaseries and temples began to break up. I found that the greater number of craft co-operatives are composed of former lamas, and I assume that Mongolia must be the only country in history that has ever built its working-class out of its priesthood. The improving conditions of the herdsmen gave them no reason to want to go into industry, but the lamas, as they began to leave the monasteries, found forming craft co-operatives the best job for them. So that is what many of them did.

As to administration of the towns, the political system is that characteristic of the Soviet Union and imitated, more or less, in many of the people's democracies; that is to say, the single candidate system at elections, the single "party and non-party bloc," as it is called, but there are elected administrative organs at every level. The local administration is headed by a chairman or mayor centrally appointed, as in many European countries. But councils working with him are elected, about one-fifth of their membership being women. The zones of administration and so forth are organized as follows: there is the capital, Ulan-Bator, and the country is divided up into about twenty-three aimaks—the term derives from the name of an ancient military formation—each aimak being divided up into about forty somons (another military term, meaning in this case an arrow), and each somon is divided into about twenty bags (pronounced to rhyme with rugs). Every aimak has as its "aimak centre" a not very large town. We visited the aimak centre of Arahangai, near the Hangai mountains, called Tsetserleg. Its population is about 4,000 in summer and about 8,000 in winter. There is a fair-sized town (Sain-Shand) which is an air halt on the route to Peking; other largish aimak centres are west, north and east, Kobdo, the best known. They all have hospitals and schools, secondary schools, clubs, libraries, local newspapers. The capital has two daily newspapers; local papers are usually published every other day. There are in the somons medical points, not every one of which has a fully qualified doctor on the staff, but each of which has at least a "feldsher" or trained medical assistants, and the bags have usually a school and a nursing sister, and so on. The administration in this way is linked, parallel, in every area, and the economy is organized from the point of view of a special economic plan for each area, nationally co-ordinated, as in all other countries of this kind. An interesting point is that the plan quotas are graded according to the geographical setting of each aimak. For example, the semi-desert aimaks have a special lower

schedule of wool or milk per animal differing from the amount which is scheduled for other areas. While in Tsetserleg we enquired about the quotas and found that here at least, in this aimak, admittedly one of the richest, they had in September already completed all set deliveries except one. I asked what was that, and found that it was marmot fur. It was noteworthy that in the neighbourhood for the next few days we often saw hunters coming in with big, fat marmots hanging from their saddles.

Communications: Air transport from Moscow to Peking runs across the country, and all sorts of people from all over the world are thus coming to know the airfields Ulan-Bator and Sain-Shand. There is little internal air-passenger traffic, but some internal air post and also a "flying doctor" service. The railway has been completed across from Moscow to Peking, and there is another line in the extreme end of the country, obviously built for defensive purposes against the Japanese when they were in occupation of Manchuria; also there is a short line of railway to the Nalaikha coalfields from Ulan-Bator. There are steamer services on some of the large lakes, but the main modern passenger transport is by lorry. People travel by lorry over what they call the natural roads. There is not much "built" road existing, although there are a number of bridges over the principal rivers. The administrators prefer to travel by jeep because, after all, it is possible to handle a jeep in pretty well any country and any weather. We travelled by car because it was felt we should travel comfortably, with a jeep accompanying us like a lifeboat, so that if anything went wrong with the car then the jeep would carry on. Incidentally, after it was solemnly explained to us that it was forbidden to hunt antelope by jeep, because of the risk of running out of petrol, nevertheless one or other of our two Mongol companions was for ever longing to run off with the jeep in order to pursue antelope. In such case the car would have to continue alone, the jeep catching up long hours later after it *had* run out of petrol! As far as we could see, the pursuit of the antelope in that way is mainly dangerous to the pursuer, because the jeep is jumping about so that the marksman cannot possibly be any menace to the animal during the pursuit. Nevertheless, the huntsman blazes away perilously and fruitlessly, and this is obviously part of the fun. Apparently, the tactic is to try and cut one antelope off from the herd and run it down until it is exhausted. But if the quarry manages to reach the hills before its lungs burst, there it will be faster than the jeep and get away, which in our experience it not uncommonly does.

I should try to give a brief description of the immense plains. These consist of giant bowls, each anything from fifteen to thirty miles in extent, with a ring of hills rising another thousand or two feet higher above the plain. You travel up and over one hill-rim and on across thirty miles of flat, and then up and over the next hill-rim, and so on. The flatnesses are so flat that an eagle sitting on the ground will stay and watch, just turning its head, but not moving in any other way; the bird can see for miles above the flat ground. To my taste the grasslands are most attractive.

Heavy goods, of course, also go by lorry, but the main goods transport is still by camel, and one of the ways in which an arat can earn money is by carrying by camel for his neighbours or for the State. One often sees

a big transport of camels laden with goods and the family on horse-back going along from one point to another. The main reform in the transport system is not any claim to have introduced any particular method, but that everything new, taken together, has enabled the elimination of the urton service, a system of communication used by Genghis Khan and described by Marco Polo, whereby favoured travellers would go from post-house to post-house, getting horses changed at each station. As a form of tax, the inhabitants were obliged to supply horses, and often themselves as companions or drivers, from stage to stage. This system was a hated burden, and one of the earliest policies of reform was the promise that that system would be ended. However, the difficulties of the terrain are such that it was not until 1949, twenty-eight years after the new Republic was founded, that finally, with great rejoicing, it was possible to declare that the urton system had ceased to exist in any part of the country. That is one of the important changes on which the people pride themselves.

A word, in passing, as to the way of life. The characteristic garment is the del, as it is called, now being worn by Mrs. Putnam; a garment which is exactly the same for men as for women. The belt is worn by both men and women. The del itself is in one colour; the sash can be another colour, with possibly a coloured border, but there is rarely a coloured pattern on the garment. When in the countryside one may wear a coarse or warm felt del, but it can be of beautiful silk material for going to the opera and so on. It is an exceedingly warm and convenient garment, it being possible to put whatever one likes in the way of sheep-skin underneath it in winter. The sleeves are very long so that the fingers can be curled up into them and one does not need gloves. If you see such a garment anywhere, from Moscow to Peking, you may be sure its wearer is a Mongol. European clothes are coming in, for factory workers, nursing assistants and doctors and so on, but there are still many who may wear European clothes for their work but in the evening prefer the del rather than Western evening clothes.

Another characteristic of the country is the yurt, which probably many travellers have from time to time described. I must confess myself astounded by the convenience and comfort of it in its modern form. So many explorers have described it as horrifying, as a thing of filth and patches. Unfortunately I omitted to take measurements, but it is perhaps 16 or 20 ft. across, and the fact that the sides go up vertically before they start to come together, like those of a bell-tent, enormously multiplies the space within, beyond anything one would expect from experience only with an ordinary tent. It is made of wooden lattice framework, on which one can put as many felt covers as one wishes, and there is canvas round that, so that the rain is kept from making it soggy. There is a stove nowadays, instead of an open fire, which diminishes the dirt; also there is a door to keep the draughts out. The yurt is roomy and comfortable. A flap at the top gives fresh air and sunshine as desired. Everywhere one sees yurts; in towns you often see them with radios and with electric light. As a home, the yurt is a sort of classic prefab. It is said that a yurt can be put up in twenty minutes, taken down in an hour, and carried anywhere on the backs of four camels.

As to food and drink, basically the food remains what it always has been: milk in summer, meat in winter. The meat is dried and nearly always abominably tough. The milk is distorted into a considerable number of shapes and flavours, the most luscious being a sort of solid cream. Butter, to my astonishment, is an entirely new product, and one the Mongolians are only beginning to eat and export. They are beginning to eat bread, cakes and pastries made in the food factories; imported chocolates and sweets from Russia. They like very much the tinned *hors d'œuvre* imported from the Soviet Union. The people drink plenty of alcoholic drinks, mainly the famous fermented horse-milk, *koumiss*. The best and strongest *koumiss* we got was at Ulan-Bator lamasery. A sort of vodka is distilled out of milk, and there are also strange liqueurs brewed out of berries gathered from the mountains. Drinking is doubtless an "occupational disease" of the herdsman. One cannot pass a yurt without going in, and one cannot go in without partaking of everything, especially the *koumiss*! The herdsmen pass many yurts in the course of their day's work, and this may well be why, by the evening, many have become merry.

There is universal education at the youngest level. To the middle school only about half the children go because, as we heard from the herding families themselves, they keep their children back if they themselves are getting too old and have many animals to manage. Hence, only about half the child population goes to the middle school. There are universities with the higher grades of teaching in Russian (but by Mongolians), because there is no point in printing advanced works on physics and on bacteriology and such higher education subjects for the small readership that requires it in so small a population; the rest of the teaching is, of course, in their own language. Russian is a second school language. Incidentally, a number of people, Mongolians of the professional classes, nowadays speak a little English, also having taught themselves so as to be able to read scientific papers or literature; a few, also, French and German.

One of the advances is the change in the written script which used to be a form derived from Uighur. I understand that this (extremely decorative) Old Mongolian script can be written very rapidly when once learned, but it is difficult to learn. A new Cyrillic alphabet has been devised and is now in use (it is not quite the same as Russian Cyrillic) and this is much easier to read and write than Old Mongolian. According to the statistics, only since the introduction of this reform, in 1940, have the extraordinary advances in literacy (from under 1 per cent. to over 90 per cent.), and the educative cultural developments, e.g. science committees, archæological, veterinary research and meteorological stations—in fact a whole apparatus of modern science—been built up.

Health: There are now all kinds of maternity homes, polyclinics, tuberculosis treatment, rheumatic treatment. By the way, I got into some trouble because my wife is subject to rheumatism and had a bad attack just before we were ready to leave for Mongolia, the worst attack I have known her to have. She knew I was most anxious to go and did not want the planned trip to be abandoned. I encouraged her by saying that

travelling in Mongolia would certainly cure her rheumatism, because whoever heard of rheumatism in the Gobi Desert? When we were passing over one of the vast plains, in the car there was a Mongolian woman doctor with us, and, to improve the shining hour, I asked: "What is the disease most prevalent in Mongolia?" She replied, "Rheumatism!" I imagine that is because of the herds people must be out in all weathers. The second most prevalent disease is tuberculosis. Apparently, the lads when they go into barracks to do their military service, are inclined to develop the disease. However, the epidemic diseases which used to be prevalent have been to all intents and purposes eliminated; the only remnant, so I understand, is plague, now occurring only in one small area, where it is unfortunately endemic in the ground squirrel Citellus. Here, even if the people kill all the ground squirrels around, after four or five years they re-establish their numbers and filter back from the perimeter into the town, and it has not been possible to get rid of the disease in that one spot.

Mongolians have their own ballet, opera, concerts, theatre, music circles, cinema. We went to one gala night, where Western and Mongolian music was played, the Mongolian being the more liked. The most remarkable national musical instrument is the *morin-hur*, a traditional stringed instrument with, surmounting it always, a horse's head. It is fascinating to watch a man dressed in a beautiful del sawing away at this stringed instrument playing Chopin.

Western sports are being started. Since I returned to England a Mongol People's Republic team has taken part in the world chess championship and come out about sixth in their group, beating France in the first round. Their athletic times and distances are as yet only up to the schoolboy standards of more experienced nations, but as yet such sports have been only very few years practised. Their own wonderful national sports are the main feature of a national holiday, the games, or "Nadom," and arouse an excitement akin to that of our Olympic Games or Test Matches. The three traditional sports on these occasions are wrestling, archery and horse-racing. The wrestling is carried out with preliminary formal prancing, the breast extended forward "like a lion" and the arms outstretched and waving "like the wings of an eagle." One young Mongol who was with us and was for ever playing billiards, now owns a motorbicycle and says he is arrested every time he goes out on it because he forgets to take out a licence, told me he used to be keen on this wrestling when he was younger but felt that he looked so silly that he had to give it up.

The horse-racing has the fantastic feature that the jockeys are all children; the people say that the race is to test the horse, not the jockey, and the rider must therefore not be strong enough to interfere with the horse. The maximum age of the jockeys is eight or nine years, though I understand the age is twelve in Inner Mongolia (inside China). My friends did not understand when I asked was there a minimum age. If the jockeys are very small their feet may be tied underneath the horse, so as to save them from falling off. The races may cover thirty or thirty-five miles. About a thousand horses start, all having on them these little jockeys, but only about ten or twenty finish, and by then, no doubt, the children

are pretty tired, but there can be no doubt they simply love it. This fantastic race is part of the horse mystique that runs through all Mongolian culture—music, sport and so on; even the Mongolian word for " Welcome "—" Morilamu "—simply means, come on horseback.

The CHAIRMAN: It is just as well that there is not time for questions, because I am sure there would be many forthcoming. On your behalf, ladies and gentlemen, I thank Mr. Montagu. In an hour he has most skilfully and in a very fascinating way given us a wonderful picture of a country of which I knew absolutely nothing, and probably there are others present who are in the same position. Now we have been made to feel we almost want to go there, despite the hazards, especially having seen the slides which followed the lecture. We have really spent a most wonderful hour. We thank you very much indeed, Mr. Montagu.

NOTE: See " Land of Blue Sky "—in reviews—this *Journal*.

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FIFTY YEARS AGO IN THE EUROPEAN EDITION

THE DEATH OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA and its possible effect on Great Britain's position in the Persian Gulf is discussed at a meeting of the Central Asia Society in London. British interests in the area are seen endangered by stealthy but persistent advances of Russia in Central Asia and increased German activity in Asia Minor.

IMPRESSIONS OF CHINESE AGRICULTURE

By PAUL A. V. SPENCER

Report of a lecture given to the Society on Wednesday, November 28, 1956; Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Spencer has very kindly come here today in his capacity as General Export Sales Manager of Massey-Harris-Ferguson, Ltd., to give us some "Impressions of Chinese Agriculture," gathered as he, with Mr. A. B. Lees, travelled throughout China quite recently. Unfortunately, Mr. Lees cannot be present as he is still in Yugoslavia, but Mr. Spencer will talk about the economical, sociological and idealogical impressions of the visit. He has travelled widely all over the world, spent much time in Australia; had four and a half years during the last war in the Middle East and two and a half years afterwards representing the Ferguson organization before Massey, Harris and Ferguson joined to combine one firm. . . . Mr. Spencer:

I FEEL slightly inadequate without the support of Mr. Lees, who is the expert on all agricultural aspects, but I have borrowed unmercifully from his written report on the subject.

Our visit was at the invitation of the Chinese authorities and of the China National Machinery Import Corporation, which is responsible for supplying the needs of the various technical departments, in our case the Ministry of Agriculture and State Farms. We were surprised on arriving in China to find almost every agricultural machinery manufacturer in the world already represented. The Chinese took us all out on a picnic together. Surprisingly, it was very pleasant.

1. Some General Impressions

A seething mass of human activity—slow but sustained and graceful—is a description one applies to China on the first day of entry, and the impression is confirmed on every succeeding day. Whether in a low or high position, the people's disposition appears to be placid with a natural inclination to agree rather than risk displeasure by disagreement. Compared with other Communist countries, there is virtually no attempt to "convert" the visitor, unless the efforts to please can be so construed.

Almost all of the people look as though they could use more of this world's goods, and in such places as on the riverside of Canton the squalor is somewhat disquieting, with women and children and workers sleeping on the crowded pavement, although it must be added that the general standard of housing is not much beyond the mud-hut stage, with dirt floors as normal even for many of the multitudinous small shops. Vigorous campaigns are being waged for cleanliness, avoidance of waste of food. Russian posters proclaim "Our experience is for your help" against a background of combine harvesting. Education and learning amounts to almost a fanatical religion.

You will appreciate that we were dealing with goods which are on the strategic embargo list. The Chinese were interested in persuading our authorities to lift that embargo. They constantly cited the Russians as an

example. There is no doubt that the Chinese have received a tremendous amount of help from Russia in the shape of technicians and complete factory installations, machine tools and everything necessary in this connection.

Peking is being rapidly opened up for modern traffic and the main thoroughfare will probably be one of the world's widest. Already, near Tien an Men—the Gate of Heavenly Peace, from the rostrum of which Mao Tse Tung watches the May and October celebrations—two lines of cars can be parked in the middle of the road and leave dual carriageways, each of which could take four cars abreast—if the drivers had received more practice.

Cars operated from Government pools are scarce in every city. They consist of old American models and some recent models from Poland, Russia, Italy, a few Standards, Austins and a few new cars from Hungary and Russia. The capital is boasting that very soon it will have 500 taxis (!) which can only be hired from the Taxi Corporation by phoning. Usually there is half an hour's wait, but tricycle and ordinary rickshaws are available on the street. One rickshaw man was the only person we found who would take a tip—and that was well earned for making good time.

There is no tipping at all in China now. Waiters in restaurants, rickshaw men and taxi drivers all refused a tip from us; no one would accept a tip, and we thought this something which could well be introduced into Europe. The English-speaking waiter in our hotel, when asked as to this, said: " Why should I expect to receive a tip? The manager and I and the woman who sweeps the floors are all partners; I receive adequate wages; all I want from you if you have been pleased with the service and your meal is that you should shake me by the hand when you leave. I would consider that as polite."

The China National Machinery Import Corporation was just preparing to move into one of the hundreds of new blocks of buildings in West Peking which is springing up where the market gardens had their best land. In this area there will be ten kilometres of colleges and educational buildings; about two miles of " Education Alley " is in being. The general lines of these buildings are almost all the same. Five storeys high and one room in depth, brick built, so as to form rectangles enclosing courtyards. No steel reinforcement is used, nor are elevators usually installed. Woodwork is not of good quality, but general workmanship is good and the speed of building, with no mechanical aid for footings, virtually no hoists and lashed bamboo scaffoldings, is quite remarkable. Flood-lighting for night work on the buildings and road making is general.

China boasts over 60,000 miles of navigable inland waterways, but the view of the mighty Yangtse, Yellow, Pearl and Sungari rivers, either from land or air, tells plainly that they are in a bad way, although they are badly needed in view of the great lack of metalled roads. Their intensely crooked courses across the plains show they have been gradually changing for hundreds of years due to silting up. Their colour confirms that vast quantities of soil are still being carried away and that tremendous efforts at soil conservation are needed in the interior.

If the building, road construction and education programmes are ful-

filled, and even more attention is to be given to waterways and railroads, it is difficult to see how inflation of some kind can be avoided, for it seems that the people will not be asked, and indeed could not accept, a lower standard of living. Yet it would seem that nearly half of the nation's current earnings are being put away into very long term investments and a twenty per cent. national increase in wages has been promised.

2. Economic Indicators

Many large towns have departmental stores of five and six floors with goods set out in a style up to the standard of a Woolworth Store in a small country town, and some rather better, on the lines of a Bobby's in Leamington Spa or Bournemouth. On Sundays in particular, business for the remarkably large varieties of readily available goods is brisk and queues of eight or nine people waiting at the cash desk are commonplace. Average quality of consumer merchandise is much higher than in U.S.S.R.

A few prices :	Bacon	4s. lb.
	Biscuits	2s. to 3s. lb.
	Ham (boned)	8s. to 9s. lb.
	Cigarettes (almost Western in flavour)	1s. to 1s. 6d. per 20
	Perambulator—build own body	37s.
	Child's tricycle	30s. (smallest)
	Bicycle	£24-£28
	Rent—two rooms modern building	£1 per month
Some wages :	Graduate on State Farm	£5-£6 per month
	Professor (top)	£30 per month
	1st Grade Co-op. farm	£7-£9 per month
	Factory worker (average for factory)	£4 10s. per month

Despite the foregoing figures, it was claimed that rent in a full State job includes light and water and should never exceed four per cent. of salary. Hence, in view of the much narrower requirements of the average Chinese, their purchasing power for consumer goods ought to be nearer Western standards, but it is doubtful if it is, perhaps due to much larger families. For a £5 to £6 per month man, 1s. 6d. per day is an average kind of figure for food per day. On a State Farm they thought £3 10s. per month covered food for one adult. Some of this would presumably come out of " perks," but owing to the time factor we were unable to clear this point and others which naturally come to mind.

3. General Impressions of Agriculture

Second only to the scholar in Chinese society and primary to the life of China is the farmer. An understanding of the land he cultivates and of

the agricultural system under which he works is essential to an understanding of China as she is.

In China, more than seventy-nine per cent. of the population are farmers. An additional eleven per cent. live in market towns in which the leading occupation also is farming. Only ten per cent. live in cities.

The total area of cultivated land in agricultural China, exclusive of Manchuria, is approximately 340,000 square miles or 217 million acres. Including the Manchurian provinces, the arable land in all Greater China is less than ten per cent. of the total land area. Even in densely populated agricultural China the terrain is so rugged that only twenty-seven per cent. of the area of that region is in crops. This 217 million acres under cultivation in China compares with 365 million acres cultivated in the United States. Stated in other words, a total of about 500 million people in China depend for sustenance on the products of 217 million acres of land worked by 65 million farmers, while in the United States 140 million people have first claim on production from 365 million acres that require the labour of only 6·5 million farmers.

The paucity of arable land in China, limited by climate and topography, combined with a vast population almost entirely dependent on agriculture, could have but one result: an overwhelming pressure of population on the land.

Just what does it mean to have about 400 million farm folk living on the small area of land that China has available for cultivation? It means that there are approximately 1,500 persons actually living on every square mile of arable land. The comparable figure for the United States is about fifty-three persons to every square mile of cultivated land. Moreover, most American farmers add to their income by the use of uncultivated pasture and forest land. This figure for China is an average—in many localities the population density far exceeds the average to balance the many places where it falls below. In the locality with the greatest population density studied by Buck's investigators, 4,372 persons live on each square mile of ploughed land. The least populated locality investigated had 212 persons to each square mile. Even an average of 1,500 persons per square mile of cultivated land means that between two and two and a half people actually live on each acre of cultivated land!

The increasing pressure of population through hundreds of years has enforced intensive land utilization. The farm population has been squeezed into the confines of every little valley, up the slopes of every hill where soil can be found, and on to marginal lands where scanty and erratic rainfall is a constant hazard. It has caused a modification of the terrain greater than that of any other area of equal size in the world. Nearly half the land under cultivation is irrigated; about a quarter is terraced.

This intensive agriculture is both a cause and an effect of the pressure of the population on the land. On the one hand, this massive population came into existence because systems of agriculture were developed that could supply enough food to keep it alive and furnish enough energy to make possible the production of more food. Conversely, these systems of agriculture came into being because there were hands and backs to do the

work required, and because there was a constantly increasing number of mouths demanding a greater yield from the soil. The whole interaction between land, water and people that is agriculture in China has resulted in a unique synthesis of man and nature.

The adaptation of man to nature in China has assumed many different forms to fit different natural conditions existing in a large and varied geographical area. Innumerable variants of crops and rotations, of methods of tillage, and of storage and transportation have been developed. Among them are two dominant types of human adaptation to the demands of nature—the systems of agriculture characteristic of the northern wheat region and those of the southern rice region.

Nowhere in the world have I admired the farming more than that which I saw during my journey of over 4,000 miles on the Chinese mainland. To make such a statement have meaning, I may say that I have seen something of agriculture in over forty countries. To travel in the East usually means a sorry spectacle of niggardly crops and half-starved livestock, but the farmer is assuredly held in high regard in China, and the countryside, viewed from the air or on the ground, must give satisfaction to anyone who has the slightest concern for the land.

Useful crops can be grown on handkerchief patches in seemingly impossible situations, and the utmost economy of raw material is reflected in such practices as dung-catching bags on the rear of the shafts of all horses at work on the roads. The best cereal yields are equal to those of Europe. For example, we saw 38 cwt. per acre of bearded wheat being harvested by a Russian self-propelled combine.

We were not impressed to see four workers on the machine: the driver and his mate and two others levelling the straw which was elevated from the straw walkers into the normal Soviet straw dumpers. These hold 5 to 6 cwt., the racks forming backboard and floor being hinged so that they open as a mouth and discharge the straw in huge broken windrows. The forks were three-pronged, cut and peeled from the branch of a tree, which seemed customary.

China is now finding that there are large acreages which might be opened up to cultivation, and she is embarking on a "new lands" campaign in the Soviet style which is, for instance, estimated to double the cultivated area in the single north-east province of Heilunchiang. It is due to this reclamation programme, her avowed policy of collectivization of farms, together with simultaneous industrialization, that China now wishes to try out Western farm machinery.

Already China claims to have 5,216 tractors at work, but that figure relates to 15 h.p. units. Since most of the machines are Russian 54 h.p. crawlers, it is not far wrong to divide by three, and we should also do the same exercise when we consider the statements of the Chinese demand for power units, which during recent months has been put in the six-figure group.

There is in the country also a sprinkling of tractors from other countries in the Communist bloc, principally Zeetors from Czechoslovakia and East German Ursus, not forgetting one or two vintage models from the West: Farmalls, Ford-Fergusons, some American Ferguson implements

and some Massey-Harris 21 combines which have earned a very big reputation for themselves during the years of restricted East-West trade. A few implements from Poland and East Germany were also seen and a fair number of Russian combines.

Single and double furrow horse ploughs, mowers, side-delivery (non-tying) reapers and seed drills are being made in the country, and if one studies the published plans there seems little doubt that China's eventual aim is to make most of the vast quantities of farm machines that will be needed to syphon off the land sufficient workers for the industrialization that is already underway. Machine tools, electrical components and the like are even now beginning to come off the lines.

Neither the necessary skills nor the factories and the plants can be acquired overnight even with the present volume of technical assistance from the U.S.S.R. Hence no great optimism is needed to foresee a large demand from China for tractor and farm machinery from the West. The range is very wide, from peanut harvester to rice combines, from pony ploughs to sugar-beet harvesters and corn and cotton planters and pickers. For the present, Western equipment is being tried, and until experience has been gained, not even the top experts will attempt to detail the pattern of future farm mechanization.

According to Vice-Premier Li Fu Chun's message to the National People's Congress while we were there, the programme of collectivizing and mechanizing agriculture is as follows, with figures for 1952 for comparison:

	1952	*1955*	*1956*
State Farms (having their own machines)	52	106	152
Machine and Tractor Stations	0	138	275
Tractors (in 15 h.p. units) ..	1,532	5,216	11,192

At present, mid-1956, there are said to be 140 Machine and Tractor Stations and 90 State Farms and over 2,000 demonstration farms and 650,000 farm co-operatives, with a third of that number of co-operatives devoted to supply and marketing and linked with the All-China Supply and Marketing Co-operative.

4. Farm Loans

The Agricultural Bank of China came into being in 1955 to play an active part in helping production and the co-operative movement in the rural areas. It has several tasks—to grant State loans to the peasants; to help them form credit co-operatives; and to set in circulation idle and scattered funds. It also teaches book-keeping.

Available figures show that 4,800 million yuan (approximately £700 million) in loans were issued to the peasants from 1950 to 1955. This sum enabled them to go ahead with various jobs of capital construction, to buy farm implements and agricultural machinery and to undertake technical improvements. This year, according to Wang Pei Lin, Deputy Manager of the Bank, agricultural loans will amount to no less than three thousand million yuan, some 1,780 million yuan (over £254 million) having already

been loaned. A further service provided by the Bank from the first half of 1955 onwards is the special low-interest loans at only 0·4 per cent. a month for poor peasants who wish to join a co-op. but are short of the sum needed for share-capital. These loans, which are one of the important measures adopted by the State to encourage agricultural co-operation, are repaid by easy instalments over a period of five years, beginning from the third year of the loan.

On the other hand, the Bank encourages peasants to put money away towards their future capital investment. In Hsiaoshan County of Chekiang province, for instance, 2,420,000 yuan has been issued in loans over the past six years. With this sum, the peasants have built 110 irrigation works, and bought 1,015 tons of manure and fertilizer, as well as numbers of farm implements—mostly in China—and draught animals.

They have also used the loans for stocking the local ponds with fish. At the end of last year peasants in that country had over 2,600,000 yuan in their savings accounts.

5. Education

No one can fail to be impressed by the urge that is being put into all branches of education, and it is equally obvious that the bulk of the people are avid to learn. Looking through what were euphemistically called "7,000 volumes" in the library of a Co-operative farm, it was noted that almost all were really pamphlets, and great use was made of picture strips, although it is said that illiteracy throughout the country has been reduced by more than half. Applicants for college entrance examinations exceed 350,000 this year, according to a Chinese press statement. This figure is said to be more than double of last year. Forty-one per cent. of the applicants are this year's middle school graduates, twenty-two per cent. are workers in Government departments, factories and mines, and other enterprises.

Some 65,800 primary school teachers will take part in entrance examinations for teachers' colleges. Among the applicants are also employees of joint State-private enterprises, young businessmen, students from Hongkong and Macao and Chinese students from overseas. Sixty per cent. of the applicants expressed the desire to study technology, sciences and medicine.

Agricultural education is being particularly actively pursued at the present time. Indeed, the thirty-six Agricultural Institutes of more or less University level, find it difficult to fill all their existing accommodation until the outflow of students from "middle" schools increase.

Two institutes were visited. That devoted to farm mechanization near Peking had 1,000 students (thirty per cent. girls) taking five-year courses for B.Sc.Ag.Engr. All lived in the six new large buildings and their entry was dependent only on their aptitude to learn, students being required to buy only their own text books. The third outturn of graduates —about 180—would occur this autumn. Half their work is practical, their average age being twenty-three years. The college has 600 acres devoted to normal farming so far as is compatible with requirements for practice and training of students. Graduates are absorbed on State Farms, Machine

and Tractor Stations, research work and of course, a few go to teaching jobs.

At Harbin (Manchuria) the Institute has 1,205 students, plus seventy-four post graduates and a staff of 450, of which 234 are professors and lecturers. The subject is divided into (1) Crops, (2) livestock, (3) farm mechanization, and courses run for four and a half or five years, depending on which section the student specializes. Land use, including drainage, has just been added as a new subject.

Over eighty per cent. of the students are non-paying or scholarship. Back in 1948-9, when the college was founded, everything, including clothing, was provided by the State. Those who now pay only have to pay for food and books, and food might average £4 10s. per month, but the student is able to choose his food according to his pocket, and it seemed that the actual spending on food by students might be under £2 per month.

Regular medical checks are made and anyone " under the weather " is ordered to rest in a sanatorium. Physical training is compulsory.

Over half the students are specializing in farm mechanization. Their studies take them into factories and on to farms, and their final half year is occupied with their thesis for degree. Main headings of the farm mechanization course are: mathematics, physics, drawing, metallurgy, technology, stresses, electrical, farm implements, tractors and trucks, repairs and service and economics of deployment.

The Institute had its own farm and roughly 7,500 square metres of floor space as workshops and storage for a good range of rather old Russian and East German machines and implements. A Massey-Harris 33 tractor and Ford-Ferguson were seen here—in moderate condition.

Other educational activities include widespread evening classes and study groups, even on Collective Farms—to overcome illiteracy, while the special efforts to attract overseas Chinese from abroad represents another step quickly to acquire technical skill and experience. At the same time, students are being sent to many overseas Universities, mainly in communistic countries, but it was noted that some were in Finland. Yet another step is to attract visits by professors from overseas countries.

It will, of course, be some years before any real effect of all this educational activity is felt on a national scale, but within five years one certain effect will be a further increased demand for labour-saving equipment in all walks of life. In agriculture the results are likely to be seen in hormone and foliar sprays, antibiotics, increased milk production, artificial insemination, improved irrigation and many other practices of which even the experts are only vaguely aware.

7. Conclusion

Due to bad weather, visits to farms were fewer than either we, or our hosts, had hoped, hence we have some hesitation in making any comment, but the following points are made in the hope that they will prove useful. It is intended to make our observations as brief as possible, particularly because we believe that underlying reasons which may be obscure can best be brought out in discussion.

The further we travelled in China the more obvious it became that the general standard of farming in that country is as high as any in the world.

We were particularly impressed by the Chinese farmers' ability to make useful crops grow in the most unpromising situations and with the minimum of mechanical and chemical aids. If proper amounts of suitable fertilizer and adequate numbers of up to date. efficient machines can be provided, the food production plan will certainly be fulfilled. Points which might handicap the plan are mentioned below, together with suggestions that might expedite the fulfilment and improve the economy and the results:

(1) More consideration might be given to the fact that only when tractors and implements are matched—each " tailored " for the other for optimum efficiency—will truly economic results be obtained.

(2) There is a grave danger that too high a proportion of larger crawler tractors will be brought into use. Such tractors are costly to purchase and costly to operate. They are relatively uneconomic for transport which can account for up to fifty per cent. of the work on a farm. Once reclamation work on new land is completed, it is difficult to provide a full economic load for large crawlers. In transport, for example, small loads have to be moved according to the needs of farming; such work cannot wait until the size of the load is economic.

(3) For a given sum of money, say, £100,000, only about 50 crawlers can be bought. For the same sum about 200 wheel tractors, such as the Ferguson, can be purchased, thus such an investment would increase the output of 200 men, whereas with expensive crawlers, only 50 men would be provided with machine power and 150 men would be left operating hand tools with which they could not truly *earn* the higher wages which are necessary for improved living and educational standards. Moreover, the Chinese tradition of high-class intensive agriculture calls for small power units, as also does the Chinese apparent preference for small rather than large horses or teams of horses.

(4) It is understood that China has upwards of ten million draught animals. The land devoted to the feeding of these animals must be a major factor in restricting the production of human food. If, as has been proven in the West, it takes three acres to feed a draught animal, then the elimination of draught animals could release sufficient food for over twenty million people. No quicker economic increase in production would be found. Wheel tractors are the only reasonable means of replacing draught animals, and no economy can really afford to buy tractors and keep the same number of draught animals.

(5) Another factor in economic tractor operation, which suggests a preference for medium-sized wheel tractors, is the fact that in most cases the larger the tractor the greater the proportion of the fuel used by the tractor in merely moving itself over the ground. In other words, undue weight on the tractor not only harmfully compresses the soil, but also uses fuel unproductively.

(6) In row crop work in China, the amount of hand labour seems to be unduly high. The wider use of medium-sized wheel tractors

could not only reduce the amount of hand work, but also ensure that the cultivations were done more timely.

(7) Turning to the few combine harvesters we saw at work, we noted that these were not fully up to date in recent developments. Modern machines such as the Massey-Harris 780 Self-propelled Combine would operate faster and in more difficult crops with fewer men and produce better graded samples of grain. In rice harvesting, too, the Massey-Harris-Ferguson Organization can offer machines well proven for that work.

(8) Similarly, special requirements of tractors in other sizes than the Ferguson are available to meet a wide range of conditions.

Questions

Group-Captain H. St. C. Smallwood: Very many questions spring to my mind after listening to the extraordinarily attractive lecture. I lived in Peking for ten years and should be interested to know whether that new broad road runs north and south or across?

Mr. Spencer: It runs north and south. You will remember the big open square in which stands the Gate of Heavenly Peace; the new road goes straight past that, and I believe a portion of the road has been in existence for some time past. Half-way down, it divides into two one-way roads; it is that portion that the Chinese are bulldozing out and joining up the two one-way roads, continuing on north and south.

Group-Captain Smallwood: The lecturer mentioned 500,000,000 as the population of China, but the authorities there are busy spreading the fact there are 600,000,000 Chinese. Is 500,000,000 the accepted figure in China? I believe that to be nearer the mark.

Mr. Spencer: Again in that regard we came up against the problem of being given different figures by different people. I have always understood the population of China to be between 600,000,000 and 700,000,000; the Chinese say it is between 500,000,000 and 600,000,000. I quoted their figure, but I do not think they really know the actual figure; they have not taken a census so far as I know, and indeed it seems impossible to take one.

Baroness Ravensdale: In all the agricultural schemes, whether of collective or communal farms, are Chinese farmers allowed to have any private property?

Mr. Spencer: It is a matter of choice as to which of the types of farmers one belongs. There are still private farmers who are doing very badly, and there are more and more farming co-operatively. There may have been force used at one time, but I do not think there is now. Farmers are joining the Co-operative because they see a next-door farmer doing better and so they ask to join. One type still own their land but farm it communally; in other types, the land is owned jointly by the Co-operative. I think the alternative is owning one's land and putting into the pool or giving it up altogether.

Sir John Troutbeck: From whence do the Chinese get their fuel for use in tractors and so on?

Mr. Spencer: The Chinese have themselves for some years past pro-

duced a certain proportion of oil. The question was one I raised, having tractors in mind, because I noticed in the Press before leaving for China that one of our journalists over in that country had said the Chinese could not buy tractors because they had not sufficient fuel. I found when there that the Chinese pooh-poohed this and said they had enough fuel. They are banking on their new oil find. I know of no other source from which they can get fuel except Russia.

A GUEST: If China is so densely populated and there is this increased mechanized farming, does that mean that some of the small farmers and farm workers have been thrown out of work? If so, where do they go?

Mr. SPENCER: There are enormous stretches of land to the west and north-east which are suitable for agriculture but are not being worked. One of the major parts of the Chinese two Five Year Plans is to reclaim this land and settle it. Thus a proportion of those who are thrown out of work by intense mechanization in cultivated areas will move to the west and north-east.

Mrs. GASTRELL: Perhaps this is not a fair question. If Chinese agriculture has been in existence for 5,000 years, is it not because the Chinese have used organic fertilizers from draught animals and also their particular kind of plough rather than mechanization?

Mr. SPENCER: The population of China is increasing at an alarming rate; I cannot, as I said earlier, give exact figures, but probably the population has doubled during the last two or three hundred years. Thus there has arisen the problem of feeding twice the number of people—I am guessing figures—from the same area of land. Therefore, it has become necessary to open up new land to feed those additional mouths; and also there must be increased efficiency of farming, improvement of crops and their production. All this can only be achieved by mechanization, as has been proved everywhere else in the world. At the same time, as there are additional people to feed, there is an increased demand for a higher standard of living. What satisfied the Chinese peasant one hundred years ago no longer satisfies him, just as what satisfied us in this country of ours one hundred years ago no longer satisfies us.

The CHAIRMAN: There are so many questions one would still like to ask Mr. Spencer, but our time is now up. I am sure you all agree with me that Mr. Spencer, in the time at his disposal, has given us a wonderfully good picture of modern Chinese agriculture. It has made clear to my mind how well the Government of China, whatever it is, is using all the age-old, wonderfully good qualities of the Chinese people. We are most grateful to you, Mr. Spencer, for all the trouble you have taken to come and give us this lecture.

DERIVATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF AL-RUB' AL-KHĀLI

By NABIH AMIN FARIS

IT is no exaggeration, perhaps, to assert that man's knowledge of the geography of the North or the South Poles exceeds, in bulk and accuracy, his knowledge of the Geography of the Arabian Peninsula, or at least some parts of it. This is particularly true of that vast desert expanse in the south-east of the Peninsula to which the early Arabs refer by several names: al Dahnā', al-Nafūd, al-Aḥqāf, al-Rumūl or al-Rimāl, and Ramlat Yibrīn. Recently it has become known by a name unknown to Arab geographers ancient and modern alike. This name is al-Rub' al-Khāli (the empty quarter). Where has this name come from, and how should the orthography of its first part be—Rub' (quarter, signifying one over four) or Rab' (quarter, signifying locality or region)?

The first attempt at determining the correct orthography of the term was made, in 1937, by Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University, who, in his monumental *History of the Arabs*,* favoured Rab'. In reviewing the book for *The Muslim World*,† I commended the author on what I considered then to be a real contribution. I was wholly unaware that both of us were, in this particular instance, mistaken. In fairness to Professor Hitti, it must be noted that his choice of Rab' instead of Rub' was more of a reaction against the latter with its arithmetical connotion than of any concrete evidence in favour of the former.

In 1951, the Princeton University Press published Harry W. Hazard's *Atlas of Islamic History*. In all its maps except that on page 3, captioned "The Islamic World from Morocco to Iran," the Arabic name of the Empty Quarter appeared as al-Rab' al-Khāli. On the map on page 3, the name appeared as al-Rub' al-Khāli. In the index, it appeared under both. Then early this year (1956), an Arabic edition of the same atlas was prepared under the auspices of the Franklin Publications, Inc., with the title *Aṭlas al-Ta'rīkh al-Islāmi*. On receiving the atlas, I noticed the Arabic of the Empty Quarter unvowelled on all the maps, beginning with that of the first Moslem century and ending with the fourteenth. In the index the name appeared vowelled with a *ḍammah* on the *rā'* (i.e. Rub').

My first reaction on seeing this was that the name should not have appeared on any of the maps except on those of the fourteenth Moslem century (latter part of the nineteenth Christian century) and after, because the term was in all likelihood of recent origin.

I took the opportunity of the presence of the representative of the Franklin Publications, Inc. in Beirut to mention the matter to him, but he was emphatic in saying that the matter was looked into by the scholars responsible for the translation. Unable, however, to dispel my own

* Macmillan, London, 1937, pp. 7, 15.

† Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (October, 1937), pp. 389-99.

doubts, I decided to look into the matter myself: both into the origin of the term and into its correct orthography.

On checking the works of Arab geographers, both ancient and modern, no light could be shed on either problem. Early Arab geographers do not use the term, and modern Arab writers use it unvowelled and have nothing to say about its origin. Foreign writers who have used the term seem to be aware of its modern origin, but give no explanation either for its derivation or for its correct orthography, although they invariably favour the *ḍammah* over the *rā'*. Only two writers have something which may explain the riddle. These are H. R. P. Dickson and Charles M. Doughty.

In his *The Arab of the Desert*,* Dickson relates a chat which he had with a certain Rashid Bin Fahad of the Al 'Arja of the 'Ajman, who told him among other things that—

> The word Rub' al Khali . . . was a *hadhar* or townsman's expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had only once or twice heard it.

In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta*,† Doughty cites a tit-bit which might solve the problem. He wrote:

> They love not the (intruded) Turks. —— Zeyd taught me thus (from his book), the divine partition of the inheritance of the world; —— " Two quarters divided God to the children of Adam, the third part He gave to Ajûj and Majûj (Gog and Magog), a manikin people parted from us by a wall; which they shall overskip in the latter days: and then they will overrun the world. Of their kindred be the (gross) Turks and the (misbelieving) Persians: but you, the Engleys, are of the good kind with us. The fourth part of the world is called *Rob'a el-Khāly*, the empty quarter:" by this commonly they imagine the great middle-east of the Arabian Peninsula; which they believe to be void of the breath of life! I never found any Arabian who had aught to tell, even by hearsay, of that dreadful country. Haply it is nefûd, with quicksands; which might be entered into and even passed with milch dromedaries in the spring weeks. Now my health failed me; and otherwise I had sought to unriddle that enigma.

What is the origin of this legend? It is not possible to determine its source with any degree of certainty. It is, however, possible to see in it an echo of the belief, shared by practically all early Arab geographers, that the earth is divided into two halves, northern and southern, and that each half is in turn divided into two quarters, eastern and western. According to these geographers, one half of the earth lies concealed under the water, and the other half is exposed above it. Half of the exposed half is empty, from the equator southward.‡ According to al-Qazwīni,§

* Second edition, London, 1951, pp. 286-87.

† Cambridge, 1888, Vol. II, p. 524; New and Definitive Edition in Two Volumes, London, 1936, Vol. II, p. 558.

‡ See *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafa*, ed. Khayr-al-Dīn al Zirkili, Vol. I (Cairo, 1928), p. 114; see also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol I (Beirut, 1955), p. 19.

§ *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), p. 147.

that quarter is supposed to be void of settlements or life. Concerning it, he says:

> Similarly, the southern half is made of two quarters: the eastern which includes Abyssinia, the land of the Zenj, and Nubia, and the western on which no one has set foot at all. It is adjacent to the Sudan which is next to the (land of the) Berbers, such as Kuku and the like. It is said that Ptolemy, the Greek King, despatched a mission to this quarter in order to have it explored. The mission, however, sought out the learned men of the nations adjacent to it, and returned (without setting foot on it) and reported that it was desolate and lifeless. It was therefore called the ruined quarter (*al-rub' al-kharāb*) or the scorched quarter (*al-rub' al-muḥtariq*).

From the above the following conclusions may be safely drawn:

1. The use of the term, al-Rub' al-Khāli, as a proper name for the vast expanse in the south-east of the Arabian Peninsula is of recent origin. It was unknown prior to the latter part of the nineteenth Christian century and the early part of the fourteenth century after the Hegira. Consequently the term should not appear on any map of the area before that date.

2. The term itself is still unknown to the tribes which inhabit the outskirts of the Dahnā'.

3. The term as used to-day stems from the usage of Doughty on the authority of his informant, Zeyd.

4. The origin of the term might be traced to the legend of the ruined quarter (*al-rub' al-kharāb*) or the scorched quarter (*al-rub' al-muḥtariq*), mentioned by the majority of the early Arab geographers.

5. The correct orthography of the first part of the name is with a *dammah* on the *rā'*, giving us al-Rub' al-Khāli.

July, 1956.

American University of Beirut.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KURDISH, 1945-55

By D. N. MACKENZIE

IN compiling the Bibliographies of Southern Kurdish, 1920-36, and 1937-44, which appeared in earlier Journals of the Society,* C. J. Edmonds possessed one great advantage. After his many years' service in Iraq, and his friendly interest in Kurdish life and letters, he constituted almost an " honorary copyright library " in himself. In the circumstances of the country, where most publishing is at the expense of the author and consequently in limited edition, the value of this position to my predecessor will be obvious. It ensured that practically every published work in Kurdish passed through his hands. The present Bibliography, which he has encouraged me to compile, can lay no claim to such comprehensiveness. It is largely the result of ransacking the dusty shelves of Sulaimaniya's three or four booksellers during a stay of a few months last year. It has been possible to supplement the collection so made with gifts from generous Kurdish friends, and Mr. Edmonds himself has added notices of a number of titles not known to me (marked E).

The list has been brought up to the end of 1955 so far as periodicals are concerned. Of those still in existence at the end of the war, *Jiyn* alone has survived to this day. *Gelawêj* lived only ten glorious years. The British monthly, *Deng y Gêtiy' Taze*, with its subsidiary publications, has given way to *Peyam*, the Message of the American Embassy, and the short series of Kurdish educational publications issued by its editor. The only independent periodical is *Hetaw*, of the indefatigable owner of the Kurdistan Press, Giw Mukriyani. It must be admitted that on occasion the " reader in the street " is mystified by the enthusiastic and sometimes highly individual coining of new words of these last two journals.

The total of seventy titles, excluding periodicals, shows a gratifyingly steady, if slight, increase over the preceding periods. It is perhaps surprising that there have been no new titles classifiable as Political. New books on religious themes have also dwindled slightly in number, despite the series of publications of Muhammad Amin Asri of Kirkuk. However, other sections have held their own. The collected works of a number of poets have appeared, including Shaikh Riza Talabani,† Hajji Qadir of Koi, and, a new technique, the serialized Diwan of the contemporary Qani'. Other verse, from the classic *Mem u Ziyn* of Ahmad-e Khani to the modern verse of Goran, is well represented. Mention must be made of the monumental History of Kurdish Literature, III, 18, composed in a classical style by the eminent divine, former editor of *Gelawêj*, Ala-al-din Sajjadi. Not the least of its merits is the presentation for the first time in print of much fine poetry, notably the works of the late Bekas, Hamdi

* *J.R.C.A.S.*, July, 1937, and April, 1945.

† Cf. *J.R.C.A.S.*, January, 1935, " A Kurdish Lampoonist," C. J. Edmonds.

and Zewar. The list of fictional works has grown most, but mainly through translations. A notable exception to this is afforded by the delightful short stories of Shakir Fattah.

Some two dozen new Primary School text books are now in use, but, with the exception of VII, 18, they are not listed here. They are all translations from Arabic originals, even, somewhat surprisingly, in the case of the Kurdish Readers.

A point of interest is the popularity, among publishers at least, of two works. One is the rhymed Kurdish-Arabic vocabulary *Ehmediy*, VII, 2, 11, 13, 14, a record surely for any Kurdish book. The other, the *Mewluwd* of Mala-e Bate, VI, 35, ascribed inexplicably to Hasan Artushi, is in the northern dialect of Kurdish. It has previously been published in Cairo, in 1906, and recently again, this time ascribed to Husain Artushi, in Damascus, in 1947.

Finally IV, 19 and 23 bear witness to the loss Kurdish letters have sustained with the passing of M. Amin Zaki Beg and Hajji Taufiq Piramerd.

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In the following list I have, for the sake of continuity, scrupulously followed the pattern and the transcription of the bibliographies I have set out to bring up to date. Only in regard to format, often at the mercy of the manipulator of the guillotine, have I erred in favour of approximation to the nearest inch.

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7. *Jiyn*. Eleven years, 1945-55, issues No. 510 to No. 1279. Editors: Hajji Taufiq Piramerd to June 15, 1950; Jamil Sa'ib to October, 1952; Abdullah Goran to October, 1954; now Ahmad Ziring. (E.)

C.—Arbil

19. *Hewlêr—Arbil*. "A weekly literary and cultural magazine," published in Kurdish and Arabic by the Arbil branch of the Association of School-teachers. At least 96 Nos., No. 96 of November 18, 1952. No further details. (E.)

20. *Hetaw* (Sun). "A Kurdish literary magazine," every ten days. Kurdistan Press; first issue, May 15, 1954. 9 × 6 inches; 20 pages. From No. 6, *Kovar y Hetaw*. Latest issue, No. 51, of December 31, 1955. Editor: Giw Mukriyani.

E.—Baghdad

17. *Gelawêj* (Sirius). Year 1945, issues 12; year 1946, issues 12; year 1947, issues 12; year 1948, issues ?12; year 1949, Vol. X, last issue, No. 8, of August. Editor: Ala-al-din Sajjadi.

21. *Nizar* (Grove). "A weekly Political Review, published in Baghdad in Arabic and Kurdish." Ma'arif Press; first issue, March 30, 1948;

12 × 9 inches; 24 pages. At least 8 issues, until July. Editor: Ala-al-din Sajjadi.

22. *Aga w Rhuwdaw y Hefteyi* (Weekly Information and Events). "Weekly literary and educational." Published by the Department of Cultural Relations of the American Embassy, No. 1 about September, 1949, to No. 193 of June 8, 1953. Editor: Bakir Diler. (E.)

23. *Peyam* (Message). Same as above with change of name. No. 194 of June 15, 1953, to No. 326 of December 26, 1955. (E.)

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17. *Diywan y Shêx Rheza y Talhebaniy* (Collected Verse of Shaikh Riza Talabani, in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish). Introduction by Fathullah As'ad. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1946. 8 × 6 inches; 267 pages.

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20. *Umer y Xeyyam* (Omar Khayyam). Quatrains translated into Kurdish by Salam. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1951. 8 × 6 inches; 237 pages.

21. *Diywan y Wefayi* (Collected Verse of Hajji Mirza Abdul Rahim "Wafai"). Introduction by Giw Mukriyani. Arbil: Kurdistan Press, 1951. 8 × 6 inches; 132 pages.

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24. *Chwarbax y Pêncwiyn* (The Garden of Penjwin). Third part of the Diwan of Muhammad Qani'. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 95 pages.

25. *Shax y Hewraman* (The Mountains of Avroman). Fourth part of the Diwan of Muhammad Qani'. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 96 pages.

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27. *Diywan y Safiy* (Collected Verse of Mustafa "Safi" Herani). Edited with an introduction by Muhsin Dizai. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 112 pages.

28. *Diywan y Haciy Qadir y Koyi* (Collected Verse of Hajji Qadir of Koi). Edited by Giw Mukriyani. Arbil: Kurdistan Press, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 138 pages.

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13. *Behesht u Yadgar* (Heaven and Memory). Poems by Goran. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1950. 8 × 6 inches; 79 pages.

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17. *Mam Homer* (Uncle Omar). By Muharram Muhammad Amin. Edited by Muhammad Mamandi Didansaz. Arbil: Kurdistan Press, 1954. 8 × 6 inches; 28 pages.

18. *Hikayet y Zadiyc* (Zadig). By Voltaire, translated into Kurdish by Muhammad Ali Kurdi, from the Arabic by Taha Hussein. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1954. 8 × 6 inches. 194 pages.

19. *Chiyrok y Gerdaweke* (The Tempest). By Wm. Shakespeare, translated into Kurdish by J. A. Nabaz. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1955. 8 × 6 inches; 164 pages.

VI.—RELIGION AND MORALS

35. *Mewluwdname* (An Account of the Prophet's Birth, in Bahdinani Kurdish). Attributed to Hasan Artushi. Istanbul: Osman Beg's Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 48 pages.

36. *Mewluwdname y Hezret y Rhesuwl* (An Account of the Prophet's Birth). By Sayyid Baha-al-din Shams-i Quraishi Sanandaji. Kirkuk: Arabiya Press, 1948. 8 × 6 inches; 20 pages.

37. *Esas y Se'adet*, 2nd impression of VI, 18. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1948. 8 × 6 inches; 32 pages.

38. *Iyman u Islam* (Faith and Islam). By Mulla Abdul Karim of the Biyara Seminary. Kirkuk: Taraqqi Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 16 pages.

39. *Iqbalname* (A Song of Felicity). By Mulla Abdul Karim. Baghdad: Najah Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 48 pages.

40. *Mewluwdname y Kurdiy* (A Kurdish Account of the Prophet's Birth). By Muhammad Rashad al Mufti. Arbil: Kurdistan Press, 1952. 9 × 7 inches; 24 pages.

41. *Mewluwdname y Kurdiy* (A Kurdish Account of the Prophet's Birth). By Muhammad Amin Asri. Kirkuk: Ma'arif Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 47 pages.

42. *Eqiyde* (Creed). By Shaikh Abdul Sami'. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1951. 8 × 6 inches; 16 pages.

43. *Mi'racname: Shew y Rhuwnak* (An Account of the Prophet's Ascent to Heaven: The Bright Night). By Mulla Abdul Salam Haidari. Edited by Muhammad Amin Asri. Kirkuk: Taraqqi Press, 1952. 8 × 6 inches; 32 pages.

44. *Herewezîy* (Co-operation). By Bakir Diler. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press (K.E. Pubs., No. 3), 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 24 pages. (E.)

45. *Aw y Heyat* (The Water of Life). By Mulla Abdul Karim. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 2nd impression, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 54 pages.

46. *Feth y Qelha y Xeyber* (The Conquest of the Castle of Khaibar). By Muhammad Hijrani of Zhazhila. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1954. 8 × 6 inches; 96 pages.

47. *Chil Hediys y Pêghember* (Forty Traditions of the Prophet). Edited by Mulla Abdul Karim. 1954. N.A.

48. *Wefatname y Rhesuwl y Nazdar* (An Account of the Death of the Beloved Prophet). Baghdad: Arabiya Press, 1955. 9 × 6 inches; 20 pages.

VII.—EDUCATION

12. *Rhaber* (Guide). An Arabic-Kurdish School Dictionary. Compiled by Giw Mukriyani. Arbil: Kurdistan Press, 1950. 8 × 6 inches; 420 pages.

13. *Kitêb y Ehmediy* (Ahmadi). A rhymed Kurdish-Arabic vocabulary, by Shaikh Maruf of Nodê. Kirkuk: Taraqqi Press, N.D. 8 × 6 inches; 32 pages.

14. *Kitêb y Ehmediy* (Ahmadi). By Shaikh Maruf of Nodê. Edited by Mulla Muhammad Salih of Ababaile. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 36 pages.

15. *Naw y Kurdiy* (Kurdish Names). A list from which to choose, compiled by Ala-al-Din Sajjadi. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1953. 8 × 6 inches; 28 pages.

16. *Gewre Pyawan* (Great Men). Short Biographies of Shakir Fattah. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1948. 8 × 6 inches; 116 pages.

17. *Hawrhê y Minalh* (A Children's Companion). By Shakir Fattah. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1948. 8 × 6 inches; 84 pages.

18. *Elif u bê* (The Alphabet). By Ibrahim Amin Baldar. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1951. 10 × 8 inches; 98 pages.

19. *Giyr u Griftekan y Komelhayetiyman* (Our Social Problems). By Bakir Diler. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press (K.E. Pubs., No. 4), 1954. 8 × 6 inches; 20 pages.

20. *Dad y Komelhayetiy* (Social Justice). By Bakir Diler. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press (K.E. Pubs., No. 5), 1954. 8 × 6 inches; 17 pages.

21. *Elif u bê bo Gewre* (The Alphabet for Adults). By Ibrahim Amin Baldar. Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1954. 12 × 10 inches; 78 pages.

GEORGE FORSTER SADLEIR

(1789-1859)
OF THE 47th REGT.
THE FIRST EUROPEAN TO CROSS ARABIA

IN the annals of Arabian travel, the name of George Forster Sadleir holds an honoured place, but it is known to few outside the narrow circle of historico-geographers, and even to them little or nothing is known of Sadleir's life, apart from the Diary of his trans-Arabian journey. He has no place in the D.N.B., but research shows that he has been undeservedly forgotten.

He was born in Cork on January 19, 1789, of Anglo-Irish extraction, the second son of James Sadleir, originally of Tipperary and later of Shannon Vale House, Clonakilty, Co. Cork, a cotton manufacturer, and Joanna, daughter of George Forster, of Cork. A brother of James—Richard, of Tipperary—married a cousin, Grace, and their son Nicholas, of Dunboyne Castle, Co. Meath, was the maternal grandfather of Earl Beatty. James was descended from a John Sadleir who presented a silver mace to Stratford-on-Avon in the seventeenth century, and was also related to Hamnet Sadler, Shakespeare's executor, and to the poet's son-in-law Quiney. He migrated to Ireland at the time of the Cromwellian settlement. Sadleir's father became Sheriff of Cork in 1791, his uncle Sheriff in 1785 and Mayor in 1815, and Sadleir himself was made Sheriff in 1837 after his retirement from the Army. His younger brother Richard was a Commander, R.N., who migrated to Sydney, where he died at the age of ninety-four. He is mentioned in O'Byrne's *Naval Biography* as a Catechist.

On April 4, 1805, at the age of sixteen, Sadleir became an Ensign "without purchase" in the 47th Regiment of Foot, in which he was to serve abroad continuously for over twenty-two years. He became Lieutenant in 1806 and Captain in 1813. In 1807 he took part in the retreat to Monte Video and the unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres, an unpropitious start to his career. For the period December, 1807 to May, 1812, the only information given in his statement of service (now in the Public Record Office) is "Station—East Indies," but the Regimental History of the 47th shows that the regiment took part in an expedition against the Joasimi pirates in the Persian Gulf in 1809. They remained in Bombay throughout 1810 and 1811 and in 1812 marched to Poona. He was then (1812) given the opportunity of showing his real ability. In the Bombay Secret Letters (1804-12, vol. 2, in I.O. Library) there is one from the office of the Governor of Bombay, dated June 3, 1812, to "The Hon'ble the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Hon'ble Company of Merchant Seamen Trading to the East Indies" to inform them that, in accordance with the request of Sir Gore Ouseley (Ambassador to Persia) for "about six lieutenants and ensigns and a number of non-commissioned officers for the purpose of

disciplining the Persian troops," a Detail was then in readiness to proceed to Persia. An enclosure gives the names of the officers and their regiments, and states that they are under the charge of Lieutenant Sadleir [*sic*] of His Majesty's 47th Regiment.

On June 25 the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government notified James Morier, Minister at the Court of Persia (author of the classic *Hajji Baba of Isaphan*), that Sadleir and his detail had embarked on the Hon. Co.'s cruiser *Benares* for Persia. An account of this Military Mission to Persia (1810-15) may be found in Curzon's *Persia.** By the treaty signed in 1809 a subsidy was to be paid to the Shah, and he was to be supplied with as many British officers and troops as he required to discipline his army. Two of Sadleir's predecessors had been murdered by the Persians in 1810, and another, while lying wounded, was killed by a Russian officer in 1812. The mission obviously was dangerous, and although Curzon does not mention him by name, Sadleir discharged his duties with distinction, for his statement of service notes that he was presented with a sword and firman by the Shah (Fath Ali Shah, 1797-1833) when the mission ended in 1815, and he held the local rank of Major, "Conferred on him by H.R.H. The Prince Regent, the Governor-General of Azerbaijan." In General Orders he was "noticed" by Lord Hastings, Governor-General and C.-in-C. in India, an Anglo-Irishman who did not forget him later.

In the Foreign Office despatches (Public Record Office) there is a letter from Sadleir, dated March 23, 1815, to James Morier, in which he refers to the disbandment of the 47th Regiment in India, the officers being placed on half-pay, and he expresses the hope of returning to England by way of Russia, "since this is the quickest way, taking only four months." This hope was not fulfilled, for we have a letter written by him from Bushire to Morier which incidentally gives us a glimpse of a kindly side to his nature. In it he appeals for assistance to be given to the wife and child of a native trooper, Pir Muhammed, of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry, who had died on the march from Teheran. The march had begun on April 1, and two other men died on the way. On June 15 the detachment forty-three in all, embarked at Bushire for Bombay.

Although, owing to the disbandment of the 2nd Battalion of the 47th, Sadleir found himself Captain on half-pay, he was by order of Hastings detained for duty with the 1st Battalion and served throughout the Malwa Campaign in Central India. During part of this period (1817-18) he was employed in a political capacity under Sir John Malcolm, who again "noticed" him in General Orders. It was this four months' campaign, resulting in the occupation of Poona, the surrender of Nagpur and the subjection of Scindia and Berar, that established the supremacy of British rule throughout India.

In the following year Sadleir made his memorable journey across Arabia from east to west, which is his greatest claim to distinction. It was the first recorded crossing of the Peninsula by a European and a feat

* Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), Vol. I, pp. 577 *et seq.* There is also an account in Morier's first book, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, to Constantinople, etc.* (1812).

of Arabian travel unequalled for nearly a hundred years or, to be exact, until Captain Shakespear's great journey in 1914.*

In D. G. Hogarth's *The Penetration of Arabia* (1904) there is an account of Sadleir's journey, based on his (Sadleir's) Diary. This last is a very rare book. It is entitled "Diary of a journey from el Khatif in the Persian Gulf to Yanbo on the Red Sea during the year 1819, by Captain G. Forster Sadlier [*sic*] of H.M.'s 47th Regiment, Compiled from the Records of the Bombay Government. Printed at the Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, 1866." A short account of the journey appeared in the Trans. Lit. Soc. of Bombay in 1821. It may be doubted whether the Diary would ever have been published but for the interest shown in the travels of the mysterious political crypto-Jesuit, W. G. Palgrave,† who in 1862 explored Nejd, through which Sadleir had passed. In 1866 Sadleir had been dead for seven years. The circumstances leading up to his mission may be stated briefly. Muhammed Ali Pasha, the founder of Modern Egypt, who ruled the country from 1804-49, was, in the early years of his reign, an obedient servant of the Sultan, by whose favour he enjoyed the Pashalic of Egypt, but his ambition was to be an independent Sovereign.

In 1812 he offered alliance to England, as without such backing he hesitated to break away from the Porte. The Sultan, suspecting his intentions and to check his increasing power, called on him to suppress the Wahhabis in Arabia.

This movement was initiated in Nejd by Muhammad ibn Abd el Wahhab about 1750 in an endeavour to restore to Islam its early purity and simplicity. He was strongly supported by the Amir Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud at Dar'iya. The Hijaz was occupied and the sacred shrines of Karbela, Mecca and Medina were sacked.

The Pasha and his son Tussun fought with fluctuating success during the years 1811-17, but Dar'iya, the Wahhabis' eastern stronghold and capital, showed unbroken resistance.

In 1816 the Pasha's second son, Ibrahim, aged only twenty-six, took over command of the Egyptian forces, as Muhammad Ali refused to ratify the treaty concluded by Tussun with the Wahhabis in the previous year. In 1818, after a siege of three months, Dar'iya capitulated. It is at this point that Sadleir comes on the scene. He was chosen, again by Lord Hastings, to convey to Ibrahim an address of congratulation and a sword of honour. The mildest of cynics might express some doubt's of England's sympathy with either side, in a civil war of religion fought in the deserts of Arabia, but the British rulers in India wished to establish friendly relations with the victor. The events leading up to this gesture have not hitherto, I believe, been fully recorded.

In a despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Governor in Council, Bombay, dated November 7, 1818, the Governor-General proposes to invite Ibrahim Pasha to participate in an attack on the Pirate Ports along the southern shores of the Persian Gulf. Affairs in India

* D. Carruthers, "Captain Shakespear's Last Journey," *Geogl. Journal*, May-June, 1922.

† W. G. Palgrave, Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63), 1865.

would probably not allow the sending of a sufficiently strong force to the Gulf before the summer of 1819.

"We recommend," wrote the Governor-General, "that measures be arranged for inviting Ibrahim Pasha to a joint operation against Ras-ul Khimah [a pirate stronghold] . . . on the terms of our conducting the siege and leaving the function of covering it to the Turkish Army" (I.O. Bombay Secret Proceedings, Vol. 38).

In due course the news came of Ibrahim's successes in Arabia and the fall of Dar'iya. The Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, in a despatch to the Chief Secretary, Bombay, dated January 2, 1819, writes: "His Lordship in Council proposes to take advantage of the intelligence [Ibrahim's victory] to address a letter of congratulation to that chief on the ground of the correspondence that has long subsisted between the Governor-General and his father the Pasha of Egypt." The Chief Secretary went on to say that the letter, when transcribed into Persian (why Persian?), would be forwarded to Bombay, together with a sword to be transmitted to Ibrahim. An English version of the letter was enclosed. In it the Marquis of Hastings first of all congratulated Ibrahim on his successful campaign brought to a close by the fall of Dar'iya. He went on to say that there were reports of Ibrahim's intention to pursue his conquests to the Gulf and to subdue the maritime tribes dwelling along its shores.

He pointed out that the piracies and outrages committed by the tribes of the Pirate Coast, especially the "turbulent Qawasim," had damaged the prestige and interests of the British Government, and he proposed "a combination of the efforts of the two Governments for the tribes' early chastisement" ((I.O.) Bombay Secret Proceedings, Vol. 40, Consul. 17 of 14, iv, 1819).

Sadleir himself received instructions in a letter, dated April 13, 1819, from Nepean,* to sail in the Honourable Company's cruiser *Thetis*, a brig of war mounting fourteen guns, "to land on the Arabian coast, to congratulate Ibrahim on the reduction of Dar'iya and to concert the necessary arrangements with His Excellency with a view to the complete reduction of the Wahhabi power, if as would most probably be the case, H.E. should be desirous of availing himself of the aid of the British Government." He was to sound Ibrahim as to his plans "without showing any material interest in the subject" and to seek the assistance of the "Imam" of Muscat in arranging a meeting with him.

Incidentally, these egregious proposals were made without the sanction of the Home Government and without previous consultation with the Egyptians.†

There can rarely have been a more futile mission. The Pasha had no reason to promote British interests in the Persian Gulf, and his son Ibrahim, having reduced to desolation the country through which he passed, and having destroyed Dar'iya, was bent on evacuating Nejd and on returning, by way of Medina and Mecca, to Egypt, with the spoils of war and to enjoy a triumph.

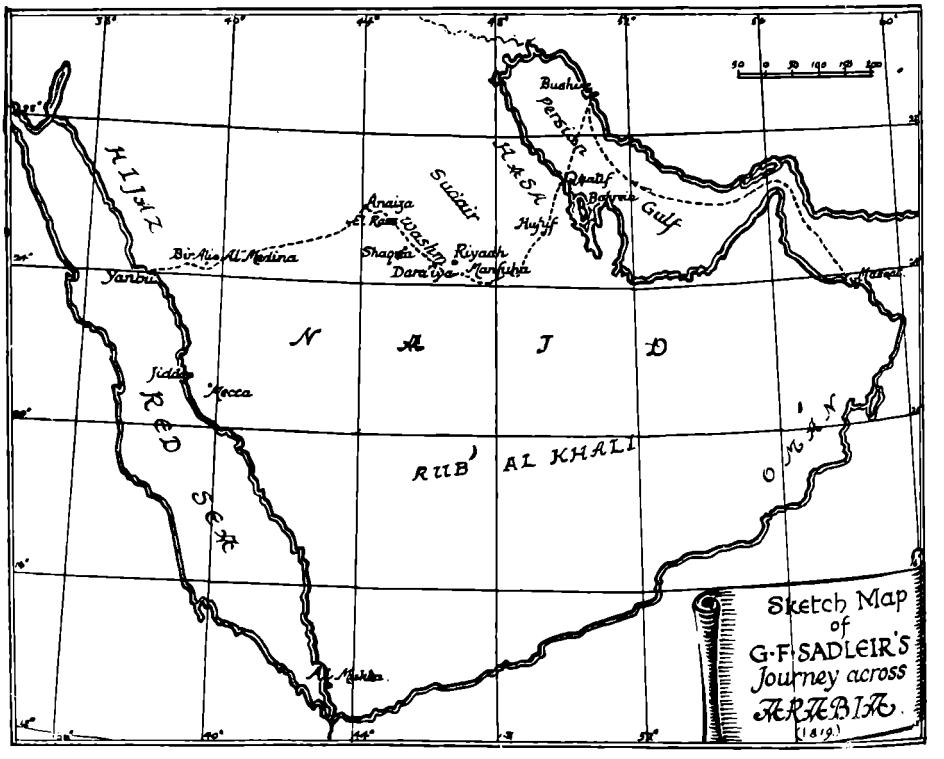
* Sir Evan Nepean, Governor of Bombay.

† For an examination of Ibrahim's policy after the fall of Dar'iya, see Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, 1955 (E. Benn, Ltd.), pp. 148-49.

The retirement of the Egyptians from Nejd completely defeated from the outset the main object of the mission.

However, Sadleir was left with the sword of honour and the letter of congratulation, so, in the words of Hogarth, " to his great credit, his lasting fame and our profit he determined to go up into Arabia. . . . The first European to cross the Peninsula and the first to put on record what he saw in Nejd."*

Sadleir left Bombay on April 14, 1819, and reached Muscat on May 7. Philby and Hogarth are of the opinion that the " Imam " Sayyed Said was one of the chiefs whose overthrow had been ordered by Muhammad Ali, but there is evidence that the ruler of Muscat and the Pasha of Egypt were on very good terms throughout their respective careers, and Ibrahim's



efforts in Eastern Arabia were certainly not directed towards the overthrow of the Ali Bu Said rulers of Oman. The reason for Sayyid Said's distrust of Ibrahim was simple: he himself had for many years coveted the island of Bahrein, with its pearl fisheries and trade, and he feared that Ibrahim planned to occupy it. He showed himself, therefore, uncooperative.

Sadleir spent eleven days at Muscat, during which he had several interviews with the " Imam." In a despatch dated May 15, 1819, to the Governor of Bombay, he gave an account of these meetings. He reported that Said deplored Ibrahim's atrocities at Dar'iya and had become so distrustful of his intentions that he refused to co-operate, except by sea, in any operations against the Pirate Ports. Finding that he could expect no assistance from Said to facilitate his journey to Ibrahim, Sadleir sailed for

* Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, p. 107.

Bushire on May 18. The voyage from Muscat took nearly three weeks, "particularly tedious as we encountered a north-west gale."

From Bushire, Sadleir sent a despatch (9, VI, 1819) to the Governor of Bombay, informing him of Ibrahim's probable intention to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and to return subsequently to Egypt. He (Sadleir) would sail for Qatif as soon as he could obtain a pilot and from there would try to reach Ibrahim before he withdrew to Mecca. He could hold out little hope of securing Ibrahim's co-operation in the attack on the Pirate Coast (I.O., Bombay Secret Proceedings, Vol. 41, Consul. 29 of 21, VIII, 1819). Sadleir left the Bushire roads in the Hon'ble Company's cruiser *Vestal* on June 16, and on June 21 landed three miles below Qatif, after spending two days on a sandbank owing to the pilot's incompetence.

He left Qatif on June 28 and began his journey of over a thousand miles, which in eighty-four days took him across Arabia to Yanbu on the Red Sea. In a despatch (17, VII, 19) from Al Hasa (Hufuf) to the Governor of Bombay, Sadleir stated that at Qatif he had found that the only Egyptians there were the Governor and his two assistants, so he decided to place himself under the protection of the Sheikh of the Bani Khalid and to make for Hufuf, where he had arrived on July 11. He had learned that Ibrahim had had great difficulty in keeping open his communications, especially to the east of Dar'iya. The Turkish Commander at Hufuf was under orders to retire on Dar'iya, with all the troops in the Al Hasa province, and then join Ibrahim at his camp, two days' march to the west of the ruined capital. He (Sadleir) had decided to accompany the Turkish withdrawal, but he no longer had any doubts that the co-operation of Ibrahim in the attack on the Pirate Ports was now impossible. "It is evident that the districts of Ul Ahsa, the port of Kuteef, and the advantages of the communication by Aujuir (Oqair) present more favourable prospects than any advantages which could be expected by the accession of Ras-el Khyma (the Pirate Port)" (I.O., Bombay Secret Proceedings, Vol. 41, Consul. 37 of 20, IX, 1819).

It is not the purpose of this memoir to give a detailed account of Sadleir's journey, since the Diary exists and an assessment of its geographical value may be found in Hogarth's book referred to above. It has been written to put on record for the first time an account of Sadleir's career, to tell something of the man himself and to make some observations on his Diary.

On July 12 he reached "Foof" (Hufuf), with its great mud walls in the Hasa Oasis. Here he waited until July 21 for the Egyptian garrison which was retiring from the Oasis to rejoin the main army in Sedeir. With the garrison and its 600 camels, he continued across the desert still in pursuit of Ibrahim. They met with heavy rains, a rare phenomenon in Central Arabia. The bedouin were now more or less hostile everywhere. On one occasion he was delayed while a detachment of Ibrahim's troops, beleaguered in Kharg, was rescued from the avengers of some sheikhs treacherously put to death by Ibrahim's orders. Four days' march from here brought Sadleir to Shakra, a singularly fertile oasis which no other European was to see for nearly a century. He was now in the heart of Arabia; he made notes on the distribution of tribes in the neighbourhood

everywhere and noted the town's importance as a commercial centre.

News reached him that Ibrahim was at Rass, two days to the west, but on arriving there he found once again that the quarry had escaped. In despair, he resolved to call off the chase and to make for Basra and India, but Ibrahim's deputy would not accept responsibility for his safe conduct among the vengeful tribes. He had no choice but to push on to Medina, or rather to Bir Ali, three miles to the west of Medina, since as a "kafir" (infidel) he could not enter the Holy City, the burial place of the prophet.

Then, on September 8 and 9, he had audiences with Ibrahim, and the sword and the address of congratulation were presented. The Pasha was affable but non-committal. He was, he said, under his father's orders as his father was under the Sultan's. He provided a convoy for Sadleir to Yanbo, and on September 20 Sadleir's great trans-Arabian journey was over.* Here is his entry for that day: "Marched from Melha. Hence the country assumes a new aspect, and opens into an extensive plain bounded to the West by the Red Sea. Arrived at Yanbo at 10 a.m. It is a miserable Arab Sea-Port. It is surrounded by a wall of stone badly cemented, and now tottering. This wall is a modern work and appears to have been built in consequence of the old walls being too circumscribed to afford protection to all the inhabitants. The old walls and one of the gates still remain standing, appear to have no claim to antiquity of structure, although Yanbo is a very ancient port."

Admittedly, Sadleir's prose has little in common with that of Palgrave or Doughty. He was a soldier with no pretensions to fine writing, although, as will be seen later, he had on occasion a command of the more dignified style appropriate to official despatches, but surely no traveller ever gave a more modest account of the last stage of a great journey or was less conscious of its importance.

The journey, though of great value to geographers, interested Sadleir very little; he was, like Ibn Batuta, "the traveller of Islam" and perhaps the greatest traveller of all time, a geographer *malgré lui*. His Diary was the report of a soldier trying to carry out certain orders. He was, indeed, the most objective of travellers. His own feelings and speculations were not within the terms of reference. His education, in the narrow sense, ended when at the age of sixteen he became an Ensign, and he had been serving abroad continuously for over twelve years. In spite of illness and hardships of all kinds—intense heat, lack of water, incompetent guides, exasperating delays and forced marches—he kept his Diary with scrupulous care, noticing the names of villages and tribes and the physical features of the country. He estimated the distances covered each day by the time spent on the march. In the words of Hogarth, "It was only from his full report that a just idea was obtained of the proportion of settled to nomad life in Southern Nejd, the character of the settlements, the circum-

* There is unintentional irony in a despatch to Sadleir from the Governor of Bombay, sent apparently about this date: "As there appears no probability of your being able to return to Bombay before the departure of the intended expedition to the Gulph, the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that on your return from the Turkish Camp you remain at Bushire or Muscat . . . to enable you to join the officer commanding the expedition" (as Arabic interpreter; but see below reference to his knowledge of Arabic).

stances under which cultivation was carried on, the conditions of trade and transit, and the general state of the society during the Egyptian occupation. Other Europeans, more scientific and observant, were to come after him to Nejd, but none on whose report we may surely rely." (P. 117.)

There is a tradition that he was an Arabic scholar and a man of violent temper. His Diary disproves both assertions. The few Arabic words that he uses are incorrect (e.g. *faras* (a mare) for *farrash* (servant, sweeper), *ḳamsin* for *ḳhamsin*, and no Arabist would speak of "the Mahomedan prophet"). The Diary shows him as a quiet, serious man of endless patience among "turbulent barbarians" who, unlike the Persians and Indians, had no respect for "Sahibs." His ignorance of Arabic makes all the more remarkable the fullness of the observations, geographical and otherwise, set down in his Diary.

His travels were not yet over. He waited at Yanbo for a few days, as Ibrahim had promised to visit him there, but Ibrahim did not come, so Sadleir sailed to Jidda—four days in an open boat. There he had another interview with Ibrahim, equally fruitless and culminating in a ridiculous quarrel over the shabby "saddle furniture" accompanying an Arab horse and mare that the Pasha wished to entrust to Sadleir for conveyance to the Governor-General. Sadleir objected with courtesy that the "trappings were not a necessary accompaniment and as they could not be procured in a new or fresh state it was more politic that they should be dispensed with. "I authorised," Sadleir continues, "the interpreter, in the event of His Excellency requiring a further explanation, to offer my opinion that articles which had been used could not be considered a suitable present to a nobleman filling so high an official situation under the British Government as the Marquis of Hastings now fills." His Excellency then ordered the horses to be disembarked and his letter to be destroyed, and directed Sadleir to depart on the morrow in the boat which had been prepared to convey him to Mocha. He added that, on arriving in Cairo, he would address a letter to the Governor-General, returning the sword which had been presented. Poor Sadleir, it was the last straw, a stupid end to all his efforts and privations; but it is worth recording, if only for his final message to Ibrahim. He was a sick and disappointed man, alone and discredited among fanatics, but he was a proud man and true to his high standard of loyalty. He writes, "To this message there remained only one reply to offer: 'That under any other circumstances I should have accepted the accommodation of the buggalo (boat); that I should now procure a vessel at my own expense to convey me to the destination I may now prefer and at such time as would best suit my convenience.'" This was on November 14, and there he stayed in Jidda until January 23, 1820, when he was delighted to see an English vessel approach Jidda, the cruiser *Prince of Wales*. In her he sailed to Mocha, reached on February 11, whence, after a delay of over six weeks, he set sail for India, reaching Bombay on May 8, 1820. As an example of his command of the ornate, at times stilted "officialese," here in a despatch to the Governor of Bombay is his description of Ibrahim Pasha's character:

"It has unluckily fallen to my lot to have become acquainted with a leading feature of Ibrahim Pasha's character from personal observation,

to which I have to add that the general history of the late campaign entrusted to his management exhibits a series of the most barbarous cruelties, committed in violation of the faith of the most sacred promises; on some occasions to enrich himself by the plunder of the very tribesmen who had contributed to his success, and in other cases to obtain the wealth of such of his vanquished enemies as had for a moment screened themselves from his rage. These unfortunate wretches, deluded by the fairest promises, have frequently fallen victims to his avaricious disposition and insatiable desire to shed human blood."

He wrote in the same strain to H. Salt, H.M. Consul-General in Egypt, in the hope that Muhammad Ali " would view the conduct of his son and General in the light it deserves and express his disapprobation . . ."

Elsewhere he comments on the fact that the Shah wished to ingratiate himself with the Pasha, " the self styled protector of the holy land of Mahomed." He writes with a certain irony, " His Majesty the King of Persia has sent several letters . . . with a view to gain the good graces of the Pasha and through his influence to obtain permission for some persons to visit Medina in his name and there to offer up prayers and make offerings at the shrine of the prophet: but in this object I can assure His Majesty he will never succeed. As I entertain sentiments of the highest respect for the King of Kings, I would recommend him to effect his salvation through the medium of 'Ali* at whose shrine his diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and feerozahs (turquoises) will be eagerly accepted and through whose intercession he has equally as good a chance of inducing the divine providence to defer the visit of Asrail, of whose approach it would be treason to offer the most distant hint to His Majesty. I fear if this pious King should ever fall into the hands of Mahomed Ali, he would discover too late, that the Pasha has been one of that Angel's most expert vice-regents." When it is remembered that, as has been stated, Sadleir's schooling ended when he was sixteen, that he had been serving abroad continuously for over twelve years, and that when he wrote the above he was a sick and weary man after a thousand miles of desert travel, it must be agreed that he was no ordinary soldier and showed a readiness with his pen not usually associated with that profession. From time to time he shows a little dry humour, as when he writes: " The Turk applied himself to regulate his [his bedouin predecessor's] accounts, in which branch he appears to be an adept, converting tens into hundreds and vice versa with the greatest facility." He shows a humane concern for the fate of the wretched women, camp followers, who accompanied the Egyptian troops. It is curious, to say the least, that he makes no reference in his Diary to a man without whom he could hardly have undertaken his mission—namely, his " moonshee," who accompanied him throughout the journey. We are not even told his name, but he was a Persian with presumably a good knowledge of Arabic, since Sadleir must have relied on him not only as an interpreter but also as a scribe.

However, in a despatch from Bombay on May 8, 1820, on his return

* 'Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad. The Persians belong to the (heretical) Shi'ah branch of Islam which regards 'Ali as first Imam or successor to Muhammad.

to India, he writes, "Of the pilgrims who had attempted to recross the desert [from Medina] to the Persian Gulf many had died of fatigue: the few who arrived were stripped of everything they possessed, even to their shirts, and were treated in the most barbarous fashion by the Bedouins. My moonshee [the one and only reference to him] was one of the few who arrived; he had been plundered of everything, letters, papers, etc. . . . He was a native of Abou Sheere, Bushire of the Sheeah [Shi'ah] faith; after performing the Ziyaret [i.e., visiting of the el Nawabi Mosque] at Medina, he set off direct for Mecca under a promise of rejoining me at Yanbo when he had become a Hajee, to which I freely assented." The moonshee reached Mecca, where he came under the influence of a Persian official who had been on a mission to Muhammad Ali. In his company he reached Medina on the return journey. Sadleir continues: "There the Khan [official] died and the moonshee with other Persian pilgrims relying on the protection of Ibrahim Pasha, to whom a large sum had been paid, tried to recross the desert to Persian Gulf. The Turkish guard left them at a frontier post to the mercy of the Bedouin who plundered them ruthlessly." It is not clear how Sadleir discovered these facts, nor are we told whether "the native of Abou Sheere" ever reached Persia again.

As stated above, Sadleir eventually reached Bombay in May, 1820. In December of the same year he was selected by the Governor for another mission, this time to Hyderabad.

An extract from a political letter from Bombay (December 6, 1820) states: "The Vakeels having pressed the Governor for the mission of an Envoy to Hyderabad as a proof that the advances of the Ameers of Sinde had not been rejected, we have acquiesced in their request and selected Captain Sadleir of H.M. 47th Regiment for that duty." His mission was mainly concerned with the suppression of the Cutch and Khosa Banditti —of Baluchi origin—and with a demand for reparation from the Amirs of Sind.

In a treaty between the E.I. Company and the Amirs, dated at Bombay, November 9, 1820, the Amirs had engaged to restrain the depredations of the Khoozas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British Dominions (Art. IV). Sadleir found that the raids had not ceased and he insisted on the surrender of the ringleader and his followers or the deposit of a sum of money equal to the losses suffered by the inhabitants of Sind. The Amirs complied with his request by paying the required deposit. Then the freebooter surrendered and the Amirs' claim to be repaid the deposit was granted, and the sufferers were compensated out of the East India Company's Treasury; this concluded the "Treaty of Hyderabad on the Indus." How our own statesmen must sigh for the days when one English Captain could achieve such results.

This harmonious settlement was not effected without the exercise of endless patience and firmness by Sadleir, whose previous experience in Persia and Arabia must have developed his natural aptitude for Oriental negotiations. For twenty-six days he argued, and the meetings with the Amirs were broken off from time to time for nonsensical reasons, quibbles over titles, precedence, etc., or interrupted by feasts. These happenings,

for the most part trivial, are recorded at wearisome length in the files of the India Office Library (Bombay Secret Letters). On his departure, Sadleir was presented with "a sword with gold mounts, 1 horse with trappings, 2 covers (?), shawls and pieces of money."

In the light of the various despatches relating to the mission, it is difficult to take seriously the charge brought later against Sadleir. In a letter from the Secretary to the Bombay Government to the Governor-General, we read: "Notwithstanding the cordiality with which Captain Sadleir took his leave of the Ameers he had scarcely quitted the Scind territories when we received a complaint from those chieftains principally having reference to his alleged violent and unconciliatory deportment." After inquiries, Sadleir was acquitted handsomely.

He caused surprise, or rather ill-feeling, by refusing a considerable sum of money. He must himself have been surprised to be informed, in a despatch from the Secretary to the Government (of Bombay), February 18, 1821, that "The Hon'ble the Governor has instructed me to express his satisfaction at the friendly reception afforded by their Highnesses nor is he disposed to put an unfavourable construction on their pressing the acceptance of a sum of money by the Envoy, such an offering generally accompanies the first presents to strangers of distinction in India and is always accepted by the British Residents at the Courts of Native Princes."*

For the next three years (1821-24) Sadleir remained in the Deccan with the 47th, and then another occasion was found for his special qualifications. This time it was in Burmah.† In his statement of service it is recorded that December 12, 1824, he took part in the attack on Cokain as Major of Brigade, and that in the same capacity he was present at the battles of Panlang and Donabew; his last recorded engagement was the storming of the heights of Nepadee. In the Annual Register for 1825 and 1826 there is a full account of this campaign, but Sadleir's name does not appear although in his statement of service reference is made to his being "noticed" in general orders, and in an official despatch by Brig-General Cotton, who commanded the column with which Sadleir was Brigade Major.

At this point Sadleir's career of active service seems to have ended. His statement of service has an entry, 1826—September, 1828, "India & Voyage to England," and a note to the effect that he became Major on June 11, 1830 "by purchase vice Backhouse" and "retired from the service 17 February 1837." He sold his Majority for £1,400.

Except for a few details given in the introduction to the Diary of this trans-Arabian journey (published in 1866, *v. supra*) and for his "Statement of Service," little or nothing has previously been recorded of his life

* The Company had perhaps already adopted the "Tosha Khaneh" system under which an official recipient of presents which could not be refused deposited them in the Treasury, from which presents of equal value were taken and given to the Oriental who had made the original gift.

† After Michael Syme's mission to the court of Ava in 1802, relations between Ava and Calcutta improved and a state of peace followed that lasted for twenty years. Professor Hall has recently edited Syme's Journal of his Embassy to Ava, and in a recent review of this work it is pointed out that "had the British Authorities taken care to prevent the attacks on Arakan, which refugees settled in British Territory were in the habit of making, the war of 1824-26 might never have happened."

and death. We are told in the introduction that in 1821 the Literary Society of Bombay gave an account of his Arabian journey (Sadleir himself was absent) and we are given an extract from the account, which after expressing admiration for his remarkable journey " through a country in which the exact position of a single town has never been ascertained," observes that he mapped his route " by a very good compass and in noting the time of each day's journey." The introduction ends with the statement (erroneous) that he " appears to have returned to England in 1825," and adds that " nothing is known of his subsequent career."

Research during the last few years has made possible a reconstruction of his life as a soldier, but little light has been shed on his boyhood or his life after he had left the Army. The 47th, after 1828, was continually on the move, and between this date and 1837, was posted to eight different stations (including Edinburgh, stations in Ireland and Gibraltar), but Sadleir's name does not appear in the records.

As has been stated, he became a Sheriff of Cork in 1837. He married in 1847 or 1848 a Miss Ridings, of Cork (whose great-nephew is alive to-day: he inherited the sword presented to Sadleir by the Shah).

An unconfirmed statement that he had migrated to New Zealand about 1855 proved correct. Until a year ago the place and date of his death was unknown, but the following up of many clues in New Zealand brought at last the information desired.

In the Auckland newspaper, *The New Zealander*, December 3, 1859, is his obituary notice:

> Died on the 2nd instant, at his residence, Upper Queen Street, George Forster Sadleir Esq. Late Major in H.M. 47th regiment, age 73.

And this is confirmed by his death certificate, which gives as cause of death *Marasmus Senilis*. Nothing seems to be known of his life in New Zealand nor, indeed, when he emigrated from Ireland. Even his death certificate—a copy is before me—is inaccurate—he was aged seventy, not seventy-three as therein stated. *Non omnis moriar* is a comforting reflection, but with Sadleir it was a near thing. His reputation has suffered from indifference and neglect. His Diary was not published until seven years after his death, forty-five years after he had written it, his name is often mis-spelt, there are mis-statements in the introduction, Curzon does not mention him but mentions the 47th, Philby refers to his journey with faint praise, Hogarth alone treats him with fairness. The Regimental History of the 47th refers briefly to his mission to Persia and to his participation in the Burmah campaign, but ignores the mission which took him across Arabia. In later times the 47th and 81st Regiments combined to form the Loyal Regiment (North Lancashire) whose motto is *Loyauté n'oblige*. It was this sentiment which inspired Sadleir throughout his thirty years soldiering. Some there be which have no memorial, but it is fitting, as far as is possible, to see that they are not altogether forgotten, and with such intention this memoir has been written. In the familiar words of Horace, *dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.*

F. M. EDWARDS.

EXPEDITION TO THE ELBURZ MOUNTAINS

By W. J. E. NORTON

Report of a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, December 5, 1956, Sir Clarmont Skrine, O.B.E., in the chair.

Told by Mr. W. J. E. Norton, leader, to an audience of the Society at the room of the Royal Society, Burlington House, on December 5, 1956. The talk was profusely illustrated with very excellent slides and a film.

Sir Clarmont Skrine, O.B.E., introducing the lecturer, said:

It is a great pleasure to me this afternoon to present Mr. Norton, the leader of the Cambridge University Expedition to the Elburz Mountains, in North Persia. Since the last war, it has been rather a feature of exploration for parties of undergraduates and other students from our great universities to go to the remoter parts of the world and bring back most interesting stories and pictures of their travels and adventures. This shows that the adventurous spirit of British youth, which has been largely responsible for the creation and maintenance of the British Empire, is by no means reduced or any less now that there are not quite so many outlets and opportunities for it overseas as there used to be. I think that after you have heard Mr. Norton's lecture, and seen his coloured pictures, you will realize that he and his companions are in no way inferior to the young pioneers of exploration in the past.

I am particularly anxious to see the film and slides and to hear Mr. Norton's description because I myself am rather responsible for the fact that he and his colleagues went into that part of the world. The Elburz Mountains are a part of the world in which I have for a long time taken a very special interest.

I will now ask Mr. Norton to show us his pictures and tell us his story.

Mr. Norton then gave his address, of which the following is a résumé.

THE Cambridge North Persian Expedition, 1956, left Magdalene College on its 5,000-mile journey to Teheran at 7.30 a.m. on Thursday, June 21. The expedition was financed by a generous grant from the Mount Everest Foundation; also by further grants from the Royal Geographical Society, British Peroleum, Ltd., and Magdalene and Gonville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge. Our six members, all second-year undergraduates [W. J. E. Norton, Magdalene College (leader); W. B. Anderson, Gonville and Caius College; Lieut. D. J. R. Cook, R.E., St. John's College; J. G. R. Harding, Trinity College; K. A. McDougall, Gonville and Caius College; J. E. H. Mustoe, Magdalene College], had somehow contrived to fit into the cramped space afforded by two very overloaded Jeeps: as for the trailers we towed, the less said about their load the better. An informal send-off from the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress provided a pleasant interlude before we continued our run to Ferryfield Airport and so across the Channel.

A week later found us heading southwards over deplorable roads in south Yugoslavia. The week had not been without incident: one trailer, not content with overturning at speed on a French road, had succeeded the following day in overtaking its towing vehicle! The Austrian Alps had supplied an entertainingly steep gradient, Yugoslavia an endless and astonishingly empty " Autoput ". Now, among the bullock carts and the rugged hills of the south, we glimpsed our first minarets. Greece left memories of an idyllic coastline, and a predominantly friendly people (even

if "Eoka" twice appeared on our vehicles). Soon we crossed the Turkish frontier, past the mighty mosque at Edirne, and next day saw us in the thick of busy Istanbul.

It was July 13 when we eventually reached Teheran. Much had happened in the meantime: an arrest by the Turkish army for camping (unwittingly) in a military zone by the Bosphorus; an adventurous twenty-four hours between Ankara and Kayseri, when the two Jeeps completely lost touch with each other, a series of punctures on the bad roads of east Turkey and north-west Persia, which spelt the doom of several tyres; encounters with giant spiders and horrific centipedes; magnificent views of 17,000 ft. Mt. Ararat, with Russia beyond; our first taste of Persian hospitality in a small village near the frontier.

At Teheran, by kind permission of the Ambassador, we were able to camp in the Embassy grounds at Gulhek, a suburb 1,000 ft. above the city. The five days that followed before our departure for the mountains allowed of little respite: replenishing stores, repairing our vehicles, obtaining numerous permits, and a round of visits and entertainments gave us little pause for breath. One's chief memory is of a reception (followed by Pepsi-Cola) at the Palace of Prince Gholam Reza Pahlevi, the Shah's younger brother. At last, on July 19, the two Jeeps headed north into the lofty Elburz Range that separates Teheran from the Caspian, and by the following day we had changed the dust and heat of the plateau for the mysterious mists, the lush forests and the delightful Swiss-chalet mountain villages of the Caspian versant.

The party had now been increased by the addition of a certain Captain Ghaffary of the Persian army, who proved invaluable, both in his capacity of liaison officer, and as a companion. Thanks largely to his efforts, we were able to leave without delay on our three-day trek into the mountains, with a mule train ten strong. Our vehicles and some of our equipment we had left in the custody of the headmen of Rudbarek, a charming and quite unspoilt village with a largely Kurdish population. The approach march took us first through rain-soaked deciduous forest, then up a long, stony valley, until we emerged through a narrow gorge into the Hazarchal, a high basin, delightfully green in parts, surrounded by a ring of snow-capped peaks of up to nearly 16,000 ft. in height. Here we pitched our base camp, near the foot of a small glacier at 13,000 ft., and dismissed the mules.

During the fifteen days that followed, we ascended several peaks, both from this camp and from a further camp which we established for four days on a larger glacier to the N.W. This group of mountains, which centres on the twin massifs of Alam Kuh and the lower, though better known, Takht-i-Sulaiman, has been little visited by Europeans, although increasingly so by Persians. We probably made one or two first ascents of summits, and certainly made some new routes; in addition, we improved on existing sketch maps, and undertook a considerable photographic and scientific programme: the latter including the collection of zoological and botanical specimens, and the field recording of birds for later publication. The weather was consistently fine, although a cloud-sea persisted for ten days only 3,000 ft. below us. McDougall and Anderson made two excur-

sions with a single mule, in which they visited neighbouring valleys inhabited by picturesque nomadic tribes. At the end of this period we returned to Rudbarek, where forty-eight hours were spent in photographic and collecting activities, and where we sampled once more the generous and traditional Persian hospitality.

There followed a short interlude on the Caspian shore before we left for our second area further east.

The unforeseen necessity to return to Teheran, and a blocked mountain road *en route*, delayed us for several days, however. But August 16 found us once again in the mountains, this time in the area of Mount Demavend, an extinct volcano of 18,600 ft. Shortly after arriving here, we twice witnessed remarkable processions connected with a certain religious festival: unfortunately one may not photograph these picturesque scenes. There followed a two-day mule trek to a camp site west of Demavend, by a tributary of the River Lar, where we stayed for six days. The mountaineering interest was less in this area, although we ascended one 14,000 ft. summit which involved a twelve-mile trek to the headwaters of the Lar; our activities were concerned rather with sketch mapping and natural history. After our return from this area, the complete party climbed Mount Demavend, our time of twenty-one hours up and down being probably one of the fastest so far made.

We now returned to Teheran to spend a week preparing for the journey home. A sister expedition from Oxford, heading for Afghanistan, camped alongside us during this period. McDougall, unfortunately, had to leave us at this stage to return home independently. Our first port of call was Isfahan, where our twenty-four hour stay was all too brief. We then headed for Baghdad, via Hamadan and Kermanshah: the roads in this part of Persia are terrible, and on the whole our Jeeps stood up to the battering remarkably well. At Hamadan we were shown over a carpet factory. From sweltering Baghdad, where we saw the famous Coppersmiths' bazaar and the magnificent ruin of Ctesiphon, we took the pipeline route across the desert to Damascus, and thence to the splendours of Baalbek. At Beirut we were delayed for twenty-four hours by our worst (and far from serious) mechanical hold-up. Thence we headed north to ancient Byblos, to Homs, and to fabulous Palmyra, a ruined city in the heart of the Syrian desert; and so, via the water-wheels of Harma, and Aleppo with its fine fortress and wonderful Souks, we returned into Turkey. It is interesting to record that in these Arab countries we encountered much more friendliness than hostility.

Through the pine forests of the Taurus, across the Anatolian plateau —already, in September, bitterly cold at nights—back through Ankara and the impressive mausoleum of Kemel Ataturk, we made fair speed to Istanbul, and thence homewards by the route we had followed on our outward trip.

October 3 saw us back at Cambridge, after a most successful, enjoyable and worthwhile trip.

The colour slides shown at this talk were taken by Mustoe and McDougall, and the film by McDougall.

In concluding, I cannot fail to mention the very considerable debt of

thanks we owe to Sir Clarmont Skrine. Not only was the original idea largely his, but he acted throughout, in his own words, as the Expedition's godfather.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the meeting, said: I think you will agree with me that the pictures we have seen and the description that we have heard from Mr. Norton are really quite exceptional among the various travel talks and films that we have had since the war. There is no doubt that the technique of colour photography has enormously improved in recent years, but it is not by any means always, or even often, that we get young amateurs like Keith McDougall and his colleagues, who have been able to produce such extremely artistic results, and especially the slides which we saw at the beginning of the lecture.

Being myself an amateur in colour cinematography, I can vouch for the difficulty of getting steady and well-composed films in such difficult conditions. I think you will agree that the film we have just seen is quite excellent, and I congratulate Mr. McDougall and the others upon their results.

Apart from that, I think that the lecture which we have just heard is very important as being an admirable specimen of the modern expedition of the youth of England and, in fact, of Europe. There is a great deal of this going on, and it is splendid that we should have the results made permanent like this, pictorially and in the pages of journals such as ours.

The lecturer is the son of the great General Norton, known to many of us personally, who climbed to over 28,000 ft. without oxygen. With characteristic modesty our lecturer has played down the actual feats of mountaineering the party performed and said nothing whatever about his work among the birds of the region. He has done a lot of work which he has hardly mentioned. He is a budding ornithologist, and we all look forward very much to hearing later on, when there has been time to work it all out, the results of his work in that direction, and also, of course, the botanical, zoological, and other work they did from the anthropological point of view.

I am sure that you will all join me in hoping that Mr. Norton and his comrades will go on one or more further expeditions, perhaps even further afield, armed with the valuable experience they have gained this time, and that we shall have the pleasure of hearing him again.

I should like to say one final word as regards our friends the Persians. It is quite delightful to hear how well Mr. Norton was received and what assistance he got from everybody in Teheran and Persia generally, and how good the relations were. I can vouch for that myself. Anything connected with sport, exploration or mountaineering goes straight to the hearts of the Persians, and I am sure that they were very glad indeed to have in their midst a party of young British undergraduates exploring the mountains which they love so well.

I ask you to show your appreciation of the lecture.

The vote of thanks was accorded by acclamation.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor.

DEAR SIR,

For the benefit of those of your readers who wish to follow the advice of your reviewer to read my book, *Jews and Arabs* (Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, pp. 152-3), I would like to remove some obscurities.

Mr. Tibawi is certainly right in saying that *Tammuz* in modern Arabic is July and not June. However, this old Babylonian word is used by different peoples in different meanings. When I talked about the fast of *Tammuz*, I was referring to the Hebrew month *Tammuz*. The fast occurring in it falls mostly in June, as it did, e.g., this year.

When I wrote "*dhura* or wheat," I meant "either *dhura* or wheat." There is, of course, a tremendous difference between communities whose main food is wheat and those who eat *dhura*.

The reviewer was again right in saying that the lands of Islam are known in the Arabic sources as *dar*. This, however, is the legal term. When the Muslim writers of the tenth century wished to emphasize the cultural unity of Islam, despite its political division into its natural geographical units, they used all kinds of words other than *dar*, as may be found in A. Mez's book, *The Renaissance of Islam*.

The Arab community (I do not like the word "minority") of Israel is not intended for cultural assimilation. At the reverse. Much thought and money is spent to enable it to live its own cultural life in the best possible way. Arabic is the medium of education in all grades, and as one who has some experience in education in the Middle East, the present writer (who served as senior education officer to the Mandatory Government up to 1948) believes that nowhere in the Arab world schoolchildren enjoy their Arabic lectures more than they do in Israel. It may well be that the text-books compiled by Arab teachers in Israel one day may be found to be a model worthy to be studied by educationists all over the Arab world.

S. D. GOITEIN.

3, Abrabanel Street,
Jerusalem, Israel.

To the Editor.

SIR,

With reference to the letter of Prince Peter of Greece on the subject of cormorants in Central Asia.

I can confirm that a single colony of cormorants habitually frequented the upper reaches of the Swat River near Saidu Sharif in Swat State, N.W.F.P.

This colony roosted every night in some enormous and ancient *chenar*

trees in the centre of the village of Minglaur, where they have been considered to be sacred for many generations and where they are protected.

The Swatis know them locally as *helai*.

These birds do not breed in Swat but disappear for two months only during the year, returning with the young birds with great regularity, presumably after migration to the sea near Karachi.

These cormorants spend the day diving for fish in the fast-flowing water of the Swat River; it would be unusual to find these birds in deep, arid gorges such as the Khyber, where there are no suitable feeding grounds for them, but on migration, aquatic birds will cross the highest mountain ranges and may occasionally be found in the most unexpected places.

And *Phalacrocorax* would seem to be no exception,

Yours sincerely,

EVELYN H. COBB (Lieut.-Col.).

To the Editor.

SIR,

In reply to Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, I can assure him that a cormorant in Afghanistan is quite in order. A southern race of our familiar marine cormorant ranges over the whole of the Middle East and Southern Asia, and this includes Afghanistan and the surrounding regions of Persia, Indian and Central Asia. This bird, *Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis*, is more of an inland bird, frequenting lakes, rivers and inland seas, such as the Caspian and Aral, and has been recorded from the very heart of Asia.

The Prince's cormorant *might* have come up from Karachi, where they swarm, as his interpreter suggests, but it is much more likely to have come from nearby Seistan, where they are common on the Hamun, and where it would be surprising if there was not a breeding colony, since March specimens have been obtained in full breeding plumage. It has been recorded that the local fowlers capture sufficient to enable them to use the down from their breasts, mixed with wool, to manufacture the "felt-hats" of Persian fashion. The Little Cormorant (*P. niger*) has also been recorded from Western Afghanistan, and the still smaller Pygmy Cormorant (*P. pygmæus*) has been found "not uncommon" in Afghan-Turkestan, between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus.

DOUGLAS CARRUTHERS.

REVIEWS

A Reassessment

England and the Middle East: The Vital Years. By Elie Kedourie. Bowes and Bowes. 1956 236 pp. Index. 30s.

The general shape of the 1921 settlement in the Middle East was foretold by an unlikely prophet. In 1880, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, urged that the lands of the Ottoman Empire should be made over to Arabian successor-States and that multi-racial Syria should be, for a limited time, under some form of European protectorate. Contemporary subscribers to the *Fortnightly*, reading the article less than thirty years after the Crimean War, may have smiled over this fantasy and dismissed it as a piece of amiable romanticism. Well, romantics had a decided influence on the post-Ottoman settlement, and if Mr. Kedourie's book has a fault, it is that he does not stress the undoubted fact that Byron, Rousseau, St. Simon and Ruskin had a share of responsibility in the triumphs and disasters with which the Cairo Conference was called on to deal. But romanticism is imponderable, and in this remarkable book, the best I have read on its subject, the author adheres closely to fact.

The book is ruthless. There are no heroes. Sentiment is held rigidly in check and no facile excuses or special pleadings are admitted: only justice. But it is not rough justice. If there is considerable debunking in certain chapters, there is no suppression of evidence for the defence, and no toleration shown to the parrot-cries of half-learned cynicism, such as have for long been loud on the subject of Arab claims. The Lawrence legend and the powerful advocacy of the late George Antonius have formed a persistent idea that during World War I the Arabs were promised untrammelled independence, and at the same time were sold behind their innoent backs to Imperial interests. This Krustchevian interpretation of history has been authoritatively contradicted many times, but never so well as here, never so unanswerably. Anyone who still believes in the betrayal of the Hashemites can now only plead ignorance as his excuse. It is perfectly true that the original proposals discussed between Sherif Hussein and Sir Henry MacMahon contained ambiguities, and were to some extent based on fallacious ideas, notably concerning the character and function of the caliphate, but long before the defeat of the Turks these had been clarified or disposed of. There is no truth in the allegation that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was concluded without adequate consultation with the Arabian princes, nor in the absurd notion (which can be found in an essay on Sir Mark Sykes by his biographer), that MacMahon was kept in ignorance of the negotiation. Rarely has a piece of history been surrounded by so much misunderstanding, and one reason for the longevity of unjust and ludicrous theories concerning the allied part in the fall of the Turkish Empire and the emergence of Arab States, is due to the remarkable fact that it was to the interest of the ablest writer on that event to make the subject as perplexing as he could.

If there is a villain in the story he is Lawrence. Nothing so effectively condemnatory has yet been written. Scrupulously fair, Mr. Kedourie does without malice what Mr. Aldington attempted with all show of spite and pique. After reading this considered and unprejudiced book it is difficult not to see Lawrence as a consistently mischievous influence, from his first mission to Arabia to his hysterical press campaign against Sir Arnold Wilson in 1921. The curious thing is that so much of the evidence for this tragic man's unreliability and untruthfulness is to be found primarily in his own writings. He was a split personality in the sense that he was conscious of his failings and tried to redeem them; but unfortunately the manner in which he sought redemption often lacked essential honesty. This comes out strongly in his own writings and in that remarkable compilation, *T. E. Lawrence by His Friends*. He was a master-spinner of words (not a great writer), and it is hard not to believe that a confused impression was one of his aims in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, the very title of which is of debatable meaning. In a key sentence Mr. Kedourie says: "The poverty of his ideas matches only the passion

with which he pursued their realization." That such a man, so manifestly unsuited to major negotiation, should have been given the great authority he enjoyed in the immediate post-war years constitutes the real mystery of T. E. L.

With Lawrence pulled from his seat, others of the mighty crash too. The most spectacular fall is that of King Feisal I. The book is stern in tone, but in dealing with this fatuous and successful man, whom several powerful people put forward (for a variety of reasons), as the hero of the Arab world; in tracing the rise, fall and resurrection of this double-dealing weakling, Mr. Kedourie cannot resist a touch of humour. His opinions are all unfashionable, and he puts forward a defence, one of the very few to be found in an English book, of the expulsion of Feisal from Damascus by the French. I find myself convinced by it. But surely Mr. Kedourie is ultimately unjust to the beautiful and absurd figure of the rethroned King. The author does not allow himself to trespass a week beyond the "vital years" of his sub-title, but should he not have indicated Feisal's later and not disreputable career as the first sovereign of Iraq?

Mr. Kedourie has regrettably little to say about the origins of the Balfour Declaration. The Zionism of Balfour and Sykes (though not of Georges Picot), is probably —indeed almost certainly—to be explained in terms of deep religious and emotional impulses; it belongs to the imponderables, and so the author, true to his mission, sternly leaves it alone. What little he does say is of great interest. He shows how the Turcophil Sir Mark Sykes could turn a perfectly logical somersault and become a champion of the people under Turkish rule. He indicates the sort of ideas which made Zionism acceptable in British eyes as part of the post-Ottoman settlement, and it is a little disturbing to find how much those ideas sometimes resembled the theories of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and surprising to find how near the classical Jewish conception of the value of Zionism is to that of G. K. Chesterton, of all improbable people. Chesterton was never anti-Jewish, but intensely, perhaps extravagantly, conscious of the merits of nationalism. This made him suspect that the Jewish position in modern European society was unhealthy. In this he was at one with all the Zionist leaders.

Always heedless of fashion, Mr. Kedourie defends the Sykes-Picot agreement, though in critical terms. His arguments are very strong and should help to revise the usual condemnatory idea which is largely Laurentian in origin. I find him somewhat harsh on the French, and I think he could have made his case stronger by recalling the European world of which Sykes and Picot were emissaries. At moments the British Government hardly cared what concessions Sykes made to the French if only he could succeed in keeping the French Government quiet. It must not be forgotten that the nightmare possibility of France abandoning the struggle was present to British political minds throughout the negotiation. Of course, when the struggle was over and Balfour and Lloyd George had to pay the bill, they minded the concessions in Syria very much indeed, and it seems to me that they allowed the idea to spread that Sykes had gone farther than they knew. This was nonsense. They were never so inept as to allow themselves to be kept uninformed at any stage. Mr. Kedourie brings a right emphasis to most of his record, but it is surprising to find him subscribing to the ungenerous idea that, despite the crucifixion which France endured in World War I, she had no Eastern claims because she had not been able to afford to send an army Eastwards. The anti-French-in-Syria prejudice dies hard, and some people argue as though Great Britain ought to have established her sovereignty through mandates over all Asia, in order to save that unhappy continent from French rapacity. I should have liked Mr. Kedourie to have demolished all such absurdities once and for all, and I think he would have done so if he had looked closer at the very curious French political interest in Syria and how it worked in Paris. The Sledmere papers have many pointers and I wish Mr. Kedourie had seen them. One thing which becomes clear in reading them is that both Sykes and Picot were sincere followers of the emerging League of Nations school. There was no cynicism in their attitude, but plenty of cynicism at home among the Ministers whom they represented. And, of course, there was always Lawrence throwing a spanner a day into the works.

This is apparently Mr. Kedourie's first book. It is such an astonishing per-

formance that we must hope he will write many more. His English is agreeable, and his aversion to the idiotic term "British" enjoyable. (Alas, Englishry here is a lost cause.) His construction is occasionally ill-balanced: too much of his Lawrence chapter is on Hogarth; too much of his Sykes chapter is on Levantism; but the narrative skill, and his scrupulous yet never tedious and never ostentatious scholarship, make this a rare book indeed.

CHRISTOPHER SYKES.

The Story of the Integration of the Indian States. By V. P. Menon. Longmans, Green. Pp. 511; Index, App., Ill., Maps. 45s.

To those familiar with India as it was, perhaps the most remarkable feature of the new régime has been the total extinction of the numerous States that formerly covered almost half its area, and the apparent ease with which this formidable task was accomplished, although previously their Rulers had shown unbending opposition to any proposals which they considered an encroachment on their sovereign rights. Mr. V. P. Menon, who, under the late Sardar Patel, played a principal part in achieving this result, has given us in the present volume an authoritative account of the policy followed by the Indian Government in bringing this about. It must inevitably therefore come to be regarded as a source book by future historians, and for that reason requires careful scrutiny.

The author has manifestly endeavoured to write objectively, but he has nevertheless not been able to free himself from nationalist bias: and the laudability of his aim, that of the unification of India, seems to have smothered his occasional doubts as to the morality of the means employed. For the step-by-step destruction of the States through a sequence of broken promises and deceptions cannot be justified even on grounds of necessity, as, with a little more patience and goodwill, a compromise could undoubtedly have been evolved whereby the bigger States at least could have continued their separate existence, it being left to time to bring about their closer union.

Mr. Menon first gives a short account of the relations previously existing between the British Government of India and the States; he next describes the various efforts made during the British régime to fit them into the new India that was evolving; he then goes on to reveal the methods employed to induce the States to accede to the Indian Dominion; and in subsequent chapters he explains how the different States were finally integrated in all respects with the rest of India. Chapters IV and V are the kernel of the book.

The publishers assert that the present work reveals *for the first time* how the political and administrative consolidation of the country was brought about so swiftly and so peacefully. This is not correct, as the basic facts are contained in the White Paper published by the Indian Government in March, 1950; and the same field was covered more succinctly by the present reviewer in the January and April numbers of the *Quarterly Review* of 1952. Mr. Menon's book, however, fills in many details, and is of special value in that it sets forth in each case the justification as conceived by the Government of India, for their action.

The fundamental document regarding the States from which all future action stemmed, was the Cabinet Mission's "Memorandum on States Treaties and Paramountcy" (p. 66), published on May 12, 1946, as the policy indicated therein was endorsed by the then British Government, and by Congress (p. 73), Mr. Nehru himself declaring on behalf of the latter, that *the Cabinet Mission plan was accepted by them in full with all its implications.* The main feature of this document was the declaration that with the coming of Indian independence, paramountcy would cease to be exercised by His Majesty's Government, and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power would return to them leaving them free to make their own political arrangements with the successor government(s). It is also stated (p. 497, para. 2), although not referred to by Mr. Menon, that *the British Government could not, and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.*

This, it may be noted, was categorically emphasized in the course of the parliamentary debate on the Indian Independence Bill in July, 1947, both by the Prime

Minister, who stated that *with the ending of the Treaties and Agreements the States regain their independence*, and by the Secretary of State for India, who declared that with the lapse *of paramountcy the States would be entirely free to choose whether to associate with one or other of the Dominion Governments, or to stand alone, and His Majesty's Government would not use the slightest pressure to influence their momentous and voluntary decision.*

The freedom of action of the States, save for such compulsions as were inherent in their geographic or economic situation, was therefore intended to be absolute. Yet, in disregard of their unequivocal acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan, from the moment Congress came up against the implications of the lapse of paramountcy, which apparently (p. 85) at first they had not fully appreciated, they proceeded to evade the consequences of their acceptance, and their subsequent declarations were designed to coerce the States into accession to the Indian Dominion (pp. 78, 79, 85, 86, 87, 91, etc.). Furthermore, the installation of the States Department prior to the transfer of power, the taking over of the Residencies in the States on August 14, 1947, the demand for the former records of the Political Department, and the retention of the Crown Representative's Police, a body required solely for the discharge of the oblilgations of paramountcy, showed clearly the insincerity of their intentions, as they were expressly *not* the inheritors of paramountcy. Lord Mountbatten as a result of advancing the date of the hand-over on his own initiative by some ten months, had left himself only six weeks, amongst his multifarious other duties, to deal with the immensely intricate problem of cutting the Gordian knot of the Government of India's relations with the States, the product of some two centuries of mutual readjustments. He had little chance, therefore, of adequately familiarizing himself with the background. At his meeting wth the Princes on June 2, 1947, he emphasized that negotiations by the States *could be made on a basis of complete freedom* (pp. 80, 81). The discussion, in which Mr. Nehru played a leading part, is of great interest (pp. 86-91) as it suggests a profound and probably wilful misconception on his part of the nature of paramountcy, and of the functions of the Political Department; and he insisted (p. 87), despite all the evidence to the contrary, that the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum did not justify the claims of the States to independence.

In numerous references the author betrays his prejudice against the Political Department (pp. 11, 24, 40, 44, 54, 56, 79, 85, 86, 106, 113, 130, 155, 156). For he must have known that in any question of common concern the Political Department used to work in close co-operation with the other Government Departments concerned, and the relevant files passed freely to and fro between them. No question of importance was ever decided without the approval of the Crown Representative as head of the Department, and of the Secretary of State for India. The Department worked, moreover, under clearly laid down instructions, and was therefore altogether precluded from pursuing a separate and obscurantist policy of its own, as the author's remarks would seem to suggest.

In his comments (p. 37) on the federation negotiations with the States, the author's bias is evident. It had been appreciated by the Political Department from the beginning that individual bargaining was not a practicable method to employ for securing the adhesion of the States, and that in the case of each federal item the maximum concessions that could be made to any State would have to be determined in advance. This was not consequent on the Secretary of State's suggestion. It was obvious, moreover, from the start of the negotiations that the aggregate content of accession would have to be approximately the same for all the States, variations being allowed only where special circumstances necessitated this.

The principle of *status quo*, to which the author alludes disparagingly, was accepted even by the Finance Department of the Government of India as just, having regard to the circumstances of the States concerned, and as the only means of solving existing difficulties. On p. 40 he suggests that the Political Department backed unnecessarily extravagant demands of the Rulers. It should be remembered that Political Officers were expressly prohibited from bringing any pressure to bear on the Ruling Princes in this matter and so could not stop the flow of demands. But the Political Department supported no demand for which it did not consider there was justification; and the contrary view is that if some of the officers, like the

author, who had opportunity to note their views on the relevant files, had been a little more realistic, and a little less resistant to the proposals put forward, the negotiations could have been speeded up, in which case, as delay was a major cause of failure, federation might have gone through, and India been spared from its subsequent convulsions. In retrospect, any of the concessions asked for and refused would probably have been a small price to pay for maintaining the unity of India.

Another travesty of what happened, which reveals the same bias, is seen on p. 155. There never was any suggestion of the political integration of the Bastar State with Hyderabad. What was under consideration was a project for an agreement between the two States, whereby the iron ore of the one could be brought into conjunction with the coal of the other to form a great steel industry which might perhaps in time rival Tatanagar. This would have been to the mutual benefit of *both* States. The scheme had been under prolonged scrutiny in the Political Department and the Government of India, and was nearing finalization at the time of the hand-over, so it was anything but hurried. What was hurried, however, was Sardar Patel's intervention to stop matters proceeding further. Whether this was done at the instance of competing interests, or because of objection to a potentially independent country like Hyderabad establishing a major industry, it is impossible to say.

The most important feature of the present book, however, is Mr. Menon's unwitting exposure of the duplicity of the methods pursued by the Government of India in its dealings with the Rulers. At first it proceeded warily and adopted the author's suggestion (p. 97) of beguiling in the Rulers by asking for accession on only the three subjects of defence, external affairs and communications. Mr. Menon pointed out that, provided no financial or other commitments were asked for, the States might not be unwilling to consider the proposal, as they had not exercised these powers during the period of British ascendency. The motives underlying this proposal are explained on pages 97 and 112. How far from candid the Government of India was in revealing its real intentions will be apparent from what follows. The author's proposals were approved by Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel, and the support of Lord Mountbatten was enlisted. The new States Department then issued a statement on July 5, 1947, on the lines suggested by the author. It said: "The States have already accepted the basic principle that for defence, foreign affairs, and communications they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the country are involved." It went on to stress that the *relations of the new Department with the States would not be conducted in any manner which savoured of the domination of one over the other.* Yet the cloven hoof was not long in showing itself. For on the following day Sardar Patel announced that whoever denounced agreements between the States and the Government of India on matters of common concern took responsibility for the consequences (p. 100); while in his conversation with the Maharaja of Patiala, the acting Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes (p. 107), Mr. Menon himself was also minatory. Lord Mountbatten, addressing the Chamber of Princes on July 25 for the first and last time in his capacity as Crown Representative, devoted all his great powers of persuasion to advocating the accession of the Rulers on the three subjects indicated. He assured them that accession on these *involved no financial liability and that in other matters there would be no encroachment on their sovereignty.* This he followed up by a great reception in the Viceroy's House, in which he went out of his way to show where his sympathies lay, *vide* the author's description on p. 113.

The guaranteed freedom of choice was not, however, very apparent in the subsequent talks held with the Diwan of Travancore (p. 114), the Nawab of Bhopal (p. 118), and the Maharajas of Jodhpur (p. 116) and Indore (p. 119). On the contrary, every form of moral pressure was employed. The eulogy (p. 122) of Maharaja Sir Sadul Singh of Bikanir for his "patriotic" lead to the other Rulers is ludicrous to those who know the background. Sadul Singh, as heir-apparent, had for many years been on bad terms with his distinguished father the late Sir Ganga Singh, and was burning to show his own individuality by pursuing a divergent policy. Sardar Panikkar, his talented and astute Chief Minister, who was a strong adherent of Congress, was able to take advantage of this, and induced him to take the lead

in breaching the solidarity of the Princes, a fatal step which conduced greatly to the ultimate destruction of the whole Order. Sadul Singh unfortunately did not live to see the full effect of his short-sighted action.

It is necessary now to consider what happened after accession. In the case of Junagarh, Mr. Nehru repudiated the Ruler's decision to join Pakistan, and stated that the Government of India would abide by the verdict of the *people* of Junagarh in respect of accession. This was a clear example of breach of the pledge of non-interference in the States. Lord Mountbatten also brought his influence to bear on the Ruler's decision. Pressure was increased, moreover, by stationing Indian troops round the borders of Junagarh, by attempting to recognize two feudatories of Junagarh as independent States entitled to accede to India in their own right, and by allowing Mr. Gandhi's son to form a rival provisional government of the State.

In the negotiations of December, 1947, preceding the forced merger of the Orissa and Chatisgarh States, the bullying tactics of Sardar Patel moved even the author to protest that these were contrary to the previous assurances given in Patel's own statement of July 5, 1947, and Lord Mountbatten's address to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947. This must count for righteousness on Mr. Menon's part, although his protest was ineffective, as Sardar Patel, in the face of all opposition, insisted on the merger, on the ground that *the compulsion of events had brought about altered circumstances*, a formula which would justify the breach of almost any agreement. This illustrates the worthlessness of the promises made to the Rulers. On p. 167 further examples of coercion are given. It has to be borne in mind that the break-down of law and order in some of these Orissa States was primarily due to Congress agitation, which could be whipped up or called off at will, as justification therefore for the interference of the Congress government it cannot be accepted. Throughout the negotiations with the States the story was the same, covert threats as to what would follow non-accession, and in some cases forceful action. For the surrender of individual Princes was by no means always so easily obtained as the author's narrative might lead one to infer.

Quite one of the Government of India's most arbitrary and least justified acts of interference in a State was the division of Sirohi into two and the allocation of the Abu portion to Gujerat entirely against the wishes of the local population, Sirohi has always been part of Rajputana, and the people speak Hindi, not Gujerati. The fact that it was coveted by the people of Ahmedabad and other Gujerati towns as a hill station was no ground for making any change. The real reason according to local report was that Sardar Patel, himself a Gujerati, wanted Abu, the only hill station in that part of the world, to be incorporated in the new province of Maha Gujerat which he was then scheming to form.

The military invasion of Hyderabad, which the Indian Government has since continuously endeavoured to disguise by labelling it as a "police action," and the destruction of its independence are known to all the world, although the full story will not be available until the Hyderabad version of what happened is published. The Nizam, while willing to yield by treaty everything India could want except his status as an independent Ruler, would not for that reason agree to accession to the Indian Dominion. The Government of India nevertheless, despite all its pledges of non-interference, insisted on this, even to the length of armed invasion by two or more divisions of troops. It was quite clear from the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum and the connected declarations of His Majesty's Government that when British paramountcy was withdrawn, Hyderabad became an independent State. The Indian representative, nevertheless, had the hardihood to argue before U.N.O. that the dispute was a domestic one on the ground that Hyderabad was not independent and had no status in international law to seek the intervention of U.N.O. In view of the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum, this was an astonishing perversion of the position, and the fact that U.N.O. should have acquiesced tacitly in the forcible extinction of Hyderabad's independence is a striking example of its futility. Hyderabad was a country with an individual culture of its own, of approximately the same population as Turkey or Egypt. Not merely has Hyderabad's independence been extinguished, but the very State itself has now been wiped off the map, as the whole of its territory has been divided up amongst the three bordering Indian units and the Nizam has been forced to retire into private

life. A very great wrong has been perpetrated, and if ever there was a case which seemed to call for investigation by U.N.O. observers this was one.

There is no space here to do more than mention the sorry record, of equivocation and backsliding by Mr. Nehru's Government over his promise to submit the accession of Kashmir to the plebiscite (pp. 412 *et seq.*). The attempt on p. 413 to show that the attitude of the Government of India had always been consistent on the question of accession, while that of Pakistan had not, is a strange piece of self-deception on the author's part. For it is the exact opposite of the truth, which is that India, by its refusal to agree to the Junagarh Ruler's accession to Pakistan without a referendum to the people, lost any right to claim that accession by the Kashmir Ruler, without subsequent confirmation by a plebiscite, had any validity; but this Mr. Nehru has obstinately refused to permit on one untenable excuse after another and in defiance of the requests of U.N.O.

The final, but perhaps the major, breach of faith with the States which calls for comment is their enforced financial integration with India (p. 456) in contravention of the most explicit promises made to them in this regard at the time of accession. Even the privy purse allotment made to them in return for the surrender of their sovereignty (p. 477) is now being questioned (p. 487), and the Rulers are reported to have been asked privately to consent to a reduction of their allotments on the ground that Indian public opinion will not continue to tolerate them at their present level. The author refers to India as *a nation aspiring to give a moral lead to the world*. From what has been said above, its success in this respect is not conspicuous.

As it would be wrong to allow a book of this importance to escape correction where tendentious or mis-informed, the reviewer has perforce concentrated above on criticizing what he regards as its faults. This is not, however, to say that it has not many merits which will be apparent to anyone who reads it, and if allowance is made for the bias of a writer with the author's background, it is undoubtedly a good and competent piece of work. Perhaps, nevertheless, its greatest interest to many will lie in its detailed revelation of the bad faith of the Indian Government in its dealings with the States, thus providing a touchstone for testing the sincerity of the moral homilies with which Mr. Nehru likes to regale the rest of the world.

A. C. LOTHIAN.

Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. Vol. I, 1535-1914, pp. 286; Vol. II, 1914-56. By J. C. Hurewitz. Pp. 421 and index. Pub. by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.; Macmillan, London. 84s. complete.

Students of the Middle East will be grateful to Professor Hurewitz. In two volumes he has assembled the texts or English translations of over two hundred documents dealing with the major international issues in the Middle East between 1535 and 1955. Each text is preceded by a historical note.

In compiling his work the author was necessarily faced with a number of problems. He has entitled it "Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East," but what in terms of documents is comprised in the word "diplomacy"? Here he has wisely allowed himself a wide interpretation and included many documents that are not strictly diplomatic. The reader will find in it, for example, Disraeli's defence in Parliament of his purchase of the Khedive's Suez Canal shares and, again, Lord Curzon's great analysis of British policy and interests in Persia and the Persian Gulf. The inclusion of such important records must, however, have made the difficulty of selection still greater. What, indeed, are the two hundred-odd most essential documents to cover a period of over four hundred years? Some of those included seem comparatively trivial and others might have been cut down. For example, the agreement of friendship and commerce of 1946 between the United States and the Yemen is of small interest, and the lengthy agreements on oil might have been pruned to what is essential. In other cases, documents of importance have been omitted. Thus the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly providing for repatriation or compensation for the Palestine refugees has been relegated to a note and so finds no place in the table of contents.

An inevitable limitation to a work of this kind is that it is impossible to include

all that is needed for the thorough study of any one subject. The collection cannot be exhaustive, as the author acknowledges in his introduction. More important is the absence of maps. Many of the documents are concerned with frontier disputes, but without maps it is difficult to follow their significance.

These deficiencies are to some extent compensated by the excellent historical notes. Nevertheless, a brief note, however ably compiled, cannot tell the whole story. We are told, for example, over the partition of Palestine, that " the Assembly adopted the proposal, with some modification, on 29 November, 1947." We are not told how this adoption was brought about, though its repercussions have endured to this day. The notes are for the most part admirably objective. Only occasionally will the British reader raise his eyebrows. It is hardly fair comment to say that the Chamberlain government in 1939 followed the line of least resistance in Palestine. Any line followed in Palestine in 1939 would have encountered maximum resistance from some quarter. The powers of resistance of international Jewry are at least as great as those of the Arabs. It is again a little surprising to learn that " neither issue (i.*e.*, the agreements with Egypt on the Sudan and the Suez Base) might have been settled satisfactorily or with such relative speed, had it not been for the persistent and tactful mediation of American Ambassador Jefferson Caffery."

Yet, when all has been said, a great debt is owed to Professor Hurewitz. Here in two volumes will be found essential documents on the Middle East which, till now, have had to be searched for in many collections. Some of the documents, too, are now published in English for the first time.

J. T.

Les Kurdes: Etude Sociologique et Historique. By Basile Nikitine. Paris Librarie Klinksieck. 1956. 8vo, paper; 360 pp., 15 maps, 12 plates. Preface by Professor Louis Massignon.

The *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* is to be congratulated on their perspicacity in sponsoring this important book at a moment when a competent survey of the complex Kurdish problem can prove useful to students of contemporary events in the Middle East. Professor Basile Nikitine, once member of the Imperial Russian Foreign Service and Consul at Urmia during World War I, has devoted many years to the study of Kurdish history, sociology and folklore. On the same subject, during the last thirty years, there have been valuable contributions from Mr. C. S. Edmunds, Professor R. Lescot, Professor V. Minorsky, Mr. A. Safrastian and Colonel Nazmi Sevgen (unpublished), but Professor Nikitine is the first to bring together into one volume a survey of the several aspects of Kurdish studies. Further, his numerous footnotes and sixteen pages of bibliography bring to the attention of the curious the wide range of books and periodical articles on the subject in a number of languages (including Arabic, Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish).

It is pleasant to note that the Russian scholar pays tribute to the works of E. B. Soane, and to that adventurous (and forgotten) spirit, Captain H. Dixon, some time H.B.M. Consul in Van, whose rare contributions were printed in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* and *The Gun at Home and Abroad* (probably the best paper ever written on ibex in Kurdistan and elsewhere).

In a brief review it is not possible to do more than note the contents of this book. In Chap. I, Professor Nikitine surveys the origins and linguistic and anthropological characteristics of the Kurds. While he recognizes that the dialects spoken by the Kurds are Iranian, and accepts Minorsky's thesis that a substantial element among the Kurds are of Medic descent, the author favours also the late Professor Marr's theory that a substantial substratum of the population of Kurdistan is of autochthonous origin. Certainly, Minorsky's " Median " thesis does not bring us back beyond the first millennium B.C., and Marr's so-called " Japhetides " who are linked with the primitive population of the Caucasus and, in fact, of the whole highland zone including Anatolia and Iran, doubtless included several anthropological types and varied linguistic groups. In this connection, reference may be made to the Zazas of Dersim. Professor Nikitine (p. 163) notes among " types of this people whom he

had met" a large proportion with blue eyes and fair hair. I myself observed a predominance of small, dark men among the Zazas, and it would seem as difficult to generalize about these Dersim communities as it is about the Gaels. Further research may identify the dark element among the Zazas with the Azzi of Pontus, who seem to have shifted southward into the Dersim massif during the eastern campaigns of the Hittite Kings towards the end of the second millennium B.C.

After a suggestive geographical survey (Chap. II), Professor Nikitine devotes several chapters to the way of life of the Kurds (occupations, usages and customs; family life, habitations, costumes, food, role of the woman, family rites). There follows a study of tribal structure, position of the chief, and economic conditions.

The historical survey (Chaps. VII-X), while competent, is rather briefly sketched, and it is to be regretted that Professor Nikitine was compelled, by the exigencies of publishing, to compress the mass of original material which he has collected on this subject. The treatment of the modern period is, on the whole, objective, and few will criticize a distinguished Russian for presenting Russian policy in a not unfavourable light. If it is not possible to agree with all Professor Nikitine's conclusions, explicit and implicit, the views of this veteran scholar merit close study and respect. In the present writer's view, Kurdish history can be understood only by reference to the situation of the Celtic peoples over the last half of the eighteenth century. Not numerous in demographic terms, and divided between several States, the Celts (like the Kurds) failed to pass from the tribal to the feudal and then to the urban-industrial states of society. Any effective combination on a national basis was inhibited by the rivalries of tribal chieftains; and manifestations of political initiative took the curious form of royalist movements in favour of deposed suzerain dynasties. (The Jacobite wars of the Irish and Scots and the Chouan movement among the Bretons may be compared with the support for the Caliphate and the deposed Ottoman dynasty among the Kurds of Anatolia in the 1920s and 1930s and the several gestures in favour of the Kajars among the Persian Kurds.)

The map of the "ideal" Kurdistan prepared by the Kurdish nationalists for submission to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and printed by Professor Nikitine (at p. 205) is interesting and indeed significant, in view of Soviet support for Kurdish pretensions, and the present Kurdish "build-up" in Syria.* At the same time, it is clear that the conception of an independent Kurdish State, sponsored by the Soviets, can be of prime danger to the Kurds themselves, and the tribesmen of the borderlands of Turkey, Persia and Iraq would be the first to suffer in any conflagration. While the tribal system of the Kurds has been gradually disintegrating during the last few decades, the present generation of Kurds is participating in increasing degree in the new economies of Iraq, Persia and Turkey, while their intellectuals are taking an active part in political life.† It can, perhaps, be said that the combination of historical, geographical and social conditions which make possible the establishment of a national State does not exist in the special circumstances of the historical development of the human groups speaking dialects of the Kurdish language. (Compare the concept of a "Celtic State" to be formed out of Brittany, Wales, the Irish Republic and the Scottish Highlands!)

Only brief reference can be made to the most original and important section of Professor Nikitine's work: on the spiritual life of the Kurds, covering religion and literature. Students of comparative religion and of the history of the early Middle Eastern cultures will find a mass of erudite information on a variety of subjects in the final hundred pages of this book.

W. E. D. Allen.

* Both Khalit Bagdash, the Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, and Colonel Saraj, the military dictator, are Kurds; and the active cadres of the Syrian Communist Party built up by Bagdash have been substantially recruited from among the Kurdish elements in Damascus and Aleppo.

† The present Foreign Minister of Persia, Mr. Ardelan, is of princely Kurdish stock; Mr. Cihat Baban, and other deputies of Kurdish origin, are prominent in the Turkish Democratic Party; and Kurdish personalities are well known in Iraqi politics.

Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan.. By Fredrik Barth. Sketch maps and photographs. Øslo: Brødrene Jorgensen a/s—Boktrykkeri, 1953. 9¼ + 6¼ inches; 146 pages.

This book is the record of eight months of study in the *liwas* of Kirkuk and Sulaimani (Iraq) by a young Scandinavian anthropologist. As far as the present reviewer is aware it is only the second report of the kind on the Kurds hitherto published (in English at any rate), the first being a monograph entitled *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds*, by E. R. Leach, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, which appeared in 1940.

For some years now the Colonial Office and various Colonial Governments have encouraged and provided facilities for their servants to take courses in anthropology. Members of this Society who started their careers in Asia under less enlightened dispensations will follow with interest the processes of a professional as he submits the familiar phenomena of a not untypical Middle-Eastern society to methodical analysis, classification, and labelling in the technical terminology of his discipline. Now and then, however, they are likely to wonder whether the scientific method is not being ridden to death: for instance, when the friendly gesture of a bricklayer at work on his host's house, who interrupted his work to bring the guest a cup of tea, is explained not simply as an example of the courtesy that comes so naturally to Middle-Eastern peoples in every station of life, but as a manifestation of "the universal application of status difference, and the resulting lack of conceptualization of 'the office,' as apart from the total person occupying it at any one moment."

The study of a society like that of Kurdistan must be full of pitfalls for any young investigator who is not at the same time something of an orientalist. An interpreter is at best a poor substitute for a knowledge of the language. Islam is not only a religion and a legal code, but also a whole social system which enters into the minutest details of private life; conditions and practices which are essentially Islamic must be clearly distinguished from those peculiar to the locality under study. Another desideratum is a knowledge of the actual provisions of the statute law relating to land.

In part compensation for any handicap in these respects Mr. Barth had the good fortune to spend much of his time as the guest of a Kurdish graduate of Colombia University, a son of Shaikh Mahmud, the leading religious personality and one of the largest landowners of the whole region. He goes carefully into the political organization of tribal and non-tribal communities, the institution of the blood feud, the composition of individual households, agricultural and pastoral practice, and, of course, the impact of kinship and marriage (the breath of life for all anthropologists) on these and other facets of Kurdish society; there are also studies of the religious classes and "the village scene." He is to be congratulated on a valuable and timely piece of work. But, as Mr. Barth himself points out, these inquiries having been conducted over a limited field and in a comparatively short space of time, many of the statements and conclusions set out in this book require further investigation or verification on the spot. In the meantime there are one or two points of fact which may perhaps be made with advantage from a desk in England.

For his study of tribal organization, the author has taken the Jaf and the Hamawand. The section on the former is very well done; the treatment of the second is rather less certain, perhaps owing to a difference in the intelligence of the informants. The Hamawand, once the most famous fighting tribe of Southern Kurdistan, migrated early in the eighteenth century from near Kirmanshah to the districts of Chamchamal and Bazyan. The ruling family of true Hamawand claims descent from a common ancestor, Khwadê, who may have flourished about the time of the first migration, and is divided into four branches; three of these are descended and take their names from three of the four sons of Khwadê, Ramawand from Ramazan, Safarwand from Safar, and Rashawand from Rashid; the most numerous branch springs from the other son, Yadgar, but is known as Begzada. Several minor clans accompanied the Hamawand on their first migration; two others already established in the district remained to become clients of the formidable

settlers. The Bablawand inhabitants of one of the villages studied were thus not "derived from the Rashawand in unspecified fashion," but were members of one of the satellite clans with an Agha of the Rashawand set over them in the manner well described under the heading "Composite Communities" in a later section of the same chapter.

A more serious error, which compromises part at any rate of the ingenious argument, occurs in the chapter dealing with "Religious Categories." The author repeats several times that in Kurdistan a Shaikh is a descendant of the Prophet, and this initial mistake leads him on to seek to establish a distinction between Shaikhs and Saiyids as follows: "A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name of Sayyid by Kurdish villagers; whereas the Kurdish Shaikhs claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering Sayyids are more variable." The facts are, of course, that the title "Saiyid" is applied to any descendant of the Prophet through his daughter who married the Imam Ali whatever his station or calling, whereas the status and title of Shaikh are acquired by a religious teacher of a certain eminence within one of the dervish orders, without regard to his biological antecedents. The sons of Shaikhs are addressed as Shaikh, but they cannot, by reason of birth alone, become teachers and initiate neophytes into the order. Saiyids may, and in the nature of things frequently do, qualify in this way as Shaikhs; the family of Shaikh Mahmud is an example. On the other hand, one of the most famous of all Kurdish Shaikhs, Maulana Khalid, who introduced the Naqshbandi order into Kurdistan, was a Jaf of the Mika'ili clan; others in the neighbourhood are the influential Shaikhs of Tawêla and Biyara on the Persian border, and the Talabani Shaikhs of Kirkuk and Gil, both of local tribal stock.

But slips such as these should not be allowed to obscure the very real value of this painstaking work. Barth, and Leech before him, have blazed a trail through interesting country. It is much to be hoped that some member of the Society with a measure of training in both anthropology and oriental studies, and the prospect of a stay to be reckoned in years rather than months, will be stimulated to carry on the survey, even if only as a hobby for his spare time.

C. J. E.

Four Studies on the History of Central Asia. By V. V. Barthold. Translated from the Russian by V. and T. Minorsky. Volume I. E. J. Brill, Leiden. 1956. pp. xvi + 183. Chronological table and index. 30s.

V. V. Barthold was one of the very greatest of orientalists or, as Professor Minorsky rightly points out, oriental historians, for it was essentially history and historical research to which Barthold applied his great knowledge and talents. It is all the more extraordinary that his works, some four hundred in number, are so little known in the West and more particularly in Britain, and no British encyclopædia contains any account of them or of the man himself. Apart from the present work, only two of his books are mentioned by Professor Minorsky as having been translated into English—*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* and a short book on Islamic culture. In addition to these there is a little known English translation of Barthold's *Iran* done by G. K. Nariman and published in Bombay.

Professor and Mrs. Minorsky are to be congratulated on making this valuable example of Barthold's historical research available to the English-speaking public. The first volume contains two of four studies, namely a *Short History of Turkestan* and a *History of the Semirechye*. The second volume, containing the remaining two studies on Ulugh-beg and Mir 'Ali Shir, is now in the press. Professor Minorsky says in his foreword that "Barthold is not an easy writer to read," and this is something of an understatement; in spite of the great interest of the subject matter of these studies and the authority and scholarship of the writer, they are extremely difficult to assimilate. The translators' diffidence in going further than they have to simplify and lifhten Barthold's style is understood and appreciated, but there is

clearly scope for the production on the basis of Barthold's research of more readable history of these little-known regions.

The Soviet attitude towards this great scholar is of considerable interest. Barthold was forty-eight at the time of the Revolution and already established as Russia's leading orientalist. He remained in Russia and pursued his researches without taking any part in politics. Naturally his background and outlook prevented him from associating himself wholeheartedly with the new historical theories introduced under the Soviet régime, and from time to time he was strongly criticized. The first edition of the Soviet Encyclopædia (1926) contains only a very brief article which describes him as "one of the most prominent modern orientalists" and contains nothing derogatory. The second edition (1956) contains a far longer article which, while recognizing his achievements as a scholar, attacks him for his "bourgeois" outlook and criticizes him for supposing that it is outstanding historical personalities who make history rather than the people, and also for "under-estimating the role and importance of Russian historical science and of individual Russian orientalists." In a book on Islamic studies in the U.S.S.R. by N. A. Smirnov, published in 1954, however, a handsome tribute is paid to Barthold's scholarship and work and only perfunctory mention made of his "bourgeois" attitude. For understandable reasons, Barthold no doubt refrained from giving full rein to his historical theories after the Revolution, but there is no evidence that he subscribed to any theories which he believed to be false. Some of his most unpopular conclusions have since been accepted. For instance, in the *Short History of Turkestan*, he wrote (p. 67) that "it would be a mistake to suppose that the Russian conquerors found in Turkestan nothing but barbarity and no cultural activity which they might foster. At the time of the conquest the economic welfare of the greater part of Turkestan was much higher than it had been a century earlier." Until quite recently, Soviet policy has dictated the view that in the century preceding the Russian conquest of Turkestan, there was a complete absence of any kind of economic or cultural progress. But in June, 1956, in an article in *Voprosy Istorii* (Problems of History), O. D. Chekhovich strongly condemned this theory and associated himself —and by implication the official point of view—with Barthold's theory quoted above.

The principle adopted by Professor Minorsky for the spelling of proper names is not entirely satisfactory. With the object of avoiding irritation to the reader, he has only occasionally given the accurate transliteration of names in the text. This would be helpful if the correct transliteration could invariably be found in the index, but unfortunately this is not so.

G. W.

Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought. Edited by Ernest J. Simmons. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. $7.50. London: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. 554; index.

The Bolshevik Revolution was originally deemed by its instigators to denote a new epoch in Russian history: in accordance with this view measures were taken to liquidate the old order and provide a basis for that new civilization preordained by Marxism. Subsequently, the development of the Soviet Union was thought to necessitate refurbishing some aspect or other of the discredited past, with which an element of continuity was now officially recognized. The purpose of this book is to get behind the screen of ensuing casuistry and historical opportunism to determine the extent to which the original Bolshevik claim can be sustained—whether, in fact, Soviet culture makes a radical break with that of the Tsars. To this end six major themes of study were chosen, and specialists in Russian studies concentrated their research on crucial aspects of each theme. The results were discussed in conference, and consequently modified where necessary. The twenty-six essays in this volume, therefore, represent the versions finally arrived at, from which the relevant aspects are further brought out in reviews of the individual contributions. The result of this procedure is not to establish a series of ready answers to the questions entailed by the title, but, rather, to provide valuable insights into the nature of Russia, by raising

questions as to its interpretation. In addition, each essay is an interesting monograph on its particular topic.

Broadly, however, the project involved examining the rôle of the "intelligentsia"—that class of self-conscious brokers of ideas in society, dedicated to its improvement, which is now a universal phenomenon but is of specifically Russian origin. This study establishes that the connection between Soviet culture and the past is not, as officially proclaimed, a linear extension of "progressive" elements under Tsardom—in spite of obvious affinities between, say, the æsthetic theories of Chernishevsky and Lunarcharsky—but, rather, involves a whole complex of ideas and attitudes taken from all aspects of Tsarist intellectual life—Legitimist, Populist, Slavophil, Orthodox and so on. It is an unquestioned assumption of Dostoevsky, Slavophils, as well as of contemporary Soviet theorists, that Russians possess some particular quality of virtue inaccessible to other races. There is little discernible difference between Belinsky's contention that the essence of Russian national character is its unique power of understanding the fragmentary qualities of other nations, and Fadeyev's, that the national aims of the Soviet people essentially coincide with the international aims of humanity. Both views justify Russian intellectual hegemony, and deny the possibility of Russia's acting from inferior motives. Similarly, Tsarist and Communist intellectuals treat the problem of the individual and society in much the same way—both see no real antithesis between the two entities and in cases where, theoretically, opposition arises, agree that the claims of society are prior. Marxist theory about class dictatorship had to deal with no thoroughgoing individualism but only a long-standing acceptance of the community, as the sole repository of wisdom and guidance. Much of Tsarist, as well as Communist, thought is explicitly anti-Western. Although under Tsardom, hostility to the West was diffused among various sections, and took various forms, it was habitually founded on two assumptions: the degeneracy of the West and the moral superiority of Russia. By inference, any clash between the two represented not a political contest but a struggle between irreconcilable principles of life and society. In this context the idealization of Soviet democracy as the only "true" democracy, the continual repetition of Russia's "services" to mankind, in "saving" the Western peoples from the consequences of their own inferior ideas, clearly exemplify a line of thought long congenial to the Russian mind.

This volume shows that it is in this manner that continuity is to be established between the thought of Tsarist and Soviet Russia, rather than by the formal projection of radical doctrines from one period to the other.

Equally, these essays establish certain far-reaching differences. The nineteenth-century "intelligentsia" and present-day Communists are not engaged in the same kind of mental activity, since the former, at least in theory, were prepared to heed evidence, which was the more readily available since the censorship, negative in purpose, was mitigated by inefficiency. Under Communism, however, thinkers are compelled to restrict their theorizing within the Soviet version of Marxism. Similarly, the presuppositions of Tsarist government were authoritarian, not totalitarian. Pobiedonostsev believed that original sin demanded physical sanctions for the maintenance of order, but he was not concerned with creating a New Man, as Stalin and Zhdanov were.

Thus it is not simply the case that New Communist is old Russian, "*writ large.*"

This fruitful analysis of Russian culture is marked by exact scholarship and judicious editing, so that the result is of value not only for the study of Communism, but of the history of ideas and their power in social action. MAURICE PEARTON.

Caucasian Review, 2. Published by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., Munich. 1956. Pp. 159; 2 maps and numerous illustrations. 8vo. Paper.

The second number of *Caucasion Review* maintains the promise of the first. It is, unfortunately, a slimmer volume, but it has plenty of meat in it. There are several original contributions from Circassians (Cherkesses), and it is good to see the obscure history and the literature and folklore of this ancient people preserved and interpreted by members of the emigration. (One of them, Chingis Guirey, an officer in the American army, has recently published a "best-seller"—*The Shadow of Power.*)

The leading Circassian historian, Aytek Namitok, writes a useful commentary on the history of Russo-Circassian relations since the time of Ivan IV (who married a Kabardan princess). Namitok's references to a Circassian stratum in the population of the Ukraine and the Cossack lands confirm older views on this subject.

R. Adighe has a long article on "Cherkess Cultural Life" with some interesting observations on the Narts—"the legendary heroes of the ancient national epos—common to the entire Northern Caucasus." Circassian art is characterized by the geometrical style, familiar in Western Europe in a variety of Caucasian rugs. Many of these geometrical symbols seem to derive directly from neolithic times.

Referring to the Narts in a review of Kube Csaban Gebelli's *Adighe ueredizhxer* ("Ancient Cherkess Songs"), published in Damascus in 1954, A. Ashemez states that "this work is of exceptional interest to linguists studying the Cherkess language." He continues:

> "In 1955, Professor G. Dumézil and A. Namitok, translating poems from Kube Csaban's book into French, concluded that the language of the epos is basically untranslatable except by paraphrasing. Certainly it poses a number of interesting linguistic problems. The attempts of some scholars to treat these legends from a mythological, religious point of view do not exhaust the subject. The historical and ethnological aspects should be taken into account. The possibility is not excluded, for instance, that legends about the Narts are an echo of the Celto-Ligurian ethnical substratum in the Northern Caucasus. Julius Cæsar and Ptolemy knew of the Anarts in Dacia and in the Danube basin. These Anarts were considered to be a Celtic tribe. The word 'Nart' itself means, in Celtic, strong or mighty. It is not perhaps accidental that the Nart epos is reminiscent more than anything else of the Irish epos (the opinion of Professor Dumézil). . . . The publication of Nart poems in the original is therefore most important."

To Professor Bailey belongs the credit of analysing the Indo-Iranian *nrta* root, Greek *ἀνήρ*, Phrygian *anar*, Gaulish *nerto-*, Irish *nert* (which means, incidentally, "strength" and "military force"). (See Bailey's "Analecta Indoscythica," I, in *J.R.A.S.* (1953), Parts 1 and 2, pp. 103 ff.) The reader interested in possible "Celto-Ligurian" contacts with the northern Caucasus may also refer to a recent article by Robert Heine-Geldern, "Das Tocharerproblem und die Pontische Wanderung," in *Saeculum*, Band 2, Heft 2 (1951). In the amateur opinion of the reviewer, the Cimbri and the Ambrones, possibly, were the link between the Pontic world and the Ligurians and Celts of the west. If the "Narts" were Cimmerians, their enemies, the *Chints*, may be identifiable as Scyths.

R. Karcha treats the modern history of the Caucasian mountaineers in a sombre article on "Genocide in the Northern Caucasus." Weighty articles by K. P. Kandelaki, the Minister for Trade and Industry in the Georgian Democratic Republic overrun by the Soviets in 1921, by Mirza Bala, the distinguished columnist of the Istanbul newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, and by V. Djabagui, analyse aspects of the Soviet régime in Caucasia. The last writer quotes with effect the words of A. Enukidze, the celebrated Georgian Communist liquidated by Stalin in 1937:

> "We wish, Enukidze said, to lead our peoples towards national independence, national greatness and national freedom. Such was our agreement with Lenin and it was thus laid down in our pact with the Party already before the October Revolution. But this agreement has not been honoured and our borders have been transformed into Moscow's slave-owning colonies."

All three articles cited above should be circulated widely in the naïve political circles of the contemporary Arab world.

There are interesting articles on the history of the Armenian theatre and on the decline of opera in Azerbaijan, a useful chronicle of events and valuable bibliographical notices.

Under obituaries we note the death at the age of seventy-two, of General Dro (D. Kanayan), a heroic figure of the Caucasian campaigns of World War I, and of Colonel Sultan Kadir Guirey, a Circassian, who had for many years successfully run a riding school in New York.

W. E. D. ALLEN.

Islam and Russia. A detailed analysis of An Outline of the History of Islamic Studies in the U.S.S.R. By N. A. Smirnov. With an Introduction by Anne K. S. Lambton, O.B.E., D.Lit., Professor of Persian in the University of London. Issued by the Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford. 12s. 6d.

This is undoubtedly an admirable analysis. The whole is not over fifty pages, including a very valuable bibliography of over twenty-seven pages, thus affording all students of the subject a rich field for further investigation.

In dealing with Smirnov's historical background to the literature on Islam, Professor Anne Lambton sketches centuries of the relations between Muscovy, the Russia of Peter the Great and subsequent Tsars, with the many tribes and Muslim peoples living in the bordering States. The struggle between the nomadic elements and the settlers, the rivalries and final subjugation of the races in these eastern and south-eastern frontier States. Although she has condensed the whole, it would be impossible in a short review to do justice to her work.

She points out that Oriental studies have received special attention in Russia since the Revolution, although I can well remember meeting a celebrated Orientalist in St. Petersburg in 1911. He was just back from a journey in Asia, and I was immensely struck at the time by the deep knowledge of this man and the interest taken in his work. According to Smirnov, present-day Russia is called upon to play the rôle of teacher and leader of the peoples of the Orient, who tremble under the chains of economic and moral slavery. Moscow is to be the new Mecca; it will be the Medina of all oppressed peoples.

Professor Anne Lambton states that in the work by N. A. Smirnov we have the first relatively comprehensive account of Islamic studies in Imperial Russia and the U.S.S.R. But she also points out the emphasis is on Islam as a religion, therefore the study does not cover the broader aspects of Islamic civilization and that the author aims specifically at exposing the errors of " bourgeois " students of Islam and any errors in Soviet works on Islam.

The essence of N. A. Smirnov's conclusions on this subject reflect the Communist bias which dominates all he writes. Now this is where it completely loses its value.

To me he appears to have no understanding whatsoever of the Prophet or his teachings. Apart from that, Smirnov has also failed in his attempts to explain the origin of Islam. This is not surprising, since he is forced to make it fit in with the Communist contention that all religions are merely a superstructure imposed on society to oppress the peasants and toiling masses.

Such an approach can bring no lasting contribution to the studies of any religion or peoples and achieves nothing, nor could it convince any deep thinker. For all religions are not a " superstructure " on society to oppress, but the foundation upon which all societies are built up. But what mankind builds on these foundations is the work of mankind alone, *not* the work of God or religion.

The Communist conception of an ideal society is in reality a society built without foundations, and indeed may prove in the end—to their detriment—to be built on quicksand.

Nevertheless, Professor Anne Lambton very rightly remarks that the Communist approach to the studies of Islam may influence those masses of people in the Near and Middle East whose lives are hard and who struggle with poverty. And there lies the danger.

U. H. B.

Researches on the Comparative Grammar of the Turkic Languages. Part One —Phonetics (in Russian). Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow. 1955. Pp. 334. Rubles 14.90.

Though it is much too early to predict how far the de-Stalinization process and the " thaw " which is connected with it will go in the Soviet Union, new evidence is constantly coming to light which indicates that the rigidly dogmatic principles which have governed most aspects of Soviet life and endeavour are slowly being modified.

This is particularly true of the various fields of academic research. In the physical sciences, Soviet leaders now admit that they have much to learn from Western scientists and researchers. Lysenko has been dethroned and Soviet agriculture is openly adopting American methods. In the field of history, a great rewriting process has begun which involves a revision of the official line on World War II as well as a drastic reinterpretation of the political history of the Stalin era. Stalin's *Short Course of the History of the Communist Party* is now considered distorted and unreliable. The history of the non-Russian peoples will also be rewritten, it appears, to correct some of the excesses of the past decade when historians were regularly required to justify all manifestations of Great Russian nationalism and every excess of Tsarist generals and administrators as inherently progressive and beneficial to the peoples affected by Russian imperialist expansion.

In the field of linguistics, too, there are fresh winds blowing. Stalin's name has been practically excluded from this special preserve which he claimed for himself with such vigour in his final, most megalomaniac years.

The present book represents the first part of a comparative grammar of the Turkic languages which will apparently run to several volumes when completed. It is the work of five academicians: Baskakov, Dmitriev, Iskhakov, Palmbach and Sevortian. It appeared in the spring of 1956, having been approved for printing on November 25, 1955. Stalin's work on linguistics is cited only once, though he has the honour of the first footnote in the book. The quotation, however, could hardly be more innocuous. Stalin is merely given credit for observing that " group languages develop into tribal languages and tribal languages into national languages." With the exception of this initial quotation from Stalin, there are no references to present or past Communist leaders. Lenin, it seems, never had anything to say relevant to the comparative grammar of the Turkic languages.

Foreign sources, including the works of prominent living Western philologists, are quoted repeatedly. The introduction of the book contains a long passage paying tribute to the researches of Polish, Finnish, Swedish, French and Danish philologists in the field of Turkic linguistics.

The first paragraph of N. K. Dmitriev's introduction formulates some rather refreshing (though for a non-totalitarian society obvious) principles of academic research and implies rather self-righteously, of course, that these principles naturally flow from a Marxist (not Marxist-*Leninist*) approach to the problem:

> ". . . The authors have attempted to systematize factual scientific material in the light of Marxist linguistic methodology. . . . By attempting to apply to our task the Marxist proposition that no science can develop and flourish without conflict of opinions, without freedom of criticism, we have included in the symposium articles of different authors written on one and the same controversial theme, but from different points of view. Thus (on a certain linguistic problem) two different articles have been given which set forth different interpretations of one and the same problem. We consider that obligatory levelling of opinions on separate questions would not always be useful for the further development of science " (p. 5).

It is noteworthy that a comparative grammar of the Turkic languages is appearing at all in the Soviet Union. The present volume is the first of its kind since the Revolution. The Communists have never been eager to emphasize the unity of language or the common historical traditions which the Turkic minority nationalities of the U.S.S.R. share. Since World War II strenuous efforts have been made to emphasize the separateness of each Soviet Turkic language and to develop independent ties between each language and Russian. The book presently under discussion marks at least a partial shift from this tendency. Though the principle that gradual Russification of the Turkic languages is desirable is far from abandoned, it is at least stated with many more qualifications than before:

> " Everywhere, where possible, the rôle of the Russian language in the task of enriching the fraternal Turkic languages has been considered, though to write a comparative Turkic-Russian grammar did not enter into our assignment, and this could be the subject of special linguistic research. This circumstance, in its way, permitted us to investigate the particularly fine points of the develop-

ment of the fraternal Turkic languages during the Soviet epoch in distinction to their development in earlier periods" (p. 9).

Finally, it should be noted that the thaw in linguistics has not proceeded far enough to permit the rehabilitation, in the present work, of three Turkic languages whose speakers were deported from their home territories by General Serov's MVD-men at the end of World War II—the Karachay and the Balkars (who lived in the North Caucasus) and the Crimean Tatars. As far as this new comparative grammar of the Turkic languages is concerned, these Turkic peoples never existed.

PAUL B. HENZE.

India's Mineral Wealth. By J. Coggin Brown and A. K. Dey. Third Edition, 1955. Previous editions 1923 and 1936. Oxford University Press. Pp. xxi+761. 6″ × 8¾″ × 2¾″ (thick). 50s. net.

As ought to be expected, this is a comprehensive and seemingly exhaustive study to draw attention to the commercial and industrial potentialities of India, Pakistan and Burma. Dr. Coggin Brown was Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, now succeeded by Dr. A. K. Dey. Each useful mineral is described individually, showing its occurrence, past exploitation and future prospects. Two new chapters on Soils and Water Supplies have been added in view of the need for food production for an increasing population.

The Introduction (12 pages) records the history of development in the various provinces, mainly since 1899.

Part I, Mineral Fuels (120 pages). Part II, Metals (184 pages). Part III, Building Materials (268 pages). Part IV, Precious Stones (71 pages). Appendix, Production in 1951, 1952 and 1953. Bibliography (25 pages). 12 Maps, 8 Plates, 24 Graphs and 126 Tables.

This really valuable survey represents the joint efforts of the Government and very many really competent contributors, "in the hope that under administrations aware of their importance, information about the various problems will be forthcoming in full measure for their future development, with all that it means for the lasting advantage of the peoples of India, Pakistan and Burma."

Surprisingly enough the narrative of almost all the above subjects is very readable. Take the rare metals: titanium, germanium, uranium. Each is a story in itself, and one can imagine the keen science teacher telling his class how it happened and the relative importance. Not a bad second volume choice for the desert island, after the more usual selection of the Bible for No. 1. Not, however, so good for reading in bed uness some sort of crane is handy.

As a work of reference few large firms connected with any form of overseas development can afford its absence from their shelves. The very full bibliography is a full guide to further study of technical and other details too selective for a compendium of this nature.

One hopes that a yearly record of additions and corrections will be published in due course. The very adequacy of detail suggests that a complete reprint will be needed in five years or less.

G. M. ROUTH.

Industrial Enterprise in India. By Nabagopal Das, I.C.S. Orient: Longmans. November, 1955. Pp. x+200, and Index. 18s. net.

The last edition of 1938 is here entirely rewritten.

The present volume is a readable summary of objectives and results during the last 125 years. To the technical student it is an adequate survey of the major factors involved. To the ordinary reader it provides a background in assessing India's present progress.

It will be appreciated that a controlling Power had to think twice over allotting heavy capital and expenditure to projects which, however remunerative and beneficial in the long run, raised political "Aunt Sallies" in a community where most gambles

engendered controversy. In accounting and financial matters the Indian has few equals, and since this restraining external factor passed in 1947, the Government has been able to assess far more actuarially the best openings for official action as compared with the encouragement of private enterprise. Here we find analysis of the arguments for " Five Year Plans " and their prospects.

The developments of the last hundred years are quite unique in the world's history. The British, while securing co-operation with Indians to an extent quite unexampled elsewhere, found difficulties in training the managerial qualities which produced England's " Industrial Revolution." The Indian, always a magnificent accountant, had to learn the human problems of executive control. Till recently it was found necessary to employ Europeans at the head of important industrial enterprises. That phase has nearly passed, and the advantages of economic morality have been learned at some cost.

This book traces the process. The earlier need for " managing agents." The various company Acts. Joint Stock Companies. Phases of Government enterprise. Savings: investments and capital resources. And the Future.

Although more a treatise for the specialist and the expert, the ordinary reader interested in such matters can derive pleasure and profit from this study of very topical problems by a really qualified author.

G. M. ROUTH.

Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793 to 1833). By Amales Tripathi. Orient: Longmans. 1956. Pp. xiii+289 approx. and Index. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 30s. net.

This is a scholarly spotlight study of a short but formative period in the financial development of Bengal, which was largely responsible at that period for the economic development of India as a whole.

The author, after a brilliant career at the University of Calcutta, then as a Fulbright Scholar, did a year's historical research in Columbia University. He then prosecuted intensive research in London under Professor C. H. Philips on the economic history of India during the early British period.

Although readable, the substance of this very tangled theme is rather technical for the ordinary reader, though probably essential to further detailed study of an evolution which may later emerge as a masterpiece of British capital practice in undeveloped countries. A valuable contribution to the economic history of India.

G. M. ROUTH.

The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan. Edited by S. M. Kram and Percival Spears. Oxford University Press. Pp. 204.

Twelve Pakistanis have contributed articles on the cultural and spiritual heritage of Pakistan, its architecture, music, painting, the minor arts (ceramics, metal-working, textiles), the Persian literary heritage, Urdu and the regional literatures; and Sir Mortimer Wheeler has written one on archæology.

This material has been written and put together with a view to the future rather than the past: to help towards building a nation. To some extent it involves an attempt to mould the record to the heart's desire. Such an essay is to be welcomed and commended both by Pakistanis and by British people who have felt the appeal of these lands.

While the work is generally of a high quality, it is impossible not to feel that some of it might have been better done; and it is questionable whether more might not have been gained in some cases by a more rigid accuracy. For instance—remembering that language is one of the main bases of culture—there is a suggestion that Sindhi was a well-developed literary language before the British period and that the fifty-two sounds of the Sindhi language were adequately represented by thirty Arabic letters. The fact that Persian was in general use in Sind for all correspondence until the British encouraged the use of fifty-two letters (by adding diacritical marks to some of the Arabic letters), and so made Sindhi a practical medium for private correspond-

ence, or administrative purposes and a vehicle for literature, is not mentioned. There is also the statement that Baloehi and the other regional languages have a common script; but the fact is that Baloehi had no script. It was, and is, an unwritten language, though the Arabic script—or the Roman—can be readily adapted to it, as it is phonetically much simpler than Sindhi. The Sindhi and Baloehi languages are precious heritages from the past and more is to be lost than gained by suggesting that they are other than they really are.

Some of the contributions will only be intelligible to learned Muslims, but, perhaps, this must be so if they are to subserve the general purpose of the book. It is beautifully illustrated, but there are several unfortunate errors of printing and binding. A book of this importance should be indexed.

J. C. CURRY.

A Constitution for Pakistan. By Herbert Feldman. Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. 102 approx. Rs. 3/8; 6s. in U.K.

This is the story of Pakistan's laboured progress along the road of constitutional evolution. The author refers to the inherent difficulties—the circumstances attending the birth of Pakistan followed by the strained relations with India and the existence of Pakistan's two widely separated territories differing so fundamentally in geography, language and ethnology. Later obstacles to progress were the manœuvrings of self-seeking politicians and a discredited political party. Finally, there is the strange paradox that the very force which brought Pakistan into being acted as a brake; the different views concerning the place of Islam in the constitution was an intractable obstacle. The Lahore resolution of 1940 nowhere mentioned an Islamic State, and there is reason to believe that Mr. Jinnah envisaged a modern Secular State providing security for Muslims as well as for non-Muslims accepting Pakistani citizenship, a view which later was by no means generally acceptable.

The Constituent Assembly was brought into existence with the object, *inter alia*, of framing a constitution. It began its work with high hopes, but with the death of Mr. Jinnah the driving force was sensibly diminished and a succession of unhappy events added to the growing confusion of purpose. It was not until 1949 that the Objectives Resolution was proposed by the then Prime Minister, the late Liaqat Ali Khan. A committee was formed and its report made recommendations in a form which almost amounted to a draft constitution. It fell to the lot of the pious Khwaja Nazimuddin, Liaqat Ali's successor, to present the report in December, 1952. One important feature was the provision whereby the Ulema were to have a virtual veto on the workings of the legislature. To quote the author, "the report was born in an atmosphere of religiosity."

There is an interesting account of the Ahmediya Controversy and the part it played in the events which led to the Punjab riots of 1953 and the dramatic dismissal of Nazimuddin. Under his successor, Mohd. Ali, a committee sat to draft the Constitution, but while it was still sitting the Muslim League in the East Pakistan Legislature suffered a disastrous defeat and was swept from power. Rioting in May, 1954, led to section 92-A government in East Bengal and the appointment of Iskander Mirza as Governor. Events moved with dramatic swiftness. The legality of the Governor-General's act in dismissing Nazimuddin was questioned, a state of emergency was declared and the assembly dissolved, a step which on the whole had the support of a weary, impatient public. Separate chapters are devoted to Maulvi Tamizuddin's challenge in the courts and the constitutional implications of the one-unit plan. The complicated story ends with the appointment of Choudhary Mahomed Ali as Prime Minister and his determination to produce the much-promised federal republican constitution.

It is not an easy story to chronicle. Back flashes and cross-references are invitable, but Mr. Feldman succeeds in his task. The book will undoubtedly prove a valuable addition to Pakistan bibliography. Unfortunately, the format and paper back leave much to be desired, while the misprints, listed and non-listed, together with the absence of an index, detract somewhat from the value of the book.

W. R. O. J.

Israel: Its Role in Civilization. Edited by Moshe Davis. Published by The Seminary Israel Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. 1956.

This book consists of a number of addresses given to the Seminary Israel Institute of the Jewish Theological Society of America by various American-Jewish and Israeli scholars and public men. For the most part these addresses deal with current problems and studies in Israeli cultural life and thought. They are divided into four parts: I, The Role of Israel in the Modern World; II, What History Teaches; III, The New State; IV, America and Israel. The general theme of the first two parts is the historical and spiritual connection between the Jewish State founded by Ezra and Nehemiah after the Babylonian exile and the Israel of to-day. The third part, which is of most interest to the general reader, and which in my estimation contains most of the best addresses in the book, discusses various cultural and political problems being faced by Israel. Abba Eban, the Israeli Ambassador to the United States, discusses Israel's view of relationships with the Arab States, and explains that while Israel desires friendship and good-neighbourliness, she sees herself, not as a Middle Eastern but as a Mediterranean and European State. A brilliant address by the late Dr. Haim Greenberg, to whom the book is posthumously dedicated, deplores, while understanding the present political necessity for, the "confessional" basis on which matters of personal status are treated in Israel to-day and looks forward to the evolution of a secular state in which people of all religions and none can have the choice of having their personal affairs regulated by the civil law. (This is the only address in the book which even admits the existence of the grave religious versus secular dispute which has bedevilled Israeli domestic politics ever since the creation of the new State.) In "A Democracy in an Autocratic World," Jacob Robinson, Counsellor to the Israeli Delegation to the United Nations, contrasts, with justification but not without smugness, the relative maturity, orderliness and good sense of Israeli political life compared with the unstable and hysterical attitudinizing of her Arab neighbours. In "Character Change and Social Experiment," Martin Buber, Professor Emeritus of Social Philosophy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, touches upon what—to an outsider—is perhaps the most fascinating thing about Israel—the fact that an entirely different, an entirely distinctive type of Jew is being evolved from all the diverse immigrants from half the countries in the world who have been converging on Israel for the last thirty years or so. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the first address in the book by Louis Finkelstein, Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where he says: "Our character and personality depend far more greatly on our feelings than on our convictions; indeed, our feelings often masquerade as ideas. And among the emotional defects which may impede spirituality, perhaps none is more grave than a sense of inferiority. Because emotions are not logical, a feeling of inadequacy does not make one humble, but aggressive and arrogant; meekness is a virtue in the mind, but a vice in the heart. . . . The need for emotional self-confidence as a basis for the moral life is not a new discovery. . . . The emergence of the State of Israel has restored emotional self-confidence. . . ."

The fourth part—"America and Israel"—seemed to me very pedestrian compared with the rest of the book, and to be more in the nature of a series of courtesies to the host country than objective contributions to a cultural symposium.

A reviewer always likes to pick out one or two errors just to show how clever he is and to prove that he has read the book. Here are two: P. 61, "Tulkharem" should be "Tulkarem"; p. 171, "The Druzes are not Christians even though they regard Jesus of Nazareth as one of the incarnations in which God was revealed on earth. Nor are they Moslems, although they regard Mecca as a holy place." The Druzes do not regard Jesus as an incarnation of God, neither do they regard Mecca as a holy place.

JOHN MARLOWE.

Israel and her Neighbours. By Eliahu Elath, Ambassador of Israel to the Court of St. James. Published by James Barrie Books, Ltd. 1956. Pp. 72. 5s.

This booklet consists of three lectures delivered by Mr. Eliahu Elath, now Israeli Ambassador in London and formerly Israeli Ambassador in Washington, to Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., during April-May, 1956. The first lecture, "Population

Problems of Israel," gives an account of the way in which, during the last eight years, Israel has absorbed, educated and settled some 700,000 Jewish immigrants, amounting to about half the present Jewish population of Israel, from the most diverse and, from the point of view of a modern State, unpromising social and economic backgrounds. Many of Israel's most ardent admirers feared that Israel would not absorb but would be absorbed and orientalized by these immigrants, most of whom were themselves orientals. This has not happened. Israel has absorbed them and retains its distinctive structure as a democratic, westernized, efficient and progressive State. During the period of absorption and construction, Israel has been continually menaced with war by her Arab neighbours; while this has necessitated the diversion of valuable human and technical resources from constructive work to defence, it has also provided the spur of necessity for the work of construction. For continued efficiency is a condition of Israel's survival as a nation.

In his second lecture, "Israel and the Middle East," Mr. Elath discusses the hostility of Israel's Arab neighbours and makes it clear that the reasons motivating this hostility—technical inefficiency, popular apathy, political immaturity—also ensure that it is ineffective in achieving its end—the destruction of Israel. Incidentally, Mr. Elath also claims (correctly, as this reviewer believes), in the course of this lecture, that the number of Arab refugees who left or were driven out of Israeli territory is about equal to the number of Jewish immigrants into Israel who left or were driven out of Arab territories. In each case the number was about 500,000. Jewish refugees were absorbed and settled by a nation at that time consisting of 700,000 people. Half a dozen Arab States with a total population of some 30 million have failed to do anything at all for a similar number of Arab refugees and have consistently obstructd any efforts to assist them made by other people.

Diplomatic courtesy no doubt prevents Mr. Elath from saying what he thinks about British policy in connection with the Anglo-Israel dispute. This reviewer has no such inhibition. The Foreign Office has always been obsessed with the quite erroneous idea that the existence of Israel was a major cause of (and not merely an additional excuse for) Arab hostility to the West, that the elimination of Israel would convert that hostility to friendship, and that, such elimination being unfortunately impracticable, Arab hostility could be effectively mitigated by a consistent policy of "neutrality against Israel." The dividends paid by such a policy in terms of Arab friendship have not, so far, been particularly impressive.

The third lecture, "The Bedouin and their Problems," on which Mr. Elath is an expert, has no particular relation to Israel.

Mr. Elath's outlook as an Israeli is summed up in the following two extracts:

> ". . . We have never looked upon statehood . . . as an end in itself, but rather as a scaffolding which had to be erected in order to build up the kind of community life—not more material livelihood—which can best provide the framework for a free, comprehensive, and complete expression of Jewish thought and tradition, deriving ultimately from the Book of Books and the teachings of the Prophets."
>
> ". . . I would venture to suggest that spiritual attachment to the land, and to the Holy City of Jerusalem, has often been a more decisive factor in the urge for integration—especially with newcomers from the East—than any impulse towards Jewish Nationalism in its modern sense, or any personal identification with political or party ideologies."

It is apparent from these quotations that Mr. Elath is one of those cultivated Israelis with a reverence for Israel's past, as well as confidence in its future, who to-day form an immensely valuable bridge in Israeli social life between strident secularism on the one hand and obscurantist piety on the other. Fortunately there are many such Israelis to-day occupying high positions in their country's public service.

JOHN MARLOWE.

The Twain Have Met. By H.R.H. Prince Chula of Thailand. Published by Foulis. 289 pp. Illustrated; index. 25s.

The author succeeds in proving the words of his title. In his person, East and West have come very close to one another. He has told, in a very attractively written

book, how this has come to pass. He is the offspring of a mixed marriage in that his father was a Royal Thai and his mother a Russian, the daughter of a Chief Judge, Ivan Stepanovitch Desnitzky. I well remember meeting her brother and sister-in-law in Peking, when Imperial Russia was represented by Prince Koudacheff, as Minister. The author's mother was at that time working for the Russian refugees in Shanghai.

The early part of the book is devoted to a description of the Prince's early life in Thailand, of his parents and ancestors. We are told of one hundred and fifty years of benevolent autocracy, of his having attended manœuvres at the age of eight. Harrow and Cambridge followed and no doubt did much to mould his character and broaden his outlook. Later comes his marriage to an English girl which calls forth the most charming dedication. In his preface he states that he has been married three times, but always to the same girl, and their married life is a serial story of great happiness. He acted in *loco parentis* to Prince Bira, the well-known racing motorist and was his Maecenas, impressario and financial backer rolled into one.

The book is sprinkled with meetings with Royalties of various nationalities; the reminiscences of these with our own Royal house make fascinating reading. Despite his country's neutrality, he succeeded in serving with the Home Guard and the Army Cadet Force. Despite the changing loyalties of his country, there is no doubt that his heart and " devoirs " were wrapped up in this country.

His travel life took him to most countries in Europe, America and the Far East, and his observations thereon are always interesting and informative.

As an entertaining and unusual autobiography, this is hard to beat, and this review carries the strongest recommendation to " the Twain " to read and enjoy it.

H. St. C. S.

Interval in Indo-China. By Andrew Graham. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1956. Pp. 164; illustrations and maps. 12s. 6d.

This is an entertaining and a well-written book, depicting many phases of life in Indo-China to-day, much of its charm and colour, and, happily, I think, avoiding political issues. The author is a keen and appreciative observer who has presented his observations in a highly palatable manner without involving the reader in the more noxious aspects of civil dissension and disenchantment.

It is perhaps unusual for a reviewer of this type of book to begin with a criticism of the Foreword. Yet the very affable Foreword by Sir Hubert Graves, K.C.M.G., M.C., contains a sentence, or part of one, with which the present reviewer finds it difficult to concur. " The Agreement reached in Geneva in July, 1954, was a diplomatic triumph "—for whom?—" that it brought about the end of a cruel civil war " is unquestionably true, but it cut in half a country, leaving in the hands of the Communists the northern part, from which many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have been taking the arduous and uncertain path of escape to political—or in any event religious—freedom in the south.

The author came to Indo-China just a month after this reviewer left there, so I missed the privilege of meeting him personally. His trip out by air recalls episodes that I think of now, but he fails to recount the horror of the atmospherics, when one descends in a nicly cooled aircraft from something over 3,000 feet altitude, spends an hour and a half or more on the ground while the aircraft and its passengers are being refuelled; and then, after the aircraft has stood in the broiling sun throughout this time, one re-enters it as if into a furnace. I, an ancient aviator with few inhibitions, had a spare kit hanging beside my chair. As I entered the intolerably reheated aircraft I undressed to the lowest possible minimum; as we mounted I would gradually put on a fresh undershirt, later at higher altitude a fresh shirt, and finally a fresh pair of linen trousers. This process was repeated at all the intermediate stops in Asia. Is there not, perhaps, some thought in this for the operators of intercontinental airways passing through tropical climates? Pullman cars, on the ground, are effectively and economically air-conditioned at stations in the warmer parts of the United States.

The author's descriptions of Vietnam and Vietnamese life are sympathetic and fre-

quently charming. As to the Vietnamese women's dress I agree completely with him: it is simple and becoming; yet he fails to make a point of how gracefully they ride postillion, or side-saddle, on the backs of bicycles or motor-cycles with their long skirts tucked between their slim legs. As to the men, since they have but rarely to shave—if at all, in youth—the author describes them as looking at forty like public school boys. This is often true, yet conversely, at the ripe age of fifty-odd, when their straggly beards have grown, they may look to be eighty—in our eyes.

Col. Graham's portrayal of Chinese servitors is amusing and typical. One usually grows very fond of them in the end, after a short period of mutual adjustment.

The author's descriptions of Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom are excellently done, and could well serve as an inspiring guide for anyone visiting these stupendous ruins. His word-pictures of the Water Fête and the Cambodian Court Dances at Phnom Penh are picturesque and diverting, and his descriptions of Laos render me nostalgic for a fascinating land of rude and often formidable contrasts, and for a gentle and engaging people.

Eighteen excellent photos and a map add to the interest of this very pleasant book.

MELVIN HALL.

A Family in Egypt. By Mary Rowlatt. Robert Hale, London, 1956. 232 pp. Illustrated; index. 18s.

This is a pleasant book, and at the moment a pleasant book on Egypt is surely opportune. Those of us who knew Egypt before Mary Rowlatt was born may find their pleasure tinged with nostalgic regrets; but Miss Rowlatt is made of sterner stuff, and is able to contemplate the new Egypt under military dictatorship with optimism and hope. And after all, nobody should be better qualified to judge. As the story of her family unfolds itself, we can see the bridge they formed between the British community and Egyptian society, between British officialdom and Egyptian politics. The British banker served the interests of Britain and Egypt alike, trusted by both, and independent of official control by either. A member of the Rowlatt family has had a unique opportunity for impartial observation, and this has been exercised by the author with affectionate sympathy.

The Rowlatt saga begins when Mary's great-great-grandparents, John and Sarah Friend, "sailed into Alexandria harbour" with their daughters, Sarah and Mary. This was early in the nineteenth century; and Sarah, the daughter, tells of finding relics in the sand of General Abercromby's brave offensive in 1801, which finally dispossessed the French of Egypt. In 1830 she married Sidney Terry, of the old Levant trading firm of Briggs and Co., "Agents to H.H. the Pasha." This was none other than Mohammed Ali the Great, founder of the Khedival dynasty which held the throne of Egypt till the fall of Farouk in 1952. Contact with that magnificent adventurer adds a touch of historical glamour to the letters and diary of the Terrys' daughter, Amelia, from which Miss Rowlatt has been able to sketch the life of a British family in Egypt before any political connection between the two nations was imagined.

In 1843 the Terrys moved to Bombay, but the break with Egypt was very short. Amelia Terry had not gone with her parents to Bombay; and, after her school days, had returned to Egypt with her aunt Mercy, who had married Mr. Peter Taylor, of Taylor and Co., a business firm with headquarters in Alexandria. It was at this juncture, a century ago, that the name Rowlatt enters the family record. Mary's grandfather, Arthur Rowlatt, a widower of thirty-five, who held an important post in the Bank of England, accepted an appointment in the Bank of Egypt at Alexandria, and five years later he married Amelia. They lived over the Bank in Alexandria and later built a house at Ramleh. Amelia is, in some ways, the central figure in the three generations of Mary's story, and it is from her letters and diaries that her granddaughter has drawn such a happy and sympathetic picture of the Rowlatt home and the Rowlatt's relations with Egyptians in every grade of life. We are given no light on Amelia's reaction to the public events of the period, but this might well have clouded the sunny scene portrayed. Before the Arabi Pasha rising of 1882 and the tragedy of Gordon's death and the expulsion of Egypt from

the Sudan (which is not mentioned even in the historical summary in Chapter Eight), Arthur Rowlatt had retired and settled in England.

But Amelia was to return again to "the little house at Ramleh." A year before Arthur Rowlatt's death in 1890, his son, Frederick (Mary's father), who had joined the Bank of Egypt as a junior clerk, was promoted to Alexandria, where she went to join him in her widowhood. Just before she sailed, Fred had been appointed sub-manager in Cairo at the age of twenty-five, and when the National Bank of Egypt was founded by Khedivial decree in 1898, he was appointed sub-Governor, to be raised finally in 1906 to Governor. Amelia frequently visited him in Cairo, but in 1903, on her way home to England, accompanied by her son and his newly married wife, she collapsed and died at Port Said. So passed "the last Englishwoman who could remember the person, appearance and doings of the great Mohammed Ali himself."

In the years that followed it would be hard to overestimate the services of Sir Frederick Rowlatt as Governor of the National Bank of Egypt from the days of the Cromer régime to the independence of Egypt expressed in the complete Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Through all the years of violent and bitter controversy which followed the First World War, it is enough to say that the English Governor of the National Bank retained the trust and respect of Egyptian and British alike while his family lived in the friendliest relations with both. On his death in 1950, the Arabic radio programme spoke of him, and an editorial in the *Egyptian Gazette* described him as "a man of whom Britain and Egypt could be proud."

It must not be supposed that his daughter's book is much concerned with the great and sometimes terrible events in which he played a part so valuable because it was impartial and unpolitical. It is enough to say that there is no mention of Milner, Wingate, Lloyd or Bishop Gwynne, and only one each of Kitchener and Allenby. It is a charming and observant story of family life in Egypt and family relations with friends and servants, gardeners and Bedouin neighbours, of birds, beasts and flowers, of picnics and sunsets on the Nile. And if it is all viewed through a roseate haze, let us remember that "God gave us memory that we might have roses in December."

NIGEL DAVIDSON.

A Crackle of Thorns. By Sir Alec Seath Kirkbride, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., O.B.E., M.C. John Murray. Pp. 196; illustrated, index. 21s.

This is not an autobiography of Sir Alec Kirkbride nor is it a detailed description of life in the Middle East. It relates unconnected tales of people, places and singular events which have amused or impressed the author. His good understanding of bedu and townsman alike enabled him to respect the Arab's many qualities and to live in amity with his weaknesses. Sir Alec has written a fresh and entertaining book that gives the reader an excellent insight into his character; one sees clearly why the Arabs liked and respected him. Definitely but not deliberately there appears from these pages the picture of a man with his own individual sense of humour, a taste for understatement, and a man of firm integrity.

There is a good chapter on the Mar Saba monastery; it paints a colourful picture that is deep as well as detailed. We see clearly the difference between the Western Christian and the Eastern Christian on whom religion hangs like a familiar everyday coat, not one to be brushed and worn on Sundays. There is no hypocritical solemnity about the author's friend, the priest Arcadius, who was "doing one year's detention in this most holy place."

Another episode that stands out is descriptive of the unpleasant duty of a District Commissioner who has to witness the hanging of a man he had judged guilty. The distaste evoked in a brave man makes one wonder if the jury had the same duty of attending the execution they too would brave the verdict.

This is a light book that pretends no more; it is not a fraction of the book that

lies in Sir Alec and that we hope will come out soon. We learn here something of the Egyptian at war, and much of King Abdullah; we see the problems of the man on the spot whose chiefs can neither delegate nor decide—but there remains, one feels, much more to follow.

M. M. C. C.

Myths and Legends of China. By E. T. C. Werner. Published by Harrap. Pp. 453; glossary and index, 31 illustrations in colour. 18s.

This book was first published in 1922, reprinted in 1924, 1928, 1936, and 1956. This repeated reprinting evidences the value and popularity of this excellent book of reference. The author is a sinologue of considerable reputation and the amount of research that he must have undertaken is colossal.

The book should be read in snatches and not ploughed through. As a bedside book it has a great deal to be said for it and there will be few readers who do not come across something new and strange to them. China, up to the time of its change to Communism, owed a great deal of its make-up to these myths and legends, and those into whose hands it finds its way will not wish to part with it.

The illustrations, though a little crude in colouring, help to bring the stories to life.

H. St. C. S.

Lords of the Mountains. By Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten. Published by Chatto and Windus. 122 pp. Illustrated; index. 18s.

The secondary title of this book is "Southern Persia and the Kashkai tribe," which gives a more exact indication of the contents. In effect, the first half of the book is a series of word pictures of the author's impressions of Persia and the Persians with particular reference to the south, while they all ultimately lead up to the second half, which describes her visit to the Kashkai during their move to their summer grazing grounds.

Madame Ullens de Schooten has a fine gift of description and she is very ably assisted by her camera. The illustrations in this book, which vary from the frieze at Persepolis to landscapes with the nomads about their various affairs, are both in colour and black and white. They are excellent and give a wonderful impression of the Persian atmosphere with its great clarity and feeling of space.

The sketches show that Madame Ullens de Schooten has a great sympathy for the Persians, and through her friendship with Monsieur and Madame Godard, she was able to meet all types, including Sufis, whose Khanegah she was permitted to visit. The somewhat disjointed effect given to this book by its treatment is more than compensated for by the descriptions of Shiraz, Isfahan and the mountains of southern Persia.

Few people have had the privilege of living with the Kashkai, and no others have been allowed to film them. In this, Madame Ullens de Schooten was greatly honoured and it is an indication of the way in which she was able to gain the confidence of Nasser Khan and his family. She is able to give a first hand account of their way of life, as well as of their own ideas about their history and origin, and as she describes the setting of up camps, the feast, and the tribe in movement, one can almost feel as if one was there oneself. If her views are coloured by her friendship for them, this is understandable, and the reader can draw his own conclusions regarding the effects of these mass migrations across vast tracts of Persia.

One small defect, if it can be called so, is Madame Ullens de Schooten's somewhat unusual transliteration of some Persian names and words. As will be seen, the tribe is called by her "Kashkai," which may be accepted, although in a note at the end of an appendix she remarks that "Nasser Khan and his family have quite recently decided to adopt the simpler spelling of 'Gashgai.'" However, once the reader is reconciled to her spelling, it is forgotten in the beauty of the scenes she describes.

J. E. F. Gueritz.

Storia Della Letteratura Etiopica. By Enrico Cerulli. Milan: Nuova Accademia Editrice. 1956. Pp. 279, 9 plates. L.2,500.

This is a volume in the series "Storia delle letterature di tutto il mondo," which at once gives a clue to its character. It is a "popular" work, written in a simple manner, by one of the leading Ethiopic scholars of to-day. It gives a good outline of the history of Ethiopian literature, and pays some attention to the important historical literature, for the Ethiopians did not concentrate entirely on ecclesiastical and theological writing, as some people might think, and their chronicles and poetry, though small in volume by comparison, are worthy of, and indeed cry out for, much fuller study than they have so far received. A feature of the book is the inclusion of a large number of extracts (translated into Italian) from some of the books described. I am glad to read Cerulli's appreciation of the "Chronicle of Amda Sion" (his spelling), which I have seen elsewhere condemned as dull and lifeless; whereas, in Cerulli's words, it has a "fresca vivacità di colori." There is also an account of the interesting "warrior songs" (not yet satisfactorily edited, though there is a MS. of them in the Bodleian), with some examples. As a general introduction to the subject, the book is admirable; but is no more than that. It does not replace Guidi's little work on Ethiopian literature, itself only an introduction; and the detailed history of Ethiopian literature that is so badly needed has still to be written. This, however, is not the author's fault; he has done his best within the limitations of a "popular" series. The plates are well produced, and there is an index. There is a curious misprint on p. 255, where *Henry* appears for *Heruy*.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Bedouin Command. By Lt.-Col. Peter Young, D.S.O., M.C. and 2 bars. Foreword by Lt.-Gen. Sir John Glubb, K.C.B., etc. John Kimber. 1956. Pp. 202; 2 maps, 24 illustrations. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 21s. net.

This is a very readable story of a regimental commander's charge during the two eventful years from February, 1953. His previous experience included Commandos and two years as G.2. in G.H.Q. Middle East Land Forces. One would imagine that he shared the outlook of a certain famous Irish general, whose normal brain developed an "overdrive" under fire. He positively liked being shot at.

One sees in the author's recital of the daily round of regimental life, and the sympathetic assessment of his subordinates from many nations of the Middle East, why it is that the right type of British officer earns the obedience and devotion of his men. It is curious how other nations seem so often to miss the right touch. Their troops may be good, well-disciplined mercenaries, but some subtle link which seems to be forged in British-led forces is generally lacking. It is, however, the end of an age. Advancing Nationalism will drastically reduce the opportunities for such leadership. A pity. The men liked it, and history may well show that the world was better for it.

This volume has, of course, a great topical value at the moment in the light of the relations between Israel and Jordan and the Glubb incident, which is, however, not directly discussed. The effect on discipline and personal relations goes to prove the real value of the regimental association built up over thirty-five years. Any suggestion of disloyalties as in 1857 India seem to have been completely absent. Arabs took over the various duties much as one might expect to occur on a change of corps commander in England. The resulting military value of the corps, however, a year later is very different, as the Israelis no doubt recognize.

G. M. ROUTH.

Man's Religions. By John B. Noss. Revised Edition. New York: Macmillan. 1956. Pp. 784; Bibliography, Index. 41s. 6d.

This work consists of a lucid account of the history of religion from the earliest times up to the present day. It covers the general nature of the cults and beliefs of primitive societies as illustrated by three examples selected from Australia, India and Africa respectively; the national religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Rome and

Northern Europe; Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism in India; Taoism, Confucianism and Shintoism in the Far East; and Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The author appears somewhat apologetic for having attempted such a monumental task as well as slightly triumphant on his completion of it; and his hesitations are just as intelligible as his sense of achievement. In our time, the vastness of what one may call the expanded area of study may occasionally allow a scholar to stray from his own pastures in pursuit of the experiences of his pet lamb in other climes—*e.g.*, Professor Pettazzoni, whose work on divine omniscience has led him to wrestle with the conceptual origins of Shang-Ti and T'ien in ancient China in an attempt to defend his thesis from contradiction; but when one man rather than a team of specialists embarks on a general work of such massive scope as this, he is liable to be accused of hubris and portions of his work may invite comparison with " 1066 and All That." Professor Noss justifies such an attempt on the grounds that " unity of perspective " as well as " schematic completeness " are more likely to be maintained by one author than by collective effort, and the quality of his work certainly argues in favour of his view. He is clearly more interested in the development of religion than in the content of religions during their static periods and, consequently, his approach helps to connect his accounts of the different paths to the sacred with one another and to provide a stimulating introduction to the study of the most fascinating quest of mankind. For the story outlined in this book is essentially that of transformation from series of rituals fulfilling the needs of group life and strengthening the unity of the individuals comprising groups by investing the most intimate details of their lives with sacred emotions to patterns of belief by which individuals are free to allow themselves to be inspired without the element of obligatory representation through symbolic action. In our day, there are signs of a swing in the reverse direction. Creeds have apparently been weakened by divorce from ritual, and the need for a new attachment to symbols is being felt in order to prevent the ideas which they represent from being submerged under the onslaught of those that deny the spirit as well as the letter. By giving us this opportunity of evaluating not only the awareness of human beings throughout the ages of transcendent divinity but also of the techniques evolved from that awareness to prevent their appetites from destroying them, this book has a contribution to make towards the relief of the burden of the age.

Perhaps the most eloquent justification of his attempt is his remarkable talent for scholarly and systematic popularization—a talent as rare as it is necessary if the task is not to be abandoned to those ill-prepared for it. Time and time again one can notice with admiration the neatness of the formula through which he extracts the element of agreement from conflicting views. Like most formulæ, his often tend to conceal nearly as much as they reveal; but few of them can be condemned as inaccurate. Naturally, one cannot agree with everything he says, and complaints that some of his descriptions are so neat and concise as to amount to over-simplifications will probably be made, but for students this is not altogether a disadvantage. Generalizations stimulate thought more effectively than more cautious and lengthy definitions. His bibliographical lists will help them to penetrate further, and his index, which abounds in useful cross-references, makes—as can be testified from personal experience—this book a helpful companion to anyone reading specialist contributions to branches of study only vaguely familiar to him. His copious quotations from the scriptures of the religions which he describes serve as a form of initiation into their ways of thought: whenever technical terms are used, their meaning is carefully indicated; and the general impression on the reader must be one of admiration not only for the scope of the work but also for the skill and clarity with which it has been executed.

EMILE MARMORSTEIN.

Walls of Jericho. By Margaret Wheeler. Chatto and Windus. 1956. Pp. xiv + 167. 21s. net.

Jericho without tears. This as the " Dig " leader, Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, explains in her admirable foreword, is no dry product of desiccated elderly professors. Indeed, a chance dive into certain pages might suggest a snappy report by a young girl for

a fashion paper (see dust-cover and p. 62). Further examination shows this impression to be a wrong one. Here we have a delightful study of one of the most important archæological expeditions on the site of what is probably the oldest civilization in the world (6000? B.C.), full 3,000 years before anything similar is traceable in Britain. Through Lady Wheeler's very readable pages and sketches the lighter reader is being insidiously and painlessly indoctrinated, not only with geological and biological developments usually associated with thick learned tomes, but with the latest chemical and other discoveries, such as gases (Rift Valley?) collecting in the closed tomb and arresting putrefaction (p. 162), and the dead reckoning of actual age of remote things by Radio Garbon (p. 68), a by-product of atomic research.

The Jericho team know what they are doing and have an obvious mastery of the latest research experience. The "Great Sitt" (Dr. Kenyon) has seen to it that the team is a happy one. They offer better things than Billie Butlin in their yearly three-months' "holiday" at Camp House Headquarters.

The author's job is scale drawing and notes of every find and measurements of every bone.

All this should indicate that this most unusual book is in a way schizophrenic. The team and learned visitors have seen to it that the author's every pronunciamento is fundamentally and scientifically correct, a quality rarely found in such readable and in a way impressionistic narratives. The "Great Sitt's" foreword on this point reads: "Among the anecdotes and lighter touches, the fact that the author has gone to considerable trouble to ensure that the archæological framework is accurate may not always be apparent."

"But it nevertheless is so, and the reader may accept this book as an interim outline of the finds that the mound of Jericho has revealed. Other accounts, weightier and to the layman duller, will appear, but meanwhile *Walls of Jericho* may serve as an introduction to the exciting discoveries made on the site and the sort of life led by those making them."

The contents cover (p. 16):

6000?	B.C.	Pre-Pottery. Neolithic.
4500	„	Pottery.
4000	„	Chalcolithic. Mostly Stone. Some Copper.
3000	„	Early Bronze. The Great Builders.
2100	„	Amorite Wandering Tribes.
1900	„	Middle Bronze. Shepherd Kings.
1580	„	Late Bronze. Joshua.
1200	„	Iron.

There is still much to be done. Atomic and scientific research will open the door to many problems which can now only be guessed at.

What was the nature of the evolution of the first crops from wild grasses?

When was the cradle of first gradation from primitive hunting to settled villages? Was Jericho the first such village or does, for instance, Erbil compete? (P. 79).

Clearly community life started in the Middle East where organized research from many angles by many nations is now progressively active.

This volume suggests that it wouldn't be a bad thing if Lady Wheeler could go round and give us a general series of perspectives in the same vein.

G. M. ROUTH.

Tents in the Clouds. By Monica Jackson and Elizabeth Stark. London: Collins. Pp. 235; with 36 photographs and 5 maps. 18s.

This is not the story of "just another mountain," but of the first-ever all-women's expedition in the Himalaya. It was one that achieved remarkable and thoroughly well-earned success. It was not, in fact, until their plans had begun to take shape that they realized that they were creating a precedent, in that hitherto all women who had climbed in High Asia had done so in man-planned and man-led expeditions. This party's main object was exploration, for which there is plenty of scope in the 500 miles of the Nepal Himalaya between Everest and Garhwal. There was

little prospect in the latter owing to the restriction of the " inner line " imposed by Delhi, which debars access to the more delectable of the great mountains to the north thereof. But, in addition to exploration, these Scottish ladies hoped to climb something worth while. They had ascertained that the Jugal Himal, which marches with the Langtang Himal explored by Tilman six years earlier, was about the last unexplored area in Nepal. The Langtang, fortunately for them as it turned out, had already been allotted to Raymond Lambert of the 1952 Swiss Everest Expedition.

There were to have been four ladies, but at the eleventh hour Esme Speakman, " the best climber, the best photographer and a competent surveyor," was incapacitated. The three who went were Monica Jackson, mother of two " teenagers," who had some previous Himalayan experience, Evelyn Camrass, qualified in medicine and a good all-rounder, and Elizabeth Stark, a speech therapist and a fine rock climber. Arriving in Kathmandu at the beginning of April they collected their team of four Sherpas and one Sherpani under the Sirdar Mingma, who had been spared for them from the Kangchenjunga expedition. Also the liaison officer detailed by the Nepal Government. The book is too pleasing to spoil for readers by giving anything more than the barest outline of the adventure. The route lay at first eastward and the north to the practically unknown Jugal Himal. Into this they pioneered their way, traversing glaciers (one of which, at least, had never been suspected to exist), and ascending ice-falls and reaching the Nepal-Tibet frontier divide. Close to it they made the first ascent of an unmapped peak of nearly 22,000 feet. They prudently refrained from trying to enter forbidden Tibet; the only way in was to fall down a 6,000-foot sheer precipice. The team got on splendidly with their Sherpas, who obviously liked and respected them. Their tact and adaptability not only with the Sherpas but with villagers, too, evidently made the whole venture an entirely happy one. They achieved much more than they had dared to hope, for they opened up what was almost the last unexplored area in the Nepal Himalaya. And they showed that " ordinary women can be as capable of carrying out such a project as men."

Each of the two narrators has her own delightful way of writing; and, indeed, their descriptions of the people they met, of their own strenuous doings, and their day-to-day life make up so faithful a picture that the reader can almost imagine himself or herself there.

In her summing-up, Monica Jackson refers to a belief current among mountaineers that Himalayan climbing is " just one depressing grind, which the climber endures as best he can so long as it gets him to the summit. . . . With us this was certainly not the case. . . . Much as we enjoyed the marches out and back, . . . it was the days of strenuous endeavour we spent on the high ridges, glaciers and snowfields of the Jugal that will remain in our memories as not only the happiest but also, strangely enough, the most serene and peaceful days of our lives."

The many interesting illustrations and the adequate maps are a welcome complement to this, one of the most fascinating books on high adventure. It is gracefully dedicated to " Esmé, who did not come."

H. W T.

Saints of Sind. By Peter Mayne. John Murray. Pp. 200; Frontispiece and Map. 18s.

The author of *The Alleys of Marrakesh* and *The Narrow Smile* here treads new ground with his highly discursive expedition in search of the shrines of the saints and hereditary Pirs of Sind and the esoteric mysteries surrounding them. Having fairly recently travelled through Sind from north to south, I opened his new book with interest.

Sind is one of the lesser known provinces of the old Indian Empire, but the name of the best-known Pir, the Pir Pagaro, is celebrated far beyond its boundaries. Mr. Mayne, fortunately, pays a visit to his shrine.

The Sixth Pir Pagaro became especially notorious during the early part of the

late war, when his followers, the Hurs, carried on a campaign of murder and pillage, creating a reign of terror throughout Sind, which culminated in the derailment of the Lahore Mail in 1942. The Pir was eventually tried by court martial for waging war against the King, sentenced to death and hanged. His two sons were sent to England by the Indian Government to be educated like English gentlemen. The creation of Pakistan, however, necessitated the reconsideration of their case. The Government took a bold risk and brought the young Pir back, installing him on the throne of his fathers. Mr. Mayne visited him and gives us an interesting account of life at Pir-jo-Goth and the veneration in which the Pir is held by his followers.

Mr. Mayne begins his book with a description of his visit to the shrine of the Pir, ten miles out of Karachi, and his meeting with the famous crocodiles, one of whom was oddly named Mr. Peacock. Near Karachi, too, at Clifton, a stone's throw from the modern pink and white "wedding-cake" flats, is the shrine of Ghazi Baba, where the author spent a little time inquiring into the mysteries of Sufism.

At Sukkur he falls in with a renegade dervish and a would-be Pir, and after various adventures finishes the night in a clearing amongst the mimosas sampling the delights of bhang. Perhaps this may be taken as some consolation for the punishment he received when submitting, though unwillingly, to massage by a Pakistani heavy-weight wrestler.

This is a pleasant piece of writing, but the subject, which is an extremely complex one, he has treated somewhat light-heartedly. What he thought he would find is not very clear. This is not a travel book in the ordinary sense of the word, but it is well worth reading and in places not a little amusing.

C. T. H. H.

I Lived in Burma. By E. C. V. Foucar. London: Dennis Dobson. 1956. Pp. 272; Index, Ill. 21s.

Mr. Foucar is well known as a writer on Burma themes, and the appearance of his name on a title-page is a guarantee of a readable and informative book. The present volume is a record of his own personal experiences, not only during the thirty-odd years that he worked in Burma in the legal profession, but also during the childhood which, more than fifty years ago, he spent in Moulmein. It is not easy to single out any one part of the book as having greater interest than the rest, for all are interesting, but his memories of his early days have a poignantly nostalgic attraction which no one who remembers Burma in an earlier era can avoid feeling. To those whose recollections of the country are more recent, the author's reminiscences of his days as a legal practitioner from the early 1920s onwards will prove equally attractive; there is no lack of criticism of the defects of the judicial system which the British introduced, but criticism is interspersed with some most entertaining anecdotes of which, unfortunately, space does not permit a repetition in this brief notice. Particularly notable, too, is the chapter entitled "The Tale of a Plantation," where the author's instinct for the macabre is able to exercise itself.

The second half of the book is concerned with the war and post-war periods. Mr. Foucar provides a vivid account of the collapse of Burma under the impact of the Japanese invasion and of the strenuous efforts made to defend the country and to keep its life going under steadily deteriorating conditions. As Services Public Relations Officer he was in a particularly good position to see and observe, and also to criticize, during these months. Then, after the war, came the attempt to rebuild life in Burma. Mr. Foucar again uses his descriptive powers to provide a picture of a country distracted by political and economic stresses yet, somehow, surviving. By no means uncritical of the policies and methods adopted in independent Burma, the author is also far from unsympathetic towards the aspirations of a people struggling to establish themselves as a nation in a hard world. He regrets the secession of Burma from the Commonwealth, but ascribes this, at least in part, to our own failings: "The truth is that to the end we were over-jealous of our privileges, anxious to retain for ourselves all the well-salaried official appointments and highly paid commercial managerships."

The liberal attitude which Mr. Foucar adopts may not commend itself to some, but with thinking readers his thoughtful and objective comments will command interest and respect. To those who remember Burma as it was, and equally to those who wish to be informed what Burma was, the book can be wholeheartedly recommended.

B. R. P.

Chindwin to Criccieth. The Life of Col. Godfrey Drage. By Charles Drage. Caernarvon: Gwenlyn Evans. 1956. Pp. vii + 158. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. 12s. 6d.

This is the life story of Col. Godfrey Drage, born at Mianmir, India, June 19, 1868, died October 22, 1953. Although very readable, well told and of general interest, this little tale is rather a spotlight on a well-respected member of the Drage family than an ordinary biography.

Drage is typical of the best type of British officer of those days, when the might of Britain afforded amazing opportunites for service and distinction over the known world of the nineteenth century. Commissioned in the 52nd, his father's regiment (Oxford and Bucks), he was posted to Burma, and the succeeding ninety pages are, to R.C.A.S. members, probably the most rewarding. Suvla, Serbia, Salonika, Palestine and the Western Front have been well documented, but the rough and tumble of the seconded soldier in Burma civil employ during the early years of this century is not so well reported, and the power and value of British justice in "outskirts of Empire" here recorded are a fair answer to Americans (anti-colonialists) and Labourites who beliee in handing over raw savages to their primitive muddles before they have been given enough background to survive. Many Burmese to-day have strong views on such matters.

Good light reading. Old "Cui-hais" would prefer a date here and there in the earlier pages. Not a few remember developments of that period, when Upper Burma was well content under the Military Police and the rough justice of the times. This applies also in degree to the nineties in South India. It was early days for "Ootie," but the conditions here described will ring not a few bells among our readers.

A book for bedtime—even if a bit nostalgic.

G. M. ROUTH.

Land of Blue Sky. By Ivor Montagu. Dobson, 1956. 164 pp. Appendices; index. 25s.

Central Asians should certainly be interested in the travels and adventures and conclusions of the author of this book about a little-known country.

This country, which most of us know as outer Mongolia, is now called the Mongolian People's Republic, and, whether one's political bias is pro- or anti-Russian, one must acknowledge that the advances towards civilization are spectacular. Your reviewer remembers Urga (Ulan Bator) when criminals were exposed in the market place in stone coffins, and the law, if such a thing there was, was based on the tenets of the Great Yassa, dating from the days of Chinghis Khan. The disappearance of the parasite Lama is all to the good, and the thousands of priests of this persuasion have been diverted into industry, of which there was *none* thirty to forty years ago. The breaking up of the Lamasseries is, of course, traceable to the fact that, owing to Russian influence, the Living Buddha was not allowed to reincarnate. The Hilaire Belloc quotation is very apposite:

> "The Llama of the Pampasses you never should confound
> In spite of a deceptive similarity of sound
> With the Lhama who is Lord of Turkestan
> For the latter is a beautiful and valuable beast
> But the latter is not loveable nor useful in the least;
> And the Ruminant is preferable surely to the Priest
> Who battens on the woeful superstitions of the East,
> The Mongol of the Monastery of Shan."

The result of this was that the lama, in order to live, had to work, and as industry was being born there was a place for the lama to occupy.

The author refers in an interesting manner to the museums and schools which have come into being. Reference is made to the fact that Dinosaur eggs were exhibited in the museum at Ulan Bator, but that Mongol opinion was that the eggs were those of a giant turtle. I am able to say quite definitely that this belief is incorrect because I saw and handled the Dinosaur eggs discovered by Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews on his Third Asiatic Expedition shortly after they were found. In one case a very clear outline of the Embryo Dinosaur was visible and could not possibly be mistaken for a turtle. Moreover, any turtles' eggs that I have seen are round. I cannot, of course, say that prehistoric turtles produced an egg of this shape, but it is reasonable to suppose so.

The animal life in Mongolia is of immense importance. Wealth used to be expressed in terms of herds, and though this is slowly changing, the camel or a horse for transport, the sheep for food, are vital to the economics of the country.

Education is helped—indeed, made possible—with the aid of the horse. Children ride twenty and even thirty miles to school. Sport is largely equestrian—long-distance racing. Hunting and, recently, fishing, are indulged in, and the light-hearted attitude to life of the average Mongol does not appear to have been affected by their advance in civilization.

The author refers to the fact that an engraved stone, dated in the first half of the thirteenth century, was found near Chinghis Khan's birthplace on the River Onon. This registers a record arrow flight of about 550 yards. As this is one of the few traces of early Mongolian sport, its proper place should be in the museum at Ulan-Bator rather than in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Museum in Leningrad.

The illustrations, some in colour, are admirable, and, together with the lively descriptions of life in Mongolia, make an attractive picture of a country in which members of this society must of necessity be greatly interested.

H. St. C. S.

Lord of the East. By Ronald Fraser. Published by Jonathan Cape. Pp. 250. 15s.

Though this story describes life in China in the third century B.C. the author's characters speak in an idiom which carries conviction. One feels that the words in the mouth of the aristocratic Chï Yiu (suitably renamed Diamond Arrow) are such as he would have used. The minister Wen Ling and the empire-building Shih Huang Ti are also perfectly natural characters and drawn with such skill that one feels Sir Ronald Fraser must have known them in a previous existence.

A charming romance is woven into the story when Chï Yiu falls in love with White Aster, the daughter of the unscrupulous Shih Huang Ti.

This necessitates their flight from Court, in the guise of a deputation of monks, to the province of Chi. Here with their son, Jade Pein they lived in a retirement where music, poetry, crystallized plums, tangerine wine fully console them for the delights of the Court. The charm, beauty and intelligence of White Aster are skilfully portrayed, and Wen Ling, though entirely amoral, is a most interesting type which still existed in the days of the Tuchuns. His leech-like grip of the country's economy is perhaps a little exaggerated, but an author describing life in the third century B.C. is surely entitled to this. He is instrumental in developing the Iron Age and to-day would no doubt be the leader of all the monopolists.

A very attractive and entertaining book which will delight those who enjoy a truly Chinese background.

H. St. C. S.

Where the Gods are Mountains. By René von Nebesky-Wojkowitz. London: Eidenfeld and Nicolson. 254 pp. Illustrated. 21s.

The object of the author, a distinguished Austrian anthropologist, in visiting Sikkim, was to investigate the religious ideas and ceremonies of those "ancient Tibetan sects whose holy places lie in the secrecy of the Himalaya." During his

three years in and about that State, not only did the revolution of Nepal take place, but Tibet was over-run by Red China. And while in Kalimpong, he saw something of the exodus from Lhasa. In Gangtok the Durbar granted him exceptional facilities to study the form of Buddhism which obtains in Sikkim. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that entitled "Brothers of the Bamboo," which deals with the Lepchas, one-time rulers of Sikkim. As he observes, "this little Himalayan people" is doomed, despite recent measures to preserve it and its way of life, to perish in the not distant future. He has written of Bhutan; but is not clear how or whether he actually got there. The publishers say he did, but permission to enter the State is very seldom given to Europeans. Herr Nebesky had three teachers, Tibetan saints—reincarnations of great figures of Lamaism. From them he acquired much wisdom, and from his many friends he learnt about oracles, demons, magicians, bards and weather-makers. Of the last named, he tells the tale of an unlucky slip in ritual which brought torrential rain instead of the promised sunshine at a royal wedding. This intriguing book has been ably translated by Michael Bullock.

H. W. T.

Glubb's Legion. By Godfrey Lias. Evans, 1956. Pp. 230, 8¾ × 5 inches. 18s. net.

The author of this interesting volume was, like Peake Pasha, who fought with Lawrence and founded the Arab Legion, an officer of the Regular Army, and the Duke of Wellington's, in the First World War. This was followed by service in the Ministry of Information, and then in the Foreign Office as Intelligence Director of the Czecho-Slovak Region. Then a varied career, including schoolmaster in Alexandria.

He might well have been a Peake or a Glubb. He, too, loves the Bedouin and knows his ways. He, too, is one of those unique Englishmen who is in real sympathy with Arab "chivalry," and in this book puts on record the more intimate story of the beginning and the end of the "Arab Legion" as such, from Lawrence to Glubb. How right to the end there was complete understanding between Arab and Briton in all ranks, even under extreme stress. As we see the author round the camp-fire among the Black Tents, talking with his hosts as one of them, it looks as though he would gladly have forgotten the undoubted success of an unusually varied career in favour of training these men and leading them into battle.

As an experienced journalist in many lands, he shows skill in selecting his subjects and presenting a readable picture. Something of this sort was needed to record the general history of the period 1921 to 1956 and especially the place of the "Arab Legion" in world history. It explains in a sense why, in the first hundred years of Islam, the Arab was the dominating military factor.

G. M. Routh.

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IN MEMORIAM

COLONEL H. W. TOBIN, D.S.O., O.B.E.

THE Society has sustained a severe loss in the passing of one of its Hon. Secretaries, Col. H. W. Tobin (Toby to his friends). Few could believe that the light-hearted and youthful Toby had attained the age of 77. Such was the case. He was commissioned in the Royal Artillery in 1898 and saw much service with the Indian Army, chiefly with the 1st/4th Bombay Pioneers. Most of his contemporaries have ceased to take an active part in affairs, but Tobin was fully occupied to the end. No Eastern mountaineering project failed to interest him, and his help and advice was always available, especially to the younger explorers, who have many reasons to be grateful to him. One of his "disciples," Capt. R. H. Streather, represented the Society at his funeral. Streather was a successful climber on Tobin's favourite peak, Kangchenjunga. Apart from his untiring efforts on behalf of the Society, he was Editor of the *Himalayan Journal* and one of the founder-members of the Himalayan Club (of which he was also a Vice-President).

He will be sadly missed in Central Asian and mountaineering circles.

H. St. C. S.

COLONEL H. W. TOBIN, D.S.O., O.B.E.

A CLOSE friend and fellow founder member of the Himalayan Club, John Hannah, writes:

"I first met Toby in the autumn of 1925 on my return from the Guicha La, to compare notes, he having been there earlier in the year with Raeburn. They had crossed the Talung valley at great peril, their provisions having given out and, but for encountering Sirdar Gyalsen, a woodsman, could not have survived.

"Five years later we met again, he being then the local Honorary Secretary of the Himalayan Club. In that year, 1930, Professor Dyhrenforth brought out a large expedition, its chief objective being to climb Kangchenjunga. Tobin became responsible for the transport organization, porters, etc., and as I was the assistant transport officer to the expedition, we became close friends. On that expedition and always he was a delightful companion with an all-absorbing enthusiasm and love of mountains.

"After his retirement from his regiment he was for a time employed by the political department of the Government of India, and later joined the Northern Bengal Mounted Rifles (A.F.I.).

"On retiring in this country he kept his untiring enthusiasm for mountaineering and for the Himalayas in particular, helping and advising many of the younger men who have since achieved success in the Himalayas. He became editor of the *Himalayan Journal* in 1948."

NOTICES

The Council acknowledges with gratitude the following:

Poems from the Persian, by J. C. E. Bowen, presented by the author.

Turkish English Dictionary (2nd edition), by H. C. Hony with the advice of Fahir Iz, presented by the author.

Sun of Tabriz, translated by Sir Colin Garbett, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., etc., presented by Sir Colin Garbett.

The Kabuki Handbook, being a guide to understanding and appreciation, with summaries of favourite plays, by Aubrey S. and Giovanna M. Halford, presented by Aubrey S. Halford.

Rissalat al Naft (The Message of Oil), in Arabic, published by the Kuwait Oil Company, February 25, 1957.

The Turn of the Tide, by Arthur Bryant, purchased.

Members of the Society will be interested to learn that world-wide interest in the Society through our *Journal* is increasing.

The most noticeable additions to our list of library subscribers comes from China, where no less than twenty-one subscriptions have been taken out, mainly by learned societies, since January 1 this year. By far the largest number of overseas subscriptions come from the U.S.A., where eighty libraries, mostly universities, are regular subscribers.

This universal interest is most welcome; we hope it continues to grow.

EDITOR.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANNUAL DINNER

As already announced, the Annual Dinner will take place at Claridges', London, W.1, at 7.30 p.m., on Tuesday, July 16. The Secretary will be glad to receive applications for tickets as soon as possible after receipt by members of the notice. Tickets 37s. 6d. per head exclusive of wine but inclusive of waiter's tip.

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will take place at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, May 29, followed by tea. The talk to follow at 5 p.m. will be by Lieut.-General Sir John Glubb, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C.

To members interested in Chinese art, the following may not be as well known as it should be:

University of London

PERCIVAL DAVID FOUNDATION OF CHINESE ART

School of Oriental and African Studies

53, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1

Head of the Foundation: Professor S. Howard Hansford, M.A.

Curator: Lady David

The Foundation comprises the collection of Chinese Ceramics and a library of Chinese and other books dealing with Chinese art and culture presented by Sir Percival David to the University of London in 1950.

In addition, there are some sixteen hundred items of the Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties. A large part of it is documented, and contains a high percentage of marked and inscribed specimens, many of the inscriptions being documents of prime importance.

More than three hundred of the objects were lent by Sir Percival David to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art held in London in 1935-36, and this opportunity of viewing the collection as a whole is one which is widely welcomed.

JOURNEY THROUGH TURKEY

By M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.

A meeting of the Society was held at The Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, on Wednesday, January 30, 1957, at 1.30 p.m., when Mr. M. Philips Price, M.P., gave an illustrated address on his recent "Journey Through Turkey." Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B.E., K.C.B., Chairman of Council, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Philips Price is well known to nearly every one of you here as a traveller of great experience, a journalist, a writer and a Member of Parliament. I will not waste any more time and I will ask him to give his talk, which today is on his recent journey through Turkey.

LAST autumn I made a journey in Turkey with a view to seeing the changes that had gone on in the country since I had been there three years before. I visited towns of the West, the Centre, the South-east and East. I went to Istanbul, Ankara, Diabekr, Van, Bitlis and Mardin, and the agricultural and livestock areas of the East. Three of these areas I had seen in the previous five years, but others I had not seen at all before and some I had seen forty-one years ago when, during the First World War, I had been as *Manchester Guardian* correspondent with the Russian Caucasus Army invading Eastern Turkey. Thus I was able to get an impression not only of what progress had been made in Turkey over forty-one years since the days of the Ottoman Empire but also what had been happening over the last few years. I am bound to say that what has happened recently is as impressive as the contrast between what Turkey was in the days of the Sultan's Empire and what it is today after over thirty years of the Republic. In fact, the recent changes are in some respects the more spectacular.

My impression of the towns that I had seen three and five years ago and again now was that they had become like towns of the American Middle West in the period of the great booms of last century. Factories were rising, roads being struck out, houses being run up like mushrooms overnight, silos being built, drilling for oil going on and hydro-electric works being constructed. It is hoped to save large quantities of raw material imports like cement, coal, steel and oil and thereby reduce Turkey's dependance on other countries for the basis of her economy.

There were, of course, obvious signs of maladjustment and things not fitting in quite right. Thus, in spite of the impressive growth of the capital, Ankara, and everything modern from technical colleges to opera houses, we only had water in our basins for three or four hours a day. Ankara seems to have outgrown its water supplies. In another little town in the East I found a magnificent hospital with X-ray departments and ultra-modern apparatus of modern therapy but no doctors, and also, as far as I could see, no patients except three peasants with minor complaints. It seems sometimes that Ankara's enthusiasm for modernism outstrips the framework of Turkish society, as it still is over a large part of the country. Still, that is a mistake in the right direction.

The peasants are better off than ever before and still receive 30 per cent. above the world market prices for their wheat and pay next to nothing in taxes. Taxation falls heavily on the professional and middle class, and there is a steady inflation going on which is only partly controlled by stringent fixation of prices of certain articles of general consumption. Small traders are liable to get arrested for selling vegetables at above the fixed price.

In other words there is a reverse side to the medal of prosperity, and the question that one may well ask is—how is this tremendous capital development being financed? The economic programme of the Menderes Government will, if it is realized, make Turkey a state which, though still basically agricultural, will have a strong industrial section to the economy with rising standards of living. And Turkey is better equipped to do this than any other Middle Eastern state. Today she is, thanks to her past history and traditions, a country that understands self-discipline—something that the Greeks have never learnt. She is also content to concentrate on her own development, leave her neighbours alone and eschew fantastic dreams of throttling world trade by wrecking a great waterway and blowing up oil pipe lines in order to show their self-importance to the world, like some Arab states have done. In other words, the Turks are people of mature judgment in international affairs, and with her powerful army and old military traditions the only stable country in the Middle East. This is a matter of extreme significance in view of the crisis created there by the rise of unbridled Arab nationalism.

Yet one cannot avoid certain misgivings about the internal state of Turkey, and candid friends who want to see her really strong must point out where it seems there are signs of weakness without in any way wanting to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. Again, one must ask where is Turkey finding the resources for her tremendous development. Unfortunately as yet little oil has been found, unlike Iraq and Persia. She has some valuable chrome and a fertile soil which grows good exportable wheat, but the rainfall in Anatolia is fitful and is only enough for wheat export once in three years on an average. Turkey has wonderful dried fruit and tobacco for export, but it is not enough to finance the breakneck development that she is undertaking. I do not think she can build all these factories and hydro-electric works without extensive long-term credits. The U.S. has helped a lot, particularly in military and defence equipment. But a large part of the capital development programme is being paid by foreign firms who have supplied goods and capital works to Turkey and are having to forego payment of their debts except over a term of years. In other words, they are having to lock their capital up in Turkey for a long time. One firm I found had to accept bills on London maturing at six months, which would involve waiting three years for full payment. Foreign firms are now fighting shy of contracts in Turkey, and everything points to the need for a long-term loan which only the U.S. can give or a slowing down of the programme, which I understand is contemplated. The matter is complicated by the enormous spending power of the peasants, whose standard of living is shooting up—a very desirable thing in normal circumstances. But Turkey cannot eat her cake and have it. A large capital de-

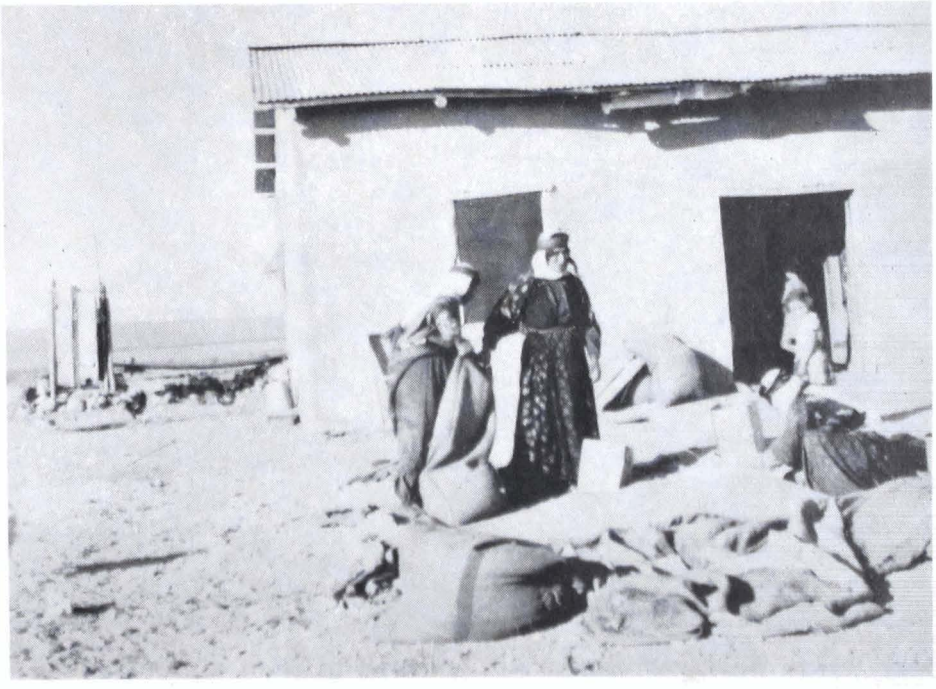
velopment programme involves, as we know in this country, a cutting down of internal spending power. Hence, our credit squeeze. The Turks will not put any credit squeeze on their peasants. Hence, the impasse. And this has had certain internal stresses and strains with political repercussions.

There has, in fact, recently been a marked rise in political tension inside Turkey, and controversy between Government and Opposition has become increasingly bitter. In foreign affairs the unity of the country is most impressive. Everyone is a keen supporter of N.A.T.O. and the Bagdad Pact, and is determined that, whatever else happens, politically minded Greek priests shall not be allowed to build up a new Byzantine Empire based on Cyprus. The Turks have not forgotten the battle of Sakaria, and are determined that the soldiers of the young Republic who died there fighting Greek imperialism did not die in vain. I met an opposition leader waiting to serve a prison sentence, and he said he supported the Turkish Government on Cyprus.

On the other hand, on home affairs feeling runs very high. To an Englishman it is natural that an Opposition should criticize the Government, and it seems that the Populist Opposition could very well make a point of saying that the pace of capital development is too fast and that muddles and mistakes are being made. Unfortunately, some sections of the Opposition have gone much further than this and have accused the members of the Government of wholesale bribery and corruption—the sort of thing which, if said in this country, would land the person who said it in a libel action. But Turkey has no libel law, so the Government, to protect itself, has introduced a Press Law which gives very wide powers to the Public Prosecutor and to the judges to sentence persons abusing the rights of free speech. In so far as the Press Law is a substitute for a libel law there is nothing to worry about, but the law goes further and has now forbidden all public meetings except at a general election. This is something which all well-wishers of Turkey must be anxious about. Turkey is not of course a fully mature democracy as yet, but she has done so well up to now in working her way through revolution and dictatorship towards a parliamentary democracy that this backsliding is a cause for regret. She is in striking contrast to Russia, which has also passed through revolution but stayed in dictatorship. On the other hand, I do not think the Press Law is causing much anxiety inside Turkey except among the professional and middle class, who are trained in the ideas of the free West. Nearly all the Istanbul press is against the government. But the circulation of the whole Turkish press is not more than half a million in a population of 25 million. For the rest the 18 million peasants are happy and well off and do not worry about Press Laws. But the present situation is not healthy and one must hope that tension will die down. There is no doubt that this internal dispute is the result of the economic difficulties that I have described.

Now about my journey. I first visited Istanbul and Ankara, and here are some coloured slides of famous monuments that once were the pride of Constantinople—namely, St. Sophia, the cathedral of the Eastern Christian Empire and the Ahmed or " Blue " mosque, the symbol of Ottoman power that arose on its ashes. Next is the imposing mosque of Sultan Suleiman,

LARGE TURKISH FARM, SHEDS AND COMBINE. MARDIN VILAYET

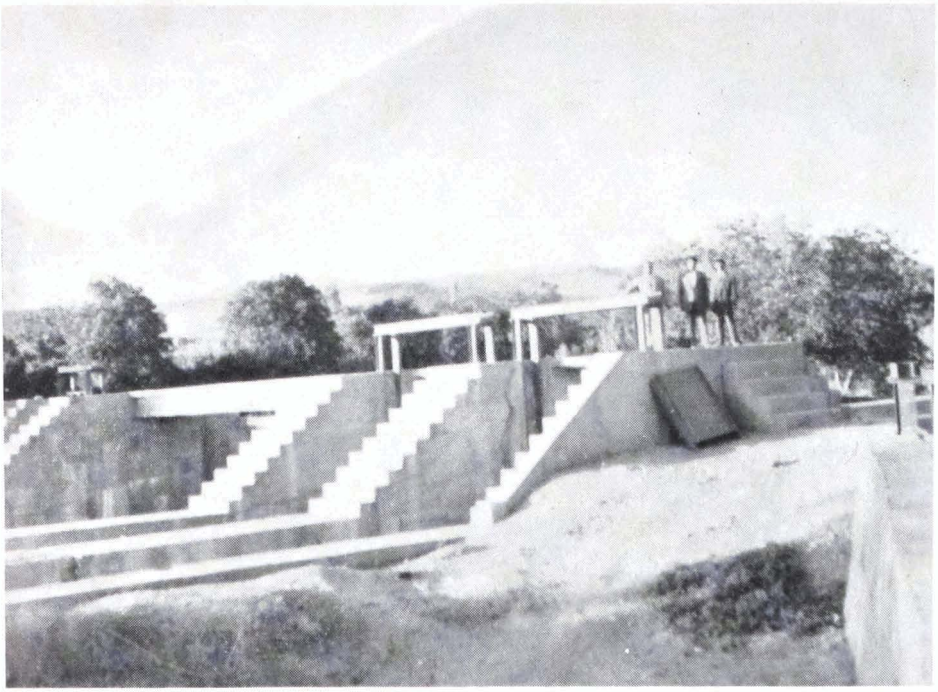


KHURDISH WOMEN WORKING ON TURKISH FARM. MARDIN VILAYET

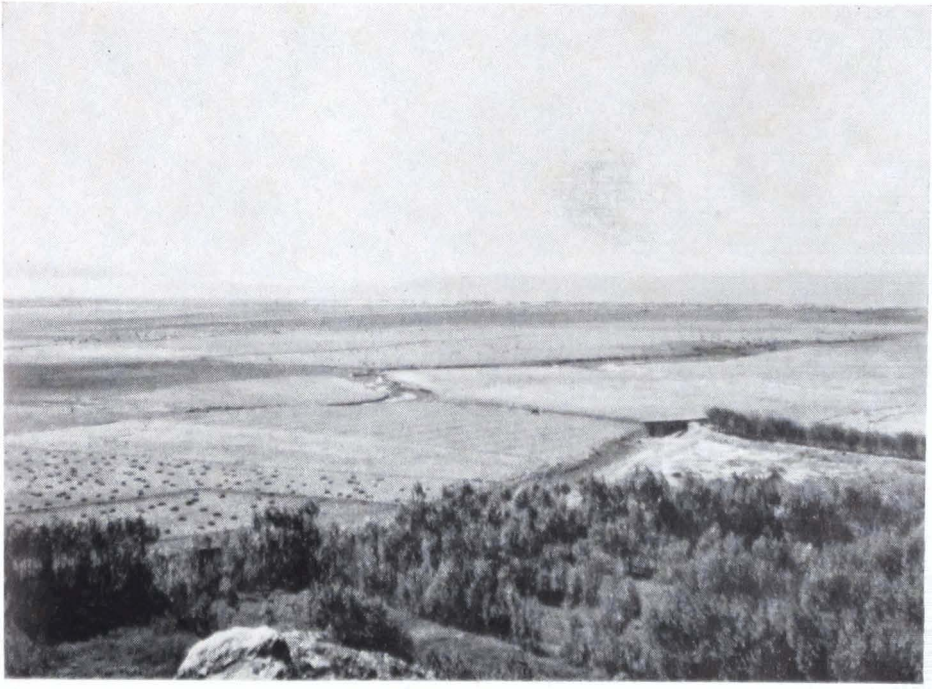
To face p. 96

CASTLE AT HOSHAB VAN VILAYET

ARAB AND SELJUK WALL OF DIABEKR



NEW IRRIGATION DAM FOR VILLAGES IN MARDIN VILAYET



VIEW FROM ROCK OF VAN SHOWING CULTIVATED LAND TOWARDS LUKE

INTERIOR OF JACOBITE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT MONASTERY OF DEIR ZARIFUR, MARDIN VILAYET. NOTE BYZANTINE ARCH AND ANOTHER SHOWING ARAB INFLUENCE

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION ON ROCK AT VAN AND ENTRANCE TO ROCK DWELLING, 600 B.C. URARTU KINGDOM

the Magnificent, taken from the north side of the Golden Horn by the Ataturk bridge. It is from the exterior the grandest of the Istanbul mosques, standing there silhouetted against the skyline.

After a week in Ankara I took the Eastern Express to Diabekr, the chief town in South-east Turkey. One passes for a day and a night through the upland plateaus of Central Anatolia, the homeland of the Turkish peasant, the backbone of the old Ottoman Empire and now of the Republic. After crossing the north end of the Taurus mountains one enters the watershed of the Tigris and Euphrates, here very small streams. The land falls to a plain which finally merges into the lowlands of Mesopotamia and the Arab countries of Syria and Iraq.

Approaching Diabekr one notices a new element in the population. One sees encampments of nomads, at wayside stations one hears Khurdish spoken, a different language to Turkish, and one sees women with tall headdresses and brightly coloured shawls and skirts. I got one photo of Khurdish women, but they are difficult to photo because they think the camera is the evil eye. At Diabekr one enters a country where some 2 million Khurds live scattered about among the Turks and now hardly distinguished except for their language and the women's dresses. The Khurds are in a slow process of becoming Turks, though I think that they will long keep their distinctive language among themselves. When I first went to Turkey forty-five years ago the Khurds were a powerful and quite separate community and the Sultan used them to bully another community, the Christian Armenians, also resident in Eastern Turkey. But the Armenians are now gone and the Khurds are being absorbed. All Khurds have the same citizen's rights as Turks, but no separate national or cultural entity is recognized. Indeed, no higher Turkish official will admit that Khurds exist at all, although the lower officials do. The Khurds got themselves into trouble because they rejected the Revolution and stood by the Sultan. In 1925 they revolted and besieged the Turkish garrison of Diabekr. The revolt was suppressed and the ringleaders hanged and some Khurds were deported to Central Anatolia. The Khurdish chiefs or Agas were deprived of their rights. I was anxious to see what had happened to the Khurds in this Eastern part of Turkey since I had been there forty-five years ago. I found that now that they have accepted the revolution and the reforms that have come with it, the Khurds have settled down and the Turkish Government have quite good relations with them. Thus I found in one place east of Diabekr that the local Khurdish Aga or chief and landowner was still in possession of much of his estate and had been elected to the Turkish parliament for his district, having become a convinced upholder of the Republic. Turkey has in fact become now a united state. When I first saw it in the days of the Empire, the old " millet " system prevailed. " Millet " is Turkish for " people," but in this sense it means a religious and linguistic community within the larger political system of the Ottoman Empire. These " millets " had no territorial basis but were scattered over the country. They had special religious and cultural rights, and the heads of their churches were also the political leaders and responsible for the political behaviour of their flocks to the Sultan. All went well in the quiet medieval days, but then the Christians began to go ahead more

rapidly than the Moslem "millet" and developed political claims which were sponsored by foreign powers, especially Russia. Then the trouble started which finally brought the Empire down and was only finally cleared up by the Republic. The new regime abandoned all claims to non-Turkish territory, and finally agreed for Greeks in Anatolia to exchange with Turks in northern Greece.

On arrival in Diabekr I spent a few days seeing the sights, visiting schools, horticultural institutes, farm machinery stations and Khurdish nomad encampments. I was particularly impressed by the walls of Diabekr, originally Roman and Byzantine, later Arab and Seljuk. One great bastion had the two-headed eagle, which appears to have been originally a Hittite emblem, then taken over by the Seljuks and passed on to the Byzantines, from whence it became the emblem of the more recent Austrian and Russian Empires.

I then went north to Bitlis, the capital of a neighbouring province in a narrow valley and a centre for the wool and skin trade, for here the big livestock region of Turkey begins. Here is a bazaar, an old Seljuk bridge and on the rock above an old castle, once sometimes Seljuk and sometimes the seat of Armenian kings. I had travelled up here with the Vali or governor of Diabekr in his car. He was going on a visit to the Vali of Bitlis. I found the Governors most helpful and all energetic young men who knew their provinces and travelled about. It seems to be the deliberate policy of the Government to promote such people.

I was then taken further up the valley from Bitlis by the Vali. The road rose to a high plateau of 5,000 ft. Here before me stretched the beautiful mountain lake of Van, deep blue and so large that you cannot see across. The lake seems to have been formed by volcanic eruptions blocking river systems in fairly late geological times. One old volcano is Mount Zipander with a crater lake at the top. The air on this plateau is most invigorating. There is fine grazing for stock in the short summer and much snow and cold in the winter. The waters of the lake are alkaline and there is one small fish like a herring in it.

There is a fleet of steamers on the lake, most of them built on the Clyde. I travelled with one across the lake to the town of Van on the eastern shore, the capital of the province of Van. The journey took rather over half a day. On the lake shore were peasants with their ox carts and primitive transport. Things have not changed much here from what they were like when I was there forty-five years ago in the country slightly to the north. The Turkish peasants were in European dress. There were also Khurdish peasants among them, but one could not tell them by the dress. One could hear Khurdish spoken, however. The old picturesque dresses that I remembered have all gone in the drab uniformity of the modern world. I spoke with Turkish soldiers coming back from leave to serve their time in these remote parts of the frontiers. In the bays and on the hillsides round the lake is scrub forest. The goat is still here the great enemy of the forest and not much is done to control it, as is the case in other parts of Turkey.

We passed the island of Akhtamar, where there are the remains of an old Armenian monastery and church, for the Armenians were once a large

community here. For a long time the bitter memories of the past caused the Turkish authorities to deny that the Armenians ever existed. They are getting more sensible now and it is possible to visit the island, though I did not, because it would have taken time to get a boat from Van and I had many other things I wanted to do.

The steamer arrived at Van and on approaching one sees the rock of Van, a basalt intrusion coming up out of plain round the lake. The old town of Van round the rock which I remembered forty-one years ago is now a ruin. The new town has been built further inland from the lake where once were villages and open land. It is quite a modern town, about thirty years old with public buildings, primary and secondary schools, a veterinary station for livestock improvement and for combating disease. Accomodation is moderate, but they are building a modern type of hotel. I stayed in the veterinary establishment and was quite comfortable. The province stretches eastwards to the Persian frontier and south-east to Iraq and includes the mountainous territory of Hakkiari where the Tigris rises. Here the peasants from the plateau plains send their flocks in the summer to the "yaila" or summer grazings, which last for about three months. The sheep and cattle grow phenomenally on the rich grass up there, and the sheep put fat on their tails that lasts them all winter. The authorities are doing something to improve the breeds by crossing, but progress is slow. The Van vilayet had in 1955 770,000 sheep and 150,000 cattle. The annual export of meat to Western Turkey is 100,000 sheep, 10,000 cattle and 300,000 kilos of wool. Sheep pay 80 kurush a head a year (about 2s.) to the Government. There is no tax on horses or cattle.

I visited villages round Van and found that with the aid of irrigation good crops of wheat and barley were grown, but also they were grown with aid of rain and snow, though with lower yields. Some villages took their flocks to the mountains in the summer while others concentrated more on cereal cultivation.

There were no tractors and cultivations were still done in the primitive old way with needle ploughs and oxen. The Government are concentrating rightly on improvement of livestock, since this is the great meat area of Turkey and arable cultivation is of second importance. Visits to the south-east of the Lake at a place called Gevash brought me to the scenes where in 1915 I had been with the Russian Cossacks and two infantry batallions which were invading this part of Turkey from the Caucasus in the First World War. I thought I found the place where I had camped with the Kuban Cossacks by the shores of the lake. And further on I saw the foothills where I witnessed the bombardment of Turkish positions by Cossack mountain artillery and an infantry action by the lake shore. I tried to find the place where I had spent a night huddled up under a wall of a ruined peasant's house while the snow fell, for it was late in November and the winter was coming down. But everything was now changed. The ruin and desolation that I had seen had given place to new villages, orchards and cultivated fields. The Russian wave of 1915 had retired. I saw some refugees from Russia, apparently Khurds from the Caucasus who had been given refuge in Turkey from the collectivization of their flocks and herds during the Stalin regime in the Caucasus.

I was taken further east in a car by the deputy Vali of Van to a place called Hoshab, where there is an imposing castle, built originally by a Khurdish Aga and added to by Sultan Suleiman. Not far away is the frontier with Persia, and I had come this way when I was visiting the Russian army of occupation round Lake Van in 1915. I had not been able to go then and look at the castle because I had been warned by Cossacks that Khurdish cavalry was about and I had better push on to the Russian post further to the west. The local police officer at Hoshab took me over the castle which had a fine bastion with lions over the door and Persian inscriptions commemorating the campaigns of Sultan Suleiman. The local police officer knew Persian and translated it for me. Persian seems to have been the language spoken at that time in that part of Turkey. The village of Hoshab is Turkish, though there were Khurdish encampments on the hillsides. The peasants live as I saw them forty-one years ago, store their seasons harvest on their roofs and make " tezek " or dried animal dung for fuel.

In Van itself I went to see the rock which is full of interesting history. The Urartu dynasty ruled there 600 years B.C. over a people contemporary with the Hittites. I climbed down narrow paths with yawning cliffs below to caves in the rock where the Urartu kings resided. On the rock face were numerous cuneiform inscriptions. In one place was a huge tablet carved out of the rock face by order of Xerxes, King of Persia, in three languages. Van has seen the passing of invading armies for 2,500 years and perhaps for longer. Urartu, Persian, Armenian, Khurdish, Seljuk and Osmanli dynasties have all ruled there at various times. The Russians have come and gone and it is now part of the Turkish Republic.

I returned from Van to Diabekr by the same way that I came, but this time I travelled rough with the people and not in Valis cars. I travelled by steamer and local bus and spent the nights in the local caravanserais sleeping on the floor. I learnt quite a lot about the way people live there and what they are thinking about.

From Diabekr I was driven by the Vali to Mardin the last Turkish province on the borders of Syria. The town of Mardin is built on a hill overlooking the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates. Nearby will go, if it is built, the new pipeline from the Iraq oilfields through Turkey to the port of Iskanderun. This would obviate having to pump Iraq oil across hostile Syrian territory. Shortly before I reached Mardin a party of engineers had been out there surveying the land. The Vali of Mardin was an energetic young man who arranged for me to see farms and villages. I went over one large farm near Nisyabin of 3,000 acres where everything was supposed to be modern. Certainly some good crops were being grown there. But there was a lot of Khurdish labour being employed and, although there were tractors and combines, I found that many of them did not work because they had not been properly serviced.

It is interesting to note that in this part of Turkey is a small Christian community which lives peacefully engaged partly in trade and partly in agriculture. They are the Jacobites, the followers of St. Jacobus, who in the early days of the Christian era led a community out of the Orthodox Church and held Monophysite doctrines, the same as the Armenians and

Copts. There are some 18,000 of them in this part of Turkey, and the Government gives them every facility to practise their religion. I visited near Mardin the interesting monastery of Deir Zafiran with sixth-century Byzantine columns and arches showing Arab and possibly Persian influence over the altar. Much prized is a gospel 800 years old with hand-painted pictures of eleventh century.

My visit to Turkey ended at Nisyabin, the frontier town, where the Vali of Mardin and his staff saw me off in the Baghdad express which runs twice a week. In it I rolled away across the small strip of Syria into Iraq.

Throughout this journey I received the utmost help from the Turkish authorities. I was much impressed by the material progress in the towns and centres of Anatolia, tempered by the fears that I have expressed earlier in this lecture about the effect of over-rapid development. In the more primitive east of Turkey I was impressed in another way—at the consolidation, politically and socially, of the Republic and at the gradual overcoming of the effects of the old " millet " system and the relics of the archaic society of the old Empire. Turkey remains the most stable and socially and politically sound part of the Middle East. In the new era of the Middle East, where this country has virtually no friends left, we can feel that we have at least one friend left there who will try to understand us.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid we have gone beyond our time. I know there are a lot of people who would like to ask Mr. Philips Price questions, but they will have to do it after we have dispersed. It remains for me to thank him very much indeed for an astonishingly interesting, very thoughtful and very forthright description of modern Turkey and what is going on there, which is most cheering, and also for his delightful photographs of those very ancient and historic lands. We are very grateful to him for all the trouble he has taken in preparing this lecture and coming to talk to us and giving it in such an interesting way. Thank you very much.

The vote of thanks was accorded unanimously by acclamation.

CO-EXISTENCE: IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By THOMAS PRESTON, O.B.E.

Report of a lecture delivered to the Society on February 13, 1957, Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B E., K.C.B., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Preston, who has kindly come to talk to us this afternoon, tells me that he started his life in Russia as a gold-miner. Following that, he became Vice-Consul during the time of the Czars, and he was Consul at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, and later our Minister in the Republic at Lithuania.

Incidentally, Mr. Preston has written a book dealing with all those periods, entitled *Before the Curtain*.

In the spring of 1956 he accompanied Malenkov and his delegation of engineers during their three weeks' tour of England. Since then Mr. Preston has paid a visit to Russia, and he is now going to speak about what he calls " Co-existence: Impressions of Soviet Russia."

TODAY I am to talk about co-existence. Co-existence is obviously not a very popular subject at the moment in view of the savage treatment inflicted by the Russians on the brave Hungarian workers and students, who are fighting for their own freedom as well as for ours. But co-exist we must. Even Hitler and Stalin co-existed on the same planet until they went to war. Moreover, there are many degrees of co-existence; co-existence with the interchange of visits of the people, and co-existence without. Stalin preferred the latter; for he feared " contamination " were Russians to mix freely with foreigners. The present collective rulers of Russia, on the contrary, have gone to the other extreme; and encourage the exchange of visits, although they like to maintain control of the visitors.

I think that since the Revolution the year 1956 will go down to history as the year in which the peak was reached in the exchange of visits between British and Russians.

In the autumn of last year, I was invited to join a civic delegation which had been invited by the Soviet authorities for a fortnight's tour of Russia.

Our delegation may be described as representing a cross section of British public opinion, including, as it did, the mayor and mayoress of an important British town, a high ranking medical officer, two labour members of the municipality, two Conservative members, a Trade Unionist and a Labour Member of Parliament.

We were the guests of the mayor of an important Russian town and, as such, were lavishly and most cordially entertained from the moment we entered the Soviet Union until we left it a fortnight later.

Of particular interest, during our visits to Russian factories, were the observations of those members of our mission whose close knowledge and experience of the British way of life, and particularly of working conditions, facilitated the drawing of comparisons between labour conditions in

England and those obtaining in Russia under the Soviets. The strictures of these people on the conditions and standard of living of workers in Soviet Russia were most severe and overtly and courageously expressed and were of significance to Russian and British listeners alike.

The chief fault that they had to find with the Soviet leaders was that, although they had achieved much—with the aid of slave labour—in industrial development over a period of a few decades, they had done next to nothing to raise the living standards of the workers which, as avowed Marxists, should have been their main objective. The Kremlin's leaders answer to this was, as it always has been, that they had first of all to develop the heavy industry and, only later, produce consumer goods on which an improvement in the living standards of the workers depended.

Other strictures of the members of our mission were on the deplorable sanitary conditions (always prevailing in Russia) and too great an emphasis and money spent on " Kultura " (a word the Russians loosely use to cover all the arts) to the detriment of living standards.

Wages and working hours (particularly for skilled, qualified and concentrated labour) also came under the critical axe of our delegation, who said that many of the conditions under which the Russian workers were working in the factories would not be tolerated under British Trade Union regulations.

Towards the end of September, we left Helsinki by the Finnish Airlines for Moscow. Three hours later we touched down at the aerodrome Vnukovo (Moscow), which I had last visited in 1940, when Soviet Russia was an ally of Nazi Germany. I had also known Moscow as far back as in 1910.

What a complete transformation of a city had taken place since then. My memories took me back to a rural Moscow, with narrow cobbled-stone streets, stately mansions with spacious gardens, large one- and two-storied wooden homesteads, Government institutions in classical eighteenth-century architecture, centred by the fantastic Kremlin, surrounded by walls, crowned by eighteen towers and pierced by five gates.

Today, Moscow is hardly more than Moscow in name. All that remains of bygone days is the incomparable Kremlin (one time the most sacred spot in all the vast Russian Empire), the Bolshoi Theatre and certain of the eighteenth-century classical Government buildings, strangely incongruous in their modern surroundings. Today, the eye is struck by the enormously wide (180 feet) streets, and by sky-scrapers of varying height. In the streets, the blood trotters and troikas of yore (drawing sleighs or carriages according to season) with their sable-coated and bejewelled occupants and the well dressed and happy-go-lucky crowds, have now been replaced by motor traffic, in its density almost on the scale of that of Western European cities, and by ill-clothed, drab and sullen crowds hurrying to their work for which the majority of them receive a wage barely sufficient to supply them with the necessities of life, as understood by Western standards. To catch up with and surpass the United States has always been—and still is—the ceiling of the Kremlin leaders' aspirations. The sky-scrapers, the wide streets, and the feverish building programme are all part and parcel of this policy. It is this which fascinates and hypnotizes the

Soviet man in the street and makes him forget that he is underfed and ill-clothed.

Are the Russians likely to catch up with the Americans in the near future? I do not think so. The Soviet leaders measure their own economic progress by taking as a yardstick the highly developed capitalist countries. Having succeeded in outgrowing industrialized Europe, the Soviet Union is unwilling to rest until it has caught up with the United States, the last remaining competitor in the drive for economic supremacy. But, in my view, unless the United States enters upon a period of recessions, the Russians, in the next five-year plan which, historically, is a short one, will not reach their target of Soviet world supremacy. In my estimate, by 1960, the Soviet Union will not even be in sight of American output of fuel and power, of steel or machine production, let alone the supply of consumer goods. By 1960 every Russian worker and soldier may be expected to have his own watch—of which they are so fond—but there will still be many families without a bicycle or a sewing machine, let alone a frig or a washing machine. These will remain the attributes of the upper classes of Soviet society.

Moscow is still without a telephone book or a map of the city, whilst taxis are only obtainable through the hotel management. Animal pets are non-existent—they are regarded as bourgeois prejudice.

At Moscow we visited the Agricultural Exhibition which, since I last saw it in 1940, had become industrial as well as agricultural, and is now a permanent institution, with sixteen pavilions, all vyeing with each other in beauty, and representing the sixteen Republics of the U.S.S.R. Of particular interest to me was the Georgion Pavilion, set in a garden of tropical plants, and with a model of Tiflis, its beautiful capital. In one of the pavilions we noticed two pictures, or shall I say, mural decorations in view of their enormous size, depicting meetings of the first Soviets at Petrograd. Unhappily these pictures had been distorted to meet the political exigences of the hour. Thus, Trotsky, who at the time was second only to Lenin in prominence, is conspicuous by his absence in the picture, whilst undue prominence is devoted to Stalin who, at that period, was a comparative mediocrity and played a minor role in the party.

While on the subject of the portraits of Soviet statesmen, past and present, it is interesting to note that in many of the official buildings we visited we found pictures of *different* Soviet leaders adorning the walls. Thus, in one there would be a portrait of Stalin alone (at Moscow Airport); in another those of Lenin, Bulganin and Khrushchev; whilst in a third there would be a portrait of Lenin only.

A question which rather seemed to puzzle us was whether this inconsistency in displaying the portraits of Soviet leaders represented a certain indecision on the part of the present rulers of Russia as to who may hold plenary power in the near future.

Speaking of the Moscow underground railway—jocularly described by an American wit as " orthodoxy gone underground "—on which our Russian hosts insisted on taking us for a ride at midnight, after we had witnessed a superb performance of Boris Goudonov at the Bolshoi Theatre, we all agreed that it is an absurd waste of Government money and an imprac-

ticable luxury, even for a Communist paradise. The stations, with their enormous marble floors and columns, lighted by period chandeliers, and with their Greek classical statues, depicting physical prowess, seemed more like guildhalls than railway stations, and entirely out of keeping with the drab appearance of the passengers. There, as everywhere in the Soviet Union, Spartan discipline is enforced, and two of our delegation, who lighted cigarettes, were immediately reprimanded by a couple of security police with " Put your cigarettes out, Comrades."

Whilst at Moscow we were also shown the new university, a thirty-two-story modern building situated on Lenin Hills, formerly known as Sparrow Hill from which Napoleon once gained a panoramic view of the city from which he made his disastrous retreat. There are about 20,000 students (the sexes are mixed) receiving tuition, mostly in science and mathematics. Six thousand students are also housed in the institution, including, as we were told, many foreigners, mostly from the Far and Middle East. The exchange of students from the universities in the Western world was also under consideration, a project now, no doubt, shelved till the Calends in view of the Kremlin's recent behaviour in Hungary. The impact of this formidable institution, both structurally and educationally, on the raw student from such far-away lands as the Central Asian republic of Kazakstan may well be imagined.

Education and university life in Soviet Russia is not a subject that one can dismiss without comment. It differs in many ways from education in the West. A very special subject is the study of foreign languages, English, German and French predominating, and in that order, with the most astonishing results.

Russian students achieve a remarkable degree of competence in foreign languages, whilst they also acquire a wide knowledge of the literature of the corresponding language, particularly English. Evidence of this was given us at a workers' evening club at Odessa, where the workers gave a perfect rendering in English of a scene from Hamlet.

Russian students have little time or inclination for social life, their spare time being occupied by musical entertainment, visits to museums and sport, not of the amateur variety as in England, but classified politically and designed to produce worthy representatives in international competitions. The students are neatly but modestly dressed. Lipstick and all cosmetics are taboo. There is *no glamour*. Discipline is spartan and, if in Tsarist days, Russian universities were hot-beds of revolution, in the recent past political discussion rarely departed from the party line. In September last, however—I do not know what the position is today—Khrushchev's strictures on the " Stalin personal cult " had produced new food for thought and lively discussion.

Actually, in the Ukraine, I met students who were ready to talk, and were anxious to learn my views on such subjects as " Nina's hats " and the Suez conflict.

It is only recently that Russia's youth has begun to think for itself. In fact, the more they meet foreign visitors the more their appetite for hearing other people's opinion, besides those of their press and their party-bosses, seems likely to grow.

The journey from Moscow, where the people scowl, to Odessa, where the people smile, is made, either by rail, thirty-six hours, or by air, about four hours. I have experienced both and prefer the latter. Russian aircraft are fast, comfortable and roomy. The Russians dispense with " such nonsense " as buttoning belts when taking off or landing; there are *no* belts to button. The windows are large and one gets a fine panoramic view of the countryside when flying low—which the Russians often do.

Once at Odessa we were left in no doubt as to how the provinces in Soviet Russia, far away from Moscow, receive foreign delegations, especially if they happen to be civic ones. As we touched down at Odessa airport we were warmly greeted by the Mayor and other officials and by children, who presented us all with enormous bouquets of flowers. The addresses of welcome could not have been more cordial, even if tempered by the usual Communist jargon about " world peace through communism," a phrase which is now repeated by the Russian people almost automatically and without much conviction. Along the seven kilometre route from the airport to the town, crowds of people lined the streets and waved their welcome. Again, when we entered our box at Odessa Opera Houes, we were greeted by a speech of welcome, delivered by the Première danseuse of the ballet. This was the signal for the whole audience to give us a rousing welcome.

In fact, were I to be asked what was the chief feature of our visit to Russia, I should say, without any hesitation, the extraordinary friendliness of the Russian people. Incidentally, there has always been a great affinity between the Russians and the British. Has not Sir Winston Churchill frequently drawn a distinction between a friendly people and a hostile Government. How right he has been. It should never be forgotten that, besides performing the normal functions of a Government, which maintains diplomatic relations with foreign powers, the Kremlin rulers represent the spearhead of a world-wide revolutionary movement. It is too early, in my opinion, to accept the Russian revolution *en bloc* as some of our wiseacres attempt to do; it is still an aggressive revolutionary organization.

In the Ukraine we visited a number of factories, hospitals, sanatoria, schools, picture galleries and museums.

At the factories we were received by the directors, who greeted us in their offices where we were always offered refreshment, not coffee and sandwiches, but vodka and champagne, fruit and caviar. Speaking about caviar, I can tell you rather an amusing story told me by a very distinguished British general, who, I believe, is amongst the audience here today —I hope he will forgive me the plagiarism. Some British soldiers were in a Russian camp and the Russians, with their usual hospitality, gave them caviar for almost every meal. When the general went to inspect these soldiers he asked the British Tommies whether they were satisfied with the food. One of the Tommies replied, " Yes, sir, the food is all right, but that ruddy jam, of which they give us so much, stinks of fish."

In a factory manufacturing machine tools, we were told that some of the machinery had been installed by a British firm and the director spoke with enthusiasm of the forthcoming arrival of the director of that firm.

Among other factories we visited was the Odessa champagne factory at present producing a million and a half bottles a year, all for internal consumption. At the sumptuous lunch offered by the director of the factory we were invited to drink to "Russian champagne" and compare it with French, the intention obviously being that we should say that the Russian was better. One of our members avoided this difficulty by saying that French was drier—not that Russian champagne is not an excellent wine, for those who like it sweet.

Another visit of interest that we made was to the Filatov eye hospital. The director of this institution was (he died some six weeks ago) the eminent Russian physician, B. P. Filatov, a dear old man, who left a sick bed to come and greet us. The main operation, an invention of Professor Filatov, performed at this hospital is known as "corneal opacity," of which the hospital claimed to have performed more operations during the last twenty years than the rest of the world put together.

It might have been added that the abundance in Russia of congenital venereal disease provided plenty of patients for this operation. As is the case in hospitals the world over, the nurses and medical staff of the hospital were doing a wonderful and self-sacrificing job with inadequate reward.

Of particular interest was our visit to a large collective farm centred on the village of Chernomorskoe (Black Sea), some ten miles along the sea coast from Odessa. Here we were greeted by the manager, who invited us to his office where again we found the usual hospitable table, laden with delicacies and wines. The particulars handed out to us about this farm were as follows:

Area, 3,500 acres; income 9 million roubles; of the area, 1,000 acres were under grapes and the rest under cereals and pasture lands. There were 350 head of cattle and 155 milking cows. The average annual milk production of one cow (Red Steppe breed) was 3,178 litres—this output compares unfavourably with that (about 10,000 litres) of a Jersey cow on a Hampshire farm I visited just before I left for Russia. On a collective farm the production of each cow is marked up on a blackboard against the cow's name —for instance, Olga produced 3,000 litres, Tamara 3,200 litres, Vera 3,000 and so on; and the milkmaid who milks the highest production gets the Order of Lenin.

Grain production, we were told, was about 15 cwt. per acre. Our host estimated the annual cash income of a collective farmer at R. 2,000—about £200 at faked Russian exchange. British economic research experts, however, using Soviet statistics for 1955, and taking an average of 315 labour days, estimate cash payments at only R. 790 (just under £80) per head per annum. But cash payments only represent 43 per cent. of total earnings, the remaining 57 per cent. being payments in kind for the value of which there are no available statistics. Nevertheless, it is pretty generally known that deficiencies are made up by the farmers by the mysterious disappearance of pigs and the carcasses of cattle which obligingly commit suicide in order to provide food and the wherewithal for sale on the free market for these impoverished farmers.

In any event collectivization has been the biggest failure of Communist economy, particularly in the satellite states, where it has been largely

abandoned. There are, in fact, enormous grain deficiencies in Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary which will have to be replenished either by Russia or the West.

A question that greatly interested our delegation, seeing that it included a British lawyer, was that of the working of the present-day Russian Law Courts; and in this the local Soviet authorities granted us facilities for enquiry, instructing a local lawyer and a judge of the People's Courts to receive us at the Law Courts and give us any information we might wish.

The code of laws in Russia is that of the U.S.S.R., which has nothing to do with Roman law, although Roman titles are used. The People's Courts, of which there are twenty-six in the town and district of Odessa, consist of three judges. Of these, one, at least, must be a man with a juridicial (university) education, and the other two lay assessors. Besides civil cases, minor criminal offences are dealt with by these courts, which may refer more serious cases to the Oblastny (local assize courts) for a decision. Judgment at the Peoples' Courts are reached by a majority vote of the three judges who retire to a consultative chamber for the purpose. If the defendants are not satisfied with the decision they can appeal against it to the " Cassation Courts." The defendant has the right, which he nearly always exercises, to the legal advice of a practising lawyer. One of these gentlemen, who seemed quite prosperous, told us that most of his work was in connection with divorces, the sale of house property and the probate of wills, etc. A word about house property. Today, any citizen in the U.S.S.R. can purchase and dispose of house property; but the State is the sole possessor of the land, which cannot be possessed or transferred by its tenants no matter how long they may enjoy it by virtue of the fact that their home is situated on it.

A question which aroused our interest, seeing that our host, who entertained us so lavishly, was a mayor, was what is a mayoral job in a provincial town in the Soviet Union worth. With a large flat in town, a villa in the country, cars *ad lib.*, a steamer and a private yacht, plus some three thousand roubles per month, we estimated that such a mode of life in England would run into many thousands of pounds a year. It should be remembered, however, that in the Soviet Union these amenities go with the job, and that they all disappear when the recipient falls from grace; the bigger the job, the greater the fall. Other members of the " new bourgeoisie," managers of factories and of collective farms, etc., all receive emoluments more or less on a par with those of our mayoral host.

Do the privileged and well-paid positions of this new class in Russia cause discontent amongst the less happily situated workers in the factories whose salaries range from R. 800 to R. 1,400 per month for unskilled and skilled labour respectively? We were told, confidentially, that they did. At least one young worker, whom I met at our Odessa hotel, adopted the novel method of imparting this information to me by throwing his arms round my neck, embracing me on both cheeks and whispering in my ear, " When will you help us to get rid of this ghastly Communist tyranny?" Others, when unobserved by the vigilant security police, were equally vocal on this subject, stating that they considered the enormous difference in pay of the new bourgeoisie and their own as a gross injustice which would

sooner or later have to be remedied. As it is nearly always the case throughout the world, the salaries of the unfortunate school teachers and pedagogues are very low in Russia—some 500-600 roubles per month. Against this it must be said that the rents they pay are relatively infinitesimal, whilst they receive a good deal in kind.

Before we left Odessa we visited a Communist pioneer camp accommodating about 300 children of ages ranging from eight to fourteen. These children, who were all well disciplined and nicely behaved, gave us a great reception, singing and dancing and adorning our top-hatted mayor (the Soviet caricature of the bloated capitalist) with a badge and red scarf of the "pioneers." It was with pride that they showed us their orderly living quarters and class rooms. We all agreed that you would not find a better behaved lot of children anywhere in the world. But alas, as the British Trade Union member of our delegation remarked, "What a tragedy that they were all being steeped in Communism at this tender age."

A thing that struck me very forcibly was the relative freedom obtainable in the Ukraine as opposed to the stern official atmosphere in the centre at Moscow. I have described Moscow and Odessa as "scowls and smiles respectively." It is more than this. The degree of autonomy in the separate republics, such as the Ukraine, is greater than I could have been led to believe. At Kiev, where we proceeded after leaving Odessa, the atmosphere seemed very autonomous indeed. The people referred to Kiev, not to Moscow, as their capital. People stopped us in the streets and engaged in free conversation, and one of our delegates created quite a stir in the main street of the city by addressing a crowd, which became so big that the security police were obliged to disperse them, although, politely enough, seeing that we foreigners were eyewitnesses.

Another aspect of autonomy at Kiev is that many of the public monuments in the city and its suburbs are dedicated, not to Russian revolutionary leaders, but to Ukrainian patriots, prominent among them being one to Tara Shevchenko, 1814-76, painter, poet and revolutionary.

Full credit is due to the Kiev authorities for the stupendous task they have performed in repairing damage done to the town by the Germans during the war. One side of the whole of the main street, which had been razed to the ground, has been completely rebuilt with imposing styled edifices of many stories. On a hillock, facing the main thoroughfare, I espied a beautiful building of Grecian architecture with Doric columns. I was told that it was the Conservatory of music. Musicians in the Ukraine are certainly deserving of a good conservatory. Most Ukrainians seem to be able to dance and sing. At Kiev Opera House we attended an excellent performance of Rossini's "Barber of Seville," with an exceptionally talented collatura and an excellent bass in the role of Don Basilio.

I did not stay in the Ukraine long enough to gain even an inkling as to how deep is the autonomous separative feeling in the Ukraine, or as to how the new look of relaxation, engendered by Khrushchev's famous speech, denouncing Stalin, had led the Ukrainians away from the sacred paths of Kremlin Communism. This raises the question of the political aspirations of the Collective leadership set up in Moscow today.

The legacy which Stalin left to his successors was a doctrine, a machin-

ery of personal despotism and an empire. He inherited the doctrine from Lenin. The essence of this doctrine, as Stalin left it, was that class conflict and the laws of history will eventually create revolutionary situations in all non-communist countries. A revolutionary situation occurs when the people are no longer willing to carry on under their old rulers. It is the duty of Communist parties to seize power in these revolutionary situations. This they are to do by creating and guiding an alliance of workers and peasants. Having seized power, they are to retain it by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, by nationalizing industry and by collectivizing the land. But they are to co-exist in peace with the remaining non-communist countries until the operation of the laws of history have once again brought about a situation in which Communism can safely make a further advance.

Stalin's successors have proved themselves to be more practical than ideological; but they have *not* betrayed Stalin's doctrines and are not likely to. And I cannot emphasize too strongly that this doctrine, in spite of all the allurements and enticing baits put out by the Kremlin, of co-existence, friendship, etc., remains practically unchanged. It behoves us, ladies and gentlemen, not to be fooled by talk of peaceful co-existence, the Geneva spirit and other slogans. The Lenin-Stalin doctrine remains and will be assiduously implemented by the new collective rulers of the Kremlin. It is to be hoped that the red lights of Suez and Hungary will be of sufficient warning. If the Russians are not on our doorstep, they are certainly in our front garden. It should also be remembered that Soviet agents, who are constantly telling us that the Kremlin leopard is changing its spots, are always in our midst and exercise their influence in the highest spheres in this country.

I do not propose to dwell at length on the system of Stalin's despotism. You probably know as much as I do. Suffice to say, it was based on a political police, a vast network of informers, secret trials and a system of labour camps. Vast areas of the U.S.S.R. were administered by Beria's ministry, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the last years of Stalin's life, the budget for this one Ministry exceeded the budget for all the rest of the civil government of the U.S.S.R. His personal power was unlimited and he used it to the full. He succeeded in transforming the Soviet Union into the second industrial power in the world; in agriculture, however, he was less successful. The income of the collective farmers, as I have already shown, was and is incredibly low by Western European standards. When Stalin died, agriculture was heading for a breakdown. Stalin knew this, and the strange story of the doctor's plot suggests that he was going to create an antisemitic diversion and a purge reminiscent of the 1930's.

In the foreign field you will remember what happened. Stalin was getting dangerous, evidence of which are rejection of the Marshall plan, foundation of Cominform, the subjugation of Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade and the war in Korea. In self-defence we created N.A.T.O. The first concern of Stalin's successors was to re-establish collective rule in the U.S.S.R. They arrested Beria, and six months later tried him and shot him.

They reduced the budget of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

By an amnesty for non-political prisoners and by subsequent large-scale releases of political prisoners of non-Russian nationality, they reduced the population of the prison camps, and they put an end to the administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and to the areas which had been previously run almost exclusively by forced labour. They dissociated the State Security Authorities from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and placed them in charge of a committee responsible to the Council of Ministers. In this way they made it more difficult for one of their number to usurp the place of Stalin. But, in so doing, they made the people of the U.S.S.R. and the satellites less afraid of the political police. This reduced fear of the political police was one of the factors which made possible the developments in Poland and Hungary in 1956.

Let us next turn to Khrushchev's criticisms and denunciation of Stalin. They were undoubtedly made precipitately, without due concern for their long-term repercussions. The long-term effect was to stimulate a spirit of criticism which had been inhibited by fear in Stalin's day, and which, after Khrushchev's speech about Stalin, grew rapidly in volume, both inside and outside the U.S.S.R. Indeed, this spirit of criticism was the second important factor in the intellectual ferment which preceded the political changes in Poland and in Hungary in the autumn of 1956.

One would think that Khrushchev's internal political acrobatics must have bewildered the Russian people. Soon after his famous anti-Stalin speech we found him, as proof of his desire for relaxation, triumphantly parading round Russia, Tito, whom Stalin had previously almost threatened with war. Then, a few months later, Tito and his Titoism, which was beginning to spread in the satellites, was again the target for Russia's abuse; and, finally, we see Khrushchev in another volte face in a return to Stalinist methods in Hungary.

Another reform in the economic field inaugurated by the new collective leadership has been a rescission of the more Draconian measures adopted by Stalin in relation to labour. It is probably no coincidence that this easing of the labour laws has been followed by the first reports of strikes in the U.S.S.R. Strikes were, and still are, classed as counter-revolutionary activities. The fact remains that, on a small scale and sporadically, they have begun to take place. In the satellites the working classes are also becoming bolder. The Poznan riots played a great part in the political developments in Poland; and the workers of Budapest, as we all know only too well, who played a leading role in the fighting, still constitute the main resistance to the Kadar Government.

Another innovation of the Collective Leadership in Russia has been an economy drive in which Molotov, in his new appointment, will probably take a hand.

The new Collective Leadership have remained faithful to the basic foreign policies which Stalin inherited from Lenin. They never miss an opportunity of exploiting conflicts between the major capitalist countries, particularly between the Americans and ourselves: and to undermine regional defence organizations, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad pact. I do not believe for a moment that Bulganin would ever have dared to send the insulting and threatening note he sent to Eden, had

he not thought that the Suez affair had seriously impaired Anglo-American relations.

Among the Russians' other preoccupations is the wooing of the colonial and independent countries which Lenin always regarded as human reserves for communist revolution.

For quick political results, attainable without the involvement of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government conceived the ingenious plan of selling Czech and Polish military equipment to Egypt. This started at the beginning of 1955. By the end of 1956, the political dividends that the Russians had accrued from this policy had been enormous, creating a strong wave of anti-British and anti-French feeling throughout the Arab world, the infliction of great harm on the economy of Western Europe and the creation of a lasting threat to Middle East supplies which, for many years, will probably be vital to the economy of the United Kingdom.

To summarize the position of the U.S.S.R. today. Internally the Soviet Union seems to be strong. Its industry is still developing. At the recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet an overall rise of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in industrial development was envisaged. Although agriculture still remains a weak spot, the cinderella of Soviet economy, the grain harvest for 1956 was a record one—20 per cent. higher than any since the revolution, although it seems doubtful whether transport facilities are sufficient to cope with the harvests of the new virgin territories in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Oil production reached 83 million tons, steel 46 millions and coal 429 millions. Internally, the people over which the Collective Leadership rules are better educated, more critical and less afraid than under Stalin.

Externally, there is no doubt that the Russians want to return to their policy of reducing international tension. They also want to get back to better relations with the West than those which characterized the last quarter of 1956. Undoubtedly the measure which would most easily regain for them some of their lost prestige would be to grant to Hungary a status similar to that of Finland. But the Soviet rulers seem determined to keep the satellite states of Eastern Europe under their influence; for strategic reasons it is difficult to imagine how they could do otherwise. Nevertheless, the brutality of their methods in Hungary means that their rule can now rest on force alone. It is significant that, after ten years of intensive communist indoctrination, Hungarian workers and students have revolted violently against Soviet ideology.

As for the outside world, it has seen that the doctrines of the Russian Communist revolution remain unchanged in spite of the Hungarian rebellion. But the free world has a short memory; and as soon as the horrors of Budapest have faded, the Communist leaders in Moscow will be back at their old game of lulling the public of the Western world into a false sense of security and doing their best to undermine the system of defensive alliances on which our security depends.

Lately, one has heard and read a great deal about the "Twilight of Communism." I think this is wishful thinking. It is true, no doubt, that the savage suppression by the Russians of the revolt in Hungary has greatly weakened the prestige of communist parties in countries outside the Sino-Russian alliance. But does this apply to Russia itself? I doubt it. The

modernization of Russia has resulted in the creation of new social classes from whom one might expect opposition to the Government; added to which there is undoubtedly discontent amongst students and workers; but, so long as the Communist party rule, supported by the army, they will always be able to suppress anything savouring of an organized rebellion against their sway.

Another factor which has given the Kremlin a fillip when it most needed it is the recent emergence in the European political field of Red China; in which connection I do not share the view expressed in some quarters that Russia and China are going to part company. They have enough in common, in ideology and economics to bind them together for many a year.

In conclusion, and again reverting to the subject of this talk, co-existence, I do not think for a moment that, in so far as the highly civilized countries are concerned, it will, as the Russians hope, prove a one-way traffic to the spreading of Communism. But as regards the undeveloped countries, the danger is greater, and the impact on ignorant and backward people of the propaganda of the armies of Russian technicians and salesmen who will visit these countries in ever increasing numbers, may be very great.

The Russians are now pressing hard for a renewal of an exchange of visits of our people and theirs, no doubt with a view to gloss over their crime in Hungary. I think it would be most indecent were we to be hasty in reciprocating.

I feel we cannot do better than follow the example of our own Prime Minister, who, like the three sisters in the Tchekhov play, will not be going to Moscow next May.

Mr. M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.: What is the truth about the alleged numbers and quality of the output of Russian technological experts and engineers. Are not these grossly exaggerated?

Mr. PRESTON: I did have opportunities of studying this question; and I have been very interested in it. I spent three weeks with Malenkov and his power-station engineers when they visited England in the spring of last year. Everybody who met these engineers and technical experts was very impressed with their efficiency. As to their numbers, one hears all sorts of stories, an output of tens of thousands of graduates per annum being frequently mentioned; but it seems certain that the Russians are making a terrific drive in education; and that they are turning out extremely efficient people, particularly in the realms of electricity in which they already produce twice as much energy as we do in this country.

During Malenkov's visit we visited atomic power stations in England where our people were much impressed by the Russians' knowledge. We also visited a number of factories—English Electric, Vickers, etc.—and from the questions that the Russians raised it was evident that they were well informed. I found very much the same conditions on visiting factories in the Soviet Union itself.

Commander GRANT, R.N.: Concerning Sino-Russian Communist aggression all over the world, has the lecturer any ideas as to how we might

combat it? Can he give any idea as to who—the East or the West—will be likely to benefit from the "time factor"?

Mr. PRESTON: I think there is only one way of countering Sino-Russian Communist aggression and that is being united, which we are not. We must also carry on propaganda. According to official American statistics, the cost of world-wide Communist propaganda during the year 1953-54 was estimated at $1,167,000,000 (about £400,000,000); I can give details of these figures, which include broadcasting stations, various "cultural missions" and 375,000 full-time paid propagandists. What are we doing in this field? Apparently next to nothing. In fact, we are so self-satisfied with our own way of life that we fail to understand that others need not necessarily think likewise. When the Russians broadcast atrocious lies about us to the Arab world, to India and elsewhere, we should reply with the truth; and also expose the abominations of Soviet tyranny, particularly recently in Hungary.

It is the irony of fate that whenever the Russians get into difficulties—and I do not say this in any spirit of "Schadenfreude," seeing that we have the right to rejoice in their difficulties so long as they remain aggressive—something turns up at the eleventh hour to save them. The Bolsheviks were in difficulties in 1918 when we could have dealt them a mortal blow if only we had been united. In 1926 we sent them an ultimatum—I was a senior member of the British Mission at Moscow at the time—accusing them of breaking their treaty with us whereby they had agreed not to carry on subversive propaganda in this country. The Russians were really scared in those days and thought we were going to bombard Khronstadt. We had them where we wanted them, but never pressed home our diplomatic victory. Again, in 1945, we not only presented on a platter to Stalin our victory over the Germans but also sold down the river one hundred million non-Russian Europeans, who inhabit the so-called satellite states today; all the trouble in Poland and Hungary and the other satellites stems from this betrayal. Who was responsible for it is nobody's business; but there it is, and we are now paying the bill.

Finally, the rebellion in Hungary is a definite rebuff to the Russians, for it means that instead of having fifteen loyal divisions in the country they will probably have to maintain twice that number of Russian troops in order to keep the country under the Communist yoke. Here, again, at this critical moment of Russia's difficulties we were disunited over the Suez affair, whilst Russia's position was greatly strengthened by the entry into the European political field of Red China.

To recapitulate, I think the answer to the question is that unity in the West is vitally essential—I think that, at long last, we are beginning to wake up to this fact—as well as adequate propaganda in reply to the malicious lies that are broadcast about us. As to the "time factor," in my view it favours the Sino-Russian combination, and for reason which time does not permit me to enumerate.

Lieut.-General BURROWS: One, in particular, of the very many interesting points that the lecturer has raised is of vital importance, I think, to anybody who has ever lived for a time in Russia. I was there for a year in 1944. Walking round the streets of Moscow, if ever one addressed one of

the local citizens the normal crowd of inquisitive Russians collected around us and the next thing that happened was the arrival surreptitiously of two members of the secret police, who invariably said to their fellow Russians, "It would be better if you were not here," whereupon in a very short time one was left alone. My impression from what the lecturer has said is that now, particularly in the provinces, the Russians are encouraged, or at any rate are allowed to talk to and address foreigners. Is that policy from on high? Is it independence of the individuals in the provinces? Is the same thing prevalent in Moscow?

Mr. PRESTON: That is a very interesting point. I do not think that that kind of thing is inspired by the Soviet Government unless it is to seek information. As the questioner said, whenever one starts talking to Russians, the Russian secret police intervene. When Malenkov was in England, he was accompanied by his own (Russian) armed security police; and had he been attacked—admittedly an unlikely event in this country—we might have witnessed the scene of Russian security police using their firearms on British territory, which, to my mind, would be incompatible with our national dignity. British police have proved themselves, time and again, quite capable of protecting distinguished foreigners. If we are to co-exist, we must co-exist on equal terms and not allow the Russians to bring their policemen to this country.

In Russia the regime in the provinces is less severe than at Moscow, and the people will talk to foreigners, although it is not because they have been told that they may do so. In any event foreign visitors are watched by the security police and intourist spies day and night.

When you meet them alone, as I did in Odessa and Kiev recently, the Russians are very genuinely friendly towards us, as I believe the questioner knows, having been in Russia. They talk openly until one of their intourist or police spies turns up. The Soviet Government do not want a free exchange of ideas, but the Russian people do. For forty years they have been isolated from the outside world, and they are simply longing to meet foreigners and to travel abroad. Having, as it were, been on both sides of the "curtain," I know that Russians' impressions of England are much more favourable than the impressions gained generally (fellow travellers excepted) by Britons visiting Russia.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid that our time is up. We have had a most interesting talk on an extraordinarily important subject by Mr. Preston, and we are most grateful to him for all the trouble he has taken in preparing this lecture and giving it to us in such a delightful way.

The vote of thanks to Mr. Preston was accorded with acclamation.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MANCHURIA

By FRANCIS C. JONES, M.B.E., D.Phil.

(*Reader in Far Eastern History at the University of Bristol*)

Report of a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, December 12, 1956, Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B.E., K.C.B., in the chair.

The Chairman: Mr. Francis Jones, as many of you probably know, is a Reader in Far Eastern History at the University of Bristol; he was a student at Bristol University before he went to Harvard and later spent some years in China under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. Jones tells me that he has not been in Manchuria since the war, but he has visited other parts of the Far East. Doctor Jones:

THE Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists are agreed in rejecting the term "Manchuria" and in calling the region Tungpei—the North-East. This is done for a political purpose—in furtnerance of their claim that the Chinese Republic is the rightful heir of all the territories included within the boundaries of the old Manchu Empire. This claim the Chinese People's Government has made good, except for Outer Mongolia—and the last word may not yet have been said about that.

However, whatever the political objections may be, the appellation "Manchuria" has a geographical validity as applied to the vast area of some 380,000 square miles, which lies between the Amur or Heilungchiang = Black Dragon River on the north, Korea to the south, the Hsingan mountain range to the west and the Ussuri River on the east. Until after the end of the Second World War the political frontiers were in broad correspondence with the geographical ones. The three north-eastern provinces—Heilungchiang, Kirin and Liaoning—which together embraced all Manchuria and which during most of the period 1912-31 were under the practically independent rule of Chang Tso-lin and his son Chang Hsueh-liang, were equivalent to the geographical definition, except for the Barga region in the north-west, which extends beyond the Hsingan range. The Changs also took in the province of Jehol, in the south-west. So did the Japanese Kwantung Army in 1933, after they had overthrown the Chang regime and set up the Empire of Manchukuo.

By that time Manchuria had ceased to be the "country of the Manchus"—these had been reduced by emigration and assimilation to a small minority. The great majority of the people of Manchuria as a whole were Chinese who had poured in from the overcrowded provinces of North China; in the main from Hopei and Shantung. But there existed important minorities; of which politically the most significant were the Mongols. Their total number was small—perhaps two millions—but in much of the Hsingan region of western Manchuria, which is more suited to pastoral occupations than to agricultural ones, they constituted either a majority or

a substantial minority. But, as was happening in Inner Mongolia, the Manchurian Mongols were steadily losing their grazing lands through the advance of the ubiquitous Chinese farmer, backed by Chinese political and military authority. Many of them, as was true of the Mongols generally, in consequence became hostile to Chinese rule.

The Japanese went out of their way to conciliate the Mongols in order to win their allegiance to Manchukuo and to the cause of Japan. They therefore carved out a special Hsingan region from the provinces of Heilungchiang and Liaoning. As far as possible they drew the new boundary so as to include predominantly Mongol areas in the Hsingan region, while leaving predominantly Chinese-inhabited ones outside it, even if these had once been Mongol lands. They did the same in northern Jehol, and they subdivided the whole Mongol region into four provinces—north, east, south and west Hsingan. They forbad further Chinese colonization in the Hsingan provinces, and they allowed the Mongols to have their own political, military and police organization, although under careful Japanese supervision. But when after 1937 the Japanese Army overran Inner Mongolia and set up a regime there separate from the rest of China, they did not add the Hsingan region to it; that remained part of Manchukuo. Thus pan-Mongol aspirations were not satisfied, which led to some disappointment and dissatisfaction with Japanese rule. Nevertheless, the Manchurian Mongols had enjoyed a measure of autonomy which they were unwilling to forego.

After the defeat of Japan and the collapse of Manchukuo some of the Manchurian Mongols tried to establish an autonomous regime with its capital at Wangyehmiao. The unwillingness of the Chinese Nationalist Government to accept this was a factor in inclining the Mongols to the Communist cause since the Communists were more liberal in their promises and, indeed, in their performance. In May, 1947, the Chinese Communist regime decreed the establishment of the Inner Mongolian autonomous region. This initially consisted of the north and east Hsingan provinces and of north Chahar, inhabited by the Mongol leagues, or banners, of Hulunbuir, Silingol and Chahar. South and west Hsingan were added in 1949, and more of Chahar and northern Jehol in 1952 and 1956. What had been Suiyuan Province was also added in 1954. Thus the Manchurian Mongols now form part of an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Area of over 400,000 square miles, and Manchuria has been reduced by some 150,000 square miles.

The other important minority are the Koreans, mostly immigrants from the poorer provinces of north Korea. The Japanese, for political, as well as economic, reasons, encouraged Korean immigration into Manchuria, and there were an estimated two million of them there in 1945. They were not well regarded by the Chinese, who looked upon them as agents of Japanese imperialism and as economic competitors with Chinese farmers. Frequent quarrels occurred over water rights. Many of the Koreans left or were driven out after 1945. Others were conscribed into the North Korean armies. There are still, however, over a million of them in Manchuria, about a half of whom live in the Chientao region of south-east Manchuria. The Communists, in pursuance of their general

policy of conciliating racial minorities, have established the Yienpien Autonomous Korean District, which remains, however, a part of Kirin Province.

During the "Manchukuo" period the provinces were subdivided and nineteen smaller ones were created—including Jehol and the four Hsingan areas. The Communists, in 1949, reduced these to five, and these, together with Jehol, were put under the North-eastern People's Government, which enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, although it was under the supervision of Peking. In November, 1952, however, the powers of the North-eastern People's Government were materially reduced—as were those of the five other regional governments in China. In June, 1954, the regional governments were abolished altogether and the various provinces were placed under the direct control of the central government in Peking. It may have been these changes which caused the disaffection of Kao Kang, who had been chairman of the North-eastern Government and whose overthrow and suicide were announced early in 1955. At the same time, in 1954, the Manchurian provinces were reduced to three—Heilungchiang, Kirin and Liaoning. Jehol was abolished in 1955, part of its territory going to Liaoning. Thus present-day Manchuria has an area of approximately 300,000 square miles and a total population, according to the 1953 census, of some 43 millions. It is still something of a geographical unit, but it has no longer any political cohesion. The authority of Peking has been established over the whole region to an unprecedented degree, and whatever attempts at local separatism Kao Kang may have fostered appear to have been firmly repressed.

It is not without significance that this consolidation of the authority of the Chinese People's Government in Manchuria has gone hand in hand with the surrender by the Soviet Union of its special privileges in Manchuria. By agreements which accompanied the Treaty of August, 1945, between the U.S.S.R. and Nationalist China, the former Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railways were united into the "Chinese Changchun Railway," which was to be jointly owned and operated by the U.S.S.R. and China. However, the actual management of the line was placed in the hands of a Soviet director. At the same time the U.S.S.R. secured Port Arthur as a naval base and a lease of half of the port facilities of Dairen (Dalny). The U.S.S.R. had thus to a large extent regained the position which Imperial Russia had held in Manchuria prior to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.

In February, 1950, following the establishment of the Chinese People's Government, another Sino-Soviet Treaty and ancillary agreements provided that not later than the end of 1952 the U.S.S.R. would surrender to China all rights in the Chinese Changchun Railway, and in the Port Arthur military zone, with compensation for improvements. The U.S.S.R. also agreed to return all property under its administration in Dalny and all properties in Manchuria which Soviet economic organizations had bought up from their former Japanese owners. In 1952 the Russians duly honoured their promises, except that by a special agreement, ostensibly asked for by Peking, they retained their rights and their garrison at Port Arthur. However, in October, 1954, following a visit by Khruschchev and Bulganin to

Peking another agreement provided for the abandonment of these privileges and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This was effected in May, 1955.

The Chinese Communist explanation of the delay in this matter was that during the Korean war there was reason to expect a possible American landing in the Port Arthur-Dalny region. The continued presence of Soviet forces made this impossible unless America desired an open collision with the U.S.S.R. It must in fairness be said that this excuse has some validity in view of the possibility that the Korean war might have spread to China. After the armistice of July, 1953, this danger could no longer be held to exist.

The *volte-face* in Soviet policy was no doubt in part because Moscow wished to extricate the Chinese Communists from the awkward charge of being accomplices in Russian imperialism while at the same time they were fiercely condemning that of other countries. But it also arose from the rapid—and, as there is good reason to believe— unexpected success of the Chinese Communists in bringing all mainland China under their control. It is doubtful, from the patronizing attitude which he had formerly adopted towards them, that Stalin had calculated that he could do more than hold Manchuria and perhaps North China, in which case their position *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union would have not markedly differed from that of its east European satellites. But the complete success of Mao-Tse-tung made it necessary, especially in view of what had happened with Tito, to conciliate Mao, lest he too leave the Soviet fold. Stalin's successors, men of lesser stature than either Stalin or Mao, have had to move further along this path. Thus today, for the first time since 1896, Manchuria is firmly under Chinese control and no foreign special privileges remain.

From the economic standpoint, however, the picture is a little different. Foreign penetration of Manchuria, culminating in the Japanese occupation of the country during 1931-45, has resulted in the development of a system of communications and a complex of industries, these well in advance of the rest of China. The Japanese in particular invested the equivalent of around £500 million sterling in Manchuria. They extended the railways, including double-tracking, to about 9,000 miles, more than half of that of all China. They vastly expanded the production of coal, iron-ore and other minerals, and they constructed iron and steel, chemical, engineering and a host of other manufactories. Many of these, it is true, produced only semi-processed goods for export to Japan, but especially in and around Dairen, Mukden and Hsinking (Changchun) there were numerous exceptions to this rule. Soviet removals of machinery in 1945-6, combined with looting and civil war crippled Manchurian production and severely reduced the value of the Japanese heritage. Nevertheless, what the Japanese had done ensured that Manchuria must be the chief centre of industrial expansion in China. That was one important reason why Chiang Kai-shek, in defiance of his American military advisers, would not abandon his efforts to wrest Manchuria from the Communists. The decisive defeat of the cream of his armies there in 1948 spelt the loss, not only of Manchuria but of all China, since the military *débâcle* was such that the Nationalists were henceforth

numerically as well as morally inferior to the Communists in military strength.

The Chinese Communists, building on the foundations laid by the Japanese, and with material and technical aid from the U.S.S.R., have once more made Manchuria the leading industrial centre of China. Today it produces some 30 per cent. of the total coal output, 60 per cent. of the iron ore and approximately 80 per cent. of the steel output of all China. It is also prominent in electric power, shale oil, railway rolling stock, engineering, munitions and a wide range of general industries. Mukden, the chief industrial city, had less than half a million people in 1931, under Japanese rule this rose to well over a million and is now in excess of two millions. Dairen or Dalny, the principal port, which had about 400,000 people in 1931, is now close on the million mark. Ansshan, the main centre of steel production, which was a small place in 1930, has at present some 600,000 people. Numerous other cities have undergone a correspondingly rapid expansion. These, the first Chinese Communist developments, are part of a five-year plan of industrial expansion which is due to be completed at the end of next year. A second, covering the period 1958-62, has already been drafted. It, too, lays the main stress upon " heavy " industry, *i.e.* coal, electric power, iron, steel and chemicals. It also looks to Manchuria to provide a large proportion of the anticipated increases in these products. Thus, the industrial preponderance of Manchuria is likely to continue in the near future, although in the long run the growth of new centres of " heavy " industry in northern and in western China will reduce its comparative importance.

Despite this great industrial development Manchuria, like the rest of China, remains primarily agricultural. Its importance as a source of special crops, such as soya beans, and of general food supply, as well as the opportunities it affords of increased settlement on the land, equals that of its industrial expansion. Manchuria is primarily a land of dry farming, kaoliang, millet and wheat, as opposed to rice. It is also the region of China in which the largest private estates were to be found, especially in Heilungchiang. Some of these were initially confiscated by the Japanese, because their owners refused to accept the Manchukuo régime. Later they fell into Communist hands; so did the properties of those who had served the Japanese. Thus it is no accident that most of the big state-owned farms are in Manchuria. The Communists are concentrating upon increased food and general agricultural production in Manchuria, more particularly in Heilungchiang, where fresh immigration is being actively promoted. This, however, is a region of poor soils and with an especially long and harsh winter climate, so that the chances of success are moderate. How much of Manchuria's food production is earmarked for export to the U.S.S.R. in payment for imports of industrial equipment is a matter upon which detailed information is lacking. But, in view of the fact that Manchuria is next door to the Soviet Far Eastern region, which cannot produce enough food for its growing population, the amount is probably considerable.

Therefore, because of the dependence of China upon the Soviet Union for industrial equipment, for which she must pay in food and raw ma-

terials, Manchuria, as a producer of excess agricultural products, is still to some degree tied up with the Soviet Far East. Moreover, because Manchuria is of such vital importance to China as its main industrial centre, as a producer of surplus food crops for export, and as a region where a considerable degree of fresh Chinese colonization is still possible, its loss would be a shattering blow. But its geographical proximity to the U.S.S.R., combined with the immense economic and military superiority of that country over China, makes Manchuria in a sense a hostage for Peking's continued good behaviour towards Moscow.

It must be remembered that Russian policy towards China—and this applies to both Tsarist and Communist Russia—has tended to osciliate between a policy of partition and a policy of alliance and protection. Thus, in 1896, Imperial Russia concluded a treaty of alliance with China against Japan and so appeared as China's "big brother." But soon afterwards she veered round to a policy of attempting to create a special preserve for herself in Manchuria. At Yalta, and during the immediate post-war years, Stalin also endeavoured to detach Manchuria from Chinese control and to consolidate Soviet political and military power there. In 1950, apparently realizing that it was better to have all China—now Communist controlled—as a willing and faithful disciple than to rule just a part of it, Stalin agreed to relinquish his hold upon Manchuria and adopted once more the policy of protection. His successors have so far followed the same line. Khruschchev, indeed, has recently lauded the relationship of the Chinese Communists to Moscow as ideal. The Chinese Communists are willing collaborators and disciples—not satellites held down by the presence of Soviet Russian troops. Yet, Peking follows the line taken by Moscow to world affairs in general. But what if it should cease to do so and should proclaim a "Titoist" line, aiming to have a foot in both camps—Communist and Democratic? Then it is very likely that Moscow would revert to the policy of endeavouring to detach Manchuria—in common with other border areas—so as to acquire buffer regions for the protection of the growing industries of Soviet Siberia. Thus Manchuria might again become a centre of international rivalry and conflict as it was so often in the past. But it must be emphasized that at present there are no sign of any such development, and that the solid advantages which the "Moscow-Peking Axis" confers on both partners are such that neither is likely to wish to forfeit them.

Group-Captain H. St. C. SMALLWOOD: I will confine myself to two questions, although there are many more I would like to ask. Is there any properly demarcated frontier between the Inner Mongolia autonomous border and Outer Mongolia? There seems to be a fertile source of differences there unless the frontier is very well demarcated. Secondly, I take it that the Peking-Mukden Railway is still entirely under Chinese Communist control? The South Manchurian Railway ran up to Changchun and joined up with the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin. Is that under Russian management or has it been handed back to the Chinese?

Mr. FRANCIS JONES: The first question I cannot answer; I have no

definite information in regard to Inner Mongolia or the Outer Mongolian border. It is semi-desert country in which people wander back and forth. I have heard of no trouble. Yes, the Peking-Mukden Railway is definitely under Chinese Communist control and so now are all the other railways. There is no Russian-run railway in Manchuria. Apparently, the wheels are changed just across the border.

Dr. E. LINDGREN: I wish to express admiration for the way in which the lecturer has summarized a vast body of material. He has made everything extraordinarily clear. Being myself an admirer of the country in which I have travelled a good deal I cannot help thinknig that the Chinese Communist boss to whom the lecturer referred might not only have become attached to his job but possibly also to the country itself. There might have been some love of the region. As to the point in regard to agriculture, it occurred to me that an important factor may be the great humidity of the summers in contrast to the dry and very cold winters which the lecturer mentioned. In summer it rains for two days out of three. That makes things difficult for the traveller but gives the agricultural and the pastoral industry so much more chance than one would suppose, judging from the winters.

Has the lecturer any opinion in regard to the hydro-electric scheme, referred to in *The Times* of November 17, proposed to be carried out in the Amur border region, including redirection of certain rivers? Is this merely propaganda or is it to be seriously contemplated?

Mr. FRANCIS JONES: I agree with Dr. Lindgren's remarks in regard to the climate of Manchuria. As to the proposed hydro-electric power scheme to which I have seen reference, not being a technician I cannot venture to express an opinion as to whether it is a possibility or not. The Amur is a vast river which has its seasonal rise and fall. Possibly if dams were erected with a view to regulating the flow of water much electric power might be provided. I am, however, not familiar with the particular region. The Russians have some ambitious plans in regard to the rivers in Siberia. They have much experience in connection with that kind of thing; they may do what they have done elsewhere as they have the necessary technical knowledge.

Mr. CAMROSE: Are the Russians providing all the technicians to run the steel works in Communist China, or are the technicians Chinese?

Mr. FRANCIS JONES: There are many Soviet technicians in China; how many, it is hard to say; estimates of the numbers vary, but there are certainly several thousand. They are there to assist the Chinese and, unlike the Japanese, they do train the Chinese. The Japanese provided their own technicians and kept things in their own hands. The Russians do seem to be training the Chinese to do the job and the technicians are willing to return to the U.S.S.R. when the Chinese know how to do the particular job. That seems to be the situation in Manchuria and in China generally. There are many technicians helping the Chinese to install the equipment in the steelworks and so on.

The CHAIRMAN: There being no further questions, I would like to say how much I agree with Dr. Lindgren's tribute to the masterly way in which the lecturer has summarized the happenings in this area so clearly

and lucidly in forty-five minutes. It was a most interesting lecture and we are grateful for all the trouble Mr. Jones has taken to come and deliver it. We thank you very much indeed, Mr. Jones.

Mr. FRANCIS JONES: I thank you all very much; it has been a privilege to address the Society.

If no longer wanted by members, the Honorary Secretaries will be grateful to receive, at 2, Hinde Street, any of the following numbers of the Society's *Journal*:

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ALPHABET CHANGES IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA AND COMMUNIST CHINA

By PAUL B. HENZE

IN an earlier article in the R.C.A.S. Journal I surveyed the alphabetic changes which have occurred in Soviet Central Asia in the past thirty-five years as well as those which have taken place more recently in Mongolia and Communist China.[1] This article included information available up to the autumn of 1955. Since that time some new information on Soviet Central Asia has become available and there have been several further developments of interest in both the Soviet Union and China.

The shortcomings of the Cyrillic alphabets now in use in Soviet Central Asia have become increasingly clear. Recently a leading Soviet journal has printed a proposal for unification of the alphabets of all the Turkic peoples. In China alphabetic and language reform has been implemented with almost as much speed and determination by the Communist authorities as they have applied to agricultural collectivization. A far-reaching reform of the Chinese character system is under way, and a Latin alphabet is being introduced with the announced intention that it will replace the character system entirely in a few years. Minority nationalities of south and south-west China are being given Latin alphabets of the same type that is to be used by the Chinese themselves. In Inner Mongolia the shift over to the Cyrillic alphabet is being accelerated, and it has now been decided that the Cyrillic alphabet will likewise be adopted for the languages of the various peoples of Sinkiang. Of all the Inner Asian regions, Tibet alone still remains unaffected by Communist plans for alphabetic and linguistic reform.

The present article is based on information available up to the beginning of 1957.

I. Soviet Central Asia

The prominent Soviet Turcologist, Baskakov, devoted the last portion of his long article, "The Turkic Peoples of the U.S.S.R.—the Development of their Languages and Writing," which appeared in 1952,[2] to the unsolved problems of the Turkic languages. Among them he mentioned the proper selection of dialects as bases for the literary languages, the establishment of rules for handling new words and the construction of proper grammatical terminology. He also outlined a number of measures necessary for the improvement of existing alphabets and standardization of spelling, and went so far as to suggest that the alphabets of the various Turkic languages be co-ordinated to bring them "as close as possible to Russian and thus remove present inconsistencies." He concluded his articles with a statement remarkable for its sycophantic smugness:

> "Execution of all these tasks has been made possible by the programmes and methodological instructions set forth in J. V. Stalin's works of genius."

Stalin soon passed from the scene. It has not been fashionable among Soviet linguists in the years since his passing to cite his "works of genius," but the problems of alphabets and dialect bases for the Turkic languages have remained. Questions of assimilation and handling of new words have still not been settled. There seems to be a tendency toward considering some of these problems from a common viewpoint, but Soviet Turcologists have been careful not to go too far.[3] The problem of alphabetic reform remains one of the most controversial issues.

An interesting example of the kind of discussion that has occurred is provided by a linguistic conference which was held in the Karakalpak A.S.S.R. in September, 1954.[4] The conference was attended by such notables as Baskakov and the archæologist Tolstov. It seems to have been devoted primarily to the problem of reform of the Karakalpak alphabet.

The Karakalpak language is spoken by about 185,000 people in the Karakalpak A.S.S.R. The Karakalpaks and their language are more closely related to the Kazakhs than to the Uzbeks, and before the Revolution formed part of the old Khanate of Khiva. In the Soviet era they have always formed part of the Uzbek S.S.R. The Karakalpak language fared worse than the other Central Asian Turkic languages in the Cyrillic alphabetic reform of the late 1930's.[5] The Cyrillic alphabet, as applied to each language, had to have as many separate and distinct features as possible. It was the lot of the Karakalpak language to receive an awkward spelling system in which the exact pronunciation of certain vowels[6] was indicated not by the letters themselves but by the forms of adjoining consonants or an extra letter (the Cyrillic "hard sign") added to the end of words or syllables. For the other Central Asian Turkic languages diacritical marks or slightly altered forms of the basic letters were used for these sounds. The Cyrillic alphabet as applied to Karakalpak was far less satisfactory than either the earlier reformed Arabic or Latin alphabets had been.[7]

This alphabet, which was adopted in 1940, apparently proved so impractical that the necessity for reform had to be recognized. The September, 1954, conference discussed the problem of alphabetic reform in detail. The inadequacy of the original Karakalpak Cyrillic alphabet was sharply condemned.

> "The great shortcoming of current Karakalpak orthography, as many speakers mentioned, is the fact that it does not reflect the phonetic structure of the Karakalpak language . . . The question of modifying and making more precise current Karakalpak orthography is most urgent, as was noted unanimously by all speakers."

A revised alphabet with separate letters for each vowel sound was proposed by K. U. Ubaidullaev, and all those present at the conference approved the revisions. It was agreed that the new alphabet would be presented for confirmation to the Council of Ministers of the Karakalpak A.S.S.R. after the reactions of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R. and of the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. had been obtained.

The report on the conference contains two other features worthy of note. K. U. Ubaidullaev, who proposed and explained the revised alpha-

bet, adhered to the usual position in respect to Russian words. "Russian-international words which have come into the Karakalpak language must be written as they are written in Russian." There was some mention of a common approach to all of the Turkic languages:

> "As for the question of the correct method of writing compound words, speakers during the discussion came out in favour of writing them separately in the overwhelming majority of cases. During the discussions the necessity of studying the question of joined and separate words on a common plane for the whole group of Turkic languages was mentioned by many speakers."

The second Turkmen Linguistic Congress held in October, 1954,[8] brought forth many proposals which, although they seem not to have been accepted, testify to the relative instability of the alphabetic and linguistic situation in this Central Asian republic. One of the participants proposed that three new letters be added to the Cyrillic alphabet as now used for the Turkmen language. His suggestion was turned down because "this change in Turkmen spelling would not be justified in practice because the number of errors made by students in writing would probably increase to a marked degree." On the other hand, another participant in the Congress proposed that seven letters—all required to write Russian words but not necessary to represent Turkmen sounds—be dropped from the Turkmen alphabet. This proposal was rejected "because increasing or decreasing the number of letters in the alphabet . . . would unavoidably lead to a significant change in Turkmen spelling."

Although the participants in the Congress seemed to have diagnosed a wide variety of alphabetical and linguistic difficulties and suffered from no lack of suggestions for improvements, the Congress as a body was reluctant to make any changes for fear that these would cause still more complications. On the question of spelling of words taken from Russian, the Congress apparently had no alternative but to confirm the party-line position:

> "Great attention [was given] to the principles of correct writing of words taken from the Russian language, and the opinion was expressed that they should be written as they are written in Russian and not as these words are pronounced in the Turkmen language. A difference in the way of writing them not only introduces confusion and encourages illiteracy in parallel study in schools of the Russian and Turkmen languages but also puts a brake on the cultural development of the Turkmen people."

While words taken from Russian continue to be written as in Russian when used in Turkmen, they must nevertheless take Turkic morphological and grammatical endings. Lists of words cited by some of the speakers give interesting examples of the strange results that this Russian-Turkmen mating has produced: *tekhnikalyk redaktor* (technical editor), *burzhuazlyk dovlet* (bourgeois government), *liberallyk, liberalchylyk* or *liberalizmchilik* (all meaning "liberalism"), *opportunistlik, opportunistchilik or opportunizmchilik* (all meaning "opportunism").[9]

One has the impression that the Second Turkmen Linguistic Congress

cleared up very little of the confusion confronting the Turkmen in writing their language. The Congress apparently concluded that it was impossible to decide how certain words such as *dostluk/dostlyk* ("friendship") should be spelled. The Turkmen Stalin prize winning author Kerbabaev suggested that one uniform way of spelling the names of towns be adopted so that there would not be different Russian and Turkmen spellings for many of them (Tashauz/Dashkhovuz, Kara-Kala/Garygala), but no decision seems to have been made on this question either.

Problems similar to those which have beset the Karakalpaks and the Turkmen also trouble the other Central Asian peoples. Since the present form of their alphabets and to a considerable degree even their literary languages have been forced upon them, it is not surprising that these peoples are not content with them. It would be natural for the Russians as well as for some of the native peoples to attempt to find a solution for some of these problems on a common plane. Until recently this has been strongly discouraged, for it has been Communist policy to emphasize the separateness of each nationality and to discourage meaningful political and cultural contact between them. Against the background of Russian Communist policy in Central Asia during the past two decades, the suggestion that a unified Turkic alphabet again be considered is a noteworthy development. *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* in September, 1956, published an article making such a proposal.[10]

Relatively little is known about A. K. Borovkov, the author of the article. He seems to be one of the less prolific Soviet Turcologists. It is in keeping with Soviet practice to choose a person of relatively secondary stature to open a controversial discussion. An editorial note appended to the article states:

> "In publishing the present article the editors request readers to express their ideas on the question raised by A. K. Borovkov."

This kind of note attached to an article on a controversial topic in a Soviet journal usually indicates that an official decision has been taken to permit some degree of "public discussion" in a field where changes may be made. It is a kind of ritual peculiar to the Communist system. If the "discussion" does not go well, if a shift of line occurs, the author of such an article may even be condemned for raising a controversial issue. Borovkov takes no undue chances. His article is written in such cautious fashion that his thoughts often seem inconsistent and muddled. He devotes the first part of his article to praise of the Cyrillic alphabet. He points out that the Cyrillic alphabet, as used by Slavic languages other than Russian, has additional letters which might well be considered for use in non-Slavic languages, and mentions two additional letters used in Ukrainian, five used in Serbian and one diacritical mark used in Belorussian as examples. One expects this line of thought to reappear later in the article, but the author does not return to it. The main point which he seems to have intended to get across in his article is that unification of the alphabets of practically all the non-Slavic languages of the U.S.S.R. would be desirable. Successful earlier experience with the unified Latin alphabet is mentioned in support of this point of view toward the end of the article:

> " The experience of the earlier Latin alphabet demonstrated convincingly that the unification of the Turkic, Mongolian and several other alphabets is completely possible and appropriate. The 'Yanalif' typewriter and the typographical machines were standardized to such an extent that they could be used at the same time by practically all the national republics and regions using the unified script. At the present time the situation has become so complicated that for relatively minor differences in alphabets it is in nearly all cases necessary to change the keyboards of typewriters and printing machines. Reading of literature in related languages has also been made difficult."

The author tries to justify the changes he proposes primarily on practical grounds in terms of financial savings in the production of typewriters and the operation of printing machines. He is very cautious about referring to the fact that the current highly varied alphabets hamper communication between closely related Turkic peoples. Only at one other point is this problem directly mentioned:

> " Different methods of applying the Russian alphabet could not help showing up in the results. For example, the phonetically extremely similar Karakalpak and Kazakh languages (practically only one sound, 'h,' distinguishes them, being present in Karakalpak and absent in Kazakh) are completely different in writing: The alphabets in both languages are different; the orthographic solution of identical features is accomplished in different ways."

The fact that related minorities in the U.S.S.R. are hindered in communicating effectively with each other—in reading each other's newspapers and books—because of the deliberately contrived alphabets which they have been forced to use since the late 1930's is not by itself likely to be regarded as sufficient reason to introduce an alphabet applicable to the great majority of minority languages, Turkic and otherwise.

Borovkov gives a vivid picture of variations in the use of letters and application of spelling principles in the various Soviet Turkic languages. While in addition to the normal Cyrillic alphabet, the Kirgiz language employs three supplemental letters, Uzbek uses four, Kazakh nine and Uigur as written in Kazakhtan eight; the revised Karakalpak alphabet requires six additional letters. Borovkov dwells on the alphabetical misadventures of the Karakalpaks at some length. It appears from what he writes that the changes in Karakalpak orthography recommended at the 1954 linguistic conference were adopted soon afterward.

Borovkov's conclusions are not clear. He proposes a revised system of six pairs of vowels which he says would be adequate for all the Turkic and Mongolian languages, but he shies away from proposing a complete system of consonants. He states that diacritical marks should be avoided and cites a condemnation of them by the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1924 in support of his point of view, but he nevertheless concludes by recommending the use of diacritical marks for vowels and a system of hooks and other odd appendages for some Cyrillic consonants which seem far more objec-

tionable (and awkward for typing and printing) than diacritical marks. He never makes clear his position on the spelling of Russian words adopted by the minority languages, and although his article supposedly deals only with the Turkic languages he usually talks in terms of all minority languages.

Concluding his article, Borokov again mentions the financial gains which a unified alphabet would bring, points to the disadvantages of private initiative in changing alphabets and states:

> "It would be extraordinarily timely to request the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to take upon itself the direction of this great and complicated task."

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and least of all its Soviet of Nationalities has never yet been entrusted with the direction of any task of importance. Borovkov's naïve hope that it might undertake the working out of a unified Turkic Cyrillic alphabet would seem to have little chance of realization. It is curious that Borovkov's article has up to now (end of January, 1957) neither been commented on nor echoed in other articles in the daily press or in Soviet learned journals reaching the West. It appeared at a time when the post-XXth Congress "thaw" was beginning to slacken. A sharp brake was put on the rewriting of history, *e.g.* at the end of 1956.[11] Plans for readjusting the Central Asian alphabets may have to be postponed while Party bureaucrats reimpose conformity in more important fields of academic endeavour.

Alphabetic changes in Central Asia would be of little interest if they were not actually reflections of basic political problems. The Soviet claim that Communism has brought political emancipation to the peoples of Central Asia and has resulted in an unprecedented flowering of native cultures seems questionable in face of the fact that not even in the most basic aspects of the cultural life of these peoples—the languages which they use and the alphabets with which they write them—has stability been achieved. No wonder Central Asian literature is so barren. Few works of value have been produced during the whole Soviet period. Even the Soviet dispensers of Stalin and Lenin prizes seem to have difficulty in finding Central Asian works worthy of the honour.

> ". . . Central Asian literature is not merely backward, but provincial. It has not only to observe the ceremonial of deferring to Marxist principles—and this it does without real understanding—but also to defer to Russia and to Russian literature."[12]

Central Asian writers can hardly be expected to have overcome all the other obstacles they face when they cannot even be sure which form of their languages they should use or of the alphabet in which they must write. In the Western World and the freer portions of Asia it is the creative writers and the foremost journalists who, more than any others, set current literary standards for their languages. With Communists it is otherwise. Committees of "experts" and conferences and congresses of "cultural workers," dominated by Party bureaucrats, decide these questions. They are constantly undoing and redoing what they have done a few years before. The result is linguistic and alphabetic chaos. Under such condi-

tions cultural progress which occurs is not likely to be visible on the surface of the life of these regions. Only when fetters of Communist control are appreciably loosened, are we likely to gain a real measure of the cultural capabilities of the Central Asian peoples.

II. Communist China

Plans for reforming the Chinese language have gone ahead rapidly. Chinese Communist language policy has now become clear. The "Conference on the reform of Chinese Writing," which was held in Peking from October 15-23, 1955, decided that for the immediate future Chinese characters would be simplified and the "National Language" based on the northern (Peking) dialect would be popularized throughout the country. The form of writing would be changed from vertical to horizontal. Finally, preparations would be made for eventual change to a completely phonetic alphabet.[13]

It was reported at the conference that six projects for alphabetic systems for Chinese had been completed. Four of these were "national," *i.e.* based on symbols deriving from the character system; one was based on the Cyrillic alphabet and one on the Latin alphabet.

> "Many delegates representing the press and different sectors of cultural work referred to the harm caused by the complicated character system in different fields (telegraphy, typing, typography, schools and anti-illiteracy campaigns, scientific terminology, dictionaries, etc.). From these speeches it is apparent that the demand for the reform of the system of writing and the simplification of the characters has actually become general."[14]

A professor from the Central Academy of National Minorities remarked upon:

> ". . . the unanimous demand of the Miao and other national minorities for simplification of the character system. The complicated Chinese system of writing discouraged minorities from studying Chinese, he said, and made it difficult to draw them into Chinese culture."[14]

The year 1956 brought rapid implementation of most of the decisions of the October, 1955, conference. In January newspapers and publishing houses began printing characters horizontally, from left to right. The State Council approved the establishment of a central working committee to popularize the northern dialect on January 28.[15] On February 10 the State Council gave approval for experiments to be made with a thirty-letter alphabet based on Latin script. At the same time it was decreed that the northern dialect exclusively must be taught in all schools starting in the autumn of 1956. By 1960 it was expected that most students would be able to use the National Language with complete effectiveness. Army cadres and military schools were ordered to shift over to use of the northern dialect within one year. In minority areas henceforth only the northern dialect of Chinese would be taught, in addition to the local native language.

A programme for simplification of the most commonly used characters was initiated in earnest. Newspapers had already experimented with simplified characters in 1955. Further efforts toward simplification of characters continued throughout 1956. The use of certain complex characters is now forbidden, groups of simplified characters have been made mandatory for newspaper use and alternative characters regarded as unnecessary have been proscribed. By mid-1957 it is estimated that about 1,700 simplified characters should be in use. By the end of 1958 it is hoped that approximately half of the 6-7,000 characters in regular use will have undergone the simplification process. As new lists of simplified characters are promulgated their use becomes mandatory for newspapers and general public purposes. Only in the printing of ancient texts is the use of the older forms of characters permissible.[16]

At the 8th Party Congress in September, 1956, Wu Yu-Chang, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee member and President of the Chinese People's University stated that for the time being changes in the written language would be confined to further simplification of characters. He estimated that it would take three to five years of trials before a phonetic alphabet could be universally introduced. Meanwhile, discussion of the alphabet proposed in September continued in the press and in academic circles. At least one contribution to the discussion was made by a Soviet author,[17] who advocated the use of a total of thirty-seven signs, mostly Latin, some Cyrillic, instead of the thirty in the officially proposed Chinese version. His advice seems not to have been taken, for on November 21 it was announced that the draft plan for the new Chinese Latin alphabet (presented for discussion in February) had been completed and that even the additional letters which had originally been proposed had been dropped.[18]

Like the efforts for reforming the Chinese language, plans for reform of the various minority languages have also gone ahead rapidly. A conference on reform of the minority languages was held in Peking from December 6-15, 1955. This conference directed that the work of providing alphabets for languages which have none must be completed before 1960. In languages where written scripts are defective, improvements or changes will be made. It was decided to send seven working teams to various parts of the country to supervise work on minority languages. A Soviet expert, Serdyuchenko, gave a report on Soviet experience in creating written languages for minority peoples.[19]

In south and south-west China the Communist authorities have gone ahead rapidly to devise new alphabets for the minority peoples who live in these regions. Practically all these languages are structurally akin to Chinese. The Latin alphabet apparently is being used for most of them. Since the Latin alphabet is eventually to be adopted for Chinese, employment of it among minority groups of south and south-west China and the spread of literacy among them should facilitate eventual Sinicization.

It was announced in November that the revised Miao script would be based on the Latin alphabet.[20] In Yünnan a linguistic committee has been set up to supervise changes among the non-Chinese nationalities of the region, numbering over 2,000,000 people. The committee has announced that it plans by the end of 1957 to achieve a "uniform and systematic

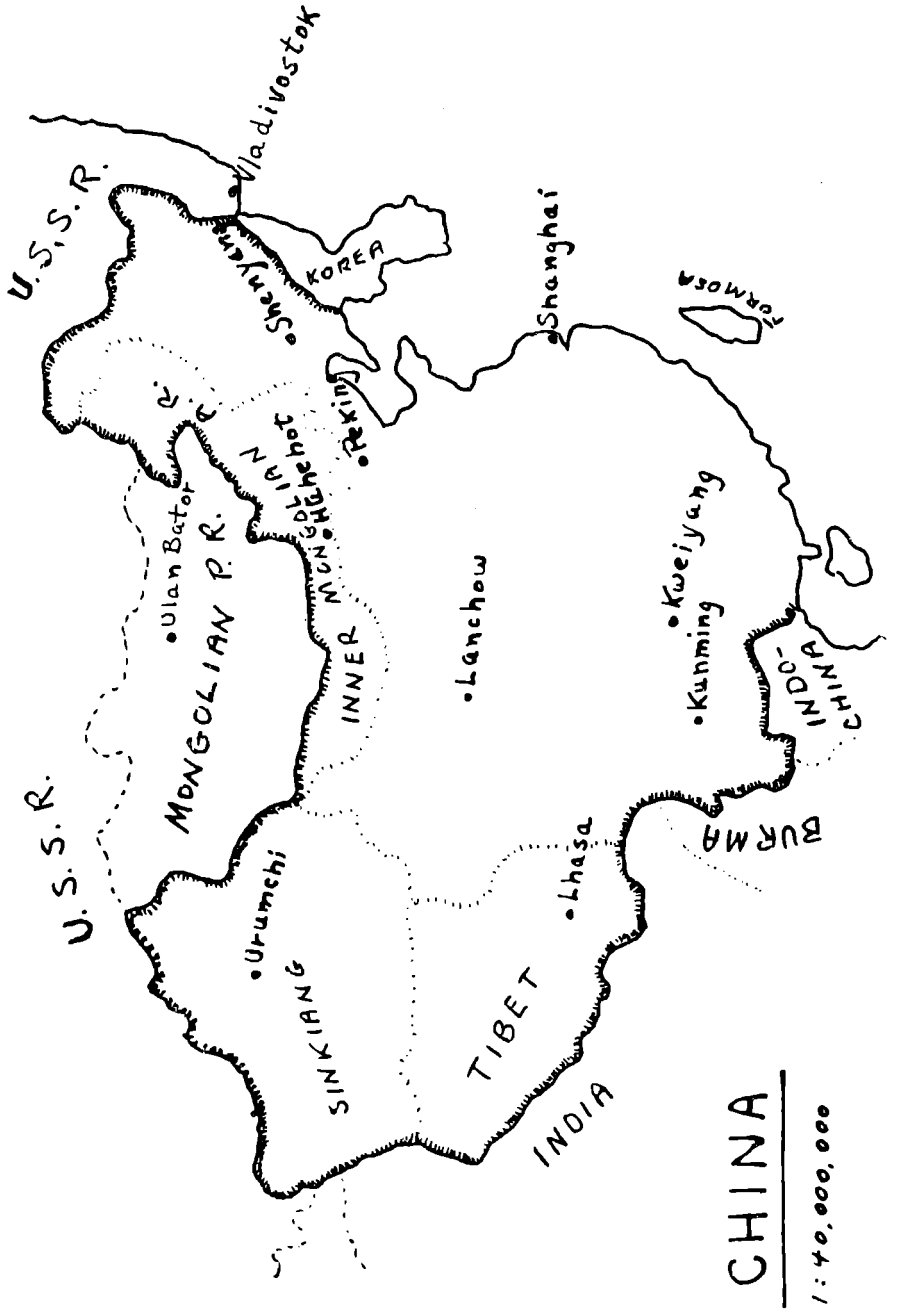
formulation" of the more than a dozen languages of the region and to devise appropriate phonetic alphabets for them.[21]

Early in 1956, it was decided that the plan for applying the Cyrillic alphabet in Inner Mongolia should be speeded up. Four, instead of the previous six years are now to be allotted for completion of the plan.[22] A conference on implementation of the new plan took place in Hühehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, May 22. Soviet experts attended.[23] It was announced in November that popularization of the new alphabet had actually got under way in Inner Mongolia in July. Seven thousand teachers were said to have been trained and a million textbooks prepared. It was calculated that an illiterate person could master the new alphabet and be able to read after six months' study. One hundred thousand persons were said to be proficient in the new alphabet by November, 1956.[24]

While the Latin alphabet is to be widely applied among minorities living along the southern and south-western borders of China, the Cyrillic alphabet is being introduced not only in Inner Mongolia but also among all the non-Chinese peoples living in north-western China, the area which is now officially designated the "Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region." A conference on alphabetic reform for this region was held in Urumchi in August. It was decided that Cyrillic alphabets would be adopted for the Uigurs, Kazakhs, Kirgiz and Sibos.[25] Whether these Cyrillic alphabets will be different from those already in use among Uigurs, Kazakhs and Kirgiz who live in Soviet Central Asia was not announced, but it is implied by the fact that the official report of the conference specifically stated that Uzbeks and Tatars in Sinkiang would adopt the same Cyrillic alphabets used by their kinsmen in the U.S.S.R. The Uigurs, numbering more than 3,500,000, and the Kazakhs, numbering nearly 500,000, form, together with the nearly 500,000 Chinese who live there, the basic population of Sinkiang.[26] The Mongols of Sinkiang, it was decided, would use the same Cyrillic alphabet that is being introduced in Inner Mongolia. The conference did not decide on the alphabet to be adopted by the Tajiks of Sinkiang, and for some of the other smaller groups it was agreed that further research should be done before a final decision could be made. In view of the general adoption of Cyrillic script for all the principal languages, it seems unlikely that any deviations from it for the small groups will be tolerated.

The 240 participants in the conference met from August 15-22. There is no mention of the attendance of Soviet experts, but it seems likely that one or two should have been present. Their reports may appear in Soviet linguistic journals during the coming year. On the last day of the Urumchi conference, Saifuddin, Chairman of the Government of the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region, addressed the participants. He told the conference that all problems could not be solved immediately and that further efforts would have to be made to carry out more scientific research work after the conference:

> "The current languages of the Sinkiang nationalities all have a long historical background. They have made important contribu-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Ulan Bator
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INNER MONGOLIA
Lanchow
Kweiyang
Kunming
INDO-CHINA
BURMA
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tions to the development of their national cultures as well as to the enrichment of the culture of the Motherland. They have also contributed largely to the consolidation of national unity. But on the other hand, these languages in their present written forms have various defects: The forms of words are variable, there are complicated supplementary signs and they are generally inconvenient in handwriting, furthermore they cannot fully represent the entire spoken languages of the different nationalities and therefore in daily use as well as in publications, newspapers and books the users are confronted with many difficulties. They certainly cannot meet the requirements of Socialist cultural construction. When the new written languages based on the Slavic alphabet are popularized, all these handicaps will be removed. It will also facilitate the learning of the languages by the cadres of other nationalities, particularly the Han Chinese, and will enable the cadres of the different nationalities in the Autonomous Region to better help each other and learn about each other."[27]

No timetable has been announced for the introduction of the new alphabets in Sinkiang. The pace will probably not be slower than that now set for Inner Mongolia. To judge by the speed with which they have proceeded in other fields, agricultural collectivization, *e.g.*, the Chinese Communists will waste no time implementing their plans for alphabetic and linguistic changes in all parts of China. No doubt they hope to profit by previous Soviet experience and avoid some of the mistakes which Russian Communists have made. There is little evidence, however, that they have studied the current alphabetic problems of the Soviet minorities very deeply.

An interesting problem which the Chinese will sooner or later have to face is the question of Russian borrowings in the Soviet versions of Turkic and Mongolian languages closely related to those spoken on Chinese territory. In the Soviet minority languages new words which are of Russian origin or represent Russian versions of international words of western origin have the practical justification that they facilitate communication with Russians and the learning of Russian. This would not necessarily be the case in China, where it would be natural to use Chinese borrowings instead and where non-Chinese minorities would be expected to learn Chinese, rather than Russian, as a second language. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet would not in itself facilitate the learning of Chinese if Chinese is eventually to be written in a Latin alphabet. Though the Chinese Communists will most likely proceed rapidly in carrying out alphabetic and linguistic changes, their progress will not necessarily be smooth. They may eventually create a situation, among their non-Chinese peoples at least, as unsettled and unsatisfactory as that which exists among many of the Asian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Imperfect as some of the new alphabets being devised in China may be, they will nevertheless contribute greatly to the spread of literacy. A large proportion of the population of China, including large numbers of the minority peoples, may be expected to master the arts of reading and writing

during the next decade or two. There is no reason to assume that the Chinese Communists will be any less successful than the Soviets have been in extending the benefits of elementary education to a rapidly increasing number of their people. During the first two or three decades the spread of literacy and education probably facilitates the consolidation of Communists in power. This seems to have been the case in the U.S.S.R. Eventually, however, the effects of these advances become to some extent reversed. Soviet Communists are now beginning to sense a challenge to their monopoly of political power from the younger generation they have educated with such great care. The challenge is likely to become more serious as time goes on. Another generation of Chinese Communists may have to cope with the same kind of problem in their country.

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[2] *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, June, 1952.

[3] The first volume of a comparative grammar of the Turkic languages appeared in late 1955: Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., *Issledovaniya po sravnitel'noi grammatike tyurkskikh yazykov, I—Fonetika*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 334. (See my review in R.C.A.S. Journal, January, 1957, pp. 70-72.)

[4] Reported in *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, #3, 1955, pp. 146-48.

[5] By 1940, when the Cyrillic alphabet was adopted, the Karakalpak language had already undergone three alphabetic reforms in the previous sixteen years: a reformed Arabic alphabet was in effect from 1924 to 1928, a Latin alphabet from 1928-38, a slightly altered Latin alphabet from 1938-40.

[6] The typical Turkic "umlaut" vowels—ä, ö, ü.

[7] N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakski Yazyk*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1952, pp. 127-32, gives a detailed description with extensive examples of the various Karakalpak alphabets.

[8] Reported in *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, #2, 1956, pp. 147-51.

[9] Actually, of course, few of these "Russian" words are of Slavic origin at all. They are common international terms, forced upon Turkmen and most other non-Slavic languages of the U.S.S.R. in Russian garb, a form which often makes it much more difficult for them to be phonetically and grammatically assimilated than if they had been acquired by more natural processes. *Cf.* footnote [26] in "Politics and Alphabets in Inner Asia," R.C.A.S. Journal, January, 1956.

[10] A. K. Borovkov, "K voprosu ob unifikatsii tyurkskikh al'favitov v S.S.S.R.," in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, #4, 1956, pp. 101-10. (Approved for printing September 8, 1956.)

[11] See Alexander Dallin, "Recent Soviet Historiography" in *Problems of Communism*, #6, 1956, pp. 28-30.

[12] For a discussion of recent problems of Central Asian Writers see "The Central Asian Writers' Congresses" in the *Central Asian Review*, #2, 1955, pp. 150-63. The judgment cited above is from the concluding portion of this article.

[13] Report in *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, #2, 1956, pp. 131-36.

[14] Report in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, #1, 1956, pp. 180-83.

[15] N.C.N.A. Peking dispatch, January 28, 1956.

[16] Lin Han-da "Über die Reform der Chinesischen Schriftsprache" in *Die Länder der Volksdemokratie* (Berlin), #51, 1956; Wolfgang Franke, "Die Schriftreform in China," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 28, 1956; "Language Change in China Outlined," *New York Times*, August 5, 1956.

[17] I. N. Gal'tsev, "K proektu foneticheskovo al'favita kitaiskovo yazka" in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, #3, 1956, pp. 104-08.

[18] N.C.N.A. Peking dispatch, November 21, 1956.

[19] N.C.N.A. Peking dispatch, December 15, 1955.

[20] N.C.N.A. Kweiyang dispatch, November 8, 1956

[21] N.C.N.A. Kunming dispatch, November 24, 1956.
[22] N.C.N.A. Peking dispatch, February 10, 1956.
[23] N.C.N.A. Peking dispatch, May 26, 1956.
[24] *Jen Min Jih Pao*, Peking, November 25, 1956.
[25] A small Manchu-related people, settled primarily in the Ili Valley, numbering approximately 10,000.
[26] According to statistics given by S. I. Bruk in his article "Etnicheski sostav i razmeshchenie naseleniya v Sin-tszyanskom Uigurskom Avtonomnom Rayone Kitaiskoi Narodnoi Respubliki" in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, #2, 1956, pp. 89-94, these three groups together form 94·6 per cent. of the total population of the region. For further information on the composition of the population of Sinkiang, see the abridgement of the Bruk article in the *Central Asian Review*, #4, 1956, pp. 433-37, and the chapter "The Peoples of Sinkiang" in O. Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia*, Boston, 1950, pp. 103-51.
[27] N.C.N.A. Urumchi dispatch, August 27, 1956.

Middle East Crisis. A Penguin Special. By Guy Wint and Peter Calvocoressi. Pp. 141. Maps and appendices. Price 2s.

For those who wish to better understand the present situation and the affairs leading to it this small volume can be recommended.

K. G. P.

REVIEWS

Parliament in India. By W. H. Morris-Jones. Longmans. 1957. Pp. 417. Index. 35s.

The publishers claim this book to be a major contribution to the literature on modern India, as well as to the study of political processes. This is no doubt true, although a longer basis of experience of the working of the Indian parliament than that enjoyed by the author would have made his appreciation weightier. The main questions he has set himself to discuss are whether the institutions of parliamentary democracy can be transplated into India, and whether India can demonstrate to Asia a way of avoiding the choice between one or other of the various forms of autocracy, in particular whether she has the strength to resist Communism? He does not pretend, however, to provide final answers.

The study is quite objective, and only in a few comments, not germane to his subject matter, would one seek to query his viewpoint. Thus, if the author had had personal experience of the India of forty or more years ago, he might not have made the mistake of accepting (p. 1) E. M. Forster's *Passage to India* as giving a true picture of the Anglo-Indian society of those days, when in fact it was only an unkind caricature. Again his description of the enforced integration of the princely States with the rest of India (p. 8) as having been effected by " a judicious combination of tactful and persuasive public speeches on the one hand, and a good deal of straight talking and shrewd bargaining on the other," conveys little idea of the duplicity of the Indian Government in its treatment of the States. It is wrong, moreover, to attribute the failure of federation solely to the intransigence of the princes (pp. 16, 17); the causes were much more complex.

The first four chapters of the book are the most interesting for the ordinary reader. The rest is heavy going for anyone not specifically interested in the more technical aspects of parliamentary government. The author starts with a general discussion of the Indian set-up. He indicates as major factors making for unity:

(1) The constitution, which gives India a strong central government, possessed not merely of a high degree of financial control over the subordinate States, but also enjoying residual and emergency powers in them all.

(2) The fact that the Indian Civil Service, and its successors, the Indian Administrative Service, are all-India Services.

(3) The unifying influence of Congress and other political parties, as they are mostly on an all-India basis.

(4) The disappearance of the princely States, which formerly divided India, both geographically and ideologically.

(5) Economic development under unified political direction, often with funds provided in whole or part by the centre.

(6) Pandit Nehru's outstanding influence, and the fact that his neutralist foreign policy commands general approval.

(7) The common religion with its all-India centres of pilgrimage.

As against these he notes various factors which make for diversity:

(1) Regionalism, whether arising from historic or linguistic causes, which operates powerfully in certain areas, *e.g.* Bengal, Madras, Bombay.

(2) The disappearance of British rule, which formerly held India together.

(3) The division of India between different castes and creeds, whose relative proportions vary greatly from area to area.

(4) The provincial assemblies and ministries, which provide other political foci than the capital.

(5) Congress's own party structure, as it is based largely on linguistic areas.

(6) The attempt to make Hindi the official language, a policy which is much disliked in southern India.

He adds also that though the influence of caste and religion may gradually be lessening, the tendency of the representatives of the same areas is to be clannish and avoid mixing with others. As regards the weight of authority attaching to the present government, he suggests that a certain respect for government, as such, was carried over from the British era, and in any case was inherent in the structure of Hindu society. He refers also to the halo that surrounded for a time those Congress leaders who had made sacrifices for the cause of independence. On the other hand he points out that there has been a good deal of factionalism and irresponsibility; disappointment with the performance of the Congress government is also widespread. There is, moreover, in India an undercurrent of hostility to parliamentary institutions on the ground that they are Western inventions; and movements such as the Bhoodan campaign led by Vinoba Bhave for the voluntary donation of land by the landowners to the poor and dispossessed, suggest the possibility that in the East other than parliamentary methods might be effective.

In the second chapter of his book the author deals wtih the gradual evolution of parliamentary institutions in India from the nominated councils of 1861 to the full-powered parliament of today. To British eyes the evolution was astonishingly fast: to Indian political leaders it appeared unduly slow. There is no point, however, in recapitulating here the successive steps by which this result was achieved. The grant of provincial autonomy under the 1935 Act brought Congress Ministries into power in the majority of the Provinces in July, 1937, and these remained in office until towards the end of 1939, when they resigned, in obedience to the orders of the Congress high command, as a protest against the enforced participation of India in the last war. Their autocratic and intolerant behaviour during this period created strong resentment; and debates in the local assemblies tended to be unreal owing to the feeling that the necessary decisions had been taken at Congress headquarters.

On the credit side relations with Governors and members of the services were better than had been feared, and some useful social legislation was passed. One important issue that arose was the relation of the Congress Ministries in the Provinces (now called States) to the Congress party machinery. None of the members of the Central Working Committee, which contained the heads of the party hierarchy, held ministerial office, but they compelled provincial ministries to accept their dictates, however reluctant the latter might be to do so, *i.e.* in effect ministers were controlled not by the legislatures, but by this irresponsible body in complete negation of the theory of responsible government. As a result Congress wrecking tactics had full scope: for the Congress representatives had entered government not to make its machinery work, but to destroy it. The author points out, however, that if it had not been for these two years of Congress ministries before the war, which gave many of their leaders some governmental training, the smooth transfer of power in 1947 would have been difficult, if not impossible.

The prevalent view in this country, until Montagu challenged it in 1921, was that the British parliamentary system was inapplicable to Indian conditions; and even the later Simon Commission doubted the possibility of its successful working in the Indian environment. Indian nationalist opinion, however, had fixed on British political institutions as their goal. As against this Sir Syed Ahmad Khan voiced Muslim fears that the British system of direct election was altogether unsuited to India, as the interests of the larger Hindu community would always over-ride those of the smaller Muslim community. Other Muslim leaders, at a later stage, echoed the same fears: Mr. Gandhi also disliked parliament on the British model, but no indigenous model was forthcoming. The Constituent Assembly of December, 1946, seemed nevertheless to envisage the possibility of finding models other than British, *e.g.* in America; but Sardar Patel's committee came down heavily in favour of the British parliamentary system. Muslims wanted a Swiss type of constitution, *i.e.* a fixed-term executive chosen by the legislature on a basis of proportional representation: but the arguments in favour of the latter were turned down in favour of ordinary direct election, on the ground that British experience had shown that this produced a stronger executive. Pandit Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Munshi all spoke in this sense It was decided, therefore, that the Indian Parliament, like that of the United Kingdom, was to consist of two chambers, the Lower, or House of the People, and the Upper, or Council of State. Members of the Lower House were to be elected by direct adult

suffrage, while those of the Upper House were to be chosen by State Assemblies or Electoral Colleges, one third of the members retiring every two years. The powers of the Upper House were limited as compared with those of the House of the People, and in effect its function was mainly that of a revising body. Nevertheless an amendment proposing a single chamber was defeated with little discussion. Unlike the Speaker of our House of Commons, the Speakers of the Central and State Assemblies were not debarred from taking an active part in politics. The President of the Union was to be appointed for a five-year term by an Electoral College consisting of all the elected members of parliament and the State Assemblies, but the State Governors were to be nominated by the President. No minority safeguards were conceded. At first there was a coalition government containing a number of men of no particular Congress allegiance, but after the election of 1952, when Congress was successful almost everywhere, these were discarded. Only in three of the State Assemblies was there trouble over establishing Congress control, *i.e.* Pepsu, Travancore-Cochin and Madras, while the difficulty that arose in the last has been largely overcome by the creation of the Andhra State, which drew off a large proportion of the Communists. The second general election, just concluded, has repeated Congress's former success except in Kerala where Communists have secured a majority.

The author has some interesting comments to make on general tendencies. He notes that amongst the people at large there is a good deal of distrust of the professions of Government, probably inherited from the agitations of the past, and there is for the same reason some lack of respect by the politicians for its Civil Officers, and vice versa. There is also a good deal of resentment at Congress over-bearingness, mixed with disappointment that the Congress Government has fallen short of expectations. He refers to the difficulties that arose over the relationship of the Congress government to the leadership of the party, only resolved when Pandit Nehru took over the presidentship of the party himself. The author regards this as a sign of the final transformation of a national movement into a political party.

At the centre the governmental machinery appears to be working well, but this is less evident in the subordinate legislatures, especially in some of the former princely States, where there has been a good deal of petty squabbling, calling for intervention by the Central Government. This the author ascribes to the fact that the Congress leaders in the princely States were men of much smaller calibre than in the former Provinces, as they had only recently emerged to take an active part in public life. Westminster practice has been followed with only minor differences, *e.g.* instead of having standing committees for bills, *ad hoc* committees are appointed in each case. In the author's view these committees serve as a useful check on the executive, to some extent supplying the place of an organized opposition. Ministers are generally much above their followers in experience and ability, and get too little understanding and support from them. This gap between the front and back benches the author regards as a serious weakness in present-day India, as also is the absence of any adequate body of independent political thinking: both defects are, however, remediable with time. A number of interesting tables and appendices complete the book.

The author's general conclusion, with which one must agree, is that on the whole, and more so than many European countries, India has been successful in adapting parliamentary institutions to her own needs without any serious departures of principle: Professor Morris-Jones is to be commended for this competent study.

A. C. LOTHIAN.

Development for Free Asia. By Maurice Zinkin. Chatto and Windus. 1956. Pp. 263+viii. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 21s. net.

Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

This is a valuable review by an acknowledged expert on the whole problem of development in backward Asia.

The author was in the Indian Civil Service, including the Finance Department, and then in business in India. Although nearly all of his problems are primarily those of India, they apply to all the so-called democratic states, but not to the totalitarian countries like China and Asiatic Russia.

Mr. Zinkin is a lucid thinker, and presents his picture convincingly on first principles. There are many obvious platitudes which can be advanced to explain why the West has advanced while most of Asia has weltered in its timeless backwardness.

There was a time, no doubt, when East and West were both primeval forest. Gradually civilized life reclaimed various portions. In the West in favourable conditions we see the change so to speak, to well-lighted parks and orderly progress. In the East things were less easy, much remained trackless jungle, with a few bright lights, mostly results of Western enterprise. Japan was an exception. They had found their own way out of primitive inertia. Colonialism had produced in other areas an element of knowledge on which the new states could lay foundations. Two hundred such years gave British India an advantage over most. What Mr. Zinkin has done is to spotlight recent changes, especially since 1947. He takes us down the jungle paths, as yet fitfully lighted here and there, and shows us dimly the promised land. How these jungles can in time also be made parks and double the standard of living. It is a slow task. Poverty, ignorance and superstition complicate every issue. The author speaks mainly of India, which he knows, and infers, rightly, that the same problems exist in most of Asia, but have not in others reached a standard which can be regarded as an adequate basis for study, or which can be profitably subjected to reasoned analysis. In this work most of the avenues, and even forest paths, have been surveyed and spotlighted for subsequent attention. The methods to be followed have been clearly and simply explained, with satisfying examples, easily followed by ordinary intelligent workers. Most of the ground has been covered, and it is clear that India's experience will prove a beacon light for others in the future.

The two first enemies are Asian contentment and the questionable respectability of the profit motive, so important in the West. The capitalist cuts less ice than the sadhu, which does not help investment, the main key to progress. Politics and land reform are not easy either. Successive divisions of small holdings, for instance, to large properties can only spell disaster.

One point becomes very clear, that an alien race, however well meaning, can never enforce on the natives the measures of persuasion they can establish themselves.

The author weighs up the stark choices before the often dedicated public servants appointed to help the villagers. It is a long and very slow road. If the present writer were to try and exemplify the author's unbiassed and understanding approach, he would point to the five pages on Population Control (pp. 224-9) on the general method of dealing with this and other subjects examined.

This is a really valuable and important work which will undoubtedly be regarded as a basic textbook for many years to come.

G. M. ROUTH.

Ancient and Modern Man in South-western Asia. By Henry Field. Coral Gardens, Florida: University of Miami Press. 1956. Pp. xiii+342 and end map. Bibliography. $8.50.

Dr. Henry Field first visited the Middle East in 1925; since that time he has made a number of expeditions into the area, extending from the Sinai Peninsula to West Pakistan. In addition to his own first-hand research in the area, Dr. Field has been active in making more readily available the findings of other investigators. In the present work he has made a compilation, from published and sometimes unpublished sources, of information concerning the tools of Stone Age man and the physical type of ancient and modern populations in the area. For each of twelve regions ranging between Sinai and Baluchistan, the Caucasus and the Arabian Peninsula, he describes briefly the geology, climate, water supply, fauna and flora of the region, then lists the prehistoric sites that have been reported and the physical data collected. He concludes with a summary and interpretation of the material, and a bibliography. The last hundred pages of the volume are devoted to tables of anthropometric data.

Even a cursory reading of this compilation will show how little we yet know about ancient man in South-western Asia, or about the physical type and genetic relations of modern man in the area. Because of its position as the connecting link between the Eurasiatic and African continents, South-western Asia would seem to be

of the greatest importance in solving some of the problems which confront Old World prehistorians. Indeed, the investigations made in one locality in Palestine by Dr. Dorothy Garrod and Dr. Theodore McCown contributed to revolutionary changes in the thinking of European prehistorians and human palæontologists. That so few studies of Stone Age man have been made in the area is perhaps due in part to the rich remains which Bronze Age man left to tempt the curiosity of archæologists. It is to be hoped that more extensive investigations of Stone Age man, and of modern populations, will be made. Meanwhile, Dr. Field's listings and bibliographies will be most useful to anyone who wishes to learn what is now known about the men who lived in South-western Asia before civilization began, and about the form and genetic relationships of the men who today people the land.

E. E. BACON.

Nationalism and Progress in Free Asia. By Philip W. Thayer. Johns Hopkins Press and Oxford University Press. Pp. xvi+394. Index. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. 42s. net.

This is a very important publication. The twenty-one essays and the sixteen relevant commentaries are the result of a conference in Washington in 1952 sponsored by the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. Owing to the importance of the subject and the grave concern to the western world of success or failure in South-East Asia, the conferences were repeated in Washington in August, 1955, and in the Rangoon Study Centre in October, 1955, with the co-operation of the Rangoon University and the Prime Minister of Burma.

This "volume contains most of the papers read at the two conferences. It is hoped they may constitute a much-needed and worth-while contribution to the literature on an area of great significance to the free world" (Preface).

The whole idea and its execution are admirable, and conform to a system latterly favoured by universities in the U.S.A. and in Europe to educate the public. Here we have 21+16=37 personal views by many acknowledged authorities on the various aspects of the subject involved. The standards of thought and expression are very high indeed, and it will be appreciated that few aspects on a very wide canvas have been forgotten.

To this reviewer, however, it might appear that the absence of any military angle is an important omission. War is unfortunately a continuation of policy, which must continue to depend ultimately on military potential. Europe does not always see eye to eye with American strategists, but there is little doubt that an objective twenty-page commentary by a world authority on this central factor is needed to achieve a really balanced picture. General MacArthur or Lord Alanbrooke fill the eye. The late General Patton, or even General Mark Clark might not carry the same conviction. The problem of the stark survival of the world depends ultimately on force. The facts must be faced. . . .

It is a well-established practice to print a very short summary of the background of the (thirty-seven) contributors, so that the reader can weigh up the angle, authority and background of their opinions.

Even more important is the nature of these contributions. The table of contents on p. vii indicates the contents of each essay in about seven words. Churchill's war histories, and others, prefer at least seven lines. Admittedly the seven words give a fair clue, but most busy readers would hope for a more descriptive summary of the type of argument advanced in each case before embarking on closer study.

It is, of course, obvious that criticism by commentators and others must be carefully controlled by the editor for many reasons. While in Westminster an M.P. may suggest that his victim should consult a psychiatrist before again committing himself to such unholy tripe, his wording in a volume such as this would have to be very carefully considered if the victim were to be a well-known ambassador. Really frank criticism must too often be tempered to meet the conditions. But in one or two places it is important that the tendency to mutual admiration should not obscure the argument.

There is another comment on this admirable compilation which might give it even greater influence in world education. The word "colonialism" occurs too often. The

old American history books still smoulder with the ashes of a vanished past. The *New York Times* recorded (in December, 1956) how the French urge in 1830 to intervene in Algeria to protect their shipping and limit internecine warfare, was at least as compelling a motive as the American invasion of California in 1850.

An examination of the sources of information of American contributors shows that their studies had, not unnaturally, been confined largely to American authorities. Admittedly the documentary evidence on Asian problems has been studied with great thoroughness, and without undue economies, by the very well organized U.S. Educational Centres. It emerges in places, however, that the documentary angle carries at times less weight than long residential qualifications, and practical records by administrators on the spot (*e.g.* Essay 14, on Minorities). This writer's plea here is for better liaison, already in process by exchange of professors, but in this type of compilation, an important desiderative *at source*. Had the comments of say "The Royal Institute of International Affairs" been available to the editor of this volume, certain of the views of contributors might, with their consent, have carried greater conviction.

A few remarks on the individual essays ought to be of value.

After his experience in Delhi as the American ambassador, one might have hoped for a more illuminating introduction by Mr. Chester Bowles. It is not easy to explain this impression. Perhaps it rests on a too common inclination to "go it alone," instead of stressing the importance of co-operation in the free world in approaching the many intricate problems of South-East Asia.

The American general view of South-East Asia and its commentary are expressed with great ability in the first essay. The second, by two ambassadors concerned, of the Asian view of the U.S.A. must have been difficult to write, and is not quite so effective.

The European Impact on South-East Asia (No. 3) is usefully discussed and in itself explains many of the present problems. The fourth essay on the aftermath of colonialisim is salutary. To the Asian, Western subjugation which they know, seems more terrible than communism which they do not. The spectre is fading, but it will die hard. Then follows the story of the emergence of nationalism—the strongest force of all in the eyes of the underdogs who have been so long exploited. Yet the case of Thailand, which never lost its political independence, proves that the effects of capitalism (p. 69) in these areas have "an essential similarity" as between conditions in Siam and those in nearby areas now free. Nationalism, until it develops safeguards for capitalism to develop local resources, unduly hinders progress. This becomes especially obvious in the next three essays. These, and the tenth essay, have latterly come into the news by the proposals of President Sokarno to substitute an all-powerful central body for parliament. Not, he says, after fourteen weeks on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that democracy is wrong, but that it does not suit Indonesia. Such problems will puzze Asia for years until they can each work out their own separate salvations.

The space allotted to Economic Development (No. 11) is well covered by Mr. Gupta, of the Ceylon Central Bank. The key words are savings and capital investment. The balance, in fact, between foreign credit and a proportion of personal savings to finance development projects.

Labour Problems (No. 12) are fundamental. Only Chinese seem to give adequate value in tropical areas, and their use introduces many difficult factors. Material improvements such as seed selection, manure, irrigation and factory equipment are only palliatory. Competition, incentives, self-interest and the urge for survival may improve matters slowly, but an early solution in the matter of this labour element is probably the most basic need of any.

Mr. Victor Purcell's talk on Minorities (No. 14), is probably more authoritative and better informed than most of the contributions. His long local experience enables him to express himself with more assurance than others with less practical experience of this important aspect. Even so, his commentator did not altogether agree with some of his points.

Essay 15, South-East Asia in World Affairs in the Light of History, covers from another angle much of the ground already discussed in essays 3-5, which it helps to clarify in perspective.

The two chapters 17-18, on the threat of communism, are encouraging. Poverty does not necessarily lead to the hammer and sickle in South-East Asia.

This writer was impressed by the well-reasoned study (No. 20) of the Counsellor of the Indonesian Embassy on policy choices for South-East Asia. The influence of such men may well be of vital importance in the years ahead.

The final contribution by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, M.P., and comments by Mr. John S. McCloy are stimulating. Foreign policy at Westminster is not yet bipartisan. Had the former been on the other side of the House, one feels agreement between the two might have been easier.

It will be appreciated that this volume gives us a very important, if slowly digestible, meal. The series is to be followed up, and will certainly be regarded as an indispensible reference on almost every subject connected with South-East Asia.

Hence the need for an adequate table of contents.

G. M. ROUTH.

The Borderlands of Soviet Central Asia: Persia. Central Asian Review, 1956, Vol. IV, numbers 3 and 4. Pp. 287-331 and 382-431.

The Central Asian Research Centre, in association with the Soviet Affairs Study Group at St. Antony's College, Oxford, has rendered a most valuable service by compiling this excellent survey of the material produced in the Soviet Union relating to the last fifty years on the subject of Persian history, economics, ethnography, language and literature.

It would be idle to deny that Soviet scholars have played and are still playing a notable part in producing works on the above-mentioned subjects. As this reviewer can testify, much of this material is most carefully prepared and, in so far as it relates to previous centuries, most of it is admirably objective in character. When, however, we come to consider the manner in which Soviet scholars have dealt with events during the last half-century, we find, as this survey points out, that, although the quantity of material produced is " probably as great as that published in any country of the West," the quality is very unequal. To quote again from the survey, all of this material " has, or had at the time of publication, the official imprimatur, and even signed books and articles are primarily designed to indoctrinate the Soviet public on official lines. While this enhances the importance of Soviet material as a reflection of official policy, it greatly reduces the academic and objective value of the historical work. Much of the literary and linguistic work, however, displays a high degree of scholarship."

It is, indeed, most unfortunate that an ideological urge and/or the fear of being arraigned as a " deviationist " should have brought about such a state of affairs, and one must sincerely regret that there appear to be no Soviet orientalists on whom the mantle of the late V. V. Barthold has fallen.

The following examples, taken from the pages of the survey, will convey an idea of the extraordinary " slant " which is given to Persian studies in the Soviet Union.

To begin with the Persian constitutional movement in the early years of this century, while it is not denied that Tsarist Russia was opposed to it, the assertion is made that Britain's encouragement of the constitutionalist was more apparent than real, and that she outwardly supported the movement to a certain extent merely in order to further her own imperialist aims. The claim that *The Persian Revolution* by that ardent supporter of Persian freedom, the late E. G. Browne, is " a crude falsehood about the attitude of Britain to the Persian Revolution " makes strange reading.

Similarly biased, but this time against the United States, are the comments on the financial missions of W. Morgan Shuster and Dr. Millspaugh.

When we come to more recent times and see how Soviet writers deal with events in Persia just after the close of the Second World War, we find that complete silence is preserved in regard to the part played by the Soviet army in furthering the separatist movement in Azarbaijan. As to the tardy withdrawal of Soviet troops from Persia, it is claimed that they had to be retained in the country until Britain withdrew her armed forces. No mention is made of the provision in the Tripartite Agreement

whereby both British and Russian troops were to leave the country within six months of the conclusion of hostilities (*i.e.* by March 2, 1946) and of the fact that Britain complied with this provision.

In their comments on the Persian economy, Soviet writers view matters through the same distorting glasses. The lack of progress in both agriculture and industry is ascribed to the "colonial policy of the Anglo-American imperialists and the dominion of feudal survivals." As for the Seven Year Plan, it is nothing more than "a weapon for the enslavement of the Persian economy by American imperialists."

The accounts given of the activities of the Imperial Bank of Iran and of the A.I.O.C. are complete travesties of the facts. Much of what is said about the A.I.O.C. might well have been written by one of the most fervent and imaginative propagandists of the Musaddiq regime at the height of the oil dispute with Britain. Naturally enough, there is no mention of the report on the Persian oil industry which the entirely impartial International Labour Office published in 1950.

When we come to the Agreement that was concluded in 1954 between the Persian Government, the National Iranian Oil Company and the group of oil companies known as the Consortium, we find a Soviet writer, B. Storin by name, making the following absurd commentary: "As the result of three years' war against the Persian people which has been carried on by the United States and Britain by both open and secret means, Persia has finally been forced to accept "a bondage agreement" which delivers her oil wealth once more into the hands of foreign colonialists. Such is the nature of the understanding between the Persian Government and the so-called International Oil Consortium." After commenting unfavourably on the manner in which Persia is to receive her share of the revenue, Storin writes: "This is a brutal infringement of the rights of the Persian people and a violation of the principle laid down in the nationalization law by which Persia alone possesses the right to all profits from . . . Persian oil."

It is refreshing to find that, when we come to Persian ethnography, language and literature, the Soviet treatment of these subjects is, on the whole, free from ideological bias. In these fields it is clear that much good work is being done.

In the concluding paragraph of the survey relating to Soviet publications on Persian affairs, it is stated that, until quite recently, greater emphasis has been laid on Persian affairs than on those of any other Middle Eastern country, but that, since 1955, when Soviet attention has been focussed more sharply on the Arab countries in the Middle East and Afghanistan, there has been a tendency to by-pass Persia. How long this tendency will be maintained remains to be seen.

Even though it is admittedly selective, the analysis made by the compilers of this admirable survey covers a sufficiently wide field for the general reader to be able to form a clear idea of the nature and scope of the study of Persia and her affairs in Soviet Russia.

L. L.

The Borderlands of Soviet Central Asia: Afghanistan. Bibliography of Russian Works on Afghanistan. Central Asian Research Centre. Central Asian Review, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1956.

One of the major obstacles which has in the past confronted students of Afghan history and political development has been the absence of any authoritative sources of information about the Russian attitude to past and current events in and concerning that country. Even as recently as 1947 such information was practically unobtainable, save after prolonged research, and even then the barrier of language added to the difficulties of the quest. The result has been that our studies of Afghan history, political development, and social and cultural progress have lacked the evidence of a very important witness, whose testimony, however biased and tendentious it may have been, would at any rate have had the merit of adding to the general sum of our knowledge about Afghanistan, and would have given us the salutary, if painful, opportunity of "seeing ourselves as others see us" in what was, until 1947, one of the major spheres of British political activity.

The Central Asian Research Centre has now undertaken the task of removing this

barrier. The article under review presents in some forty pages "the first of a series designed to afford some insight into Soviet writing on the limitrophe countries of Soviet Central Asia." It is divided into three sections: I, History; II, Current Affairs; III, Literature and Linguistics.

Of these the section on history occupies half the allotted space. Beginning in 1837 with the mission of the luckless Lieutenant Vitkevich to the court of Dost Muhammad, it illustrates the Russian attitude to Afghan affairs by giving the views of Russian writers on a series of outstanding episodes down to the year 1929, when Nadir Shah overthrew the brigand Bachha-i-Saqao, and restored stability to the country. Each episode opens with a brief summary of the generally accepted version of the events described. Throughout the section attention is focussed on the marked and unhappy change which has come over all Russian historical writing since the abandonment in 1937 of the "Pokroviskiy" theory. "Before then the tendency was to condemn all imperialism, foreign or Russian, subsequently, and particularly since 1945, the tendency has been to condone Tsarist imperialism on the grounds of the good it eventually brought to its conquered peoples. . . ." The result has been peculiar. While earlier writers, such as Roskol'nikov, by condemning all imperialism —British and Tsarist alike—contrive to produce a balanced, if highly critical, narrative of events, later writers lay all blame indiscriminately on British imperialism for the ills which have at different times befallen Afghanistan. The effect of this sacrifice of historical accuracy on the altar of ideological expediency is most clearly seen in the works of historians who were writing both before and after 1937. In the case, for instance, of the well-known writer I. M. Reysner, "the style and approach to his subject differ so strikingly from those of his earlier works that it is difficult to recognize the same hand."

As a result Russian historical writing since 1937 must generally be regarded as manifestations of the ideological and practical trend of Soviet policy at the time the book or article was written, rather than as serious attempts to ascertain the facts and enter into the spirit of the times in which the events described took place.

These tendencies are strikingly brought out in Soviet accounts of the somewhat confused relations between Amanullah's Government and the Basmachi movement, led by Enver Pasha. Pre-1937 writers give what appears to be a reasonably balanced narrative of this abortive Pan-Turanian movement, and Amanullah's half-hearted attempts to support it. Reysner, writing in 1954 on the same subject, treats the whole matter as "the aggressive attempts of the Afghan landowners to expand their dominion at the expense of foreign countries . . ." and drags in the British and American imperialists as being the basic organizers and inspirers of the forces of counter revolution. The contrast is deplorable. It was, of course, to be expected that in dealing with the fall of Amanullah, pre-1937 writers should fall into the common international error of ascribing his eclipse and replacement by Nadir Shah to British intrigue, and particularly to the machinations of T. E. Lawrence. It was undoubtedly tactless of the British authorities to post Aircraftsman Shaw in 1928-29 to an air-force detachment at Miranshah, a few miles from the Afghan border. But in fact the Government of India went to almost ridiculous extremes in their determination to maintain neutrality during the Afghan revolution, an act of restraint for which subsequently they got no credit whatsoever.

The second section surveys five aspects of Afghan current affairs. Of these Soviet writers have dealt objectively and on the whole fairly with education, and comprehensively with ethnography, including a useful ethnographical map. In dealing with economic and industrial developments, Soviet writers endeavour to convey the impression that Russia is Afghanistan's only true friend, by conveniently ignoring the assistance now being afforded by the U.S.A. and other countries. At the same time, in discussing the handicraft industry, the writer, Akhramovitch, cannot resist a violent criticism of the exploitation of the craftsmen by the capitalist, and the evils of too great a dependence on foreign trade.

The last item in this section is the vexed subject of Pakhtunistan. Here Soviet writers and speakers seem, like other people, somewhat confused as to the exact nature and scope of Afghan demands. While generally supporting the Afghan case, they seem anxious not to antagonize Pakistan by too definite an expression of their views.

The third section, dealing with language and literature, notes that the Russian contribution to the study of this branch of Afghan culture probably exceeds in scope and importance the studies of any Western orientalists. This may well be so, though direct access to Afghan sources by Soviet scholars was severely limited at any rate up to about 1950. Since then the appearance of a Russian-Afghan dictionary of 21,000 words, and detailed studies by Soviet writers of the Raushani movement of the 16th and 17th centuries indicate the increasing attention now being paid by the Russians to all aspects of Afghan life and culture.

It is this fact which makes this Survey of such importance at the present time. For though in itself it contains only a brief sketch of some of the opinions of a few Soviet writers, the trend of Russian thought is reflected in these extracts in a manner to invite further enquiry. With this in view the Research Centre has issued separately a Bibliography of Russian Works on Afghanistan, containing the names of over a hundred Soviet writers, many of them with several articles or books to their credit. These writings date back to the earliest direct contacts between Russia and Afghanistan in the latter part of the last century, but the majority were written after 1921, when Afghanistan first emerged as an independent sovereign state. They cover every aspect of Afghan history, development and culture.

Afghanistan is not much in the public eye at present, but she is still the high-road to the Indian sub-continent and the southern seas. The Americans are striving to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of British influence from Southern Asia, but the gateway from the north is open and the Russians are playing an increasing part in Afghan affairs. The Central Asian Research Centre is performing a most valuable task in presenting a picture of Soviet opinion and policy towards this vital area.

The Historical Status of Tibet. By Tieh-Tseng Li. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University. 1956. Pp. 312. Bibliography and Index.

Mr. Tieh-Tseng is to be congratulated upon his assiduity in collating the many sources of information about this vexed question, but he unfortunately lacks the critical detachment that is the hall-mark of the true historian. As a Chinese, it is understandable that he should be at pains to prove the Chinese claim that Tibet has always been a part of the Chinese Empire and has always so regarded herself, though the chequered relations between the two countries go far to controvert it. But it is less excusable that in his anxiety to stress the dependence of Tibet upon China for every facet of her civilization he glosses over the missionary work of the Indian pundits, who were in fact responsible for the introduction of Lamaism to the country.

From the evidence it seems clear that whatever the formal status of the two countries the Tibetans have throughout the centuries maintained a spirit of independence and the Chinese writ has only run in their country when maintained by force. Until the end of the last century their differences concerned only themselves, but with the establishment of British influence in the neighbouring Himalayan states and Russian dreams of oriental expansion Tibet was bound to become the focus of international attention, more especially as Chinese prestige there was at such a low ebb that the last two Dalai Lamas had been able to refuse to accept seals from the Emperor. It was this weakness coupled with Tibetan intransigeance which led to the Younghusband Expedition, for Lord Curzon only embarked upon it when the Chinese had proved powerless to enforce upon the Tibetans the terms of the Trade Regulations of 1893 consequent upon the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1890.

The history of this Expedition and of the next twenty years is much more clearly and impartially set out by Bell in his *Tibet—Past and Present* than by the present author. In the latter's desire to compartment his material he is apt to make sudden interruptions in the flow of events, which would have been better related in proper sequence: for instance, on one page the Dalai Lama is still in China where as on the next he is already fleeing to India, and it is little consolation to the reader to be reminded that the intervening years have been described elsewhere. And his anti-British bias leads him to underestimate the Tibetans' own desire for freedom, which he is inclined wrongly to ascribe to British machination. It was, of course, in

the British interest to have an independent Tibet as a friendly buffer state in order to secure the north-eastern frontier of India, but in putting forward the case for Tibetan autonomy throughout the complex tripartite negotiations for a final settlement under Chinese suzerainty the British Government was doing little more than lend its weight to the Tibetan official cause. For the Tibetans had learnt from the withdrawal after the Younghusband Expedition that they had little to fear from the British whereas the Chinese were always potential and often actual aggressors. That their attitude was a matter of policy and not of personalities, though the thirteenth Dalai Lama was stalwartly pro-British, is proved by the fact that they continued to maintain it when the British were succeeded by the Indians in India and still maintain it to the present day in spite of having had to submit to the armed occupation of the Chinese Communists. So anxious indeed were they to be on even terms with the Chinese that in the twenties they imported considerable quantities of arms and ammunition from the Japanese to supplement the supplies that the Government of India permitted them to have. Proof of this long-suspected traffic was not forthcoming until the capture of the Japanese Foreign Office archives at the end of the last war.

It is in vain that the author claims to write *sine ira* when he goes so far as to accuse Richardson when British Trade Agent in Tibet of taking a personal hand in quelling a monastic insurrection, though the publishers have had the grace to print Richardson's denial. Sir Basil Gould also, had he been still alive, would undoubtedly have contradicted the statement that he had refused to be present at the installation of the fourteenth Dalai Lama because of a difference of opinion over precedence, since it was agreed beforehand that the British Mission should be presented on the subsequent day. The author is on equally poor ground when he makes a point of trying to acquit the Governor of Ch'inghai of the charge of holding that same Dalai Lama up for ransom before allowing him to leave for Tibet; for the details of the payments are on record in the official Tibetan account. But it seems likely that a lack of knowledge of Tibetan has prevented his consulting Tibetan sources: at least he mentions none in his copious bibliography. Moreover, even a slight acquaintance with the language would have enabled him to avoid misspellings of Tibetan names and to have adopted a uniform method of reproducing them either phonetic or literal instead of a confusion of both.

His ultimate suggestion that Tibet should be demilitarized by agreement between India and China leaves its status undefined and is unlikely to commend itself to the present Chinese regime.

H. C.

No Passport to Tibet. By Lieut.-Col. F. M. Bailey, C.I.E. Rupert Hart-Davis. 1957. Pp. 294. Ill., 8 maps. 25s.

No Passport to Tibet is written by the Colonel Bailey who spent a year in hiding in Bolshevik Central Asia *without* a passport: an unusual experience followed by an even more dramatic escape. But he did not tell us about it until twenty-seven years later. Now he allows forty-four years to elapse before giving us the story of his solving of a great problem, perhaps "one of the most interesting in geographical story."

I congratulate the Colonel on his courage to write a book which some carping reviewer will doubtless call ancient history. I once suffered the same fate for doing the same thing. *All* history is ancient, and if it *is* history it should be recorded. No matter how long a time elapses between the event and the telling, so long as the story is true and the information is new.

There are those who rush into print—rash fellows; there are those who never tell of their experiences—naughty boys; and there are those who let their subject-matter mature like old wine—wise men. Col. Bailey's port was laid down in 1913, it was a good vintage year, and now after forty-four years it is jolly good stuff to drink.

I claim to be familiar with the history of exploration in general, and of Asia in particular, but I confess I had no idea that one of its major problems in exploration remained unsolved for so long.

The theme of this book is the unravelling of the riddle of the destination of the great river of Tibet—there is only one—the Tsangpo. Did it flow through Burma or into the Bay of Bengal? Nobody knew.

Eight hundred miles of the river was known to run over open Tibetan plateau, then it met the mountains and disappeared " through caverns measureless to man." Moreover, where it vanished from (Western) human view into the labyrinths which seam the land of the Abor and the Mishmi, its altitude is 9,000 ft., where the Bramaputra issues on to the plains of Assam the altitude is 500 ft. If the two were one, was there not another Niagara to be discovered? Nobody knew.

Now we know the Brahmaputra from source to mouth, and we know from Colonel Bailey's book what a lot of trouble and hard work it took to settle the matter. The region of the unknown sector (up to 1913) must be one of the most inaccessible and exclusive bits of country on this planet. It is quite small, all of it would go inside Wales, and the tourists at Darjeeling are only as far away as London is from Edinburgh. Yet it had preserved its seclusion until so recent a date. But it took years and years of probing; explorer after explorer was sent out by the Survey of India, yet the riddle was not solved; and when, at long last, it was solved by *Bailey* and Morshead the answer was greeted with derision by some who thought they knew better.

The " Niagara " was proved to be a succession of rapids, with one fall of no great height. But other work was achieved. The great peak Namcha Barwa, 25,445 ft., the highest summit east of Kangchenjunga, was viewed at close quarters, and named, thus confirming its discovery in the previous year from afar. They also saw away to the east another great peak Gyala Peri, 23,460 ft.; fifteen thousand feet below and between them roared the Tsangpo through its tortuous gorges. They mapped it for 380 miles.

The Colonel's companion on all this journey was that " imperturbably adventurous man " H. T. Morshead, who later was to win fame as surveyor to the first Everest Expedition of 1921, and who took an active part in the disastrous assault on Mount Everest in 1922.

Unauthorized by the Government of India, unwelcomed by Tibetan or Chinese, they had to get along as best they could with the peculiarly intractable tribes with whom they came in contact. " The country is bloody and so are the people " was the verdict passed on it by one of Bailey's colleagues. This they did successfully, for they survived where others had either perished or been forced to retreat. The story of that famous explorer Kintup, sent out by the Survey of India to unravel the hydrography of the region, appears in this book, and goes to prove the difficulty of the country and the sulky, cantankerous native of its inhabitants. Kintup spent four years at the job, suffered untold hardship and even enslavement, was illiterate and therefore was forced to commit everything to memory, but eventually returned to his masters with a perfectly truthful account of all he had seen—surely a unique example of loyalty and devotion to a cause. This comprises the main theme of the book, but Colonel Bailey also takes us on his travels, whilst " beating the bounds " of Tibet and India, delineating a frontier which is already in question.

Most of this survey work was done at very high altitudes, averaging 13,000 ft. for a month at a time. Another difficulty to be surmounted was that of establishing stations from which to take observations. Dense forest ran up to snow line; there were no bare hill-tops such as surveyors desire. But, of course, this was overcome, and a by-product of birds, beasts, butterflies and poppies were added to the bag; some of these bear the name of *Baileyi* for botanical specimens, but *baileyi* for zoological—I never know why.

It is a great story, told simply and devoid of that sensational " write-up " so common in these days. Two young (around thirty years of age) officers, under nobody's orders or patronage, did all this for the love of it. After reading the story, I am left with a deep conviction that, with all our faults and failings, we are, as a race, rather extraordinary people.

DOUGLAS CARRUTHERS.

Die Mongolische Volksrepublik. By E. M. Murzaev, translated from Russian into German by F. Tutenberg. Gotha: Geographisch-Kartographische Anstalt. 1954. Deutschmarks (East) 18.

In a time of highly developed communications and their corollary, a system of curtains of varying materials, it is fitting that a work should appear which examines in exhaustive detail the geography of an inaccessible country. Murzaev's *Mongolian People's Republic* is an extremely able, informative and interesting survey of the non-human features of Mongolian terrain, climate, natural regions, etc. The main geographical portion of the book falls into two sections, the first dealing with general geography, climate, hydrology, desiccation and tectonic features, and the second with the physical geography by regions. The whole is fully illustrated with photographs, sketch maps, diagrams and tables.

Although the study was crowned with a Stalin Prize on its appearance in 1951, it is free from political irrelevancies. Early in the long introductory section the author makes two passing references to the works of Stalin and Lenin, but after having, so to speak, mentally crossed himself, he proceeds to the matter in hand.

This introduction is one of the most interesting features of the book. It includes an explanation of Mongol toponymical terms, and one reader is surprised to learn that the familiar Gashun Nor means Bitter Lake. The economy of the region is somewhat briefly treated, mainly on the impressively uninformative percentage system. A further useful inclusion is a history of the exploration of Mongolia. Tribute is paid to the pioneer work of Piano Carpini, Rubruquis, the Polos and their successors, up to and beyond the remarkable monk Yakinf and the Archimandrite Palladii in the nineteenth century, not omitting Douglas Carruthers and Roy Chapman Andrews in the twentieth.

In the International Geophysical Year, one virtue of Murzaev's approach deserves mention. He does not confine himself to a statement of the existing characteristics, but demonstrates how tectonic developments have contributed to their formation. The prevailing aridity, for example, arises from the erection of a mountain barrier in the West (Altai, Sajljugem and Tannu-Ola systems) during the Quaternary Period, producing an effect similar to that of the Himalayan Monsoon Barrier in the South.

It is to be hoped that an English translator will be found for this valuable work. Meanwhile, to those interested in this region and with a knowledge of German it may be strongly commended. Appendices contain an index of geographical names, a lengthy and not exclusively Soviet bibliography and four maps in a wrapper, one of which is a physical map in colour.

D. P. BARRETT.

The Middle East in World Affairs. By George Lenczowski. Cornell University Press and Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 536. 55s.

George Lenczowski, who was once a Polish diplomat, is now a Professor at an American university, and this background has helped him to take full account of American and of Russian political activity in this area. There are times when one feels that he is not so well acquainted with British motives and interests, but his book is unbiased. It sets out to be "a comprehensive study of contemporary politics and diplomacy in the Middle East," and the author has achieved his purpose in a book that is to be recommended as useful background material. Readers will understand that politics are the subject and that the book only incidentally deals with the social and the economic scene both of which are equally essential for a full picture.

Professor Lenczowski has taken great pains to produce a clear, accurate and intelligible account. In his study he has often had recourse to our Journal, especially when treating with areas that are not well covered by other books. The style of the writing does not obtrude itself, and there is an air of impersonality that well becomes an impartial account. Those who have lived closer to events might have written with more fire but probably with less accuracy and balance.

There is an excellent bibliography, an index, and several statistical tables; the

maps, too, are very welcome, but their finish is not as good as that of the layout of the book.

The first three chapters deal with the history of the Ottoman and Persian Empires up to and during the First World War. It is interesting to see Russia's interest in Turkey traced back to the late fifteenth century when Ivan III married Sophia of the Byzantine house. Then Russia usually moved openly and by force of arms to achieve what she now attempts by other means. We are told of the rivalry between Britain and France and Russia leading to the Crimean War and to the birth of the Young Turk movement. We have also an excellent account of the Anglo-Russian wrestlings in Persia from 1800. German influence is then treated, with details of the expedition to Afghanistan during World War I. In one chapter this war is described and in another the peace settlement is fully documented.

Turkey.—Kemal Ataturk is shown as a forceful dictator with liberal inclinations; he realized that only strong medicine would heal the Sick Man of Europe and boldly applied it. The world knows well how often minorities have suffered at Turkish hands; in this book we learn something of the great difficulties caused to any Turkish government by those same minorities. The author never seeks to condone a massacre, but he points out how often the activities or even the existence of a minority have been a danger to the interests of the majority, in Turkey as in other states. The dynamic force of Kurdish revolt is still of interest at a time when many Kurds hold strong positions in Arab states. Many readers may take a kindlier view of Turkey's neutrality in World War II when they read of the stresses applied to her by Germany and by Russia.

Iran.—British hopes in Persia were short lived: by 1921 we had evacuated and had no treaty, while Russia and Iran had signed an agreement. The author intimates that the reason for this failure was our bland assumption of proconsular authority, but this argument is not fully marshalled. "Reza Shah's chief ambition was to emulate his Turkish counterpart," and the author states that he failed because his country started as the more backward and because he himself had certain defects of character. This chapter contains a useful section on the Azerbaijan crisis at the end of 1945 which marked one of U.N.O.'s early failures. Out of this situation Iran had to buy her way and make with Russia a bad bargain that was expunged when American aid started to flow in 1949, but the dollars did not come fast enough and the next year Russia was again in favour. The see-saw politics of economic bargaining are well illustrated, but it is not the author's intention to draw the moral. The Abadan affair is explained as being due to Russian influence, to lack of dollars and the smallness of Iran's share in oil revenues.

Afghanistan.—We are told of Britain's "overbearing" policy in Afghanistan, written from a distance that makes criticism easy. Though victors we ceded at the Treaty of Rawalpindi in 1919 what we had won, a gesture received not by gratitude but by the crowing of Amanullah who, in the end, failed not only to establish leadership in Central Asia but also to achieve internal reforms. A good point is made of the curse of unnatural frontiers: Kabul could not control tribes north of the mountains and the N.W.F.P. remained an open sore to India.

Iraq.—It is admitted that Britain was not slow to transfer power to the natives of Mesopotamia, but in doing so we perpetuated the feudal system. The great strength of Nuri Said runs through this chapter as it does the fate of his country, it is clear that his loyalty and friendship with Britain is based on his own patriotism. When Iraq was faced with the choice of allying herself with Egypt or with Turkey, we are told that Egypt offered to condone the alliance of Syria with Iraq if the Baghdad Pact were stifled and he also tells that the Zionist outcry against the Pact deprived it of American support. Iraq is the only Arab state to suffer willingly from the boycott of Israel, but one is tempted to doubt whether this bit of Israeli politicking was farsighted.

Syria and Lebanon.—These dissimilar twins are treated separately when psosible, but the author does not sufficiently draw attention to the magnification of the little district of Mount Lebanon into the Republic of Great Lebanon. Professor Lenczowski skates over the French bombardment of Damascus in May, 1945, as lightly as any French diplomat. We read of the comings and goings of dictators and political parties, and our attention is drawn to the great significance of the conversion of Zaim

from Hashemi to Egyptian politics. The differences between the political parties are fully explained, though truly only two parties exist, those in power and those in waiting.

Israel.—When Britain offered the Zionists Uganda, it was their Russian element in 1904 that rejected the offer. We are told of the struggles within Jewry between Zionists and their opponents; a struggle that seems to have ceased without deciding whether Judaism is a race or a religion. We are reminded of Article 6 of the Mandate which stipulated that the Mandatory Power should facilitate Jewish immigration "while ensuring the rights of other sections of the population." To this pious impossibility can be traced the unended trouble. We are told how the Arabs, by refusing to co-operate with Commissions of enquiry, steadily lost ground and Israel was created. It is surprising to learn that in 1943 only 13 per cent. of wage earners were engaged in agriculture, and, though there is much to admire in Israel's progress, we are left in no doubt as to the vastness of the tasks ahead. Although this book was written before the Suez crisis at the end of 1956, the author foresees the trend in U.S. feeling away from the pro-Zionist urge that had been induced by "biblical appeal."

Jordan.—There is happily little to tell of the time before World War II. Now that the 400,000 Transjordanians have been joined by the 400,000 Palestinians of the West Bank, 100,000 working immigrants and 472,000 destitute refugees, one dares to wonder whether King Hussein would not prefer Abdullah's original Emirate. Haj Emin el Husseini comes several times into this book; perhaps he is best recalled as the instigator of the murder of King Abdullah, that wise and careful ruler.

Egypt.—The author pays due tribute to the lasting achievements of the time of Lord Cromer, matters well forgotten where they work the good. It is interesting to read of that time, back in history, when, at the murder of Sir Lee Stack, the British reaction was "unusually strong," and one wonders how the author would treat recent events in Egypt. There is a good description of the rise of the Wafd and of the machinations against it of the Court; the treatment of Egypt's internal politics is excellent.

On one point we must take issue with him for endeavouring to make a convincing case for Egypt's union with the Sudan without reckoning on the opinion of the latter. The Sudan does not wish to become part of Egypt and there is an end to it.

Saudi Arabia.—The mistakes of policy that led to the downfall of Hussein are carefully analysed but not explained. Although he had no legal hold over Great Britain to claim help against Ibn Saud he may well have thought that the absence of a written treaty would not weaken the friendship vehemently avowed to him by officers of Britain. The author contends that we backed both duellists—as we did with Zion and the Arabs, and with France and the Arabs. It is particularly topical to read the warning that Saudi claims to Maan and to Aqaba in Jordan have never been waived. While we in Britain now remember what we suffer from inimical propaganda bought with Saudi money, we should also recall Abd el Aziz's benevolent attitude in the Second World War. He praises the tact and foresight of Aramco to make this great American asset safe and sound, and we hope he is right. It is interesting to speculate what a lot has stemmed from a small affray: in 1913 Ibn Saud conquered Hasa and twenty years later it has become a great oil reservoir and the reason why this book is written.

Yemen.—The author traces the short history of the Yemen from the time when it was an indistinguishable part of the Ottoman Empire. We are given sidelights on the conflict of British and Italian politics and of the consequent alignment of the Imam with the Axis. The crises of 1948 and 1955 are clearly explained, and we are left with the question of Russia's current influence.

It is a pity there is no chapter covering the Persian Gulf states otherwise the author has covered well the area from the Bosphorous to Pakistan.

Final chapters are devoted to collecting material on special subjects without geographical limits. The story of the Second World War in the Middle East is briefly but well told. The author remarks on the poorness of our psychological warfare. The lure of neutralism is well explained; the Arab knew that if he were pro-Axis, the Western allies would not slaughter him even if they won and, in any case, he had little to gain in the second war compared with liberation from Ottoman rule in the first. A chapter on strategic waterways includes the history of the Bosphorus, but it

is the development of the Canal agreements that is today of even more interest. It is perhaps a significant point that Egypt sold, in the days of sultanic profligacy, her birthright in the Canal so that modern Egypt took little share in its profits. Then comes a chapter on the Arab League and finally one on the Great Powers in the Middle East in the last paragraph of which the author hopes that the United States may regain " the moral advantage that it once possessed " if she will divorce herself from the " outmoded notions " of other powers.

If the reviewer has criticized some passages, especially from a British point of view, let it not be thought that the book attacks us. It is a valuable contribution to the vast library on the subject and an honest and very informative source of reference. Although mainly dealing with factual matters, there is enough of implied opinion tospark off fruitful discussion and argument; few experts could fail to find much that is new and no reader an fail to be glad of having read this large book.

J. M. C.

Sultan in Oman. By James Morris. Faber. Pp. 165. Ill., Index. 16s.

Oil and Arabs are both very much in our minds today, and it is the conjunction of the two that has created so many of our problems. The effect of the discovery of oil in the Middle East has been two-fold, firstly political and secondly social. Mr. Morris is fortunate that he should have had this opportunity of visiting a country which is still in the main only indirectly affected and where life still continues much as it has done for centuries. He had the privilege of accompanying the Sultan of Muscat in his fascinating dash from one end of his dominions to another. Few Europeans have seen as much of this territory as he saw and none travelled in such company or in such comfort. Starting from Dhufar, the caravan travelled across the Qara mountains, the Jaddat al Harassis and the mountains of Oman till they reached the sea again at Sohar and then to Muscat. " Whiz, whiz! all done by steam," said the Pasha to Kinglake: the efficiency of this expedition was only equalled by the break-neck speed at which it travelled. The planning and control were all the Sultan's, and he maintained a complete and accurate log so that on one occasion at least he was able to correct the official guide. The setting up of camp at night and the packing up in the morning was done with the utmost despatch and no breakdown appeared to mar the journey.

In Dibai an old fisherman is quoted in a recent article as saying, " Allah is generous: one day they will find oil and we shall all be rich." Oman hopes the same and throughout his journey Mr. Morris's thoughts are divided between a study of the present and thoughts about the future. Despite the speed of the journey there was ample time before it started for him to see much of the remarkable province of Dhufar and at the end to see the town of Muscat at leisure. His descriptions are all most vivid and he misses little. The only regret the reader may have is that there was not infinite time for him to study in detail some of the strange tribes and the conditions in the mountains of Oman before the advance of progress changes them or destroys them.

Equally interesting are Mr. Morris's comments on the political and social problems which exist now or will in the future be the lot of the ruler to solve. The political problems are well known, but the description of the Buraimi Oasis and the meeting of the rulers of Muscat and Abu Dhabi gives them a more personal meaning. So far the ambitions of the Saudi Arabian Government have been checked and the claims of the rightful ruler established, but constant vigilance will be needed, especially if oil is ultimately found.

Mr. Morris in his travels continually considers the social effect of the discovery of oil and how far Arab States have wisely used their revenues. He regrets the abrupt metamorphosis of a quiet sea-port into a brash and hideous boom town and what he calls the " dreadful possibilities " of the oil culture. Rapid development frequently outruns good sense, but surely with experience much can be done to avoid earlier mistakes. One special aspect of this concerns architecture of schools and hospitals whose existence are due to the riches brought by oil. Can their outward appearance

not conform with local types, which are frequently beautiful, rather than imitate the much less attractive Festival of Britain style.

Altogether this is a most interesting book and worthy of a place on the bookshelves of all who are interested in the Arabs, their past and future. Whether Mr. Morris is describing the country through which he travelled, the places he visited or the people he met, his account is most absorbing and instructive. His thoughts on the oil culture are also stimulating and should be considered by all concerned in this aspect of the Arab world. Last but by no means least the book is in essence a wonderful portrait of that great and spirited ruler, His Highness Sultan Said bin Taimur.

J. E. F. GUERITZ.

The State of Israel. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Faber and Faber. 1957. Pp. 230. Maps, Index, Ill. 21s.

Mr. Rushbrook Williams, formerly a leader writer of *The Times* and an expert on the Middle East, has paid two visits to Israel, and set out to write a book about the development of the state, how it manages to maintain itself as an indepedent entity and what its people are trying to make it. It may be said at once that he has succeeded admirably in that aim, and his book is a mine of information on every aspect of the life, political, economic, social, cultural and artistic. He is a skilful writer and objective, and has contrived to absorb and digest a mass of information and record it lucidly. The book is in two unequal parts. The first deals briefly with the past in twenty pages, the second in nearly 200 pages describes the present.

The first part is not original, and the inevitable telescoping of history occasionally introduces a certain inbalance. Theodor Herzl's part in creating political Zionism is dismissed in one sentence, and Weizmann's contribution is assessed almost as scantily. When, however, he comes to the achievement of Israel's nine years, his appreciation is fresh, and at once discerning and admiring. The titles of his chapters are revealing: Europe in Asia, Unity out of Diversity, Back to the Land, Building a Welfare State. Sometimes his account is almost too glowing, as when, speaking of the contribution of the Jews abroad to the building of Israel, he says that the Jewish community of the United States " have played a conspicuous part in raising a sum far exceeding the thousand million dollars originally contemplated in 1950." Certainly the contribution of Jews has been remarkably generous, but it has hardly yet reached the billion total, and the target which was set for the Independence Loan issued in 1950 is not yet attained. While the account of public affairs and government is most illuminating, Mr. Rushbrook Williams is very brief about the system of law, which for the most part has been taken over from the mandatory regime.

He is at his best in dealing with political and foreign affairs. About Ben Gurion's dropping of Sharet as Foreign Minister in 1956, he writes most tactfully, " there was no difference between the two men over the essentials of foreign policy; the disagreement occurred over timing and emphasis." Of the relations of Israel with her Arab citizens he can look forward hopefully to a time " when the outlook of her Arab citizens will be as little open to doubt as the outlook of the majority community."

His final chapter deals with The Arabs Outside. Though it was written after the Sinai operation, he retains his optimist's faith. The common man in Israel, he notes, as well as the government, is pre-occupied with foreign affairs which daily and visibly affect his life; and Israelis in consequence are not nervous but nervy, " quick to be elated by news which seems to promise well, equally quick to fall into despondency because of some momentary unfavourable development." His conclusion is that, as the result of the events of last months, " the United Nations have been given a supreme opportunity to lay the foundations of a comprehensive and equitable settlement between Israel and her neighbours."

The illustrations of scenes and places and of types of Israelis bear the official mark, and stress the pioneer spirit. Strangely there is no shot of Tel Aviv, except a photo of army girls marching past on Independence Day, and the map of the Negev shows no settlement except Beersheba, Auja and Eilat. It is not quite as empty as that.

N. B.

Adventure with Two Passports.. By W. Byford-Jones. Robert Hale. Pp. 213. Ill. 21s.

Colonel Byford-Jones wrote this book after a short tour of the Levant before the Israeli-Egyptian clash at the end of last year; he had already good experience of those parts and many friends. The countries covered are Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus and Greece and the book has photographs and a map.

There are two unconnected parts of this book: one dealing with the Arab States and Israel, the other with Greece and Cyprus. In the former, the main theme is the complete inadequacy of our thin trickle of propaganda to stem the tide of Saut el Arab. The author belabours this point, but his own accounts of his interviews do not show him taking many opportunities to defend Britain against false charges. This is because, as a journalist, to secure and continue such interviews he has to listen and argument might stop the flow.

Colonel Byford-Jones interviewed Nasser and other Egyptians and was impressed with the efficiency and purpose of the new regime. He paints a vivid picture and strikes melodramatic highlights which, though they err on the side of exaggeration, certainly give his narrative interest and grip the reader's attention.

His account of the clash between King Hussein and General Sir John Glubb is told from three sides. It appears that the king was played upon by the crafty Colonel Nawar and that perhaps the Pasha suffered from the disadvantage that he would not compromise with the third-rate.

Our pity is touched by the description of the sordid refugee camp and our imagination fired by vivid descriptions of scenes and people. The author unearths many problems in the Arab world, but does not attempt to propound solutions.

The account of a visit to Israel is prefaced by the crossing of the No Man's Land of Jerusalem in a cloak and dagger atmosphere. The strain for the Negev frontiersman, living with his pistol at hand, is well brought home, and from this chapter we realize the strength of Israel in war, a strength that Sir John Glubb understood even before Egypt felt it. At the same time the author remarks on the strong Israeli craving for Kultur, such a contrast from the other side of the border.

Dealing with Cyprus, Colonel-Byford Jones does not desert his dramatic role, but here he has a solution to propose—that of partition, with a transfer of the Turkish population to the south where Britain would continue to keep her Middle East base.

The theme of propaganda returns in the last chapter, about an American ship employed on monitoring and transmitting propaganda. "We should again attempt to rule the waves in the new sense—the short, medium and long waves," says the author; he urges the British Government to act.

To sum up, this is an entertaining and interesting book, especially worth reading for the pen pictures of the personalities with whom the author was able to secure long and frank talks. These people come alive, the intrigues are laid bare and much of the fascination of the Levant is here for the armchair traveller.

M. M. C. C.

Crusading Warfare (1097-1193). A Contribution to Medieval Military History. By R. C. Smail. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 272. Index. 30s.

This is a learned and an erudite book on crusading warfare in Latin Syria in the twelfth century, that part of the Near East perhaps more commonly referred to as the Holy Land. It is extremely well documented, and begins with a review of previous works on this topic by German, French, English, Italian, Latin, Arabic and other military historians, some of whom the author criticizes (doubtless rightly from the profundity of his researches), which is excellent background material though rather for students of the subject and of the period than for the casual reader. A reading knowledge of Latin, and perhaps also of German and French, would be no handicap in perusing parts of the text as well as the many footnote quotations.

The title of the book does not make it immediately clear that this a study of crusading warfare in what is largely confined to Latin Syria, though the area occasionally extends to Egypt. The study does not treat of the Christian crusades or of

crusading warfare in Spain against the Moors or Saracens, which antedated those to the Holy Land by some two centuries, and in such respect the present reviewer finds the omission regrettable since a considerable part of the tactics of crusading warfare in Latin Syria was undoubtedly influenced by, if not based on, earlier experiences of the Franks in Spain, crude as these may have been at the time. Yet it was experience that much of French knighthood, many of whom later took part in the crusades to the Holy Land, had encountered and surely had been affected by its impact. In 1087, a chronicle states, practically the whole of French chivalry crossed the Pyrenees to combat the Moors in Spain.

The author mentions the use of cross-bows by foot-soldiers in Latin Syria as early as the First Crusade. Certain records indicate that cross-bows were adopted by the Franks from the Moors, or Saracens, despite—it was said—"the censure of the Church." And there is evidence to show that the feudal Frankish cavalry operating in the twelfth century in Spain were capable of manœuvring in formation and of vigorously attacking a fortified enemy, which the author does not clearly bring out in his descriptions of early twelfth-century battling in Syria.

In the forepart of his historiography the author mentions Delbrück's reference to the "mystical aims of the pilgrims," which is interesting if one considers, as many have, the Crusades to the Holy Land as being in effect armed pilgrimages, though they had other and more warlike objectives: such as the ejection of the Muslims from the Holy Places, and saving for—or restoring to—the Latins the positions they had occupied in Latin Syria.

The author summarizes military crusading strategy in a way that most modern commanders would agree with, though in the crusades of the twelfth century the command often lacked articulation, nor was the commander-in-chief always in full control of his associated forces. This the author does not fail to develop, and the "conscience acceptance of risk" is appropriately stressed. Today we call this "calculated risk," but the minor modification in the term in no wise lessens the commander's responsibility in accepting the risk.

The strength and weaknesses of the Muslim forces as well as those of the Franks, the jealousies (not always only on the Frankish side) and lack of effective cohesion, are well presented, though their political as well as military ramifications may be somewhat confusing to most readers other than students of the period. Owing to the author's manner of treating different phases of military activities, both on the part of the Muslim armies and those of the Franks, throughout the period under his review, there appears occasional confusion for the reader in the sequence of dates, but this is probably inevitable and does not essentially detract from the value to the student of the matter portrayed.

The political relationship to crusading warfare is interestingly developed, as also the seasonal nature of the warfare, with the resultant inability of the Muslim leaders to hold their forces together during winter or even through the harvest period.

This book is a most valuable portrayal of the period and the area covered, more particularly for the military historian, for any student of the activities of the time in that part of the Christian *v.* Muslim conflicts, though perhaps a bit heavy for the ordinary reader. It concludes with interesting descriptions, plans and photos of the remnants of the castles and forts of the crusading epoch in Latin Syria.

MELVIN HALL.

Conflict in Indo-China and International Repercussions. A Documentary History, 1945-55. Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. 265. 40s.

This compilation comprises reprints—many in translation—and extracts from documents of French, Vietnamese, Viet-Minh, Chinese, Russian, Indian, American, British and a few other sources, together with summaries by the editors of events during the period covered in respect to Indo-China.

It does not include developments subsequent to 1955, nor does it attempt to predict the probable course of such developments. It is precisely what its sub-title indicates: a documentary history (of Indo-China), 1945-55.

Certain of its republished documents are interesting in revealing—should anyone

today need this to be revealed—the attitude of the communists, and in certain respects that of the " neutral " Asian powers, towards the Indo-Chinese problem, more particularly in regard to the " imperialist war-mongering aggressors " led by the United States. It may be permitted to recommend to the reader to evaluate the fulsome pronouncements of the Viet Minh, against the actual results in that part of Viet Nam turned over to the communists by the Geneva Agreement, from which more than a million Vietnamese refugees have fled the " communist paradise " in the north to seek freedom in the south, often at great personal risk to themselves and their families, let alone the most formidable hardships.

The rather violent diatribes of Ho Chi-Minh against the French in 1945, followed by quite moderate and amicably negotiated agreements by these two parties in 1946, and the subsequent complete breakdown of these negotiated agreements, make curious reading in sequence. The present reviewer is not one who would hold the French by any means solely responsible for this breakdown, though there may well have been instances of the French " dragging their feet " in the prompt implementation of the agreements towards full Vietnamese independence. In this connection the reviewer offers his opinion that while the French undoubtedly could have done more than they did for the advancement of the native population of Indo-China during the approximately eighty years of their colonial administration, and while there was surely some exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants for the benefit of the French colonialists, it seems highly improbable that these indigenous peoples would have advanced faster, or even anything like as far, under the administration of their own compatriots. (In this the reviewer definitely disagrees with what President Roosevelt is quoted as having said at the Yalta conference of February 8, 1945, to Stalin: " that France had done nothing to improve the natives since she had the colony " (p. 47, fourth paragraph).

The reviewer disagrees also with the allegation (p. 50) that " under Dutch . . . rule (in Indonesia), and French in Indo-China, the population were denied even elementary democratic rights." I am uncertain as to the interpretation of elementary democratic rights, but cannot feel that these have been very happily expressed since the forced Dutch withdrawal from Indonesia where, in their day, there was at least a stable government and many advantages to the peasantry which they no longer enjoy.

In respect to Pandit Nehru's address to the All-India States People's Conference of January 1, 1946 (p. 50), the reviewer would be glad to ask Pandit Nehru exactly how the Pandit felt in absorbing Kashmir unilaterally into the Indian sphere of dictation, against the unfortunately feeble protests of the United Nations. For such reason, if not for others, one can hardly accept Pandit Nehru's protests on Jan. 1, 1946 (p. 50) against " British intervention in Indonesia and French Indo-China," which unhappily resulted in the freeing of parts at least of these areas for far more menacing activities of the great " peace-loving " U.S.S.R.

Bao Dai, who has had a rather consistently bad foreign press, did far more for the eventual freedom of his country from French overlordship than Ho Chi-Minh asked at the beginning of the latter's strike for full independence, and for this deserves credit which he has not in fact received. If he was a French puppet, as was regularly alleged by the Viet-Minh, then Ho Chi-Minh was a Russo-Chinese pup, and his moans against " imperial agressors," notably the United States, France and Great Britain, are aimed largely at illiterate ears.

The " Peoples' Democracy " of Ho Chi-Minh, facing a situation in which the imperialist war-mongers led by the United States were ganging up against any free, communist expression of liberty, offers as basic propaganda " the enslavement by these imperialist aggressors "—including Great Britain, all of which has a clearly Russian accent. The anti-imperialist diatribes in the manifestos of the Viet Nam Lao Dong (Workers' Party) are along the usual communist line which renders one nauseated in the spume of " the anti-democratic imperialist camp led by the American imperialists and comprised of imperialist states and reactionary government, lackeys of imperialism. They plan to seize the lands of other peoples in order to dominate the world; to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples; to destroy world peace and democracy and to provoke a third world war which would plunge mankind into darkness and misery."

As against this picture we have: "the anti-imperialist democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and composed of the countries of Socialism and People's Democracies . . . struggling for national liberation . . . (which) seeks to enhance the unity progress and happiness of mankind." As, for example, in Hungary.

The *Handbook for (Chinese) Political Workers going to Viet Nam*, issued in December, 1952 (pp. 125-30), is a revealing document of the extent of Chinese political and military support of the communist Viet Minh, the Chinese always being referred to as "our comrade political workers" or "our volunteers." The Dem. Rep. of Viet Nam (Viet-Minh) Population Classification Decree, 1953 (pp. 139-48), seems as complex and confused as it well could be, but doubtless never had and very serious application. The same may be said of the Agrarian Reform Law of December, 1953 (pp. 150-56). The general résumé of events (by the editors) in 1954-55 is clearly expressed (pp. 131-36).

The nomenclature is inconsistent: Vietnam, Viet Nam, Viet-Nam. Some of the translations from French texts seem not in all respects to be fully adequate, though this reviewer does not have the original French texts to go by. There also appear occasional inaccuracies, such as the list of signatories of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, July 21, 1954 (p. 164). It is the present reviewer's impression that the State of Viet Nam (as distinct from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, *i.e.* the Viet-Minh) and the United States of America were not signatories, though they are included in the list. This is confirmed by the statement of (U.S.) Special Ambassador Walter B. Smith, July 21, 1954 (p. 175), in which he states "my Government is not prepared to join in a declaration by the Conference such as is submitted"; and (p. 176) a statement by the U.S. Secretary of State of July 23, 1954: "we did not become a party to the Conference results. We merely noted them . . ." And further (p. 196), Premier Ngo Dinh Diem's declarations on July 6 and August 8, 1955, that "his government (the State of Viet Nam) did not adhere to the Geneva Agreements"; and his statement on July 16, 1955, "we did not sign the Geneva Agreements" (p. 226).

All in all this compilation offers valuable material for the student, though it is hardly to be recommended as light reading for the average person less interested in the background of events in Indo-China from 1945 to 1955.

MELVIN HALL.

The Indo-Greeks. By A. K. Narain. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 201, six plates and three maps. 42s.

The history of the Greeks in India is a subject whose importance and difficulty alike make a peculiar appeal to the historical imagination. This new book is a noteworthy event as being the first comprehensive treatment by an Indian scholar (Dr. Narain is Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture at Banares University), and, apart from Altheim's rather unsatisfactory handling in *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, the first fresh discussion to appear since Sir William Tarn's *Greeks in Bactria and India*. Comparison reveals a very different line of approach, as we might expect. For Tarn, Greek Bactria and India formed an essential part of Hellenistic historiy: for Dr. Narain, it is an episode in Indian history—as he expresses it on p. 11, "they came, they saw, but India conquered." It must not be thought, however, that Dr. Narain writes from a narrowly nationalistic viewpoint—far from it: he has gone fully into the evidence on both sides and is scrupulously fair in his treatment of it.

Tarn's mastery of the Greek evidence led him to view the development of the Indo-Greeks as parallel with that of the Hellenistic kingdoms of the west: analogy was one of the chief weapons in his armoury, and this constituted the strength but also in some cases the weakness of his arguments. Nor did he claim first-hand knowledge of India or of the purely Indian evidence. Dr. Narain does, however, know the Indian evidence first-hand, and this is in itself an important contribution, enabling him to correct some suppositions such as that Demetrius is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription and the Yugapurāna. On the Greek side, it was of course very greatly to Dr. Narain's advantage to have written after Tarn had already set down all the relevant Greek evidence: but he has himself re-examined this as well

and is in consequence able on occasion to confront us with something new. For instance, the mention of a King Apollodotus in a passage of Justin which also refers to Demetrius and Menander has been taken for granted by all previous writers; but Dr. Narain has discovered this to be a myth—the word is really Apollodorus (the historian), *v.*, p. 66 ff.

Much of the evidence is of course numismatic, and here again we think that Dr. Narain has the advantage of a rather more intimate knowledge of the coins than Tarn had; also a number of remarkable new coins have come to light since Tarn wrote—notably those from the Qunduz treasure now in the Kabul Museum, from which the huge silver piece of Amyntas and the Attic tetradrachm of Hermaeus are illustrated on Plate V, and an Attic tetradrachm of Menander found in Iran is shown on Plate II. The plates incidentally are of excellent quality throughout, and include not only coins but also the two Indian inscriptions which do refer to Greek kings—the Bajaur casket inscription mentioning Menander and the Besnagar pillar inscription referring to Antialcidas. It could only have been wished that Dr. Narain had been allowed more plates in order to include a more complete set of the coins, though this presumably would have increased the very reasonable price of the book. As it is the coins illustrated have had to be confined more or less to those which are discussed in detail in the text.

One of the most important conclusions on which Dr. Narain differs sharply from Tarn is over Demetrius and Menander. Tarn, following Rapson, regarded them as contemporaries, with Demetrius conquering, partly through the agency of his general Menander, a vast area reaching from the Bactrian homeland down to Sind and the Ganges basin. This picture, which had already been subjected to considerable criticism from the numismatic angle by Dr. R. B. Whitehead, rests, as Dr. Narain is able to show, on such slender foundations that it must be given up. Demetrius (I), the son of Euthydemus, was after all not really the great conqueror that Tarn made him out to be; while Menander, under whom the Greek dominions in India did reach their greatest extent, was later (about mid-second century B.C.). This interpretation seems much nearer the truth. And accordingly Dr. Narain has every justification for following Prof. Thomas' suggestion that a Greek era, probably inaugurated by Menander, is what we find being used in some of the Kharosthi inscriptions of the following century (the actual date of this era, reckoning from *c.* 155 B.C., according to Dr. Narain, is thus virtually the same as what Tarn and Marshll call the old Saca era).

Not everyone will agree with all Dr. Narain's proposals—as for instance, that there was only one King Apollodotus (the reviewer still believes in two) or that the earlier and later reigns of Strato as indicated by the coins are really of one and the same king. But Dr. Narain has looked at all the evidence—including the Chinese evidence on the movements of peoples from the north who eventually overwhelmed the Greek kingdoms—with a fresh eye, and is to be congratulated on making a solid and important contribution of which all future investigators will be obliged to take serious account.

G. K. JENKINS.

Europa Minor. By Lord Kinross. John Murray. 1956. Pp. 167, Ill., Index. 18s.

Wandering in lovely and little known places is surely one of the greatest joys of life, and if we cannot do it ourselves the next best thing is to read of other men's travels. Lord Kinross has followed his book *Within the Taurus* by the present delightful account of his wanderings along the Turkish Mediterranean coast. He starts in Cicilia and ends in Istanbul, covering a great area of land.

Two things are most striking. Firstly, how little is known by most of us about this beautiful and historic land, which offers so much to the traveller; and secondly, how wide is Lord Kinross's knowledge of its history. This coast bears traces of occupation by races far more ancient than the Greeks and Romans, who by comparison seem almost our contemporaries. There are castles and cities reminding us of St. Paul, the Knights of St. John and recalcitrant Pashas of the Ottoman Empire.

While we can visit the past we are never far from the present, and Lord Kinross takes us suddenly from a story of the love of a dolphin for a Greek boy to the sad

story of an old lady, who had been nurse to one of Abdul Hamid's pashas and was killed in a motor accident at the age of a hundred and fifteen. In this way the past is linked with the present and we are able to realize the continuity of life in this ancient land. Diana of the Ephesians has a strange link with Christianity through the traditional tomb of the Virgin, and ancient Greek ports may be flourishing once again through the development of cotton in the hinterland. The charm of the inhabitants is illustrated by the many happy descriptions of day-to-day life in the towns and villages. Even if there are garish tones or modern buildings are not as beautiful as the old there is a stimulating sense of vitality which greatly compensates for these. Lord Kinross's humour enabled him to appreciate even the irritations of dealing with officious policemen and to write with sympathy of the many friendly people he met in cafés, on the road or in the fields. The only really sad note in his book is the deep cleft which divides Turks from Greeks far more sharply than the sea divides the islands from the mainland. The nineteenth century may not have been perfect, but its international atmosphere made for far greater happiness than the twentieth century's intolerant nationalism.

Despite his liking for the glories of the past, Lord Kinross makes us feel that Turkey is a country with a future. It may be a matter of doubt whether prosperity will make the places he describes more attractive since loneliness and space have their charm. In the meantime we have this book as a happy guide to little known towns, which have so much to offer to the visitor and which will surely always retain their links with the past.

J. E. F. GUERITZ.

The Russian Revolution, 1917. A Personal Record. By N. N. Sukhanov. Published by Oxford University Press, 1955. Translated and edited by Joel Carmichael. Pp. 691. Ill., map, index. 42s.

The Russian Revolution, 1917, by N. N. Sukhanov, may well become a classic for future historians. Memory, with the most honest intentions, is never infallible. However, there are several other first-hand accounts of those day to day events in St. Petersburg, from the end of February to the end of October, 1917. Therefore we can leave the checking up of these accounts to the historians.

In studying this book, we have to bear in mind that it is an abridged translation. The translator is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has presented it. He has done a difficult task with consummate skill, for my interest never once flagged in reading it. Nevertheless there is something lacking, for the Russian mentality does not lend itself to Western language.

Sukhanov was a revolutionary, a journalist and at the same time a "Chenovnik." He was typical of his era. There were hundreds such as he. Very highly educated—in many respects ahead of his Western European neighbours—but with it all, unstable in character and in mentality. The result of a brilliant culture grafted on a nation that had not long evolved from a semi-barbaric state. Russia's roots were neither in Asia nor Europe, for she has always stood at the crossroads of East and West.

Knowing these, as I did, at that epoch, I felt that beneath the surface of that brilliant education, there was an underlying resentment that this might have been derived from Western Europe. For, since Peter the Great, had not much of this Western tradition crept into Russia, which brought with it a social structure that was alien to the true and pure Russian character? Were they not the heirs of ancient Byzantium, with its culture far older than Rome? Thus they dreamed of producing a great civilization, which would be essentially Russian. And through this they had visions of the conquest of all Europe. Not a conquest by force of arms, since the conquest they envisaged would be a cultural conquest, which would sweep the whole continent. Here we can trace the roots of Sukhanov's bitter hatred of all the moral standards of Western Europe and his scathing remarks about the British and French socialists.

To destroy the old order, the first and essential step was revolution. Sukhanov belonged to the "Leftist" factions and to him revolution was a "fetish." With it all he had a supreme contempt for the peasants. He was willing to use the peasant's

" Hunger for Land " in his writings and speeches. It had an appeal. But he had no sympathy with the workers on the land, nor with the soldiers, except as far as he could make use of them to disrupt the army.

He wrote the day to day accounts, as he saw them, and it is through his personal experiences that we follow them. His descriptions are vivid, and with him we can relive each day of those fateful months.

The whole scene was Russian, no other country could have staged it. The eternal meetings, first held in the Tauride Palace. The interminable speeches. The crowds of prospective committee members, delegates from this and that, onlookers and soldiers, all of whom swarmed over the palace and talked and talked, listened or slept in the rooms and corridors. The atmosphere foul with tobacco smoke, the tables and floors littered with papers and cigarette ends.

For it was in such an atmosphere that the Revolution was born. Each and everyone having his own conception of the state and society he aimed at creating. With the meetings of the executive committee, the Soviets and the first provisional government, then the Bolsheviks and attempts at a coalition, we move around to the meetings at the Tauride Palace, the Marian Palace, Kshesinskaya's House, the Durnovo Villa, the Smolny Institute, the Fortress of Peter and Paul; to say nothing of the journalists hurrying with their articles to the printing presses.

Then in April, the dramatic arrival of Lenin and his equally dramatic disappearance from the arena of debates. The disaffection amongst the Petersburg garrison, the street clashes and demonstrations, the advent of the sailors from Kronstadt, the attempt of Kornilov to take the city. The formation of the coalition and the arrival of Trotsky, the mouthpiece of the Bolsheviks. And so passed those weary summer months with the rise of Kerensky to power. The summer had come and gone. The St. Petersburg autumn had set in. Windows were being closed against the chilly, damp air. Once again the atmosphere in the rooms where the meetings were being held, became thick with the stale tobacco smoke and, as if out of this foul fog, which surrounded the speakers and delegates, suddenly appeared the figure of Lenin! The evil Genie, who was to change the course of that revolution!

Sukhanov had refused to co-operate with the more moderate elements. He was an extreme " Leftist," but he was not in sympathy with Lenin. He had worked all his life to destroy the old order. It was destroyed, but he perished with it.

U. H. B.

The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism. A Selection of Documents Edited by the Russian Institute, Columbia University, New York. 1956. Pp. 338. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$.

The upheaval in Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1956 was the result not only of economic and political discontents but also of two ideological trends which had made an increasing impact on the Communist world during the year. One was the idea of " national communism," the other the disillusionment occasioned by the revelations of Stalin's excesses and cruelties. Communist parties outside the Soviet bloc also were thrown into confusion. Of late the Soviet leaders have given evidence of wanting to repair the damage by " rehabilitating " Stalin to some extent, but it is still far from certain that all the repercussions of the initial denigration have ceased.

This timely collection of documents provides a useful background to recent events by tracing the course of the de-Stalinization controversy up to July, 1956. It begins with the text of Khrushchev's " secret " speech at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. on February 25, 1956. The reactions of the Italian, French, American and British Communist Parties, as expressed in official newspaper articles and statements, are then given in chronological order. Two articles by the Italian Socialist leader Nenni are wisely included, as is also the Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of June 30, 1956, " On Overcoming the Cult of Personality and its Consequences," which was the official Soviet reply to the barrage of criticism. There is also a rather skimpy biographical appendix. The editors have been content to let the documents speak for themselves, but brief introductory notes to each item provide the necessary continuity.

A. R.

Essayez. Memoirs of the Marquess of Zetland. John Murray. Pp. 319. 28s. Index.

In one passage of this book Lord Zetland expresses his astonishment over the kindly reception accorded by extremist press and politicians in Bengal to a homily he delivered as Governor, designed to expose the fallacies of the non-cooperators of that day. He need not have been surprised. What he had to say was taken in good part because his critics found proof in his every thought, word and act that he was always striving to understand and interpret the Indian genius and tradition; he listened, he was utterly sincere, and he avoided platitudes. What is more, he was recognized as possessed of that quality of humorous *insouciance* which Hindu and Muslim alike associate with balance and breeding and admire. It was because Curzon, in so many respects Lord Zetland's *guru*, lacked that quality that he failed to win any Indian heart. It was because in later days Willingdon and a few others had it that they will be remembered. Lord Zetland here modestly calls his gift blarney; but it is far more than that. It is the finesse of the true statesman.

A book of this sort is bound to be something of a patchwork, and some of it disappoints. Finding one of the later chapters headed "Lord Linlithgow's Viceroyalty, 1936-43," I seized upon it, eager to grasp what the Secretary of State for over half that period had to say about a great proconsul to whom no memorial has yet been raised. But the chapter deals with cotton and Edward VIII's abdication, covering only some six months! Even "the most secret letter I have even written"—telling "Hopie" what was happening between King and Premier—breaks no really fresh ground. (Incidentally this book, with others, makes nonsense of the official rule that documents should not be revealed for fifty years.)

The reader should not be put off by an exordium rather Curzonian, for, as the theme develops, we are all admitted on equal and familiar terms to thoughts that can be shared. As a political testament the book contains one gem, in more than a single sitting. The author cites again the Balfour declaration on Palestine—its genesis he has already explained in his *Life of Lord Curzon*—as the classic example of inclusion in a state document of language capable of being interpreted in different ways by different sets of people. He leaves us to conclude that equivocation of this sort, mistaken as statesmanlike compromise, is the besetting weakness of British politicians and governments. He is probably right. That piece of equivocation more than anything else is responsible for our present disorders.

These reminiscences are only the shadow of what the author wrote as Ronaldshay between the wars. He then produced a trilogy which contains much fine writing and will not date. To most people the best known of these works is *The Heart of Aryavarta*, of which the purpose was to interpret what lay behind the outer manifestations of Hindu political, spiritual and cultural thought. Such was the sympathy of his picture that the Pandits on their own motion translated it into Sanskrit, regarding it as "a landmark in the classical literature of the East."

His penetration into the inner springs and inspirations of Islam is made with a touch equally assured. The restraint, dignity and fine courtesy of the Muslim at his best, the splendour and simplicity of Muslim architecture, whether at Samarkand or Agra, the tremendous scenic background against which the Pathan plays out his life—all these are given expression. "The life (of a frontiersman) is hard," he wrote in one of the trilogy, "and he treads it daily on the brink of eternity. . . . The circumstances of his life are such that he frequently experiences the species of spiritual exaltation induced by solitude amid the grandeur of nature, and such experience is one of the factors that go to make the magic of the frontier."

Remembering the original works, the reader of these memoirs feels a little like the prisoners in Plato's cave. For here are shadows and images only. But if this book renews the desire to look afresh into the earlier Ronaldshay trilogy, that alone will be great gain. To win hearts in Asia there is need of full men, men such as Elphinstone and Munro in the early days, men who see the reality behind the façade, men who can look beyond the cave. In Lord Zetland perhaps there appears almost the last of this very special product of our island: what a pity he was never appointed Viceroy!

> We only know the last sad squires ride slowly towards the sea,
> And a new people takes the land; but still it is not we . . .

OLAF CAROE.

Ibn Khaldûn's Philosophy of History. By Muhsin Mahdi. George Allen and Unwin. 1957. Pp. 325. 30s.

Muslims had studied man's activities from several points of view. Historians had recorded them as sequences in time without seeking any other connection between them. Theologians had destroyed all bonds between them, making each item a separate creation by God. Lawyers regarded them as duties imposed from above (or sins forbidden), directly by revealed law or indirectly by deductions from that revelation; the purpose of the law was the well being of man in this world and the next. Gnomic literature, by anecdote and epigram but without any system, showed how men ought to behave and rulers rule. Philosophers said there was no need of any revelation, that man's intelligence could decide what was right and good for this world so they drew up plans for the ideal state. Many Muslims thought lightly of historians and all but a few thought philosophers infidels, philosophers thought theologians half-wits and divided mankind into the elect and the crowd; those who could follow proof by demonstration and those to whom persuasive rhetoric was proof. Ibn Khaldûn's book must be set against this background. He did not intend to write a chronicle, a work on ethics, a manual of politics or a Utopia. He wanted to write a philosophic work which might help a man to forecast, to some extent, the effects of his actions; this book had to appeal to the intelligence of the elect yet not frighten away the crowd so it was carefully written and must be read attentively lest important points be missed. The aim was to show that patterns underlie the kaleidoscopic surface of life, that these patterns answer to general ideas, however much they are modified by climatic and social conditions, and the search for these ideas raises history to the rank of an independent branch of learning.

The philosophy is introduced by a lively sketch of the life of Ibn Khaldûn; as a young man he tried politics and failed so in his maturity he pondered over the state of the world, his failures with the reasons for them and then put his results in a history which included both an exposition of his theories and their working out during the centuries. Mr. Muhsin Mahdi has read widely and thought deeply; the result is an interesting, valuable and thought-provoking book. There is a bibliography and an index. It is a fair criticism to say that it is too wordy.

A. S. T.

The Kabuki Handbook. By Aubrey and Giovanna M. Halford. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1956. Pp. 487. Ill., Index. U.S. $3.50.

This very attractively produced handbook can be described as an indispensable vade-mecum for everyone interested in or studying Kabuki.

Kabuki is not easy for the Western mind to understand, and much would be missed without such a guide. The Kabuki play is a spectacle through which a story finds its way.

The authors cover the stories of over one hundred of the best known Kabuki plays and dances, and without this small volume the average Westerner would assuredly be at a loss when viewing them. One would also venture to say that the book will be a great help to English-reading Japanese in their understanding of their own Kabuki.

The book is printed in Japan in good clear type, and the illustrations are quite charming. The notes contain interesting information as to curtains, wigs and headdresses, money, music, etc. A list is given of actors' names, and even their family crests; all of which make the Kabuki stage a living thing. One has only one regret and that is that the public for this book must be a limited one. We cannot all go to Japan, and those of us who do may be too busy to get full enjoyment from Kabuki.

H. St. C. S.

Yuan Mei. By Arthur Waley. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 227. Index. 21s.

A book descriptive of Chinese life from Arthur Waley's pen is a major literary event. In this case he has taken the life of Yuan Mei, 1716-97, as his subject, and an attractive one it is. Yuan Mei is a "lovable, witty, generous, affectionate, hot-tempered and wildly prejudiced man" and therefore affords a subject for bio-

graphical study quite out of the ordinnary. There is little doubt that he was the greatest Chinese poet of his period, and his amoral approach to life was perhaps reprehensible, but *very* interesting.

Yuan Mei came from Hangchow, and was born in 1716 of a poor family. His father held various humble secretarial posts, but culture formed part of his background. His lessons started at the age of six, and he was fortunate in that his first tutor was a minor poet. At the age of eleven he passed the Boys Test, enabling him to sit for the First Degree, which he took five or six years earlier than was customary. Yuan Mei thus became an accredited historical student and entitled to wear the Emperor's Silver Badge.

Books became his passion, and from his reading he culled the story of Kuo Chu, one of the " Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety." Kuo Chu said to his wife, " We are so poor that my mother is not getting enough to eat—let us get rid of our little boy who has such a big appetite—I can have other sons, but I can never have another mother." They dug a hole in which to bury their son alive, but when they had dug 3 ft. they found a golden pot inscribed " Heaven's Gift to Kuo Chu."

Yuan Mei's essay on this subject was submitted to the Principal of the Wan Sung Academy, whose comment, though perhaps ironic, encouraged the boy poet and his first poems were published in 1736 when he was twenty-one years old. A visit to a village school inspired a poem in which, after meeting the local people, he wrote:

" I knew now that a Peach Blossom Valley is still to be found somewhere in the world of men." At his first examination in Peking there were nearly 200 candidates of which he was the youngest. The subject of the Test Poem was " The Golden Pheasant Dancing before the Mirror "; a reference to the story of a golden pheasant sent as a tribute by a distant province to the capital.

The pheasant seeing itself in the bronze mirror at the palace gates began to dance and danced on till its death. What a theme for a poem, but Yuan Mei was not among the fifteen who passed.

He then concentrated for two years on a text from the Confucian Four Books, with great care, but with little real interest. In spite of this the results of his work became a standard textbook for candidates. After this he was offered the daughter of T'ang Shon-tsu, the President of the Court of Sacrificial Worship, in marriage. This offer had to be refused as he was already affianced to the child of a Mr. Wang of Hangchow. He became a tutor in the house of the Lord Chi (Chi Huang) and had time to study and obtain his Second Degree.

The examiner, Leng Shih-Min, wrote on his essay: " Shows complete grasp of the essence of government. Reads like a memorial drawn up by a prominent statesman." The action of this examiner in retiring to Szechwan influenced Yuan Mei in later life. In 1739 he got his Third Degree and became a scholar in the Han Lin Academy and a servant of the throne. He became Prefect of Li-Shui in the Nanking district. At the early age of thirty Yuan Mei announced his intention of retiring though he had been considered for the post of the Governor of Kao Yu. He seems by now to be fairly well endowed with this world's goods—poets earned more in those days—and his residence consisted of twenty-four pavilions.

In 1752 he became an official again and visited Ch'ang-An, of which it was said, " A man is not a man until he has visited old Ch'ang-An."

In chapter five we read of his life after returning to Nanking. Here he wrote in two styles. One was intimate, humorous and intended for his friends; the other formal, solemn poems addressed chiefly to high military authorities. Like many Chinese he adored his garden, illustrating the old proverb, " If you want to be happy for ever you have a garden." He wrote: " The work on my garden may never be finished, my expenditure on it may well prove to be beyond my means. Very well, then; some things that are lacking will have to wait until they can be supplied . . . there is no fixed time by which anything has to be done."

Apart from his joy in his garden we read of his delight in the " moth eyebrows " (beautiful girls) enlisted as his pupils. He was much criticized for teaching women at all, and one suspects that his interest in them was not entirely literary, any more than was his interest in the young boy actors taking female parts.

In many ways Yuan Mei was a counterpart of Omar Khayyam, and one could wish that they had been contemporaries and friends. Yuan Mei is said to have

"ransacked the neighbourhood for whatever was soft and warm, not minding whether it was boy or girl." Few even in China, however, had more friends than Yuan Mei in spite of his moral lapses. His wife turned an indulgent eye on his peccadilloes.

"My old wife says with a smile,
Pointing at my concubines,
If it had not been for the plum blossom,
You would never have come home!"

He adored his books:

"The flavour of a book lingers in my breast,
Tasting sweeter than a draught of old wine."

Small wonder that at the age of eighty-one he tells visitors that if they want to find him they have only to go straight to the room "from which most laughter comes."

A fascinating story of a fascinating character, a book to own and from which to take refreshment from time to time in a world woefully lacking in many of the things that Yuan Mei loved. H. St. C. S.

Sun of Tabriz, a lyrical introduction to Higher Metaphysics: Selected Poems of Jalalu 'd-Din Rumi, as translated by Sir Colin Garbett. Illustrated by Sylvia Baxter. Cape Town: R. Beerman, Publishers (Pty.), Ltd. 1956. Pp. xiv+77.

The accounts that we have of the life of that enigmatic personage, Shams ad-Din Muhammad, of Tabriz, are not only incomplete, but also, in some cases, conflicting. In fact, some Eastern writers have gone so far as to say that Shams ad-Din had no existence except in the imagination of Jalal ad-Din Rumi. There can, however, be little or no doubt that he did exist and that he exercized an extraordinary influence on all those with whom he came in contact.

It was in 643 (A.D. 1245/6) that Shams ad-Din, then a wandering dervish, came to Qonya and met Jalal ad-Din for the first time. So magnetic was the dervish's personality that the poet, who was then aged about thirty-five, came under his spell to such an extent that the two were soon inseparable, Shams ad-Din being the spiritual guide and Jalal ad-Din the pupil. Jalal ad-Din had by this time a number of disciples who, becoming resentful of this development, forced Shams ad-Din to leave Qonya. Jalal ad-Din was so distraught by this separation from his master that he induced him to return. Not long after, however, Shams ad-Din disappeared mysteriously, the suspicion being that he had met a violent end at the hands of some of Jalal ad-Din's pupils.

It is a moot point how much of the collection of lyrical poems which Jalal ad-Din composed and dedicated to his lost master was actually written during the lifetime of the latter. The probability is that most, if not all, of these poems were written *in memoriam*.

Although it is, on the whole, less well known than Jalal ad-Din's justly celebrated masterpiece, the *Mathnawi*, the *Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* nevertheless contains some poems which are amongst the most beautiful in the Persian language. The lithographed edition, which Riza Quli Khan Hidayat published in Tabriz in 1280 (1863/4), consists of 378 pages and contains some 9,000 *baits* or couplets, while the Lucknow edition of 1295 (1878) has no less than 12,000 *baits*.

Out of this voluminous material, the late Professor R. A. Nicholson chose forty-eight poems, the text of which he published, together with a literal English rendering, an introduction and explanatory notes, in 1898, under the title *Selected Poems from the Divani Shamsi Tabirz*. He also included, in an appendix, three versified translations, of which No. XXXI is particularly beautiful. Although so small in extent in relation to the whole Divan, Professor Nicholson's selection is sufficiently

representative to give the reader an excellent idea of Jalal ad-Din's exposition of the ideas and terminology of the Sufis.

In his *Sun of Tabriz: a lyrical introduction to Higher Metaphysics*, Sir Colin Garbett has given us a metrical translation in English verse of twenty-four of the forty-eight poems in Nicholson's selection. Sir Colin has obviously made a deep study of Sufism (into which he claims to be an initiate), and his rendering of these poems is therefore well worthy of perusal, being not only imbued with the true mystical spirit, but also both readable and poetic. For these reasons, Sir Colin's book is likely to make a wider appeal than Nicholson's more literal work has ever done (in fact, a second edition has already appeared).

In certain of the poems, notably in No. 15 (No. VI in Nicholson's selection), Sir Colin's translation seems rather too free, but to this criticism he will doubtless retort —and with some reason—that a correct interpretation is vastly more important than mere verbal accuracy in translation. The difficulty is that, in poetry of this kind, there may be more than one interpretation of a particular passage or term. In view of Sir Colin's long and careful study of Sufism, his views in such a connection must always be treated with respect.

The reviewer had much difficulty in identifying the first poem in Sir Colin's selection. It is stated in the table of contents and again in the text that this poem corresponds to No. XXV in Nicholson's book. The reference, however, should be to No. XXXV; this is a mistake which should be rectified in the next edition.

Miss Sylvia Baxter has contributed four full-page illustrations in colour and a number of panels in black and white. While the former may seem, to some at any rate, to be rather florid and flamboyant, the latter are excellent, being admirably in keeping with the subject.

LAURENCE LOCKHART.

The Tiger's Claw. By Mary Linley Taylor. London: Burke. 1956. Pp. 222. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 21s. net.

The exploits of George Yankovsky, East Asian Mighty Hunter.

This account makes very good light reading. The author left California and lived in Korea with her husband in 1918. Through Yankovski's daughter, Ora, she was invited to "Novina," Yankovski's hunting H.Q. Here she imbibed the personal experience, oral tradition, queerly worded translations and impressions of a great man, who is little known to the Western world save to a few (named) explorers and hunters.

It is a fascinating story, a series of stories covering a past age unlikely to return. What a wonderful scene for a really able writer who knows her jungles, her animals and her subject. Her details and descriptions defy analysis. She can say what she likes. So can Yankovski. Why should he spoil a good story over some irritating detail? Is truth really more important than the reader's entertainment? Who shall say?

But these records are convincing. Col. Alfred Burne might comment that they have an "inherent hunting probability." They may not be exactly in accordance with the facts, but they could well be accurate, and anyway accuracy is not all that important. It would have been almost inhuman of Yanhovski to have disappointed his inspired listener. For she was inspired. She does interpret the hunter's jungle lore, just as Jim Corbett's sister might have written up her brother had he not been able to deal with this science of nature so efficiently himself.

The ultimate theme is a tiger's claw given the authoress by her father. She could never, in Eastern lands, where tigers roam, interpret the markings of its leather Koran bag. At last she found its counterpart in Yankovski's "Great Van," killed after a dramatic chase in the final chapter. The original vital trophy had been presented, many years before, to the mother of a victim, whence, after her death, it had come into the market. Many years later a similar claw of our hunter's "Great Van" tiger was given to the mother of another victim of this greatest of all Siberian tigers.

Some centuries ago a Chinese Emperor had imported some Bengal tigers into the Royal Tiger Park just east of Vladivostock near the source of the Yalu River. In

this fertile and colder terrain, they (and other game) flourished and skins are stated to have reached a stretch of 17 feet as compared with a maximum of 12 feet in India.

However this may be we have here a narrative of real interest, varied and intense, full of exciting adventures collected over fifty years of the life of a great hunter. Very good reading.

G. M. ROUTH.

Call of the Tiger. By Colonel A. N. W. Powell. Robert Hale. Pp. 222. Ill. 18s.

Here we have a book from a keen shikari who does not start his book with the remark that "I used to shoot big game, but now I only wish to photograph them." The author produces a tale of high adventure which communicates the thrill of tiger shooting to his reader in no uncertain manner. He says, "I do not profess to be an expert," but if I were a tiger I should not wish to meet a hunter who was more expert. He has spent a large part of his life studying the life and habits of the greatest of all cats. He has shot them from machans, from elephants, from the ground—in fact, under all the circumstances in which it is possible to do so. He frankly reveals his early mistakes and in doing so will help the tyro from making the same errors.

Though he does not stress this side of the picture, one can imagine the trail of gratitude which follows his journeys on which he has relieved a countryside of the terror and menace of the cattle-stealing, and sometimes man-eating, pest.

The question of suitable arms is exhaustively dealt with. No reader of this book will attempt to shoot a tiger with too light a bore rifle, a weapon which is not only dangerous to its user, but which may wound and not kill. An "inhumane" and dangerous weapon which will often be as much a source of danger to the user as to the quarry.

Generous credit is always given to the author's shikaris, and one feels that the good service they rendered to their sahib was a reflection of their affection and reliance on him.

Fewer and fewer of us will have the opportunities given us that were Colonel Powell's. This is to be regretted as big-game hunting has contributed largely, in the past, to the he-man characteristics of the farmer Koi Hai.

H. ST. C. S.

Libya: The New Arab Kingdom of North Africa. By Henry S. Villard. Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi+169. Ill., map, index. $2.75.

American interest in Middle Eastern studies has greatly increased since the Second World War, and this book is one of the numerous publications that have been produced by American authors. The author was head of the Division of African Affairs in the Department of State during the war, and became the first United States Minister to Libya after its constitution as an independent state by the United Nations.

The book is sympathetic in tone, and, like most books written by diplomatists, contains a leaven of entertaining material and anecdotes. Its range is wide indeed, covering Libya's past and recent history, an assessment of its economic difficulties and political system, and an appreciation of its geography, climate and population. An introduction is contributed by a former colleague of the author in the Department of State, who was Secretary of the Department of Air Force when the author was American Minister in Libya.

Mr. Villard's style is lively, his interests varied and his perception keen. He has written a most interesting book. However, there are some expressions which are out of date or unsuitable such as the following: the Sudan (see map on p. 3) is described, in a book published in 1956, as "Anglo-Egyptian"; and in a Greco-Roman context it is hard to accept "the Wali of Cyrenaica" (*p. 101*).

But on the whole the book is of special value not only to the traveller and the general intelligent reader but also to the scholar. All will find assembled in an eminently readable book many facts about this new state, and pertinent comments on various aspects of its life. In transition from military occupation to trusteeship and

finally to independence, British assistance was invaluable, but recently it seems that American influence is gaining ground. The leased air base near Tripoli, known to the Americans as Wheelus Field and to the local population as Mallaha, is monumental evidence of the military strength and technical civilization of the United States. A section of the book (pp. 137-42) is devoted to a description of the powerful installations and luxurious amenities of the base. The author successfully negotiated the agreement with Libya under which the base is used as a station for American armed forces and for civilian purposes.

A. L. TIBAWI.

As I See India. By Robert Trumbull. Cassell. Pp. 256. Index. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 18s. net.

This is the best piece of reporting I have yet seen. The *New York Times* could not have found an abler representative to cover India's change over in 1947. He did his term of two hot weathers in New Delhi, and offered to stay on if the paper gave him an air conditioner, to which he was answered "what size?"

John Masters of "Bhowani Junction" quotes the book as "perhaps the most objective and least accented report we have had from India since the country gained her independence. Anyone interested in India should read it and think."

This writer, speaking as one of the old Koi-hais, can only endorse that view. It is to him amazing that an American, after only seven and a half years, can achieve such uninhibited objectivity. He gives credit to the British contribution. He does not say, as one might imagine he senses, that the possibly peculiar outlook of the British pioneers enabled them to fit into the vacuum of decaying empires during two vital centuries. British relics of the medieval chivalry of feudal times appealed to Indian minds. Self-respect and individuality, even the nightly "short coat," helped to build up an image worth the attention of a primitive culture, craving for better standards. Comparatively, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Russian mentalities were not fitted for the task. American methods of today, admirable as they are for many essential purposes, too often lead to friction in Asia, and most American enterprise sees the value of some form of British advice to bridge the gap between forceful methods and "manana." Mr. Trumbull could, however, do the job. None better.

While very readable, the chapters are clear cut and concise, and cover in some 70,000 words matters one has too often seen spread over twice that space. As one examines the author's treatment of delicate subjects like contraception, women, princes and Kashmir, the reader must fain admire a lightness of touch far from typically American. Nothing like Katherine Mayo, though the same sort of information is presented in an equally convincing form.

On two counts all readers will not agree with the author: contrary to his statement, a great deal was done by British men and women for criminal tribes despite the caste system prevailing, which is no impediment to the present rulers. Furthermore, that St. Thomas the Apostle converted the earliest Indian Christians "long before Europe ever heard of Christianity" is, to say the least, stretching a point.

It may well be that he uses his rose-coloured spectacles when talking of Mr. Nehru or the possible success of the "Five Year Plans," but history may prove him right. Certainly no other Asian democracy shows anything like the same promise for the future.

The prospective reader might like a few details of the subjects treated. First we have some reasoned notes on dress, as conditioned by the Indian outlook and the Indian climate. It amounts to "common sense."

Why was the change over so bloody? Jinnah blamed Mountbatten for too much hurry. The problems facing the Governor-General in 1947—August 15 was the dead line—must have been well nigh overwhelming. He had a Labour Government as well as a divided India to consider. Who shall say his judgment faltered? It may still be too early to assess the verdict of history. Follow the massacres—Hindus and Moslems. Someone pulled the emergency cord at a prearranged spot in the desert, and the "other religions" travellers were butchered. Both sides did it. Hindus and

Moslems, and Moslems and Hindus. There was no appeal, I.C.S. Britons then on the spot believe that a Churchill in Westminster could have either avoided partition or eased its arrival. Wherever the fault lay, it was no credit to the outgoing Power.

Then comes a very fair summary of the Indian princes. An anachronism too long supported by the British raj. We had left it to the new dominion to take off this gloss, and V. P. Menon in his *Story of the Integration of the Indian States*,' showed how the job was done, using methods we should have hesitated to adopt as an alien Power. Kashmir remains. And the earlier struggle is well told. Newspaper correspondents used to examine the situation from Baramula, and then return to Jammu by the Banihal Pass, whence by rail to the Pakistan front from Rawalpindi. Here Hussein Khan might alert his Sandhurst friend Charandas by loudspeaker and ask him to stop firing a few minutes while our mutual friend, Robert Trumbull, has a look round. Gilbert and Sullivan missed that one.

The language problem, this reviewer's special study, is examined with very proper objectivity. Hindi may remain an intermediate solution, but English must emerge eventually as the only binding factor in an educated India.

And then Nehru. He is a very great man. "Product (p. 117) of Britain and India together." His influence is largely personal, like Gandhi's. Administratively and politically there are others, but his hold on the Indian public is supreme. "As the executive head of the government (p. 119) he has perhaps a better grasp than any other individual of the nature and needs of the country." And then (Chapter 11) "after Nehru, who?" The runners-up are not inspiring, but the groundwork has been laid. The engine has been started. Maybe. But an unwanted assassination would seriously delay progress.

There is much hope for India, both for herself and as a stabilizer in a troubled Asia. Whether the future is quite as bright as our author defines is anyone's guess.

Anyone interested in India, past, present and future, would be very unwise to miss this book. G. M. ROUTH.

The Teachings of the Magi. By R. C. Zaehner. George Allen and Unwin (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West). 1956. Pp. 156. 10s. 6d.

It seems that Zoroaster's teaching is preserved in the *Gathas* of the *Avesta* while the *Yashts* of the same collection represent a relapse into polytheism. Later, after the Muslim conquest of Persia, books written in Pehlevi contain a system of orthodox doctrine which is here set forth. The plan of the book is to give extracts from this literature illustrating the main ideas of the "good religion" with introductions showing how they fit into the system; in so short a book there is no room for details of ritual. There are two powers in the universe; Ohrmazd is good and can do no evil, but Ahriman does nothing but evil; he is the Lie, the Deceiver. Both these powers have no beginning. though Ahriman will disappear at the end; it is uncertain whether he will be annihilated or only reduced to impotence. Professor Zaehner claims that this is a logical religion which makes any "problem of evil" impossible. But is it logical to suppose that that which has no beginning can have an end? Omitting much mythology, Ohrmazd created the worlds of spirit and of matter and Ahriman attacked both. He failed with the world of spirit but broke into the world of matter through a hole in the sky which closed behind him, imprisoning him. He corrupted this world. Ohrmazd had devised the world as a trap to ensnare his enemy and a machine in which the enemy would be finally destroyed. He foresaw that Ahriman would temporaily corrupt his creation, including man; foreseeing this, he did not send man into the world without first obtaining his consent. Man is the instrument of victory and through his co-operation with God the adversary is at last overthrown. The good religion is the means, it is good thoughts, good words and good deeds and goodness is the "' mean." Sins must be confessed and the sacrifice of Haoma, which is both plant and god, the son of Ohrmazd, is at once communion and the offering of the god-victim to God to obtain immortality for men. In the final consummation souls and bodies will be raised together, the just and, after purification, the evildoers will all be admitted into eternal bliss with Ohrmazd. This is a summary of an interesting and masterly book. A. S. T.

ADVANCE INFORMATION

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor.

SIR,

While we do not believe there are many cormorants seen in Afghanistan we can certainly support Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, whose letter you published in the Journal for July-October, 1956, in stating that they are sometimes found in Central Afghanistan in the summer.

This summer, after we had attempted to climb the 20,000-foot mountain Mir Samir which stands on the high ridge between the upper Panjshir and upper Alingar valleys, we descended the upper Alingar valley (or Ramgul valley as it is known in the local Kati language) a day and a half's march from Pushal, its highest village, to the Mundul lake where we camped on July 28 and 29. Our first evening there we saw five cormorants sitting on a sandbar where the Alingar river runs through a meadow into the northern end of the lake. We later saw them on the wing, in pairs and singly. Surprised and delighted at the sight, we suppose they might have come there in the spring—perhaps from Karachi—to nest and spend the summer. If, indeed, they had come from the Karachi area or the Mekran coast, their easiest migration route would have been up the Indus valley to Peshawar, then westward over the Khyber or up the Kabul river gorge to Jalalabad and north-westward up the Alingar valley which broadens out and runs into the Kabul river valley at Tighri about twenty miles north-west of Jalalabad.

For the cormorants, the Mundul lake must be an ideal watering place. Probably at about 9,000 feet (we had, unfortunately, lost the altimeter kindly lent to us by the Royal Geographical Society on a ridge below the summit of Mir Samir), the lake is about three miles long and 500 yards broad. According to local evidence and the evening rise, it is full of fish which are said to run up to 40 or 50 pounds and which we tried vainly to catch with an improvised rod of oak holly, which grows up to about 30 feet on the otherwise bare and eroded hillsides above the lake, and some expensive spoons and artificial minnows brought from London. Perhaps we should have done better to have stuck to the local mulberry. What the fish were we had little means of telling, although the evening before reaching the lake, when camped in the village of Shakernal, we had been given for supper some delicious half-pounders netted before our eyes in the swift-flowing Alingar river. Certainly not trout, which for some reason grow to an immense size and up to 15 lb. on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush but have never crossed—at any rate naturally—the watershed to the south and east, they have been what the Afghans call "Shīrmāhi" or a variety of the fighting mahseer of the north Indian waters.

Although there are only a very few lakes in Afghanistan, we believe that the existence of the Mundul lake is little known, or rather it is known to only a small number of people and is extremely difficult to reach. We

were told that H.M. Zaher Shah had considered spending a fishing and ibex-shooting holiday there and wisely had sent off his " mīr shekārī " first on a reconnaissance. The " mīr shekārī " had reported back that (this, at least, is what they said at Mundul) the trail was too difficult, or two uncomfortable, for a royal hunting party. The trail is certainly hard going for men and horses. We left by the route H.M. might have come. This was via the Līnār side valley which runs from the west into the Alingar valley a couple of miles north of the lake for a day and a half's march up to the Arai pass. The Arai pass is about 15,000 feet, and the last 1,500 from the Alingar side is a harsh experience under the noonday sun. Looking up from the summer pastures at the head of the valley bottom one sees the trail twisting its way up a rocky funnel with a flat neck between two shoulders and set at a 40-degree angle. The trail zigzags over the stone and débris guided by upright stones placed here and there on boulders. As one toils upwards, one can only find consolation in remembering that the Nuristanis from upper Alingar jog along the same trail with 70 lb. goatskins of clarified butter on the " butter run " to Kabul. However, once at the top you have a fine view of Mir Samir from the south-east and, straight ahead to the west, a distant prospect of the Khawak pass which leads from upper Panjshir into the head of the Andarāb valley.

On the Panjshir side of the Arai pass, the inclination is quite gentle and the trail runs down the Arai side valley over the ledge after ledge of turfy summer pasture. A day and a half after crossing the pass we had reached the bottom of the upper Panjshir and, at evening, and just after crossing the bridge by the village of Shāhnaiz, we fell in with a great explorer and renowned member of the R.C.A.S. and happily shared a camp with him that night. Off on a forty-five-day journey through Nuristan, perhaps he, too, saw cormorants in Afghanistan.

ERIC NEWBY,
HUGH CARLESS.

To the Editor.

SIR,

In your January issue you were good enough to publish my attempt to reconstitute the life of Captain G. F. Sadleir of the 47th Regiment. Since its publication a little further information has reached me from the Curator of the Museum of the Loyal Regiment (as the 47th Regiment was called after its amalgamation with the 81st).

(1) A letter dated April 17, 1818, from Sir John Malcolm to the Governor of Bombay commending Sadleir to his notice for his services, while doing duty with a Native Flank Battalion, for which he had been selected by Major-Gen. Sir William Keir, to command a company at Jawud. This episode is omitted in his statement of service. Sir John referred appreciatively to his (Sadleir's) " knowledge of languages and general intelligence."

(2) This was followed by a letter in which the Governor-General, after mentioning Sadleir's service in Persia and Jawud, recommends that " as an act of justice " use might be made of his talents and experience " with great

advantage to the public interest." These letters, no doubt, led to Sadleir's selection for the mission to Ibrahim Pasha.

(3) There is an interesting letter from Lord Hastings to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, dated June 23, 1820, from Calcutta, which confirms Sadleir's account of Ibrahim's overbearing attitude at their final meeting. Hastings informs Elphinstone that the Pasha of Egypt (Muhd. 'Ali) "has apologized in the most earnest manner for his son's behaviour to Sadleir," and Hastings, while doubting the accuracy of Ibrahim's excuses, believes the Pasha of Egypt to be sincere, and "since the maintenance of a good understanding with this Government is an anxious object with the old Pasha, it is convenient for us that a mutual confidence should exist." Hastings adds that Ibrahim Pasha has sent "in token of friendship" a sword for Sadleir which should be accepted, and Elphinstone is asked "to signify to him the license for his so doing."

(4) A letter written at Calcutta on March 6, 1828, by a William Bruce to his friend Sir Walter Scott. The letter begins: "As I know you like to get acquainted with persons who have travelled over vast spaces and in parts which few others have done, I think I cannot do better than give my friend, Captain Sadleir, a few lines of introduction to you." The writer ends: "He has been in the country twenty years . . . and is now on the eve of embarking for the land we all love so much. I wish I was back again to it."

Did they meet? I should like to think they did, in 1831, perhaps, when, as the records show, the 47th was stationed in Edinburgh.

The last document in the dossier is on vellum. It is Sadleir's Warrant of Appointment to a Majority signed by William IV and Melbourne.

The inheritor of the sword (or scimitar) presented to Sadleir by the Shah in 1818 sold it privately a few years ago, and after some wanderings it found its way to a London dealer. I am glad to record that it was bought from the dealer in 1953 and presented to the Loyal Regiment, in whose Museum it now rests.

F. M. EDWARDS.

March 17, 1957.

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PAKISTAN RE-VISITED

By Sir Olaf Caroe, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Report of a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on March 13, 1957, Sir Hugh Dow, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The Chairman: It has fallen to me, in the absence of the Chairman of our Council, Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, to introduce the speaker, although I do not think Sir Olaf Caroe needs very many words by way of introduction. He is well known to many of you as a result of his distinguished career in India. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1920 and stayed on until the hand-over of power in 1947. I believe I am right in saying that his experience was mainly confined to the north-west corner of India, and within that sphere he held every important post that was open to an Indian Civil Servant, from the post of Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner in various districts of the North-West Frontier Province, becoming eventually Chief Secretary and later Governor of that province. I lay stress on the fact that Sir Olaf did a good deal as Deputy Commissioner, because in my opinion that is one of the most important offices which can be held by an Indian civilian. Sir Olaf has been Resident in Waziristan, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, and he became Governor of the North-West Frontier Province at a most difficult time. He has recently paid a visit to that area and seen the results that have come since the handing over in 1947. On the whole, there can be nobody with a better title to address us on the subject of Pakistan today.

SIR HUGH DOW has mentioned the importance of being a Deputy Commissioner. Personally, I always felt far more important when Assistant Commissioner at Mardan than I have ever done at any other period of my life, even when I was about to be married!

Well, ladies and gentlemen, the genesis of my going again to Pakistan was not that I asked to go but after over eight years had elapsed the Pakistan Government suddenly invited me to re-visit the North-West Frontier. I felt it extremely generous on their part and it was certainly touching to me to be asked to re-visit the area after more than eight years, having previously been a Governor and so forth. I confess that I found it a somewhat moving experience. But, as Sir Hugh Dow said, my previous experience had been in what is now West Pakistan, and when I returned to the country in 1956 I spent most of the time on the North-West Frontier, again in West Pakistan, although I heard a good deal in regard to the relations between the two halves of the country. I have only been in East Pakistan for short periods of time and have never worked there. I did not go there last year; therefore, I propose to confine my remarks to the western part of the country.

If I may interject a personal note, ever since I left in 1947 what is now Pakistan, I have always wanted to write a book on the Pathans because there seems never to have been a serious history written about them. There have, of course, been many books dealing with the area, Lord Roberts' and George Younghusband's and many books dealing with expeditions, the Afghan wars and so on. It is true to say that British people when they meet Pathans always care for them; in fact, very often love

them; but I do not think that anyone in this country has seriously written the history of the Pathans as a people. That needs doing very badly because the impact of the Pathans on history has been enormous. Two at least of the pre-Mughal dynasties, the Lodis and Surs, were of Pathan origin; the latter probably greatest of all the rulers at Delhi. Sher Shah Sur was a Pathan. In fact, the impact of the Pathans on the history of the sub-continent has been very real throughout history. That needs to be recorded and I propose to try to do it, if it is at all possible. It was really that idea more than any other that was revived during my recent tour: I felt I could not start again after so many years' absence during which one had been diverted to other things without seeing the country again. That was one of the reasons why I was so pleased and anxious to accept the invitation.

The scope of my tour in 1956 was practically confined to the North-West Frontier. Time was spent in Karachi where it was delightful to be welcomed with open arms by the President, Iskander Mirza, who, I think I can say without being impertinent, was twice my Assistant Commissioner. Also it was a pleasure to meet Chaudhri Mohammed Ali whom one had known well in the past, together with the Governor of West Pakistan at Lahore, Mr. Gurmani, whom one had also known and, above all, Dr. Khan Sahib, who was for some time my Chief Minister and is now Chief Minister of West Pakistan. Mr. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister, I had not met in the past but I was glad to meet him on this visit when I was impressed by his fund of humour and the light way in which he is able to take life. He has a wonderful insouciance, something which it seems to me any successful politician has to have, a real nonchalance. He can turn a thing aside and be gay even when difficulties arise. I met also Firoz Khan Noon, an old friend of mine, and I thought at the time of this visit that I detected a certain accord between the two; indeed, no sooner, as we now see, has Mr. Suhrawardy become Prime Minister than Firoz Khan Noon takes an important position again in the Pakistan Government.

From Karachi I went to Lahore and there I got into a car and went up to Sialkot to look at the Punjab. It seemed strange to be in the Sialkot district looking at the mountains of Kashmir but unable to go there. I went to Rawalpindi and saw a good deal of the Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Khan whom I had known previously, in Karachi. It was good to meet many old friends and to make new ones.

The first impression I had on reaching Peshawar was that the Frontier is no longer a province. The "one-unit" is now more than a scheme because it came into operation in October 1955 and as a result all provinces in the West are now amalgamated into West Pakistan, which is a single province equally with East Pakistan. Provincial legislatures, governors and so on were swept away, and when I arrived Government House at Peshawar was occupied by Qurban Ali Khan who had been a distinguished Police Officer in the Punjab. He had been the last Governor, but after the amalgamation he was called the Minister for Frontier Regions and States and was living in Government House. While I was there he resigned, with the result that I was left alone to wander round Govern-

ment House like a ghost. And that is about the only nostalgic remark I shall make because I am trying to talk of the present and of the future. As I say, Qurban Ali Khan resigned. His position had been that he was a Minister of the West Pakistan Government, the Minister for what we used to call the tribal areas and the Frontier States. As such he was living separately from the Government up at Peshawar. Not much imagination is needed to realize that one member of a Cabinet which is undergoing a good many throes in a new State—because West Pakistan is almost akin to a State—where things are shaping and many conventions have to be established, a Minister skied up 300 miles from Headquarters is not in an easy position. All the same, I thought there was much to be said for the idea that there should be somebody in Peshawar to deal with tribal affairs because it is not possible to get the atmosphere of the Pathans or the North-West Frontier by sitting in Lahore, even less by sitting in Karachi. The jirgas do not like going down to Lahore, and if they do go they have to be paid heavy expenses; they only go for a "jolly," sometimes a thoroughly good "jolly." Lahore is not a place in which to get the atmosphere of the Frontier, and hence it seemed a good idea to have somebody at Peshawar, but perhaps he should not have been a Minister.

Since the North-West Frontier Province ceased to exist the old Commissionerships have been recreated. The Northern Commissioner is responsible for the three northern districts, with one Punjab district of Attock added. The Southern Commissionership of the Derajat has also a Punjab district added to it, the district of Mianwali, to make it a large enough division. The Commissioners have a certain rather vague authority over tribal areas, as far as I can see; but the position had not yet been consolidated. Otherwise the Deputy Commissioners and political agents were sitting pretty in just the same places as in the past and apparently doing their work in exactly the same way as we used to do ours. In the tribal areas they were working through jirgas in the same way as in the past; there were the same security arrangements; they had the various Scouts Corps, which have been strengthened. For instance, in the Khaiber they had over 3,000 men, and now each of the Waziristan Militias has 4,000, with 3,000 in the Zhob in Baluchistan. Generally speaking, the Militia have also guns but not fort guns, because they go out. The only regular battalion beyond the administrative border is, I think, in the Khaiber Pass. I always thought the Khaiber the most uninteresting and the dullest place in the whole of the North-West Frontier, and it was the only place to which I did not go on this visit. Looking towards the Khaiber from the plain there is a fine view of the Tahtarra mountain, but once you go up that thread of road it is not possible to go off it. The tribal areas can be far better seen in Malakand or even in Waziristan than in the Khaiber, and the country around the Khaiber is not particularly beautiful. Except for that I went to every Frontier district and Agency, from Malakand and Hazara in the north and down to Quetta in the south. I included the Pathan part of Baluchistan because the Pathans merge with the Baluches at Quetta. North of Quetta, Baluchistan is a misnomer because the country is inhabited by Pathans.

As I have said, the "one-unit" had been brought in in the October

before my arrival as a preliminary set-up to the Constitution and while I was in the country the new Pakistan Constitution Act was passed—about March 1, 1956. Under the Act what we knew as the tribal areas have become "Special Areas." The old Frontier States of Dir, Swat and Chitral have been retained and also a small part of Amb and these are known as the Special Areas and Frontier States.

You will be interested to know who has executive authority for dealing with these Special Areas. Under Section 104 of the Constitution Act that authority is divided between the Centre and the West Pakistan Governments. The executive authority of the West Pakistan Government now extends into the Frontier areas, whereas under the British set-up executive authority was entirely with the Centre. The officers, the cadres and so on, are under the West Pakistan Government and are dealt with by the Ministry at Lahore, but the Centre also has, if necessary, an over-riding authority. That must be so because it is one of the most difficult—I will not say unstable—and possibly potentially dangerous land frontiers in the world. Obviously Frontier affairs are not only the concern of the West Pakistan Government but of the Pakistan Government as a whole, and one might almost say to some extent that matters concerning the Durand Line are the concern of the Free World as a whole, even wider than the Pakistan Government. Here we may detect a possible conflict of authority. I will be quite frank and say that when under a newly written Constitution, there are two authorities, it will take time to work things out and, there will be tests and trials before the sphere of authority of the two powers is defined in practice. A certain amount of difficulty must be expected before that stage is reached. One cannot help wondering whether two Commissioners, one sitting in Peshawar and the other in Dera Ismail Khan, are really adequate local authorities for dealing with the various winds which can blow up with extreme fury and suddenness on the North-West Frontier. It seems that in due course, although there is no need to have the Governor back again, there will be need for someone who has much higher authority as a permanent official to deal with affairs in that region. A Minister, as Qurban Ali Khan was, may be removed with any wind of popular difference or any kind of change of Government. There needs to be somebody sitting in Peshawar and in Quetta with whom the tribes feel they can deal, whom the jirgas can see, someone who can speak their language. There appear to be great dangers in imagining that such an explosive area as the North-West Frontier can be run from Lahore or Karachi only through Commissioners. The headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan are at Rawalpindi and not at Karachi; there must be somebody on the civil side who is a big enough gun to deal with the Commander-in-Chief and that means more than a Commissioner. Anybody who has had to do with administrative matters and is familiar with relations between the civil and military authorities will confirm what I have said—even the Generals.

The "one-unit" business is a reversal of what was done by Curzon in 1901. I may be prejudiced but I thought Curzon was right to cut off the North-West Frontier from the Punjab. I have been studying fairly closely Frontier affairs during the 1860-1900 period, and the conclusion one

reaches is that Lahore was inclined to regard the Frontier as somewhat of a side-show. A few men such as Warburton or Macaulay were left there for a long time and gained great influence, but generally officers were all shifted round the Punjab hat, as it were; a man would go to Kohat and then suddenly be moved down say to Lyallpur. I do not think the Punjab officers as a whole really got to know the language or to know the Pathan. One result which Curzon did not foresee, was that through his creation of the Frontier Province there became available a focus of loyalty and importance for the Pathans. After all, many lived, and still live, on the other side of the Durand Line, and then sympathies were divided between the Indus Valley and Central Asia. The new Province brought them into the sphere of what is now Pakistan, and they acquired a kind of vested interest arising from the feeling that they were so important that they were dealt with direct by the Centre. There is no doubt that Pathan patriotism was stimulated by Curzon's policy, and that stimulus had considerable effect on affairs generally. It produced great men like Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum and Dr. Khan Sahib. Nevertheless it will be generally agreed that what was right in 1901, was not necessarily so right in 1955.

I was in the Frontier region for quite a long time during the period of the Ministries, culminating with the time when I was Governor for two years just before the transfer of power. From 1935 onwards there was, I think, too much top hamper on too small a basis in the North-West Frontier. Politics became very parochial, and it was not altogether a good idea. Once having established the Pathan interest towards the east, as it were, which after all is a historical thing because the Pathans have always been interested in the Indus Valley, there was a great deal to be said for the reamalgamation. Really it is not unlike the union of England and Scotland. The Pathans ask: "Where stand the Pathans now that *raunaq*"—which in Urdu means the lustre or polish of society—"has left Peshawar? What is left?" I daresay the Scots asked much the same at the time of James I, when a great many of them came to London. Similarly, a great many Pathans are already holding important posts not only in West Pakistan but also in East Pakistan. It seems that the Pathan destiny is likely to be not unlike that of the Scots in Great Britain, and that they have nothing to fear because of amalgamation.

Before saying more about the North-West Frontier I would like to go off the beat, as it were, and refer to the refugees in Pakistan, a problem which does not exist on the North-West Frontier. The mass murder, the misery, the mistakes and the migrations which have taken place in so much of the country have not penetrated to any extent beyond the Indus but they are very evident in Karachi on which the refugee problem has an appalling impact. There are shacks all over the place, unsanitary and most forbidding to look at, horrible to live in, and very difficult to deal with. In many ways Pakistan has had a much more difficult job to do in connection with refugees than has India in the converse way because many of the refugees from Pakistan to India were agriculturalists like the Sikhs, so that they were more easily absorbed into the countryside. So many of the Muslims from India who became refugees to Pakistan were small shopkeepers, artisans and so on; they swarm round the towns and cannot find

enough to do; they cannot easily be settled on the land; indeed they constitute an extremely difficult problem. There was a good deal of land in West Pakistan, mainly that vacated by the large Sikh population of the Punjab, but the small artisan shopkeeper population cannot be settled on the land.

This brings me to another point. Frequently I am asked what changes I noticed in Pakistan after eight years' absence. First, it was amazing to go round Lahore and see no Hindus or Sikhs, and the same applied to Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan, also to the villages, and to the railways, and that did strike one in an extraordinary way. One was also interested to note what the Muslims are making of shopkeeping. In all the villages the shopkeepers are now Muslims.

Another change which impressed me very greatly was the success achieved in setting up light industries. There are two enormous sugar factories, one in Mardan and the other in Charsadda, I believe the biggest in Asia. They process something like 30,000 tons of sugar each each year, using local sugar cane of which they grow very good varieties. There are also textile mills on the Frontier; not for cotton, because cotton is not grown up there, but for wool. There is a woollen textile mill at Bannu under Japanese management, and another at Harnai near Quetta. There is also a progressive tobacco industry. In my day tobacco grown in Peshawar, Mardan, and Hazro was mostly for producing snuff, but the varieties grown have now been much improved. Tobacco used to be entirely grown on wells; it has now been largely transferred to canals. Formerly growers said that tobacco would not grow on canal water, but that has proved not to be true. There are great areas of tobacco cultivation and depôts can be seen all over the place. It is in fact a large industry and I understand that Pakistan is self-supporting so far as cigarettes are concerned and even exports a certain amount of tobacco. There are paper and cardboard mills; also a well-developed canning industry for the magnificent fruit which grows round Peshawar.

Another advance I noticed particularly was the creation of the Peshawar University—in our day the Islamia College—largely under the inspiration of a previous Premier, Abdul Qayyum, so completing the dream of his earlier namesake, Sir Abdul Qayyum. The old Islamia College buildings are used as the Arts Faculty; the new buildings are technical, medical, science and so forth. Some people do not like the modern architecture but it is not too bad and it stands up fairly well against the background of the Khaiber Hills. I spent a whole day in the University and, as I am not a scientist, I could only express pleased surprise when going round the laboratories. I spent my time in the Arts Faculties and was particularly interested in what was being done in regard to the Pashtu language. There is a literature and very fine poetry in the language, notably that of Khushhal Khan Khatak. The Professor of Pashtu is Maulana Abdul Qadir, and there are, I understand, a considerable number of students. There is a great deal in this line to be done at the University which can, I think, be considerably better done in Peshawar than in Kabul. I am greatly interested in the origins of Pashtu literature and my studies so far indicate that the real Pashtu literature grew up in the Peshawar district.

The poets were all people of the tribes round there; they were not Abdalis, the early name for the Durranis; in fact, the latter had not been heard of in the time of Khushhal Khan; indeed the Abdalis are not mentioned by him. The tribes mentioned are the Yusufzais, Khataks, Orakzais, Bangash, Afridis and so on, and most of the early literature is therefore centred round Peshawar, and that it seems to me is the place where linguistic and literary studies connected with the Pashtu language ought to be conducted and I hope will be effectively conducted.

Another important advance was noticeable in irrigation and hydroelectric power. I want to be frank here and say that what rather disturbed me when in Pakistan was the tendency to assume that everything in the way of material progress started in 1947. Actually the Thal Barrage on the Indus was opened by Sir Evan Jenkins early in 1947 and before partition; nevertheless, the literature now issued on the subject does not mention that fact or even say that the project was being considered for about forty years prior to 1947. There is also rather a tendency to suggest that hydroelectric power only started to function in 1947. Those who know Malakand will be able to say that this is not so. It is a pity that in a manner unlike the general Pakistani attitude—because the Pakistanis are realists—any impression of that kind should be allowed to go down into history. One has only to think of the tremendous irrigation works all over the Punjab and Sind, and the Peshawar district which were brought to completion before 1947.

There has been, as you know, a food stortage recently in Pakistan, though much more serious in East than West Pakistan. I have been studying official papers on the subject of irrigation as the remedy, papers issued by the Pakistan Government. Drainage is only just mentioned, but anyone who has had to do with irrigation under a tropical sun knows that it is useless unless there is drainage. Irrigation in West Pakistan is mostly what is known there as *doaba* irrigation. You take a canal out, from its parent river, on a weir and carry it along on the top of the slight rise between two rivers. There has been a great deal of talk and action over link canals, to provide alternative sources of irrigation in place of the rivers and canals which start in India and therefore Pakistan water could be shut off. Link canals are dangerous from the drainage point of view, because a link canal from one river to another cuts across the *doab* and therefore interferes radically with the natural drainage-lines in the whole area and causes waterlogging. The most important link canal we built was that between the Chenab and the Ravi in the Sialkot and Gujranwala districts, called the Upper Chenab canal. That has already caused serious waterlogging in Gujranwala. There is nearly completed another link canal very close to the other and cutting across Sialkot and Gujranwala districts which will increase the drainage problems, and in my judgment if great care is not taken there will be most disastrous waterlogging.

There is a light-hearted idea on the part of the World Bank and others, about a link canal between the Indus and the Jhelum; there is talk of stopping the Indus before it comes out of the hills and carrying a canal across the Rawalpindi plateau which is about 1,000 ft. above the Indus; that would mean tunnelling about 100 miles to get water from the Indus

into the Jhelum unless the alignment is taken south of the Salt Range (and the Thal irrigation prevents that). I do not think any practical engineer would consider tunnelling under the Rawalpindi plateau. There is much loose talk in that direction, it seemed to me.

I do not propose to say much about Kashmir. I have already mentioned that it seems extraordinary when one goes up from Rawalpindi to Peshawar to feel that the line of foothills, or very nearly the line of foothills, is the end of Pakistan. But there is one thing worth saying about Kashmir in the Pathan context. The first Saddozai dynasty of Afghans ruled in Kashmir for seventy years. From about 1750 to 1820 a large number of Pathans were settled in Kashmir. There are still a number there, particularly in the lower Sind valley, who still speak Pashtu. The Pathans have always been interested in Kashmir; they enshrine their love of Kashmir in the very well-known Pathan proverb which runs: "Unto every man his own country is Kashmir." That interest is a living thing still and it has always been regarded as almost cheek-by-jowl with them and almost, in some ways, as part of the same country. Any settlement which fails to take that historical connection into account will be a big mistake. That is something which it will be worth while saying to the appropriate people in the United Nations. It is interesting to hear that* Hr. Gunnar Jarring, lately President of the Security Council, is going out to try to arrive at a solution of the problem. He is a great scholar in the languages and folklore of these parts of the world, a philologist who knows a great deal about the peoples there. From that point of view Hr. Jarring's visit is to be welcomed; he may bring a certain amount of real knowledge into the problem.

The other aspect of the external political issue is the Durand Line and Pukhtunistan. While I was re-visiting Pakistan the British Prime Minister, then Sir Anthony Eden, said in Parliament that the British Government regarded the Durand Line as the frontier of Pakistan, a statement which was welcomed there. At about the same time there was a meeting of S.E.A.T.O. in Karachi and Mr. Casey was there and largely under his influence it was announced that S.E.A.T.O. regarded the territories in which it took an interest as bounded on the north-west by the Durand Line. I have been asked whether Pakistan likes people from outside expressing views on subjects such as that; and do not the Pakistanis regard it as impertinence? My answer is that they certainly do not; I think they would welcome, and do welcome, forthright pronouncements of policy a good deal more happily than they hail rather vague promises of economic aid. Pakistan is in an extremely exposed international position and wishes to feel that her exposure is understood and that she has people on her side. That of course is why she has joined the Baghdad Pact.

Incidentally, Kashmir and Cyprus have a certain bearing on the Baghdad Pact set-up as a whole, because the interests of Turkey over Cyprus, and of Pakistan over Kashmir are very much attracted. Kashmir is at one end of the Baghdad axis and Cyprus more or less at the other end. The interests of the United Kingdom, which is the non-Asian member of the Baghdad Pact, ought therefore surely to be consonant with those of Turkey and Pakistan, if only because our very life-blood is to be found in

the Middle East which is under the shadow of the Baghdad powers, two of which have themselves large oil reserves. However, I do not wish to start a lecture on the Baghdad Pact. I merely affirm that it is worth remembering that Kashmir and Cyprus are bound up in this picture and part of it.

One hears a good deal about Pakhtunistan in London, a lot in Karachi, a little in Lahore, a very little in Peshawar and hardly a word in Waziristan. A few Mahsuds go into Jalalabad or Urghun for Afghan pay, and indulge in a certain amount of long-range sniping at places like Wana or possibly Landi Kotal. On the other hand I think on the international stage Pakhtunistan has considerable dangers. Of course from the Afghan point of view it is really veiled irredentism. The Afghans say the Durand Line no longer exists and therefore they cannot explain where Afghanistan ends and their Pakhtunistan begins. Nor do they suggest that any of the Pashtu-speaking peoples in Afghanistan should form part of the new Pakhtunistan! These two points taken together, show clearly enough what is in the Afghan mind. But the real danger lies more in the fact that there is a body of opinion among the Pathans which feels that they are not going to take their proper place in the new Pakistan, and that feeling and fear is given point by the attitude of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib's younger brother. I happened to go on a pilgrimage to the grave of Nawab Abdul Qayyum, an old friend of mine. I went to the village of Topi where he was buried and the day I was there Abdul Ghaffar Khan also came along, but not on a pilgrimage. His speech was exactly the same sort of speech as he used to make when I was Deputy Commissioner at Peshawar, except that he substituted Hukumat-i-Pakistan for Hukumat-i-Britannia. In due course he was put on trial for sedition. He was as a result fined a fairly heavy sum and imprisoned only to the rising of the Court, and I understand he is not under detention now. It is interesting that he and his brother should be so opposed. Dr. Khan Sahib has long been in a position of responsibility. Abdul Ghaffar Khan has adopted the Gandhian technique of staying outside, not taking any political position, sitting on the touchline, making speeches and cooking up policies from outside. Dr. Khan Sahib is a remarkable man. I did not always see eye-to-eye with him when he was my Chief Minister, but he has immense courage and does not care what he says to anybody. Sometimes he does not care quite enough. He is getting old; he is over 70, but one of the hopeful signs is that a Pathan such as Dr. Khan Sahib has been ready to take up this very thorny position as Chief Minister of the western part of the country.

In that connection I ought to mention the Republican Party. As you know, Pakistan came to birth under the Muslim League which has now forfeited much of its power. First of all, it was ousted in East Pakistan and more recently it gave way to Dr. Khan Sahib's Republican Party in Western Pakistan and at the moment seems to have little influence. Perhaps a party called the Muslim League was no longer needed when the Islamic State of Pakistan had arrived. This let in the Republican Party, the opposite number of Mr. Suhrawardy's Awami League in East Pakistan.

I must talk no more, because you will probably want to subject me to questions. All I can add is that it struck me when in Pakistan that those concerned were making an extraordinarily good job of their frontier administration and of their administration generally, and that they were carrying on with great courage and realism. As regards the Pathans I have no doubt that their future lies in the Indus valley where it has always lain and that they are going to play a great part both as the buttress of this most exposed and difficult frontier and as helpers in the general task of carrying Pakistan to greatness.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Olaf has offered to answer questions and I should like to ask one myself. I was much impressed by Sir Olaf's suggestion that a high executive officer in Peshawar would be in a stronger position than a Minister to the Government. It seemed to me that as the difficult decisions that might arise and would require a high officer there would be largely of a political character, the implication is that high officers of Government have a stronger position and are more likely to be supported by the Government than the members of the Cabinet.

Sir OLAF CAROE: The point is that the high officer, the agent of the President or whatever he may be, would not be swept away with every change of Government; he would be more or less appointed for a period of five years. After all, the Commander-in-Chief is an executive officer; there is need for an opposite number to him.

General Sir DOUGLAS GRACEY: Did Sir Olaf have an opportunity to go to Waziristan?

Sir OLAF CAROE: I had an amusing time in Waziristan. We were sitting down to tea in the Tochi and my fellow-guests started talking about "*Ris*." I am not very good at Waziri Pashtu but I knew that in Urdu *Ris* meant equality or egalitarianism. But this did not fit. And then as the conversation proceeded it suddenly occurred to me that they were talking about *Rus*, Russia. On another occasion I was reminded of a story told of a happening in my own time. An officer was talking to some tribal maliks and he gave them some very inconclusive answers—often a wise thing to do. The headman, an old friend, said: "Sahib, your answer reminds me of a story that I heard at my mother's knee. There was a king who had a wazir, of course, and there was a fisherman who caught an enormous fish. He offered it to the king and the wazir was very angry because wazirs all expect perquisites. The wazir, in an endeavour to get the fisherman into trouble, suggested to the king that he ask the fisherman what the sex of the fish was. The king asked the question, but the fisherman saw the trap; he realized that if he replied that the fish was either male or female he would be asked to go and catch one of the other sex and he knew that he would never catch so large a fish again. So he replied: 'Your Majesty, the fish is an hermaphrodite.' And that, said the headman, is the sort of answer that you, Sahib, give to us."

General BRUCE-SCOTT: Sir Olaf mentioned the Scouts. What is their rôle now? These seems to be little or no trouble. Why have their proportions been doubled?

Sir OLAF CAROE: Frontier watch and ward is entirely in the hands of the Irregulars and that is one reason, and a logistical reason. There may

be another reason behind it, and that is that an increase in Pathan recruitment is one of the best ways in which to keep the Frontier quiet. It is not true that there is no trouble.

A LADY MEMBER: As a welfare worker I would like to ask in regard to the suggestion that there might be waterlogging and water shortage, is there any possibility of someone suggesting that the engineers warn the authorities of the danger?

Sir OLAF CAROE: I believe there is dawning realisation in Pakistan of the danger of waterlogging. All one can do is to talk to audiences in surroundings such as this on questions of this nature and hope someone will listen and that something will be done.

Colonel GUERRITZ: In regard to the reference to the refugee problem in Karachi, is there not enough land left out of what remains in Pakistan to provide the refugees with some and, if so, would it be possible to train them in agriculture?

Sir OLAF CAROE: All the land that was vacated by the Sikhs and Hindus has been distributed; schemes have been going for the last seven years in places like Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sialkot where there is a good deal of new canal irrigation. I saw a number of people tilling the land there, very different people from Punjabis. I do not think there is much to be done in that line or that it is possible to train artisans to be agriculturists.

Mr. M. JAMES: The lecturer mentioned *Rus*; I should like him to enlarge a little on the question of the frontier.

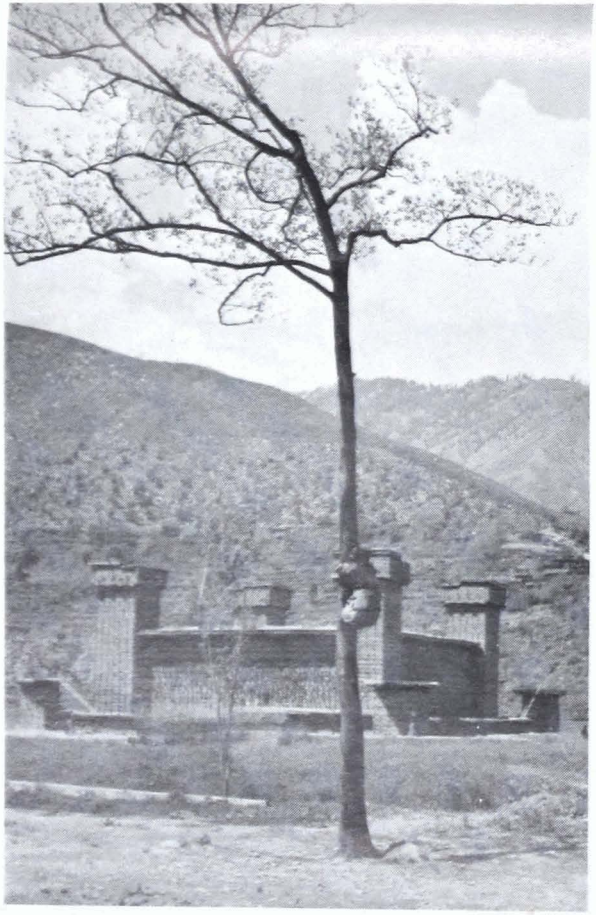
Sir OLAF CAROE: The frontier is the one part of what used to be India and is now Pakistan where there was, and always has been, a very vivid consciousness of the Russian threat and the Russian advance across Asia, which existed long before the Revolution of 1917. When in the last war we found ourselves on the same side as Russia and Sir George Cunningham and I and various other people were discussing the question of counter-propaganda and propaganda generally and what used to be known as political warfare and talked to the tribes about it, the Pathan feeling was "If only we could say something against these Russians" but of course we could not. That is an indication of what the feeling was and is. A considerable number of Uzbeks and Tajiks came down through Afghanistan to Peshawar and Lahore and elsewhere and they spread many tales about happenings in Bokhara and Samarkand. Point was given to this by the attitudes taken by Messrs. Bulganin and Kruschev during their tour of India when they said Kashmir belongs to India and in Kabul almost said that the Pathan Frontier belongs to Kabul. In fact, when we were discussing Pakhtunistan, people used to say: "Ah, that's India." If you replied "Might it not be Russia?" "No," said they; "what's the difference; look at B. and K. coming along; think of what they have been saying in Delhi and Kabul." That was before the most recent dénouement in the United Nations when Russia imposed her veto on the Kashmir resolution.

Mr. S. H. BYRT: Some years ago a friend of mine in his official capacity was in the Kremlin where there was a very large map room and on the wall was one of the maps provided by Peter the Great. One of the

indications on that map which clearly showed the Russian ambition was a way through Karachi to the sea.

The CHAIRMAN: Our time is now up but I feel I must say that I owe Sir Olaf an apology. When introducing him I did not realize that he had ever held the high rank of Assistant Commissioner! I in the adjoining province held the correspondingly high rank of Assistant Collector. On one occasion one of the leading Zemindars called to see me and said he had come from a particular place. When I asked what he was doing there he said: "I heard that the Assistant Collector was camping there, but when I got there I found it was only the Collector." (Laughter).

I feel sure we have all listened with great pleasure to Sir Olaf's informative account of the north-west region of Pakistan and you will all wish to join in signifying your approval in the usual way. (*Applause*).



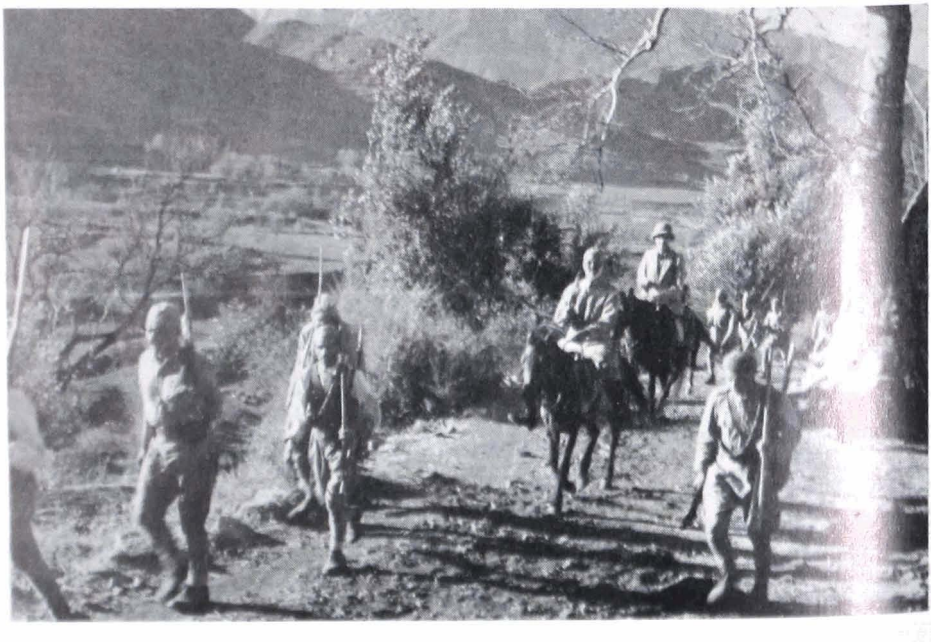
FORT IN SWAT

A PATHAN BOATMAN

Photos by Maj.-Gen. H. R. L. Haughton, C.B., C.I.E., C.B.E.

To face p. 186

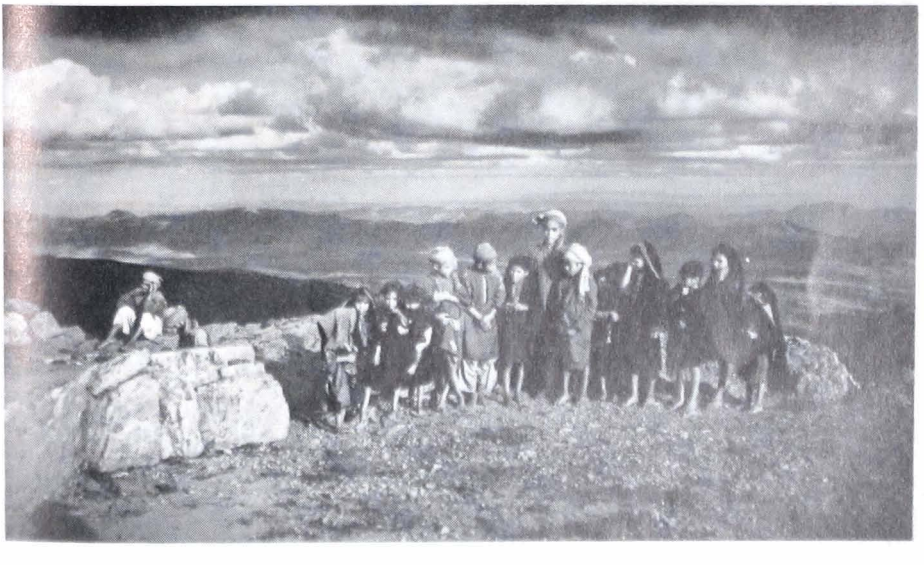
FIELD OF OPIUM POPPIES IN SWAT



THE WALI OF SWAT AND GENERAL COLERIDGE GO SHOOTING

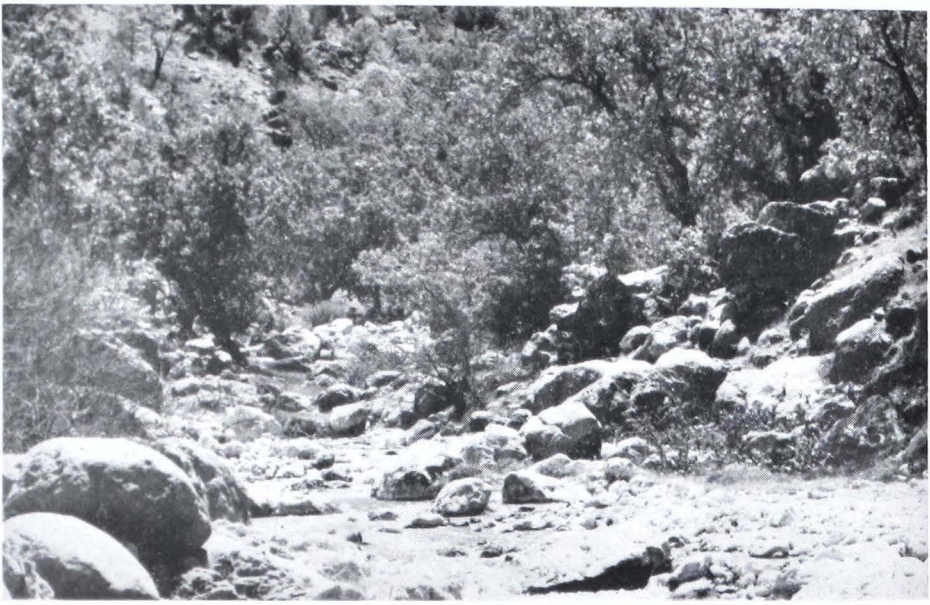
Photos by Maj.-Gen. H. R. L. Haughton, C.B., C.I.E., C.B.E.

GHALJI ENCAMPMENT, KURRAM VALLEY

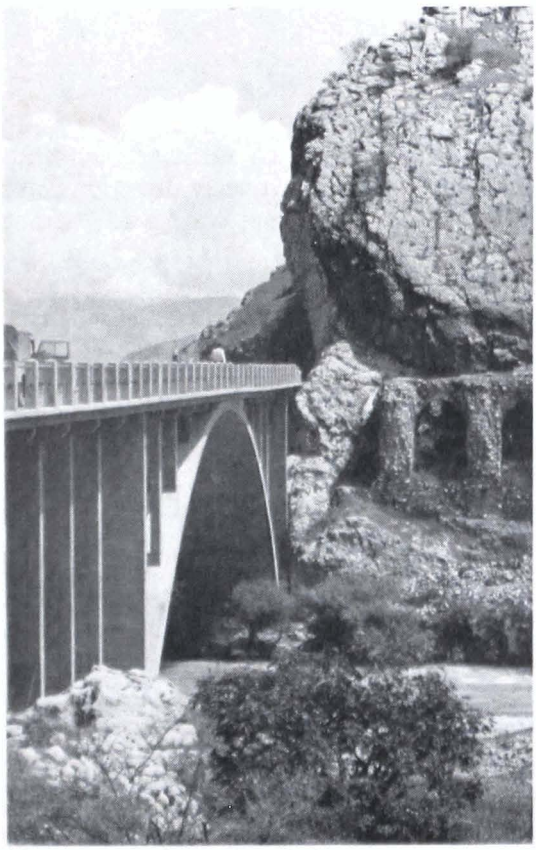


PATHAN CHILDREN, MIRANZAI VALLEY

Photos by Maj.-Gen. H. R. L. Haughton, C.B., C.I.E., C.B.E.



A VIEW IN THE "FOURTH PARADISE" ON THE LINE TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE NEW SHIRAZ-AHWAZ ROUTE. *See opposite*



THE MODERN BRIDGE AT TANG-I-BRIN GORGE WITH PART OF THE SASSINID APPROACH TO AN OLDER BRIDGE. *See p.* 191

BY CAR FROM SHIRAZ TO KHUZISTAN

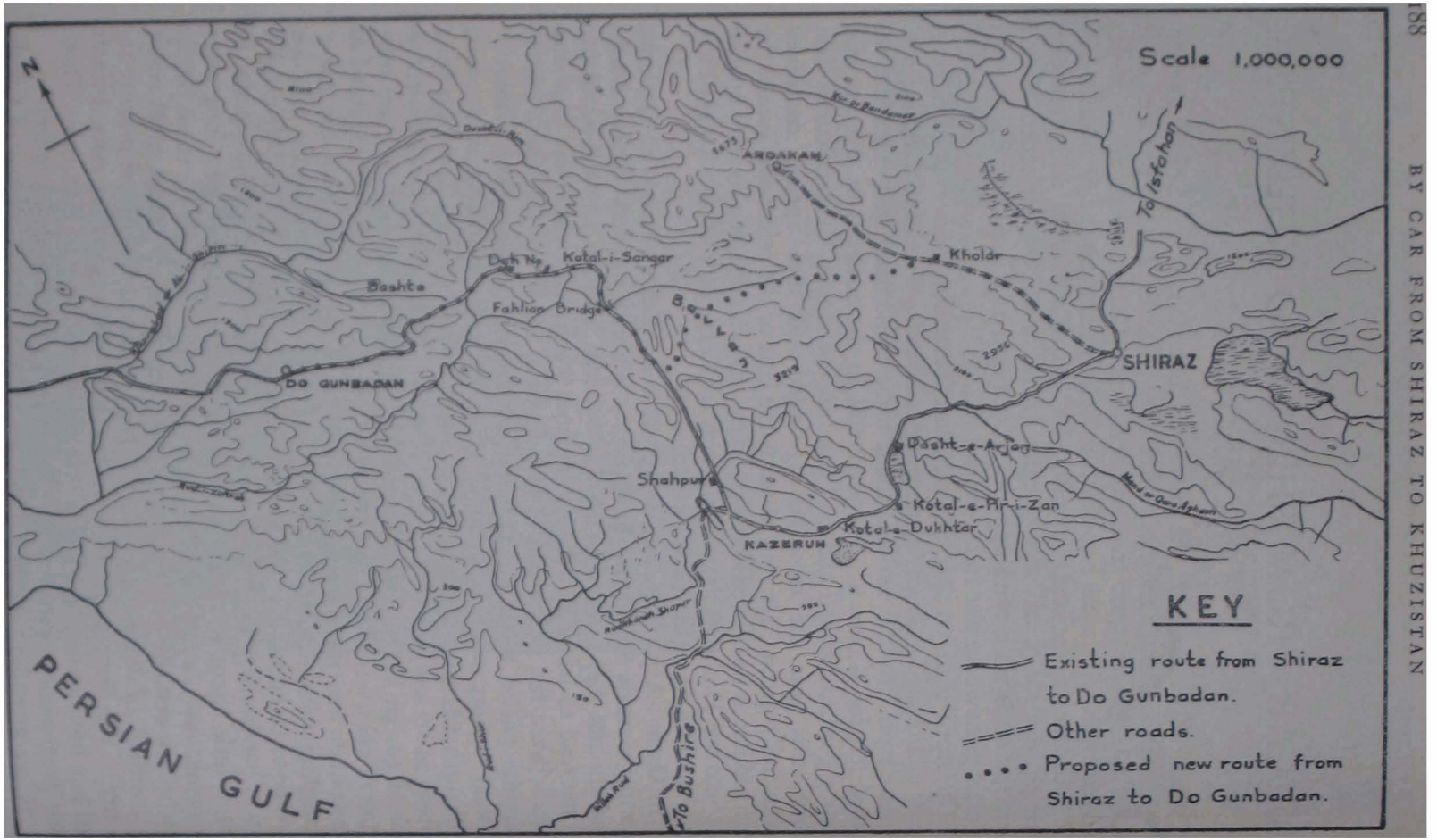
By P. W. AVERY.

SHIRAZ, described in the thirteenth century by its poet Hafiz as peerless, is still Iran's most beautiful city. The air is temperate and clear at a height of 5,000 ft. above sea level. Gardens with tall cypresses and umbrella pines are reminiscent of Italy, and Shiraz is a city, like Florence, for leisure and thought. Its people are witty and generous, their popular songs and sayings often poetry of the highest order. Their conversation is filled with apposite quotations, and in Shiraz poetry lives as perhaps nowhere else in the world.

On April 27th we left Shiraz, more beautiful than ever in Spring, under a blue sky in the early morning sunshine. We drove out along the Bushire road. By the airfield, about to be modernised and extended, we turned left for Kazarun. We were still in the environs of the city and passing gardens; walled and cool oases in the usually khaki-coloured land which, this year the rains having lasted late into Spring, continued ephemerally green. Driving towards the first of the celebrated *kotals*, the high saddles to be crossed between Shiraz and Bushire, the country opened out into the Dasht-i-Arjan, which reaches to the foot of the Kotal-i-Pir-i-Zan, the Height of the Old Woman.

In Dasht-i-Arjan we saw the first of a number of groups of Qashgais moving towards Shiraz on their way to summer quarters further north. Near the city they turn off in a north-westerly direction towards Semirum, on the road to Isfahan. I was told those we passed, with their asses and camels, were the Dareh Shuri, the largest *tireh* of the Qashgais, said to comprise twelve thousand families. Hatred of the Qashgais is almost a natural instinct among the citizens of Shiraz, whose memories are filled with orchards uprooted and gardens despoiled. These Turki-speaking tribesmen are still, after two centuries, an anomaly in Fars. With the exception of groups like the Kashkulis, who, though speaking Turki, are remnants of old tribes native to Fars, locally the Qashgais are still regarded as newcomers and interlopers. The squalor of these people on the move, struggling with recalcitrant beasts bearing all their possessions, was too obvious to be lessened by the appearance of an occasionally brightly dressed girl or handsome young man on gaily caparisoned horses. But squalor or not, a little thought gives rise to the supposition that certain long term economic and sanitary adjustments must be envisaged before these people can become settled, and that over hasty attempts at settlement could result in a variety of difficulties, not least being a disruption of the grazing industry.[1] We were to meet these nomads, old women on asses, infants tied like bundles on the backs of camels, all the way to Kazarun. There their progression ceased and we passed into the territory of others.

Before ascending the first *kotal*, we went through the oasis of Chesh-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KAZERUN
PERSIAN GULF
To Bushire
KEY
Existing route from Shiraz to Do Gunbadan.
Other roads.
Proposed new route from Shiraz to Do Gunbadan.

meh-ye-Salman. This is the reputed burial place of the father of the celebrated Salman-i-Farsi, whose history provides an interesting field for continued research, though much has already been done. He was the Persian intimate of the Prophet Mohammad and, if the Tradition " Salman is to me a member of my household " be true, was clearly accorded a very special place at Medinah among the Prophet's followers. Did he flee from Iran because he was a Mazdakite, and therefore, though wise and venerable, a political outcast? Most Iranian scholars have no doubt that this was in fact the case, while speculation is also justified on his rôle as the Prophet's adviser in Near Eastern history, legend, culture and military affairs. In this connection verse 105 of Chapter XVI of the Qoran[2] is significant and should be read with Abu'l Futuh's Persian (but therefore possibly biased) commentary. After the conquest of Mada'in (Ctesiphon) Salman was appointed Governor and the place still bears his name, being called Salman Pak and resorted to each year by the barbers of Baghdad as the burial place of Salman, whom they regard as their patron. Here he seems clearly to have been a guide and counsellor to the Muslim army in its conquest of Sassanid Iran; it is known that he had earlier been military adviser to the Prophet at the Battle of the Trench. His part in the conquest of Iran is of interest in the assessment which has to be made of the function of an Iranian " 5th column " in this conquest, a problem of importance in the study of Iranian social history as it marks a stage in tracing the origin of the cleavage between Government and people in Iran which appears to have been characteristic. According to the *Futuh-ul-Buldan,* Salman was awarded, at the Caliph 'Umar's special command, the sum of 4,000 dirhams, and explicitly accounted one of the Muslims entitled to a share of the spoils.[3]

One of the extremer Sufi orders of Iran, the 'Ali Ullahi 'in (Ahl ul Haqq), ascribes its spiritual origin to Salman, called Salman-i-Patali. The Cheshmeh-ye-Salman, with its streams and willow trees, is the scene of a legend about Salman riding near this spot, through the wild narcissus of early Spring, and meeting the spirit of 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. 'Ali's spirit taught him the secrets of the Invisible and endowed him with the powers of *velayat,* sainthood.

When we passed the willows at Cheshmeh-ye-Salman were like those of Norfolk, but the difference was in the mountains and rocks all round. Though the associations of this place with Salman are strong, he is also reputed to have been born at Isfahan and at Ram Hormuz, in Khuzistan. But the famous letter,[4] attributed to the Prophet himself, exempting Salman's family from taxation, makes it appear that all events his relatives resided in Fars.

The history of Salman-i-Farsi continued the main topic of interest while we passed the Qareh Aqach river and the Kafeh-ye-Dasht-i-Arjan, a lake said to have the sweetest water in Iran. The ascent of the Kotal-i-Pir-i-Zan, however, diverted attention from this popular saint to the splendid view behind us of the Dasht-i-Arjan and the mountains round Shiraz, revealed as we neared the top. Over the crest we saw the stair-like old pack road down the other side, and the grass covered ramparts and flat roofs of the stout caravansai at Mian Kotal. Next came the Dasht-

i-Barm, between the two passes. We passed over the second, smaller *kotal,* the Kotal-i-Dukhtar, and then through green crops and numerous villages to Kazarun. On the narrow bridge at Abgineh the passage of timid camels belonging to the trekking Qashgais held us up, the burden of one of them slipping as in a panic the beast galloped past our terrifying yellow Landrover. The falling baggage brought him painfully to the ground with heart-rending groans, but fortunately no serious damage was done.

Kazarun, the reputed home of resourceful Sayyids and people considered even sharper at driving a bargain than those of Isfahan, surprised us by its smallness. It seemed more like a group of scattered villages than a town. Ramazan, of which April 27 this year was the 26th day, was apparently being scrupulously observed so that lemonade and tea had to be obtained discreetly behind closed shutters. The blue skies of our setting out had gone and rain had started which continued for the rest of the journey. We left the Bushire road shortly after Kazarun for the much worse track across southern Persia towards Khuzistan. The going was now up towards Shapur, with its huge rock walls and rich valley. No wonder this was formerly a great centre of civilisation, for it was most beautiful country. We did not visit the famous though by no means completely investigated archaeological sites of Shapur, being pressed for time. This was to be deplored as the whole country compelled, not driving through, but walking over with leisure for study in one of the world's greatest depositories of history.

The country where the Mongol-eyed Qashgais are seen was now behind us and we were in the district of the milder, more Iranian featured Mamasanis. These are one of the ancient tribes of Fars, settled and agrarian now but still keeping sheep on the neighbouring hillsides. The district we were passing through belonged to the Bakish *ta'ifeh* of the Mamasani. Near their centre of Nurabad we saw where the new Shiraz—Ahwaz Road, whose construction begins this summer, will join the existing route after dropping down from the Bavvans, the Bavvan-i-'Uliya, Usta and Sufla. The new route, from Shiraz to this point, follows the more ancient road through Kholar, famous for its vineyards, and through the region Arab geographers called one of the Four Paradises of the world.[5] This is the Sh'ib-i-Bavvan, of temperate climate and many fruit trees in high, down-like country descending through the three platforms mentioned above, the Higher, Middle and Nether Bavvans. It is to be hoped that, once the new road is completed, better development of this fertile area will be possible. Istakhri mentions "large cities" in it which have, of course, long since disappeared. With the improvement of communications it seems that a revival may be expected.

After Nurabad the Fahlian river is crossed nowadays by a fine and recently completed bridge into the district of the Rustam group of the Mamasani. The valley on both sides of the river was filled with corn and barley crops of an almost prairie-like extent. There could be no doubt about the region's rich agricultural potential, but the existing road was the worst possible, a bare rock track at the foot of the hills till we crossed the valley and reached the Kotal-i-Sanger, the Pass of the Stone Wall.

This name derives from the remains of a wall across the valley which must be over 1,000 yards long and which has, of course, given rise to a number of legends. Sir Aurel Stein[6] thinks it was here that Alexander encountered a stiff Uxian opposition. Locally it is attributed to the Afghans fleeing before Nadir Shah. Another story attributes it to Mohammad Khan Baluchi, who is supposed to have thrown up the wall to obstruct Nadir, pursuing him from Do Gunbadan. This was in 1733 A.D. when Nadir, having treated with Ahmad Pasha, left Baghdad on account of Mohammad Khan's insurrection. Mohammad Khan fled eastwards and was finally attacked by Nadir Shah, no doubt in the vicinity of the *Sangar,* and routed. Nadir's maritime interests may be said to have begun by his concern to have the Gulf ports blockaded to prevent Mohammad Khan's subsequent escape over the water. He was eventually captured on the island of Qais.[7] Whatever the truth of its history, the remains of this barrier testify to a remarkable structure, not of a kind that could have hastily been built by a fleeing army. Rather it would seem to be a " peace-time " construction, no doubt erected as a toll barrier on this once much used route. Sir Aurel Stein's assessment of its antiquity must be accepted as ante-dating the *Sangar* long before Nadir Shah; though the latter certainly marched and fought this way.

Between Kazarun and our destination on this now so little used track there are only two *qavehkhaneh* (coffee houses) where hunger and thirst may be appeased. At one of these we lunched off curds and dates with a a little rice, no meat or eggs being available. With the rain and the freshness everywhere of an English April, the summer transformation of the landscape from green to brown in temperatures reaching forty-seven degrees Centigrade seemed incredible. At the next group of villages, Deh No, water was sufficiently abundant to permit rice cultivation. Here the people were collecting leafy branches for their summer dwellings, the *kapar,* which we saw being constructed on square wooden frames to provide a cool shelter in the summer heat.

By the time the frontier between Fars and Khuzistan at Tang-i-Brin gorge was reached, the stunted oaks seen all the way from Kazarun had become full-sized trees. The gorge was full of foliage and, besides a modern bridge built just before the Second World War, contained the imposing remains of two others. The huge conglomerated masses of fallen masonry in the rushing water were as impressive as similar brickwork at the Pul-i-Dukhtar in the Kashgan gorge, between Andimeshk and Khorramabad, which, like the first of the Tang-i-Brin bridges, is also attributed to the Sassanians. The viaduct at Tang-i-Brin, connecting this bridge with the gap through which the road emerges and strung on arches along a sheer rock face, affords a comparison with similar structures at both the Kashgan bridges, the Pul-i-Dukhtar and the ruin at M'amulan. According to Sir Aurel Stein, the causeway carried on these arches was 10 feet wide. On the approach to the second bridge it was 15 feet wide. This bridge is apparently an early Islamic structure. Happily Sir Aurel Stein's forebodings have been proved groundless and the building of a new bridge at Tang-i-Brin has not resulted in damage to these interesting remains. Their presence recalled the clamour and crowds of past genera-

tions, in marked contrast to the solitude and silence at Tang-i-Brin today. However, when the new Shiraz—Ahwaz road is built, this region will no longer be so far off the beaten track. During our journey, apart from a lorry belonging to the company responsible for constructing the new road, we only passed one bus travelling bravely but very slowly towards Shiraz. Our sympathies went out to the passengers.

After Tang-i-Brin we were in country like a Scottish Park, though on a very grand scale. We were in the oak-dotted plain belonging to Malik Mansur Khan Bashti, the head of the Babui tribe. Malik Mansur's modernized castle was visible as we passed through Basht. Though his fabled European bathrooms and sumptuous hospitality tempted us, we eschewed calling upon him. Instead we kept on over a number of saddles through the rolling valley, closed on its northern side by a wall of nearly sheer up-tilted rock strata, which continues in an almost straight line towards the Agha Jari Oilfield further west. Eventually, 360 kilometres and 11 hours driving away from Shiraz, we reached Do Gunbadan, coming out on the airfield serving the oil company's installations at Gach Saran. Here the track joined the oil company's bitumen road at a spot where, in 1951, I had looked eastwards towards Basht and Shiraz and vowed some day to travel that way. My wish had been fulfilled in reverse. The journey had lasted 11 hours as against the 10 days taken by the caravans of former times, travelling from Shiraz to Zenjan, Dasht-i-Arjan, Mian Kotal, Kazarun, Shapur, Galian, Fahlian, Kupan, Ememzadeh J'afar (near Basht) and Do Gunbadan. At present, the only practical vehicle for this route is the Landrover, though this will be changed in the next two years when the new road is completed. The importance of this new road cannot be overestimated. Not only will it once again provide an easy route through the ancient heartland of Iran but it will also link Shiraz and the fruit-growing region of Fars with the industrial province of Khuzistan, with its oil fields and the refinery at Abadan as well as the port of Khorramshahr. In a few months time the remote and long untouched area we motored through on the way from Shiraz to Ahwaz and Abadan will have become noisy with road construction works and part of the changing face of the Middle East.

REFERENCES

[1] For a discussion of this problem, see W. B. Fisher's *The Middle East*, pp. 113-20.
[2] E. G. Palmer's translation (World's Classics), p. 232.
[3] de Goeje's edition, p. 457.
[4] *Nameh-ye-Daneshvaran*, Vol. 7, p. 14. The letter's authenticity must of course be considered doubtful.
[5] *M'ujam ul Buldan*, Wustenfeld's edition, Vol. 1, p. 751; and *Ibn Hauqal*, Kramer's edition, Vol. 1, p. 269.
[6] Sir Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, pp. 39-43.
[7] For further details, see *Nadir Shah*, L. Lockhart, pp. 75-9.

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

By COLONEL GEOFFREY WHEELER, C.I.E., C.B.E.

A meeting of the Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.1, on Wednesday, April 10, 1957, at 1.30 p.m., when Colonel Geoffrey Wheeler, C.I.E., C.B.E., gave an address on "Russia and the Middle East." Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Wheeler, who has very kindly come this afternoon to talk to us on "Russia and the Middle East," is, as most of you know, extremely well qualified to do this. His career, very briefly, is that he is late of the Indian Army and of the Indian Political Service, during which time he held various intelligence appointments in Turkey, Malta, Palestine and Iraq. He was also Military Attaché at Meshed. From 1941 to 1946 he was Director of Publications to the Government of India, and from 1946 to 1950 he was a Counsellor at the British Embassy at Teheran. Now he is serving as Director of the Central Asian Research Centre.

I need not say any more but will ask him very kindly to give us his address.

THE Middle East is at present experiencing the latest of Russia's many attempts to establish her influence there and thus gain access to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Her previous attempts have failed; but this latest attempt is far more serious than anything she has done before, for I think, three reasons. First, Russia has never before been so powerful. Secondly the methods which she is now using are potentially much more dangerous and difficult to counter than any she has used before. Lastly, the Western defence against Russian penetration has not yet been properly organised.

I have laid emphasis on Russia's practical objectives—that is to say, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf—rather than on the dangers of international Communism, because I consider it important to distinguish clearly between Communism as a political movement which may be used as a means to an end, and Russia—or the Soviet Union, if you like—as an international political force.

My main object this afternoon is to consider Russia's policy since the Revolution and the methods she has used, and is now using, to reach her objectives. I should, however, like to make a few preliminary remarks about Russia's general position in relation to the Middle East, both before and after the Revolution, because I believe that only in this way can one hope to understand the reason why, in spite of her proximity to the Middle East and of several other advantages, Russia has so far failed to gain her objectives. Later, I shall consider the chances of success which, it seems to me, Russia has in this her latest venture.

Lord Curzon used to say that Russia's aspirations in the Middle East—which to Russia is the South rather than the East—were perfectly natural. That, of course, does not mean at all that the attainment of her objectives would necessarily be a good thing for the people of the Middle East. Russia wishes, and has always wished, to gain access to what used to be called the "warm water." By the end of the 18th Century or, perhaps, a little later, Russia had long land frontiers with Turkey and Persia, which until

recently were the only two sovereign States in the Middle East. Both these States—Turkey and Persia—barred the way to the warm water and Russia has always thought, and still thinks, that her objectives can only be gained by doing away with the independence of those two countries.

The fact that Russian territory directly adjoins the Middle East and that parts of Russia abutting on the region contain three-fifths of the 20 odd million Muslims in the Soviet Union—the great majority of whom, incidentally, are of Turkic or Iranian origin—would seem to have given Russia an enormous advantage over the West. Why, then, has she so far failed to establish any permanent influence?

The main reason for the failure in Tsarist times was the economic backwardness of Russia and the political unrest to which she was so frequently subjected. Then, again, the Russian danger, as it was understood in the nineteenth century, was quickly apprehended by the Western Powers, who got together—in a way that they do not often do now—in order to circumvent Russian designs, and they were to a large extent successful.

The Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi concluded in 1833 was the high water mark of Russia's progress. Under that Treaty, there was a possibility she would get complete control of the Straits. But very shortly afterwards the tables were turned on her and she never achieved this objective. Russia did make some progress in Persia—commercial, cultural and political progress—and towards the end of the nineteenth century her position in North Persia was fairly strong. Her future designs in Persia were checked by her defeat in the Russo-Japanese war, as a result of which she was impelled to sign with Britain the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. This convention seriously restricted her influence and progress, even in North Persia.

By 1914, therefore, Russia's political, cultural and commercial achievements in the Middle East had amounted to next to nothing. Her position in Persia was far weaker than it had been in the nineteenth century, and the Arab world was still hardly aware of Russia's existence. But when Turkey entered the 1914-1918 War on the side of Germany, Russia's hopes of obtaining possession of Istanbul and the Straits were revived by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of March, 1915, which actually promised them to her. This Agreement was never ratified, but it was used to some effect by the Bolsheviks, one of whose first acts was to publish the text as an example of imperialist methods.

The situation in the Middle East during the early part of the Soviet regime seemed propitious for the establishment of greatly increased Russian influence in the Middle East. At the end of the war, Persia, Turkey and the succession states of the Ottoman Empire were in a state of chaos. The Soviet Government hoped at first to form the 20 million Muslims of Russia into some kind of loose Muslim federation which would gradually embrace the adjoining Muslim countries. Owing, however, to the quickly developing opposition to the Soviet regime, this plan was abandoned. Plans for Russian penetration into the Middle East encountered other obstacles: in Kemal Atatürk and Reza Shah, Turkey and Persia found the strongest and most determined rulers which they had known for generations. The Arab succession states were for the most part under British and French

control and military occupation, and were therefore denied Russian influence.

Between 1921 and 1930, the Soviet Government made a number of attempts to establish a foothold in the Middle East but none of these was crowned with any important degree of success. Aid in money and arms was given to the Turkish nationalist movement; treaties were signed with Persia and Afghanistan in 1921, and in the same year an attempt was made to establish a Soviet republic in Gilan. When direct action of this kind failed, a widespread network of subversion, sabotage and espionage was laid down in Persia and to a minor extent in northern Afghanistan. This last phase of Soviet activity in the Middle East was dealt with in detail by a Soviet defector named Agabekov, whose book published in 1930 is still the most valuable contribution to knowledge on this aspect of Soviet policy.

In Afghanistan the Russians made a serious blunder in 1929 when they tried unsuccessfully to intervene on behalf of King Amanullah. Up to the 1930's, therefore, even the Soviet regime, with its superior organization, greater determination and greater ruthlessness, had succeeded in doing nothing. Their activities in North Persia, and to some extent in Afghanistan, had not been extended to the Arab Middle East at all except in the founding of small Communist Parties.

The Russians remained relatively inactive between 1930 and the Second World War. The Communist Parties were working away, particularly in the Lebanon and Syria, for even then, the Levant was the most important centre of Communist activity; but I do not believe that what the Communist Party did in Syria and elsewhere in the Arab world between the two wars was of any real consequence in pushing Soviet interests. It operated among the left-wing intelligentsia in these countries and to a small extent among the industrial proletariat, in so far as a proletariat existed. But it had little effect in influencing the policies of Middle Eastern governments except by antagonising them.

In 1941 the Anglo-Soviet occupation of North Persia gave the Russians a new chance. They not only occupied North Persia, but very quickly they obtained respectable introductions to the Arab countries from their western allies. During the war, they were able to establish diplomatic representation in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon, and this was an important advance.

Soviet troops behaved well in the early days of the occupation of Persia. The Persians, although cautious, were on the whole rather favourably impressed, and one might have thought that the Russians, considering the failure of their previous methods of subversion, armed intervention and intrigue, would have seen that there was a better future for more conciliatory methods. But they seem to have been tempted by the advantage afforded by the presence of their forces in North Persia to go back to the old methods.

The climax of the Soviet return to the old technique came in the ill-starred venture in Azarbayjan. This amounted to the organization of a separatist movement which was designed to detach the province of Azarbayjan from Persia and at the same time to do away with the existing Per-

sian regime. The Russians apparently counted on Western reluctance to engage in another war, but they found that they had seriously miscalculated. The story of the Azarbayjan affair has been fully told elsewhere and I will not attempt to recapitulate it now. It was a serious defeat for the Soviet Government and one to which very little publicity was given at the time by the West, possibly out of sentimental consideration for their wartime allies. If the other countries of the Middle East were ever fully aware of what the Soviet Union tried to do to Persia in 1946 and 1947, they have now forgotten it.

Their failure in Azarbayjan must have taught the Russians a lesson. The Soviet ambassador in Tehran from 1946-1950 was a shrewd person and during his period of office he probably arrived at the conclusion that more was to be gained from Persia by a conciliatory approach. However that may be, from 1947 until the death of Stalin in 1953, Soviet activity, not only in Persia but in the Middle East as a whole, was of a much more moderate description. Large staffs were maintained in all the Soviet embassies and legations and the time of Soviet diplomats seems to have been well spent in studying local problems and conditions. Positive action was confined to diplomacy of an opportunist kind. In 1948 Russia began by favouring the formation of the state of Israel in defiance of Arab wishes. But for various reasons this policy was quickly reversed: there were many disagreements with Israel about immigration; the Israel Government was reluctant to accept the selected nominees for immigration into Israel who were being sent under Soviet direction from eastern Europe; on the other hand the Soviet Government would not allow Jews to leave the Soviet Union and settle in Israel. But perhaps the most compelling reason for the change in the Soviet attitude was that the Russians had decided that Israel was not such a good horse to back as pan-Arab nationalism. Since 1949 the Soviet Government has developed and maintained an attitude of uncompromising hostility towards Israel and one of corresponding approval of the Arab states. But it would, I believe, be a mistake to suppose that this constitutes an immutable policy.

The Soviet attitude during the Persian oil crisis of 1951 was extremely interesting. The Russians were puzzled by Dr. Mosaddeq as indeed most people were. They did not know what to do, and they ended by doing nothing. It is, however, probable that towards the latter part of Mosaddeq's administration they decided to work for a rapprochement with him through the medium of the Tudeh Party. But before anything could be achieved, Mosaddeq was overthrown by General Zahedi's coup d'etat of 1953.

Since 1947 there has also been a significant change in Russia's attitude towards Turkey. After denouncing in 1945 the Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression, the Soviet Government stipulated that before it could be renewed the Straits regime must be revised and the territories of Kars and Ardahan restored. A period of strained relations ensued, but in 1953 Russia withdrew her claim to Kars and Ardahan and made every attempt to renew friendly relations with Turkey. There are, in fact, some grounds for supposing that after 1947, the Soviet Government came to the conclusion that nothing was to be gained by hammering away at Persia and

Turkey. Persian statesmanship had proved too subtle for the Russians, and the Turkish Army, untouched by the war, constituted a formidable obstacle. The economy of both countries was powerfully buttressed by the West.

During Stalin's lifetime it was difficult to formulate new policies, but when he died, the spell was to some extent broken and I believe that it was then that a real change began. Meanwhile, the West, and some people think —and I am inclined to agree with them—had begun to play into Soviet hands by talking too much and too openly about Middle East defence. The M.E.D.O.—Middle East Defence Organization—as it was presented to the Middle East countries, was not a very tactful move. The Baghdad Pact was something different, but the military side of it was, perhaps, too strongly emphasized and it gave the impression of a predominantly military instrument which was designed to defend the Middle East against Russian attack. The change was one of method rather than of objective, of tactics rather than of strategy. Stalin's view of the world had been a kind of dualism—the forces of imperialism based on Washington ranged against those of anti-imperialism based on Moscow. In the Middle East, there were on the one hand " national bourgeois," reactionary governments, the faithful allies of the West in the Soviet view, and on the other the proletariat and the peasantry, who were thought to be anti-imperialist. The Stalinist policy had been to support the masses against the " national bourgeoisie," largely by means of local Communist parties working among the left-wing intelligentsia. Thus, what Communism described as " the national liberation movement " was simply the struggle of the supposedly pro-Soviet masses against the supposedly pro-western bourgeoisie. This policy was until 1955 clearly reflected in Soviet propaganda: past and present bourgeois nationalists such as Kemal Atatürk, Gandhi, Nehru, and even Colonel Nasser, were constantly vilified in Soviet literature. The whole of the Middle East and South Asia was represented as being under the political and economic domination of the West. Even those countries which had won or had been granted independence were not excluded. India and Pakistan were supposed to be still tied to Britain's apron strings. The Russians were unwilling to admit, or perhaps unable to see, that in every case independence had been won not by the peasantry, the proletariat or the left-wing intelligentsia, but by the " national bourgeoisie," who controlled, and very often consisted of, the armed forces.

It is clear that the Russians have now realized that their old technique brought in no dividends and that the classic Communist methods of subversion, violent revolution or direct action are inappropriate and unprofitable, at any rate for the present. Their present policy is to support those in power as being the only means of rallying all sections of society against the West and thus to their own side.

In illustration of what I have just said I should like to read you a passage which appeared at the end of 1956 in the editorial of a Soviet periodical called *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* or Soviet Oriental Studies. It runs as follows: " A characteristic of the national liberation movement of today is the participation in it of all patriotically and anti-imperialistically inclined representatives of widely varying social strata and religious

and political convictions. These range from workers and peasants, who constitute the chief driving force of the movement, to the national bourgeoisie and to some extent even to the landowners; and all of them are united in their aim of freeing their countries from the colonial yoke." There can be little doubt that this Russian decision to support *de facto* governments is an important one which needs careful watching even though it may prove to be only temporary. It amounts almost to a legitimist policy and is in striking contrast to previous ones. I should like to remind you of the Persian Revolution of 1906 when it was the British who supported the revolutionary movement against the Shah and the Russians who supported the Shah against the Revolution. It is I think interesting that the most recent Soviet interpretation of the history of those events is to suggest that the position was reversed and that the British were secretly opposed to the Persian Constitution.

There is another innovation in the methods which the Soviet Government is using to implement its policy towards Asian countries. This is the greatly increased use of the eastern, and largely Muslim, republics of the USSR as a shop window with which to impress the outside eastern world with Soviet achievements in areas which have many affinities with underdeveloped countries in the Middle East and South Asia. With the aid of large-scale colonization by Russians and Ukrainians these republics have made considerable material progress. In their standard of living, in general and technical education, and in industry and agriculture they are far ahead of many independent eastern countries. Until quite recently, however, the Soviet Government did not seem anxious to encourage much direct contact between the people of the eastern republics and their co-religionists outside the USSR. Even now there is little sign of Central Asians and Transcaucasians being allowed to go abroad; but hardly a day passes but what some delegation from the Arab countries, from Pakistan and from Indonesia, is present in Central Asia, usually in Uzbekistan, the most advanced republic. These delegations are composed of journalists, authors, agriculturalists, and technicians, from every field, in fact, in which there is some impressive Soviet achievement to be shown. And it would be foolish to suppose that the delegations are not impressed, if only because they have so often been told by Western propaganda that conditions in Soviet Asia are deplorable. It still remains to be seen to what extent the Soviet Government will use Soviet Muslims abroad.

In any conflict, whether physical, political or commercial, in hot or in cold war, it is always useful to assess the factors working in favour of or against one's adversary. Of the factors working in the Russian favour in the Middle East I should say the principal is the formlessness and lack of balance which resulted from the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the disappearance, in fact, of paramount power. The Turkish administration may have been effete and inefficient in many ways but it did maintain a kind of cohesion and stability which have been markedly absent since. The disappearance of paramount power from another area, India, has also had an important effect. I do not refer so much to direct military effect—although Indian troops were of course used to great effect in the Middle East in both world wars—as to the general deterrent which

the presence of a paramount power in India exercised on Russian ventures in Asia.

Next, there is the great advantage accruing to the Russians from Anglo-American differences. They have played on these differences with considerable skill. The technique of playing off one power against another is one, of course, with which the Middle East is perfectly familiar: the Persians have always been expert at it, and the Arabs, who have only recently been in a position to practise it, are showing themselves to be no mean exponents.

The third factor in the Russian favour is the western emphasis on military force. Western insistence on the need for military defence has played no small part in antagonising the Middle East against the West and thus in playing into Soviet hands. It was particularly unfortunate that after a great deal of talk about the need to defend the Middle East against the Soviet Union it should have been the West rather than the Soviet Union which actually resorted to armed force. I do not want to dwell on this matter in any detail but simply to present it as it appears to the people of the Middle East and to show how the Russians have exploited our action. I believe that when the Suez operation began the Russians were seriously alarmed and very apprehensive of the eventful outcome. When, however, delays and doubts prevented the achievement of anything positive, the Russians exploited the West's hesitation and divided counsels with the skill and aplomb which they have shown over and over again in situations of this kind.

Finally, there is the advantage which the Russians have in their Central Asian and Transcaucasian shop windows, to which I have already referred. They can show the East some tangible proof of the material benefits which derive from Soviet methods and from association with the Soviet Union. They can say "Here are Muslims with very much the same standard of culture as yourselves. What were they a few years ago? Look what they are now." The material benefits are, of course, much more apparent than the great spiritual and political disadvantages and restrictions to which the Soviet Muslims are subjected.

Important as these favourable factors are, they are balanced by no less important obstacles and difficulties. The chief of these is the Baghdad Pact. A good deal has been said against this and particularly of its emphasis on defence. It is possible that the military side of it has been overdone; but there is one great point in its favour—the Russians make no concealment of their dislike and fear of it. They regard it as something which stops them from doing what they want to do. And they may well be right, for the Pact is in a way a natural and historical counter to pan-Arab nationalism. The one so-called Arab country in it, Iraq, is by no means entirely Arab and the general make-up of the Pact countries is reminiscent of the Abbasid Caliphate. In any event, all Russian attempts to disrupt it have so far been unsuccessful and they do not cease to fulminate against it.

Secondly, the division of the former Ottoman Empire into separate sovereign states, while it makes for confusion, does not work entirely in the Soviet favour. Russia had formerly to deal with only two sovereign

states—Turkey and Persia. She now has to deal with ten, each with a strong individuality and distinct national aspirations. Persia is not in cultural accord with the Arab world and hatred of Israel is about the only constant factor common to the foreign policy of the Arab states. Russia is not likely to find it easy to control the changing and capricious currents of Middle Eastern policies. Indeed, it is by no means certain that she will find it convenient to continue to espouse the cause of Arab nationalism. When I was speaking on this subject a few weeks ago I was asked why I had omitted to mention it as a factor in Russia's favour that she now had the support of the whole Arab world. I replied that in the first place I did not agree that the whole Arab world was supporting her, and that secondly, I did not agree that the support of the Arab world was necessarily an advantage. Indeed, the possibility cannot, I think, be excluded that if the Russians found they could not manage the Arabs, they might try and align themselves with Israel. Whether Israel would respond to such a move is, of course, quite a different matter.

Finally, there is the matter of trade. The Russians are, of course, capable of doing Western, and particularly British, trade in the Middle East great harm. They have already been instrumental in doing so. But they will encounter considerable difficulty in replacing western commercial operations with their own. Apart from oil, British commercial interests include insurance and banking, fields in which the Russians have little experience.

To sum up, I do not myself consider that the scales are heavily weighted in the Russian favour. But the Soviet Union disposes of powerful political, commercial and cultural forces and if its present tactics do not succeed they will be changed.

Many journalists and others who set themselves up as Middle East experts are quite ready to provide political, military and economic solutions for the present problem, which is one of the most serious that we have to face today. I have tried to confine myself to diagnosing the trouble and shall not attempt to prescribe remedies for it. Before concluding, however, I should like to draw your attention to one matter which I consider to be of the utmost importance, and that is the need for much more research into the vast mass of material being produced in the Soviet Union on the subject of Middle East affairs. The Soviet conception of oriental studies differs widely from that held in the West. The Russians regard these studies as a most important instrument of policy, and in the perfection of that instrument the Soviet Government spares no effort and no expense. It is an instrument with many uses of which propaganda is only one. Soviet orientalists are, it is true, extensively employed in propaganda work of every kind directed towards the Middle East. In addition to preparing material for printing and broadcasting they are engaged in projecting Soviet culture towards the Middle East in ways which are sometimes more imaginative than those used by the West. The Russians are well aware of the prestige value of translations into Russian of works of Middle East literature and particularly of modern literature. The emphasis which is laid in Soviet universities and oriental institutes on the modern as distinct from the ancient form of such languages as Arabic and Persian

creates a favourable impression among Middle Eastern intellectuals, who are irritated by what they regard as the excessive attention paid by the West to their classical language and literature.

But, apart from propaganda, Soviet orientalists, or experts on eastern affairs as we should call them, are responsible for informing the educated Soviet public on every aspect of Middle Eastern affairs, always, of course, in accordance with official requirements. In the USSR there is nothing to correspond with our White Papers. Instead books and pamphlets are issued, usually over the name of an " orientalist " and published by the Academy of Sciences or some other official body, which expound or defend current Soviet eastern policy, " unmask " past Soviet mistakes and western iniquities, and lay down the line to be followed in the future. This material naturally affords an important reflection of Soviet thinking and policy on eastern affairs. Finally, Soviet orientalism provides a great deal of real scholarship and many contributions not only in the grammar and lexicography of modern eastern languages, but also in classical learning.

It is to my mind surprising and disturbing that this vast mass of Russian literature ranging as it does over propaganda, politics, history and scholarship should receive such scant notice in the West. In European and American universities, a good deal of attention is paid to publications on Eastern affairs in French, German and other languages; but since Russian seldom forms part of the linguistic equipment of Western orientalists, practically no attention is paid to the enormous output of material in the Soviet Union. From my own study of these publications, I am convinced that their careful analysis is essential if we are to understand the weaknesses as well as the dangers of Soviet policy in the Middle East.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Wheeler has very kindly said that he will answer any questions or anybody's comments.

Mr. M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.: Would Colonel Wheeler say whether he thinks that the countries of the Baghdad Pact will hold together after Suez even without British or American help? The Americans are only just coming in and one does not know quite what role they will play. Is there any indication that the countries of the Baghdad Pact have a certain amount of cohesion among themselves and might continue even without direct Western support?

Colonel WHEELER: It is difficult to give a definite opinion, but I would say that in the early stages some kind of moral support was necessary. I would say that there is quite a good chance of them keeping together now that that support is being given, if only we and the United States can keep our support somewhat in the background. I very much hope we shall be able to do this.

I think that one great force of cohesion in the Baghdad Pact is that it is made up of countries who genuinely fear and distrust the Soviet Union. As long as that fear survives, I believe that they will keep together.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI: Why should British and American support be kept in the background in the Baghdad Pact? There you have a line of peoples with heriditary and justified dislike of the Russians. The Turks have been enfeebled by their unwise action in the 1914 war, and the Per-

sians were not strong. Now, the right flank of the Pact is Pakistan, which has been left in the air and curiously neglected since the abandonment of India. Those people are in the front line. They fear invasion and subversion. Why is it not entirely justifiable for the West to support those people up to the hilt?

A very curious rider came from Washington to *The Times* the other day. When the Americans decided to join the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact, it said that the United States had hung back because of Zionist disapproval of the Baghdad Pact.

Colonel WHEELER: I do not dispute the view that Western support of the Baghdad Pact is fully justifiable. My point is a question of tactics. The tendency on the part of the Russians is to tell the Middle East that nationalism is the thing and that Western imperialism is doing them wrong. I thing there is fairly fertile ground for that kind of line.

I think we should support the Pact but that as a matter of tactics it is better not to make too much of our support. It is merely a point of view and I can well see that on military and economic grounds as well there is a case for open support and open leadership in the Pact, but I do not think that the people would really like it. Sometimes their governments have appeared to like it, but I do not believe that the people really like to feel that they are being led along by the British and the Americans. I think that this feeling is inclined to grow.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI: I disagree with that. The thinking portion of the Pakistanis do not feel that they are being led along by anybody. They feel they are being left out on a branch. They are all the better for having a little support from the West and they feel considerably encouraged by it, and so do the Turks.

Miss HENREY: Last year, in Cairo, there was a good deal of publicity over the Chinese exhibition and there were a good many articles in the Press on China. Side by side with the Russian influence, is there Chinese influence too? Are the two playing together, or are they rivals?

Colonel WHEELER: I am afraid I have no information on this point. The possibility of Chinese influence no doubt occupies an important place in the Russian mind. If the Chinese started to operate in the Middle East politically and commercially, I believe that the Russians would be very much alarmed. I think it is likely that they might have some kind of agreement on this point, but that the Russians and Chinese could, or would, work together in the Middle East or in any other territory outside China or the Soviet Union is, I believe, very unlikely. Probably they prefer to come to some, at any rate, provisional agreement concerning spheres of influence so that they do not cross each other's path; but there may be some different aspect of which I am not aware.

The CHAIRMAN: If there are no other questions, our time is nearly up. It is my pleasant task to thank Colonel Wheeler for coming here today. He has given us a wonderful analysis of this very difficult and important problem and he has given us a lot of food for thought.

I would like to thank you, sir, for all the trouble you have taken to prepare this lecture and to come and talk to us.

The vote of thanks to Colonel Wheeler was accorded by acclamation.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, on Wednesday, May 29, 1957.

The President, The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., T.D., was in the chair, and the Anniversary Lecture was given by Lieut.-General Sir John Glubb, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., who spoke on " Britain and the Middle East."

The PRESIDENT, on taking the chair, said: I would like, ladies and gentlemen, to express the pleasure it is to look upon so large an Annual Meeting. Before proceeding to deal with the formal business I wish to refer to the great loss the Society suffered by the death of Colonel W. H. Tobin, one of the Society's Hon. Secretaries for many years and one who gave much devoted service to the Society. Obituary notices concerning him appeared in the Society's January and April *Journals*. Colonel Tobin's successor as one of the Honorary Secretaries is Colonel Routh, well known to many members.

Next I would like to refer to the Chairmanship of the Council. Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt will have completed his five Annual Meetings and I think five Annual Dinners before very long; his term of office will then end. We are all most grateful to him for all the care and trouble which he has given to the affairs of the Society during the last five years. (*Applause.*) As his successor the Council have elected Sir Hugh Dow, also, I am sure, well known to many members, particularly to those who have had any connection with India. Sir Hugh will take office as Chairman of the Council after the Annual Dinner, about the end of July.

Now we come to the more formal part of our proceedings and I call upon Group-Captain Smallwood to present the Honorary Secretaries' Report.

HONORARY SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1956-57

Membership is again slightly up as compared with the previous year. In common with other Societies we have suffered regrettable losses by no less than 19 deaths and 13 resignations; fortunately there is a steady flow of new members. Two former members of the Council were among the deceased, one being Colonel Stewart Newcombe, an Honorary Secretary of the Society for many years and probably well known to many members present today. The other was Sir Edgar Bonham Carter.

The *Journal* is increasing in world-wide interest, and since the beginning of the present year a further twenty subscribers from China have been added to the list. There are well over 80 subscribers in the United States of America, mostly learned societies and various colleges. These are additional to personal membership. There was recently published in Washington by the Georgetown University a Handbook of Contemporary

events which quoted our *Journal* as one with which each student is advised to make himself or herself fully familiar. If in any way we can help to educate the young idea in the United States of America we shall be doing valuable work.

There has been a varied selection of lectures, covering the whole of Central Asia and perhaps going a little outside those boundaries. We have heard about the Abominable Snowman, Tensions in the Middle East, the High Himalayas, education of engineers in Russia, Arab refugees, Kangchenjunga, Persian nomads, Mongolia, Pakistan, the Elburz mountains, Manchuria and a lecture by a woman climber on the Jugal Himal. We have made an innovation in that there have been certain evening lectures, for the initiation of which we have to thank Mr. J. M. Cook. The quality of these discussions has been very high but so far they have not been very well attended, chiefly because when people come to the end of their day's work they want to get either into the country or to follow other pursuits. However, we hope to repeat this innovation next year.

There was only one unfortunate experience during the year—the first in fifty-three years of the Society's existence—and that was the non-appearance of one of our lecturers. To have only one lecturer fail to appear in fifty-three years is really quite satisfactory.

On the motion of Air Chief Marshal Sir Leslie Hollinghurst, seconded by Sir John Troutbeck, the Honorary Secretaries' Report was unanimously adopted.

The Honorary Treasurer's Report

Major E. Ainger presented the accounts and the Honorary Treasurer's report as follows:

The Income, Expenditure account and the Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31, 1956 are before you.

You will notice that our receipts are little up on last year and that our expenditure is little changed. There is an excess of income over expenditure for the year of some £300 which is not unsatisfactory, though it must be borne in mind that the cost of printing the *Journal* may well rise further, and the same may apply to the expenditure on lectures.

To turn now to the Balance Sheet, you will notice that the capital value of our securities, which are entirely gilt edged, has fallen some £900 as against our book values. In view of the present financial situation this was to be expected.

In consultation with the Auditors, we have taken steps to strengthen the contingency reserve which may well be required if there should be any alteration in the law as regards the effect of covenants.

Major Ainger moved the adoption of the accounts for 1956, following which Lieut.-Colonel E. H. Gastrell formally seconded the motion, and the accounts were adopted without discussion.

Election of Council and Officers for 1957-58

Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt announced the following changes in the Council and Honorary Officers for the ensuing year: As Chairman of

Council, Sir Hugh Dow, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., which meant a vacancy among the Vice-Presidents, and this with the retirement of Dr. Lindgren and Mr. Purcell left three vacancies to be filled by Air Chief Marshall Sir Leslie Hollinghurst, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.F.C., Lt.-Col. E. H. Gastrell, O.B.E., and Mr. F. B. Sadler. Colonel Routh would become one of the Honorary Secretaries.

Admiral Sir CECIL HARCOURT then proposed that the Council and Honorary Officers be with these changes, elected *en bloc*.

Mr. C. J. EDMONDS seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

This concluded the formal business of the Annual Meeting.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W.1.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1956

1955 £	Liabilities	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	I. *Capital Funds:*			
347	Life Subscription Account		347 5 0	
	Entrance Fee Account	1,442 8 0		
	Add: Amount recd. 1956	66 0 0		
1,442			1,508 8 0	
850	Legacy Account		850 0 0	
77	Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund ..		77 7 9	
578	Persia Fund		578 4 10	
	Sykes Medal Fund ..	150 0 0		
	Add: Accum. Interest	18 13 10		
		168 13 10		
	Less: Cost of Medal awarded in 1956	4 0 0		
165			164 13 10	
500	Investment Reserve Fund .. .		500 0 0	
3,959				4,025 19 5
	II. *Income and Expenditure Account:*			
	Balance, 1st January, 1956		1,310 13 0	
	Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year		330 2 5	
1,311				1,640 15 5
2,150	III. *Reserve for Contingencies*			2,810 0 0
	IV. *Liabilities:*			
767	Sundry Creditors			719 5 4
8,187				£9,196 0 2

1955 £	Assets	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	I. *Capital Fund Investments* (at cost):		
	Persia Fund:		
537	£531 6s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75	537 1 6	
	General Funds:		
1,113	£1,354 15s. 11d. 3½% War Stock ..	1,112 18 6	
284	£280 12s. 0d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75	283 18 7	
1,844	£1,939 7s. 11d. British Gas 3½% Guaranteed Stock 1969-71 ..	1,844 0 10	
	£1,779 11s. 3d. 4% Consolidated Loan 1957 or after	1,442 17 2	
1,034	£1,000 0s. 0d. Aden 4¼% stock 1972-74	1,034 1 0	
	P.O.S.B. No. 2 a/c: £ s. d.		
165	Sykes Medal Fund .. 164 13 10		
45	Persia Fund .. 45 8 0		
183	General Funds .. 192 18 2		
5,205		403 0 0	6,657 17 0
	Note: The Market Value of the above Investments at 31st December, 1956, was approximately £5,740.		
	II. *Fixed Assets:*		
	Society Premises Account:		
	Balance as at 1st January, 1948	110 19 3	
	Add'l Expenditure since that date	61 3 6	
169			172 2 0
	III. *Current Assets:*		
675	Income Tax Repayment Claim ..	675 0 0	
14	Payments in advance..	19 1 8	
	Cash:		
1,488	P.O.S.B. No. 1 a/c 99 7 0		
636	At Bank and in hand 1,572 11 2		
		1,671 18 2	
			2,365 19 10
8,187			£9,196 0 2

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W.1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED, DECEMBER 31, 1956.

1955	Expenditure					1955	Income			
£		£	s.	d.		£		£	s.	d.
	Office Expenditure:									
1,346	Salaries and National Insurance	1,463	2	8		2,421	Subscriptions	2,435	10	8
184	Rent, Light and Heat, Rates	197	11	11		514	Journal Subscriptions and Sales	391	17	9
22	Telephone	24	16	9		211	Interest Received (Gross)	274	13	8
116	Stationery and Printing	107	16	2		684	Income Tax Repayment Claim	673	15	3
64	Postages	67	9	1		456	Donations Received	653	11	10
268	Cleaning and Upkeep of Premises	250	6	1		20	Sundry Receipts	—		
11	Audit Fee	10	10	0						
6	Insurances	6	6	8						
12	Bank Charges and Cheque Books	12	1	1						
22	Sundry Expenses	53	16	7						
2,051		2,193	17	0						
	Less:									
205	Contribution from Palestine Exploration Fund	205	4	0						
1,846		1,988	13	0						
	Journal:	£	s.	d.						
1,031	Printing	1,056	9	1						
54	Postages	57	2	1						
72	Reporting	41	19	0						
		1,155	10	2						
217	Lectures and Study Group	244	13	5						
3	Library	6	19	2						
44	Legal and Professional Charges	42	0	0						
2	Persia Fund: Subscription to "Iraq"	1	11	0						
	Transfer to:									
650	Reserve for Contingencies	660	0	0						
196	Investment Reserve Fund	—								
4,115		4,099	6	9						
	Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet									
191		330	2	5						
4,306		£4,429	9	2		4,306		£4,429	9	2

ANNUAL DINNER

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held at Claridges, London, W.1, on Tuesday, July 16, 1957. The President, The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., T.D., presided and 238 members and guests were present. The guests of the Society included the Earl and Countess of Home; Sir Esler Dening, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.; Sir Paul Gore-Booth, K.C.M.G., and Lady Gore-Booth;

The toast to Her Majesty the Queen was loyally honoured.

The President's Address

The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., T.D.:

It is the prerogative of the President of this Society that he speaks first at the Annual Dinner. That gives him the opportunity of speaking at length on all the problems which have been faced during the past year in Asia. You may, however, be somewhat relieved to learn that I am not going to take that opportunity, not because I am seeking a transient popularity from the assembled company and not just because of indolence; there is a measure of caution to it also. In fact, I have what appear to me to be two very good reasons why my remarks should be short and uncontroversial. One is that we have other much more distinguished speakers to follow, in particular Lord Home, Secretary-of-State for Commonwealth Relations, who in spite of his many duties, which have been particularly arduous during the past fortnight, has done us the honour of being our guest this evening. Knowing as I do from experience the wisdom there will be in the speech which he will make, I do not wish to take up too much time.

The second reason why my remarks should be short is equally good. As a member of Her Majesty's household, I must endeavour to avoid becoming, if I can possibly help it, involved in controversial matters. It is for Ministers of the Crown, not the members of Her Majesty's household, to enjoy the sweets of controversy.

I would like to make two remarks of a domestic nature, that is to say domestic to our Society. First, I wish to say how gratifying it is to the officers of the Society to see such a large and distinguished gathering at this annual function. It comes following a year when at all the gatherings which have been sponsored by the Society there have been audiences sometimes full to over-flowing. That gives one the feeling that our Society is rendering what is probably a very useful service to many people. Secondly, after I have spoken you will hear the Chairman of the Council whose privilege it is to speak after the President, I suppose as a kind of wicket-keeper, not, I hope, to catch the President out but to field so that any slips the President may make are righted. On this occasion I want you to know that this is the last time that Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt will be addressing the Society as Chairman of its Council, because his allotted span of five years in office comes to an end tomorrow evening. You will all agree that the Society was fortunate in persuading Sir Cecil to become its Chairman five years ago; he has been a wonderful Chairman and on behalf of the members of the Society I thank him for all that he has done

during that period. Sir Cecil will be succeeded the day after tomorrow by Sir Hugh Dow, who will be acting as wicket-keeper this time next year.

When I was reflecting for a few moments on the events which have occurred in the Middle East in particular and in other parts of Asia during this past year, I remembered that this Society is fortunate in having amongst its British members quite a number of men and women who have lived and served in the Middle East or India or other parts of the continent of Asia. That led me on to two further thoughts. One is that those whom I am speaking of, many of whom are here, helped a great deal to create informed British opinion on the problems of Asia. They have knowledge of many of those problems; they have, in addition, understanding of the difficulties which face those who are in office in those countries and an understanding of their motives, and they have, too, a real desire, which comes from their interest and affections and friendships in those countries, that success and peace may come to Asia. That, I suggest, is the broad basis from which informed British opinion proceeds. I trust that the Society plays its part in promoting that informed sympathetic, though not necessarily uncritical, approach to the problems of many of the countries of Asia.

I feel sure that most of those whom I have in mind will have found that it is the long patient work which achieves lasting results rather than the emotions of the moment.. *Mens æqua rebus in arduis,* which might well have been the motto of the Indian Civil Service and of the other services, was perhaps their indispensable equipment; and I am inclined to think, when reflecting over the troubles of the past year, that a somewhat similar patience and equanimity characterizes, or should characterize, the outlook of informed British opinion on the alarums and excursions which have obtruded themselves in the Middle East during the past year. And are there not already signs that that kind of approach is proving to be wise? There were moments in recent months when it looked as though some old friendships, which we at any rate valued, were showing signs of cracking. I hope I am not being too optimistic when I say that it would appear that those moments have passed by. Something, perhaps a great deal, in the way of credit is due to those who in the past have worked in those Asian countries and have left behind them a belief, sometimes obscured but, nevertheless, deeply embedded, that British ways are to be trusted and that British motives are clean.

I have used once or twice during these brief remarks the phrase "informed British opinion," and it seems to me that it has an important part to play in these times; also I think this Society can make its contribution to its formation and dissemination, and I believe it is doing so. In addition, the Royal Central Asian Society helps to preserve links and contacts with many friends in the countries of Asia whom we are proud to number amongst the Society's members. Undoubtedly Lord Home, the statesmen in this country and in the countries of the East, have difficult problems to attend to. We members of the Society wish them well, not least perhaps because of such understanding as we may have of their problems and the issues at stake, and we hope that the activities of our Society may do perhaps just a little to lighten their task. (*Applause.*)

"The Guests"

In proposing the toast of "The Guests," Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B.E., K.C.B. (Chairman of the Council), said:

Before I proceed with the task of proposing the health of "The Guests" may I, my Lord President, thank you very much indeed for the much too kind remarks you have made about me. I would like also to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for all the help and support I have received during these last years from the members of the Council, particularly from the Honorary Secretaries, and also from our Secretary, Mrs. Putnam, who does so much of the work of this Society. (*Applause.*)

And now to the pleasant task of proposing the toast of "The Guests." As you have said, Sir, we have a large number of guests with us this evening, many very distinguished, and it would take me a long time if I were to tell you all about them. I will try to be brief, but there are a few guests to whom I really must pay tribute.

Firstly, to Lord Home, about whom you, Sir, have spoken already and thanked. I wish to add my tribute to Lord Home who is Secretary-of-State for Commonwealth Relations and also Lord President of the Council and the leader of the House of Lords. In other words, he wears three hats in the Government, any one of which would be quite enough for the ordinary man. I understand that Lord Home's task as leader of the House of Lords, judging by Press reports, is made no more easy by the three guineas a day which now the members of that distinguished assembly are entitled to draw, but I am sure he will take it all in his stride. We really are grateful to you, Lord Home, for making time to come here to honour us with your presence on this occasion. (*Applause.*)

Another distinguished guest, also eligible to draw the three guineas a day, is Lord Tenby, who is so well known and had a very distinguished career in another place when he was Major Lloyd George, winding up as Home Secretary. We are delighted to welcome Lord Tenby. (*Applause.*)

I would also like to welcome particularly His Excellency the Israeli Ambassador, Mr. Elath. He has been for twenty-two years a member of our Society and has made great contributions to it. Any Ambassador to the Court of St. James is an honoured guest in this country wherever he may be, and it is as such that we welcome him here tonight. (*Hear, hear.*)

Another member of our Society who is a guest this evening is Sir Esler Dening, recently returned from being British Ambassador in Japan, in which country he has been since 1952. We are very glad to welcome him. Sir Esler is in the unique position of having started his career in Japan by being born there, and winding up by being Ambassador.

Another member of the Foreign Service who was until recently British Ambassador in Asia we welcome tonight in the person of Sir Paul Gore-Booth, who was British Ambassador in Burma from 1953 to 1956 and is now Deputy Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, in which capacity he recently conducted the successful negotiations with the West German Government for the upkeep of British troops in Germany, an agreement which we much hope the Bonn Government will soon ratify. We welcome Sir Paul amongst us this evening. (*Applause.*)

I would also like to welcome the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Hugh Foot.

It is nice to have this opportunity to express the admiration which all here feel for the wonderful sporting spirit which the West Indies team have shown in their early matches. (*Hear, hear.*)

To return to Asia, I am glad to welcome Sir Charles Dalrymple Belgrave. Sir Charles, whom most of you know, has had most distinguished service. For thirty-one years he was the Financial Adviser to the Government of Bahrein. He has recently arrived back in this country and we are glad to have the opportunity of welcoming him here. (*Applause.*)

You, Mr. President, have spoken of British people who have worked in Asia and particularly in the Indian Civil Service and, as you have said, there are many here present, most of whom are members of the Society, just two whom I would particularly like to welcome, Sir Conrad Corfield and Sir Arthur Lothian. We join in welcoming them, and also Sir Adrian Holman who, during his service to the country, has served in Asia, in places as far as apart as Peking, Baghdad and Teheran. We cordially welcome those three and the many other distinguished guests.

I promised to be brief. It is time for me to conclude my remarks and I do so by asking all the members of the Royal Central Asian Society here present to be upstanding and to drink to the health of " Our Guests."

Sir Esler Dening, G.C.M.G., O.B.E., in responding to the toast, said:

I fear I am a very new boy in this distinguished company. It was my understanding when I first arrived in this country a month ago that the speaker, in reply to the toast of " The Guests," was to have been Lord Ismay. Unfortunately, he has fallen ill and I should like to begin by hoping, as I know you all do, that he will recover soon and completely. Knowing Lord Ismay's past, I feel rather a poor substitute. Also, as I am a member of the Society some may wonder why I should be replying on behalf of " The Guests." Well, the instigator of all this was Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt and he assured me that there was nothing unorthodox in a member of this Society being a guest on this occasion. Therefore I can with confidence on behalf of the guests thank the Society very much for the splendid dinner they have given us and Sir Cecil Harcourt for the terms in which he has spoken of us.

Had Lord Ismay been here I do not know of what he might have spoken, but I can imagine that he might have talked of N.A.T.O. to which he rendered such eminent services, although in the years before that he was a genuine Asian. I myself have had a somewhat different background, having served for the whole of my active career in Asia, and principally in the Far East; so it is of the Far East and of Asia that I would like now to speak.

The trouble about the Far East is that it is too far away. It still takes six weeks to travel by sea to Tokyo. It used to take ten days by the Siberian route before the last war, but that is no longer open to us. By air over the North Pole it is possible to get to Tokyo in less than two days, but the return fare which is between £500 and £600 is somewhat damping to the casual visitor. The result is that very few are privileged except in the course of business to go to the Far East. That is a great pity because many things have been happening in the Far East since the end of the war, things with which we would like to be at least more closely acquainted.

China, a Communist state with a population of 600,000,000, said to be increasing at the rate of 13,000,000 a year, is surely one of the big question marks of this age. Japan, the most highly industrialized state in Asia, with a population of 90,000,000, increasing at the rate of 1,000,000 a year, is confined to four islands of which only 16 per cent. of the territory can be cultivated. These two countries pose a question; and by contrast there is the little British colony of Hong Kong whose thriving prosperity is a tribute to the excellence of its administration. But Hong Kong has a refugee problem before which the other refugee problems of the world, such as Palestine and Hungary, pale into insignificance, and yet one wonders how much that is realized in the United Kingdom.

I think that the Far East with the passing of the years is going to have an ever-increasing impact on South-East Asia and South Asia. There, since the war no less than nine new independent and sovereign states have come into being, and on August 31st next there will be a tenth, Malaya, when she achieves independence as a sovereign member within the Commonwealth. That in itself poses interesting and fascinating problems. So I believe that our interest in Asia rather than lessening should be a growing one. I have said enough to show that the Far East and Asia present today a whole series of the most stimulating problems which merit our sympathetic interest and attention.

In bygone years when British services administered vast areas which have since become independent, these services provided an experienced link with our country which both kept alive and stimulated our interest in the affairs of Asia. There is some danger that with the disappearance of these services we may lose that link and that experience, and with it our direct interest in what goes on in Asia. That, I am sure you will agree, would be a bad thing because there can be little doubt that as the years pass Asia will have an increasing influence in world affairs. It is for this reason that I believe that the Royal Central Asian Society has a most important part to play in maintaining our links, in sustaining and stimulating our interests, and though the toast of the Society is supposed to be proposed by somebody other than myself, I would like to take this opportunity of wishing the Society every success in its most important labours of the future. (*Applause.*)

"The Royal Central Asian Socoety"

The toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society" was proposed by The Earl of Home in the following terms:

Lord Scarbrough, when analysing the Toast List, suggested to you a cricket analogy. As I understood it, the President was the batsman, Sir Cecil Harcourt was the wicket-keeper and the Commonwealth Secretary, I suppose, the long stop! I understand from my small boy at school that that is a position only filled in the very lowest class of cricket but on this, the last occasion on which it is to be filled, it is to be filled by a middle-aged peer who still retains his amateur status and who is not eligible for the three guineas a day! (*Applause.*)

If there is a man or woman who is more ignorant of Central Asian affairs than I am, I would like to meet him or her. I am not suggesting,

Lord Tenby, that a politician should ever plead ignorance as an excuse for not speaking, for he would be a blackleg! And so what I say to you tonight I may very well have derived from hearsay, through ignorance of the Far East. Of course hearsay is often more dangerous because—so I am told a husband and wife, after hearing one of the lectures given to this Royal Central Asian Society on tendencies in world populations, hesitated a very long time before adding to their family of four because they heard that every fifth man born into the world was a Chinaman! I trust no such disability will afflict any here by reason of anything that I may in my ignorance say.

But of course this Royal Central Asian Society, with its many activities during the year and its Dinner, is an annual reminder of the intimate relationship between the United Kingdom and Central Asian countries. It is a recognition, too, that in the history of the next one hundred years, Asia is going to play a most significant part and is going to be an area of profound significance for the peace and prosperity of the whole world. When ideas, new and pressing, are sweeping over mankind, then it is well and proper that those who wish to see the closest relationship and understanding between the peoples of Europe and all the peoples of Asia should meet together in order to seek to promote, even in a small way, harmony of thought and harmony of action.

In the continuing cycles of civilizations, Asia, of course, has made a massive contribution to the sum of human achievement, in philosophy, in art, in literature, and when recently I saw an Asian had toured the American war cemeteries and after reading the inscriptions had come to the conclusion that the way to deal with the world's troubles was to kill all those who were alive and resurrect the dead, I thought, too, that Asians were really the fountain of all wisdom.

For many centuries, in comparison with Europe, Asia both in regard to physical development and social and political organization comparatively stood still. This virgin soil of Asia was, therefore, impressionable to external influences, to the impact of Western ideas, of Western practice, of Western administration and Western rule, and as Western influence, or European influence, has gradually widened the impact so Communism has followed and has been significant too. When, without apprenticeship, on top of these political impacts was added the challenge of the industrial and technical revolution of the twentieth century, then the stage was set for the drama which is being played before a world audience today, when Asia in a generation is trying to leap the chasm between the hand-plough and the tractor and the dung fire and the atomic reactor.

Throughout the ages the problem of man as he has congregated in communities has been food for survival. Of course there are cases in which hunger has been a stimulus. The fact that Scotland could not feed all her sons is responsible for England being unable to call her soul or her business, let alone her politics, her own! But while all countries have the problem of feeding their communities, what is today known in the hackneyed phrase, maintaining "the standard of living" in various degrees, nevertheless, as far as Asia is concerned the problem can be stated in a mathematical equation which is stark and plain: modern science and

medicine are multiplying beyond measure, as we have heard, the number of mouths to be fed, so that the populations not only of China and Japan but of India and Pakistan and, indeed, of many great countries of Asia, are out-distancing not only the natural resources of the countries concerned but their capacity to exploit them fast enough to satisfy the minimum needs of life. We have already heard some statistics this evening, but without exaggeration it can be said that if it were not for American aid, India and Pakistan at this moment would find themselves up against the grave problem of nutrition.

Have these countries been wise to go in for such an ambitious industrial plan? If the masses are to be saved from starvation there has to be a gigantic agricultural expansion and a vast technical revolution. There are two ingredients if one may simplify, perhaps over-simplify, in this problem of turning from primitive farming to mechanized agriculture. One is technical education and the other is capital. One of the greatest Asians, the late Aga Khan, recently testified in a striking manner that in his opinion the indispensable equipment of an Asian today was to move with familiarity among the techniques of the twentieth century. A technical education is essential for another reason, that these complex and expensive tools, unless there has been long apprenticeship and firm education, break in the hand and all the effort and the money spent in acquisition is wasted. Happily, we in the United Kingdom—and this is a Commonwealth enterprise of which all the Commonwealth countries may be proud—are able to help in quite a significant way through the Colombo Plan. We have trained 1,500 young Asians in the techniques of this century and have sent nearly 250 experts to help Asian countries who are in need of schemes of irrigation, power and industrialization.

The second ingredient of this great revolution is capital. The West has learned a good deal about capital in a pretty hard school—in the school of trial and error. But two things we have learned beyond doubt: that basically the development of any country must rest on its own people's willingness to save and to lend, and that external capital cannot be demanded, a borrower is not in a position to demand; it must be attracted. So that the great element in capital development in Asia or anywhere else rests on confidence engendered among the people of any country and on the confidence of the world outside. That is especially true when the supplies of world capital, as they are today, are scarce. The United Kingdom not only has a great sympathy for these great agricultural development schemes so essential for the future of these countries, but a great stake in the future of Central Asian countries. There is an enormous amount of United Kingdom capital already in many of the Central Asian countries, amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds, and we wish to play our part in helping these countries to be made economically strong. We cannot work miracles. The same rules apply to us. We cannot invest enormous sums abroad unless our own people are willing to save for the purpose, but if as a nation we are willing to save there is nothing that we should rather do than help those Asian countries to play their part in the twentieth century.

As I said at the beginning, the leap across this economic chasm is

taking place at the same time as many of these countries are making the transition from dependence to independence, and at a time when European influence, on the whole, has been withdrawing from Asia. These countries will have to choose not only their own political systems, but their own international alliances and international trade, and the choice surely is going to be between their own adaptation of the democratic institutions, European and largely British in origin, and the Communist with all its political apparatuses and economic control. We have faith in this country, and in respect of the members of our Commonwealth that the choice will fall fairly and squarely on the side of tolerance and law, justice and freedom, because we believe most passionately that these things are closely akin to the wishes of all mankind. These are the principles which we seek to sustain: the rule of law, and the rule of justice, with respect for the rights of the individual.

Can these things be won in this new Commonwealth which in September next will have five old and five new members and many of them Asians? I remember, Lord Scarbrough, in the Scottish border close by my home that when a local Minister of the Church was going to conduct a wedding he used to bring the couple up to the altar and in front of the young couple and the congregation he would say: "Marriage is a curse to many, a delight to some, and a gamble to all. Do ye venture?" And this, intimidatingly, he would repeat, and when nobody dared to say anything he would add: "Then let us proceed." With all the difficulties that face us in the new Commonwealth, we hope to bring about a successful marriage between the old and the new; and as far as the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth are concerned we want to offer to Asia something more satisfying than a marriage of convenience, a relationship less cold than co-existence, strings attached to capital which will not be strings that jerk the puppet to the tune, but strings which bind partners together in mutual enterprise. So it is because it is the objective of this Royal Central Asian Society to have partnership and close co-operation with Asian countries that I am so happy to have the honour to propose the toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society."

The toast having been cordially honoured,

The PRESIDENT said: I feel it would be your wish, ladies and gentlemen, that I should, on behalf of the Royal Central Asian Society, thank Lord Home for the great honour he has conferred on the Society, in spite of the many burdens of his office, in coming here to make such an interesting speech. (*Applause.*)

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

By LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN GLUBB, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C.

Anniversary Lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on May 29, 1957, Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, G.B.E., K.C.B., in the chair.

I feel it presumptuous before so distinguished an audience to give any account of past events in the Middle East, but, to some extent I am obliged to do so as I wish to build upon them in my conclusions. Firstly, it seems to me important always to have perfectly clearly in mind what Britains wants in this particular area. Amongst the uninitiated in this country, I have heard innumerable versions of why Britain should have a dominating position in Middle Eastern countries. My own interpretation is that all Britain wants in the Middle East is the power to be able to cross it, and I have to support me in this assumption no less a person than Lord Palmerston. Many of you may remember reading that on one occasion he made a speech during a debate in the House on the subject of Egypt in the course of which he said : " Britain does not want Egypt, or wish it for herself any more than a reasonable man who owned an estate in the north of England and a residence in London would want to own all the Inns on the Great North Road. All such a man could reasonably require would be that the inns should be there, that they should be reasonably efficient and ready to supply him with mutton chops and post-horses whenever he went through." After all, Lord Palmerston was anything but a pacifist, and I think that summary, given so many years ago, applies as much today as then.

Of course many ask : What about oil? There was not any oil in Lord Palmerston's day. But, as you probably all realize,, the chain of oil fields starts in Russia, at Baku, then to the I.P.C. at Kirkuk, on to the Iraq oil field near Basra, then to Kuwait, then to Bahrein Island, and Saudi Arabia proper and so on. The reason why we did not get oil was not because there was not enough there but because we could not pass through the Suez Canal or use the Syrian pipe lines; so that oil itself boils down to transit, as in the case of all other forms of commerce.

I hesitate to say much in regard to war because, in the last few years, so many changes have taken place that I may be completely out of date. There is, however, an interesting sidelight on the war question, because there are two kinds of war : the atomic world war which we hope will never come; also the sometimes quite sizeable war which is part of the main cold war. If we omit nuclear weapons, the characteristic at the moment, in so far as fighting in the Middle East with conventional weapons is concerned, is that men can be moved very easily, whereas the tools they need can only be moved with the maximum amount of difficulty. Conventional weapons become heavier and bigger and their backing becomes more and more com-

plicated in the way of stores, reserves, spare parts, workshops and such things. Therefore there is the new technique of nominally selling weapons and their backing to other nations, in order to be able to fly your own personnel in when desired. We heard a certain amount of this at the time of Suez. In that connection it was interesting to read a few days ago in a British daily paper that in the recent attempted *coup d'état* to dethrone King Hussein of Jordan it had been planned that the Syrian Army would intervene supported by Russian fighter aircraft. The Russian fighters now in Syria were to be flown by Russian pilots, the machines bearing Syrian markings. Whether this was true or not I do not know; it was in the British press. But this is a new field from the point of view of outside Powers acquiring influence in other countries—that of pre-positioning weapons in the name of a small country with a view to the outside Power flying its own personnel when the moment to do so arrived.

Apart from nuclear warfare, we all now realize, after two World Wars, the vital and absolutely essential importance of this area, at any rate when strategy was as it used to be. Whenever people invent a new missile they always say that soldiers will never get to hand-to-hand fighting again; the enemy will never be seen. I once read a statement written, I think, 400 or 500 years ago at the time of the first appearance of gunpowder, in which a military commander of the time said that in future soldiers would never get hand-to-hand. Nevertheless every development in weapons has always hitherto resulted in soldiers fighting hand-to-hand. Whether, however, the Middle East has lost its strategic importance or not, I feel that, at any rate for our immediate object, the real significance of the area is the power to cross it. In her dependence on trade and trade-routes Britain is peculiarly unfortunately situated vis-a-vis the United States of America and Russia. Britain is a small island, densely populated, and both America and Russia are vast continental powers with enormous territories and able to be self-sufficient if they wish. Thus it is peculiarly difficult for those two countries to appreciate how vital open trade routes are to Britain.

It is interesting to note that although in the past we had interests in India, in the Far East, in Australia and all over the world for, let us say, 250 years, until quite recently, we experienced no trouble in crossing the Middle East. We were always able to come and go without let or hindrance, and we succeeded in doing so because we worked in co-operation with the Ottoman Empire. Not only did we succeed in coming and going across the Middle East but we saved ourselves the cost of garrisoning the area. No attempt was ever made by Britain to keep troops permanently in this vital defile, at any rate until 1882. As you know, co-operation with the Ottoman Empire came to an end before the First World War and as a result we began that war with Germany established in the Middle East. No sooner did Turkey come into the war than Britain commenced negotiations with the Arabs through Sherif Husain who lived at Mecca. In December, 1915, an agreement was concluded with the Sherif according to which a great Arab State was to be established after the First World War, including the whole peninsular of Arabia. That agreement was still-born, firstly because of accusations arising out of the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish home in Palestine; also owing to French action in Syria. It is interesting

to remember what I imagine must have been the intention of the negotiators in 1915, namely to return to the time-honoured system of having a large or reasonably sized local government occupying the defile, with whom Britain could be friendly, as she had been with the Ottoman Empire, and in return for assistance to whom we should always find transit facilities available.

The whole idea came to nought, as you all know, principally owing to the questions I have mentioned, Palestine and Syria. Since then for a considerable period we have endeavoured to keep the trade route open by direct action, that is to say, to keep garrisons in various places to guard the pass.

I mention this because so many people are apt to say that all is now lost. It seems to me we should always keep clearly in mind the fact that our interest is free transit, and if it can possibly be arranged it is surely far easier and more economical to get free transit by friendliness with people on the way than by having to keep forces on the spot, to ensure the corridor remaining open. I said "if it can possibly be arranged." It may not be possible. But merely keeping troops in these countries is no object in itself; the object is to have free and safe transit across the defile.

There are two subjects on which people in Britain usually attack me at this stage: the first group ask: "Why do we go on trying to get an agreement with these Arabs who are so temperamental and so difficult and anyhow, very inefficient? Surely we should go straight out to be allies with Israel?" The answer I always give is that our object is to get through from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. From Persia east-ward the width of the pasage-way through Arab territory is about 1,000 miles, bounded on one side by the Persian mountains and on the western side by the Sahara. As most of you are doubtless aware, there are innumerable ways of getting through the area. Britain herself made a trans-desert road to Baghdad and during the last war many different routes were in use. Different pipelines also cross in various directions.

Unfortunately as things are at present we cannot be the allies of Israel and the Arabs at the same time, so the alternatives today are to be friendly with the Arabic-speaking peoples and unfriendly with Israel, or vice versa. Theoretically it is possible to cross the Mediterranean to the top of the Red Sea through Israel territory, at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. However, Israel territory at this point is only three miles wide—it is possible to shoot from Jordan into Sinai and from Sinai into Jordan, across Israel. As opposed to this, the width of the belt of Arab territory which extends from Persia to west of Egypt is a thousand miles. If you succeed in crossing Israel territory from the Mediterranean, you are still only at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. The exit from the Gulf of Aqaba to the Red Sea is through the Straits of Tiran, which as you know is a narrow entrance blocked by an island. Neither U.N.O. nor the U.S.A. have succeeded in establishing the right of ships from Israel to pass through these straits. It will be seen therefore that Israel cannot offer us a corridor from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea as the Arabs can. Incidentally also all the oil is on the eastern side of Arabia, and no oil in commercial quantities has been found in Israel. Whether Britain is an ally of the Arabs or of Israel is not therefore

dependent on which of the two of are the nicest people. It depends on the fact that Israel has nothing which Britain wants, whereas the Arabs control both her requirements, namely transit facilities and oil.

The other group who heckle me—I am trying to answer the arguments in advance—are those who ask: "Anyhow, what business have we to try to dominate the Arabs? Why cannot we leave them alone?" It seems to me that the answer is that we did not invent this trade route. Visualizing the whole map, you will see that the Middle East defile is the only way in which trade can pass to and from the whole of Southern Asia, the Far East and Australia on one side, and Western Europe on the other. That trade route was just as important in the days of the Roman Empire as today. Rome and Persia fought wars against each other to divert the trade into their respective territories. Whole cities and kingdoms were built up by the wealth accumulated through this East and West trade route. Palmyra became so rich that she even challenged Rome and endeavoured to set up an Eastern Empire. It took Rome two years of war to put Palmyra down. The place is in the middle of a desert and produces nothing at all, but it became rich and powerful because the trade route went through it. It was one more Port Said or one more Suez. The same applied to Petra and other cities of the past. For 2,000 years wherever this trade route passed it left prosperity. I do not think it an exaggeration to say throughout those 2,000 years of history the importance and the prosperity of the Arabs has very largely depended on the fact that this trade route crossed their country, or, to put it another way, if it could be completely diverted round the Cape or somewhere else the Arabs would lose more than Britain would.

The same applies to oil. The Arab States who have oil, base their economy entirely on that oil. Britain at a pinch can get oil from elsewhere, but these States cannot get an income equivalent to that from oil royalties from any other source then by selling their oil. If the oil supply were completely cut off, it seems to me that the Arabs would be greater losers than would Britain.

As I have said, the idea of getting a great Arab State with whom Britain could have a transit arrangement went wrong from the word "Go," or soon afterwards, in 1917. Following the Second World War Britain made another attempt and the group which came to be known as the Arab League was constituted from seven Arab governments. Unfortunately, in 1947 H.M. Government decided to evacuate Palestine, and before the Arab League could get itself going on a reasonably statesman-like basis everything was once more thrown into chaos by the outbreak of fighting between Arabs and Jews. When the Americans started in the 1950's to take more interest in the area we and they together planned to have a Middle East N.A.T.O. called the Middle East Defence Organization, but that also was still-born owing to the Palestine dispute. The Egyptians said they would have no objection to signing in on M.E.D.O., as it was called, if before that the Palestine questions were solved in a manner acceptable to them.

In the end, in February, 1955, a Pact to prevent Russian infiltration was signed and called the Baghdad Pact, of which Iraq was the only Arab member, the others being Turkey, Persia and Pakistan. I cannot help feeling that the Baghdad Pact, which gave rise to so many complications

afterwards, was in fact rather an unnecessary complication. The idea of having signatures on documents and putting them all in their pigeon-holes makes the whole world seem to be tidy, but, after all, one cannot expect such very small and weak countries to defy a power like Russia. So that if it ever comes to another World War, surely the Arab countries will take the side of the Powers that are strongest in their area at the time. In other words, even if there is a Pact with the West, if the Russians get to the area first, the Arabs will be obliged to submit to them. Admittedly peace-time co-operation is of immense value, but most of it could, it seems to me, have been done without so widely advertised an official agreement. When I was in Jordan, curiously enough, we had extremely efficient co-operation against Communists with all the Arab States except Syria and Egypt. But we had nothing signed. It worked all the better, I think, because there was no official agreement. However, there it was. The Baghdad Pact was signed. As you know, Egypt are rather haunted by the desire to be leaders of this part of the world and the fact that the Iraqis had taken this independent initiative threw the Egyptians into violent opposition. Whether or not Egypt would in any case have contacted Russia or the other Iron Curtain countries, we do not know; at any rate, the ostensible reason for doing so was resentment against the fact that Iraq had come in with the West, without waiting for Egypt to lead.

All these parochial considerations are merely of local significance. If it had not been that Russia had chosen this time to make a "come back" to the Middle East these problems could not have achieved their present notoriety. When I say "come back" I mean that the Czars tried for 150 years to get to the Mediterranean, always without success. But from 1916 to 1946, for thirty years, Russia disappeared from the Middle East; she was so engrossed in her Revolution and counter-revolutions, the rise of Germany and the Second World War that she did not appear in the Middle East or cut any ice there at all until she emerged as a victor from the Second World War.

I suppose it must be indisputable that the rivalry between the eastern and western camps today is more bitter than in previous years or as bitter as any previous European rivalries or jealousies within the last one thousand years. At the same time, everybody is terrified, Russia as much as we in Britain, of starting up something which will develop into another world or nuclear war. So they have developed as a fine art the technique of what we call the "Cold War." Cold war can include some quite sizeable shooting wars, such as the war in Korea. But in this part of the world the Communists resorted almost entirely to psychological methods.

The Russians began somewhere around 1946 or 1947, but they were not working very hard at that time and what they put out was entirely negative —that is critical of the West, but without praising Russia. Since the end of the war in Korea they have turned much of their attention to the part of the world about which I am speaking. Even so, Moscow is a long way away, and it had only been since Egypt, and subsequently Syria, have joined them in their propaganda, that they have produced such revolutionary results. So although it is done directly to a considerable extent by Egypt and Syria, it is basically Russia which has produced the whole situation.

This psychological or propaganda warfare was, I suppose, originated by Mussolini, but it was brought to a much higher state of efficiency by Hitler, Goebbels and now by Moscow. A number of principles have been established which have been worked on and elaborated since. The basic principles are always to appeal to the lowest elements of the public and to work entirely by passion not by logic. Moreover destructive passions like jealousy and hate are easier to arouse and more violent than the positive. That is to say, the method employed is to produce an enemy, who may or may not be a genuine enemy, and to use every possible method to inculcate resentment, jealousy, hatred and all similar sentiments against the particular party. And the propaganda is directed to a low level of the masses. Finally people will believe anything if they hear it said often enough. The fatal aspect of intellectual people is that they do not repeat the same slogan; they will say a different clever thing every day. That produces no effect whatever on the masses. The great thing is to say very simple things and to keep on saying them all the time.

I have mentioned the Baghdad Pact. It was the rivalry between Iraq and Egypt which gave the Baghdad Pact such notoriety and resulted in a position in which the two larger countries, Egypt and Iraq, endeavoured to draw the small Arab countries, such as Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, into their respective spheres of influence. As most of you may remember, in December, 1955, the Jordan Government declared its intention of joining the Baghdad Pact. That immediately aroused the most violent reactions in Egypt. As a result the whole of the propaganda machine was turned upon Jordan. It is quite extraordinary the number of things they have thought of for these psychological campaigns. Broadcasting, I suppose, is the greater part of it, perhaps 65 per cent., and it is also a thing which in England has been more heard of and it is coming to be considered as an important weapon; but innumerable other instruments were used at the same time. In Egypt the press is obliged to reflect the views of the Government, and Egyptian papers used to be flown up into Jordan. Egypt also produced the best illustrated papers, so that in Jordan, these Egyptian illustrated papers were always very much in demand. In addition to all that, Egypt bribed all the newspapers in Jordan; it only cost about £20,000 a year for Egypt to dominate the whole of the Jordan press, although on rare occasions they used to pay a special bonus for a particular article. I remember an occasion when one of the editors, a very nice chap, came to see me in my office and showed me a draft article presented to him by another Arab Government with £100 pinned on to it, and he said: "You will be cross with what is written in this but after all £100 is £100—unless you have got more!"

A very active, pamphlet war used to be carried on in that part of the world, and doubtless still is. Some of the pamphlets are openly Communist, signed by the Communist Party, but many are either anonymous or bear fictitious names. Rather an interesting operation of this kind was carried out by the Egyptians against the Arab Legion. They invented a disloyal secret society in the ranks of the Arab Legion. It did not exist; they invented it and gave it a name. Then from information supplied from Jordan they wrote seditious pamphlets signed by the fictitious organiza-

tion and these were smuggled into Jordan and posted to all sorts of different people. After a while we spotted this because there were certain military expressions used in Egypt which are not used in the Jordan Army. We noticed that the writer was obviously an Egyptian and not a Jordanian soldier. But they excelled themselves on one occasion because one morning we received at Arab Legion Headquarters a whole series of excited letters from various units all of which were forwarding copies of pamphlets which had been posted to them, and on each of those pamphets was the rubber office stamp of another Arab Legion unit. So that a unit which received one of these seditious pamphlets saw on it the stamp of, say, the 2nd Infantry Battalion. This was received, we will say, by the 2nd Artillery Regiment. They of course immediately thought the Infantry was getting shakey and were distributing pamphlets. Conversely, the Infantry received copies of the pamphlet rubber-stamped R.E.M.E. or some other unit. There were rubber office stamps on all the pamphlets. We were a bit shaken by this but we immediately called in all the office stamps from the units concerned. Once they were compared, it was immediately obvious that the rubber stamps on the pamphlets were forgeries. The Egyptians had taken the trouble to get the names of the units, to make rubber stamps in Cairo, put them on the different pamphlets and post them back to the units inside Jordan.

Every cinema show in the world begins, I believe, with a news reel and the cinema owner has to pay something to an agency for the use of the news reel. The Egyptian Embassy in Amman distributed news reels to all cinemas in Jordan free of charge, and the result was that the cinemas ceased to deal with the normally accepted news reel distributors and only Egyptian news reels were used in all the cinemas of Jordan.

One of the great difficulties during the last few years in Jordan arose from the influx of Egyptian schoolmasters. In some cases schools were supplied with Egyptian schoolmasters for nothing. The Egyptian Government paid the salary and expenses of the schoolmaster and offered a school a teacher in any subject which the school found difficulty in getting a master to teach. There is a great shortage in the area, particularly of teachers of physics, chemistry and elementary science subjects. The Egyptians were always ready with a teacher. I asked a man who had come up from Egypt: "How is it that Egypt has so many teachers? Not only have we got them in Jordan but they are up and down the Persian Gulf. There must be a tremendous output of schoolmasters in Egypt." "Oh no," he replied, "not at all; there are not nearly enough schoolmasters in Egypt: the Government uses them in other Arab countries for political propaganda work." Whether that was true or not, I cannot say. It is certainly true that the schoolmaster is a tremendous political missionary. That is one of the matters in regard to which we in Britain have been extremely slow. It is not possible to obtain school teachers in these Middle Eastern countries which are so anxious to learn, so anxious to get ahead, and as long as the Egyptian Government is ready to circulate other Arab Governments and offer them any number of teachers they want in chemistry or science, Egypt can make a great deal of political profit.

In the same manner, I believe, in almost every country in the world

books can be bought on Communism in every local language. When I mentioned this recently somebody got up in the audience and asked: "What English books do you think should be circulated?" I think the Government should subsidize and engage people to write books on certain subjects and have them translated and made available for various Middle East countries. Of course at present the whole thing is run at a loss by the Communists; the books in local languages on Communism are sold for a negligible price by Soviet Russia. We should have to subsidize books in Eastern languages, giving the Western viewpoint.

I think to a slight extent the significance of the psychological approach is beginning to be realized, but only on a microscopic scale. Some say to me: "Oh yes, we could not agree with you more. We think there should be a wireless station in Sokotra or somewhere." It is not my view that one more wireless station or one less is likely to produce a revolutionary result. It seems to me that the psychological campaign is a new and revolutionary weapon of war. When a country is threatened with a shooting war the first thing is surely not to buy 50 Bren guns or a few trucks. One starts at the other end. You get the top people together, you write down all the assets, the objectives, the courses open to your possible enemies, and then you write down your own. Then you consider your allies. In other words, you take a comprehensive view of your situation in the light of the threat. It is only when that has been boiled down to a summary or appreciation of what your situation is vis-a-vis the enemy, that you can start thinking what you ought to do about it.

Others say to me: "Yes, we think you are right in saying we should conduct more propaganda in the Middle East." The world is too small today to make it possible to carry on local propaganda. There is no use in saying something in the Middle East if you do not at the same time say it elsewhere. And there is no use in saying something, if the French, the Americans or the Indians are immediately going to contradict it. The world is all one piece today. When drawing up a plan you have to envisage the whole world as your field and whatever you are going to say or do, you have to start with the United States of America. You cannot get anywhere by telling the Arabs something if the Americans are telling them the opposite. So far as I know, such a thing as a successful propaganda in the Middle East alone does not exist. And unless the whole world is taken into consideration in any plan, no good at all will be done.

My view is that we should start by getting the really top people, whoever they may be, not necessarily Government officials, to sit down and give us a picture of world psychological currents. Only when we have that shall we be able to study and see what we can do. You may then start in the Middle East; you may start in the United States of America; you may start in India or in Europe. But whatever your resources, you cannot use them economically and to the best advantage unless you have the whole world picture.

Of course, everybody says at once: "Oh, but this is far too expensive; we cannot afford it." My answer is, firstly, that although it will cost money it is not nearly as expensive as other weapons. You can lose, as we have seen, whole countries and continents, and nations friendly to you can

be turned into enemies by psychological action alone. It is far cheaper to keep people as your friends than to be prepared to fight them once they have become your enemies. Secondly, as far as I can see, the psychological weapon has become a fourth arm of the Services. I can remember, as most of you can, the days when soldiers used to go to war without any aeroplanes at all. That became increasingly unpleasant, and it has now become an axiom that one cannot employ soldiers or ships unless they have air cover. I believe it is not now possible to employ any of the three Fighting Services unless they have psychological cover. Take the Suez operation alone—whether it was right or wrong we need not argue—the fact remains that it was embarked upon with no psychological cover. There was no machinery ready to explain to the world what it was all about, what we thought we were doing and why we were doing it. The whole operation was a fiasco because it was greeted with howls of execration by the whole world; in other words, the troops were sent in with no psychological cover.

I cannot help thinking that before any armed operation is undertaken the psychological arm should be brought into the plan. If you do not do that you save a few million pounds, but I maintain that in future and from now onwards Armed Forces will never be successful in their operations if they have not the psychological arm working with them.

That to me is the moral of the last few years. It is quite incredible what utterly ridiculous and impossible stories will be believed by practically a whole nation if they are put to it by real experts. I do not mean by this that we should resort to the methods used elsewhere. I admit there are two schools of thought on this. There is a strong school which says if the other chaps can lie, we can lie better. I should not like to advocate that. I only had a little experience in this regard and that was not, unfortunately, through using a network of wireless stations, but only through using my own voice to a few Arabs, or Officers or N.C.O.'s in the Arab Legion.

To give one small example on the same lines as I have been mentioning. The Egyptians and the Russians found a certain difficulty in explaining how it was that the British were strangling Jordan, because everybody knew they were paying the Jordanians a large subsidy. The common line was the " The Imperialists are mulcting or milking you of your wealth." That, however, did not quite apply in Jordan. So the Egyptians and the Russians resorted to saying that the British knew there were gold mines underneath the country and one of these days they would open them up. Nobody could understand what the British were really doing. So, as a little example, I used to have a map of the whole world. Again and again talking to a small audience of Arabs I hung that map up and put the pointer across from Britain to Australia. And it was lucky for me that when that is done the pointer goes straight across Jordan. I said: " Now, here you are. You know quite well "—they had seen Australians during the war—" the Australians live here, and the British live there. They of course want to go backwards and forwards. That is why they are interested in keeping this route open; they are prepared to pay you a certain

amount of money in order to keep the route open so that they can go and see their cousins and come back." The best of that was that it was true. Again and again Arabs have come up to me afterwards and said: "Thank you so much. We have never before understood what Britain wanted in Jordan." So I believe that one can produce an effect by telling the truth.

Perhaps I have a bee in my bonnet about this because I saw the active end of the psychological campaign and it was not at all nice. It seems to me one can get to the stage of saying that international psychology should be one of the major weapons. It is a revolutionary development of our time. It is amazing what an effect can be produced on other peoples by skilful projection of ideas. It is possibly easier where the people are simpler, less educated, but it can be done even to advanced nations. Surely it is a science to which the very best people in Britain should devote their brains. There ought to be in all the Universities chairs in international psychology. It is something we should be working out. Why are we leading the world in nuclear power, radar and so many other subjects and yet have not started on this subject? Defeat in a psychological war, although it does not draw one's attention at the time, can be just as disastrous in its results as defeat in a shooting war.

I said that we have come and gone across the Middle East for 250 years. During that time there have been something like five what we should today call World Wars. We were never prevented from crossing the area even in the middle of those World Wars. In 1940-41 we were sending troops to the Middle East when Britain was threatened by invasion. When it was a question of fighting we always hung on to the area, but in one year we have lost the power to cross it just through lack of propaganda on our part and owing to propaganda on the part of others. So I believe that I am right in saying that a propaganda defeat can be just as disastrous as defeat in a shooting war used to be in the past.

Following a short discussion the CHAIRMAN concluded: "Our time is up. We will all agree that we have listened to a most interesting lecture from Sir John Glubb. On your behalf I thank Sir John very much indeed for all the trouble he has taken to give us such an interesting picture of the position in the Middle East and his views on this most important subject. We thank you very much indeed, Sir John. (*Applause.*)

SOVIET COTTON PRODUCTION—PLANS AND PROSPECTS

By CARL R. ZOERB

AMID the fanfare of publicity surrounding the massive measures to increase grain production in recent years in the Soviet Union the plans and performance of the cotton industry have been somewhat overshadowed. Attention was again focused on the shortcomings of this industry by the annual report of the Central Statistical Administration for 1956[1] which revealed that plan fulfillment for cotton fabrics was only 92 per cent. of the previous year. Of the hundred-odd components of the Soviet economy only autos and spinning machines had worse performance records. " A smaller cotton crop in 1955 " was responsible for the decrease of 400 million metres of fabrics in 1956, the Central Statistical Administration declared. No reference was made to efforts to alleviate the deficit for Soviet consumers by imports of cotton from the trade-debtor nation, Egypt. The inference remains clear: increases in cotton textile supplies are dependent upon significant increases in cotton output in the Central Asian republics.

No branch of Soviet agriculture has been so abundantly supplied with essential input factors as the cotton industry. Chemical fertilizers, insecticides, basic machinery and irrigation equipment are among the scarce resources regularly allocated to the industry. Nor have technological developments been ignored: Lysenkoism was never tolerated in cotton growing. Just as decisive, however, as the sustained supply of resources was the Soviet policy of subsidizing the cotton crop by high price supports. Even in the 1930's many cotton collective farms in Central Asia were " milionaire " establishments. Krushchev in his September, 1953 Plenum speech, cited labour-day incomes from cotton collectives varying from 17 to 36 roubles compared to 5 roubles from Ukrainian livestock farms. Under such optimum conditions in the aggregate, the Soviets achieved a fourfold increase in cotton production over the pre-collectivization level. Yet, paradoxically, the industry has failed to meet its planned goals—and percentage-wise has made as poor a showing as grain and livestock enterprises. The Fifth Five Year Plan (1951-1955) directives called for an increase in cotton output of 55 per cent.[2] In actuality output for the five years rose 9 per cent.[3]

As with all agriculture crops apart from sugar beets, cotton harvests have not been reported in absolute figures since 1951. On the basis of the delivery schedules of the principal production republics it is now possible

to determine with reasonable precision the volume of the 1956 harvest as well as that of the preceding five years:

I USSR Cotton Deliveries—1956[4]
(Million Metric Tons Raw Cotton)

Republic	*Total Deliveries in* 1956	*Increase Over* 1955	*Average Yield per Hectare in Centners*
Uzbek	2,856,000	440,000	22.3
Tadzik	415,000	42,000	25
Azerbaidjan	352,000	68,000	—
Turmen	332,000	57,000	19.5
Kazakh	194,000	64,000	—
Kirghiz	151,000	30,000	20.7
Others	156,000	—	—
	4,456,000	701,000	21.3

Central Asia accounts for fully 60 per cent. of USSR cotton procurements. By including estimates of the minor scattered areas in the Caucasus and Armenia, an aggregate cotton harvest for 1956 of 4,456,000 tons is indicated. This is a 13 per cent. rise over 1955, but only a 4 per cent. increase over the previous record crop in 1954. Soviet sources generally equate the "barn yield" for cotton with total harvest procurements. As the official announcement had described 1956 cotton deliveries as "481,000 tons greater than in 1955"[5] the indicated added procurements of 701,000 tons by the five leading republics in 1956 appear to be contradictory (See Table 1). This is not the case. The divergence is due to a sharp reduction in hectareage in 1956 in the low-yielding, non-irrigated cotton areas of the South Ukraine and North Caucasus, marginal cotton regions had been brought into production during the 1930's. This significant change in land use policy is verified by a report of the Kherson Region (nominally the largest Ukrainian cotton area) Statistical Agency on plan fulfillment to the effect that "area under fodder crops[6] increased 27 per cent. over last year particularly owing to a decrease in the acreage of cotton."[7] Thus it appears that another Stalinist agrarian project is being replaced by the Khrushchevian maize programme, altogether a rational substitute. Cotton culture will now be concentrated exclusively in Central Asia.

It is now possible to construct a schedule indicating the dynamics of cotton production based upon the 1950-1955 crop indices in the 1956 statistical handbook (*Narodnoye Khozyaistvo SSSR*, p. 101) and the data in Table I:

II USSR Cotton Production—1956

Year	*Official Index*	*Acreage Mil. Hec.*	*Net Yield Metric Tons (raw cotton)*
1950	100	2.32	3,622,000
1951	105	2.71	3,803,000
1952	106	2.4	3,839,000
1953	108	2.0	3,912,000
1954	118	2.2	4,274,000
1955	109	2.2	3,948,000
1956	123[8]	2.09	4,456,000

It is apparent that cotton output remained stagnant during four years of the period. Where the Fifth Five Year Plan anticipated 5.6 million tons by 1955, the best the industry could produce was slightly less than 4 million tons, a classical case of the magnitude of irrationality in Soviet farm planning. The 1956 harvest, for which four Central Asian republics were awarded the Order of Lenin, is just 4 per cent. larger than the previous record crop in 1954. Although the area sown to cotton was expanded by 190,000 hectares in the past three years, and now totals 2.09 million hectares, the increase in output was primarily brought about through intensified farming practices. Uzbekistan, according to Khrushchev, increased the yield of its 1.3 million hectares by 3.5 centners per hectare.[9] In view of the excellent growing conditions that prevailed last year, the rate of progress no longer is as rapid as in the immediate postwar period and the achievement of the 1960 goal of 6 million tons of cotton is clearly impossible.

The Uzbek SSR is the key cotton republic. It supplied 64 per cent. of the 1956 crop. Khrushchev is as closely identified with cotton there as he is with grain in Kazakhstan. For three successive winters he has visited Tashkent. In 1955 he shook up the republic's Central Committee leadership not because of ideological issues but over such pragmatic problems as square-cluster planting and the narrowing of cotton rows to 45 by 60 centimetres. Yet Uzbekistan has continued to fall short of its pledged delivery goals for the past three years. Until Khrushchev changed the republican party leadership, the trend in cotton yields was on the downgrade.

III Uzbek Cotton Yields[10]
(*per hectare*)

1950	20.3 centners
1952-53	21.1 centners
1954	20.1 centners
1955	18.5. centners
1956	22.0 centners

Cotton is a strategic and crucial crop in the Soviet Union. The crop yields two products: fibre and seed. The fibre has industrial uses besides clothing; the seeds yield valuable oil and and oilcake. Cotton is also the third ranking Soviet export commodity, next to machinery and metals. It is sent almost exclusively to the Soviet orbit countries. By contrast, cotton imports were less than 1 per cent. of total Soviet imports for the past three years.[11] The Soviet Union has been Egypt's biggest cotton customer during the present season,[12] with purchases of 230,000 kantars to date. This is the equivalent of 41,780 tons of raw cotton in Soviet nomenclature, or less than one-hundredth of the Soviet crop. Soviet cotton is now a crucial political weapon. What else could have motivated the ceremonies awarding the Order of Lenin to all the Soviet Central Asian republics for producing a fairly good cotton harvest compared to the genuine bumper grain harvests achieved by the nine RSFSR oblasts which were similarly awarded the Lenin accolade? Nor was it coincidence that of the presidium members who went out during January to do the honours at the presentation ceremonies that Khrushchev, Bulganin and Mikoyan presided in Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikstan and Turkmenistan—the major cotton areas—while Molotov drew the Voronezh grain-hog oblast, Malenkov the Chkalov grain region and Kaganovich Krasnoyarsk in Siberia. This line-up reflects the inner presidium power struggle prevailing in early 1957. Clearly the Central Asian cotton republics have been upgraded in economic esteem as a result of the de-Stalinization policy.

To attain the 1960 cotton goal of 6.15 million tons—an unlikely achievement—large areas of new irrigated land must be brought into production in Soviet Central Asia. Stalin's grandiose projects for canals in Turkmenia to provide more cotton land have not been resurrected. Instead, the collective leadership has undertaken the gradual reclamation and irrigation of the "Hungry Steppe," a vast desert area in South Kazakhstan along the Uzbek frontier. Fifty thousand hectares are to be planted with cotton there in 1957.[13] Steady supply of water for irrigation is the retarding factor in reclaiming the broad expanse of the Hungry Steppe. There is no logistic similarity of reclamation between the Hungry Steppe for cotton and the virgin lands of north Kazakhstan and Siberia for grain production. Whether the collective leadership in the Krelim can improve on the negative results of Stalin's plan to transform nature remains in doubt; yet the effort will have to be prodigious to meet the planned target. Given the 1956 record yield per hectare (approximately one bale ginned cotton per acre) over three-quarters of a million hectares must be reclaimed for irrigation in Central Asia by 1960 in order to meet the planned goal. Continued substantial inputs of capital will undoubtedly boost cotton output in the current Five Year Plan; the rate of growth however, will more likely be on the order of 20 per cent. for the sixth plan period rather than the envisaged 56 per cent.[14]

REFERENCES

[1] *Pravda*, January 31, 1957.
[2] *Pravda*, October 12, 1952.
[3] *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1956, p. 101.
[4] Sources (in the order in which the republics are listed): *Pravda Vostoka*, March 12, 1957, and *Sel'skoe Khozyaistvo*, December 7, 1956; *Pravda*, December 23, 1956; *Bakinski Rabochi*, January 1, 1957; *TASS*, January 12, 1957; *Radio Moscow*, November 27, 1956, and *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, February 1, 1957; *Sel'skoe Khozyaistvo*, December 6, 1956, and *Sovetskaya Kirgizia*, March 14, 1957.
[5] *Izvestia*, January 31, 1957.
[6] Maize is most likely the principal fodder crop increased.
[7] *Nadnepryanska Pravda*, Kherson, February 12, 1957, as cited by *Radio Odessa*.
[8] The 1956 Index is derived from the Central Statistical Administration report that cotton output grew 14 per cent. over 1953. Raw cotton contains about 30 per cent. lint by weight. The acreage data is from the 1956 statistical handbook p. 106, except for the 1951 figure which is from *Pravda*, August 4, 1951; 1952 from *Izvestia* January 27, 1951; while 1953 is an estimate.
[9] *Sel'skoe Khozyaistvo*, January 16, 1957.
[10] *Pravda Vostoka*, February 4, 1956.
[11] *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo*, 1956, p. 217.
[12] *Reuter* dispatch from Cairo, February 16, 1957.
[13] *TASS*, February 20, 1957.
[14] Soviet observers at the 16th Congress of the International Cotton Advisory Committee reported that the 1956 cotton crop was 4,458,100 tons of seed cotton. Domestic consumption of ginned cotton for the year was given as 1,132,000 tons. Exports accounted for 20 per cent. of the crop. (Dispatch to New York *Times* from Istanbul, May 27, 1957.)

REPORT ON THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION

Report of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, Representative of Sweden on the Security Council

I

1. On 21 February, 1957, at its 774th meeting, the Security Council adopted a resolution (S/3793) by which it requested its President for the month of February, 1957, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan any proposals which, in his opinion, were likely to contribute towards the settlement of the India-Pakistan dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. He was further requested to visit the sub-continent for this purpose and to report to the Security Council not later than 15 April, 1957.

2. In pursuance of this resolution I proceeded to the sub-continent. I arrived in Karachi on 14 March, 1957.

3. Discussions were held with the Government of Pakistan from 15 to 20 March, and again between 2 and 5 April; with the Government of India between 24 and 28 March and again between 6 and 9 April. Before departing from the sub-continent another conversation with the Government of Pakistan took place on 10 April. I departed from Karachi on 11 April.

4. The principal participants in these discussions were the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Malik Firoz Khan Noon, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. S. A. Baig and Mr. Din Mohammed, Adviser on Kashmir Affairs. The Government of India were represented by the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Shri Jawaharal Nehru, the Minister without Portfolio, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, the Secretary-General of the Ministry for External Affairs, Shri N. R. Pillai, and the Commonwealth Secretary, Shri M. J. Desai.

5. In accordance with the first operative part of the Council's resolution, conversations were held exclusively with the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan.

6. It is a pleasure for me to report that the co-operation of the two Governments, envisaged in the second operative part of the Security Council resolution, has been complete in all respects. Our conversations took place in an atmosphere of complete frankness and cordiality.

7. In pursuance of the third operative paragraph of the resolution, the Secretary-General of the United Nations placed at my disposal the services

of Mr. J. F. Engers of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, and Miss H. Platz of the Office of the Secretary-General. I also wish to acknowledge valuable information received from the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan.

II

8. During the last debate in the Security Council, the representative of Pakistan had stated that his country recognized, " no international obligations with regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, except those she had voluntarily accepted . . . in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13 August, 1948, and 5 January, 1949." * For his part, the representative of India declared that these two UNCIP resolutions were the only ones which bound his Government. †

9. In view of these declarations I felt it appropriate to explore what was impeding the full implementation of these resolutions. My efforts were, therefore, from the beginning directed towards the finding of a solution for the problems that had arisen in connexion with these two resolutions.

10. The resolution of 5 January, 1949, envisages the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite to decide on the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan. On exploring this question of a plebiscite I was aware of the grave problems that might arise in connexion with and as a result of a plebiscite.

11. I therefore felt it incumbent on me to devise ways and means by which these difficulties could be met or at least be substantially mitigated.

12. Consequently, I made a number of suggestions to this end to both Governments which, for different reasons, however, did not prove to be mutually acceptable.

13. During our conversations the Government of India laid particular emphasis on the fact that, in their view, two factors stood in the way of the implementation of the two UNCIP resolutions. The first of these was that part I of the resolution of 13 August, 1948, and in particular sections B and E, had, in their view, not been implemented by the Government of Pakistan. For that reason, it was in their submission premature to discuss the implementation of parts II and III of that resolution, or of the resolution of 5 January, 1949.

The second of these impediments, which concerned rather part II of the first resolution, was that the Government of India, which had brought the case before the Security Council on 1 January, 1948, felt aggrieved that the Council had so far not expressed itself on the question of what in their view was aggression committed by Pakistan on India. In their view, it was incumbent on the Council to express itself on this question and equally incumbent on Pakistan " to vacate the aggression." It was argued that prior to the fulfilment of these requirements on the part of the Security Council and on the part of Pakistan the commitments of India under the resolution could not reach the operative stage.

* S/PV. 761, p. 37.
† S/PV. 763, p. 33.

14. I explained to the Government of India that the Security Council had properly taken cognizance of their original complaint, and that it was not for me to express myself on the question whether its resolutions on the matter had been adequate or not. I pointed out that regardless of the merits of the present position taken by their Government, it could not be overlooked that they had accepted the two UNCIP resolutions.

15. The Government of Pakistan, on their part, in conversations with me, maintained that part I of the first resolution had been implemented in good faith and in full by them, and that the time had come to proceed to the implementation of part II.

16. Under the circumstances I decided that it might be appropriate to approach first the question of the implementation of part I of the first UNCIP resolution, as I had been given to understand that this was the primary impediment to the implementation of the resolutions. It was my impression that in the presentation of their views substantial weight was given by the Government of India to the absence of "an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations" as envisaged in section E of that part of the first resolution. Another point which was repeatedly stressed by the Government of India was that the military *status quo* envisaged in part B of the same section did, in their view, not obtain owing to the policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan.

17. In order to break the deadlock concerning part I, I inquired of the two Governments if they would be prepared to submit the question of whether part I had been implemented or not to arbitration. In substance my suggestion to the two Governments did not envisage simple arbitration, but the arbitrator or arbitrators would also be empowered, in case they found that the implementation had been incomplete, to indicate to the parties which measures should be taken to arrive at a full implementation. It was also envisaged that in the latter case after a given time-limit the arbitrator or arbitrators would determine whether the given indications had been followed and implementation did obtain.

18. Being aware of the earlier negative attitude of the Government of India on the question of arbitration with relation to the Kashmir problem as a whole, I made it a point to explain to them that I was not suggesting anything of that nature, and that what I was proposing, while termed arbitration, in all likelihood would be more in the nature of a determination of certain facts which, in their view, were incontrovertible. In addition, the procedure suggested might lead to an improvement in India-Pakistan relations in general, a development which I assumed could not be unwelcome to either of the two countries.

19. While the Government of Pakistan, after a certain hesitation, fell in with my suggestion in principle, the Government of India, however, did not feel that arbitration, as outlined by me, would be appropriate. They explained that, while they were not against the principle of arbitration as a method of conciliation and had, indeed, agreed to this procedure to arrive at a solution of certain other problems outstanding between their country and Pakistan, they felt that the issues in dispute were not suitable for arbitration, because such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of

India in respect of this territory. They were, furthermore, apprehensive that arbitration even on an isolated part of the resolutions might be interpreted as indicating that Pakistan had a *locus standi* in the question.

III

20. In dealing with the problem under discussion as extensively as I have during the period just ended, I could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connexion with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia.

21. The Council will, furthermore, be aware of the fact that the implementation of international agreements of an *ad hoc* character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily, may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change.

IV

22. While I feel unable to report to the Council any concrete proposals which, in my opinion, at this time are likely to contribute towards a settlement of the dispute, as I was requested to do under the terms of reference of the Council's resolution of 21 February, 1957 (S/3793), my examination of the situation as it obtains at present would indicate that, despite the present deadlock, both parties are still desirous of finding a solution to the problem. In this connexion the Council may wish to take note of expressions of sincere willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in the finding of a peaceful solution, which I received from both Governments.

"THE SCROLLS FROM THE DEAD SEA: THE RIDDLE UNRIDDLED"

By PROFESSOR G. R. DRIVER, M.C., M.A., F.B.A.

The following is a résumé of the talk given to the Society by Professor G. R. Driver, of Oxford University at a meeting held at the Rooms of the Royal Society, on Wednesday, June 19th, 1957. It is understood that a pamphlet on the subject will shortly be published by Blackwell's, of Oxford.

Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt in the chair.

THE lecturer said that he had long been dissatisfied with the pre-Christian date assigned to the Scrolls from the Dead Sea and that recent discussions with Dr. Cecil Roth had confirmed his view that they were of post-Christian origin; finding themselves in substantial agreement he and Dr. Roth had decided to put forward their conclusions in a joint pamphlet which Sir Basil Blackwell hoped shortly to publish.

One of the documents referred to the captivity of the Jews in 586 B.C., and the archaeologists said that the monastery and cave at Qumran were destroyed by the Romans in the Jewish revolt which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Some period and some episode must then be found within these dates into which the composition and copying of the Scrolls could be fitted.

There are two serious objections to postulating a Seleucid or Maccabaean date for the Scrolls. First, a fragment of a commentary on Nahum makes the "Kittim," the external enemy of the group from whom the Scrolls came, follow the Greeks (*i.e.* Seleucids); they must therefore be the Romans. All the other evidence fits in with this view. Second, no suitable character for the Teacher of Righteousness has been found in the whole pre-Christian period. He must be a teacher with a considerable following backed by an extensive literature, he must be capable of leading a national revolt against a foreign enemy, and he must be harassed by internal enemies. None of the persons hitherto suggested fits the bill; all are little men, heroes of some trifling story, none of them of the calibre of the head of a great religious or political party or of a national leader.

The evidence must therefore be re-examined. The first type of evidence was Roman. Dr. Yadin had shown that the equipment and organization described in the War of the Sons of Light and Darkness was Roman, though he confined it too closely to the Republican period. The dagger which Josephus described as that carried by the Zealots c. A.D. 50 corresponded exactly with that borne by the Sons of Light: their trumpets and organization were those which Josephus himself, when commander in Galilee in A.D. 67, introduced amongst his levies. The Commentary on Habakkuk described the principal enemies as the "Kittim," a well-known term for the Romans; and the War spoke of the "Kittim of Asshur-Syria" and those in Egypt, in clear allusion to the Roman legions

under Vespasian at Antioch and Titus in Egypt. The Commentary further speaks of the rapid succession of the rulers of the Kittim " by the counsel of a wicked house," which may well refer to A.D. 69, the year of the five emperors; it also describes how the Kittim sacrificed to their standards, which happened in Roman history only once, in A.D. 70 when the legions stormed Jerusalem, set up their standards in the precincts of the Temple and then sacrificed to them.

The second type of evidence comes from Jewish history, which tells of an episode exactly corresponding to the story which can be extracted from allusions in the Scrolls. In the summer of A.D. 66 Eleazar, a young man of priestly lineage who was then the Captain of the Temple, persuaded the people to withhold the customary sacrifices to the Emperor and *populus Romanus*, thus raising the standard of revolt. Immediately one Menahem, called a " sophist " or teacher of wisdom by the Jewish historian, came up with a band of followers from Masada by the Dead Sea, clad in royal robes ostensibly to worship in the Temple but really to claim the leadership of the revolt; for he came of a line of rebels against Rome. His grandfather in 46 B.C. and his father in 6-7 B.C. both had been executed for raising rebellions against the Imperial powers' claims to levy taxes; and the father, one Judah " who rose up . . . and drew away much people after him; he also perished " (Acts V 37), had founded a new group, the followers of the Fourth Philosophy, whose main tenets were an unconquerable passion for liberty and unwillingness to tolerate any other ruler but God. In A.D. 46-48 Judah's two brothers also had been crucified for stirring up an abortive rebellion. Menahem, who in A.D. 66 was then in his sixties, was not likely to let the young captain take the lead in rebellion against Rome; but Eleazar stirred up the people and drove out Menahem on to Mount Ophel, where he was murdered. Of his followers, his relative Eleazar (a different Eleazar) escaped to the Dead Sea and lived to lead the last desperate resistance at Masada, where he committed suicide in A.D. 73; the other, Absalom, was killed near the same spot. These events took place immediately after 3 Tishri, *i.e.* very near to the Day of Atonement, which falls on 10 Tishri. According to the Scrolls the Wicked Priest pursued " to swallow up " the Teacher of Righteousness on the day of " their " atonement, *i.e.* on the Day of Atonement of this group, who observed a calendar of 52 instead of 48 weeks and whose Day of Atonement therefore would probably not exactly coincide with that of the orthodox calendar; but not enough details are known of this divergent calendars to show if the two Days of Atonement did or did not coincide. The Scrolls further say that the " house (= followers) of Absalom " were silenced and did not help the Teacher at the critical moment, and that only those escaped who were of the " house of Judah," *i.e.* Eleazar the relative of Menahem, who was probably grandson of Menahem's father Judah the Galilaean, mentioned above. Menahem, like his father, is called a " sophist " or " teacher of wisdom " and his identification with the unnamed Teacher of Righteousness of the Scrolls leaps to the eye, supported as it is by the identification of Absalom and Hezekiah; the identification of the Wicked Priest with Eleazar, son of the High Priest and Captain of the Temple, follows from these identifica-

tions and is supported by a number of small points. For example, Josepheus says that Eleazar was a very rash young man when he stirred up the Revolt; the Scrolls say that the Wicked Priest's "heart became high" when he took office. That the Teacher of Righteousness was almost certainly a priest and that Josepheus does not describe Menahem as one is immaterial; he does not always describe persons who were priests as such and he mentions Menahem only in this section. Further Menahem seems to have been claiming priestly if not royal privilege in the Temple when he was driven out and murdered. The Scrolls, too, do not describe the Teacher of Righteousness as the Messiah; but parallel passages strongly suggest that the Teacher of Righteousness of the day, whether Menaham or any other member of the family holding that office, had Messianic claims. The Talmud, too, in discussing the name and period of the Messiah, gives as one possible claimant Menahem (grand)son of Hezekiah and says that his period will be "365 years according to the solar calendar," *i.e.* according to the Calendar of Jubilees and Enoch, which was also the calendar of the group from which the Scrolls emanated. Finally, even the secondary characters can be identified with reasonable probability in this same period. That in the lecturer's view some of the Scrolls, notably the Commentary on Habakkuk, must have been composed after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, does not seriously militate against the archaeologists' conclusion that Qumran was destroyed c. A.D. 68. There is no need to suppose that all, even if most, of the Scrolls were written there or that all were put away in the caves at the same time; some may have been added to the collection afterwards. The lecturer concluded by saying that what he had said was a bare outline of his and Dr. Roth's theory and that they hoped to show in their published pamphlet how even the smallest details, even actual phrases, agreed in the Hebrew and Greek accounts of the dramatic events.

The meeting closed with a sincere and enthusiastic vote of thanks to Professor Driver from all present, the Chairman stating that all would be looking forward with interest to the promised pamphlet.

THE TURKS AND CENTRAL ASIA

IT is not generally appreciated that, though about 20 million Turks live in the Turkish Republic, over 30 million Turkish-speaking people live in Eastern Russia, Central Asia and parts of the Middle East. Actually the biggest block of them (22 million) live in the Soviet Union. Turkish in fact is one of the most widely spread languages and some form of it is spoken from the Balkans to North East Siberia. But these Turkish-speaking people are dispersed in various political groupings, of which the Turkish Republic is only one and the question can well be asked what are the possibilities of some of these people coalescing to become more united than hitherto. This question is posed in a new book.* Colonel Hostler is in the United States Air Force and served for some years in the United States Military Mission to Turkey. The book is a remarkable and useful compendium of information from widely scattered sources which should be of great value to the student of this subject.

The first part is a handbook of the Turkish people of Asia. The history, characteristics, culture and language types of each of the Turkish communities of Asia is here set forth. There are the Turkish-speaking nomad tribes of Turkestan, the settled Uzbegs of the oases, the Tartar communities of the Middle Volga, who are mixed with Finno-Ugrian strains. The last of these three have left more influence on the language of these parts and of Tannu Tuva in Siberia than is generally realised, for Finnish tribes once covered large areas of Northern Europe and Asia and were only gradually absorbed by Slav and Turk.

This part of the book gives a general account of how the Eastern Slavs, having peacefully absorbed the Finish hunting and fishing tribes, less peacefully integrated politically the Turco-Tartar peoples of the Middle Volga and of the great prairies which stretch from the South Urals to the Chinese borders. Indeed the object of the book seems be to show that the political absorption of these Turks is so incomplete as to become a source of weakness in times of crisis to the Soviet Union. But one has to remember and the author does not give it much attention, that the Russians had great difficulty in establishing a stable eastern frontier for the East Slav state. The dissolution of the Golden Horde, through inability to administer the enormous territories which it had inherited from Djenghiz Khan, created a political vacuum which had to be filled and the Russians were the only sufficiently vigorous and effective community to do it.

Part II of the book deals with the development of the Turkish national consciousness and its action and reaction on Pan-Islamic ideas. It seems that in the early days of the growth of the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires, the acceptance of the Turkish language and of the Turkish national idea was widespread among the Greeks and Armenians of the Anatolian plateau. This was not due to massacre or undue pressure. The invaders

were uncultured nomads and their numbers were not large. But the force of a national idea seems to have had a great effect on the Byzantine Greeks, then declining in political power and culture. As a cross-current to Turkish nationalism the Pan-Islamic idea grew in the last half of the nineteenth century. The author traces its development from Jemal Ad-Din Afghani and thinks that the rivalry of the Great Powers over the inheritance of the " sick man " had a good deal to do with its spread, for Sultan Abdul Hamid used it to arouse the non-Turkish Moslems of his Empire to resist the Western " unbelievers." But the movement had no deep roots. For a time the Young Turks toyed with the idea and for a time during the First World War adopted Pan-Turanism which had in many ways a sounder foundation. It aimed at some form of union and co-operation between the Turkish-speaking people of Turkey, Central Asia and East Russia. As the Ottoman Empire weakened with the breaking away of the non-Turkish communities, who interpreted freedom as independence, the idea was strengthened that " freedom " could also apply to all Turkish-speaking people as well. So the Young Turk revolution of 1908, which started with the idea of liberty for all races and creeds under the Sultan, degenerated into a " free for all " of the component peoples of the Empire. This enabled Enver Pasha to bring Turkey into alliance with Germany in the First World War. He ended his career fighting for Pan-Turan with the Basmachi in the highlands of South Bokhara. The Kemalist Revolution, however, cut itself away from all this and the Turkish Republic has re-established friendship with the West, while it has avoided provoking Russian hostility by confining its interest to Turks within Anatolia.

Part III of the book deals with Pan-Turkism. It is an account of the various movements inside the Turkish world to achieve cultural and political independence. This is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book, because it is difficult to see how the various attempts of the Tartars of the Volga, the Kazaks of the Steppes and the Azerbaijanis of the Caucasus can achieve anything concrete without a world upheaval, especially since now the Turkish Republic is either hostile or lukewarm to the idea. The author cites instances of discussions between Germany and Turkey during the Second World War on this matter of the Turco-Tartars of the Soviet Union. Russia at this time was in a desperate state before Stalingrad. At this critical moment the Turks of the Republic were naturally thinking of some means by which these Central Asian Turks could organise themselves if the whole Russian Communist system collapsed. But as we all know, this did not happen: so Turkey became again not interested.

The author describes various movements in the Kazan area of the Middle Volga, in the South Urals and in Turkestan against the Communists and the efforts of the Kremlin to suppress all " bourgeois-nationalist " activities. The collectivisation of farms has also from time to time caused minor revolts in these areas. Against this the Communist règime is at pains to grant cultural autonomy to all non-Russian people of the Union. Each of these people can have its own language, theatre, press and art but its alphabet must be Cyrillic to avoid contact with the Latin

script of the West or with the Arabic script of the Middle East. Every attempt also is made to accentuate linguistic differences between the various Turkish languages and dialects of Central Asia, so as to prevent a real united Turco-Tartar cultural renaissance which might have for Russia dangerous political consequences. Meanwhile the political and economic control of these Turco-Tartar citizens of the Soviet Union is firmly centred in Moscow.

Can the Russians succeed in russifying the Turks of Central Asia? Colonel Hostler puts forward certain possibilities. The Russians have to deal with populations which by the Communists' consent and even assistance are bi-lingual and therefore can still be fairly easily appealed to by Turkish influences outside the Union. On the other hand the draw of the Russian language as the gateway to a career in the administration, the services and the professions is affecting the young Tartars of Kazan and the young Uzbeks of Turkestan. But the author thinks that Russian Communists have not succeeded in drawing the new Turco-Tartar intelligentsia away from sympathy with the Turks of the Republic in Anatolia. He gives instances of periodical purges carried out over recent years by the Communist règime in Central Asia. But he seems over optimistic in one of his concluding passages. When speaking of this group of Central Asian Turks he says "This large region may eventually become part of one or more Turkish Moslem states positioned towards and possibly joined with the Turks of the West." Much more depends than Colonel Hostler allows for on the development within the Soviet Union itself. If a milder Communist règime along the lines, say, of Yugoslavia begins to show itself, the process of political consolidation in Russian Central Asia will probably continue. If a centralising Stalinism with a policy of provocation towards the states on Russia's south eastern borders appears again, the author would have some justification for his statement.

M. PHILIPS PRICE.

* **Turkism and the Soviets,** by Charles Warren Hostler. Geo. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 244. Index. 30s.

The Hon. Secretaries wish to acknowledge receipt of—

Bibliography on South-western Asia: IV. A fourth compilation by Henry Field, published by the University of Miami Press. Florida, 1957.
Presented by the Author.

REVIEWS

Invasion, 1940. An Account of the German Preparations and the British Countermeasures. By Peter Fleming. Rupert Hart-Davis. 1957. Bibliography Index. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 327. 25s.

Peter Fleming is a distinguished member of the Royal Central Asian Society, and although this particular volume does not touch Central Asia, previous publications, such as *News from Tartary, A Forgotten Journey,* etc., make it important that this latest and most valuable contribution to history should receive notice in these columns.

Though well and sympathetically reviewed by all important journals and others, none seem to have really appreciated the author's real objective. *Invasion, 1940,* is a spotlight on the times and thoughts of both sides in that year. Blinkers if you will. But the whole subject is a miniature vignette of history, an assessment of all those factors, and those factors only, which contributed to the invasion problems of 1940.

The present writer was in that year very much in the centre of the invasion problems confronting the British citizen. *The Economist* regards the chapter " John Bull at Bay " as savouring unduly of Eton and Printing House Square. There may be some substance in this criticism. Those with ears perhaps nearer to the ground might suggest that the price of butter, possibles for the " 3.30," and latest odds on the " dogs " were of greater interest in the pubs than any phoney suggestions of untenable miracles of invasion, contrary to all working principles of logic built up over 900 years. Certainly let those responsible measure up the problems and plan for the unlikely, but there are a lot of other matters worth more attention from the man in the street.

A notable aspect of this survey is its comprehensiveness. This very tangible danger impinged on so many aspects of our national life. It is hard to suggest any of them not examined in really adequate detail. This is no small tribute to the author's success in his over-all picture. It could be suggested that with D-Day experience as a guide, he could have hazarded some sort of forecast as to the possible adventures of two, or four, divisions which managed to get ashore with their tanks at, say, Lydd, with enough air support to avoid frustration. Perhaps such hypothetical suppositions and crystal balls are outside the scope of such a very serious and factual work.

But the author is such an experienced, readable and versatile writer that he could have made such dream disaster a fascinating study.

The Economist regards the military analysis as very well done, and in this view the present writer, a regular soldier, is in agreement. No thesis on such a subject could be convincing unless the basic tactical and strategical concepts were adequate. One feels the opinions expressed should stand the test of time.

Sad about the Channel Tunnel. If its rejuvenescence had started a bit sooner, the author might have given us some interesting thoughts on the possible effects on Dunkirk strategy of a double line of railway in 1940. Hitler's plans and tank objectives would have been different. Could protection of both ends have been achieved by the Allies, and men and equipment been repatriated? We shall never know. But we may hope for a postcript in the next edition. The reader will be glad to see such an outstanding study of history so successfully launched by one of the Society's members.

G. M. Routh.

The Indian Mutiny. By Major-General Richard Hilton, D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C. Hollis and Carter. Pp. 232. App., index, end papers. 18s.

In this short book of a little over 200 pages General Hilton gives a vivid description of the Mutiny in broad outline, with the appalling conditions prevailing in many of the isolated stations, as well as in Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow. He starts with a comprehensive summary of the causes and sketches of the leaders, the notorious Nana Sahib and the widowed Rani of Jhansi. The corruption of the Province of Oudh led the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, to appoint James Outram to control the Province, and had he remained there all might have been well. Unfortunately ill-health compelled his retirement and the appointment of Coverly Jackson to succeed him caused great ill-feeling. One of the grievances against the British Raj was the application of the Law of " Lapse," by which adopted successors to native rulers who failed to gain the approval of the Governor-General were removed and the State " lapsed " to the central government. This happened in Oudh, where the ruling Peshwa, Nana Sahib, was deposed and deprived of all effective power. He was granted a generous pension and retained the title of Peshwa for life, but his hatred of the British grew until he became the leader of the revolt. The other principal leader, the Rani of Jhansi, was inspired to hatred of the British through what she considered the unfair adjustment of her revenue. Thus the British incurred the implacable hatred of the two outstanding personalities who were destined to cause unspeakable misery for the British in India, and the Province of Oudh with its capital city of Lucknow became the centre of the Mutiny.

The author emphasizes repeatedly that the rising was by no means a *national* rising. Only a portion, principally the Bengali regiments, mutinied. The civil population took no part in the rising and in innumerable instances, to their everlasting credit, helped British women and children to escape, often at risk of their own lives. Many Indian regiments and the Gurkhas remained loyal and performed meritorious service side by side with British troops and fought with the utmost gallantry. The Indians call it War of Independence.

The Government had had numerous warnings of unrest during 1856. The leaders were given their opportunity by the issue of the " greased cartridges," which aroused both Hindu and Moslim troops alike, and finally the storm burst at Meerut. The mutinous troops were allowed, inexplicably, to march to Delhi, where the old King reigned. British women and children were murdered and the mutineers gained control of the city. General Hilton gives a graphic description of the last stand of the handful of invalids who formed the garrison, which culminated in the blowing up of the magazine. It was some time e'er the siege of Delhi by British and Indian troops could be undertaken, and the description of the siege thrills the reader with admiration for the skill and gallantry displayed. The author rightly emphasizes the British quality of leadership that obtained victory over overwhelming masses of the enemy, who appeared to lack sufficient leaders of a high enough standard to utilize to the full their superiority of numbers. The influence of individuals is fully brought out in the stories of De Kantzow and Venables on page 67. Chapter V gives an excellent outline of British strategy by which the garrisons of Cawnpore, Ambala and Lucknow were relieved. The tragedy of Cawnpore is fully dealt with.

The defence of Lucknow is the outstanding epic in the story of the Mutiny, and General Hilton does full justice to the courage of the defenders, both British and Indian, amid the appalling conditions. His story is well illustrated by a sketch map of the Residency.

The superb action of General Outram in refusing to assume command over the head of General Havelock, to which he was entitled, is related on page 148.

Operations against Gwalior and in Robilkand mark the concluding stages of the war against the rebels. Although Sikhs are mentioned, there is a disappointing lack of reference to the splendid loyalty of the Sikh States.

H. E. C.

My Indian Mutiny Diary. By William Howard Russell. Edited, with an Essay on the Mutiny, by Michael Edwardes and published by Cassell and Co., Ltd. Pp. 288. 30s., with half-tone illustrations and a map.

Russell was sent to India by *The Times* to investigate rumours of atrocities against British men, women and children, and to inquire into the shortcomings of British rule brought to light by the Mutiny. From the military point of view the Mutiny was over when he arrived, but he was present at the re-taking of Lucknow and operations in Oudh and Rohilkhand. In his diary, published in 1860, he describes how the Mutiny started at Meerut, where no action was taken to prevent the mutineers form marching to Delhi where Bahadar Shah, titular King of Delhi, was proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan. His subsequent visit to the old King in Delhi gives a pathetic picture of the old man tormented by his women, but he never forgets that the King made no effort to prevent British women being murdered in the palace by sepoys.

Russell describes at length the causes which led to the Mutiny, the reforms introduced by Government, tactless officials and laws against "thuggee" and "suttee" which roused the fury of the Hindus. The final spark which lit the conflagration was the greased cartridges, which roused fanatical hatred in both Hindu and Moslim alike. And yet he makes it clear that the Mutiny was NOT a *national* rising. It was a revolt of certain Hindu units. The Sikhs, the Gurkhas and many other regiments in the Indian Army remained steadfastly loyal to the British, and the unswerving loyalty of the Sikh States finds a well-deserved mention in the diary.

The two outstanding figures who led the Mutiny were the Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi. The latter met a soldier's death leading her troops, but the Nana fled when the tide turned against his troops. His ultimate fate remains unknown.

Russell landed at Calcutta and journeyed to Cawnpore, where he visited General Wheeler's garrison. An excellent photograph facing page 36 shows the interior of the room of Biblighar where the women were massacred.

From Cawnpore Russell accompanied Sir Colin Campbell's force to retake Lucknow. Plans for the advance and attack were explained to him, but the description, vivid as it is, lacks clearness and continuity for want of a sketch map of Lucknow and its surroundings.

The rebels, in great strength, were led by the Begum of Lucknow and her favourite, Mummoo Khan. The attack was launched from the south-east, and every street and house was defended. Casualties were heavy before the Dilkhusha and La Martinière were captured. The description of the indiscriminate looting which occurred seems extraordinary in the middle of fierce fighting, and it is heart-breaking to read of priceless treasures of jade and jewels which were either stolen or destroyed.

From Lucknow Russell returned to Cawnpore, where he joined the Rohilkhand Force under Sir Colin Campbell. It was known that the rebels, led by the Nana Sahib with Bene Madho, were in great strength. Unfortunately, during the march, Russell was severely injured by a kick from a horse and continued the march in a dooly. The appalling conditions under which the troops marched, with the temperature 116 in the shade, with men dying from exhaustion and sunstroke, are vividly described. It was sheer bad luck that the Nana Sahib escaped after the battle of Bankee. He mentions how the plan for an attack on part of the rebel position was defeated by a herd of semi-wild cattle, the Hindu troops refusing to fire on or to molest them in any way, and the column had to return.

A lighter side of the campaign is given on page 259, with a delightful description of their Christmas feast.

This diary is a book to be read by all who take pride in the achievements of our troops—native and British alike. There is a great deal of moralizing, which reveals the writer's mind and his clear insight into the factors of the Mutiny. His impartial judgment commands respect even if we do not agree with all he says, but this was a personal diary and not intended as an official account of the war. His determination, even when crippled, to see everything for himself gives an air of authority to his accounts of the fighting, marches and discomforts of India a century ago.

This book is provided with one inadequate map of India.

H. E. C.

The Loves of Krishna. By W. G. Archer. Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 18. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1957. Pp. 127, 40 plates. 30s.

This charming book was written with the purpose of explaining the Kṛṣṇa of Hindu miniature painting to those who know little about the subject. In its chapters the author traces the development of the most popular divinity of Hinduism from his first appearance in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, through his rôle of divine hero in the *Mahābhārata*, to the fully developed divinity of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. He then turns to "the Krishna of Poetry," the amorous flute-player of so much lyrical verse in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and the subject of so much lovely and delicate painting. The development of such a wealth of luxuriant erotic imagery around the figure of Krsna is accounted for by the tightening of domestic morals and the growing seclusion of women in the middle ages. The loves of Krsna, whose adventures by no means accorded with orthodox ideas of morality, were "an intimate fulfilment of Indian desires, and exact sublimation of intense romantic needs," which were unfulfilled for the ordinary man in the contemporary social system. This theme is illustrated by lengthy extracts from George Keyt's fine translation of the *Gita Govinda*, and by translations of a number of poems from classical Bengali and Hindi.

The final chapter traces the history of Hindu miniature painting, with special reference to illustrations of the *Kṛṣṇa* legend, down to the wonderful Kangra school, which was the last great school of Indian painting, and on which the author is a leading authority. The book concludes with a brief consideration of later representations of Kṛṣṇa in folk art, and in the works of two modern artists, the Bengali Jaimini Roy and the Ceylonese George Keyt. Forty plates reproduce some of the best masterpieces of the various schools of Indian painting, each illustrating a scene of the Kṛṣṇa legend and accompanied by a brief explanatory note. It is unfortunate that only one of these plates is in colour, for though most are well reproduced, much of their marvellous delicacy is lost in monochrome. This is specially the case with the paintings of the Kangra school, in our view the greatest of all; pictures which in the original are sharp, brilliant and delicate as jewels, often startlingly fresh in their composition and range of colour, seem in these reproductions rather emasculated and flat. For a few more good colour plates the book would have been well worth an extra ten shillings.

Mr. Archer's work needs little criticism, for it wholly fulfils the purpose for which it was written. Its simple, graceful English makes it a pleasure to read for its own sake. We have only a few minor criticisms. The objects of Kṛṣṇa's affections are regularly referred to as "cowgirls"; the choice of this term seems to us unfortunate, for it suggests rather the tough and loud-voiced heroine of "Annie Get Your Gun" than the gentle peasant-girls of Vrndāvana. "Milkmaids" despite overtones of English folksong and country dance, would have been better. Perhaps best would have been to leave the Sanskrit *gopi* untranslated. Some proper names occur in Sanskrit and some in vernacular forms; this may lead to confusion if the class of reader for whom the book is intended follows up his reading by references to other works. In a work intended for the general reader he should be helped to get some idea of the correct pronunciation of Indian proper names; diacritic marks, if not in the text at least in the index, would have helped him. The well-known historian whom Mr. Archer refers to in his bibliography and notes is Professor R. C. Majumdar, not Mazumdar.

A. L. Basham.

A Young Victorian in India. Letters of H. M. Kisch of the Indian Civil Service, edited by his daughter, Ethel A. Waley-Cohen, with an introduction by Philip Woodruff. Jonathan Cape. Pp. 240. Ill. Index. Maps. 25s.

Kisch's letters cover the period 1874-1889. Woodruff, in the introduction, has said all that a reviewer could wish to say and nothing which can be omitted from an adequate description of the contents of this volume of selected extracts.

Two points may be emphasized: that this is valuable material for the historian—"a rich vein" of the kind sought by the writer of "the men who ruled India"; and

that Kisch's personality was apparently a somewhat unusual one. In private letters to his family, he records his experiences—in normal life as a magistrate, in famine areas, in the Bengal Secretariat or as Postmaster-General—in a formal and objective manner, makes few comments—an exception is his reference to the horror and pity he felt for famine-stricken people—and leaves us with a feeling that he was outwardly cold and precise if he had warm inner feelings, and that we do not really know him.

It has recently been made known that the National Register of Archives at the Record Office welcomes information about private papers dealing with historical material connected with India and other British enterprises. This would seem to be a very good brick for this building. It is also of interest to anyone who knows or wishes to know about the British achievement in India.

J. C. C.

The Ride to Chandigarh. By Harold Elvin. Macmillan. Pp. 328. Ill. 25s. net.

It is puzzling to know what this book is intended to be. Anyone, misled by the cover into looking for a factual account of a bicycle journey across India, will be disappointed. The narrative commences *in medias res* at Satara, an inland town of the Deccan, without explanation of how the author got there; and the greater part of his route, from Khandwa to Gwalior, via Indore, is scarcely touched on; the treatment, however, is episodic, and there are some surprising omissions of places *en route*—*e.g.*, Aurungabad and Indore. There is no clear explanation how the author first contacted the four young Indians who accompanied him part of the way, although much of the book is taken up by an account of this portion of the journey and of the varying reactions of his Indian friends. According to the blurb, after leaving the last of his companions at Khandwa, he "cycled on alone for many hundreds of miles through tiger-haunted and bandit-ridden jungle, through desert, village and town, past derelict palaces, forts and cities to Agra and the Taj Mahal"—a description which will make anyone, familiar with this well-known highway, raise his eyebrows. The bicycle journey, in fact, is mainly a means of stringing together, somewhat inconsequently, the author's rhapsodical comments on people and places that have excited his interest. In this way he discusses, amongst others, Shah Jehan, Mumtaz Mahal, Dara Shikoh, Aurungzeb, Daulatabad, Ellora, Ajanta, Agra, Futtehpur-Sikri, and places off the beaten track like Trimbak, Zainabad, Yeola and Asirgarh. His journey comes to an end at Chandigarh, the new capital of the East Punjab, whose unfinished condition apparently was a shock to him.

Perhaps the most interesting features of the book are its revelation of the mind of young India today, as exemplified in Mr. Elvin's four companions, and the unaffected friendliness and hospitality of the many Indians he met.

The author does not reveal whether he knows any of the Indian vernaculars, and one is left wondering how he communicated with people he met on the road while travelling alone. Presumably he does not, and this may explain why the interest of his narrative flags considerably after he separates from his four Indian friends. The novelty of what he saw has perhaps given freshness to the author's viewpoint and enabled him to see the picturesque in trivial happenings and commonplaces which an old resident would have ignored; but his lack of acquaintance with Indian conditions sometimes brings one up with a jar, as when he refers to the ordinary village pi-dog as a wild-dog (which is an altogether different animal). He also refers repeatedly to Khultabad instead of Khuldabad, the leading shrine of Deccani Muslims, and perhaps more generally known under the name of Rauza.

The author's readiness to accept the hardships incidental to a bicycle tour in a country like India is to be admired. The risks he ran were very real, but they were those of dysentery, typhoid and cholera, and not of tigers and bandits; he was lucky to get off as lightly as he did. It is curious, having regard to the eroticism that underlies much of the Hindu religion, to find that the author (p. 224) should have been the champion of "love, and its satiation in every way," while his young Indian friend advocated celibacy.

The remarks above have been somewhat critical, but in view of the author's disarming avowal at page 98 the book must be judged as the light-hearted com-

mentary of a passing stranger on what seemed to him strange and peculiar in the Indian scene. The author has made the most of his slender material, and the reader who does not expect too much will find that the book gives a pleasantly written side-light on the new India that is in the making.

A. C. L.

The Jewel in the Lotus. By the late B. J. Gould. Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. 242. Ill., index, maps. 25s.

Sir Basil Gould, whose recent death was such a sorrow to his many friends, was amongst the last of these Englishmen who gave a whole life's service to the Government of India. He was a member of the I.C.S. for nearly 40 years, during most of which he served in the Indian Political Service and he was on leave pending retirement when India and Pakistan became independent. His account of his life in India is thus of particular interest not only to those who served there but also to those to whom such service is now something of the past.

This book was written because Sir Basil felt that "a certain small boy might soon be wanting to know what life in the Indian Political Service had been like." This object is admirably fulfilled and, since the author served in Sikkim, Tibet, Afghanistan, the North-West Frontier of India, Baluchistan and Persia, he has been able to give a comprehensive picture of the problems with which a political officer had to deal and the way in which he lived. Others have written regarding life in the Indian States.

Although Sir Basil had a very soft place in his heart for Persia and North-West Frontier of India, it is really on account of his service in Tibet that he is best known. He followed the fine example set by Sir Charles Bell, and in addition produced most valuable studies on the Tibetan language, including a Word Book, *Tibetan Syllables* and *Tibetan Sentences*. He also prepared extremely useful language records.

In this book he describes not only the hard side of political life, but also the pleasures and hobbies to which he devoted himself with the same whole-hearted enthusiasm as he showed in his work. Whether it is the social life of Simla, small game shooting, fishing or collecting plants, he gives a lively account of these activities, and there is no doubt that one of the reasons for his success was the way he was able to relax in off-duty hours.

He was fortunate in being on the spot during many events of world importance and describes vividly the Coronation Durbar of 1911, the way in which the supply line in Eastern Persia was organized in the First World War, the events of Amanullah's reign and the short-lived rule of Bacha Sagao. Once more, however, the best of the book is his eye-witness account of the discovery and installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Current events in Tibet make his description of that country and its rulers particularly valuable to-day and he gives vivid sketches of the Dalai Lama himself and of the many other eminent personages with whom he came in contact. He outlines most clearly the development of relations between Britain and Tibet. For these sections alone the book is well worth reading.

Political problems are given brief treatment. This is reasonable as the Author's object was to give a short account of the full and active life of a member of the Indian Political Service. Sir Basil Gould was a devoted servant of both Britain and India. His ability to understand the way of life and thought of those with whom he had to deal is clearly brought out in his own story.

This book is, therefore, not only an account of the past with nostalgic echoes for those whose privilege it was to serve in India, but an inspiration for the future. As Sir Ernest Barker says in his foreword, "The past is in one sense past. In another sense it goes on into the future along with the young and helps to serve their hands for the work which is still to be done."

J. E. F. Gueritz.

Captured in Tibet. By Robert Ford. George Harrap and Co. Pp. 252. Index. 18s.

Robert Ford has given us an excellent, unpretentious and straightforward account of important events. We hear of exciting and harrowing personal experiences during the advance and ultimate occupation of Tibet by the Communist Forces of China, and a factual account of things of very great importance to the future of a large part of Central Asia.

In 1945, a wireless expert was required to relieve Reginald Fox, the radio officer of the British Mission wireless at Lhasa. The author, then a sergeant instructor in radio in the R.A.F. in India, applied and was appointed to the post. He was later, after leaving the R.A.F., employed by the Tibetan Government, was given suitable rank and treated in every way like any other Tibetan officer. When the threat of a Communist advance became serious he was sent to Chamdo in eastern Tibet, nearly 700 miles from Lhasa, to establish a radio station which would give the Tibetan Government early news of developments. Ford, with his Tibetan rank, fitted well into Chamdo society and became a close friend of his chief, Lhalu, whose high position isolated him from his fellow subjects. Ford as a foreigner was able to meet and talk with him more freely than Tibetans could do and this was of great benefit both to Ford and to Lhalu who was lucky to have a man of the author's calibre and education with whom he could converse unrestrainedly. The radio staff consisted of four "Indians" and two Tibetans. Here the word "Indian," although explained, requires some emphasis. The men were Tibetan by language, name, habits, dress and religion but coming from the Indian side of the border, were Indian subjects. All these men were also captured and after somewhat worse treatment than was suffered by Ford himself, were eventually released by the Chinese. Besides being in daily contact by wireless with Fox at Lhasa he also picked up amateur stations in England, Australia, and places in Europe. By a stroke of luck his English contact was from his own home town and through this he was able to communicate with his parents. While he was at Chamdo an incarnate lama, who had strangely enough joined the irreligious Communists, arrived from the north on the way to Lhasa for discussions with the Tibetan Government and Ford entertained him to tea. Two weeks after this the lama died and after his capture Ford was accused of poisoning him and this very nearly cost him his life. On the approach of the Chinese troops it was decided, after some brave but uncoordinated resistance, to evacuate Chamdo and to oppose the Chinese between Chamdo and Lhasa. However, things were left till too late and a Chinese force from the north cut off the retreating Tibetans and many, along with the author himself, were captured. The Tibetans were well treated. They were made to smile while the Communists gave them cigarettes; all this, including the happy prisoners laying down their arms was photographed for subsequent propaganda purposes. It did not take long for the Chinese to start interrogating Ford. A member of the Political Committee explained that, as Tibet was a part of China, his first crime was entering China without a passport. The Chinese had not come to oppress the Tibetans but to liberate the country from British and American Imperialists. Ford replied that there were no Americans in Tibet at all and he was the only British and had entered Tibet at the request of the Tibetan Government to work for them. Every answer he gave to the interrogators was turned against him. For instance: chatting with Fox in Lhasa about the weather was giving him meteorological information which was of military importance. Finally he was accused of poisoning the lama to whom he had given a cup of tea. He was taken to various prisons in China and interrogated again and again. Sometimes he was made to stand at attention for hours while this went on. He was kept for long periods in solitary confinement in a rat-infested dungeon. He was never physically tortured and seems to bear little resentment against his tormentors. His imprisonment lasted four and a half years. Just as he was expected to be released, he was kept a tantalizing extra six months when an Indian airliner taking the Chinese representatives to the Bandung Conference blew up, and the Communists claimed that it had been sabotaged by the Americans and Chinese Nationalists in Hong Kong. It speaks highly for the author that he was able to stand up to such a prolonged strain and is able to give us this excellent book.

F. M. B.

Afghan Interlude. By Oliver Rudston de Baer. Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. 223. Ill., maps. 21s.

In 1954 four Cambridge undergraduates decided on an expedition to Afghanistan; in the summer vacation of 1955 they accomplished it, and in 1956 one of them wrote an account of it.

The expedition, assisted in its venture by gifts or loans from forty-five firms, left Cambridge in June, 1955, in an overloaded Land Rover, which enhanced the reputation of that famous brand of car by carrying its passengers to the edge of the Pamirs and back, without serious breakdown. The objective was originally, and faintly, Wakhan, the long tongue of Afghan territory interposed between the Russian and Pakistan frontiers, coupled with a search for an unknown mountain in the eastern Hindu Kush. More definitely it was " to compile a regional survey of an unknown area in Afghanistan. . . ."

After crossing Europe they took the little-known road across the Anatolian plateau through Erzerum to Teheran, and so by Meshed to Herat. Here they turned north-east to Mazar-i-Sharif, and then south through the passes of the Hindu Kush to Kabul, where they were agreeably entertained in Her Majesty's Embassy, and saw something of life in the Afghan capital. Here also they learned that Wakhan was a prohibited area, but that they were allowed to enter the province of Badakhshan, and " certain unprohibited areas of the valley of the Kokcha river."

They therefore turned north again across the Hindu Kush, and then north-east through Faisabad till they reached their destination, the Boharak plain, which lies apparently almost at the entrance to Wakhan. It must have been tantalizing to have got so close to their ultimate objective, and to be able to see " the glittering Pamir, visible to the east and north-east," and still worse, perhaps, not to be allowed to visit Lake Shiwa where the nomads pasture their flocks in the summer months. But on the whole they were lucky to have got so far. In Boharak they were no great distance from the Russian frontier, and though they seem to have been allowed a freedom rarely accorded to an older generation, they were watched and shepherded wherever they went.

Some fifty pages of the book are devoted to their stay in Boharak, where they seem to have made good use of their time in collecting material for a regional survey. They also managed to climb a 14,000 ft. peak of the Khwaja Muhammad range, and near Faisabad on their return journey to photograph the sang-i-sefid, a stone inscribed in Arabic, commemorating a forgotten battle of the sixteenth century. They returned to England by Kandahar, Teheran and Baghdad.

The book is a well-written, straightforward narrative, of value as adding to our knowledge of a little-known part of the world, and extremely interesting to anyone who has been there. It is not exactly a travel book, for much detail of importance to travellers is omitted, but it is a book which anyone seeking to follow the footsteps of Marco Polo into Central Asia would be well advised to read. For the author has let the story tell itself, and rarely interposes his own views, and yet he writes with a keen eye for the country, and a shrewd understanding of the folk who live in it. He apologies to their erstwhile hosts for making fun of them, and it is possible that the extreme sensitiveness of young people to any form of ridicule may make some incidents in this book unwelcome to Afghan readers. But they are told in a pleasant friendly way, and only once or twice does exasperation at the obstacles always to be encountered in travelling through such remote country get the better of the author's sense of proportion and of humour. At the same time he pays a remarkable tribute to the friendliness and honesty of the Afghan countryman, and to the cleanliness of the hotels in outlying places. In fact, he hardly refers to discomfort at all, though at times it must have been considerable. On one occasion the expedition shared a camping ground with a " Kochi " caravan; surely there were fleas worth mentioning!

We get many quaint familiar things. The pathetic faith of the peasant in the white man's medical efficiency and the scope of his medicine chest—your reviewer remembers once treating a Ghilzai woman on the Unai Pass with salad dressing from his picnic basket as a specific for earache—the broken bridge and how to mend it; the fine disregard for time, so reminiscent of the Scottish Highlander's " God made time, and thank God he made plenty of it "; the friendly sympathy of the

Tajik tea-party on hearing that no member of the expedition had a wife—"Then . . . how do you manage . . .?" echoing almost word for word King Amanullah's remark to the Pope's Chamberlain after an audience in the Vatican in 1928, on learning that His Holiness was similarly placed!

Such incidents and much else in this book leave the impression that these four young men travelled in the right way—observant, tolerant, amused—and have in addition opened a small window into one of the remote areas of Asia through which the rest of us may peer.

The book has some excellent photographs and two maps. There are one or two errors. On page 104 the author has forgotten that the Ghorband, a considerable stream, joints the Kabul River not very far below Kabul; on page 111 he seems to have put the road junction to Bamian on the wrong side of the Shiba Pass; and on page 195 he puts MacNaghten's murder as "in 1840 at the conclusion of the 1st Afghan war," whereas it was in December, 1841—in the middle of it. But these are minor blemishes in a well-told story.

W. K. F-T.

A French Doctor in the Yemen. By Claudie Fayein. Translated by Douglas McKee. London: Robert Hale, Ltd. 1957. Pp. 288, 42 photographs, no maps, index. 21s.

In 1946 a Frenchwoman, Dr. Susanne Sérin, was called in consultation to the Yemen for one of the royal Princesses. Satisfied with the result, the Imam asked for a French surgeon to reside in his kingdom. Consequently Dr. Ribollet was established in the capital. Shortly afterwards six other French medical men and women joined him. One of them died and, after a series of misadventures, the remainder gradually returned to France. Only one of them, Dr. Geneviève Landsoy, had happy memories of her experiences there. By 1948 Dr Ribollet was alone again, and he applied to his homeland for further staff to bring the French Medical Mission back to its original strength.

Dr. Claudie Fayein, married with four children, qualified in Paris in 1940 and at the age of thirty-four applied to the French Foreign Office for a post in the Yemen. That was in January, 1950. By the early months of 1951 she was in the Yemen, having travelled from Aden to Taizz by car. But she did not waste the previous year. She took a course in "psychological testing," others in tropical medicine, Arabic and riding. As a result we have a first-class essay on the Yemen. Her whole book resounds with her enthusiasm and veracity.

"To understand a new country," she says, "one struggles to capture its spirit, one accumulates details out of which he sorts the general characteristics, and most of the time one finds that he has merely scratched the surface."

It is quite clear that Madame Fayein went to the Yemen to travel and to learn. This she certainly has done. From Taizz she journeyed through Zabid and Hais to Hodeida. In Taizz she met a number of the foreigners; three Italian technicians, Syrian schoolmasters, a Lebanese architect, Drs. Toffolon and Merucci (the latter had been there fourteen years), two Swedish pilots and a German economist. Dr. Sorrentino welcomed her at Hodeida and she set out via Hammam Ali and Mabr for Sana'a, where she was to spend her eighteen months' sojourn in the Yemen. "In a trance-like state I was waiting for Sana'a to appear. Zabid Obal and Hammam Ali had completely separated me from the world I had known before."

Dr. Veneroni and Signor Geminiani, the only other Europeans in the town, welcomed her at Sana'a and she soon set about her duties with gusto. She describes the town, and her life in it, in some detail. Humorous, feminine and typically French are many of her descriptions. Domestic matters, female fripperies and occasionally a *risqué* note are introduced. How well she lived her time in Sana'a! The teeming life in the old city and the languorous greenery of the Bir al-Azab cast their spell upon her. Thus, for more than a year, she travelled through the city streets from house to house at the busiest times when all the shops were open and the artisans at work.

There were trials and tribulations in plenty and frustration at the lack of medical supplies. She had no truck with pompous royal princes and on one occasion sent

one packing out of her waiting room for his misdemeanour. On another occasion a Prince and four askaris burst into her bedroom at two o'clock one morning while she was asleep. She was much more concerned with the fact that as she had washed her hair the night before it was hanging in ribbons, than with the rudery of the Prince. This is not typical of the vein of the book. On the contrary, its main contribution to our knowledge of the Yemen lies in her sociological study of the harem and the character of the Yemeni. She has been eminently successful in conveying the whole spirit and tempo of the kingdom. Consequently the book is a great accomplishment.

By her own resolve she managed to visit "Kibs" (August, 1951), Dhamar and Muab (October, 1951) and narrowly missed an opportunity to go to Yarim and Rada. With further enterprise she engineered a journey to Souk al-Khamis, Mafhaq and Manaha in January, 1952. In March, 1952, she skilfully managed to have herself appointed to the Yemeni Government Mission which went to Marib in March, 1952, to make an inventory of the equipment left behind by the ill-fated Wendell Phillips expedition.

Madam Fayein's book is wholly admirable of its class, and we may forgive her shortcomings in Arabic transliteration and the occasional mis-statement of fact about the *Compangnie* des Indes because of her sincerity, initiative and competent recording.

She has been invited, through diplomatic channels, to return to the Yemen. We may hope that she will soon be able to accept this invitation and add to the scanty literature on that enchanting, fertile and colourful land.

ERIC MACRO.

Syria and Lebanon. By N. A. Ziadeh. (Nations of the Modern World.) Ernest Benn. 1957. Pp. 312, 5 maps.

After two chapters on the geography of the land and its history between the Turkish revolution and 1914, the author gives a detailed account of Lebanon and Syria from 1919 to the present day. As the two are intimately connected it is inevitable that the story should jump from one to the other, that they monopolize alternate paragraphs, but this arrangement does distract attention from the sequence of events. It must be confessed that the growing pains of two small countries, the squabbles of politicians for power, and the attempts of medieval ideas of government, to wear modern dress, do make dull reading for all save those to whom politics is the breath of life. To sum up the situation in a sentence: each country is afraid that the other will take an unfair advantage of her. The author has doubts about the success of Lebanon with the religions claiming proportional representation in all departments of government. He suggests that in both countries national patriotism has not yet developed; a man's attachment to his village or tribe is stronger than his feeling for his country.

After the history comes the present economic position, with statistics of revenue, trade, production, irrigation, land tenure, etc. Absentee landlords, who care only for their rents, are the curse, as the author tacitly admits. He sees Israel as the enemy of the Arabs, as it is certainly a nuisance to them, cutting communication by land between the Muslims of Africa and Asia. Lebanon has already received so many refugees—Armenians, Kurds, Assyrians—who have not yet been assimilated, that she is afraid to accept any more and it is feared that an influx of Muslims from Palestine would upset the equilibrium between religions. Effective co-operation between the Arab states seems unlikely, as selfish interests will hinder united action. The treaty between Turkey and Iraq, the Baghdad Pact, raised a storm; Egyptian pride was hurt and an Arab pact was suggested as a counterblast, but no agreement was reached, as Syria wanted an industrial programme based on the collective needs of the contracting parties, not on the projects of individual states, but Egypt would not agree. There is talk of a union of Egypt and Syria, but the author doubts the feasibility of this, and Saudi Arabia does not want any change in the status of Syria. Another problem is the difficulty these states find in marketing their produce, as Syria discovered in 1955.

The author has done a sound piece of work, but some criticisms must be made.

Mistakes in English have not been corrected; e.g., " a few ways in which the governmental task could be improved " (p. 286). This sentence is unintelligible:

> The Lebanese Agricultural and Industrial Credit Bank founded in 1938 extend loans up to 8 per cent. of the total needs of the country, which meant that most of the borrowing came from private sources, which exert interests varying between 20 and 60 per cent. (p. 235).

Sultan al-Atrash becomes the Sultan; Jearablus and Balbak are not the usual English forms of these names; and the Dead Sea is not 4,000 feet below sea-level.

A. S. T.

The Angry Neighbours. By Hector Bolitho. Arthur Barker. Pp. 159. Index, end maps. 15s.

This book covers two periods in the author's life when he was engaged in biography. In 1932 he lived among the Zionists in Palestine and wrote the life of the first Lord Melchett. In 1933 he lived in Transjordan in order to compile a biography of Sherif Hussein. The description of these times is largely autobiographical; the approach is subjective and there is feeling in the writing.

Living with the Zionists the author was constantly nettled both by the way they urged on him propaganda and by their exclusive superiority. Many people have felt this irritation at being subjected to " the treatment," but Mr. Bolitho was shrewd to perceive the racial arrogance of one type of new Zionist. The paradox is that this arrogance recalled more than anything the Rassenstolz of the Nazis: other manifestations there were, for instance something very like the camps of Hitler Jugend. It is obvious that the author has a very sensitive nature and he reacted against being classed as an outsider by turning more and more to a romantic appreciation of the Arabs.

Before the Mandate ended, an Englishman in Palestine was beset by complaints from Arabs that his Government favoured the Jews and beset too by the reverse from the Zionists. The unfairness of this was felt by Mr. Bolitho and perhaps his Arab accusers by now regret that in desperation we departed, leaving the problem unresolved. In this, the book points to one lesson that we should learn: that nations show no gratitude and that, without strength and force, the role of the referee is unenviable.

In his second task Mr. Bolitho must have been handicapped by lack of Arabic and by not knowing an aba from an aghal, but he made friends perhaps the more easily. His sensitivity felt the resentment of the official British there to an interloper who had made friends with the Emir Abdullah. In the palace his life was ambrosial and he saw the better side of the Arab. He was not put off by, nor does he mention, the minor personal discomforts that would have deflected a smaller man—but he appears neither to have been aware of what passed beneath the Arab's mind and behaviour. The biography was never completed but from this work we get a useful brief sketch of the life of the Sherif Hussein.

Hector Bolitho writes with ease and fluency and gives some fine descriptions of people and of things. The reader should not look to *Angry Neighbours* for political or economic background to the problem of Arab and Jew, the author has a gift of description rather than of analysis and makes no claim to be a political surveyor. His trip to Petra is related strikingly and intensely, and it is for the pen pictures of scenes and of places that this should be read by those who seek, not an important but an interesting book.

J. M. C.

Personal and Oriental. By Austin Coates. Hutchinsons. Pp.259. Ill. 25s.

A certain Indian Munshi was fond of telling his students that they would never be able to understand the language correctly until they understood the workings of the Indian mind. Though this is a truism it is very often forgotten by writers and travellers who fall into the trap of measuring Eastern actions and thoughts with a Western yard-stick. How regretably few among the generations of British who

spent their lives in India and the Far East had any real knowledge of the inhabitants of the country in which they served, for all too frequently exploration and travel are supposed to be concerned purely with physical geography; how much more enthralling it is to explore the thoughts and modes of life of strange peoples.

Austin Coates is one of the select band who have travelled widely with both open mind and eyes, the result, as proved by his latest book *Personal and Oriental,* would have gratified my old Munshi, as it will all who read the book. The author presents a clear and unbroken panorama stretching from Koyasan to Istanbul. It is not simply a panorama of landscapes but of the thoughts and lives of the peoples who inhabit this vast belt of the world. A new view is obtained by starting in the furthest East and looking back to the familiar West.

The scene opens in Japan, the real Japan, modern and yet integral with the past, one which the thousands of service officers and men on leave from Korea, drinking their beer in the Marunouchi, never managed to visit. This is perhaps the most enjoyable part of the book as the characters portrayed represent a larger cross-section of the population than in any of the other countries visited and their thoughts are shared in a way a psychiatrist might envy. The Chinese family which occupies the author's attention in Hong Kong is not so representative, but affords a startling insight into some of the problems of that over-crowded colony.

After a short stay in Manila, which somehow conveys the impression of Chicago in the twenties, the scene moves to Burma where a very moving account of a Cockney Buddhist monk provides the one bright spot in an atmosphere of turmoil and fear. The move on to India is viewed as an escape from a tension which old Burma hands will find alarming. In India Austin Coates was invited to breakfast, but stayed for a fortnight, with a very modern Bengali family. As in Hong Kong this family is far from typical but affords an interesting study in Indian political thought; they also show, as do the other Indians brought into view, how slowly the traditions of the British Raj are dying.

The return West is completed via Lahore and Karachi and so by air to Basra and by Taurus express from Baghdad to Istanbul. Though the atmosphere of the "ship cities" of the deserts is captured—it is clear that this is the author's first view of Western Pakistan—he would have found a different country if he had left the cities and, as in Japan, visited the villages. The desire of so many young graduates to imigrate to the West stems chiefly from the over production of lawyers and arts students at the universities and not, as is suggested, from a basic discontent with the State. But the Lahore and Karachi college boy represents only a tiny fraction of the population.

The several very fine photographs with which the book is illustrated prove that Austin Coates is an artist as well as a philosopher. *Personal and Oriental* is a book to be read and to be read slowly as it contains many lessons for those who wish for a deeper knowledge of the peoples of the East.

A. P. H. B. F.

The Golden Bubble. By Roderic Owen. Collins. Pp. 255. Ill. 18s.

This is one of the best books about the Persian Gulf which has appeared recently. Its merit lies mainly in its sincerity. The writer enjoyed his stay in the Gulf enormously and was able to gain the confidence and friendship of the Arabs very quickly. To achieve this he rightly shunned the European guest houses and cantonment life and lived in Arab houses, eating Arab food in the Arab style, making Arab friends. Instead of spending his evenings drinking whisky and soda and gossiping about "home," or talking shop with the British community in clubs and on verandas, he spent them receiving his Arab neighbours or paying calls on them, and taking part in their social life and discussing their interests and sharing their joys and sorrows. In this way he quickly acquired a sympathy with their ideas and a respect for their qualities, which reveals itself on almost every page of the book.

The writer is perhaps specially happy in the lively and interesting account of his visit to Buraimi with Shaikh Shakhbut, whom he portrays with vivid skill and sympathy. From the roar of traffic on Oxford Street we are suddenly wafted to a

Bedouin tent in the Arabian desert with a cry of " qahwa " reverberating as we join the evening majlis of our Arab friends.

Mr. Owen's tact and respect for Arab feelings might well be emulated by many foreigners of much longer residence in the Middle East. Instead of bewailing the weaknesses of the people among whom he sojourned, he gives generous credit to their good qualities—their warmth of heart, their hospitality, their family pride and solidarity, loyalty to friends, even of other race, the interest in other lands and customs, and the simple pleasures of quiet companionship and easy conversation.

Mr. Owen writes well, if discursively. There is a hint of an almost biblical simplicity yet grandeur of style and language which is typical of other greater writers in the past who have sojourned in Arab countries. This comes of life in the desert with its unhurried pace and its serene surroundings. The writing reflects the quiet relaxation of life in this distant corner of the Arab world—the unfailing warmth of the sun, the unchanging blue of the sea, the calm progression of days and seasons, each little different to its predecessor. To readers used to the excited clichés and the clipped jargon of modern journalese, the pedestrian quality of this style comes as a solace and a balm to tortured nerves.

Mr. Owen sees little but harm in the golden bubble if by this he means the blessings of oil. To those, like him, who like the Arab life and tradition, the westernising of these places by oil revenues is a cause of sorrow, and the covetousness the sudden wealth arouses, a menace to order and stability.

His description of Kuwait is unworthy of the rest of the book. It leaves an imprint of superficiality which is disappointing in an otherwise discerning writer and its comments on women are likely to cause offence in some quarters. The spectacular improvement in the life of the people, the social and educational renaissance, and the magnificent public developments apparently did not impress this writer, who dismisses them almost cursorily.

While sympathizing with the birth pangs of democracy in Bahrain and a genuine admirer of its excited exponents, he is able to appreciate both the quality of the British advisers who have toiled to create an ordered and progressive life for the people of these places, and the inherited wisdom of their traditional rulers.

The writer gives a vivid description of the outbreak of anti-British hostility in Bahrain on the occasion of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's visit in 1955, of which he was an eye-witness. While there is no analysis of the causes which led up to this outbreak, it brings out the force of latent hostility to the West, inspired by radio propaganda and other causes, which simmered below the surface of an apparently friendly and peaceful town. The strength of the passions aroused exemplify the tremendous impetus which Arab nationalism has gained even in such a remote corner of the Arab world, and the dangers which beset the long-term stability of the Western interests in the area.

The disappointing thing about the book is that we are left without much advance in our understanding of the causes underlying the unrest in this area. To be profitable, a tale, by pointing a moral or teaching a lesson, however unobtrusively, must leave the reader with a feeling of gain. This book leaves us with a sense of loss and disillusionment where one would expect some hope for the future.

E. A. V. DE CANDOLE.

Land Reform and Development in the Middle East. By Doreen Warriner. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Pp. ix + 197. 18s.

Miss Warriner's book covers rather less gound than the title might suggest. She is concerned only with Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and particularly with agrarian reform in Egypt, the expansion and development of agriculture in Syria, largely by private enterprise and in the north of the country, and developments in Iraq under the stimulus of oil revenues.

There is perhaps a certain *naïveté* and superficiality apparent in the book, the material might be better arranged, and there are some errors. Nevertheless, the author is to be congratulated on grasping the nettle—for many others have fought shy of the intricacy of the subject. Much more than this, however, Miss Warriner has said what she thinks, and said it boldly, and in so doing has rendered a real

service. In particular, she corrects the general opinion amongst moderately informed people in this country that on the one hand the present Egyptian régime is a thoroughly bad one and that the Agrarian Reform of its early days amounted to very little, and that on the other hand Iraq is forging ahead with an altogether admirable programme of economic and social development which is fast eliminating the old problems of poverty and under-development. Indeed, Miss Warriner has perhaps gone a little too far in redressing the balance, but the best part of her book is that towards the end which demonstrates that there is still a social vacuum in Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East which the new barrages, bridges and so on have done little to fill; that there has been lamentably little social, as distinct from economic, progress in Iraq; and that the Egyptian régime, with all its faults, stands (or rather stood when Miss Warriner wrote) for something new and valuable in the eyes of many Arabs—a movement, led by men of middle to lower class, truly native stock, towards the political, economic and social liberation of the people.

Yet it may be doubted if Miss Warriner has emphasized enough or even fully realized what a tremendous step forward in social thinking and ability is represented by Iraq's decision to devote 70 per cent. of oil revenues to development, and by the continued implementation of this decision. Iraq has far to go, but a beginning has been made, her problems are not as nearly insoluble as Egypt's, and she has the money. There is hope.

In her Syrian section, Miss Warriner draws attention to developments which have had far less publicity than those either in Egypt or Iraq. As in the case of Egypt, many people in this country now have a mental vision of Syria as an extremely nationalist, left-wing and hostile country, and the general assumption is made that it is backward into the bargain. Whilst it is true that the political scene is sombre at the moment, this should not obscure the fact that Syria has been the scene of great agricultural advances in recent years. Miss Warriner points out that " As compared with 1934-1938, the area cultivated has doubled; grain production has increased by 64 per cent., and cotton production is now eight times its pre-war average," and the development of north-eastern Syria, where most of these increases have taken place, is an achievement reminiscent of the nineteenth century opening-up of the American prairies. These advances have all been made by Syrian peasants, landowners and entrepreneurs, with no financial assistance either from their own government or from any outside source.

Miss Warriner's book will command the attention of all serious students of the contemporary Middle Eastern scene.

NORMAN L. LEWIS.

The Arabs. By Edward Atiyah. Pelican Books. 1955. Pp. 241. Maps. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Edward Atiyah has written an excellent survey of the Arabs. He starts wisely by defining what he means by that controversial term and says that " in its most significant and common use today the word 'Arab' designates a cultural group. It means all the peoples of the Arab world—namely all that part of the Middle East and Northern Africa (in addition, of course, to Arabia itself), which was permanently Arabized by the Moslem-Arab conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D." For your reviewer that is a perfectly fair definition. If there was no other word to comprise all those peoples, we should have to invent one.

After a couple of chapters dealing clearly and concisely with the rise and fall of the Arab Empire and the place of the Arabs in history, Mr. Atiyah comes to modern times, to which he devotes the bulk of his book. The third chapter gives the story of the Arab renascence, which he dates from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt—a cultural as well as military incursion from the West into the Arab world. He comes then to the " vital years "—to use the expression coined by Mr. Elee Redonice for that period during and after the First World War when the modern shape of the Eastern Arab world was determined. Mr. Atiyah, who wrote his book before Mr. Redonice's was published, gives the conventional Arab view. I doubt if Mr. Redonice would have persuaded him to change his mind. He could, if he wished, have appealed to no less an authority than Lord Balfour, who showed with devastating logic that the various commitments into which we had entered—to the Arabs, the

Zionists and the French—were inconsistent with each other. Naturally Mr. Atiyah, putting the Arab case, does not let us off lightly, and he holds out little hope of a settlement between Arabs and Israel.

At the same time he is no fanatic. He is not afraid to set down the weaknesses of the Arab character and the childishly romantic aspects of their first awakening which resulted in so pitiful an exhibition of disunity and ineffectiveness. He contrasts this with the Turkish renascence, pointing out that the Turks had the proud psychology of an imperial race and did not, like the Arabs, have to bolster up their *amour propre* with a political xenophobia of the modern type or with the re-affirmation of an outmoded theocratic way of life. But he believes that as a result of the debacle in Palestine the mood of the Arabs changed. Disillusionment led to more practical and constructive thinking. Mr. Atiyah's book was published in 1955. Recent events and trends therefore find no place in it. Tunis and Morocco had not won their independence. Jordan had not started its round of disturbances. Bandoeng is not mentioned. The Suez crisis had not taken place. Indeed, Mr. Atiyah believed that our troubles with Egypt were over after the signing of the 1954 Treaty, and that neutralism was on the wane. He would probably feel unable to write in so optimistic a vein today. When he wrote he saw every prospect of the Arab countries, led by Egypt, leaning towards the Western world in their foreign policy and international alignment. He saw no great danger of Communism taking hold either in the internal or external affairs of the Arab countries. Let us hope he may in the long run prove right and that the present phase in Egypt and Syria is only a passing madness, and does not represent the emergence of the real Arab. Mr. Atiyah would no doubt say that that will depend on the West as much as on the East, but it is fair to add that he has no use for the old Arab habit of blaming the British and the French for all their woes.

J. M. T.

Cyprus: A Portrait and an Appreciation. By Sir Harry Luke. George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1957. Pp. 190. With plates. 21s.

This discursive, informative and amusing miscellancy is perhaps the best introduction to Cyprus available to the general reader of catholic interests and civilized tastes. About half the book is concerned with history, the rest being a mixture of topography, folklore, anecdote and *Kypriaķá* generally.

It has two features which are particularly welcome at the present time. Firstly, the author is not preoccupied by current politics. There is one short and sensible chapter on Enosis, which he admits to having written with reluctance. The history, antiquities, customs and scenery of Cyprus are treated as interesting and attractive for their own sake, and not because of their relevance to political agitation and terrorism. This is admirable and has become unusual. Secondly, the book is informed by a sympathetic understanding of the Ottoman Empire and its institutions. Such comprehension is a very desirable though not a common qualification for anyone who undertakes to write about a colony where the social structure is the product of Ottoman rather than British imperialism. It was the Porte which not only encouraged but compelled Turks to emigrate from Asia Minor to Cyprus and so created the complicated distribution of Greek and Turkish settlements all over the island, which now makes it so difficult to formulate a plan of partition.

Cyprus has so much recorded history, has belonged to so many empires and has been influenced by so many civilizations that it is hardly possible to write about it without making mistakes. Those the reviewer has detected in this volume are few and unimportant, but in so accurate a book the following comments may be worth making. The story that the Caliph Abu Bakr invaded Cyprus in 632 (p. 34) has been taken seriously by some professional scholars who should have known better, but it is quite incredible. Not only is this, which would have been the first maritime venture in Islamic history, mentioned by no Arabic chronicle, but at this time there was no Moslem territory whatsoever on the Mediterranean coast from which such an attack could have been launched. The title *Lala* was given to Mustafa Pasha, the conqueror of Cyprus (p. 70), because he had been tutor to Sultan Selim II; he was certainly not a negro, as Sir Harry thinks this title usually implied, but a Bosnian.

The Sultan Mahmud Library in Nicosia is not a seminary (p. 108) and it contains hardly any *Turkish* manuscripts. There are a few unimportant Turkish printed books; the manuscripts are mostly Arabic. A passage on page 132 might lead the reader to suppose that the cross-piece of the ancient trilithon at the Tekke of Umm Haram can be seen. This is not so. The whole monument is now shrouded by green curtains. Ethnarchy was not invented by Mohammed the Conqueror (p. 179); something similar existed in most of the great Moslem empires. The word *mukhtār*, the name given to village headmen in Cyprus, means "chosen," but the office is not now elective. In support of his statement that the Linobambakoi, the curious trimmers between Christianity and Islam, were originally Latin Catholics (p. 144), the author can invoke the formidable authority of the Comte de Mas-Latrie and Sir George Hill, but the reviewer is not convinced. These people were by no means a unique phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire, there is no evidence that they followed specifically Latin, as opposed to Orthodox practices, and there are no known grounds for regarding them as an organized sect at all. There seems, then, to be no reason for supposing that they were descended from any particular community or special category of Cypriots.

The standard of proof-reading throughout the book is high and there is an adequate index. The photographs are plentiful and varied. They have been well chosen and are well reproduced.

C. F. BECKINGHAM.

The Last Migration. By Vincent Cronin. Published by Rupert Hart-Davis. 1957. Pp. 343; small map. 16s.

This imaginative and finely written book is the fruit of an intensive study of tribal life in South Persia. It purports to be the story of a year in the life of one of the great tribal confederations of Fars, culminating in their defeat and disarmament by the Persian army; the name given to them, Falqani, thinly disguises the Qashgai, and much of the story is based on quite recent fact. The author explains in his prologue that his book is neither myth (*afsaneh*) nor history (*tarikh*) but *dastan*, something between the two, which he describes as "the form in which the imagination casts near-factual history." His hero, the Ilkhan or paramount chief, is a philosopher and a mystic as well as a brave and wise tribal leader, a mixture of Hamlet and some Persian legendary hero; the story has an epic quality and, like the Odyssey, is full of homely detail. Mr. Cronin has travelled widely in the tribal country and made good use of his opportunities. Scarcely a facet of nomad life is omitted; the seasonal migrations which can be anything up to 300 miles in length, life in the black tents, sport, war, rug-weaving, the locust menace, summary justice in the court of the Ilkhan. Particularly interesting and well described are the observances and superstitions connected with birth, betrothal, marriage, naming of children, death and burial, the Muharram passion-play and Nauruz, the Persian New Year. Other features of the Persian scene as a whole are introduced: political intrigue at the capital, the mysticism of the Sufis, the Zoroastrians of Yezd, a pilgrimage to the holy city of Meshed.

The literary form into which the author has cast his book has its disadvantages. Reading it as a treatise on the ecology of Persian nomadism, or as the fruit of intensive research into the manners and customs of the Qashgai tribes, one looks in vain for an index, illustrations, references and a bibliography. Moreover, when the reader is taken in imagination to places where the author has evidently not been, such as the Lut Desert and the interior of the Shrine of the Eighth Imam at Meshed, the descriptions lack authenticity. Read as fiction on the other hand the book is somewhat overloaded with factual detail, much of which is of interest chiefly to the student, and with descriptions and philosophic musings which, though of high literary merit, slow down the action. *The Last Migration* is best read for the excellence of its writing and for the message which the author has to deliver. With the poetic eloquence of a Wordsworth he preaches the fundamental harmony between the pastoral nomad and his environment. "A man must be one with the earth" (his hero reflects); "even his mind must be woven like a gold thread into the green carpet." Nothing lasts in Persia but the land, the sky, and "the things which hover

between, metaphysics, religion, poetry." To our author Tehran is "a head grown monstrous huge on a weakened body" and he passionately condemns the central government's policy, initiated by the late Shah Reza Pahlevi, of forcibly settling the tribes on the land. In the words of the doomed Ilkhan's swan-song:

Sun, moon and stars, clouds winging rain from the Caspian, the intermarrying wind; we move with them. To still that spinning in one least part is unnatural, evil. . . . We are the guardians of water and grass: we are the last whose blood moves, like oceans, to the tug of moon and sun.

Many a lover of old Persia will deplore with the author the passing of the great tribal migrations. But, provided that Persia is left to develop in peace, there is no alternative. Hitherto Persia has been for its size a very poor country, obliged to exploit its natural resources as best it can. Granted that the summer and winter grazing-grounds of the tribes and the rugged lands between cannot be cultivated extensively without heavy capital expenditure on irrigation-works, afforestation, roads, etc., and that the necessary capital is not available, pastoral nomadism is the best, in fact the only peaceable, way of life for their inhabitants. But the days of Persia's poverty are passing. A major share of the annually increasing oil revenues is already being devoted to development, and sooner or later the turn of the southern highlands will come. The taming of those other Highlands north of the Tweed has not resulted in any marked deterioration of their human stock, and there is no reason to suppose that it will be otherwise with the descendants of Ghazan Khan, Ilkhan of the Falqani, and the picturesque warrior-shepherds he led.

C. P. SKRINE.

Turkey in My Time. By Ahmed Emin Yalman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. 294. Ill. Index. $4.00

Mr. Emin Yalman is one of the most distinguished of Turkish editors and journalists. In his book he gives the story of his life. But the book is also a history of Turkey from the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 till today. Mr. Yalman is a controversial figure in Turkish public life and his autobiography is full of his troubles with the authorities, the closing down of his paper for long periods, his arrest and trial for being too plain speaking during the harsher period of Mustafa Kemal's régime, and his acquittal. Finally there was the attempt on his life by fanatical reactionaries from which he fortunately recovered. Mr. Yalman's life has certainly been a stormy one.

There are many interesting sidelights which come out in these pages. For instance, he writes on page 23 that the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 was partly brought on by British foreign policy, its continual wavering and uncertainty and, in Turkish opinion, its final capitulation to Russia when King Edward and Tsar Nicholas met at Reval in 1907. The Young Turkish patriots decided that the time had come to strike before the Empire was dismembered.

But within the Young Turk movement there were many different points of view. Mr. Yalman, on page 31, makes one revealing observation. He thinks that, but for foreign interference, "Armenians, Greeks and Arabs would still be in Turkey . . . pursuing a peaceful common course." Many people who knew Turkey in those days have felt that this was probably true. He also thinks (here again those who lived through those days will agree with him) that if Britain had handled the Young Turk movement with more tact and sympathy, Enver Pasha would never have been able to drag Turkey into the war against the Entente Powers as a satellite of Germany.

Mr. Yalman describes various journeys he made in Germany and Eastern Europe as war correspondent for Turkish newspapers during the First World War. He relates one sensational meeting he had on the train travelling back to Turkey with Mustafa Kemal, who had just successfully commanded the Turkish forces at the Dardanelles. Mustafa had been so successful that he had incurred the enmity of Enver Pasha, who knew that he (Mustafa) disagreed with his pro-German policy. Mustafa confided to Yalman that Turkey had already lost the war and was fast becoming a German colony. This profoundly shook Yalman.

After the defeat and collapse of the Young Turk regime, Yalman describes his

further journalistic activities in Istanbul during the British occupation. He began at this time to feel that the United States was going to be the best friend and helper to new Turkey, for he saw that America disapproved of the whole British pro-Greek policy in the Middle East. Along with other Turks he founded the "League of Wilsonian Principles," which ultimately joined up with the National Movement of Liberation from foreign occupation led by Mustafa Kemal. But before this happened he was arrested by the British and exiled for a year to Malta. He does not allow this, however, to unduly influence him against Britain. In an important passage at the end of Chapter 8 he speculates what might have happened if Mustafa Kemal had not succeeded in escaping from the British into Anatolia to start the great Turkish national revival. He thinks it a fortunate combination of circumstances that while Mustafa escaped the British, the latter continued to encourage the Greeks to conquest and domination in Anatolia. This aroused the fury of the Turks in a way which might otherwise have taken years to be realized.

After the great Turkish victory at the battle of Sakaria Yalman describes how Mustafa rejected the request that he go to the tomb of a local saint and give thanks to Allah in prayer. He upraided the local mullahs who asked for this and said that his soldiers had won the victory and not a dead saint. This was a warning that secularism was on the march.

After his release from Malta, Yalman describes his activities in Ankara in assisting at the birth of the new Republic. One can get a good idea from the book of the internal struggles that went on around Mustafa Kemal to decide such questions as the abolition of the Sultanate, the Caliphate, the Arabic script and the fez. He confirms the impression that Mustafa Kemal made only one bad mistake when he instituted a minor purge and put a number of his opponents to death for alleged conspiracy. He thinks he repented later and certainly he never did such a thing again. Yalman was himself a victim for a short time and he describes how his independent critical writing got him into trouble. But by this time Mustafa had calmed down and he was released and the incident forgotten. Yalman describes the effect in Turkey of Mustafa Kemal's, now Ataturk's, death. "We all wept, the whole nation wept. We could not imagine now Turkey without him. . . . The Ataturk had struggled firmly not to become a dictator in spite of his personal power and prestige. The new régime exhibited democracy in form but with a stiff dose of personal power and an inefficient bureaucracy. . . . But the main contribution of Ataturk to the prosperity and survival of the Turkish nation consisted in his liquidation of all tendencies to irridentism, imperialism and militarism."

The latter part of the book concerns the successful founding of the paper which Mr. Yalman now edits, the *Vatan*. The paper had a checkered career at first and was suppressed for long periods owing to fearless and critical comments on the actions of the Government, the demand for remedying abuses and for dealing with incompetent officials and with corruption. A dangerous attempt was made to arouse religious fanaticism and to re-establish the old Islamic law. He was a victim of attempted assassination by one of these agents. But the danger passed.

Yalman was at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and experienced the hopes and fears of this post-war phase. He, like others, expected much from that conference and came away disillusioned. He seemed then to be toying with the idea of World Government, but the attitude of Russia was a severe shock.

He returned to Turkey to take part in the great events which led to the end of the one-party system, to the General Election of 1950 and the peaceful coming into power of the Democratic Party. The new government was faced with the problem of the economic development of Turkey and of raising the living standards of the people. As Yalman puts it: "The new government erred in the direction of limiting liberty to gain order." Yalman had not objected to the original Press Law which actually did little more than fill the gap due to the absence of a libel law in Turkey. But as the pace of capital construction and foreign borrowing increased, resulting in boom and inflation, popular discontent rose. A new Press Law practically suppressed independent criticism. In his last chapter, Yalman sums up in these words: "As an incorrigible optimist I once more have overlooked the fact that stupidity remains the determining factor in shaping history." And so Mr. Yalman ends the biography of his stormy life which he is still enjoying.

M. P. P.

Agricultural Development and Research in Syria. By A. F. Money-Kyrle. Beirut, Lebanon. Pp. 56, maps, plates.

This little book is the second to be published by the recently established Faculty of Agricultural Sciences at the American University of Beirut. It summarizes some of the facts about Syrian agriculture, usefully digests some of the survey, research and development work done in Syria, and contains a useful bibliography.

N. N. L.

Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya. By C. G. Allen and Audrey G. Donnithorne. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 321. 25s.

This book is a companion to *Western Enterprise in the Far East: China and Japan*, by the same authors, and ends the first part of an enquiry and appraisal of Western enterprise in the economic development of East and South-east Asia. Like its predecessor, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya*, it is limited in intention. Events have, of course, been moving fast in both Indonesia and Malaya in recent months. Nevertheless, the authors have provided a very useful introduction to a study of the economic possibilities that are ahead of both countries, and they show up some interesting contrasts that derive partly from the differences in the population and partly from the colonial policies of Britain and the Netherlands. State guidance of agriculture and industry was, for example, undertaken much later in Malaya under the British than it was in the Netherlands East Indies. Indonesia has had, as well, to fight for its independence in circumstances which have left suspicion and hatred, whereas Malaya has gone relatively smoothly along the road.

The authors begin with a general historical introduction that illustrates how Western enterprise, in various forms, has affected Indonesia for a much longer time than it has affected Malaya. When Raffles introduced a liberal economy into Java in about 1815, the great port of Singapore had yet to be founded, and foreign footholds in the Malayan peninsula were confined to Penang and Malacca. The hinterland of Java and many of the outlying territories of what is now Indonesia had been under Dutch control for some time, whereas the interior of Malaya was still largely undeveloped and disorderly. The problems of a plural society were then non-existent in Malaya, but in Java and the outlying islands of Indonesia the Chinese had already begun more to make themselves felt. As Singapore expanded into a great entrepôt and as the interior of the Malayan peninsula became more orderly under British influence, however, Chinese immigration into Malaya grew to be of great importance. But it developed along different lines from those it had done in Indonesia. British policy in Malaya had the effect of creating conditions congenial to the private *entrepreneur*. In Indonesia, however, the Dutch at first reversed Raffles policy of liberalism and introduced the Culture System with regulation of crops and peasant labour in the interests of the metropolitan country. Later, when the abuses of this system became known in Holland, it was modified and finally abolished, but the resentment it caused among the Indonesians lasts until this day. Nothing like it ever occurred in Malaya.

Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya deals in some detail with the different instruments of Western enterprise in the two countries. The managing agency played a much greater part in the development of both countries than it did in Japan or China. And the fact that both countries were intimately connected with Metropolitan Powers who could dictate in many ways the order of their development and were themselves connected with world-wide markets and trade organisations, sheltered them to some extent from the effects of slumps, crop crises, and mistaken initiatives.

In addition to giving a history of some of the leading companies in the two countries, this book deals in detail with agriculture, the rubber industry, palm oil and cocoa, the mining and oil industries, banking, shipping, public utilities and commerce. It ends with a survey of achievements and prospects. The future so far as Malaya is concerned naturally depends upon the road the prospective Malayan Government chooses to take, and discussion of it is bound to be speculative. In the case of Indonesia, however, it seems to be less so. A fervent nationalism that

discriminates against foreigners of all descriptions, whether Western or Chinese, a desire to transfer Western enterprise into the hands of imperfectly trained Indonesians, a partial breakdown of law and order, and other factors destroying the confidence that might encourage the entry of much-needed foreign capital, make the future there look somewhat bleak.

The book has been carefully compiled, with great attention to detail, and is very readable. It can be recommended to the student of economic affairs in South-east Asia.

J. M. D. HOSTE.

The Far East in the Modern World. By F. H. Michael and G. E. Taylor. Methuen and Co., Ltd. With coloured relief maps and several sketch maps. Pp. 724 with index. 50s. net.

Part I deals with the geography and civilization of China at great length, and the density and increase of the population which led to food shortage. The existence of the "scholar-gentry" is explained and their over-riding influence on the affairs of the country where emphasis is laid on education and examinations. The social life of the "lower classes" is shown in comparison with the "scholar-gentry" class. The growth of secret societies, culminating in the Taiping and Boxer rebellions, led to Western interference in China's internal affairs, in which the importance of the tea trade was paramount. Tea was paid for by the import of opium, which found a ready sale. Western Powers forced China to concede trading concessions.

There is an interesting chapter on Chinese ideology and religion and the importance of the Family Cult.

Chapter II deals with Chinese Dependencies and the demands by Japan and the Western Powers for concessions of territory in Formosa and the islands to which China was compelled to yield. In view of recent events it is of interest to read that Tibet was a Chinese Dependency. The situation in Korea, which had its own King, is fully described.

Part 2 gives much detail of Feudal Japan and the rise and fall of the Feudal system and the fanatical loyalty of their followers to the feudatory chiefs. We should like to have heard something in this connection of the sublime act of the "49 Ronins" who committed suicide.

Chapter IV, with a map, gives information with regard to South-east Asia, its early history and social conditions of the peoples.

Chapter V is of absorbing interest in its description of the early history of Russia and the gradual encroachment of Russian influence into Manchuria and China. Siberia was at that time being developed by Cossacks as well as political prisoners and peasants who, strange as it may appear, regarded Siberia as a land of promise.

Foreign trade is adequately dealt with in Chapter VI. The wrangles of the Western Powers with Chinese authorities and the policy of the "Open Door" are shown in their true perspective. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Chinese hated all foreigners on principle whom they regarded as "foreign devils" and "barbarians," and had very little use for foreign imports such as, for example, the English woollens. Restrictions on trade led to war with China, which was ended by the Treaty of Nanking and the cession of Hong Kong to England in 1842.

Part III deals with American influence in the Pacific and her efforts to establish trading bases in that area. Intense trading competition with England formed the foundation of her efforts. Her policy *vis-à-vis* China is given in some detail.

Japanese intervention and struggle for supremacy in Manchuria, which followed the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese, led to the intensive industrial and economic development of that region and laid the foundation of the present day development by the Chinese.

In Chapter VII the authors give a comprehensive account of the internal affairs of China and the fall of the Manchus dynasty which "no longer controlled effectively the beaurocratic machine, and bribery and corruption had got out of hand." Reforms introduced against strong opposition were swept away by the Empress Dowager, who gave her support to the Boxers, but after her death certain reforms were introduced. We could have welcomed more details of the life of this remark-

able woman, one of the outstanding characters of the ruling classes of China. In spite of her hatred of the English and all foreigners, she was a true patriot, and according to her lights she did her best for her country. Her memory is worthy of deep respect from friend and foe alike. She, together with great names such as Sun Yat-sen, Li Hung-chan, and Chiang Kai-shek, follow each other across the stage of the Chinese political area, each in their own way lending their influence to the trend of affairs.

The effects of European Colonial rule in the south-east of Asia are fully summarized in Chapter IX. Here we can discern the rise of nationalism and the subsequent demand for self-government which has convulsed many of the countries concerned in suicidal strife within their borders. Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

Deprived of Western Government, they fell into anarchy with subsequent loss of trade, misery and abject poverty of the people. Here the reader must make allowance for the well-advertised opposition of American sentiment to what they stigmatize as "colonialism" when practised by countries other than their own, but nevertheless, the Chapter affords matter of intense interest to the impartial reader and is not to be passed over lightly.

Chapter X gives an illuminating picture of the widely flung sphere of Russian influence in the Far East which may be compared with her efforts today in the Middle East. The story is continued in Chapter XI, which deals with the 1917 Revolution in Russia and the spread of Communism in the Far East. The mutiny of Russian troops in Iraq led to near disaster to the British XIII Division beyond Baghdad. The tenets of Marx and Lenin are analyzed in some length. Soviet policy is well described and her political relations with the Western Powers are explained at some length. The outstanding feature of Russian policy may perhaps have been the establishment of the Communist State in China and the Moscow-Peking Alliance which was to have a great influence on China in the Far East. This inevitably led to conflict with Japan and the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese until their final defeat in the World War.

The situation in Japan is described in Chapter XIII. The ascendency of the military influence gives a vivid impression of the precarious state of the country whose unscrupulous use of political assassination gives a lurid insight into their methods. Japan's reasons for her entry into the war are examined with impartiality and afford a clear view of the complexity of her economic and political considerations. The restoration of the personality of the Emperor and the universal reverence due to him are related in detail. This accounts to a great degree for their mental shock when the Emperor decided on surrender to the Western Allies. It is interesting to learn that from the first the Emperor was opposed to entering the war, and his final acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration came as a relief to the Peace Group and the mass of the people who saw therein relief from the hardships of war.

Chapter XIV describes the results of the war on the Far Eastern countries, and Chapter XV gives a full account of American policy in the Far East.

This great book was written by Americans for Americans. The authors have written with remarkable absence of bias, and such comments they have included are fair and just as a general rule. It is a most valuable addition to the literature on this engrossing subject and should be of the greatest interest to anyone who is interested in the Far East. Altogether a book to be highly commended.

H. E. CROCKER.

The Far East, 1942-45. By F. C. Jones, Hugh Borton and B. R. Pearn, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press. Pp. 589, maps, index. Price, 60s. net. With an introduction by Arnold Toynbee.

This weighty tome demonstrates clearly and precisely the results of the Second World War which resulted in the collapse of Japan, the decline of British influence in the Far East, and the emergence of China as a great Communist power.

In Part I, Dr. Jones deals in detail with the Japanese conquest of South-east Asia, partly from strategic and partly from economic reasons. The Japanese overran

China and spread into Indo-China and the islands of the Pacific, as well as into Burma, Siam and Malaya, where their harsh treatment of the natives led to savage reprisals. Their half-promises of independence were never intended to be fulfilled.

The chapter on Japanese Diplomacy is of special interest and sheds a revealing light on the relations which existed between Japan and her Western partners. Germany endeavoured without success to induce Japan to attack Russia. The diplomatic exchanges between the partners are of great interest and, though somewhat complicated and bewildering, give the reader an excellent insight into the complexities of the political views of the countries concerned. Military operations were regulated by the Berlin Agreement signed in January, 1942, between Japan and her allies, but there was little or no co-operation between them, and divergence between Japan and Germany was increased by the German attack on Russia.

It was the War Party that forced Japan into the war against the desire of the Emperor, who was faced with possible deposition should he refuse. His ultimate decision to surrender and to accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, was received with relief by the Peace Group after the tragedy of the atom bomb on Hiroshima by the Americans.

On page 84, Dr. Jones gives a clear account of the Japanese aims and objects in the Far East through the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere. She considered that she had a sacred mission to emancipate from contact with the West.

Part III. China. " Western Powers and the Soviet Union " (page 149) gives a good impression of the state of affairs in China from 1941 onwards. We are introduced to Chiang Kai-shek, who was fighting the Japanese with the National Army as he felt sure that Japan would sooner or later become embroiled with some great Western Power. We have a good insight into the historical background of China and the rise to power of the Communists which led to the final struggle with the National Army. Pages 184 and 185 give a succint account of American policy *vis-à-vis* China.

The war in Burma is adequately dealt with and the resultant state of anarchy and brigandage which still prevails. The withdrawal of the British led to demands for complete independence which was finally granted.

The " Quadrant " and "Sextant " Conferences between British and Americans emphasized the difference of objective entertained by Churchill and Roosevelt. Section (*a*) highlights American policy *vis-à-vis* China in which the Soviet Government professed to concur. Russia at this time was favourable towards Chiang and the Kuomintang régime, and the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed in 1945 by which China and Russia agreed to help each other in the war against Japan.

In Part II, Dr. Jones gives a comprehensive outline of the result of the collapse of Japan in the Far East and a detailed résumé of American policy in China. The conditions in China, with the rise of Mao tse Tung, are well described after the capitulation of Japan. On page 195 we have a statement by President Truman justifying American intervention in Chinese affairs.

In his chapter on South-east Asia, B. R. Pearn describes in some detail the complexity of the political situation between August, 1945, and December, 1946, consequent on the elimination of European administrators.

Hugh Borton tells the story of the Allied occupation of Japan which revolves round the personality of General MacArthur. The conditions of the Potsdam Declaration were to be fulfilled and the people were shocked into acquiescence. The basis of American-Japanese policy is adequately described. On page 324 the chart of SCAP gives a useful guide to its ramifications. The task of forming Japan's Constitution on democratic principles was taken in hand, and here Borton gives a full account of the proceedings of SCAP and of the political situation.

The reasons for the American occupation of Korea are explained in the Section headed " Korea under American and Soviet Occupation." At the Moscow Conference in 1945 it was decided that Korea should be set up as an independent State. The 38th parallel was regarded as a temporary measure only. This section also deals with the conditions prevailing in South Korea prior to the war.

The Trusteeship System inaugurated by the Americans for the Territory of the Pacific was submitted to Roosevelt by the Secretary of State and the final chapter of the book tells how this principle was applied.

This is a book of absorbing interest and the joint authors are to be congratulated on their work. It is no easy task to present facts of history in an interesting form to the average reader, but in this respect they have fully succeeded.

H. E. CROCKER.

Communism in Asia. Captain Malcolm Kennedy. Pp. 555. Index, maps. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 42s.

This important short history of Communism in Asia runs to over five hundred pages and is a valuable contribution to a subject of great interest. The author is well qualified to write on this subject by long residence in the East; part of the time as a British Language Officer in Japan and part as correspondent for the leading Press Agency, as well as being employed in the Far Eastern Division of the Foreign Department.

It was Zinoviev who asserted that the road to world revolution lies through the East rather than through the West and the author's researches and conclusions confirm this theory. The subject is treated objectively and comprehensively and will remain on the shelves of those concerned as a standard work of reference for a very long time. Communism's struggle for recognition has been going on for over seventy years. Russia having mostly been its home and inspiration.

Always it has been the doctrine of the underprivileged and often an expression of extreme Nationalism. There have been fluctuations when the proletariat considered themselves the only protagonists, the peasants only joining in the movement on sufferance. In some countries, Communism and Nationalism have been opposed, particularly in Japan, and its progress has been slow. Since the British departure from India it has not appeared that the Communist doctrine has been the easy way of government that many Indians imagined. Countries with a low standard of living have usually been the most ready to adopt its trusts, but successful government does not always follow automatically. The art of good government does not necessarily spring from Communist earth as so many ardent Communists believe.

Captain Kennedy takes us from country to country to show the growth of these sinister beliefs. Russia, the Far East, South-East Asia, Japan, Korea, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. The country least affected seems to be Thailand. Even here there are some three million Chinese who form a dangerous nest of unrest.

The mass populations of Eastern countries must give rise to alarming misgivings in the Occident, but the difficulties pertaining to government may check the present rate of advance. In China one feels that there are indications that the individualistic nature of the Chinese may cause set-backs of no small degree.

Captain Kennedy quotes Napoleon's forecast that the destinies of Europe would one day be decided in Asia. This forecast may be correct, but until a high wave of industrialization sweeps the East, one may say that it is still in the nature of an unfulfilled prophecy. Pressure of population may do strange things, but Japan, which suffers more perhaps than any other country, shows least sympathy to Communism.

America with her dislike of what she calls "Colonialism" does not escape the enmity of the Communistic countries, exactly the reverse being the case.

Cracks in the fabric of government in Russia may be repeated elsewhere and this canker in the body politic may go the way of other mis-governments. It must be said, however, that the author does not seem to visualize this happy state of affairs. His last suggestion that Peking's admission to the League of Nations, and a settlement in Formosa would help to counter grievances, may be of value, but on the other hand it might be interpreted as a marked success in the march of Communism.

H. ST. C. S.

Betrayal of an Ideal. By G. A. Tokaev. Translated from the Russian by Alec Brown, with an introduction by Sir David Kelly, G.C.M.G. London: The Harvill Press. 1954. 8vo, cloth. Pp. xvi + 298. Illustrations. 21s.

Comrade X. By G. A. Tokaev. Translated by Alec Brown. The Harvill Press. 1956. 8vo, cloth. Pp. 370. Illustrations. 21s.

These two books should be read consecutively. They are important contemporary documents covering the whole period of the Russian Revolution from 1917 to 1947, written by a man who grew up with and, indeed, out of the Revolution.

In the introduction to the first volume, Sir David Kelly, with his usual flair for synthesis, gives the pith of the work:

"It contains the most vivid and illuminating picture from the inside of the first great stage of the Revolution, which has yet been published. There are two outstanding reasons for this: Colonel Tokaev has spent two years in the Pioneers, six in the Comsomol, sixteen as a Party member, he has been a member of the Officer Corps for fifteen years and a senior lecturer at a Moscow Academy of university rank. On the other hand, he is not a Russian but a Caucasian, born into a proud independent patriarchal peasant culture. . . . He is the most distinguished of the 'Defectors' who have sought refuge in the West. . . . He writes with the direct simplicity of Defoe."

During the Second World War, Tokaev had a distinguished career as an aeronautical specialist, and in 1945 was appointed Marshal Zhukov's deputy in East Germany, with the task of enlisting the co-operation of German scientists for work on missiles capable of crossing oceans. From Berlin he sought refuge, finally, with the British authorities.

Betrayal of an Ideal covers the period up to the middle thirties when the first great "Purge" of the opposition was carried out following the shooting of Kirov in Leningrad. Tokaev gives an impressive and exciting account of the build-up of the opposition against the Stalinist régime under the inspiration of some of the great architects of the Revolution of 1917 (for instance, Bukharin and Yenukidze). To the historian, the period will recall the parallel of the Decembrist movement against Tsar Nicholas I, 110 years earlier. It is a sobering thought that the great ferment of Russian liberalism in the early nineteenth century was frustrated for three generations and finally found deformed expression in the movements of 1905 and 1917. In the end, the nihilist movement, rather than reformism, proved to be the catalyst of the imperial autocracy.

Tokaev is emphatic that the peoples of the Soviet Union must be left to work out their own salvation. "Liberation by foreign intervention is worse than worthless" (*Comrade X*, p. 31). This theme was well illustrated during the phase of the Hitlerian intervention. Tokaev is perhaps unduly severe on General Vlasov (pp. 190-91). It has become evident from other sources that Vlasov had a formidable following and that in the end the Nazis themselves came to fear him and decided to liquidate his movement. Equally the Germans failed to understand the aspirations of the national minorities within the Soviet Union. The impact of invasion tended indeed to strengthen the national sentiment of the Great Russians. Politically, the direct German assault on Moscow probably saved the Stalinist régime at the moment when it was discredited by the mass surrenders of the opening weeks of the campaign of 1941 and the general display of muddle and lack of confidence. (*Comrade X*, chapters 19-21.) Later Pan-Russian chauvinism developed. The minority nationalities suffered in a rising tide of vicious genocide which swept away the Crimean Tartars and several of the smaller nationalities of Caucasia. The "liberalizing" elements in the Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy were either liquidated or they faded out. Surprisingly, in Tokaev's narrative, the Mingrelian Beria emerges as the chief of the "liberals" and the sponsor of the "All-Union" as opposed to the "Pan-Russian" conception of the Soviet State.

Tokaev has a caustic criticism to make of "co-existential junketings."

"In consolidating his power Stalin was, tragically, aided by foreign statesmen. In 1935 he made a master move. Deeply committed to a policy of annihilating all opposition at home, abroad he joined the League of Nations. After this, foreign statesmen visited him—Pierre Laval, President Benes, Anthony Eden. To the democratic opposition within the USSR these visits were a mortal blow, as ill-timed as

had been the recognition of the USSR by the United States in 1933. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean that it was bad that the USA established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; indeed, it was unfortunate that they were so slow to take the step. It was the timing that was tragic—at the height of the great famine in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, a famine caused directly by Stalin's brutal policy of land-collectivization, in which millions died of starvation. Recognition was swiftly followed by lavish technical and technological aid; the Stalin régime, as yet most unstable, was thereby immeasurably encouraged and strengthened." (*Comrade X*, pp. 30 ff.)

Again, Tokaev underlines the disastrous effects on Russian opinion of the concessions made by the Anglo-Saxon powers to Stalin during and after the Yalta Conference:

"The policy of the USA and to some extent of Britain towards the East European countries enslaved by the Nazis was becoming increasingly ambiguous and appeared to be a policy of capitulation. . . . We felt that if the USSR had been a country of tyranny before the Yalta Conference, it had been made doubly so at Yalta by the approval of the United States and Britain. . . . Mr. Davis, who had been American Ambassador in Moscow and ought to have known better, said that the Yalta decisions brought life and hope to millions, and were the basis for a worthy, safe and just international community. Orthodox Stalinists now had only to quote against us the American press." (*Comrade X*, p. 275.)

Tokaev goes on to recall the words of Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons in February, 1945:

"Marshal Stalin and the Soviet Union have given us their solemn assurance that the sovereign independence of Poland will be preserved. . . . The impression which I have formed from my journey to the Crimea and all my other opportunities for joint discussion is that Stalin and the other Soviet leaders desire to live in honourable friendship and equality with the Western democracies. I also consider that they are the masters of their own word. Never before has any Government fulfilled its obligations so well, even at its own loss, as the Soviet Russian Government."

The author comments bitterly enough but not without justice:

"Admittedly the revolutionary democrats of the USSR have not so far overthrown the Kremlin, but at least, at risk of life and liberty, they try; and at least, they do get at the facts and they try to make them known. Yet in the infinitely easier conditions of the West, I do not think that one man in a thousand realizes either what the criminal record of the Kremlin is in regard to the non-Russian peoples, or how great the guilt of Washington and London has been in giving it their moral backing and—perhaps to cover their own war-time mistakes, in maintaining the conspiracy of silence." (*Comrade X*, pp. 276-7.)

The events described by Colonel Tokaev are now ten years old. But his observations are valid today. It would be interesting to read his commentary on the attitude of UNO to the Hungarian rising in 1956. The sublime Mr. Hammarskjöld is certainly a candidate for the Yalta Pantheon.

Mr. Alec Brown has made a competent job of the translation of the two volumes. The photographs are original and interesting and have been well chosen. Only a few misprints have been noted: *Comrade X*, p. 231, "Guderman" is presumably "Guderian"; p. 262, "1904" should read "1804." Reference is made to the death of Ordzhonikidze in 1947 (*Betrayal of an Ordeal*, p. 216). *The Great Soviet Encyclopædia* records his death as on November 18, 1937.

W. E. D. ALLEN.

Economic Structure of the Yuan Dynasty. By H. F. Schurmann. Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan Shih, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XVI, Cambridge, Mass. 1956. Pp. xvii + 252.

In every chapter of Mr. Schurmann's book, there are two parallel sections: the first being an explanatory note of the second, the translation. In all, he has translated two of the five chapters on Food and Money (Shih Huo Chih) of the Yüan Shih. I am not sure whether this is the most convenient arrangement.

Mr. Schurmann observes that "the case of the Yüan dynasty is complicated by

the fact that China was only part of a vast, diffuse Mongolian empire stretching, at one time, to the eastern confines of Europe and deep into the South Seas." This, in fact, can be carried a step further by saying that the study of the history of the Yüan (1280-1368) is made even more difficult by the slipshod Yüan Shih. Ku T'ing-lin and Chu I-tsun said this a long time ago. The first compilation of the Yüan Shih took only 188 days the second even less, 183 days. A year's time, in total, seems too short for writing a history of 210 chapters. Therefore, during the Ch'ing dynasty, a number of historians made important contributions and necessary corrections to put the Yüan Shih in a better order. There were Shao P'ing-yüan in K'ang-hsi period, Ch'ien Ta-hsin in Ch'ien-lung period and Wei Yüan in Tao-kuang period, for instance. There were also Hu Ts'ŭi-chung and, above all, K'o Shao-min and his Hsin Yüan Shih. For reasons unknown, Mr. Schurmann dismissed them all from his explanatory notes, with the only exception on p. 41, where K'o's Hsin Yüan Shih is mentioned.

I do not attempt to say in this review that K'o Shao-min has proven himself a better able compiler than Sung Lien. But I cannot help feeling that a translation of the Yüan Shih without careful collation with the Hsin Yüan Shih and other major works on the same dynasty inevitably results in an unfinished product. Two examples will have to suffice: first, the Shih Huo Chih of the Yüan Shih does not have a section on Population and Households (the basis of Ting Shui), while the Hsin Yüan Shih devotes a long section to it; and, second, the section on the Salt System (another important tax) in the Hsin Yüan Shih is three times as long as that in the Yüan Shih. I fail to see how one can obtain a comprehensive picture of the economic structure of the dynasty without consulting more frequently, at least, K'o's book.

Yet major works on the Yüan in Western languages are "as scanty as morning stars." Mr. Schurmann's effort is welcome and will be appreciated by Western students of the Yüan economy for years to come. The translation is generally reliable and at times good. The following are the only few doubtful renderings and transliterations that I have found out and would like to point out here:

P. xi, 12, chu-yü, pearls or jewels, *not* "cinnabar."

P. 119 (14b6), Ch'un-hsia, Spring and Summer, not "summer and fall."

P. 119 (14b6), Chiang-nan, "South China" is misleading.

P. 119 (15a1), Hsin-k'ai ho, Hsin-k'ai River, not "the newly opened canal." The river is the lower reach of Lai which flows into Nan-yang Lake in Shantung.

P. 37, Ch'ü-mi-yüan, Shu[1], not Ch'ü.

P. 72, Ho-ku, ho-mai—"forms of corvée." This seems vague. A footnote is, I think, needed here. Finally, the word "memorializers" (p. 72) is not so familiar to the eye as "memorialists."

CHIH-JANG CH'EN.

Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy, 1898-1950. By O. Briere, S.J. Translated by L. G. Thompson. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 159. Index. 21s.

Han Yu, writing in the golden age of the Tang Dynasty, once complained somewhat peevishly that the four Chinese social classes of ancient times had become, in his day, six. One class of teachers of old had become, by his time, three. And he went on to enumerate the lamentable economic consequences of this increase in a non-productive class by the addition of the Buddhism and Taoism he opposed, to the Confucianism he so strongly advocated. It is intriguing to speculate as to what he might have written, were he to review, like Father Briere in this book, the wide, almost chaotic, range of philosophical ideas expounded in China from the last gasps of the nineteenth century to the shouts of certitude of 1950.

Or rather of 1949—it was in this year that Father Briere's work was originally published in the Bulletin de l'Universite l'Aurore (Shanghai)—for it is important when reading the book to bear in mind this date which, by now, is something of a gateway, between what is almost one era and another in China. Dr. Laurence Thompson, through whose translation the work is now, happily, available in English and in book form indicates this by listing the names of some sixteen philosophical

writers, discussed by Father Briere, who had left the mainland by the time the translator's foreword was written in 1952 and by a reference in the bibliography of *Western Works on Contemporary Chinese Thought,* which he has thoughtfully added to the author's invaluable bibliography of works in Chinese, to the "recantation" (translator's inverted commas) of Dr. Fung Yu Lan. The occasion of this reference is the inclusion of Edward Hunter's "Brain Washing in Red China" in Dr. Thompson's list of writings in Western languages on modern Chinese thought. That this seems to strike a slight note of incongruity serves to underline the fact that Father Briere's book is concerned not with philosophy in action but with the careful cataloguing and brief exposition of philosophical writings in China in the first half of this century.

As a philosophical bibliography, as E. R. Hughes terms it in his preface, it is of particular value to sinologists. In an appendix of some thirty pages, Father Briere lists the authors and works in Chinese which, with due regard being paid to the traditional appeal of a firm, round number, can be said to be representative of the "hundred schools" of modern Chinese philosophy. Almost thirty works are listed on Æsthetics alone. What will also appeal to sinologists is the use of Chinese characters, side by side with the English titles of all books, not only in the bibliography but also throughout the text, and Dr. Thompson has added an index giving the characters for all Chinese names used.

The book also has much to offer the general reader. In charting the shifting sands of Chinese thought since the end of the nineteenth century, Father Briere gives a coherent picture of the upheavals and conflicts arising from the impact of Occidental upon Oriental ideas in China, resulting in the eventual dominance of the former. He divides his more detailed consideration of modern philosophical writings into systems of Oriental derivation and those of Occidental derivation, but he avoids the pit-fall of over-systematization and the cross-currents, the ebb and flow of ideas from the one to the other are all there. In tracing the vicissitudes of thought of, to take but one example, Li Shih Tseng, who came first under the influence of Nietzsche and Bergson, later published a comparative study of Occidental and Oriental philosophers in which his own views were tinged with Confucianism only to be writing later that "the philosophy of the future will be scientific materialism," how much of modern China is revealed.

This "movement of ideas" with its controversies between the new and the old, science and morality, Marxists and anti-Marxists, is outlined by Father Briere before he embarks upon the main body of the work—his discussion of individual writers on philosophy in the two categories of those predominantly influenced by traditional ideas and those whose inspiration has been mainly Western in origin.

The whole is briefly set against the background of the thought of K'ang Yu Wei and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, the prologue as it were to the philosophic tale which followed. The neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi, as sacred earlier in the nineteenth century as Marxism is now, and the ideas of Wang Yang Ming are also touched upon to complete the historical perspective.

It is good that this work should appear in English if only to reflect the taste for abstract ideas which has been so prevalent in modern China, a taste which we in England rarely share and therefore sometimes fail to understand. The current dictum, "Let the hundred flowers bloom and the hundred schools of thought contend," may indicate that this appetite is not yet cloyed.

H. R. Howse.

Treasure Seeker in China. By Orvar Karlbeck. The Cresset Press. Pp. 215. Ill. 21s.

One often hears the remark about a translation, "I should like to have read it in the original." As the original in this case was written in Swedish its public would be confined to the comparatively small number who can read that language. The translator, Naomi Walford, has done her work well and one feels one is reading the book in the language in which it is written. Some of us are rather prejudiced in favour of translations. They usually have something worth while in them to justify the effort.

In the case of *Treasure Seeker* we have a story based on the life's work of one

who, for twenty years, was a railway engineer in China, during which time he made a collection of treasures. The knowledge so acquired qualified him for the work of collecting for museums and private individuals. He travelled many hundreds of miles the hard way, on donkey back, in the springless Peking cart, or on his flat feet. He points the fact that one never knows a country until one has walked in it. The map illustrating the writer's travels would have been improved by the naming of the various provinces visited.

To your reviewer these travels are of intense interest as he has roamed over eighty per cent. of the routes indicated and lived again with the author on the Trans-Siberian express, across the Gobi to Urga, along the little-known road on the borders of Mongolia and Shansi to Paotow and Kuei Hwa Chang, where the Asiatic wapiti and the big horn sheep (ovis jubata and comosa) roamed at large in the hills nearby. Again through the very heart of China via the ancient city of Anyang to Kaifengfoo.

The chapter on antique dealers is a warning to those who imagine themselves expert in the arts of the Han Tang and Wei periods. These wares, being early and valuable, have their expert copyists and he who backs his opinion is brave to the point of rashness. However, if the copy is as beautiful as the original, perhaps one should not complain. One dares to say, however, that a large proportion of so-called " museum " pieces have been manufactured in recent years.

Fascinating is the trip, so eloquently described by the author, to Hua Shan. The Flowering Mountain—" a man who has not seen Hua Shan has not seen China." So beautiful is it that the landscape painters of the T'ang and Sung periods used its tumbled hills for some of their finest paintings.

Those who saw the Chinese Exhibition in London in 1936 saw some of these masterpieces. Few more beautiful spots exist on the earth's surfaces than The Bridge of the Azure Dragon on Hua Shan.

The author gives us glimpses of the Great Wall and rather more of a trip with a fellow Swede, the famous Frans Larson, to Mongolia when the latter was on a horse-purchasing expedition. Larson is described as " Duke of Mongolia," though it would perhaps be more correct to describe him as a " Duke *in* Mongolia." His skill in buying the fleet Mongol pony was reflected on many a race course in Shanghai, Tientsin and Hankow.

This is a book to keep, and is strongly recommended to all those with a China background.

To those who love beauty and ancient things it will appeal, though they never have set foot in what used to be the Celestial Kingdom.

H. St. C. S.

The Union of Burma: A Study of the First Years of Independence. By Hugh Tinker. Oxford University Press. Pp. 424. Bibl. Index. Maps. 42s.

The author of this book served for several years in the Indian Army and in the Indian civil administration, and is currently Lecturer in Modern History of South-East Asia at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London. He spent the academic year 1954-1955 as Visiting Professor of History at the University of Rangoon. There can be few who have used so effectively a year of residence abroad to produce such a masterly and wholly objective study of the complex recent history of the territory in which they happen to be thus working. Tinker acquired a working knowledge of the Burmese language, he travelled considerably in the country, and seized the opportunity of making every possible personal contact.

The first thirty-three pages—the first chapter—attempt the impossible task of tracing the British rule from January 1, 1886, to the grant of independence on January 4, 1948. As this period includes the complex happenings before the Japanese invasion, the withdrawal of the British, the return of the victorious army, the transfer from military government to civil government, and all the intrigues which accompanied this, one feels that the treatment—however objective it attempts to be—cannot adequately tell the story. There are many who will disagree with the

interpretation placed upon events. But the bulk of the book does in fact deal with the period since 1948, up to 1955, the first eight years of independence—not the first year, as the dust-cover says.

The treatment is by subjects, not chronological. Chapter Two deals with the background of the civil war; Chapter Three with Politics, the Press and Parliament; Chapter Four with the progress towards the Welfare State. A long chapter on the changes in government and administration is followed by a very interesting one on culture and religion, and on education and the social services. Chapter Eight deals with the land, agriculture and forests, upon which the economic prosperity has depended in the past, and which must be the mainstay for development in the future.

Tinker notes trenchantly that in agriculture and in forestry Burma is confronted with both short and long term problems, the solution of which would tax the ingenuity of any government; but the natural resources are there: abundance of land (there are at least two acres of cultivable land for every member of the population, or double that of India), a climate described as perfectly adapted to monsoon agriculture, and in addition there are the great mineral resources so important under the British régime. This is dealt with particularly in the chapter under Trade, and another chapter notes the present position with regard to communications, industry and labour. The chapter on Defence is followed by one on Foreign Relations, and the author concludes that the people of Burma look to the future with an infectious optimism which is not divorced from a clear-eyed recognition of their many deficiencies.

The wide field covered by this informative book makes it extremely difficult to review. Suffice it to say that it includes an appendix, a Who's Who of the men and women of Burma, and the reader is greatly assisted by the short but adequate glossary which is printed at the beginning, and explains the use of Burmese words, plentifully sprinkled—inevitably—through the book. The difficulty of constant reference to the varous armies and parties which have been developed in Burma is overcome by the use of initials; in fact, it would be impossible to do otherwise.

Those who knew Burma in the past will find plenty of food for thought in this volume, including points which they will undoubtedly criticize. But there is no doubt of the enormous work which has gone into its preparation, and it is an indispensable volume for any serious student of South-East Asian affairs.

L. DUDLEY STAMP.

My Hospital in the Hills. By Gordon S. Seagrave. London: Robert Hale. 1957. Pp. 253. Ill. 18s.

The twenty-eighth and last of his family to serve Burma as an American Baptist missionary—such is the proud record of Dr. Seagrave who has told his earlier story in *Burma Surgeon* and *Burma Surgeon Returns*. The hospital of which he writes is at Namkham in the Shweli valley among the hill peoples of the Union of Burma; he now tells the heroic story of its rebuilding in 1945 with any old material which could be salvaged from war-battered buildings at hand, of the unhappy strife in an erstwhile happy land, of combating disease of every description—not omitting bureaucracy—aided only by those who had forgotten the little medicine they once knew. It was scarcely possible for anyone to be regarded as neutral amid the civil strife of post-war Burma, and the author was no exception. Arrest, imprisonment, trial, release and return—he sets down his story of frustration and triumph with unrestrained gusto. Although in essence a simple story of a husband and wife's devotion to a cause, the author remains unmistakenly American. "When I am in America," he says, "I talk to everyone about Burma. In my heart the two countries are inseparable." Is this why one detects an anti-British undertone? Does he really believe that a "superb English surgeon left Burma practically a millionaire" because he would not let his pupils learn anything, or that if the British had taught different races to fight together in the same units as negro and white Americans did the civil war would never have happened?

L DUDLEY STAMP.

Diversions of a Diplomat in Ceylon. By Philip K. Crowe. With a foreword by Viscount Soulbury, P.C., etc., former Governor-General of Ceylon. MacMillan. 1957. 5¾" × 8¾". Pp. 318 + xii. 30s. net.

It is hard to imagine a happier life than that of an American Ambassador in the lovely setting of this beautiful island. An experienced sportsman in many lands —India, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, etc., he knows his onions. He had done all the things that the writer of such a volume should have done. The sea, Wall Street, *Life* and *Fortune*, explorer in Indo-China, Lt.-Col. 8th Air Force in England, farmer, fisherman, the Pytchley, his own beagles in Maryland. Qualified, in fact, from every angle to write a most entertaining and readable story of the varied sportsman's fare that Ceylon can provide. His approach differs from most, for when in his rambles he hits on a stag or a duck or a devil worshipper, he digresses sufficiently and interestingly on the place of each in the scene, and how such facts are relevant.

He knows all about Sir Samuel Baker, who may be said to have put Ceylon (and other lands) on the sporting map. And Jim Corbett of Garwhal, and Colonel Patterson, of the Tsavo man-eaters.

He knew what he was doing, and had the time and money to do it. Not for him the problems and imponderabilities of the British Commonwealth. His only to represent his country in a less harassing post, where he made many friends of all races. Ovid called it *quam fortunatos*!

Many of us know and love Ceylon, but few have the time and resources to study it as the author did. He gives us a series of spotlights on the many aspects of history and problems of an island a shade smaller than Eire. Most British Ambassadors would have been much too busy to devote such time—still outside their main calling.

It was not all honey. On p. 23 his bank-manager host failed to warn him of certain blind wells in Jaffna, down one of which he fell 25 feet in the dark! Certain slithering noises (p. 23) made him wonder if it was only rats in the water. Next morning, sunning itself on the ledge, he saw a big cobra. Sailors don't care!

So much we can swallow. But on p. 88 the villagers near Galle refuse to eat the Ara fish as the mother fish, guarding her fry, has been seen to leap up and pull poisonous snakes from the branches of overhanging trees. Oh yeah! The present writer was not long enough in Galle to check up on this one.

An amusing book by a really professional writer. Light and readable. No politics, although the chapter on the Maldives has its world interests. The eight pages on tea are revealing so far as they go. This might have been an occasion to record how unwise Ceylon would be to nationalize the tea industry. They could destroy it overnight. The Briton happens to have the touch to persuade the workers, mostly Tamils, to produce good tea. "Nationalizing" is not the right answer. In the old days tea planting had its attractions. The young lions used to descend from the plantations to the Galle Face Hotel on Fridays, and it used to be said that there were not always enough Christians to go round. The records on this subject are somewhat inexact.

G. M. Routh.

Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. Abridged and revised edition by G. R. Driver. With help from a typescript by E. Mittwoch, W. B. Henning, H. J. Polotsky and F. Rosenthal. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1957. Pp. xv + 106. 35s.

The documents here published were written on leather, unlike the Sayce-Cowley and Brooklyn collections of Aramaic documents, which were written on papyrus. Also unlike these other collections, this does not deal with the affairs of the Jewish colony at Elephantine; but like them, it does deal with certain aspects of life in Egypt under the Persian administration.

The present collection was acquired by L. Borchardt in 1932, in a leather bag which was probably an official "diplomatic pouch." In the following years a number of scholars worked on the documents, but the Bodleian Library, having acquired the collection in 1943-4, entrusted Professor Driver with the work of editing them, and the *editio princeps* was published in 1954. It is now out of

print. This abridged edition omits the plates and the transcription of the fragments, with notes on the latter. It presents the text of the thirteen letters, with introduction, translation and notes; a shortened appendix on Arshama, Persian satrap of Egypt in the second half of the fifth century B.C.; and a glossary (which includes words from the omitted fragments). The letters were written between 411 and 408 B.C. from the Persian court at Susa or Babylon to imperial officials in Egypt.

This serviceable and reliable edition will go far to meet the needs of those whom Professor Driver has especially in view: "not only of professional scholars but also of students who may not be so advanced in their studies, as well as of general historians of the Orient who have very little or no knowledge of Oriental languages." He merits our admiration and thanks for a fine piece of work.

F. F. BRUCE.

Makalu. By Jean Franco. Translated by Denise Morin. Published by Jonathan Cape, London. 1957. Pp. 253. Illustrated; maps; appendix. 25s.

Makalu is described by the publishers as an unknown mountain, the fifth highest in the world, and by the author as the sixth highest. Actually it is the fourth highest, as Lhotse, though a few feet higher, is not considered a separate peak.

Neither mountain appears in Whitaker, but Makalu is by no means unknown. Seen from any of the view-points around Darjeeling, Makalu, standing out like a majestic ice throne, completely steals Everest's thunder. Every Everest Expedition has paid tribute to it, and Smythe described it as one of the most terrific peaks in the world which might defy generations of mountaineers. With Nepal closed and permission to enter Tibet so rarely given, it is not surprising that no expedition ever sought out Makalu until after Everest was climbed. If expeditions and tragedies constitute fame, then Makalu is unknown.

This expedition in 1955 was organized with the help of the French Himalayan Committee. The previous autumn a party had reconnoitred the mountain and, with the information thus acquired, this expedition was very carefully planned. Particular attention was paid to the question of acclimatization and the use of oxygen. This was used day and night above 23,000 feet. Equipment and stores were designed to afford the greatest bodily comfort. Twin tents for high altitude camps were particularly successful. This careful planning met with its reward and the organization went like clockwork—or almost, for the oxygen failed to arrive with the rest of the equipment and was eventually retrieved from Rangoon.

The problem of weather always comes in and here the expedition was phenomenally fortunate. Only one storm was encountered and that in the lower camps. During the final stages the snow was hard, there was little ice, the rocks dry and there was no wind. The summit was climbed on three successive days by eight Frenchmen and one Sherpa.

This does not detract from the efforts of the climbers as, however kind the conditions, to climb to such a height calls for tremendous endurance and pluck. Now that all the giants have been conquered, the next phase in Himalayan adventure must be to climb them without oxygen. Norton showed in 1924 on Everest that this is not impossible.

There is a useful preface by the President of the French Himalayan Committee entitled "Fifty Years of Himalayan Climbing." Altogether a welcome addition to the Himalayan library.

JOHN HANNAH.

I'll Climb Mount Everest Alone. By Dennis Roberts. Robert Hale, Ltd. Pp. 154. Illustrated; maps; index. 15s.

In spite of its title, this is not a book specifically for mountaineers, the general reader they will find it full of interest.

Early in June, 1934, Captain Maurice Wilson, M.C., perished on the approaches to the North Col of Mount Everest in an attempt to climb the mountain alone. To most people he was an arrogant young man who thought he could succeed where two expeditions of well-equipped mountaineers had failed, though he may have

been credited with the same obsession that had possessed Mallory. This, however, was far from the reality, and the author has reconstructed from its very inception this amazing venture from Wilson's diary and letters which have now been made available.

Wilson had a theory to prove, and it was quite by chance that he selected Mt. Everest for his experiment. For many years after the 1914-18 war he had found it impossible to settle down, and eventually he suffered a serious breakdown in health. He resorted to a faith healer, who in a short time effected a complete cure by a mixture of faith, fasting and prayer. So impressed was he that he wanted the whole world to know. He decided that to advertise the power of faith he must carry out some seemingly impossible feat. In a café in the Black Forest he chanced on an old cutting of the 1924 Everest Expedition. Here was what he was looking for, hardships, dangers and an almost insuperable task. From that moment he never looked back.

Though he had never been in an aeroplane in his life, he decided to fly alone to India, and this he did in a second-hand Gipsy Moth of under ninety miles cruising speed and under four hundred miles range. At every turn he met with official opposition and blank refusal of permits, but finally made his way into Tibet disguised as a Tibetan priest.

The final chapters deal with the journey through Tibet and the assaults on the mountain. They are a catalogue of all the difficulties and hardships that must be endured by any expedition on such a quest. His first assault was ended by a severe blizzard which raged for several days. It was a miracle that he succeeded in returning to the monastery. On arrival he slept for thirty-eight hours, and several days elapsed before he was able to make his second attempt, which ended in tragedy. To the end his faith never wavered and the last entry in his diary read: "Off again. Gorgeous day." As Smythe has written, "It was not mountaineering, yet it was magnificent."

There is hardly a dull page in the book. The account of his training and preparations is entertaining and not without its humorous side. The account of the actual flight to India is perhaps the best part of the book. The author has not tried to vindicate Wilson but has written very sympathetically, having himself had a similar ambition—to climb Mt. Everest, but by more orthodox methods.

JOHN HANNAH.

Bi-Yad-i-Hind. By Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, with a foreword by Professor Hadi Hasan. Delhi. 1956.

His Excellency Dr. Hekmat, before relinquishing his post as Iranian Ambassador at New Delhi and returning to his own country, published this slim volume of verse in remembrance of India. Included in the volume are English and Urdu translations of the Persian text.

As Dr. Hekmat explains in his preface, he has employed the rhetorical figure known as *tadmin*, the literal meaning of which is "insertion"; it is employed in cases where a writer takes a poem or part of a poem by someone else and adds to it a number of lines of his own. As the late Professor Browne explained in his definition of *tadmin*, this practice was often used in the spirit of parody. In this case, however, there is no question of parody; on the contrary, Dr. Hekmat's object was to express praise of, and friendly feeling towards, India. What Dr. Hekmat did was to take each couplet of Hafiz's well-known ode beginning: "O Cupbearer, the tale of the Cypress, the Rose and the Tulip is being related," and interpose eight lines of his own composition between the two lines. In this way the original poem has been expanded from nine to forty-five couplets. In his interpolated lines, Dr. Hekmat has made skilful use of another figure, namely, *tajnis* or "punning"; for example, in the second couplet he says:

> "The breeze of spring (*bihar*) is blowing towards Bharat,
> And laden with gems of dew-drops are the fields of Bihar."

The choice of this particular poem is a happy one, as Hafiz is believed to have written it for Ghiyath ad-Din ibn Sikander of Bengal.

L. L.

Mine were the Trouble. By Lt.-Col. Peter Kemp, D.S.O. Cassell. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. 208. Maps. Index. 18s.

This story by a member of the Society does not really cover Central Asian country at all, but it is a readable, understanding and objective account of the author's service, after leaving Cambridge, in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, mainly with the Spanish Foreign Legion. This somewhat intimate active service in the Corps d'Elite must have been mostly extremely uncomfortable and dangerous. Irish blood, however, prevailed, and Colonel Kemp's subsequent experiences in the British Army were of much the same pattern. Torpedoed in, and by, a submarine *en route* for Norway; raids on Occupied France; Albania by parachute; Poland ditto; prisoner in Russia, etc. Followed service with General Wingate in Burma, parachute to Siam, and then a mission to Bali. Some people have all the luck, if that is the right word. But the journalist in Budapest again made a near thing of it only last year.

As an account of this Spanish war, the author gives us a picture completely without bias. He lets facts about policy and personalities speak for themselves, mostly convincingly.

G. M. Routh.

Expedition Tortoise. By Pierre Ramboch, Raoul Jahon and F. Hébert-Stevens. Thames and Hudson. Ill., maps. 30s.

This is a light-hearted, but in some parts, a serious book of travel. The members of the expedition are young and attack their problems with all the zest and panache of youth. They saw an unusual side of Egypt after a journey across North Africa from Tunis to Cairo. From there down the Nile to Wadi Halfa, taking in such high lights as Abydos, Thebes, Karnak and Luxor. On their journey when asking for direction the inevitable reply was Al Atoul (straight on). How often in France has one not heard the same "Tout Droit?" One is reminded of Sir Harry Luke's inimitable stories by the headman of a village who replies to the question "To whom does this house belong?"

"A very rich respected man."

"But who is he?"

"Myself," he replied.

The car, which is the hero of the story, struggles on through Iraq to Basra, which is call the "Town of Despair." The whole expedition was run on a shoe-string and but for a good deal of courage many "Towns of Despair" might have lain in their route. Youth, and a willingness to work and earn a little money helped them along.

The most important part of the book is the account of their sojourn in Southern India, a part of the sub-Continent which does not seem to draw explorers or travellers off the beaten track. Their research into the origin and customs of the Todas was worthwhile and throws a good deal of light on the habits of these little-known people.

Part of the expedition spent six months in a Hindu monastery, an experience which falls to the lot of few. The book was written in French and is ably translated by Elizabeth Cunningham, who manages to retain the breath of youth and enthusiasm throughout.

H. St. C. S.

Who knows better must say so. By Elmer Berger. Published by the American Council for Judaism. Pp. 112.

This slim volume contains a series of letters written by Mr. Elmer Berger, Executive Director of the American Council for Judaism, in the course of a tour of the Middle East in 1955. They were not written for publication, nor, as the President and Chairman of the Council make clear in their introduction, were they intended to delineate the Council's policy. Nevertheless they are of considerable interest.

In this country the battle between Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews has long been won

in the formers' favour. The anti-Zionists, if such there still are, are silent. Perhaps the most significant part in the recent book on the Sinai campaign by Colonel Henriques himself up till then an anti-Zionist Jew, was his immediate conversion to Zionism on his arrival in Israel. Not so in the United States. There the controversy continues and these letters give a revealing insight into Jewish anti-Zionist views.

During his seven weeks' tour Dr. Berger visited Israel, where his welcome was frigid, and many of the Arab States. His attitude to Judaism permeates his letters. He asserts that his quarrel is not with the State of Israel but " with its Messianic pretensions towards all Jews." He condemns this Zionist Theology as utterly false to the ancient religious ideal of universal Judaism. Zionism in his eyes is racial, tribal, and secular, everything that Judaism should not be. He sees in this heresy a danger not only for Israel—for there will be no peace in the Middle East while the Arabs feel that they have to treat not with Israel itself but with world Zionism—but for Judaism everywhere. " The tragedy may well involve the Jews of the world." It is therefore folly for American Jews to support the Zionist myth.

He condemns equally the methods of the Zionists. " Zionism," he says, "——in all its forms (economic, political, cultural, immigration-wise) is Israel's big business." Among other examples he gives that of the means used to attract Jews resident in Arab countries to emigrate to Israel. But perhaps he gives too rosy a view of the present lot of the Jew in an Arab state, as also a too gloomy one of that of the Arabs settled in Israel.

But he writes with a burning conviction. It is instructive to find a Jew penning such a sentence as this: " I could not stand in these places (Arab refugee camps) and not cringe with shame and disgrace and—I do not hesitate to say it—a hatred of the ' Jewish ' racism that created a state which now says these people cannot live in it because they are not Jews." It is the identification of Judaism and Zionism, now apparently universal in this country, that he never ceases to deplore. To him the Jew should be the messenger of an universal religion; but the temple has been made a den of thieves.

J. M. T.

Violent Truce. By Commander E. H. Hutchison. Published by John Calder, Ltd. Pp. 199. Approx. price 16s.

The British public, saturated as it is by Zionist propaganda, will be surprised and disturbed by Commander Hutchison's book. One may hope that it will be widely read if only to show that it is possible to hold more than one view of the Palestine question.

Commander Hutchison, of the United States Navy was appointed in 1951 to the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission (one of the four commissions responsible to the United Nations Truce Supervision organisation in Palestine) and served with it for three years. His book describes his experiences and goes on to offer some general reflections on the Middle East scene. He says that he entered the Holy Land pro-Israel, but it was not long before he realized that there was another side to the picture.

In fact it was the Israelis rather than the Jordanians that caused him and his colleagues most of their difficulties and frustrations. For the Israelis it seems were bent on obliterating the Commission's activities, and indeed appeared to resent its very presence. The Commission speaks of the " wall of hatred the Israeli press and radio were building up against the Mixed Armistice Commission " when the latter refused on lack of evidence to condemn the Jordan Government for one of the most bloodthirsty incidents that took place on Israel soil. The majority of such incidents were, however, the work of Israelis on Arab soil, undertaken as part of a deliberate policy of reprisals for Arab marauding. Commander Hutchison produces some enlightening statistics showing the findings of the Commission on violations of the Armistice between June 1949, and October 1954. During that period Israel was condemned for 95 violations, Jordan for 60. He comments that few if any of Israel's past offers of peace were matched by deeds that would invite co-operation, and he believes that a more conciliatory attitude on Israel's part would have by now uncovered a new basis for Arab-Israel trust."

Writing, of course, before the Suez crisis, he still thinks that a basis for a settlement could be found, but only if not only Israel, but Western Powers changed their whole attitude to the problem. As an American citizen he is naturally most interested in the attitude of the United States and he deplores its past pro-Zionist policy, believing it inevitably bound to drive the Middle East behind the iron curtain.

There will no doubt be many who will be unconvinced by Commander Hutchison's arguments, in particular by his not unfriendly description of Egypt's dilemma. But he has done good service in publishing facts that ought to be known to the Western public. The Arabs seem constitutionally incapable of publicizing their case themselves.

J. .M. T.

Anthology of Japanese Literature. Compiled and edited by Donald Keene. Published by Geo. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 444. Price 35s.

Doctor Keene has chosen some fifty extracts from Japanese works and has made therefrom a collection of translations, either from previous publications by well-known scholars or by new renderings by himself and other young experts. There is also an introduction giving a summary of the history of Japanese literature. In his own translations Doctor Keene has deliberately put aside the decorative aspects of the style of the originals in order to make them readily understandable. While he has achieved his object, the result has been that the pieces have lost their individuality. It follows, too, that his translations from Bashō, whose expression is essentially simple, seem the most successful. The older translations include work by Chamberlain, Sadler and Waley, and, apart from new work by the editor himself, there is some by Edward Seidensticker, Howard Hibbert, and others. The selection of pieces makes the Anthology truly representative and is noteworthy for the inclusion of unfamiliar verse, both in Japanese and Chinese, though in some of the translations of the latter one would have preferred a little more picturesqueness. The book will introduce the unfamiliar reader to the wide variety of Japanese literature, and will be not without its usefulness to the student of Japanese.

C. J. Dunn.

Islamic Society and the West (Vol. I, part II: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century). By H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen. Pp. 285. Oxford University Press. 1957. 35s.

The present instalment deals with the Ottoman empire during the eighteenth century, though the authors give warning that it is only a stop-gap because the definitive book cannot be written till the Turkish archives have been studied thoroughly, and that will be a labour of years. This volume treats of finance (largely a matter of the depreciation of the currency, with something about the coins), administration, law, education, religion and the non-Muslim subjects of the state. One sign of decay was the great increase in the number of semi-educated persons, who ranked as educated and had to be provided with jobs as judges or other posts, with the result that a man held a post for a short time and then joined the unemployed, while others took their turn at receiving salaries or the opportunity to accept bribes, and everyone had to pay for appointment. In education the plums were professorships in Istanbul; the seven colleges in the capital are frequently mentioned, but this book does not indicate which they were. Learning had always run in families, but the hereditary principle was now stronger, and often it had the effect that unworthy persons were given important posts; great scholars still arose, but the general level was not high. Some general statements in this book are too sweeping; it did happen that a man built a college without endowing it, that one man built and another endowed, that a founder was helped by a public subscription. The life of 'Abd al-ghani is an example of much that is said here in general terms. He went to European Turkey, but stayed only fifteen days, as a madman told him to go home. He once went into retreat for seven years. He carried in his turban a packet of sand to

sprinkle on the *fetwas* which he was asked to write, and out of doors he was always accompanied by servants and students, while the populace gave him the honour due to a king. For several years he left his house in the city of Damascus and lived on Mount Qasyun because of strife between the 'Alid sharifs and Turkish soldiers. By the seventeenth century schools for training members of the sultan's household were more efficient than the colleges. Pupils were taught religious sciences—Hajji Khalifa says that the teaching was better than in the colleges—Arabic, Persian and Turkish and the varied accomplishments required in a courtier. In these schools also the architects, painters, annalists and calligraphers were trained, while the depots of the armed forces produced cannon-founders and ship designers.

The Ottomans' treatment of Christian subjects was conditioned by circumstances. In the early days of expansion, Christians, who had been subjects of Seljuk sultans, often sided with the Ottomans because they were scarcely orthodox Muslims and their sufi outlook led them to regard all religions as equally valid. In theory Christians were inferior to Muslims, but when the number of Christian subjects was increased by the conquests in the Balkans, the balance was redressed by the tribute of Christian children who grew up to provide most of the ruling class under the Sultan and undoubtedly often favoured their kinsmen. After the conquest of the Arab provinces and the great increase in the Muslim population of the empire, public opinion rebelled against the rule of these converts, tribute ceased, and the sultans, who had become good Sunnis, put the Christians in their proper and lower place. Earlier Muslim rulers had allowed their Christian subjects some liberty in managing their confessional life, and the Turks followed this example. At first they knew two brands of Christians, the Orthodox and the Armenians, so they established two *millets*, the Orthodox including Greeks, Serbs and Bulgars. The tribute of children was taken only from Orthodox peasants. The support given by the Sultan to the Patriarch of Constantinople strengthened Greek influence in the Balkans. The head of the *millet* apportioned among communities and individuals the taxes which each had to pay. With the conquest of the Arab provinces various sects—Nestorians, Copts, Jacobites and Maronites—became Turkish subjects and were lumped together with the Armenians. The Jews formed another *millet*; the immigrants from Spain, on their expulsion from that land, and those who fled from persecution in central Europe, added to the size of the community but broke up its harmony. For a time they were in high favour and the sultans were attended by Jewish physicians.

The unity of Islam has never been perfect. The state could not satisfy the demands of the self-appointed leaders of religion, who retaliated by ostracizing the government; one of the ways in which "God may punish an unworthy scholar is by making him serve rulers." The caliphs instituted a special court for those who could not get justice from the *qāḍī;* in Spain several courts were set up outside the *qāḍī*'s, and in Turkey the sultans decreed laws which had nothing to do with the sacred law as developed by the canon lawyers. Again, Orthodox leaders reduced religion to obedience to a series of edicts, while others, most of whom had not been through the schools, drew a great following by appealing to feeling rather than reason. These latter often used music, which was an offence to the narrowly orthodox. The cleavage was overcome to some extent by the orthodox becoming members of the more moderate dervish orders, and this was the shape of Islam in the Turkish empire. The union of orthodoxy and ecstasy was a mixture, not a chemical compound, and explosions occurred, like the dissolution of the Janissaries.

As this book is written in English, it is presumably meant primarily for English-speaking readers. Now that Turkish is no longer written in the Arabic script, no question of transliteration arises, but it is absurd to use the Turkish spelling for loan-words, especially when the surround is not Turkish. The quotation from the Koran in the note on page 258 is a monstrosity; it is like beginning a line of music in staff notation and finishing in sol fa. Shaikh has almost become English (even though pronounced sheek) and the adjective shaikhly, which has no Arabic equivalent, looks ridiculous with its first syllable in Turkish dress and italics. The Turkish alphabet used is unnecessarily complicated; other writers are content with *kadin* in place of *ḳadin*. Otherwise one has nothing but praise for a work which is thorough and exhaustive.

A. S. TRITTON.