

Vol. 1

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JOURNAL
of the
MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY

THE LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

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NOTICES

This number of the **Journal of the Middle East Society** appears as a double issue and concludes Vol. I. The Editors regret that owing to the present troubled conditions and unrest in Palestine it has not been found practicable to publish Nos. 3 and 4 in separate issues.

The distribution of **The Journal of the Middle East Society** to Members of H. M. Forces has recently been made possible through the kind assistance of the Education Branches of the Army and the Royal Air Force, with the kind cooperation of Lt. Col. E. H. Davies, Command Education Officer, H.Q. Palestine and Sq./Ldr. A. T. Mathews, Area Education Officer, Air Headquarters, Levant. — Members of the British Forces wishing to apply for membership in the Society may now apply through the Education Officers of their formations.

PROCEEDINGS

The second season of the Society's monthly meetings began in June 1947. The following lectures were delivered:

- * 10th June, 1947: **THE STRENGTH OF THE TARTAR ARMIES.**
Lecturer: **Prof. Dr. O. Górka**, Polish Consul General.
Chairman: **Brig. J. G. Bedford-Roberts**, Area Commander.

 - 17th July, 1947: **THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN ORIENT.**
Speaker: **M. Jean Lugol (Cairo)**.
Chairman: **Mr. B. de Bunsen**, Director of Education, Government of Palestine.

 - * 27th August, 1947: **THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE.**
Lecturer: **His Beatitude Mgr. G. Israelian**, the Armenian Patriarch.
Chairman: **The Rt. Rev. W. H. Stewart, D. D., M. A.**, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.

 - * 18th September, 1947: **LE VOYAGE DE CHATEAUBRIAND EN PALESTINE.**
Lecturer: **M. Ch. Boeglin**, French Commercial Attaché.
Chairman: **Mr. S. R. Jordan**, British Commercial Agent.

 - * To be published in a future issue of the **Journal**.
-

OBITUARY

The Council of the Middle East Society of Jerusalem regrets to record the death of Major I. R. Dyer, late of the Indian Army, Assistant Representative of the British Council in Jerusalem, who died in London on the 8th July, 1947. He was one of the original members of this Society and was a popular figure at its meetings.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

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Honorary Secretary: Mr. N. N. Nimri;

Honorary Treasurer: Mr. Stanley Goldfoot;

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Mr. Robert Newton, Palestine Administration;

Mr. T. V. Scrivenor, Palestine Administration.

NOTE

THE MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY OF JERUSALEM is an independent, unofficial non-political body founded in January 1946.

The objects of the Society are:—

- a. To promote research into specific problems of Middle Eastern life.
- b. To study the political, economic, social and cultural affairs of Middle East countries.
- c. To provide a forum for authoritative discussion of matters falling within the Society's scope of interest.
- d. To exchange ideas, opinions and information with other Societies and Institutes elsewhere, which specialise in these interests and studies.

All trends of opinion and all categories of experience relevant to these purposes may be represented in the Society, which is committed to no specific line of policy.

The *Journal of the Middle East Society* is published quarterly. Every communication published by the Society becomes the property of Society in so far that the author may not, save with the permission of the Society's Council duly recorded, republish it until an interval of six months shall have elapsed after its publication by the Society.

Applications for Membership will be received at the Society's address:
P. O. Box 7050, Jerusalem.

THE LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

CH. WARDI

JERUSALEM is the seat of the first Christian Church. Its first head was St. James the Less, whom Christ called His "brother". He was followed by a long series of bishops, among them many saints and martyrs, who, on account of the insignificance to which the ancient capital of Palestine had shrunk under Roman domination, were subject to the Metropolitans of Caesarea who, in their turn, were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of Antioch. It was only in the middle of the 5th century that Bishop Juvenal (422—458) contrived to obtain from the Council of Chalcedon (451) the removal of the Palestine Episcopate from the jurisdiction of Antioch and its subordination to the Bishop of Jerusalem, who at the same time was elevated to the rank of Patriarch. This Patriarchate, with its long chain of 45 Pontiffs, subsisted almost uninterruptedly for nearly 650 years, until the conquest of the Holy Land by the Crusaders. In the 5th century the Patriarch of Jerusalem exercised jurisdiction over four metropolitan Sees (those of Caesarea, Scythopolis, Augustopolis and Bityra Arabiae, subdivided into 74 bishoprics) and over 25 suffragan bishoprics directly dependent on Jerusalem. Later on, as a result of war, invasion and persecution, this spiritual kingdom must have shrunk considerably.

The Crusades

The middle of the 11th century witnessed the rupture between Rome and the East. The Patriarch of Jerusalem seems to have followed his two eastern colleagues of Antioch and Alexandria in supporting the Patriarch of Constantinople. About 20 years later, however, the Byzantine Empire was dangerously threatened by the Seljuk Turks and the West was asked to come to its aid. In 1096, Western Christendom, organized

by its spiritual leader, the Pope, attacked the enemy in the East, and three years later the Crusaders stormed Jerusalem. The last Eastern Patriarch of Jerusalem of that period, Simeon II, who had done not a little to provoke the Crusade, died in Cyprus, whither he had withdrawn before the arrival of the Christian Forces in Palestine. And thus, when the troops of Godfrey de Bouillon entered the Holy City, the See of St. James was vacant.

The establishment of the Latin Kingdom of the Holy Land inaugurates a new era in the history of the Patriarchal See of Jerusalem. Until that time the Patriarchs of Jerusalem had been for the most part Greeks by language or even by race, and the rite followed by them was that of the Eastern Church. But with the elevation of Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, the Chair of St. James was to be occupied by a succession of Pontiffs of the Western or Latin rite. This does not imply that the Eastern rite disappeared from Palestine; in fact the Greek Patriarchate was re-established in 1142, though the Greek Patriarch himself returned to his See only after the capture of the Holy City by Saladin in 1187. But during the Crusaders' reign, as was only natural, the Latin rite enjoyed a position of preeminence: the more so as the rights and privileges of the Latin Patriarchs were almost equal to those of the Kings. John d'Ibelin remarks in fact that in the Kingdom of Jerusalem there were two sovereign Lords, the spiritual and the temporal one, the Patriarch and the King. At that time the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was divided into 5 metropolitan Sees (Jerusalem, Tyre, Caesarea, Nazareth and Philadelphia or Kerak) with ten suffragan bishoprics only.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the Latin Patriarchs transferred their residence to Ptolemais (St. John of Acre), where they stayed on until the bitter end. The most noteworthy among them was probably St. Albert, author of the Carmelite Rule. The last of them, Nicolas de Anapiis, perished during the siege, while endeavouring to save members of his flock fleeing from the burning ruins of the last Christian city.

Eclipse and Regeneration

There were to be no resident Latin Patriarchs in Palestine for the next five hundred and fifty five years. The Office as such was not abolished, but its bearers gradually became merely titular Patriarchs. Real jurisdiction over the remnants of Catholicism in Palestine became the burden and privilege of the Franciscans who, under the leadership of their "Custodians", unassumingly but efficiently took charge of all

Latin interests in the Holy Land. Their task was far from easy: there were very few Catholics left in the country and their position under Muslim rule was extremely precarious. The situation became even worse later on, when the whole Near East fell into the hand of the Ottoman Turks. Paradoxically enough, the position of Orthodox Christianity under Turkish rule was to improve considerably; this was due to the fact that the "Greeks" (or "Rumis") were considered subjects of the Sultan, and enjoyed the support of their co-religionists of Constantinople who contrived to acquire great influence in the State. However, in spite of all difficulties, the Franciscan Fathers persisted in their struggle and, protected by the representatives of the Catholic Powers, chiefly of Venice, Aragon and France, managed to maintain their positions and to improve them. In fact there were periods when the "Custodians" were accorded public honours and privileges usually enjoyed by sovereign princes. If the Holy Places of this Country have been preserved for the benefit of Western Christendom, it is largely due to the piety and constant endeavours of the humble brethren of St. Francis.

In the first half of the 19th century Palestine became an object of enhanced political and religious interest. Russia was jealous of French influence in the Orient and did her utmost to secure the privileged position of Protectress of the Eastern Christians. These efforts were particularly menacing in as much as, unlike the Western Powers, Russia was bent on the disruption and division of the Ottoman Empire. The Greeks dreamed again of their Byzantine Empire. But Protestant countries and circles also turned their eyes to Palestine. German, English and American missions were established in the country, and in 1840 the Anglican and Lutheran churches combined to establish a bishop in Jerusalem. The Latin Community of Palestine had to face new problems in the middle of the 19th century; to restore the most ancient of the apostolic churches, to create an indigenous clergy, to found new missions all over the country, and thereby to pave the way for the future. Hence it was that Pope Pius IX decided in 1847 to renew the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, selecting for that Office a young secular priest of 34 years, who knew the East and its languages, and had already distinguished himself as a brilliant administrator and zealous missionary.

The Modern Patriarchs

When Mgr. Valerga arrived in Palestine, there were altogether 4,000 Catholics in the whole country, distributed amongst eight parishes. He

had not a single priest at his disposal, no house to live in, no church in which to worship freely. But he was young and indomitable, — “a mixture of heroic strength and suave delicacy”. His first care was to bring in collaborators and establish a diocesan Seminary. His next steps were the erection of a palace worthy to be the home of the Patriarchal administration and later of a con-cathedral church, since the Cathedral of Jerusalem was the disputed Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the same time, new parishes and missions were established in various places in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, this latter country having been actually closed to Catholicism for about six hundred years. Mgr. Valerga also encouraged pilgrimages to the Holy Land, invited feminine congregations to undertake the establishment of schools and hospitals in his diocese and reformed the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1858 Mgr. Valerga was also entrusted with the Apostolic Vicariate of Aleppo and the Delegation of Syria; he travelled frequently to Beyrouth and contributed not a little to the creation of the University of St. Joseph, which was to counteract the influence of the Protestant American University.

The Patriarchs who followed Mgr. Valerga were without doubt worthy of their predecessor. Mgr. Bracco founded further thirteen missions, devoting particular attention to Trans-Jordan. Mgr. Piavi was mainly concerned with the financial consolidation of the Patriarchate. He also completed the construction of the Jerusalem Seminary, established at the explicit desire of Pope Leo XIII. During his reign there was held in Jerusalem the International Eucharistic Congress of 1893. Mgr. Camassei, like his predecessors, founded new missions and built churches, particularly noteworthy being those of Madaba (in Trans-Jordan) and of Ramallah. In 1919, while on his visit “ad limina”, he was detained in Rome by Pope Benedict XV and raised to the dignity of Cardinal. Mgr. Barlassina who followed, deserves a whole chapter to himself; but as he is still happily with us, we must conform to the precept of “nolite iudicare”^{*)}. This much, however, may be said of him: if Mgr. Valerga was the founder of the renewed Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Mgr. Barlassina was its restorer after the devastations of the first World War. But he was not only a restorer: he also was a most strenuous defender of Catholic rights and privileges in Palestine, to say nothing

^{*)} As this paper goes to press, the sudden death in Jerusalem of His Beatitude Mgr. Luigi Barlassina is announced.

of his indefatigable work of expansion and of preparing the ground for the future.

The Patriarchate

On July 23rd of this year the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem celebrated the first centenary of its re-establishment in the Holy City. Mgr. Montini, the Secretary of State of the Vatican, conveyed to His Beatitude, Mgr. Barlassina, His Holiness the Pope's congratulations "on the abundant harvest... well gathered during these 100 years". Few people know how rich this harvest truly is and by what outlay of strenuous effort and boundless devotion it has been reaped. As already mentioned, there were in Palestine in 1847 some 4,000 Catholics, organized around the seven or eight Franciscan convents. Today, according to Government statistics, there are at least 45,000 in the 35 parishes of Palestine, about 12,000 in the 20 missions of Trans-Jordan, not to mention Cyprus. 40 of those parishes are administered by the Patriarchal Clergy, most of the others by the Franciscans. In 1847 the Patriarchal Clergy consisted of a handful of volunteers; today it is a powerful body, perfectly organized and disciplined, comprising about 60 members. In 1847 the Patriarch could hardly find a place where to lay his head; today the Patriarchate possesses some 50 "houses", i.e. Institutions such as schools, missions, etc., all over the Diocese. A mere enumeration, however, of the advances achieved by the Patriarchate still does not give us a complete picture of the changes which have come about in the situation of Catholicism in Palestine. Under the new conditions, the Franciscan Custody itself has developed into a powerful Institution, with its vast net of schools, missions, hospices and magnificent churches (such as the Basilicas of Mt. Tabor and Gethsamane) whilst numerous other religious orders and congregations have come to establish their own schools, hospitals and other charitable institutions. Thus there are now in the Jerusalem Diocese, apart from the purely Patriarchal Institutions, more than 150 "houses" established by religious orders and congregations from various parts of the world.

Organisation and Administration of the Patriarchate

A Patriarch is one of the highest dignitaries in the Hierarchy of the Church. He is the Head of a Patriarchate. There are three Latin Patriarchates in the Near East; those of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem. The first two, however, are still merely titular; only the last one is residential.

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem depends on the Sacred Congregation Pro Ecclesia Orientali.

The Diocese of Jerusalem comprises Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Cyprus.

The Head of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem is His Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Beatitude, Mgr. Luigi Barlassina, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Rector and Perpetual Administrator of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, Assistant to the Pontifical Throne, etc. etc. etc.

He has two *Vicars*, one for the North residing in Nazareth, and the other for Trans-Jordan residing in Amman.

In the solemn ceremonies the Patriarch is assisted by his own *Canons*, called the *Canons of the Holy Sepulchre*.

A special and distinct place in the Holy Land is occupied by the *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* (see below).

The Direction of the Patriarchal affairs is carried out by the following offices: The Diocesan Chancery, The Chancery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, The Ecclesiastical Court, The Office of the Patriarchal Procurator, The Office of the Patriarchal Missions and Schools.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre

The Patriarch of Jerusalem is in charge not only of the interests of the Catholic community of Palestine, but also of the Catholic World's interest in Palestine. His Diocese is the Holy Land, to which the thoughts of millions of Catholics all over the world turn in love and reverence. It is therefore natural that he should be able to communicate with those millions, in order to convey to them his spiritual messages and to obtain their support and assistance. This is done by means of two international organizations, one of them the ancient and famous Order of the Holy Sepulchre, the other the recently founded Association for the Preservation of the Faith in Palestine. The Order is an organization of great personages, the Association one of lesser folk: a distinction that reminds one of the "knights" and "serjeants" in the times of the Crusades.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre was founded at the beginning of the 12th century, probably by Godfrey de Bouillon himself. In the 19th century it was reformed and eventually placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Its function is to offer support and assistance to the defenders of the Catholic Faith in Palestine and

to provide means for the maintenance and development of the Missions and other Institutions established by the Latin Patriarch. Only noblemen and distinguished persons who can afford to live "more nobilium" are admitted to this Order. There are four degrees: Knights Grand Cross, Grand Officers, Commanders and Knights. The dignity of Knight Grand Cross can only be conferred upon Princes (both of the Church and secular), upon Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, Generals, etc. There is also a feminine branch of Dames or Matrons of the Holy Sepulchre. The chief duties of the members of the Order are: to live a dignified life as good Christians, to hold high the prestige of the Order, and to devote their efforts to the development of Catholicism in Palestine. They are also required to interest themselves in the development and expansion of the Association for the Preservation of the Faith in Palestine.

Association for the Preservation of the Faith in Palestine

This Association was formed in 1920 and approved by the Pope in 1928. Its aims are: 1. to group the Catholics of the whole world around His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem in his endeavours to preserve the Christian Faith in the Holy Land; 2. to support the Missionaries in their work, create and enlarge schools, and promote institutions of propaganda. The means to these ends are: prayer, alms, distribution of the Association's bulletin, and propaganda.

The Custody of the Holy Land

The Custody is by far the most important and most venerable of Catholic Institutions in Palestine. Its direct function is to defend and to guard the Holy Places. This function has been exercised by the Custody with constancy and devotion for about 700 years. As already mentioned, it is chiefly due to this Organization that the Holy Places have been preserved at all. Before the reestablishment of the Patriarchate, the Custodian was also the spiritual Head of Latin Christianity in Palestine. With the arrival of the Patriarch the Custody naturally lost its preeminence, but as a compensation was able to develop its activities and to expand considerably. Today the Custody possesses some 50 "houses" in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Cyprus, managed and cared for by more than 450 Religious. It maintains in these countries altogether about 50 churches, 39 elementary schools, 3 orphanages, 3 high schools, 4 professional schools, and trains more than 7,000 pupils. It also conducts 8 hospices (Casae Novae), a College for priests, a

Novitiate, two polyglot printing presses covering most eastern and western languages, a Biblical Institute for higher studies, a large Archaeological Museum and a well equipped Library.

The members of the Custody are Franciscan Fathers, volunteers from all Christian nations. The general character of the Custody is therefore international, or rather supranational.

At the head of the Custody stand: The *Custos Terrae Sanctae*; The Custodial *Vicar*; The *Procurator General*; and several other Fathers forming with them the "Discretory". The *Discreti*, or Counsellors of the Custody, represent the chief "languages" of the West. At the head of individual Monasteries are *Superiors*, or *Presidents* who, like the members of the Discretory and the Custos himself, are appointed for a limited number of years only, and not for life.

The Custody, like the Patriarchate, is an emanation of the whole body of Latin Christendom; it has therefore representatives or *Commissarii* abroad. There are some 65 such Commissioners in the main cities of the world for the purpose of keeping alive the sentiment of devotion to the Holy Places, collecting alms, etc.

In matters of discipline, of persons and communities, the Custody, being a Seraphic missionary Province, obeys the Most Reverend Father General of the Franciscan Order; in matters, however, relevant to the Holy Places and their Sanctuaries as well as to the parishes entrusted to its care, it depends directly on the Sacred Congregation *Pro Ecclesia Orientali*.

THE AUTHOR

DR. CH. WARDI studied Church History and Canon Law at the Universities of Rome and Turin. He lectured at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on the History of Italian Civilization. He is now Secretary of the "Humanities" Department of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* and edits its Italian and Christian sections.

L'ETOILE DE LA GROTTA DE LA NATIVITE A BETHLEEM

FOULQUE DE SAINT-CHARITON

L'année 1847 avait été particulièrement fertile en disputes entre Grecs et Latins autour des Lieux-Saints de Bethléem. Fin Octobre, une rixe plus violente que les précédentes éclatait entre les clergés des deux confessions, les Arméniens venant à la rescousse de leurs confrères orthodoxes. Un vieil évêque grec reçut une sévère correction d'un moine latin. Au cours de la bagarre qui s'ensuivit, l'étoile d'argent qui marquait le lieu de la Nativité disparut. Il n'était pas difficile de deviner d'où le coup était parti: l'inscription latine de l'étoile HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NATUS EST était le témoin irrécusable des droits des Latins sur le lieu même de la Nativité.

Déjà le 21 Avril 1845 "la pierre de verd antique placée au milieu de notre étoile d'argent" avait été volée¹.

Grecs et Arméniens s'empressèrent de porter plainte au pacha de Jérusalem, non seulement à propos des coups assenés au métropolitain de Bethléem, mais aussi pour la disparition de l'étoile, que les Grecs disaient leur appartenir en dépit de son inscription *latine*². Le gouver-

1. Le custode Cherubino de Civezza au consul de France, 28 Avril 1845. Il semble qu'il y ait eu à l'époque une tentative d'enlèvement de l'étoile elle-même et que les Franciscains aient dû "veiller jour et nuit dans la sainte grotte pendant plus d'un mois" pour empêcher les Grecs d'y parvenir, FRANCESCO CASSINI DA PERINALDO, *Cronica di Terra Santa* (1757—1855), p. 189.

2. ALEXANDRE POPOFF dans *La question des Lieux Saints de Jérusalem dans la correspondance diplomatique russe du XIX^e siècle*, St-Petersbourg, 1910, p. 327, note en plein XX^e siècle: "Cette étoile, selon le rapport de Mr. Basili (consul général de Russie à Beyrouth), marquait l'endroit de la nativité et, appartenant aux Grecs, servait à constater leur droit de possession". Personne pourtant n'ignorait et n'ignore encore en Orient que jamais les Grecs n'auraient fait constater leur droit de propriété par un objet portant une inscription *latine*. A. Popoff se

neur réunit donc un Divan, où furent entendus les plaignants, sujets de la Porte, mais auquel le consul de France M. Héloüis-Jorelle, qui était présent, refusa que déclarassent les religieux latins. Ces derniers, en leur qualité de protégés français, n'étaient point en effet justiciables des autorités turques, disait Héloüis-Jorelle. mais du seul consul de France. Une longue discussion s'ensuivit entre celui-ci et Mustapha Zarif, le consul soutenant qu'il était le "protecteur de Terre-Sainte", c'est-à-dire des couvents latins, et le gouverneur comprenant ou affectant de comprendre que le consul prétendait à la protection "du Territoire Saint". Sur ce malentendu Héloüis-Jorelle quitta le Divan, non sans avoir formulé une protestation indignée³. Entre les deux hommes, la discussion se poursuivit par correspondance, sur le ton le plus aigre, la méprise subsistant. Chacun d'eux porta la question à Constantinople et chacun fut tout d'abord appuyé, en raison de cette équivoque, l'ambassade prétendant à juste titre que le consul était bien le protecteur "de Terre-Sainte" et la Porte soutenant que Héloüis-Jorelle avait eu grand tort de se dire le protecteur du "Territoire Saint", c'est-à-dire de la Palestine elle-même. En haut lieu on finit cependant par se comprendre et s'entendre, du moins sur ce point.

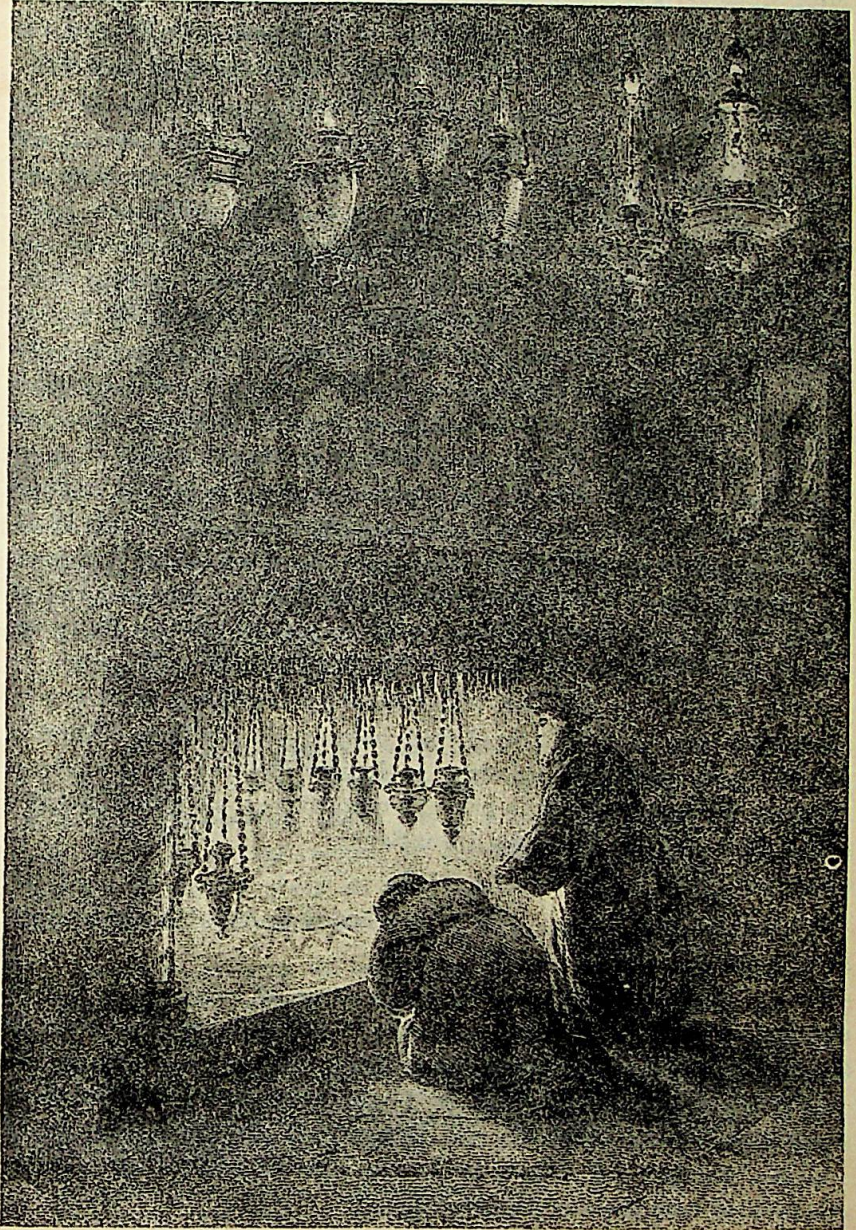
Car en ce qui concernait l'étoile elle-même les Franciscains demandaient, appuyés par le consul de France et par l'ambassadeur, à pouvoir en poser une nouvelle à la place de celle disparue, tandis que les Turcs prétendaient qu'il s'agissait tout d'abord de retrouver l'étoile et les voleurs⁴. Comme les recherches cependant demeuraient vaines, la Porte accepta en Février 1848 le principe du remplacement de l'étoile. Mais

garde d'ailleurs bien de reproduire le rapport de M. Basili, mais il n'est pas douteux que celui-ci soutint cette prétention: "Je vous prévien pour votre gouverne, écrit le 20 Novembre 1847 le consul général de France à Beyrouth à son collègue de Jérusalem, que M. Basili prétend sérieusement que l'étoile appartient aux Grecs et a été volée par les Latins; en fait d'assertions audacieuses, mon collègue de Russie ne recule devant aucune quand il s'agit de lutter contre les Latins".

Le consul d'Angleterre de l'époque, James Finn, ne doute pas une seconde que le vol ait été commis par des Grecs, cf. JAMES FINN, *Stirring Times*, Londres, 1878, pp. 10-13.

3. "Il Bascià... Mustafâ Zurif, il quale era stato comprato anticipatamente dai Greci a peso d'oro, non solo si rifiutò di far giustizia, ma cacciò dal divano il Signor Console di Francia che patrocinava la nostra causa, e voleva una soddisfazione", note le P. Francesco Cassini da Perinaldo (op. cit., p. 207).

4. "Ce pacha est-il tombé en enfance," se demande le consul. Non point, pense sans doute le Chroniqueur de la Custodie qui précise: "In questa circostanza il Cadi di Gerusalemme fece proporre el Procuratore di Terra Santa di trattar officialmente la causa, et di terminarla in nostro favore, mediante uno regalo di 30 mila piastre: la quale condizione essendo stata rigettata, l'incorruttibile Giudice si contentò di quello che aveva ricevuto dai Greci perchè non latrasse. Così si fa coi cani, dando loro un'osso a rosicchiare", CASSINI DA FERINALDO, op. cit., p. 206.



L'ABSIDIOLE DE LA NATIVITE

vers 1845.

d'après W. H. BARTLETT, dans *The Christians in Palestine*, 1847.

alors se posa la question de savoir par qui serait placée la nouvelle : par les Latins, disaient l'ambassadeur et le consul, par les autorités ottomanes répliquait la Porte, esquivant ainsi la question de propriété.

On sait ce qu'il advint. L'affaire de l'étoile ramena sur le tapis beaucoup d'autres, pendantes parfois depuis un siècle. La Russie, qui montrait depuis une trentaine d'années un intérêt croissant pour les Lieux-Saints, en profita pour formuler elle aussi des exigences à Constantinople. De fil en aiguille, la question s'envenima. Nicolas Ier crut frapper un coup décisif en envoyant sur le Bosphore en qualité d'ambassadeur extraordinaire le prince Menchikoff. Arrivé le 28 Février 1853 avec mission d'en finir une fois pour toutes avec la querelle des Lieux-Saints, le prince réclamait bientôt de la Porte la conclusion d'un traité reconnaissant la protection du tsar sur tous les sujets orthodoxes du sultan. N'obtenant que des satisfactions partielles, Menchikoff quitta Constantinople le 22 Mai, tandis que les escadres française et anglaise venaient s'emboîser à l'entrée des Dardanelles. Le 3 Juillet, sans déclaration de guerre préalable, les troupes russes envahissaient les Principautés danubiennes et le 18 Novembre l'amiral Nakhimov détruisait la flotte turque dans la baie de Sinope. Enfin, en Janvier 1854 les flottes anglo-françaises pénétraient en Mer Noire, bientôt suivies d'un corps expéditionnaire qui se battit sur le bas-Danube d'abord, en Crimée ensuite. En Septembre 1855 Sébastopol était prise, après une dure campagne, et la Russie mettait bas les armes en Janvier 1856. La même année, le congrès de Paris ramenait la paix et prétendait par une cote mal taillée régler l'éternelle question des Lieux-Saints.

. * .

Qu'était cette relique dont la disparition avait été sinon la cause, du moins l'occasion du conflit?

La première étoile d'argent semble avoir été posée sur le lieu de la Nativité dans le deuxième quart du XVII^e siècle. Auparavant et au moins depuis les premières années du XIV^e, c'était une rosace de marbre, en forme d'étoile, qui marquait le "precieux lieu ou fut ne nostre saluateur Iesus christus filius dei vivi. Demonstrant par sa naissance que il voulait nectoyer noz ordures et immundicite sol iustitie: qui a voulu nasquir et enluminer ce lieu tenebreux"⁵.

Jacques de Vérone⁶ vit déjà en 1335 cette étoile de marbre, que

5. NICOLE LE HUEN, *Le grant voyage de Hierusalem*, Paris, 1522, f. 33.

6. D'après VINCENT et ABEL, *Bethléem. Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914, p. 179 note 2.

Poggibonsi⁷ mentionne en 1347: "...ivi dentro si è una lapida, in sulla quale si dice la messa; sotto si è una rosetta intagliata, à modo di stella; et in quello luogo la Vergine Maria partori Iesù Cristo". Le P. Noe⁸ la cite en 1527, Giovanni Zuallardo en 1586⁹, Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli vers 1596¹⁰, mais c'est J. Cotovic¹¹ qui décrit avec le plus de précision les lieux, qu'il vit en 1598: "Locus Nativitatis Domini ingredientibus, viâ subterraneâ ex adverso est, ad orientale Sacelli latus, forman referens semitotundam, latus pedes quinque, Arâ marmoreâ concavâ ornatus. Tabula namque è marmore candido muro utrique infixa. Altare ipsum efficit: in quo, tabulâ ligneâ depictâ Nativitatem Domini repraesentante superimpositâ, sacrum quotidie à Minoritis peragitur. Pavimentum quod Arâ est, marmore stratum, forman stellatam refert: in cuius medio lapis ophites sphaericus, latus per diametrum palmas duas, solo marmoreo haeret infixus, profundus uncias duas, plumbeo circulo applumbatus, omnibus cum Orientis tùm Occidentis Christocolis venerabilis". Cotovic ne donne pas toutefois le texte de l'inscription, que le prince Radzivil releva en 1583: "Ibi è regione portae est altare; sub quo locus, marmorea tabula signatus ostenditur, in quo Christus est natus. In lapide vero qui altari est superpositus, haec inscriptio Latine insculpta est; HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA IESUS CHRISTUS NASCI DIGNATUS EST"¹².

En 1610 enfin, Sandys¹³ mentionne encore la rosace de marbre: "At the upper end in an arched concave, stands an Altar garnished with a table of the Nativity. Under this is a semi-circle; the sole set forth with stones of several colours, in the forme of a starre; and in the midst a serpentine, there set to preserve the memory of that place where our Saviour was borne".

Quant à Deshayes de Cormenin, qui visita la grotte en 1621 à l'occasion de son ambassade extraordinaire en Terre-Sainte, il cite seulement "une grande pierre de marbre serpentín, qui est tousiours couverte d'un voile de toile d'or, qui marque le lieu de la naissance"¹⁴. Cette

7. *Libro d'Oltremare*, éd. Bacchi della Lega et Bagatti, Jérusalem, 1945, p. 61.

8. *Viaggio da Venetia al S. Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai*, Bassano, s.d. (XVIIe s.), p. 92.

9. *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme*, Rome, 1595, p. 209.

10. *Traffato delle Piantè & Immaginj de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa*, 2e éd., Florence, 1620, p. 10.

11. *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, Anvers, 1619, pp. 231—232.

12. NICOLAS CHRISTOPHE RADZIVIL, *Ierosolymitana peregrinatio*, trad. du polonais, Anvers, 1614, p. 84.

13. *A relation of a Iourney begun An: Dom: 1610*, 3e éd., Londres, 1627, p. 181.

14. LOUIS DESHAYES DE CORMENIN, *Voiage de Levant*, 2e éd., Paris, 1624, p. 411.

confusion entre la grande dalle de marbre et le petit disque de serpentine semble indiquer que Deshayes ne fit pas lever le voile et se contenta d'une description qui rappelle celle de Sandys; il est donc vraisemblable que le lieu était encore tel que ce dernier le vit.

Mais à partir de 1631 il n'est plus question de rosace¹⁵ ni de pierres de diverses couleurs. Vincent de Stochove¹⁶ voit cette année-là "ce lieu couvert d'un tres-beau marbre blanc, au milieu il y a un petit rond coupé dans la pierre ayant vingt & un pouces de tour, & environ demy pied de profond entouré d'une bordure d'argent sur laquelle est escript, *Hic natus est Christus*". Puis, à partir de 1635, c'est bien une étoile d'argent, "en forme de soleil", que voient les voyageurs: "La place où la Vierge enfanta le Fils de Dieu, est couverte d'un marbre blanc, au milieu de laquelle est un jaspe d'une palme de diametre, enfoncé de deux doigts dans ce marbre, et il y a autour un cercle d'argent avec des rayons en forme de Soleil, sur lequel sont gravées en gros caracteres ces paroles, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESVS CHRISTVS NATVS EST. Audessus est élevée une grande table de marbre qui sert d'Autel, sous lequel sont trois grosses lampes d'argent, desquelles celle de nostre feu Roy Louïs le Iuste est posée directement audessus de la place qui receut Nôtre Seigneur sortant des chastes entrailles de sa tres-pure et immaculée Mere"¹⁷. Doubdan en 1652¹⁸, Thévenot en 1658¹⁹, Jacques Goujon en 1668²⁰, Le Bruyn en 1675²¹ font sensiblement la même description.

La première étoile d'argent fut donc posée sur le lieu de la Nativité entre 1610 et 1631, et plus probablement entre 1621 et 1631. Elle disparut, on ne sait trop comment²², vers le début du XVIII^e siècle et fut remplacée par une semblable, portant l'inscription traditionnelle et, en plus, le millésime 1717. Quelques années plus tard, en 1757, lors d'une nouvelle occupation de la grotte par les Grecs, ceux-ci essayèrent d'en-

15. Le P. Abel dit que "la rosace de marbre avait dû être brisée pour que les musulmans n'eussent pas la tentation de s'en emparer", VINCENT et ABEL, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

16. *Voyage du Levant*, 2^e éd., Bruxelles, 1650, p. 394.

17. EUGENE ROGER, *La Terre-Sainte*, Paris, 1664, p. 199.

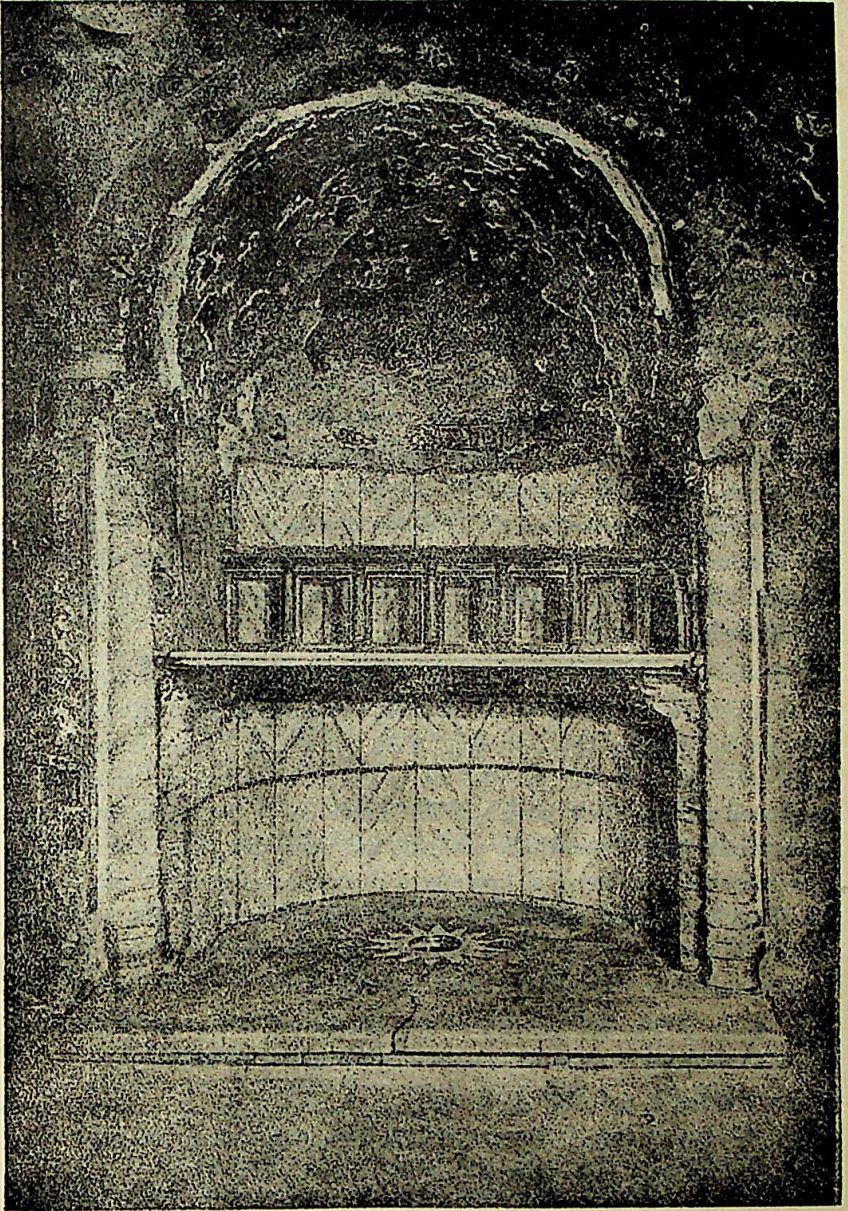
18. *Le Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris, 1661 pp. 134—135.

19. *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris, 1665, p. 402.

20. *Histoire et voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Lyon, 1696, pp. 275—276.

21. *Voyage au Levant*, Paris, 1714, p. 281.

22. PASCAL BALDI, *La question des Lieux-Saints en particulier*, Rome, s.d., p. 54, pense qu'elle fut détériorée par le temps et non point que les Grecs l'enlevèrent pendant la période de l'usurpation qui marqua la fin du XVII^e siècle.



L'ABSIDIOLE DE LA NATIVITE
dépouillée de ses oripeaux lors du grand nettoyage de 1944.

Cl. Département des Antiquités de Palestine.

lever l'étoile dont l'inscription latine les gênait, mais les autorités turques s'y opposèrent²³.

L'étoile placée en 1717 a été mentionnée par de nombreux voyageurs, dont Chateaubriand qui la vit en 1806²⁴. Un auteur juif décrit ainsi les lieux, peu d'années avant le vol de 1847: "La place qu'on donne pour celle de la naissance de Jésus... est marquée par un marbre blanc entouré d'un cercle d'argent radié en forme de soleil. A l'entour on lit cette inscription: *Hic de virgine Mariâ Jesus Christus natus est*"²⁵.

A son tour cette étoile disparut, on l'a vu, en 1847. Quel jour exactement? La plupart des auteurs omettent de donner la date précise de l'événement, ou bien le placent au 12 Octobre²⁶. Pour adopter cette date, le R.P. Abel me dit²⁷ s'être appuyé entre autres sur Chrysostome Papadopoulos²⁸ qui, en la donnant, souligne le fait que "c'était un dimanche, et qu'aussi les Chrétiens de Bethléem étaient nombreux dans l'église et, à cause de la presse, il survint une terrible confusion...". Or, le 12 Octobre ne tomba pas, en 1847, un dimanche, mais un mardi. C'est que l'auteur grec se réfère sans doute au calendrier julien, car le 12 Octobre 1847 julien, c'est-à-dire le 24 Octobre grégorien, tomba bien un dimanche.

Seuls, à ma connaissance, le P. Anselm Janotyik et le Chroniqueur de la Custodie de Terre-Sainte placent l'événement au 31 Octobre. Le premier, écrivant en 1848, dit que "le 31 Octobre de l'année dernière une main sacrilège arracha (l'étoile) de la dalle de marbre et l'emporta"²⁹. Le second raconte ainsi l'affaire: "Fu la sera del 31 Ottobre in occorrenza della vigilia d'Ognissanti, che suscitata dai Greci una rissa contro i Religiosi nostri nel cimitero, si prevalsero di quella congiuntura per toglier via l'invidiata stella, incolpando poi noi del ladroneccio, non so se ben dica colla maggiore impudenza del mondo, ovvero colla più grande goffaggione. Intanto l'involata stella fu portata come in trionfo nel monastero di S. Saba, distante quattr'ore da Bethlemme, e colà forse si conserva tuttavia a memoria perenne della greca pirateria"³⁰.

23. VINCENT et ABEL, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

24. *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, 3^e éd., Paris, 1812, t. II, p. 148.

25. S. MUNK, *Palestine*, Paris, 1845, p. 56.

26. Ainsi L. LEMMENS, *Collectanea Terrae Sanctae*, Quaracchi, 1933, p. 239, VINCENT et ABEL, *op. cit.*, p. 204, P. BALDI, *op. cit.* p. 56.

27. *La Litteris* 28 Janvier 1947.

28. *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* 1910, p. 713 ss.

29. *Missions-Notizen aus dem heiligen Lande*, III, 1849, p. 39.

30. F. CASSINI DA PERINALDO, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

C'est bien la date la plus vraisemblable. Dans le premier rapport qu'il adressa à Paris sur l'événement, le consul de France, tout à son indignation contre le pacha, omit de préciser la date de la disparition de l'étoile; le même jour que ce rapport, Hélouis-Jorelle envoya au gouverneur de Jérusalem une protestation relative aux incidents qui avaient eu lieu au Divan réuni "la veille", — c'est-à-dire le 1^{er} Novembre—, pour enquêter sur l'enlèvement de l'étoile. Or, dans sa réponse au consul datée du 3 Novembre, — comme d'ailleurs dans d'autres lettres — Mustapha Zarif précise que le Divan fut assemblé "le lendemain" du jour où disparut l'étoile. C'est donc bien le 31 Octobre 1847, qui était un dimanche, que se place l'événement.

Cependant, quelques voyageurs illustres de l'époque mettent le vol en doute, sinon même l'existence de l'étoile. Tel Félicien de Saulcy qui, ayant visité les lieux le 24 Décembre 1850, écrit: "On nous montre les encastrements taillés dans le pavé, qui contenaient une étoile d'argent massif, incrustée là, en mémoire de l'étoile miraculeuse³¹ qui guida les Mages et les bergers devant le berceau du Christ. Les Grecs, nous dit-on, l'ont enlevée. Le fait est-il réel, je n'en puis rien dire, mais j'en doute: ce qui est sûr, c'est que le pavé est aujourd'hui veuf de tout métal précieux"³². Saulcy pourtant était en mesure de se bien renseigner auprès du consul d'alors, Paul-Emile Botta, son "confrère à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Botta qu'il aime de tout son cœur"³³. Quant au jeune Flaubert, il note négligemment, également en 1850, que "par terre, le lieu même où Jésus fut posé était marqué par une grande étoile dont on a enlevé l'or"³⁴.

Le 22 Décembre 1852, Afif bey, commissaire de la Porte, posa la nouvelle étoile d'argent, celle que l'on voit encore aujourd'hui dans l'absidiole de la Nativité³⁵. Cette étoile, en tous points semblable à

31. Est-ce bien certain? Les auteurs du XVII^e siècle parlent pour la plupart d'un cercle d'argent avec des rayons en forme de Soleil, et Le Huen, qui vit sans doute la rosace de marbre mais n'en parle pas, montre "Jesus christus ... sol iustitie: qui a voulu nasquir et enluminer ce lieu tenebreux".

Car au moins au XVI^e siècle, une autre étoile, en métal celle-là et placée semble-t-il à l'autre extrémité de la grotte, rappelait le souvenir de l'étoile des Mages, cf. NOE, *op. cit.*, pp. 91—92 et fig. p. 92.

32. F. DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres bibliques*, Paris, 1852, I, p. 124.

33. *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 116.

34. G. FLAUBERT, *Voyage en Orient (1849—1851)*, Paris, 1925, p. 150.

35. James Finn dit que l'étoile fut placée "en grande pompe par le Patriarche latin", *op. cit.*, pp. 21—22.

celle qui avait été volée cinq ans auparavant et portant la même inscription et le même millésime 1717, était, dit le Grand Turc dans son firman du 5 Mai 1853, "un souvenir solennel à la nation chrétienne de Notre part impériale". *Parturient montes*, note le Chroniqueur franciscain³⁶: car l'étoile avait été fabriquée par les soins du commissaire de Terre-Sainte à Constantinople, et aux frais de la custodie³⁷...

36. F. CASSINI DA PERINALDO, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

37. Un auteur de l'époque dit que la nouvelle étoile avait été "envoyée de Vienne en 1852", A. P. STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine*, Londres, 1856, p. 433. La chose n'est pas impossible, mais le fait est que l'étoile avait bien été fournie par les Franciscains et remise à la Porte par l'ambassadeur de France, Botta à l'ambassadeur 30 Novembre 1852, au ministre 1er Janvier 1853.

Voici les dimensions de cette étoile, d'après le P. Frédéric de Ghyvelde qui les releva minutieusement en 1876: "Le diamètre du cercle de porphyre a 19 centimètres, profondeur: 03. Largeur du disque de l'étoile: 04½, longueur des rayons: 14 c., diamètre total de l'étoile: 0,55. L'étoile a 14 rayons", P.—E. TRUDEL, *Le Père Frédéric de Ghyvelde et Bethléem, Trois-Rivières*, 1947, p. 211, corrigée en ce qui concerne le nombre de rayons de l'étoile par le fac-simile du manuscrit p. 212.

ASPECTS OF EARLY MOSLEM HISTORY*

A. L. TIBAWI

THIS account is necessarily limited in its scope and purpose. It presents mere sketches of important aspects of the first century of Islam and it suggests conclusions on subjects such as administrative machinery, army organisation and educational institutions without citation of sources. It is therefore addressed to the intelligent reader more than to the specialist scholar.

The aspects of early Moslem history that are dealt with in very broad outlines comprise: (1) Range of Islam's Mission; (2) Muhammad and the First Arab Unity; (3) Development of the First Arab Army; (4) Policy and Administration in Conquered Territories; (5) Islam and the Development of Arab Education.

Range of Islam's Mission

It has been asserted frequently, particularly by European writers, that Islam was intended only for the Arabs, and that it was propagated mainly by the sword. It is futile to argue both questions without reference to the Koran, as the earliest authentic source of information about the intentions and deeds of Muhammad. The testimony of the Koran is corroborated by the course of events as revealed in the tradition of Islam and in the annals of Arab historians.

The mission of Muhammad was indeed confined, in the beginning, to Mecca and its surroundings. Thus we read in the Koran: "Warn thy near kindred", and in another chapter it was revealed that "Thou mayest warn mother of cities (Mecca) and those that live round about her". But this narrow horizon was widened with the prosperity of the fortunes

* Adapted from a lecture delivered under the auspices of the British Council.

of Muhammad, especially after his success at Medina. Two more verses illustrate the changed conditions: "We sent thee only as a mercy for the whole world"; "And we sent thee as a bringer of good news and warner to all mankind".

These authoritative statements are substantiated by historical facts. Muhammad, while on a raid on the frontiers of Byzantium, told his followers that God had promised him the heritage of the Roman and the Persian Empires. Truly indicative of this belief is the fact that he actually sent embassies with letters inviting the rulers of Persia, Syria and Egypt to embrace Islam. On his death-bed, we are reliably informed, he ordered the despatch of the army he prepared for the conquest of Syria.

The Arab conquest during the century following the death of the Prophet may be explained by a variety of reasons — economic, political or personal, but the first outbursts were certainly animated if not entirely, at least largely, by religious zeal. One might at this juncture jump at the conclusion that Islam was then truly preached and propagated by the sword, or through holy war (*Jihad*). This however is a controversial subject which again, like the question of the universality of the mission of Islam, could best be solved by reference to Koranic texts, to the practice of the Prophet and to the facts of the history of early Islam. The word "early" has been used because the term *Jihad* seems to have acquired its current meaning during modern Turkish rather than ancient Arab times.

Stripped of its political significance the history of *Jihad* in Islam is very simple. Muhammad started his mission as a meek preacher. "Let there be no compulsion in religion", he recited. This was of course when he was striving very hard and with very little success to gain adherents to his cause. But when he became stronger and his followers more numerous, he recited: "Fight in God's cause with those who fight with you, but transgress not; verily, God loves not those who do transgress". But soon after that, fighting was allowed in self-defence and to guarantee the freedom of belief. Thus we read in another verse: "But fight them that there be no sedition and that the religion may be God's, but if they desist, then let there be no hostility save against the unjust". The climax in this history is the injunction in this verse: "Fight those who believe not in God and in the last day, and who forbid not what God and His Apostle have forbidden, and who do not practice the religion of

truth from amongst those to whom the Book has been brought, until they pay the tribute by their hands and be as little ones."

The gradual change in methods of preaching is in direct proportion to the gradual growth of the power of Islam as a state. Islam and its Prophet are very often misjudged on this level. Those who misjudge them lose sight of the fact that Islam is both a religion and a state, and that Muhammad was both a Prophet and a Prince. His religious mission relies entirely on persuasion, but the success of the arms of the Arab state, of which he was the first head, contributed a great deal to the success of the faith of which he was the Prophet.

Muhammad and the First Arab Unity

It is quite usual for a historian of the Arabs to skip the period before Islam with a few pages, and to brand the whole antiquity of the Arab race as barbarous and unworthy of the glorious days of Islam in Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo and Spain. This is partly due to overpious historians, who considered all institutions of Arabia before Islam as hateful paganism and unworthy of perpetuation. But thanks to modern research and excavations, we are now in possession of a mass of information that helps us to construct a more accurate picture of Arab life before Islam. We know now that they built beautiful cities in which commerce and industry were flourishing, that they constructed dams, and canals for irrigation, that terracing of the hills to prevent erosion of the soil was well-known in Yemen, that their literature was and still is a model for all generations to come, that large sections of them were monotheists and that they established states in Yemen, Kinda, Palmyra, Damascus and Hira.

But in spite of all that, they remained ununited tribes that knew no allegiance except that of blood-relationship. Kingship was unknown to them within Arabia proper, and those states that were ruled by kings were in Yemen, Syria or Iraq — a clear indication of the influence of the Abyssinians, Greeks or Persians. These tribes were constantly at war with one another. Reading their stories and poetry invites the conclusion that war was a national sport embittered by feuds that multiplied in the course of time.

There was then no state or nationality or faith that called for unity among the Arabs when Muhammad started to preach their unity in God. His success in achieving unity and brotherhood among the Arabs is no less important than his success in converting them from paganism to mo-

notheism. As explained before, Muhammad was not only a preacher. He was also — perhaps more so — a political head of a state which he established.

The process of unity started on a small scale, as the mission itself. Every convert to Islam was the brother of every other convert. His former relations and allegiance to the clan and the tribe were completely severed. When Muhammad escaped to Medina after securing the support of sections of its inhabitants, he proceeded forthwith to cement a brotherhood in blood and even in property between his followers from Mecca and his helpers from Medina. But he was not satisfied with that step. He also concluded a pact between the Moslems and all the other factions including Jews, Christians and pagans. This pact, given in the *Sira* of Ibn Hisham, declares in its preamble that the people of Medina — of all factions — are one nation and then it stipulates for raiding, ransom, refuge etc. It also includes an important article leaving in the hands of Muhammad, as an arbitrator, all power to settle points of dispute.

The history of Islam from this pact to the death of the Prophet, a period of about ten years, is crowded with important events that culminated in the unity of all Arabia. To follow the course of all these events would be a very lengthy study. Suffice it to say that after his flight to Medina, defensive war was allowed to Muhammad. So was also the war to safeguard the freedom of embracing Islam. This led to clashes, minor and major, with the people of Mecca, who represented the aristocracy of pagan Arabia and had their economic position and political prestige to be jealous about.

Muhammad once more proved himself a patient and farsighted warrior and politician. What he could not accomplish by kind persuasion, he tried to achieve by defensive war, and when war proved to be hazardous, he accepted a treaty with the people of Mecca which even his chief supporters considered degrading. But it was in fact a step forward in achieving the unity of Hijaz under Muhammad, since he was treated by his opponents and persecutors as an equal, politically and religiously. But the people of Mecca did not abide by the terms of the treaty and war was inevitable. From this war Muhammad came out as the master of Mecca. In the religious sphere he accepted no compromise. All unbelievers must accept Islam and all idols must be destroyed. But in the political sphere he was tolerant and clement. He pardoned his bitterest enemies and even confirmed them in their positions of leadership.

With the conquest of Mecca all Arabia accepted Islam and stood united in one state for the first time in its history. When Muhammad went to the pilgrimage, and addressed the hosts of his followers for the last time before his death, he confirmed the brotherhood of the Arabs, and their unity, in his address.

Development of the First Arab Army

The reason for, and details of, the Arab conquests during the first century of Islam need not detain us. Suffice it to say that within one hundred years, the Arab domain extended from India to the Atlantic and Southern France, and from the African desert to the gates of Constantinople. The forces that in the course of time were used in this huge task developed from a very modest and small band of followers of Muhammad.

When defensive war was sanctioned, armed followers of Muhammad in bands of 20 and 30 used to form his entire force. In the first major battle of Badr only 300 Moslems took part against the hosts of pagan Mecca. The largest force ever collected during the life-time of Muhammad seems to have been not more than 3000.

Even during the conquest of Syria, Iraq and Egypt under the Caliphs of Muhammad, not more than 40,000 soldiers seem to have been used. There seems to be real justification for the insistence of the Arab historians that the army of Islam was a small number of men that conquered large numbers of adversaries by the grace of God.

The recruits were beduins from the various tribes, who usually took their families with them to the nearest point of the battle, and reverted to civil life as soon as a battle or a campaign was concluded. The service was voluntary and in the beginning every volunteer provided his own food, mount and weapon.

But the problem of pay, supply and equipment was solved by the accumulation of war booty and taxation of the countries subjugated. The second Caliph, considered as organizer of most of the state services, devised the method according to which soldiers and their dependents received pay from the state treasury.

The second Caliph is said to have ordered his commander-in-chief in Iraq to divide the army into smaller and larger units, and to place each unit under an officer, and all officers to be made answerable to a commanding officer. The historian, Tabari, relates that with every army group there was a host of tribal chiefs, physicians, *Qadis*, guides,

clerks and interpreters. The recruits were composed mainly of two types: (1) the beduin type who had no proper military training and used the method of desert raiding, i.e. swift attack and swift withdrawal with booty; (2) the Caliph's body guard, trained and reliable, who were the cream of the youth of the tribes. Both categories were almost entirely of pure Arab stock during the first century of Islam.

The order of battle was an army divided into five divisions: centre, right wing, left wing, van- and rear-guard. Each division consisted of men of the same tribe or group of tribes, and could, if needed, fight under their own tribal chiefs independent of the army as a whole. This formation is attributed to the Prophet himself, who first introduced it successfully in the battle of Badr against the people of Mecca. The same order of battle was maintained in its essentials throughout the military history of Islam. Khalid, the general who defeated the Byzantine army at Yarmuq, is credited with introducing a system within each of the five divisions which afforded more speed and mobility in battle. His device was to subdivide a division into squadrons of 40 men each, who were in a better position to meet the hosts of Heraclius than the usual unbroken line.

Let us remember also that at the battle of Badr, the first real battle in the history of Islam, there was only one horseman, while in later history the greater majority of the army was cavalry. The infantry was usually restricted to footmen who provided the "reserves", mainly intended to replace casualties among cavalry. The weapons were predominantly lances, arrows and swords, while helmets and shields were used for protection.

The army remained distinctly Arab under the Umayyad Caliphate and reached in efficiency and equipment a very high level. The development of the navy must be dismissed in a few words. The second Caliph, true to Arab (Pre-Islamic) tradition, always dreaded the sea and refused to approve any scheme of conquest that placed the sea between him and his troops. But with the enterprise and energy of Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad Caliph, a Moslem fleet was built, even while he was still a governor of Syria, and with it Cyprus was conquered in A.H. 28, and the naval power of Byzantium was seriously challenged. Six years later, Mu'awiya's navy gained a decisive victory over the Byzantine navy in the battle of Bat-as-Sawari (i.e. the Battle of the Masts). The Arab navy is said to have numbered some 200 ships and the Byzantine navy some 500 ships. The sailors, as distinct from the Moslem warriors were

Christian Copts who took no part in the actual fighting. The engagement is well described by Tabari who says that ship grappled with ship and men fought at close quarters with swords and daggers.

Policy and Administration in Conquered Territories

The distorted picture of the Moslem general, confronting his opponents with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other as the only two alternatives, is now obsolete, thanks to modern research and first-hand information about Islam and the Arabs. It cannot be emphasized too much, that Islam is both a religion and a state, and that its leader at any time is not only a Prophet or Caliph, but also a king and general. The wars of the Arab state, which Muhammad the Prophet had established, were in one sense religious, but only in one sense. The generals that led the Arab armies against the Greeks and the Persians outside Arabia, offered their adversaries to accept Islam or to retain their faith and accept Moslem rule and pay taxes, or, failing either, to face the Moslems in battle. The earliest treaty concluded between Muhammad and a ruler outside Arabia, John of Aila, is a model for future action. It guarantees to the Christians their property and their lives, and leaves them the freedom of worship subject to the payment of poll-tax or *jizya*. The Moslems were equally liable to a parallel tax amounting to a tenth (*ushr*) of their income, also called *zakah*. In theory as well as in practice the *jizya* tax was in lieu of protection or in lieu of military service. It is so described in the treaty concluded between Khalid and the Christians of Hira in Iraq. On this point, the treaty reads literally: "If he (Khalid) cannot protect them, they are not liable to pay anything, until he protects them".

When the Prophet sent a representative to a group of tribes that accepted Islam and the protection of its political rule, he asked him how he would perform his duties. The governor-designate answered, he would be guided by the Koran, and if what he sought guidance on was not in the Koran he would follow precedents made by the Prophet, and if he found no mention in the Koran and no precedents, he would act according to his own judgement. We are reliably informed that Muhammad wisely approved of this exposition of administrative practice.

One of the aims of the conquest, apart of course from the general intention of spreading Islam, was what we may now call "colonization". Hence the army was followed, or rather accompanied by, tribes, bag and baggage: women, children, cattle and equipment. The history of some

of the earliest military camps is very indicative of this policy in that they all became important cities in Islam. Notable examples are Basra, Kufa and Fustat (Cairo). But we have also unimpeachable evidence that at least 'Umar Ibn al Khattab, forbade military fiefs and issued strict orders forbidding soldiers from acquiring land and settling on it permanently, so as not to divert them from the main purpose. This order was ignored soon after the death of 'Umar. The temptation was too strong. We read in one of the proclamations of Khalid to his army fighting the Persians in Iraq: "Even if we are not fighting in God's cause, it would appear prudent to fight for this land and take it for our livelihood."

It might be also interesting to read one of the earliest orders issued by the Caliph to his armies directed to Syria. It reads as follows: "Do not resort to treachery, do not break your bond, do not mutilate, do not kill a woman or a child or an old man, do not cut down or burn palm trees or any fruit trees, do not kill animals except for food — and on encountering people who have confined themselves to their cells (monks), leave them to their task undisturbed..."

The administration of the conquered territories followed a direct and simple pattern. Those that concluded treaties with the Arab generals were governed according to the terms of the treaties. The Moslems left them all freedom in their religious and domestic affairs, (they did not even impose Arabic as state language till much later in history). The Arab aristocracy were in military camps or large cities, but the general mass of the beduins ("the substance of Islam", as 'Umar called them) settled on the land confiscated from those who refused peace offers and were conquered in battle. The details of administration and the collection of taxes do not require much elaboration here. It would be interesting, however, to give one or two instances to illustrate the actual operation of both systems.

It is almost certain that apart from the departments directly concerned with religious matters, the first two government departments to be established and organized were the department of finance and the department of the army. Both departments owe their origin to the second Caliph, who was extremely careful and strict in his administration. It is related that he used to keep a record of the fortunes of his viceroys before taking office, and used to demand an account from those who acquired riches while in office. His story with Amr, the viceroy of Egypt, is proverbial. Amr explained that in Egypt, a rich country, he

employed his money in agriculture and commerce, and thus he gained some income over his salary. The Caliph retorted: "...your answer is that of one who was disturbed by (the) justice (of the accusation) and I distrust you. I therefore dispatch Muhammad Ibn Maslama to you to divide your riches (i.e. between you and the state). Do not oblige him to be rough with you. The matter is very clear."

Another instance of the administration of 'Umar is his attitude towards the Christian Arab tribes. Banu Taghlib in Iraq refused to pay the *jizya* on the ground that its implications were humiliating to them. As explained before, the tax was in lieu of protection or in lieu of military service. Banu Taghlib argued that they were not lesser in valour than their Moslem brothers. 'Umar accepted their point of view, and ordered the tax to be levied under the same name as it was levied from Moslems (*ushr*). Banu Taghlib took part on the side of the Moslems in the battle of Buwaib in Iraq.

The development of other administrative services was left to the Umayyads, who not only inherited the Greek and Persian systems with their trained, though corrupt, personnel, but also rendered all government records into Arabic, and increased the efficiency and experience of the service by introducing fresh minds. It is related of Hajjaj, the viceroy of Iraq, that an illiterate kinsman came right from the desert, and asked to be appointed in a government office. As a civil service "examiner", Hajjaj asked his kinsman how he would divide five dinars of war booty equally between three believers. The beduin was puzzled, and requested the viceroys to repeat the question twice. Then he settled the problem in his way. He said: two dinars go to the first, two dinars go to the second, and (the townsmen's arithmetic is very odd!) to the third I give the missing dinar out of my own pocket. Hajjaj, more amused than impressed by this profound knowledge of economy, appointed the beduin as a tax collector in a bad village, where no taxes were collected for months. The beduin on assuming his office summoned all the notables and fixed a time for the dues to be paid. The time passed, and no taxes were paid. He repeated this twice, but on the third occasion he swore that all arrears, if not paid by the next Friday, would have to be paid in the state treasury at Damascus by the delinquent in person. He actually sent some bad cases to Damascus, with the result that within a week the whole amount due from the village was collected. Hajjaj then remarked: "I did not underestimate the beduin after all."

Islam and the Development of Arab Education

Education in the sense of quest for knowledge began independent of, and remained free from, state control for more than four hundred years.

There is no doubt, that there were literate people before Islam, but there is no conclusive evidence that schools as such were established. It is mentioned that certain members of the People of the Book, (Jews and Christians) were engaged in teaching, but this was mainly in the towns and not in the desert. It can however be safely assumed that the greater mass of the Arabs before Islam were illiterates. It is a well-known fact that Muhammad himself was illiterate. Yet his mission inaugurated a movement of learning and education without parallel in the long history of the Arabs. The Koran and the traditions of Islam abound in injunctions to the believers to acquire knowledge. Both sources stress the importance attached to men of learning and their quest for knowledge, in terms that are hardly surpassed in any other literature. Learning comes next to belief in God, and men of learning are mentioned after God and his angels. Men of learning are the successors to prophets, and the way of the seeker after knowledge is a way to paradise, and angels are reputed to spread their wings to facilitate the mission of the scholar.

This was no literary hyperbole, for Muhammad lost no time to put all these ideals into practice. For the ransom of literate pagan prisoners in the battle of Badr it was stipulated that they should teach reading and writing to Moslems. The readers of the Koran turned out to be the first teachers and educators in this outburst of enthusiasm for learning. It is recorded that Muhammad and his immediate successors used to send to every community or tribe that accepted Islam a Reader to teach them the Koran by heart, as was the custom, and to instruct those willing in reading and writing. But most of the process of education was dependent upon memory.

If the reader of the Koran was the first teacher, the mosque was the first school. While it is true that teaching in the mosque was restricted to Koran recitation, learning to read and write was done anywhere. This type of education was gratuitous, as it was considered an act of piety to do this service to a brother believer free of charge. It included besides Koran, reading and writing, some arithmetic, poetry and folk-lore.

But with the eruption of the tribes to Syria, Iraq and Egypt, and the establishment of a more organized state under the Umayyads, education made another advance, but remained free from state control. The children of the higher social classes, we are told, were sent to the desert to learn correct Arabic and to acquire stronger physique. The subjects that were taught remained almost the same as during the days of the Prophet and his immediate successors, namely, Koran, reading, writing, poetry and history. Towards the end of this period, which is also the end of the period covered by this survey, we hear of the professional teacher who takes compensation for his labour, and we also hear of the *Kuttab*, or small school, where children were taught by self-appointed teachers. Hajjaj, the famous general and viceroy, started his career as a teacher of this type.

During the Umayyad period, rules of Arabic calligraphy were fixed, and Arabic became the official language in all government records in the provinces. Both steps gave a strong impetus to education and the quest for knowledge. Soon after that a movement was started to record the heritage of Islam and the Arabs, to translate from Greek and Persian sources into Arabic, and to write original books on religious and literary subjects. This in turn contributed to the flourishing, particularly at Basra, of religious, mystic, philosophical and literary movements that were of far-reaching influence in the history of thought in the following century under the Abbasids. This, however, is outside our present scope. But it may be useful to sum up education during the early days of this dynasty in a few sentences. There were not many wars to be waged, and the wealth of the provinces in agriculture, industry and commerce was considerable. The policy of the Caliphs was on the liberal side. With this prosperity and settled order the subjects of the Abbasids, Arabs and non-Arabs, plunged into the luxuries of body and mind. In the latter sphere, it appears as if the whole nation, from Caliph to beduin, was either learning or teaching in one way or the other. Translations from Greek and Persian were already discussed in mosques and in the literary circles of the caliphs. The study of the Koran and the traditions of Islam, and the rich heritage of the Arabic language and literature, were showing traces of foreign influence, at least in method, if not in substance. The simple ascetics of the early Islam were now disputing in Greek terms advanced mysticism. The "educated" citizen was no longer satisfied with his Koran and the three R's. Among other things he had

to know above the traditional subjects (Koran and Arabic) philosophy, mysticism, music, alchemy etc. But education still remained free of state control, though the liberal policy of the caliphs encouraged the spread of general knowledge. The school, so to speak, remained a personal affair of the teacher. The "graduate" had no alma mater to be proud of; he merely cited the names of the professors of all lands who imparted knowledge to him. The fascinating subject of state education and the opening of universities did not materialize till the 11th century A.D., and must therefore be left out of account here.

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ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST

A. BONNÉ

I.

A DEEP gulf separates the standards of living, health and education of Western and Oriental peoples, a discrepancy which may fittingly be characterised as the contrast between the industrialized nations of the West and the still predominantly agrarian peoples of the East. There exists a correlation between per capita income and occupational structure; a high per capita income coincides with a vocational distribution marked by a large percentage of people engaged in manufacturing trades and intermediary services.

Figures indicating the supply of manufactured goods per head of the population constitute one of the measuring rods for determining the level of living of the various peoples. A comparison of such figures shows that most Western countries live on a far higher level than do Eastern lands; in fact, it is the former's extensive production and consumption of manufactured goods and services (such as textiles, household utensils, furniture, motor vehicles, books and newspapers, radio sets, films, pharmaceutical products, etc.) which invest them with this peculiar note of a modern style of life. Although the figures given below refer to the end of the 'twenties', they still reflect the order of magnitude that prevailed on the eve of the war*.

* It is remarkable to what an extent the prevailing system of distribution of the national income preserves the relative shares of the various classes of the population in Oriental countries. Owing to the inflationary processes the absolute figures for average incomes have changed, yet recent investigations into the distribution of national income in Egypt, for instance, have shown that the purchasing power of the fellahin has remained on the same level as before the war, in spite of the inflated figures following the rise in prices.

Supply of Finished Factory Products other than Foodstuffs in 1926/29
(Rough Estimate in Annual Averages)

Country or Group	\$ per Head of Population		
	Production (gross value)	Net Imports (+) or Exports (-)	Supply (col. 1 + col. 2)
	1	2	
United States	262	- 8	254
United Kingdom	154	- 42	112
Germany	134	- 23	111
Four British Dominions (a)	120	+ 44	164
Six minor industrial countries (b)	115	- 15	100
Eight developed but not highly indus- trialized countries (c)	46	+ 34	80
Japan	31	- 3	28
China & India	2	+ 1	3
Palestine			
Jews	60	+ 40	100
Arabs	4	+ 14	18
Turkey	6	+ 4(d)	10

(a) Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Union of South Africa.

(b) Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland.

(c) Argentina, British Malaya, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway.

(d) particularly low because of the import restrictions policy*.

Whereas peoples with a depressed standard of living had, in former times, acquiesced in their fate, they are now resolved to claim their share in the material wealth and amenities which modern society has to offer. If, for instance, industrialization holds the key to a definite improvement in living conditions, then industrialization must be adopted as an important means for raising the level of subsistence.

Since, however, the majority of Oriental populations are likely to remain workers on the land for some time to come, the problem of raising their status must in the first instance, proceed from the agrarian angle. It has been established in the course of many investigations that the low level of real income and of consumption among the peasant masses is due primarily to the very low produc-

* Figures for Palestine and Turkey are the author's compilation, other figures are quoted from "Industrialization and Foreign Trade," League of Nations, 1945, p. 22.

tivity of Oriental agriculture. If we take the figures for the national income of the countries concerned, we find that the average national per capita income in the backward territories is but a fraction of that in developed areas. Amounts ranging between £10.— and £19.— in respect of the Middle East, and considerably less in South-Asian countries, are contrasted by per capita income levels of from £50.— to £120.— in Western lands (pre-war figures). A similar picture emerges from a comparison of agricultural net production per head of the different populations. For reasons of statistical expediency we use, as a measuring rod, the "international unit" first introduced by Colin Clark. It corresponds approximately to \$1. The net output figures refer to male earners only.

**Agricultural Productivity per Male Worker
in International Units ***

"Western" Countries		Oriental Countries	
U.S.A.	— 661	Japan	— 64
Great Britain	— 475	China	— 46
Belgium	— 394	South-Eastern Asia	— 64
Czechoslovakia	— 287	Palestine:	
Switzerland	— 433	Jews	— 683
Holland	— 579	Arabs	— 186
France	— 415	Turkey	— 109
Argentina	— 1233	Egypt	— 90
Australia	— 1524	Syria and Lebanon	— 97
		Iraq	— 91
		Cyprus	— 143

As the table shows, the average productivity per earner in Oriental countries is very much lower than in Western countries. It does not allow the people engaged in agricultural occupations more than a very meagre livelihood, which frequently remains below the minimum. Wherever the land is not the property of the peasant, a large slice of his income is claimed by the landowner and by all kinds of middlemen in the various stages of production and distribution. This, coupled with the frequently exorbitant rate of interest charged for rural debts, accounts for the smallness of the peasant's final share. Without rigorous measures

* Figures for Middle-Eastern countries according to A. BONNÉ, "The Economic Development of the Middle East", London, 1945. Figures for other countries from C. CLARK, "The Conditions of Economic Progress", London, 1940.

calculated to effect changes in the present distribution of peasant revenue, only half of the rehabilitation work is done. Furthermore, the intellectual and technical potentialities of the Oriental masses have never been fully developed, either quantitatively or qualitatively. No progress is possible unless there is a change for the better in all these spheres.

There can be no doubt, in view of the weakened physical constitution of large parts of the rural population, that a bold and far-flung hygiene and health policy would go a long way towards improving conditions. Similarly, the spread of elementary education and vocational training must lead to an advancement in methods of farming and to a consequent rise in income. However, in view of an annual income of £3 to £5 per head of the *rural* population (peace-time level) in India and the Middle East, such measures in the sphere of health and education should not be over-rated, more particularly when the question of pace is taken into account. The effects of an improved education and health policy become apparent only after a considerable lapse of time, while the destitute condition of the peasantry calls for measures of a more urgent nature. It is vital, therefore, that a policy be conceived that would be capable of producing far-reaching changes in the economic and socio-political structure of the countries concerned. The measures involved in such a policy must comprise a re-distribution of the national income through reform of land tenure, reduction of the rent on land, reform of land taxation for the benefit of the lower income groups, and the introduction of improved marketing methods. Of equal importance will be steps aimed at the raising of productivity and the extension of the area under cultivation by the inauguration of large-scale development schemes, mainly in the field of irrigated farming; industrialization must become a definite state policy, and finally, state services on an expanding scale must be established in the sphere of health, education, communications and the like.

II.

It is clear that a programme of this magnitude, and conceived along the lines of democratic planning, must stand and fall by the whole-hearted identification of the State and of the population concerned with its implications.

The difficulties inherent in the launching of large-scale and comprehensive reforms in the economic and social field have time and again been felt in Western countries, particularly where conditions called for

fundamental changes in the occupational structure, for a re-distribution of income, etc. However, these difficulties are small, compared with those to be faced in the undeveloped territories of Asia. Let us look, for example, at the relations of the people to the State, which will have to implement the development schemes. Even in the early stages of modern industrial capitalism the importance of the rôle played by the State should not be minimized. True, industrialization needed, above all, a class of promoters prepared to perform all the functions devolving upon industrial initiators and innovators. Western society indeed owes a great deal of its economic and technical progress since the Industrial Revolution to its bourgeoisie; yet there is no denying that this class benefited in a large measure from the close alliance that existed between the State and the urban citizenry, an alliance which played a decisive part in the development of modern industrial capitalism.

Over a great part of the Eastern world the situation is different. Here an administrative and State machinery that was alien to the population and distant from the masses has prevented, practically up to the present time, the development of any feeling of close contact or identity of interests on both sides.

The political regime of many Oriental States is based on the rule of large landowners over the small-holders or the landless classes. The great degree of concentration of landed property in the hands of large landowners has almost to the present day given the State in the Middle East and in many other Asian regions, the character of a class-State, resembling that of the feudal states of Europe during the early Middle Ages. This resemblance can be traced not only in the analogous spiritual foundation, as expressed in the unity of the political and religious community in the Islamic East. It is found also in the absence of all political weight, and the non-existence of any genuine representation of the economic and cultural interests, of the landless population. The absence of these conditions means a grave obstacle to the execution of comprehensive schemes of planned reconstruction, the more so as Oriental countries cannot yet count on a reliable and loyal administrative apparatus. The modern civil service has developed simultaneously with the Western State as the result of historical conditions which did not exist in the Oriental regions.

The problem of the fundamental approach, i.e. how in these circumstances to inaugurate so ambitious a programme, is indeed one of the first magnitude; but it is not a new one. There exist several avenues of approach, which may profitably be outlined here.

As early as the nineteenth century, outstanding reformers with a deep insight into the nature of Oriental society were proceeding along the lines of a development policy enforced from above. This was not a policy introduced from *without* by a foreign power; but it was an imposed policy all the same, i. e. imposed from above through state initiative and state management. Its authors had the interests of their country at heart and knew that only through a *leap* from an economic regime based on feudalism to one employing methods resembling modern State planning could they hope to achieve tangible results. As the masses and the possessing strata were not yet responsive to such measures and were completely devoid of any understanding of their necessity, inducement to their introduction could not come from them. It had to come from the top, where a few far-sighted minds already then conceived the essentials for the transformation of Oriental society. The chief objectives of this early planning were: to provide a substitute for capitalist incentive, to procure financial resources without loss of political independence, and to regenerate the social body. The methods were clearly not what we call to-day "democratic planning", i.e., to carry out by democratic leadership, by persuasion, in an atmosphere of free discussion and cooperation, bold plans of social and economic changes. But failing these qualities there remains only compulsion from above and even that not as an absolutely safe method.

There is, perhaps, no better lesson than that afforded by the experiments of Mohammed Ali in Egypt more than a hundred years ago. In view of the general stagnation and the improbability that the Egyptians would of their own accord make profitable use of the ideas infiltrating from Europe, the conviction grew in Mohammed Ali that active intervention on the part of Government in the sphere of industry and education was imperative. The mentality of the Oriental at that time did not hold out much hope that he would be able to overcome all the difficulties confronting the revival of industrial initiative, let alone the introduction of European production methods of his own account. This could be achieved only by some dominant body invested with extensive powers. Thus, the State itself, i.e. its ruler, Mohammed Ali, embarked in grand style on an ambitious programme of economic and socio-political activities, and assumed a number of national-economic functions. His plan, to transplant the Industrial Revolution to Egypt came, however, to nothing, because the Egyptian population and State machinery of his time failed to grasp the importance of Mohammed Ali's daring ideas. Similar attempts made in

the Ottoman Empire achieved no more than ephemeral successes.

One of the most valuable conclusions to be drawn from this chapter of Oriental history, as well as from the far more successful attempts of our day in Turkey and Palestine, is the pre-eminent significance of an effective ideology to back up such transformation processes. In clear recognition of this fact the spread of such a new ideology plays an enormous rôle in the new Turkey after the removal of the former regime; and much more than there, in the U.S.S.R., where the task of re-moulding a huge backward area has reached gigantic proportions.

The leaders of the young Turkish Republic attempted to create the necessary basis for social and economic changes by an extensive use of State initiative and guidance, both direct and indirect, in almost all fields, economic and social. For this purpose the whole administrative apparatus had to be recast. Over and above this, however, a population was required which was capable of understanding the objectives of the new State, and prepared to identify itself with them and become a willing pioneer in the foreign and domestic policies of its country. This population did not yet exist at the time when the Turkish leaders started their new policy. The frequently extreme and tempestuous measures aiming at the rousing of a new national feeling, a new Turkish State Enthusiasm, and a new Turkish Culture, must be understood in this light.

The lengths to which this re-shaping can be carried may be seen from the following passages of a "Report on the U.S.S.R. and its Backward Peoples" describing the manner in which an intimate sense of association and a vast, co-ordinated nation-wide, constructive endeavour is inculcated into the masses of the population:—

"The discussion and publicity which accompany the carrying out of the 'plan' in Russia really do enable the Soviet people to generate such a creative enthusiasm. There exists a feeling of comradeship between local Soviets and the Central authorities to which we in this country — and certainly authorities in the Empire — are strangers: a sense of being engaged, jointly and at full stretch, upon a common task.

The Communist Party, unitary, disciplined, ubiquitous, is in a unique position to play on such a sense of common effort. In no corner of the country, at no moment from one year's end to another, does it fail to guide, stimulate, persuade, and, if necessary, to coerce. People often think of the Soviet Communist Party as a dominant clique that seeks to monopolise the plums and spoils of office. This

is a mistaken view. Actually, the Party is an organisation of special service troops trained to carry out certain tasks of engineering in the social field. It is a non-hereditary aristocracy of political labour chosen purely on merit from every race and culture in the Soviet Union, and including representatives from every village and every factory. It is a unifying influence of the first importance. Without it, Soviet society would resemble not an army on the march, but random pedestrian traffic jostling to and fro in the street.

In not a dissimilar way, the Red Army reinforces the unifying influence of the Party. Every year new age groups are conscripted and every year in peace time many thousands of men, having served two years or more, are released to return to civil life. During their service in the army these men go through an educational course in geography and history, economics, political grammar and music. They also undergo the technical and vocational training involved in mechanised warfare. Since the Revolution, every Soviet village must have received, on the average, nearly a hundred of these returned ex-soldiers. Young men in their early twenties, with cultural roots still deep in village life, but modernised in outlook by training and new experience, make up a powerful missionary body, transforming what Lenin used to call 'the idiocy of village life'.^{*}

Another approach which offers quite an interesting lesson can be studied in the present attempts at carrying out comprehensive agricultural development projects in the Sudan. There are several big schemes in the process of execution. One, called the "Jezirah Scheme", now covers one million acres. It is run on a share-farming basis. The Government, tenant-cultivators, and the Sudan Plantation Syndicate have formed a triple partnership, whose basic shares are 40%, 40% and 20%, respectively.

The Government meets the capital, interest and maintenance cost of the Sennar Dam, canals and drains and, in addition, certain outlay for rentals paid to the original landowners. The Syndicate develops the land and controls the water courses, supervises the farming operations and the marketing of the cotton crop, which is the foundation of the whole scheme. Other schemes are the "Alternative Livelihood Schemes in the Sudan" and the "Gash Board Scheme". In both cases the rôle of Government is again conspicuous. The Govern-

^{*} EMPIRE, Journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, November 1943.

ment itself undertakes the duties performed by the Syndicate in the "Jezirah Scheme" and carries them out through native agencies. In the "Gash Board" project, the Board, with capital subscribed entirely by the Government, directs the development activities under that scheme. This Board is composed of three high Government officials and runs the area in ordinary commercial form, but separate from the rest of the Government accounts. The results of these various arrangements are judged very favourably. The schemes may be considered to constitute valuable contributions to Oriental reconstruction.

It might be of interest to examine the peculiar development in Palestine against this background. Palestine, like her neighbours, is an Oriental country; its peoples form part of the great family of Asiatic nations. Jewish immigrants coming back to Palestine after an exile of nearly 2,000 years have transformed the economic and social structure of their ancient homeland; they brought with them and further developed their specific social and economic levels, forms and institutions. This process has virtually westernized large parts of the country; in the economic sphere its manifestations are the development of natural resources, the raising of productivity in agriculture and industry, and the all-round introduction of progressive methods of work and means of production and distribution. No other country of the Middle East is able to point to an economic and social advance so remarkable as that of Palestine.

But there is a second aspect, and despite its political implications, which do not need to be gone into here, we cannot afford to neglect it. Palestine has emerged as the only place where mass settlement was and is a striking success in modern times. In spite of obstacles and discouragement, Jewish efforts in agriculture, industry, transport, etc., have grown in scope and importance; and although numerically inferior, the Jewish sector has become the motive power in the economic life of the country. The achievements attained justify the expectation that, given preliminary economic and financial planning, not only a far larger immigration can be absorbed in Palestine, but the economic advance achieved hitherto is capable of considerable expansion. The possibility of contributing to the solution of a very urgent problem lends particular weight to the demand for the fullest possible utilization of the country's absorptive power; more especially as other nations have so far not been able to offer any genuine solution. The size of immigration here becomes largely a function of the available capital.

The Zionist reconstruction effort in Palestine has as its primary task

the solution of a world-wide problem: the return of a homeless people to the land of its fathers. The outcome of this Palestinian venture has, however, a bearing also on the general problem of economic development in Asiatic regions, and this despite the fact that many aspects of Jewish settlement activities are unique and cannot be applied elsewhere.

It has sometimes been argued that success of Jewish colonisation in Palestine was due largely to the generous use of capital, and that economic considerations had frequently been thrown aside in this connection. It is true that the decisions of Jewish bodies to buy land from the Arabs, frequently at exorbitant prices, and to settle newcomers in areas not yet properly developed or equipped, were not primarily dictated by business considerations. However, these activities cannot be judged from the angle of a private investor set upon immediate returns. The development of backward areas everywhere involves the employment of so-called "development capital". Throughout the world the new schemes which are bound to transform a backward social and economic scene, have been carried out only by dint of great investments sunk into the areas selected for development*.

But it would be erroneous to regard only the financial aspect as relevant. Any explanation of the driving power and achievement of the Jewish reconstruction effort has to take into account the ideas behind this effort. Without the ideology which has been at work in Palestine, the transformation of this country would not have been possible.

Two incentives are active within the Jewish community in Palestine: one is the establishment of an independent national home for the Jewish people in the land of their forefathers. The Jews came to settle in Palestine in the belief that the place of the Jewish nation within the new Society of Asian Peoples was assured. The idea of a rebirth of the Jewish people in Palestine gained in momentum after the great calamity that befell the Jewish people in Europe with the rise of Nazism: it has become a driving and dynamic force which dominates the daily life of the community.

The other incentive of the Jewish reconstruction effort in Palestine is the connection of modern Jewish thought, since its first manifestations, with the world-wide movements for the betterment of living conditions and for the establishment of social justice. It is this source to which the new forms of agricultural and industrial activity that have developed in

* It is a unique coincidence that of those countries which are most in need of development many possess in their oil resources a tremendous wealth for financing the new reconstruction plans.

Palestine, particularly the cooperative and communitarian settlements, owe their origin.

This is the incentive for the economic expansion within the new cooperative settlements. It has perhaps not yet been sufficiently appraised that these settlers, individually removed as they are from the accepted motives of capitalist activity, employ no less initiative and interest in the promotion of their group enterprise than do those participating in a customary capitalist order. In the cooperative settlement there is no need for bonuses, or for speedy advancement on the social ladder. The mere fact of a joint and determined effort through a new social venture for the improvement of human living is constantly developing the aptitude for creative initiative, individual and collective.

Unless such a stimulus exists among the population, a vigorous ideology capable of inspiring the masses, or, failing that, a government prepared to identify itself with an aggressive development programme of activities, indigenous society will find it most difficult to raise itself out of the rut of primitive economic conditions.

Although conditions in Jewish Palestine and in the large Asian regions do not present any similarity at first sight, some striking associations occur to us when looking through the vast amount of literature dealing with reconstruction problems in India. India with China are probably the areas that are most desperately in need of vast and thorough reconstruction and development. Both sub-continent throw into the shade any other region, insofar as the size and magnitude of their problems is concerned. But it is not a question of quantitative comparison which arises here; the essential pre-requisites are the same as in the Middle East. The issues are to change a fundamentally backward economy and to help a primitive peasant type, who is unable by his own efforts to overcome the tremendous odds set against him in regard to land tenure, obsolete working methods, scarcity of capital and his own physical weakness and malnutrition. However, there are promising signs of a growing realisation of the problems among important sections of the population; there is an increasing number of public servants, who devote considerable attention to the problems of rural reconstruction. The remedial measures discussed in India include some, which are quite familiar to Palestinian students of rural reconstruction.

The principle of cooperation, in a particular form, must be mentioned in the first place. In an extremely interesting study Tarlok Singh,

an Indian economist, and a highly placed public servant develops his ideas of the necessity of "joint village management", a kind of cooperative village farming, in which the claims of ownership are respected, but the villagers pool their land for the purpose of management. The village is conceived as a social unit which should be transformed into an economic unit so that the area of each peasant village becomes, in fact, the area of one big farm. It is managed as a single unit, replacing the many petty, individual holdings. The advantage of this staggering innovation is that it would reduce the personal, tribal, and religious difficulties which tend to grow up if the village area, in itself not very large, is subdivided into many small individual holdings. The immediate object of this proposal is not to achieve social justice and a status of equality in respect of property and fortune, of labour obligations and of equal share in the revenue, as in the social system of the Jewish collective settlements in Palestine. In the Indian village, according to Mr. Singh's plan, the principles of ownership and equal inheritance for each child are to be retained. On the other hand, the great advantage of rational management, the application of modern methods and technique of production and an efficient distribution of working hands is secured by this method. It will be extremely interesting to observe the results of this new approach which, according to the author's impressions during a visit in India, is being tried out there on a limited scale.

In view of the tremendous magnitude of India's problems of reconstruction, the immediate practical importance of such attempts should not be overrated; nevertheless they reveal a genuine awareness of the need for drastic measures and changes. It goes without saying that also the other remedies and policies indicated above, such as industrialisation, extension of irrigated areas, expansion of social services, all play an important part in India's reconstruction planning.

Material progress is not everything. This is an elementary truth. Still it is apt to be misused when serving as a pretext for acquiescence in destitution and appalling poverty. Backward peoples, and in particular Asian peoples, should not be told that because there are certain dangers inherent in industrialisation and in removing an old social structure, the masses should be content with the preservation of such a social and economic order sanctioned by tradition. Asia taught the world the message of the spirit. But there must be first a foundation on which to build an order of values, a

society of decent human beings, who are able to understand this message. The vast majority of the population in backward countries are not capable, under the present conditions, of devoting much thought to the value of ideas. They have a desperate struggle merely to eke out a bare existence; their entire thought is absorbed in obtaining a minimum ration of bread, water, clothing and often shelter. Not until these elementary needs have been satisfied can the countless millions living in backward lands contribute their full share to the economic and spiritual welfare of the world.

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TURKEY IN 1947: AN IMPRESSION

LEWIS G. BURNAND

THE destruction of the Ottoman Empire in the first World War was the climax to a gradual process of decline of a great Empire which began with the small Principality of Osman in the thirteenth century. The advent of Osman coincided with the decline of the Byzantine Empire. The temporal and spiritual advantages of war against the Christians, whose distintegrating organization offered little prospect of formidable resistance, invited the virile Turk to an expansionist policy. It was destined, with varying fortunes, to continue for more than two centuries, when the Empire attained its greatest glory under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520—1566). This period witnessed a series of astonishing exploits. The might of the Turks, which seemed to grow with each successive leader, terrified the Christian Princes of Europe. The savage hordes which swept through eastern Europe subjugating Bulgaria, Roumania (Wallachia), Greece, Albania and Hungary, and whose navies were virtual masters of the Mediterranean as far west as Algiers, threatened the very existence of Christendom. The form of Islam, personified in the warring Turk, cast its shadow over Europe for many centuries and left an indelible impression of hate and disgust in the minds of Christians. In the East, the Ottoman Empire extended to Persia, the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt. Cultural antagonisms between the Ottoman East and the Christian West, exemplified as they were by many bloody encounters, were gradually diluted by the material considerations offered to ambitious imperialisms of the West. The Ottoman Empire became in the end a much sought after ally for Britain by reason of her important strategic position on the main route to India, and of the rival imperialist aims of Russia. The relations between Turkey and the West were marked by peculiar compromise, a compromise between the real Christian ideal of Western civilization and the growing materialist conception of Western power. The unnatural association no

longer exists, for today Turkey is a secular state with a theoretical attachment to the claims of Islam. She finds herself once again the focus of attention of the Western powers who want her alliance as an insurance against possible future Russian expansion.

Turkey today is disappointing because she appears to reflect so little of her traditional glory. The effect of modernization seems to have relegated to an insignificant place in the life of the people the achievements of the past. The story of the past is consciously forsaken in a passionate endeavour to construct a story of the revolution and the building of the new Turkey. On talking to the young Turk of to-day one gets the impression that he is building on poor foundations. His outlook appears to have no firm link with the past. He is a pioneer fighting against tradition, for he has been brought up to recognise the failings of his father's and his grandfather's beliefs without being told by what to replace these ideals. His approach to history is a negative one. The struggle and great achievement of Kemal Ataturk is really the starting point of his existence, and he goes on from there madly anxious to obliterate the stained and barbarous past in a welter of modern materialism.

The traveller, conscious of the vivid history of the country, will be disconcerted by the indifference of the people in this respect. A visitor to Istanbul inquiring about the places to visit will be advised, *inter alia*, to go to Brusa, a small town situated on the north coast of Asia Minor on the northern slopes of the snow capped Ulu Dag. The attraction of this place, he will be told, is the medicinal Spa where there is a splendid hotel. There are, of course, in addition, lovely walks and a reasonably easy access to the fashionable ski resorts. There will be no mention of the historic attractions of Brusa, of the fascinating old market place, the handsome mosques, and the museum which enshrines many relics of Turkey's past. Yet at Brusa the visitor is taken back more than six hundred years to the scene of Osman's triumph, when this old town became the first capital of the tiny Ottoman Principality. Under successive Sultans it was to expand into the great Ottoman Empire. This apparent disregard for the past is a serious omission and to the western mind a serious deficiency in the structure of the new State. For the past, whatever its failings, enriches the life and development of new generations. It is from the past that so much for the future is learned. It is all important in the understanding of a country; it is the inescapable

foundation, the back-cloth, as it were, whose display is indispensable for the completion of the modern scene.

The visitor will find this break with the past rather unattractive because so much of what a new country has to offer is bound up with historical association; in addition to which, the traveller usually has some preconceived ideas which, in his first visits, enable him to find associations with the country and its people. In Turkey today justification of such ideas is a lonely trek. The young Turk is far more interested to see the European visitor indulging in just those things which he himself is craving to borrow and eventually adopt. He prefers the sophisticated pleasures of western society, inextricably bound up with a comfort that permits of no adventure beyond the perils of nocturnal amatory dalliance on the Sea of Marmara.

Yet behind this new facade stands old Turkey, indefatigable and only waiting to reassert her influence when the glamour of the new exertion wears off and the spirit of new Turkey returns to tradition for sustenance. Turkey's standing in the world is due as much to the efforts of her many leaders as to her geographical position. Her pivotal position has demanded great leadership for her survival. This leadership the Sultans gave her; they did more: they extended her temporal and spiritual power over great areas to east and west. The genius of her latest architect, Kemal Atatürk, can lose none of its lustre against the background of the Empires of the Sultans.

The modern Turk can see his position clearly in the modern world. The past represents ugly intolerance, unreasonable nationalism which precluded the adoption of foreign ideas. The Turk today no longer wishes to impose his ideas on the West, and therefore he is at pains to adopt more and more of what the West can give him. There is no feeling of inferiority. On the contrary the modern Turk believes that he has accepted his new mode of life of his own free will. He must therefore go on drawing inspiration from those who can best give it to him, namely Britain and America. The modern Turk is delighted to be considered as an outpost of Western defence against Russian physical and cultural threat. He is afraid of Russia without a doubt, and it is this fear which is strengthening his belief in the West, increasing his reliance on the West, and more important than all, causing him to wonder whether his retreat from Islam, which was part of his disassociation from the past, was in fact a wise move. For in 1928 the Turkish Republic proclaimed the definite severance of the State from Islam.

“Exactly twenty years earlier Turkey had been a theocracy based upon Islam. Religion had been the moulding, constitutive force in all fields of political, social and personal life. Even at the time when Turkey was changing from a theocracy to a constitutional monarchy and later to a republic, nationalism was indeed superseding religion as the motive force in political and personal life, but the bond with Islam remained unaffected and gave a stay to the Republic in its youthful years throughout Islam. With a radical vigour that is characteristic of a transition period, the reformers in the Turkish Republic severed the bond that united them with Islam...”*.

Today, Islamic religion in Turkey is the prerogative of the older generations; it is an individual concern and no longer has connection with public life. Except for mosques visible in the towns and villages, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Turkey was not a Moslem country. Kemal Ataturk condemned the excesses of Islam and denounced the theocratic state. He disestablished Islam and gradually the teaching of religion in schools died out. Children were no longer brought up in Islamic religious belief. Religion became a spare time occupation, permitted but in no way encouraged. Even the leaders in the mosques were forbidden to wear their traditional dress outside the mosque. All semblance of tradition was proscribed, with the result that the modern generation is quite irreligious. This state of affairs is regretted by the older people who realise the good influence religious upbringing has on the behaviour of young people. Moreover, with the gradual disappearance of Islam, the Turkish people have been given no substitute beyond the vague idea of the Nation as the highest ideal worth striving for. Older Turks realise the danger of this trend, for they have seen the ideal of nationhood proclaimed as an end in itself fall to the ground in miserable defeat. Furthermore, they realise that the irreligious mind is the best and most fertile ground for Communist teaching. Some go so far as to say that Russians have fostered this secular upbringing of young Turks and that the continuance of this policy has been to no small extent due to the influence of Russians on certain members of the Turkish Parliament. However, there is no doubt that the danger is realised today, and legislation is being provided to reintroduce religious teaching into the schools. A compromise in the shape of a reformed Islam is being sought. Already the Koran is translated into modern Turkish and

* Hans Kohn in *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, page 23.

used in this form in some mosques. But there is a big gap to be filled and it will not be easy to counter-influence the attractions of the materialist doctrines through which the young Turk finds so much of his "freedom". The lack of religion is the most striking single fact about modern Turkey. Its continuance or supersession by a reformed type of Islam, or even by Christianity, will provide the key to the country's future. (It is worth noting here that the main opposition to Islam was on the grounds of its secular power. The religious or spiritual function is still admitted by many young Turks; but their fear of the secular abuses has led them to abandon belief altogether).

Spectacular changes in the spiritual regeneration of Modern Turkey are unlikely to be realised yet. The country is anxiously preoccupied with economic and social problems, the successful solutions of which depend upon Western aid. Material security is of first importance.

Needless to say, interest in the American loan is obvious and widespread. A variety of reasons are given as to why the loan is a good thing, some trivial, others thoughtful. But behind most of these opinions is the general feeling of security. Modern Turkey has just emerged from the period of political adolescence and she looks forward to many years of peace in order to give full expression to her new ideas. She has so far rather inadequately absorbed some of the teachings of the Western world; she wants time to apply these teachings, she wants more help in understanding them, and at the same time she is avid for more and more modernization. The young Turk is quite convinced that he has a wonderful future before him. The American loan and other tangible American and British interest in his country are to him significant of a new chapter in his country's growth, one which will connect him once and for all to Western culture, thus enabling him to make absolute his divorce from the ties of the East. Turkey yearns for modernity as for something to replace the gap left by the abandonment of Islam. This longing is not an intellectual one; it is not a desire to improve or develop, but a desire to break away and become something new. That at least is the impression with which one is left. It fits in with the rather contemptuous attitude shown to tradition, with the boastful, showy way "modern life" is thrust to the fore, with the preference for the vulgar in American export culture, and the refuge taken in immodesty by certain emancipated sections of the population.

From the foregoing it might be thought that one was left with none but gloomy impressions of the country. This is far from the truth. While

admitting the gloomy side it can be truly said that the young Turk has a capacity for improved learning and living which is admirably exemplified in the increased number of schools, the almost universal desire to learn English, and the genuine effort which is being put into the extension of social services and the broadening of the conception of political thought and practice. Democratic government, as we in the West know it, does not exist in Turkey. Indeed, it could not exist in a land where real education is the prerogative of the townspeople. The gradual spread of literacy is a welcome pointer to future political development. Meanwhile the present regime which is a compromise between dictatorship and democracy meets the needs of the majority. It will be objected that there is severe criticism of the present regime. This is true to some extent, but it is not an extraordinary thing even in Turkey, and it demonstrates the progress which freedom of speech has made. It would be hopelessly unwise to run away with the idea that the Turks are unhappy because they have not got an ideal form of democracy. The Turkish peasant, like any other peasant, is happy if he can live in reasonable decency. Political formulae have no effect upon him. His fellow countrymen in the towns and cities on the other hand are open to the deceit of political racketeers, just as the English or French townsmen are, and they usually voice as little truth as their counterparts in Europe. The impression one gets is that the new regime has brought immense benefits, mainly material, to the people as a whole, and now the Turk is on the eve of wider development and is wondering just how next to act. That British aid in matters of government is required is freely expressed. The Turk recognises the superiority of the British in political and military matters. He wants guidance, but no more. In town and country there is genuine friendliness to British people. The Turk is reserved and therefore sometimes mistaken in his attitude. Yet, everywhere courtesy and kindness are to be found, and found in genuine quality. In the country the people lack none of the hospitality common to most Middle-Eastern peoples. In the towns there is less desire for contact mainly because the Turk is not well off and he is anxious not to appear mean to the foreigner. The visitor very soon realises that in spite of the fairly prosperous outward appearance of the townspeople their existence is in most cases a struggle against low wages and very high prices. Lack of good communications, and the maintenance of a large standing army, nearly one million, add to the difficulties of distribution, so that although some commodities (such as fish and fruits) are plenti-

ful, the prices of these are very high. On the other hand there is very little poverty due to unemployment, and the cost of travel is low, which is not surprising in view of the poor state of most of the roads and the antiquity of the railway rolling stock. But here again the Turk realises these deficiencies. He wants help to develop his means of communication, and he regards American aid as a means to this end. Although blessed with the "maalesh-ness" of the East, he is not afraid of hard work or of hard living, both of which have been his traditional birth-right from the start of his history. This inherent quality of laziness is a safeguard against the ruthless efficiency of totalitarian government. The Turk, with all his pride of nation, is essentially an individualist.

The impression most easily gained is that the young Turk today is experiencing the first fruits of his new freedom which Kemal Atatürk won for him, and he is determined to develop this experience by all the means available to him. His country is no longer at the crossroads of East and West, but instead a real link in the chain of forces symbolised by the interdependence of East and West in a common bond to preserve some notion of civilization in a world already fast dividing again. The young Turk wants peace and a generous share in the wealth of learning and progress which the West has to offer. His enthusiasm is the enthusiasm of youth, full of longings and faulty impressions, but in many ways tractable and willing to learn. It is the British and Americans who can make the best of the young Turk. And he knows it.

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TURKEY IN 1941: REMINISCENCES

BERNARD E. FERGUSON

I HAVE had the privilege of reading before publication the typescript of my friend Wing-Commander Burnand's impressions of modern Turkey; and my mind has gone back to the first half of 1941, when I, too, had the opportunity of travelling there. I would not dream of claiming any real knowledge of the country; it would be rash to do so on so small an acquaintance; but some sort of impressions naturally formed on my mind.

The first half of 1941 was a difficult period for Turkey. Russia was not yet in the war, and her attitude was uncertain. Twenty years before there had been a brief alliance between the countries — an alliance alien to the traditions of both, but springing out of expediency: both countries had had a revolution, both were without friends elsewhere, and each leaned temporarily upon the other. But as new Russia's position grew stronger, she learned to stand on her own feet; and as the new Turkey was observed to have come to stay, her position also stabilised. The brief need for that unnatural association was over, and the relations of the two countries returned to the same pattern as had existed between them before their respective revolutions.

The beginning of 1941 also saw the crumbling, one after the other, of the Balkan States before the onset of Germany. Yugoslavia, after a momentary hesitation, put up a short but stout resistance; Greece, unhampered by any second of hesitation, a longer and a stouter one. But both were doomed to failure. I have a vivid recollection of visiting the frontier post between Turkey and Greece one night just before sunset, and seeing the Greek guards there. Then I went to dinner and a cinema-show in Adrianople with the local Turkish general, and during the show we heard the sound of several explosions. Next morning before breakfast I revisited the post, looking apprehensively across the frontier: I had seen Greeks the night before where I saw Germans now.

All that week I travelled among the Turkish formations stationed in Thrace. I saw to my dismay that the Maritza River which formed the frontier between Greece and Turkey was nowhere more than two or three feet deep: on the map it was marked with a comforting breadth and blueness. The many rivers running from the north to the Marmara, on which hopes had been pinned back in Cairo, proved to be mere dry wadis. The strong natural position of the Chatalja Lines, twenty-five miles west of Istanbul, was almost bare of guns and concrete. Yet the flower of the Turkish Army was stationed in Thrace.

Morale was magnificent, but equipment lacking. I never saw more impressive troops in the sense of finer potential fighting men; but in the flat lands of Thrace, against the Germans with their wealth of material, I could not look upon them except as a doomed army. The glories of Istanbul, that loveliest of cities, were indeed a hostage to fortune.

Very depressed, I surveyed the passes which climbed from the shores of the Marmara into the highlands of Anatolia. These cheered me up a bit. I had no knowledge of the defiles of Skoplje or of Yannina, which the Germans had been able to seep through so easily; but I felt that to clamber up through these tangled glens on to the Anatolian plateau would be a major military task. And upon the plateau there were only the slenderest means of communication. Indeed, in the whole of Turkey, then, there were only two considerable tarmac roads; and both of these lay in that part of the country closest to the menacing approach of the enemy.

The moment of that visit to Thrace (April 1941) was indeed one of the blackest of the war. The news from Greece was progressively worse; the news from the Western Desert almost as bad. The British General, Sir James Marshal-Cornwall, whose companion I was, received a signal ordering him back to Cairo, and we travelled by the Taurus Express to Adana, where an aircraft was to meet us. When we got there, no aircraft was to be seen; but the Turkish General Fakhri Belen, who had come to see us off was undismayed, and ordered a table to be set and delicacies such as yoghurt and beer to be brought us.

It was a glorious morning. There was still glistening snow on the Taurus, and everywhere around was blossom. It was too much for the Turkish General, and he leaned back in his chair and broke into some beautiful Persian verses which extolled the beauties of the Spring, beating time with his hand to those rolling cadences. I was thinking, rather, of the long line of refugees I had seen a few days before trekking help-

lessly along the roads of Thrace. Then a signal came, telling us of the capture of three British generals in the Western Desert: O'Connor, Neame and Gambier-Parry; but the Turkish General just went on reciting.

Six weeks before, in Ankara, I had heard Persian verses being declaimed in an equally surprising setting and from an equally unexpected person. It was at a banquet which was being given by the Turkish Prime (I think: or was it Foreign?) Minister to Sir John Dill and Mr. Anthony Eden. I had not then known what I now believe to be the case: that Mr. Eden had taken a first in Oriental Languages at Cambridge. But in the course of one of the many speeches which he was called upon to make during the evening, Mr. Eden suddenly embarked on a long recitation of Persian verse, which went down extremely well with his audience.

Ankara was a queer place in those days. There were only two really congenial places at which to drink or dine (unlike Istanbul, where there were plenty). The one was the Ankara Palace Hotel, the other a White Russian restaurant called Karpitch's. At both, one was bound to meet enemy aliens: Fraulein von Papen was often conspicuous. The south-bound Taurus Express was always interesting: it would contain Germans in transit to the south and east, and innumerable non-Turks escaping from German-occupied Europe. I had an embarrassing evening once in the dining-car, having a glass of brandy before going to bed, with a fair haired Norwegian who had just reached Turkey after hazardous adventures, and who had celebrated his safety overmuch: he put an arm around my neck and said, "If I could see a German now, I would *keel* him!" He said it very loud and clear; and he and I were the only two people in the dining-car apart from the waiters who were not German.

Over and above all these trivialities, however, I formed certain strong impressions, some of which coincide with those received and expounded by Wing-Commander Burnand six years later. I had expected to find some nostalgia for the lost glories of the Ottoman Empire: I found instead something akin to satisfaction that modern Turkey was a tightly-knit entity, the stronger and healthier for being shorn of its ancient and outlying commitments, which had proved such expensive liabilities in the previous war. There was no sign of a desire for any territorial encroachment on neighbouring states: the restoration of the Sanjak of Alexandretta appeared to have fully satisfied the only wish in this direction. Certain subjects were taboo in conversation: the Kurds

were one; the suggestion that Arabic words had become embedded in the Turkish language was another.

I do not find in my recollections the readiness to accept guidance from foreigners, British or American, to which Wing-Commander Burnand has referred. My impression was precisely the opposite. For material—for tanks, guns, aircraft, searchlights, rifles, ammunition—they were desperately anxious; it was my job to press the urgency of their requirements upon the British, and in the Middle East in 1941, the British had little enough for their own needs. Where the more intricate material was supplied, the British made it a condition that it should be accompanied by experts, to ensure that it was put to good use: the Turks accepted the experts with reluctance, only when they realised that, without the experts, they could not have the material. But the experts for the most part (an exception was a brilliant young fighter-pilot, with a dazzling record in Britain and Malta) were accepted, and then left to kick their heels. An anti-tank expert, for instance, sent with equipment for the Chatalja Lines, was only allowed to visit them once in the whole period of his attachment, and then only heavily chaperoned and for a bare couple of days.

I think they were suspicious of the "expert" unless they knew him to be a good doer as well as a good technician. That would account for their reception of the fighter pilot already referred to, and for that of Major-General Sir O'Moore Creagh, whose remarkable run of successes as an armoured commander in the Western Desert was well known to them. Sir O'Moore is about five foot five in height; General Fakhrettin Pasha, who was one of the commanders whom we visited on that particular trip, was about six foot four; and he welcomed his guest with the words: "You are a very small General to have conquered so much of Africa!"

There was certainly a proud confidence evident everywhere in the country. Although they were deeply conscious of their material deficiencies, and indefatigable in their demands for more, and unperturbed by the complete lack of standardization which resulted from their acceptance of all that they could get, every individual I met, from the Marshal himself to the private soldier, was sure that even without material they would be a match for the Germans. Among the older, there were many who looked forward with eagerness to the opportunity of paying off old scores, and revenging themselves for old insults. There has never been any doubt in my mind as to where their sympathies lay. Only in the

business world was there evident a slight wistfulness for the golden markets that would be theirs if the country were to be absorbed into the German orbit. There were no bottoms to spare to carry goods to and from Turkey; the Turkish mercantile marine was negligible; and there was no outlet for trade in any direction. Commodities were scarce and expensive. Everywhere advertisements adjured one: "*Exigez le café du Bresil!*" but there wasn't any coffee from Brazil, or from anywhere else. And Turkey without coffee...!

The absence of official religion was also puzzling to one who like myself had a fair knowledge of the Middle East. It was an incongruity to which I never became used: to see the *Muezzin* climbing to the minaret clad in a blue pinstripe suit and a bowler hat. The quartering of troops in St. Sophia was something of a shock. But if one visited a mosque such as the famous Blue Mosque in Istanbul, there were plenty of faithful coming in and out; and it was an open secret that some of the highest in the land were still devout.

In sum, I retain in my mind, after the technical process of six crowded years have sifted and perhaps warped my memories, a warm and grateful picture. It is of a people friendly, hospitable, proud, honourable, rather intractable with their natural toughness intensified by the shock of revolution, and by the cutting away of a clumsy empire. It is of a country of rather savage uplands, like those of my own Lowland Scotland, but with certain tracts of ravishing beauty around the coasts: the Bosphorus itself, Ismit, Ismir, Brusa and Bandirma.

I should like to go back.

THE AUTHOR

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JOURNALISTIC MEMORIES OF IRAQ

K H A I R I H A M M A D

THE life of a journalist, like that of any other public professional man, is full of interesting experiences. It is inevitable that through his wide contacts with every part of the community, a journalist should always have a rich store of memories, which may be of interest to him as well as to his readers. Perhaps it is unfair to one's memories to make them public; however, and especially since a journalist's ideas and life are not his own property and possession, it is his unselfish duty to share those recollections with his readers, among whom he always finds his best friends and admirers.

During my career as a journalist, although I cannot claim to be a very successful one, I have had a rich experience of human connections, political adventures and crises. Among my recollections I find some episodes of historical importance, which left their imprint on the life of the community. But I can also remember clearly other, grotesque incidents which cast some light on the character and mentality of a few public figures.

It was early in the autumn of 1936, when the late outstanding statesman of Iraq, the then Prime Minister Yassin Pasha el-Hashimi, decided to tour the provinces of Iraq. He had already been in power for about two years, and his all-party Cabinet included the strongest elements in the country. Nuri Pasha es-Said, a leader of the opposition, had preferred to forget his personal ambition for the time and joined the Cabinet as Foreign Minister. The late Ja'afar Pasha el-Askari of the *Al-Ahd* party became Defence Minister, and Rashid Ali Bey el-Kaylani of the *Al-Ikha' al-Watani* party was Minister of the Interior. The Parliament, in effect a puppet institution at that time, was supporting the Cabinet, and, more

important than all else, General Taha Pasha el-Hashimi, the Premier's brother, was Chief of the General Staff of the Iraqi Army.

But a few months earlier, the Army had put down a revolt by some tribes of the middle Euphrates, who were supporters of the former Prime Minister, Jamil Bey el-Madfa'i, the only opposition leader outside the Cabinet. It was therefore reasonable to believe that this young and newly equipped Army could handle effectively any outburst of riots and thus solidify the position of the Cabinet. Hitherto cabinets used to be replaced primarily under pressure of public unrest or riots.

Backed by a strong army, therefore, it was to be expected that Yassin Pasha would feel himself stronger than ever, and capable of ruling Iraq with an iron hand over a long period.

As mentioned, it was early in the autumn of 1936, when Yassin Pasha began touring the country to give a display of his power. He started with Basra on the Persian Gulf, the third city of the country and its only sea-port. At a tea-party, held at the municipal garden of the town in his honour, the Premier declared that he would rule the country for a period of at least ten years. As one of the guests at the party, I had the uncanny feeling that a new dictator was appearing on the stage of world politics at a time when dictators were the vogue in Germany, Italy, Spain and Greece.

But this hopeful would-be dictator was ill-fated; a new form of dictatorship, a military one, was to replace him soon. The Prime Minister's address was considered an open challenge by the Sovereign of the country, the late King Ghazi, who was still in the prime of his youth, dreaming of power and unchallenged authority.

Soon after the return of the Premier from his tour to the capital, plans were prepared and necessary measures taken to enforce the resignation of the Cabinet. The Premier's brother, the Chief of the General Staff, was sent on a military mission to Turkey and Europe, thus affording best conditions to carry out the plan. The plot was prepared by a number of politicians of the National Party, who had never held ministerial posts, assisted by a number of ambitious army officers, headed by the late General Bakr Sidqi Pasha, the then Commander of the First Division and Abdul Latif Nuri Pasha, the Acting Chief of the General Staff.

Army manoeuvres were arranged to take place in the north-eastern provinces of the country near the Iranian frontier, a regular custom which raised no suspicions on the part of Yassin Pasha or his Cabinet colleagues. The manoeuvres were held as scheduled and orders were given

to the First Division to march in a southerly direction towards the capital. Nobody knew the real plan except a number of senior army officers. With an army vanguard but a few hours from Baghdad, a flight of planes flew over the capital and dropped pamphlets calling for the resignation of the Cabinet. One hour later a few bombs were dropped in the vicinity of the Premier's office. Meanwhile the Army was marching on Baghdad.

In a last minute desperate attempt to foil this coup d'état, Ja'afar Pasha el-Askari, the then Minister of Defence, who held an esteemed position in the Army as one of its organisers and creators, risked his life and left in his private car unescorted to meet the marching forces. This attempt, however, failed, and the brave Minister was led by a number of army officers ostensibly to meet Bakr Sidqi Pasha, but in fact to meet his death by a criminal shot. His body has never been recovered and is believed to have been thrown into the depths of the Tigris.

The Cabinet was forced to resign, its Ministers obliged to flee the country, and a military dictatorship was declared by Sidqi Pasha, who became Chief of the General Staff, assisted by a civilian puppet Cabinet headed by Hikmat Suleiman Bey. This dictatorship, however, was overthrown a few months later by another coup which led Sidqi Pasha to his death and Hikmat Suleiman Bey to prison and later to retirement from the political life of the country.

Another incident of greater importance in the modern history of Iraq, is that of the coup which led to Syd. Rashid Ali's revolt, the escape of the Iraqi Regent, H.H. the Emir Abdul Ilah, with Nuri Pasha es-Said and other leaders, from the country and the clashes between Iraqi and British troops. The story of this revolt with its causes, events and consequences is a long one, and cannot be summarized in this short note, but may provide material for a future article. I shall here confine myself to a personal experience which I had during this troublesome period.

Rashid Ali's revolt, it is to be recalled, lasted for the two months of April and May 1941. During the first month there was no war with Britain. It was apparently only an internal affair. The ambitious Army officers had forced the Regent to escape from the Palace disguised as one of the princesses and later from the country. Nuri Pasha, Jamil el-Madfa'i, Saleh Jabr (the present Prime Minister), and other leaders were also obliged to flee for their lives. The same officers aided the formation of a Government of National Defence, as it was called, headed

by Rashid Ali. The Parliament was convened, the Regent was unconstitutionally dethroned and a new Regent was elected, the Sherif Sharaf. Then a new Cabinet was formed under the leadership of Rashid Ali.

All newspapers being published at that time in Baghdad bowed to force and hailed "the New Regime", printing long articles in praise of the developments. Only two papers resisted the regime: the *Al-Iraq*, a permanent pro-British organ, and *Al-Istiqlal*, the most influential paper with the widest circulation. I was the editor of *Al-Istiqlal*. The former was soon suspended and its press confiscated. Such an action could not be taken against our paper, as it was considered by the public to be the only true national paper. A national movement, such as that of Rashid Ali called itself, could not therefore suspend this nationalist paper or terrorize it, as such a measure would have served to weaken the Cabinet.

Rashid Ali was in sore need of the support of our paper in order to convince the public that his movement was a national one; but this support was not forthcoming. The late Abdul Ghafour, the publisher of the paper, was an adherent of the Regent, and in addition to that he objected to acts of violence directed against the throne. All methods of convincing were used by Rashid Ali and his supporters in order to effect a change in the attitude of our paper, but in vain. Threats were made, violence was promised, but Abdul Ghafour stood firm as a rock. Nothing could change him. He was in fact a brave man.

He was summoned to meet the Prime Minister, but declined to do so, on the pretence of sickness. Thereupon one of the sub-editors of the paper was called to the Premier and ordered to publish an article bearing the headline "The Men of Struggle!". The article was a long eulogy of Rashid Ali and his regime. The Prime Minister insisted that the article appear as an editorial and that he, the Premier, wished to see the proofs late in the evening. I was helpless.

The article was set and the proofs were sent to Rashid Ali, who signed them himself.

Later in the evening I 'phoned Abdul Ghafour to come. He saw the article and was furious. He said he would not support the regime. The article was replaced by one which I wrote on the war in Greece. The paper appeared next morning and the Premier raged, but Abdul Ghafour remained firm.

This attitude, however, was changed in the following month when the war with Britain broke out, and Abdul Ghafour was obliged to

translate his nationalistic principles into practice and support the Government of his country in time of national emergency.

In April 1940 Italy had gone into the war on the side of Nazi Germany, but Iraq, in spite of her Treaty of Alliance with Britain, was hesitating to declare war or even rupture her diplomatic relations with Mussolini's Italy. Germany, apparently, was winning the war, and it was very risky to undertake such a step in spite of continuous British insistence.

I went one morning into my office and found in the room, which I shared with Abdul Ghafour, two ladies sitting with a tall thin old man, to all appearance an Englishman, on one side of the big room, and a young, neat-looking man on another side. After exchanging salutes, the young man spoke to me in Arabic asking whether I was Abdul Ghafour. When I replied in the negative and enquired his business, he said that he was Mr..., of a well known Christian family of Basra, and that he was the secretary to the Italian Legation in Baghdad. He told me that the Italian Legation wanted to publish in our paper a reply to an English verse against Mussolini published a few days earlier in the British-financed English paper, *The Iraqi Times*.

In my capacity as editor, I said that we were not prepared to publish such stuff in our paper. I advised him to go to *The Iraqi Times* directly and to force on the paper the publication of the reply on the same page where the original "verse" had appeared, suggesting that perhaps if the Italian Dictator signed the reply it would carry greater weight!

Having received such an unhelpful reply, the semi-diplomat added that he had come to see Abdul Ghafour on this subject and to discuss with him another question which he volunteered to discuss with me:—

A new Italian Counsellor to the Legation had arrived in Baghdad, he said, adding boastingly, that the newcomer was an orientalist who spoke Arabic fluently. He wanted to meet Abdul Ghafour and discuss with him some points of literature and learning.

I said that Abdul Ghafour had never claimed to be a man of literature and learning, but this was his own personal affair and Abdul Ghafour himself had to decide on this matter.

Then I looked in the direction of the two ladies and their British

companion interrogatively, but they, apologizing, said that they had come to see Abdul Ghafour on a personal question.

Only a few minutes later a tall thin man in his fifties entered the room with an apparent weakness in his right side including the hand and leg. It was Abdul Ghafour, the man whom they all awaited.

The Italian Legation man started to tell the first part of his story, the Mussolini question. Abdul Ghafour replied very politely that it was not the practice of his paper to join such debates, and that he preferred such an article to be published in *The Iraqi Times*.

Whereupon the Italian said: "But we will pay you".

"Yes, you can pay *The Iraqi Times* as well", — said Abdul Ghafour, with a tone of anger in his voice.

"No, we want to pay you for this publication".

"I am sorry, my paper never accepts any pay from a foreigner, even if it were for an advertisement".

Then the "Italian" mentioned the new Counsellor. Abdul Ghafour politely replied that he could not go and visit him in the Legation.

"But he can come to you here or to your home", — said the Italian.

"I am sorry, it is not suitable to receive the representative of a Great Foreign Power such as Italy in a humble place like mine".

"But you can meet him elsewhere, you have to choose the place and time and he will come to you".

"I am sorry, I have no other place".

"But why? He wants to see you on an important question".

"For Hell's sake, what has he to do with me? I do not want to see him and never will. Please go back to your Counsellor and tell him that I never accepted in my life to meet privately the representative of a Foreign Power".

The young man left the room immediately with the expression of disappointment on his face.

Then the ladies started to tell their story. The Englishman was the husband of one of them, while the other was her sister. They were Christian Iraqis. He was a Government official in the Port of Basra during the time of the British occupation of Iraq. Later, on the eve of independence, he was engaged to continue his work for a limited number of years in compliance with the Treaty of Alliance between Britain and Iraq. Now that the time of his contract had elapsed, the Iraqi Government was no more ready to renew it. He was dismissed. He wanted to become an Iraqi citizen, to go on with his job, and they wanted Abdul

Ghafour to mediate with his friend, the Minister of Communications, to retain the man in the job.

"We are ready to render any service you ask for", — one of the two ladies said, with a sweet smile on her face.

"I am sorry, Madam, I never did such a job in my life", — Abdul Ghafour said.

"Well do it this time for our sake, and you will not repent it", — she said.

"No, Madam, I cannot believe that I can ever mediate in any job to anybody".

"Well do it just this time and for my sake. I shall remember it always, my sister and her husband too".

"No, Madam, I will not".

"But, Why?"

"Because I prefer an Iraqi to take the place of your brother-in-law".

"But he wants to become an Iraqi citizen".

"No Madam, we do not want him to become one. Let him remain Britisher and he can find a job anywhere in the British Empire. Iraq is a small country for her own sons".

"But what about my sister, she is an Iraqi, she deserves your help".

"No, she is no more an Iraqi. She has chosen to become a British subject through her marriage with an Englishman, and she therefore should suffer the consequences of her choice".

The two ladies and their companion left immediately in the same disappointed manner as their predecessor, the Italian official had done.

During the Rashid Ali revolt, when the Iraqis had come to grips with the British, Herr Groba, the former German Minister to Iraq, returned to Baghdad after an absence of more than a year, following Iraq's rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany after the outbreak of the war in 1939. Groba learnt that *Al-Istiqlal*, our paper, was the widest in circulation in the whole of Iraq. He wanted to buy it, to control its policy and to subdue our conscience to the might of his Dinars. He sent one of his men to our offices, suggesting that we print his visiting cards.

We told him that we had no commercial printing-press, ours being only a newspaper's press. He then hesitatingly said that we could do the printing in any press and we should be paid the money amounting to such and such a sum in Iraqi Dinars.

We rejected the proposal, because we knew what it meant and offered him the names of some printing-presses where he could undertake the printing at 1 per-cent only of the suggested amount or even less.

The German said: "But we want to offer this as a present to you", and Abdul Ghafour replied:— "Go and tell Groba that I have always been against the British Imperialists not because I am a Pro-Nazi but because I am an Arab Nationalist. I have never accepted a penny from any foreign power, and I will continue to do so".

The German delegate immediately withdrew, feeling a very disappointing set-back.

Let us now depart from such serious memories and deal with others, comic in their appearance, but very serious in their nature.

It was in 1939 and after ten long years of no communal disputes between the Sunnites and the Shi'ites, disputes which used to feature in the press in the twenties as a result of foreign intrigues. Our paper was known to be the defender of the Sunnites and it played a great rôle during those years of dispute. Fortunately I was not involved, as I was not then in Iraq.

By some kind of a printing mistake in the daily publication of the Broadcasting Programmes, the following sentence appeared in our paper:

"At 7.40 p.m. — a SINGING REHEARSAL at the MOSQUE OF KAZIMIEH by Sheikh HIBATUL DIN ESHAHRASTANI".

A word meaning "singing" slipped into the place of "religious". The Kazimieh Mosque is one of the sacred shrines of the Shi'ites in Iraq. The Sheikh was also one of the greatest learned men among the Shi'ite religious clergy.

The next morning, when the paper appeared, the mistake was taken seriously by the Shi'ites and they expressed their belief that it was a result of malice. Hundreds of curses were received by us, and Sheikh Kazim, the Preacher of the Kazimieh Mosque declared any Shi'ite who read our paper a blasphemer.

It was only by apology on the following morning and through the good natured mediators from among the Shi'ites, that a new communal dispute among the two sects could be avoided.

Another unfortunate mistake took place in 1941, the darkest time of the last war.

A naval battle had taken place in the Mediterranean. Two Italian

battleships, three aircraft carriers, five cruisers and a number of destroyers and small craft were either sunk or damaged. Instead of "Italian" the word "British" appeared through a mistake on someone's part.

The mistake was taken seriously by the Public Relations Office of the British Embassy as an indication of malice on the part of our paper. The matter was taken up with the Iraqi Propaganda authorities in official correspondence. A diplomatic crisis seemed bound to ensue as the atmosphere was full of the smell of powder. It just wanted a spark.

Hundreds of such memories could be quoted, but not all of them have the same importance. Therefore I here confine myself to those narrated which may be of interest to some readers who are concerned with Middle East affairs.

THE AUTHOR

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CYPRUS

PHILIP NEWMAN

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE political and economic history of a country is affected by its climate, soil and geographical features, which are all factors in the development of the occupation, culture and character of its inhabitants.

Natural Features of the Island

Not least among these factors in Cyprus is the somewhat unusual geological formation of the island which, in its small size, contains a remarkable variety of rock and soil. The island was formed, quite recently in the geological history of the earth, by the intrusion of masses of igneous rock through the cretaceous sea bed, contemporary with the rising of the Alps and the Taurus mountains, some 100 million years ago. These masses of lava carried up with them the limestone, sand and clay of the sea bottom. Thus there exists now in Cyprus: the igneous rocks of the Troodos massif containing the mineral wealth of the island: copper, iron, asbestos and sulphur; the limestone range of Kyrenia containing lime, marble and flint, besides forming a natural reservoir of water which issues in perennial springs; lastly, the fertile plain between the hills, formed by the later sedimentary strata of the tertiary age, which produces a great variety of crops. The result of this geological variety in a small area was to endow Cyprus with a great range of products, making the island not only self-supporting but of value to the surrounding countries which did not have the same resources. The variety of timber, from the soft-wood pines of the mountains to the hard-woods of the plains, made it possible in early days to build and equip ships entirely from the products of the island. It followed that Cyprus became a possession of value to the maritime peoples of the Levant.

The importance of the Island was also enhanced by its position

on the border line between Europe and Asia, making it the meeting place, in trade and war, between Greek and Persian, Christian and Moslem. The forces of progress have usually come from the West, those of reaction from the East, and the status of Cyprus in the past has varied according to whether the island has been east or west of the line of conflict, whether dominated by the virile and progressive states of Europe or by the more conservative and reactionary powers of Asia. The situation is, however, now changing because the progressive spirit of Europe has flowed across the Bosphorus and the new Turkey, Egypt and the Arab States are, with Cyprus, taking their place among the liberal nations of the world.

Influence of Sea Power

A striking effect of these natural characteristics of Cyprus is the influence of sea power on the history of the island. Throughout its varied history Cyprus has been held by those powers, and by those alone, which have held command of the Eastern Mediterranean sea. It has not been sufficient for a power to be supreme in the Aegean, the Western Mediterranean or the Adriatic, as is shown by the failure of Athens, Genoa, and Venice respectively to retain possession of the island when they had lost control of the surrounding sea. Immune from invasion by land, her history is the result of occupation by successive maritime powers, beginning with the early colonists from Phoenicia and the Aegean. But the Greeks were not able to hold the island against Persia who held command of the surrounding sea with the fleets of Cilicia and of Tyre. By the victories of Alexander and the consequent capture of the Persian sea bases, Cyprus passed to the Hellenistic empire formed by him and his successors, and remained for three centuries under the Ptolemies, protected by the fleets of Egypt. This occupation was ended by the rise of Roman sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, due to the activities of pirates on the Cilician coast against the grain ships from Alexandria to Rome. This piracy was so serious that Rome was actually short of food, and Pompey was given dictatorial powers to clear up the Eastern Mediterranean. In consequence, and not without suspicion that Cyprus was in league with the pirates, the Senate annexed the island.

With the division of the Roman Empire in 364 A.D. began the decline of Roman sea power. Luxury and mismanagement rotted the fleets of the Byzantine Empire until the command of the Mediterranean passed into the hands of the crusading powers. Byzantium itself fell, and

Cyprus became an outpost of the Crusades. So long as the crusading fleets held the sea, Cyprus was secure under the rule of the Lusignan kings, but after three centuries the crusading spirit died in Europe, and the island passed naturally to Venice, the new mistress of the Mediterranean and the greatest trading power in Europe.

The prosperity of Venice was built on her overseas trade with the East, carried by caravan to the ports of the Levant and thence by Venetian ships to Europe. Cyprus was designed to be the great entrepot of this trade, but the design failed, not so much by the growing power of the Ottoman fleet which threatened the sea supremacy of Venice, but chiefly by the discovery of the Cape route to India by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486. The use of the Cape route diverted the trade from the East, because it was cheaper by ship than by caravan, entailed no breaking of bulk, and was free from the exactions, official and otherwise, of Asiatic agents in the Levantine ports. So the trade from India, China and the Spice Islands passed to the English, Portuguese and Dutch. The Mediterranean became a backwater, the prosperity of Venice was broken, and Cyprus fell to the Turks who succeeded to the command of a sea which had little further interest for Europe.

For three centuries Cyprus remained in the hands of the Turks until the situation was changed dramatically by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Trade again flowed through the Mediterranean, and Cyprus was occupied by Great Britain, the power most interested in the security of the trade route between Europe and the East, and whose fleets had unchallenged command of the sea.

Economic Status of the Cypriot

The economic status of the Cypriot people has been largely dependent on the policy of the successive maritime powers which have dominated the island. In the first century, as a Roman colony under Augustus, the economic position of the Cypriots was at its peak. As free citizens of the Empire, they were able to sell their products and to keep their savings. They enjoyed freedom from war and piracy, security of life and property, justice under Roman law, the expenditure of state funds on roads, bridges, harbours and other public works, a fair taxation on land values, and a thriving export trade in wine, wheat, oil and copper. With the division of the Roman Empire began the decline of the status of the Cypriot peasantry. Classed as "coloni", they were tied to the land on which they worked and were taxed for the benefit

of the Byzantine court. While bound to the land in the interests of taxation, the law protected their personal rights and secured to them fixity of tenure. But the prosperity which had followed the financial reforms of Augustus declined under the curial system of collection by which the taxes were gathered by the decurions or municipal councillors of the chief towns.

The result of the crusading movement was the capture of Cyprus by Richard I, and the inauguration of the feudal system in the island under the Lusignan dynasty. The Lusignan era is often called the golden age of Cyprus, but this is certainly not true of the Cypriot people. They then became feudal serfs and they had no share in the wealth and glory of their rulers. As serfs they owned no land or property and all their work and produce went to their feudal lord, except what was left to them to sustain life. They did not starve because their labour was the essential foundation of the feudal system, but they were at the disposal of their lord together with the land on which they worked. This situation continued under the Venetians.

On the conquest of the island by Turkey, the Cypriots regained their personal freedom, but this gain was largely discounted by the taxation imposed on them, which was even more onerous than in the Byzantine period. The island was looked upon merely as a source of income, and the revenues went either to a high official at the Porte, in lieu of salary, or to a governor who had bought the right to make as much as he could out of it. No public money was expended on the island and the ravages of plague, locusts and drought brought the Cypriot people to a very low ebb. The peasant died from starvation and disease and the population dwindled until in the 18th century it had fallen to about 20,000 souls. The British occupation in 1878 was the first return to freedom of life and property after some fifteen centuries of increasing servitude.

Character of the People

The people of Cyprus are of mixed descent. The divisions are marked, as in other parts of the Middle East, more by creed than by race. Today the population of Cyprus is 450,000 of which about 80% are Greek Orthodox, about 15% are Moslem Turks and the remainder are made up of English, Armenians, Arabs and Jews. The large majority are therefore Greek Orthodox and they claim to be Greeks by race because the original colonists, some 30 centuries ago, came chiefly from

Greece. The real connection of Cyprus with Greece derives from the Byzantine Empire which, in the 6th century A.D., was Greek in language, religion and culture, though still known as the Eastern Roman Empire. Greek, in modern form, was then the official and commercial language of the Levant, and the Empire was divided for administration into dioceses of the Greek Orthodox Church. All members of this branch of the Christian Church were then, as now, classed as Greeks whatever may have been their original race or creed. Today in Cyprus the members of the Greek Orthodox Church retain the language, religion and culture of the Byzantine Empire and are therefore Greeks under the leadership of the prelate who sits in the episcopal chair of St. Barnabas.

The character of the Greek Cypriot arises naturally from the conditions of his environment, past and present. Although endowed with a quick intelligence, he has had insufficient time in 70 years to acquire more than a veneer of civilization. He has learnt parrot fashion, the slogans about democracy, rights of man, justice, free speech, etc., without knowing what they mean in practice. He is, like the mainland Greeks, easily roused to take strong political views, but not having the experience of representative government, he is more inclined to push his views by loud affirmation and by intimidation, rather than by patient argument, to convince those who think differently. He is very sensitive about his rights as a free man and his equality with the European races, and consequently suffers from an inferiority complex which makes him prone to resent imaginary insults. It is largely this which makes him so eager to claim kinship with the ancient glories of Greece, which is instilled into him at an early age by priest and teacher in church and school.

The Cypriot is naturally hospitable and courteous. He willingly makes a friend of any one who will meet him as an equal without condescension. Treated with sympathy and understanding, he is capable of forming an important unit in the new grouping of states in the Middle East.

The Turkish Moslems in Cyprus, about one fifth of the population, have of course an entirely different outlook. As the ruling race in Cyprus for 300 years they have no sense of inferiority. Even though in field and factory they work amicably with the Greek Cypriots, they have no sympathy with Hellenistic aspirations. They possess a quiet dignity and breeding, although they are not so quick-witted and vocal as the Greek Orthodox.

Past Forms of Government

In the past, the Cypriots had little say in the determination of their form of government. Their position has always been the direct result of sea power, and there is no reason to suppose that this situation will be altered so long as trade is carried in ships. The main difficulty in the past of forming a united Cyprus has always sprung from the divided sympathies of her inhabitants. The earliest colonies in the tenth century B.C. were formed by the emigration of surplus population and, unlike modern colonies, were from the start independent of their mother countries. The colonists brought with them their religion and culture, and so were in sympathy with their cities of origin, though owing no political allegiance to them. It followed that they had little sympathy with the other cities of Cyprus which had different origins. At no time have the Cypriots been in political union with Greece, indeed Greece herself never consisted of a single autonomous state before the 19th century. The original Ionian colonists of Cyprus formed independent city-states on the model of Athens, but they were not Athenian citizens. Evagoras, King of Salamis in Cyprus in 400 B.C., though claiming descent from Teucer, was not himself an Athenian citizen until he was made so in recognition of his services to Athens in her war with Sparta. He was then, as far as we know, the only Greek citizen in Cyprus. He attempted with the help of Athens to form a united Cyprus, but failed owing to the opposition of the Dorian and Phoenician colonies in the island. He fought for ten years single-handed against the Persians until, deserted by Athens, he was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Great King.

Cyprus first became united under Alexander the Great, but the time had then passed when the island could hope to stand alone without the protection of a dominant sea power. Under the Ptolemies the cities of Cyprus still retained their control of municipal affairs under the direction of a viceroy from the royal court of Alexandria. During the Roman and Byzantine periods the freedom of the cities became gradually absorbed by the central government acting through state officials. In the Lusignan era, government was wholly centralised and the Cypriots had not even the status of free citizens, much less any share in the direction of affairs.

Under Turkish rule the people regained their personal freedom, but government remained in the hands of the ruling race. Only in the later reforms of the Sultan Abdul Majid were representatives of the

people nominated to the council of the governor of the island, and then only in an advisory capacity.

Occupation by Great Britain

In 1878 Cyprus was occupied by Great Britain under a convention of defensive alliance with Turkey to prevent any further advance by Russia into the Turkish provinces of Asia. The convention stated that if Batum, Ardahan or Kars should be retained by Russia, and if any attempt was made by Russia to take possession of any further territory of the Sultan in Asia, Great Britain would help the Sultan in defending his possessions by force of arms. In return, the Sultan promised to introduce necessary reforms for the protection of his Christian subjects. He also consented to the occupation and administration of Cyprus by Great Britain in order to enable her to fulfil her commitments under the convention.

The British occupation gave rise to an anomalous situation. Cyprus still formed part of the Ottoman Empire and, under the convention, the surplus revenue of the island, estimated at £92,000, was to be paid annually to the Sultan to meet the dividends due to the European bondholders of the Ottoman debt.

The effect of the occupation was suddenly to open to Cyprus a share in the European civilization which had grown up in the last three centuries and from which the Cypriot under Turkish rule had been cut off. Now the door was open, and the Cypriot was free to profit by modern thought and achievement. Justice was established by the formation of courts of law and the reorganization of the police. Education was begun among a people largely illiterate. Money was expended on roads, harbours, water supply and public buildings. The Turkish system of taxation by direct tithes in kind was re-modelled on the basis of customs and excise, so that the revenue of the island increased rapidly, while at the same time the burdens on the peasant farmer were relieved.

In 1882 the British Government set up a constitution for Cyprus under which the people could elect representatives to take part in the government of the island. The Legislative Council consisted of the High Commissioner and 18 members, of whom 6 were government officials and 12 elected members; 3 of those were Moslems and 9 Greek Orthodox. In this Council therefore, the official members were liable to be outvoted. In practice, however, the three Turkish members usually voted with the government officials who were, with the casting vote

It was inevitable that in such a constitution the leaders of the established church of the Empire should have political influence, and it is necessary to avoid prejudice in discussing the political aims of the Orthodox Church.

We must, therefore, in discussing this question, put aside Western ideas of the separation of Church and State, and accept without prejudice the opposite view held by all members of the Greek Orthodox Church, that the leaders of that Church are the leaders of the people in all national questions, that in fact the Church is the Nation. To impose on them the different ideas of the West is to rob them of their right to have the government which they prefer.

Two examples may here be given to show the leadership of the Orthodox Church at times of national crisis. In 1821, when the Greeks on the mainland revolted against Turkish rule, the Patriarch of Athens was executed by the Turks for instigating the revolt, and the Archbishop of Cyprus was murdered on suspicion of sympathy with the rebels. In 1946, during the turbulent time before the plebiscite in Greece, the Archbishop Damaskinos was the only man to exercise the authority of a Regent over the warring political parties.

The leadership of the Church in Cyprus is even more striking, because that Church is autonomous and elects its own archbishops, who have had special rights conferred by the Emperor Zeno in the fifth century, which have been jealously retained to this day. For a brief period, under Turkish rule, the Archbishop of Cyprus was recognised officially as leader of his people and wielded political power until the massacre of the Christians in 1821. Since the fall of the Byzantine Empire there has, with this one exception, been no opportunity for the Archbishop to hold the power, which has been the ancient prerogative of the Orthodox Church.

Popular Support

Nor was the situation improved by the British occupation in 1878, since the government was imbued with the purely Western idea that the Church has no business to intervene in politics. The situation was indeed made worse by the complicity, if not the leadership, of the Orthodox Church in the "Enosis" movement and in the consequent riots in 1931, when the Bishop of Kyrenia was exiled for sedition. The last straw was the enacting of a legislation, by which no candidate could be elected

as Archbishop of Cyprus, who had been convicted of sedition, was not born in the island and had not the approval of the Governor. These laws, which may not appear harsh in accordance with Western ideas, were deeply resented by the whole of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus. The vacancy in the Archbishopric, due to the death of Kyrillos, could not be filled easily, as the election of a candidate on such terms would have merely meant the appointment of a government nominee. Indeed, elections were persistently delayed. The electoral law was finally repealed in November 1946, but too late to repair the harm done to the relations between the British Government and the Orthodox Church in Cyprus. The prospect of democratic self-government in the island is too vague and distant a solution to attract the Orthodox leaders, especially as democracies are not usually subservient to the church. They see, therefore, no hope of attaining the power which is their ancient right, unless the island is incorporated into a state, which holds the Orthodox view of the position of the Church in politics.

If this is the real motive of "Enosis", the leaders are faced with the difficulty that it cannot be openly avowed, since it would not evoke any sympathy from the British view-point, nor is it likely to produce great enthusiasm among the semi-educated population of the island.

Great support is given to "Enosis" by Orthodox Trade Unions, on the assumption that they would be less hampered in their fight against the "capitalists" if they could escape from the restrictions of British law and order.

Many employers of labour would welcome a government under which money was less plentiful, and when the necessity of having to work for a living would force labour to accept wages low enough to enable business to compete on favourable terms in producing goods at world prices.

Civil servants are, to some extent, under the impression that they have not had their fair share in government posts to which they are entitled by their qualifications. It is thought that more of the higher posts could be held by Cypriots, but it is not clear how this situation is likely to improve under an Athens Government.

A certain number of importers are unable to make the profits they expected, owing to the restrictions imposed by government to ensure fair dealing and low prices. They hope that their activities would be less restricted under Greek rule.

A large measure of support is given by the disappointed and disgruntled in every walk of life.

The great advance which has been achieved in the economic life of the Cypriot during the 69 years of British occupation does not evoke any gratitude, as it is commonly supposed that England benefits financially from the possession of Cyprus, instead of the island having been, as a matter of fact, a continual and increasing drain on the British taxpayer.

The above grounds for "Enosis" are not considered serious enough for political claims. Therefore, the desire of the Hellenic people of Cyprus for self-determination is being pushed. The supposed links with ancient Greece are asserted as self-evident facts. The real links with the Greek Byzantine Empire are ignored. The claim is stated to be based on the terms of the Atlantic Charter and to be the just reward for the 10,000 Cypriots, who enlisted voluntarily in the war against Fascism in the belief that they were fighting for their freedom. It is also stated that the claim is recognised by Athens and that it is not openly supported by the Greek Government to avoid an unpleasant situation with Great Britain.

These, presumably, are the grounds which were urged by the Ethnarchy Council of Cyprus, who went to England some time ago to press their claim on the British Government. While they were on their way, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in answer to a question in Parliament, stated that the Government was not giving consideration to the claim from Cyprus for union with Greece. This appears to remove the last hope that their claim might have received more sympathetic consideration by a Labour Government in Britain than it has by Tory statesmen in the past.*)

*) The following letter to Editor appeared in "The New Statesman and Nation" for March 15, 1947:—

"Sir, — Reports were published in the press of a mass meeting of several thousand people held in Nicosia, Cyprus, on February 17th, asking for the union of the island with Greece. I doubt, however, if the public of this country is aware either of the force of feeling which the question arouses among the Cypriot people or of the solid grounds on which it is based.

The desire for a free national life in unity with the rest of the Hellenic world is deep-rooted. During the centuries of Turkish domination over the whole of the Greek lands, the dream of a resuscitated Hellas passed from generation to generation of Greeks. When, by the 1821 revolution, a part of Greece was liberated, the unredeemed territories, among which was Cyprus, aspired to be freed and united with the mother country. This aspiration found its happy realisation during the Balkan wars of 1912 and the first Great War in the case of all the Greek islands except Cyprus and the Dodecanese, because these were then held by Italy and Great Britain respectively.

New developments may be imminent, but it is difficult to foresee their course in the present unstable and changing conditions. It is to be hoped, however, that with adequate representation of minorities and a growing tolerance between creeds, Cyprus might well aspire to take a position of importance and equality among the group of old and new States of the Middle East.

The British occupation of 1878 was received with enthusiasm by the Cypriots, as a sure step towards national liberty by union with Greece, and it was in this spirit that the then Archbishop Sophronios welcomed the first High Commissioner of the island, Sir Garnet Wolseley. Since that time the people of Cyprus have lost no opportunity of putting forward most emphatically to successive British Governments their claim for union with Greece.

We are now at the end of a world war which has been fought for freedom and self-determination. The people of Cyprus were among the first peoples of the Colonial Empire to rally to the call and fight under the banner of liberty. They now claim that the blessings of that liberty should not be denied them, and that the right to decide their own future should be recognised and applied to Cyprus.

(—) ZENO ROSSIDES,
General Secretary,
National Delegation of Cyprus.

THE AUTHOR

MR. PHILIP NEWMAN was formerly an artillery officer in the British army. On retirement after the First World War, he took up farming in Cyprus, where he has resided for the last 24 years. He is the author of "A short History of Cyprus".

SCIENCE AND EROSION PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HUGO BOYKO

IN a recent article by G. N. Sale⁽¹²⁾ the far reaching consequences of destruction of the soil on the one hand, and of planned soil conservation and renewal on the other, have been clearly elucidated. We can, therefore, embark on the actual theme of this article without prior explanatory introduction. We wish, however, to stress again that what has been said in the above mentioned article is valid for all countries of South-West Asia, since in that part of the world unchallenged damage of erosion has changed the richest and most populated regions of earlier ages into the poorest and least populated regions of the present day.

The terrifying dangers of erosion have been properly appreciated by science only during the last two decades, although already in earlier times some few eminent figures appeared in history, who tried to draw the attention of kings and peoples to this slowly creeping peril — but in vain. It seems that all these prophets lived in the semi-arid areas of the Mediterranean region and Asia as far east as China.

It was as early as the sixth century B.C. that the great Chinese philosopher Lao Tse advised the king and the governors to stop the destruction of forests and to support afforestation, if they wished to have a rich country with fertile soil and contented people. This was in the time of the Tshoi-Dynasty, under whose rule the mountains of Western China were deforested and fields were created on a large scale on these slopes — as illustrated by a song of the Shee-King collection⁽¹¹⁾.

About 2000 years later, we read in Leonardo da Vinci's writings the same prophetic understanding of the danger of erosion in the Mediterranean region, and only recently L. Olson published for the first time the letters, written by the brothers Giuseppe and Girolemo

Paulini (1601 and 1602 A.D.), where already methods and technical details were proposed to be used against soil erosion in the area of the then still mighty Venetian Republic.

In the last two decades, America has led in the field of scientific approach to erosion problems, and ecology became prominent. Besides the soil scientists and experts on erosion control, H. H. Bennet and W. C. Lowdermilk, who organized the fight on a nationwide scale, it was the famous plant ecologist, P. B. Sears, who succeeded in rallying wide elements of the population for the battle against the national peril of soil erosion by his book "Deserts on the March"⁽¹⁴⁾. This book deserves special attention also here, because of the numerous analogies to conditions in Middle East countries.

Here, as everywhere, erosion problems depend to a high degree upon climate, and the vegetation cover constitutes the best indicator of the climate at each locality. As ecology is the study of plant and animals in relation to their environment, ecological research gains in importance in this connection. Recently it has been shown that plants can be used not only as qualitative but also as quantitative indicators of meteorological features⁽³⁾ & ⁽⁴⁾.

We owe to H. A. Tempany and co-authors⁽¹⁹⁾ an extensive survey on soil erosion and soil conservation in the British Colonial Empire, including Cyprus, Palestine and Transjordan.

Essentially, the problems of erosion in the Middle East comprise the following three main, and frequently overlapping, spheres of research: a) pasture problems, b) past and present soil erosion and c) soil building.

There are a number of further important tasks, like land utilization in general, with regard to use and misuse of soil, organization problems, education, etc. These problems, however, are all of a more or less technical nature, whilst we aim to stress here only the fundamental research tasks lying before the scientist. The problem, how to combine scientific research work with technical application was extensively dealt with in several reports by B. A. Keen and E. B. Worthington⁽⁸⁾, ⁽⁹⁾ & ⁽²¹⁾.

Pasture Problems

From the beautiful high forests in Cyprus where any form of pasturing is forbidden, and the various stages of destruction in Palestine, to the vast Persian plains, which are to-day almost desert-like and

have been overgrazed for probably more than three thousand years, we can see that the centre of all endeavour for soil conservation is the pasture problem or rather the problem of overgrazing.

In spite of the importance of this central problem of all development in the Middle East countries, it has almost never been tackled by science. The only exceptions — as far as we are aware — are some valuable studies of succession in Cyprus by G. W. Chapman (then of the Department of Forests in Cyprus, now Conservator of Forests in Iraq). He and his wife, the botanist, Mrs. Chapman, studied there the development of vegetation on certain test areas, over a period of ten years, where grazing had been eliminated⁽⁵⁾. Further, in Palestine, where — as for many other research problems in South-West Asia — a scientific centre of high level and of far reaching importance has developed in the last two decades, we find a few relevant publications. The Jewish Agency Agricultural Research Station in Rehovoth published investigations made in 1934 by S. Zemach and N. Naftolsky⁽²²⁾ on pastured plant communities on Mt. Tabor. Further studies on the nutritive value of wild and cultivated fodderplants were made by S. Bondi of the same institution. Investigations on pasture ranges in the hill regions and in the half desert steppes of Palestine, have been carried out by the author since 1943. For the arid pasture investigations of the Tureibe Range near Kurnub (eastern part of the Negev), new methods were elaborated to achieve quantitative figures for such remote grazing grounds. As this pasture type, however, represents the economic foundation for the Nomad population from the Atlantic to India, this kind of research work deserves special attention. A few remarks may, therefore, be of interest, the more so, as overgrazing is one of the most important causes of erosion.

It has been generally assumed hitherto that a real reproduction of the vegetation cover is not to be expected after overgrazing in half deserts. The author's recent investigations, however, have established that, not only vegetative regeneration, but also reproduction by seeds can be stimulated and actually achieved by easy means⁽²⁾.

To show the variety of the pasture problem, the following especially important points are enumerated, the solution of which would be of considerable importance for the economy of Oriental countries:—

- Composition of plant communities subject to grazing;
- periodicity;
- nutritive value of single species and palatability;

soil protecting value of certain species and plant-communities;
artificial improvement of natural pastures;
artificial pastures;
investigation and introduction of fodder trees;
alteration of plant-communities (succession and degradation) at
different degrees of grazing, beginning with complete free-
dom from grazing to overgrazing;
determination of indicator scales for overgrazing;
determination of maximal numbers of heads per unit area in dif-
ferent regions;
and others.

Each of the problems mentioned necessitates a large number of investigations, frequently quite independent of each other, or even concerning different branches of science.

An artificial improvement of natural pasture, for example, is possible in different ways and requires, therefore, various experiments. The most important measures for pasture improvement in Middle East countries have been shown in the papers of the author, referred to above, and in special reports, relating to particular regions. Experiments with fertilizers, rotation, introduction and acclimatisation of valuable exotics, sowing experiments etc., are of a fundamentally different nature from the scientific-technical point of view, although working towards the same relatively narrow aim.

There are several important reasons why Palestine constitutes a natural scientific experimental station in this field of research. A variety of different climates and other conditions are encountered here within a small area, varying from humid Mediterranean to most-arid desert conditions. In addition, a great number of scientists and experts are available, relatively greater than in most other countries of the world.

For some of the above mentioned problems investigations have already been started, and from various points of view, it is to be welcomed that this research has started at last. It is evident that such scientific work is of incalculable value, not only for Palestine, but for all countries from the Mediterranean to India.

The Fight Against Erosion

Although pasture problems and erosion are closely connected, different forms of research have to be adopted in the case of the latter.

We shall try to sketch briefly the present state of the fight against erosion in the countries of the Middle East.

Cyprus and Palestine are by far the most advanced countries in the Middle East in this respect⁽¹²⁾,⁽¹³⁾,⁽¹⁹⁾ & ⁽²⁰⁾. The larger part of the forests in **Cyprus**, which are the delight of every tourist, must be regarded as the visible result of the protective efforts over several decades by the British Colonial Administration. Nevertheless, in spite of the extensive propaganda and the example of practical work carried out by the Department of Forests under the guidance of R. R. Waterer, Conservator of Forests, large tracts of ploughed land are still in a desolate condition. Nearly the whole region of the so called shale beds is being ploughed in the traditional primitive farming method. From year to year, not only fertility decreases in an alarming manner, but the soil covered area itself decreases and the stretches with steeply erect bare rock layers increase in size. It demonstrates to the observer the progressive impoverishment of these country parts.

This was discussed also at the important Conference on "*Land Use in a Mediterranean Environment*", initiated by Dr. R. O. White, Assistant Director of the Imperial Bureau of Pastures and Forage Crops, Aberystwyth, and held by the Government of Cyprus at Nicosia, April 16th—17th, 1946; it was attended by the author.

The same is true of erosion as of all gradual processes in our life when they occur in our immediate proximity. One does not see one's own child grow, nor is a creeping illness observed by members of the family, nor indeed by one's own body. In each case it is usually necessary for an outsider to draw attention to such facts.

In Cyprus, as well as in Palestine, notwithstanding an intensive counter-campaign, slopes with an inclination of 20, 25 or more degrees are taken under the plough, and what is worse, are ploughed in the direction of the slope. For a number of years, such field is exploited until the fertile soil has been washed away. Then, another part of the slope is treated likewise and ruined in the same way. The rest is accomplished by wind, rain and gravity, and, after a short time, the area of the slope, which had been covered by low vegetation or even by forest, becomes bare rock.

As long as the majority of the people do not regard as criminal

such a destruction of their own land — and to reach this aim, a very long period of education will be required — very little can be done on privately owned land. Perhaps, something can be achieved by higher taxation of fields on steep slopes coupled with subsidies for terracing, or by requiring all ploughing for the first time on mountain land to be licensed.

A remarkable experiment, apparently successful, was carried out by the Cyprus Forest Department. Shepherds, who were affected by the abolition of pasture in certain regions, were organized into cooperatives (to some extent in imitation of the Jewish cooperative movement in Palestine) and were granted quite appreciable areas from the Forest Reserves for common agricultural settlement. To provide an additional income, they were employed in the surrounding Government Forests. At the same time, the half-wild pasturing goat was replaced by a well-bred stable goat. In this way, one of the most dangerous animals of the world, which has destroyed many rich countries and impoverished or even laid waste whole regions, was exchanged for a completely harmless and even useful domestic animal.

In Palestine, the Government is actively engaged in preventing erosion. Under the guidance of G. N. Sale, formerly Conservator of Forests, the Forestry Department has taken the lead. As a result of his initiative, the Soil Conservation Board, an authoritative body with far-reaching administrative influence, was set up in January 1940. In cooperation with the departments and institutions concerned, this Board is conducting an active campaign by means of leaflets and pamphlets in schools, etc. In many parts of the country its endeavours have borne fruit. Some popular scientific and technical papers have been published, two with the collaboration of one of the leading figures in the fight against erosion in this part of the world, the late F.H. Taylor, District Engineer ⁽¹⁷⁾ & ⁽¹⁸⁾ and two by the Government Geologist, S. H. Shaw, and co-authors. Of these, one ⁽¹⁵⁾ was published in conjunction with N. A. Pharaon, Assistant Conservator of Forests, the other ⁽¹⁶⁾ with a vegetation map of a catchment area in the Carmel region, enlarged from the existing general vegetation map to 1:50,000 and slightly altered by Daniel Zohary, a young student of the Hebrew University.

F. H. Taylor's paper ⁽¹⁸⁾ deserves special mention at this point, because it gives a vivid survey of the history of soil erosion in Palestine since pre-historic times.

Nine years ago, an officer of the Department of Forests was sent out with the assistance of the Imperial Forestry Institute and backed by a Carnegie fellowship, to study the methods of fighting erosion in other countries. A compilation of many important data given to him by the highest experts in each country visited was the result⁽⁶⁾. Although, as stressed in the introductory remarks to that paper, it is somewhat disconnected, this compilation is a valuable contribution to future scientific work.

In April 1945, a Public Committee for Soil Conservation (Chairman: J. Weitz) was established, consisting of representatives of various Jewish institutions, (Farmers' organizations, etc.) and including a representative of the Department of Forests. The first Annual Report⁽²³⁾ shows remarkably wide and promising activities, thanks to the high technical standard and the energy of some experts like O. Goldschlaeger of the Agricultural Centre in Tel-Aviv and others. It is to be hoped that in normal times this Committee will be enlarged by the addition of representatives of the whole population.

Quite recently even the gigantic rooters and angledozers can be seen in various parts of the hill-region, terracing the rocky slopes around the settlements.

In Palestine, control of grazing is still more hampered than in Cyprus because of the legal position whereby antiquated Ottoman land laws have been retained. The educational successes of the Soil Conservation Board are mainly in the direction of correct contour ploughing and terracing. Not only in some Jewish settlements do we find the furrows along the horizontal contour lines of the open country — storing rain-water and preventing erosion—but also in the Arab sector we can observe that more and more fellahin adopt these soil conserving and fertility increasing methods. The same holds good with regard to terracing, and it is pleasing to note on the road from Jerusalem to Bab-el-Wad, soon after Abu Gosh, the gradual conquest of bare and sterile land through terracing and contour ploughing by a hard working fellah-pioneer.

However, contour ploughing and terraced slopes are not the rule in agricultural cultivation, and are still an exception in Palestine. The mountain field, ploughed in the direction of the slope, remains, but here as everywhere, the example of the progressive farmer, who obtains better harvests by new methods, will gradually influence the backward neighbour.

When speaking of the fight against erosion in Palestine, we may not, of course, omit the main tasks, namely, afforestation works, which have been and are being executed by the Government Forestry Department and by the Jewish National Fund. A setback in all afforestation schemes of the last decades was caused, however, by the fact that nearly all of this work was not preceded by ecological investigations.

Much expenditure on plantations, which are doomed from the beginning to failure, and the loss of many years could have been averted by selecting species and strains, not only by simple empiric planting experiments — as used even now by our silviculturists — but by using modern scientific, i. e. ecological, methods in planning afforestation. The economic value of the plantations, consisting now — particularly in the hill region — of mostly crooked and ill shaped trees of low value, would have been multiplied. This should be taken into consideration in future.

In **Transjordan**, the main efforts (under the guidance of G. F. Walpole, Director of Lands and Surveys) are directed to preserve and regenerate what remains of the old forests. These forest-remains cover a not insignificant area in the western part of the country. The task is made easier because of the small density of population. But lack of sufficient trained personnel is hindering work.

In the **Lebanon**, we find a quite different state of affairs. Large parts of the population have kept the old tradition of terracing, and maintain the terraces in good order and repair. This was possibly stimulated by the educational work of the monasteries. In addition to the right methods of soil conservation, the natural conditions for soil building are most favourable in this country, more humid than most other parts of the Middle East, but with approximately the same big fluctuations of temperatures. At any rate, one can see to-day in relatively large areas beautiful and fertile fruit and vegetable gardens. We see here a striking example of well developed horticulture on slopes of mountains, where in most other parts of the Orient we are accustomed to find only bare rocks.

A most interesting picture is given by Halim Najjar Bey, formerly Director of Agriculture in the Lebanon, of the eastern slopes of the Lebanon mountains, in contrast to its western side⁽¹⁾. The light fall of rain, combined with certain physical properties of the soil, results in a well balanced soil cover there. We find, therefore, no deterioration by

erosion in the old vineyards of this region in spite of the fact that only the steepest slopes are somewhat terraced.

The protection of the existing forest areas is mostly in Government hands, but monasteries are the owners of important stretches, for instance of the famous group of 4000 years old Cedars near Bsharrah. This grand monument of ancient beautiful forests, together with the small fenced spot of fertile forest soil in the middle of naked rocks, bared by the joint efforts of men and goats, shows us the correct way in a most impressive manner. Perhaps, it will be possible — in politically calmer periods — to contact and establish cooperation with responsible quarters in neighbouring countries. In such a way — by exchange of experience and cooperation in investigations etc. — the common aim could be achieved in a much easier manner and in a short time.

We know of the high level of research institutions in **Turkey**, but we have no suitable information about this particular problem there. From **other countries** of the Middle East not much about the fight against erosion can be reported — as far as we know. In view of the extremely low density of population, the vast spaces which are at their disposal and the low standard of living which generally predominates, there seems to be no need for it as far as the people are concerned. It seems, however, that the Governments are beginning to understand the far-reaching importance of fighting erosion for the development of their countries.

Research and Erosion

We have seen above that in several of the Middle East countries promising beginnings in the fight against erosion can be noted. But if we examine the scientific foundations of this struggle, we must confess that very little has been accomplished to date. We have already spoken about the state of research as far as pasture problems are concerned. The treatment of problems of erosion proper is even more backward.

At some places, several Lysimeter-measurements have been made. Some isolated investigations after specially heavy rains were carried out. But a clear picture of the constant danger of erosion can scarcely be obtained thereby. For this purpose the average of records over periods of many years or even decades is required, and it is evident that we can expect to obtain only in the distant future sequences of figures for such periods. Only in Cyprus do we have an excellent example of research work on erosion in the detailed investigations of

Dr. C. Raeburn, Water Engineer ⁽¹⁰⁾, where a typical gully, eating into the fertile Mesaoria plain, is the subject of these important studies.

Quite generally speaking, soil erosion is a natural process, and, to a certain degree, sometimes even beneficial, as long as the action of run off is balanced by the steady formation of new soil. But soil erosion is very dangerous when a negative soil balance is its consequence. *To recognize this soil balance, should be one of the first aims of erosion research.* But all investigations along the lines mentioned above, by means of experiments, lead to results applicable generally to limited areas and times only.

The author tried, therefore, to tackle this problem from quite another angle. It became evident that there were several ways to comprehend the magnitude of erosion by *non - experimental methods*. We wish here to show briefly some of such possibilities. Scientific details (like measurements, graphs etc.) are reserved for another paper, because they are outside our present scope.

1. OLD TREES AS INDICATORS: Trees often attain an age of 100 years and even trees of an age of several hundred years are not unusual. Some species are, therefore, suitable to be regarded as some sort of depth gauge for vertical movements of the soil surface.

It may be of special interest to some readers to learn that the Middle East is particularly rich in tree species, which are able to reach the oldest age of all trees in the world. This may excuse a few words at this point about them, although this excursion is only indirectly connected with our theme.

It is generally known that quite a number of the Cedars in the Lebanon of to-day actually lived as age-old trees already at the time of King Solomon. As conifers they show their annual rings quite clearly, and there is good reason to estimate the oldest at about 4000 years. We can find only very few such veterans in the plant world. The best known trees of a similar age of about 4000 years are the gigantic Mammoth-trees (*Sequoia gigantea*) of the Sierra Nevada in California and the famous Dragon trees of the Canary Islands, one of them estimated at 5000 years.

For some venerable Olive trees in Cyprus, the botanist, Mrs. Chapman, now in Iraq, could establish an age of about 3000 years. This is of particular interest to us in Palestine, because these trees investigated by Mrs. Chapman, are of a similar size and shape to the famous Olive trees in the Garden of Gethsemane.

The next species in rank of our trees seems to be *Zizyphus Spina Christi* (Christ's-thorn Zizyphus). The dimensions of the majestic specimen at Ein Husb (Wadi Araba) taken in July 1946 by the author and his assistant, Y. Tsur, are the following: Diameter Breast Height 2.00 and 1.50 m. (oval), Height about 17 m., Diameter of the crown 18 to 25 metres. Hundreds of people can find shelter under its dense and healthy leaf canopy. The anatomy of a small wood-sample led to an estimate of about 1500 years for this tree.

Another tree species growing in Wadi Araba and able to reach a similiary old age is *Haloxylon Persicum* (Saxawl tree). The remarkable identification of this species from only dry sterile twigs at hand was made by H. R. Oppenheimer, when he revised the Herbarium Aaronsohn in Zikhron Yaacov. He identified it as *Haloxylon Ammodendron*, and this was changed later on by M. Zohary to *Haloxylon Persicum*, both, however, only synonyms or perhaps slight variations of the same species, as is to be seen from typical material from Palestine, USSR and Iran in the Herbarium Boyko.*

This real desert tree of considerable economic importance shows very small tree-rings, about (2)3-4 such rings for 1 mm. As measured in one case, a diameter of 40 cm: would indicate an age of about 600—800 years only; but trees have been reported from sand deserts in USRR with a diameter of one metre. It has to be added that it may be possible that these rings are connected with occasional floods and are not caused by a regular growth every year.

With the very old specimens of the Large Terebinth (*Pistacia mu-tica var. atlantica*) at Tel-el-Kadi, with a diameter of about 1.60 m. (estimated only) and an alleged age of about 1000 years, and several oaks of approximately similar age, we may close the list, mentioning that 500 years are reached by many specimens and various species, e. g. the numerous old Laurel stumps and Carob trees in the Carmel region(*).

A great number of observations by the author on several kinds of old trees have convinced him that in the Middle East old *Olive trees* are the most suitable ones for measuring erosion. On slopes we can observe that on such old trees the root-plate or the broadened base is completely free from soil, and we have here a valuable indicator of

* Editorial Note : It may be of interest to those readers interested in natural science, that the author's Herbarium, placed at his residence at Givat Eliyahu, Jerusalem, is — next to the great collection of the Hebrew University — the biggest private Herbarium in Palestine containing about 20.000 sheets with about 6000 species. It is frequently used by scientists and scientific institutions.

the amount of erosion at this spot. On the other hand, in a plain we find this broadened base above the soil surface to a much lesser degree. Sometimes, we can even establish an accumulation of soil above the root-plate with the simple help of an iron rod or a shovel. The "soil balance" has been "negative" in the former and "positive" in the latter example.

After having recognized this interesting fact, the author investigated more than a thousand old olive trees, and it was found that the relation of trees with strongly uncovered rootplates to covered ones is on slopes about 90 to 10, and in plains about 15 to 85; that means a clear inverse ratio.

A tree of 30 — 35 cm. DBH (Diameter Breast Height) may be 80 to 100 years old according to experience in this country. The actual age is in most cases easy to establish by investigating the historical facts. If the root-plate or abruptly broadened base of such a tree is 25 cm. above the soil surface, we can assume that erosion has removed 250 mm. soil in the course of the last 100 years. If the same applies to the majority of trees at a certain locality, this assumption becomes a certainty. We know then that the average yearly erosion at this slope has been 2½ mm. for the last hundred years, and will remain so in future under unchanged conditions. The maximum, determined in Palestine's hill region by this method, was a yearly average of 4 mm., an alarming measure.

The two pictures (Fig. 1 and 2) may be more instructive in explaining this simple method than any other description. The photographs were taken in an old olive grove near Ijzim, an Arab village, in the midst of the three catchment areas between Zikhron Yaacov and Atlith near the coast, and the watershed near Daliat-el-Karmil and Ein Hashofet in the east. They were taken in the course of the author's ecological investigations and detailed mapping of the natural vegetation of these catchment areas.

Both photographs were taken in the same grove: Fig. 2 from a flat horizontal spot, Fig. 1 from a spot with an inclination of 10 degrees to North on volcanic soil. The trees in Fig. 2, marked with an X are those on photo Fig. 1. The calculation for this slope (Fig. 1) shows that the loss of the fertile top soil amounts there to a yearly average of 3 — 3½ mm. for the last 200 to 250 years.

2. THE "COMPENSATION ANGLE OF EROSION": Comprehensive investigations led the author to the conclusion that for each

slope there exists a certain angle, when the destructive forces of erosion are balanced by soil formation. (The geological and climatic features can be taken as constants for each locality). We named this angle "Compensation Angle of Erosion". If the inclination is less than this angle, an accumulation of soil will eventually take place.

To quote an example: At Givat Eliyahu, a hill on the southern border of Jerusalem, this angle is 3 degrees West and 12 degrees East; i. e. on the western slope erosion will do no damage to unploughed soil under normal conditions at an inclination of 3 or less than 3 degrees. On the slope exposed to the East (the lee-side) this angle is 12 degrees. For all intermediate directions the "angle of compensation" can be found with the help of a graph similar to the *sine curve*. This method may prove to be of value for various purposes (e.g. agricultural use, silviculture, terracing, hydraulic engineering etc.).

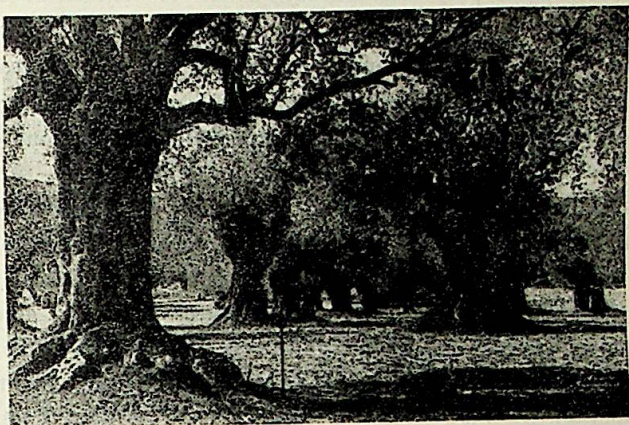
Below we shall report on some further observations which show the compensation angle or other magnitudes of erosion.

3. FOSSIL SAND DUNES AND ANTIQUE DEBRIS-HEAPS: One frequently sees the profile of a heap of debris found at the base of walls of an antique building, which was flattened a long time ago. Usually, the original direction of debris strata can be clearly seen in such cases. Such a profile through a heap of debris, for instance, at the base of a Byzantine wall at Givat Eliyahu shows that the surface once had a slope of about 35—40 degrees towards South-West. It may be assumed that this heap of debris was settled and covered with vegetation relatively few years after its formation. This much exposed slope was flattened by erosion until the angle of compensation was reached. The surface, a poor sheep pasture to-day, has an inclination of 3 degrees towards West.

Similar phenomena can be observed on fossil sand dunes.

4. LICHEN GROWTH AS MEASURE: We reach similar results when observing lichen growth on rocky slopes. The soft Senonian lime stone of Givat Eliyahu is destroyed so rapidly by weathering, that lichen growth cannot keep pace, if the inclination is steeper than the specific compensation angle of erosion. As a result many parts, sometimes even a relatively wide area of the rock surface, are free from lichens.

Unfortunately, we have no exact knowledge about the rapidity of growth of lichens. The author has, however, proposed a suitable method to approach this important ecological problem by exact experiments in various climates. (We propose to set up octangular concrete prisms



Phot. H. Boyko and Y. Tsur, Oct. 1946

Fig. 1

Olive trees on a slope (10° to North) near Ijzim. Age about 200—250 years. All the root plates lie free to an average of 70 cm. height. This means that erosion has washed off, on an average, $3-3\frac{1}{2}$ mm. of the top soil yearly.



Phot. H. Boyko and Y. Tsur, Oct. 1946

Fig. 2

Olive trees on a horizontal plot (near the trees photographed in Fig. 1, which are recognizable in the background, marked X). No root plates are seen here. The soil has accumulated 5—10 cm. in the course of about 200 years.

ending in octangular pyramids. On each of the 16 concrete faces, which must be arranged according to compass directions, a fresh piece of the same kind of rock must be embedded. Every one to two years exact observations must be made of lichen growth: e.g. four such prisms at each observation stand would suffice in Palestine, using four different kinds of rock).

It is evident that knowledge of the rapidity of lichen growth as a biological measure of time for periods of several dozens to several hundreds of years would be of great value for many practical tasks.

5. ROOT SYSTEMS: The vegetation itself generally gives us an insight into soil conditions. To continue with our example, the summit of the hill at Givat Eliyahu, let us consider two related plant species for explanation. *Ononis Natrix*, the yellow flowering Goat Root, is able to flourish on much eroded shallow soil, and *Ononis Leiosperma*, the violet flowering Tall Rest-Harrow, with its root system of one and a half metres depth, or more, requires deep soil. We find, therefore, the yellow species dominating on the much eroded western slope. Only on flat parts or over troughs and fissures (to be checked easily with a pointed iron rod) do we find the violet species, and there only in very limited numbers. On the other hand, *Ononis Leiosperma* appears abundantly on the eastern slope up to an inclination of 12 degrees and on steeper slopes only in a few isolated patches.

It may be remarked by the way that *Ononis Natrix* is an excellent indicator for overgrazing too. This small very sticky shrub is ignored by sheep and goats. This means that it has no palatability, although its nutritive value is high. They eat it, however, when dry, and, after a particularly dry season, like 1947, it can be observed that before the first rainfall the hungry animals try to browse even over these plants, which are then not as sticky as earlier in the season.

The soil-binding power of the combined root systems of many plants in the earth is well known. It is a study for itself and can be called "root sociology". But the parts above the surface of the soil are also of importance in avoiding erosion. This may be elucidated by an actual example:—

Two fires in the Forest Reserve, south of Tiberias, occurring at short intervals, the first on 1st June, 1945, and the second a month later, threatened to destroy the difficult work of soil conservation initiated and carried out there by the former Conservator of Forests, G. N. Sale, and the late Assistant Conservator of Forests, A. Lahav. Many trees and shrubs were destroyed, and, most dangerous of all, the whole surface vegetation

was burnt and blown away. Expensive plans were made to save the whole soil conservation work, such as the rapid erection of new terraces between the existing ones, re-sowing the terrain with annual plants, etc. The author proposed that ecological studies should first be made. Inter alia, the soil and the numerous black and half burnt seeds contained in it were investigated. After counting and determining these seeds, germination experiments showed that the bulk of these seeds retained their germination power. Furthermore, many of these species germinated very quickly, for instance *Hirschfeldia adpressa* (a common weed of the Mustard family, *Cruciferae*), the wild grasses *Avena sterilis*, *Bromus spp.*, *Hordeum spp.* etc. These were the quickest, and, therefore, the most important ones with regard to the forthcoming early rainfalls. The slowest were some plants of the Pea family (*Papilionaceae*). Knowing these facts, it was no longer necessary to take immediate steps, and big sums were saved by such ecological investigations; soon after the first rainfalls—as predicted—a new, natural, dense vegetation-cover of various annuals guarded the soil against the threatening erosion.

6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS: No explanation is required for the reader of this Journal to show that antique ruins and monuments represent very good indicators of quantity of erosion or accumulation, especially if the time of destruction is known. But even this method has not been sufficiently used, particularly in the Middle East with its abundance of ancient buildings which can often be dated without difficulty.

On Givat Eliyahu, we find the remains of prehistoric caves (dated 7000—9000 B.C.), Jewish, Hellenistic, Roman (palace of King Agrippa), and Byzantine buildings; on the top also a mediæval palace of Saladin, which was destroyed only about 300—400 years ago, and the marble gate of which, the author is informed, is now in the Louvre in Paris*. It is not surprising that this hill has always been the site of a representative building during flourishing political and economic periods, since it commands the age-old pilgrim road from the south to the holy places of Jerusalem.

Here on Givat Eliyahu, there are three uncovered mosaic floors dating from the first centuries A.D.; one on the western slope of the hill is free from soil; one on the northern slope near the summit covered by 20 cm; and one on the north-eastern slope, as the best sheltered of all three slopes, is covered by 50 cm. of soil. The remains of a Roman high-

* The author would be grateful to anybody who could supply him with more exact historical data with regard to this site.

way on a horizontal stretch of the east side of the hill are covered by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres soil, thus showing an average accumulation of about one mm. yearly.

We are convinced that by the same method interesting results can be obtained in connection with absolute magnitudes of erosion and accumulation, i. e. knowledge of the "Soil Balance".

A striking example are the remains of a wall of Herod's period on the slopes near the Hot Springs in Tiberias. The wall is to-day several metres high, buried by accumulated soil in the course of time, and again uncovered through erosion by a gully. Such facts reflect also the history of forest cover on these steep slopes, showing the times of destroyed vegetation, growing erosion and resulting floods. It is quite simple to measure and to compare the negligible run off in a wadi coming from the terraced and afforested slopes, with the torrents in a wadi running down from the adjacent bare slopes, and thus to state in plain figures the enormous difference.

7. GEOLOGICAL STRATIFICATION too could be used for comparative investigations at Givat Eliyahu, as seventeen soil profiles, reaching several metres in depth, were made on the relatively small area of 50 dunams for technical purposes (water reservoir for Jerusalem). These profiles were brought into relation with each other, and as the result of these investigations, it was possible to detect considerable movements of the soil surface during the course of time. This is not without interest in connection with problems discussed here. It has been shown in this relatively small area that since the pluvial period the main direction of weather attack has been the same. It can be assumed that this has been so since the formation of the Mediterranean Sea, as proved by Prof. L. Picard of the Hebrew University in his geological researches for the whole of Palestine and neighbouring countries.

8. TOPOGRAPHICAL GENERAL VIEW OF AN AREA: Anyone having some experience of observing phenomena of erosion will soon be able to make an approximate estimate of magnitude of erosion, as well as the compensation angle of a certain locality, by using the general view of the area as sole indicator. This guessing is not less valuable than the other extreme of exactitude — a mathematical formula like the sine curve mentioned in para. 2 of this chapter. Furthermore, even such a formula is not qualified to furnish really exact figures for quantities of erosion. The technician, on the other hand, will prefer to use an equation for his calculation, because he knows that, in all probability,

he will by this method be nearest reality. His results will be supported if other observations increase their probability, and to these belong, in the first instance, the possibility of drawing conclusions of the approximate value of erosion from careful visual observation of the area.

In such an estimate the phenomena enumerated here, as well as comparison of slopes, direction and exposition of slopes, protruding rocks, plant communities etc., will be taken into account. As a whole, this general estimate of erosion of a certain terrain is a kind of test as to how far the results arrived at by single investigations conform with a topographical general view of the area, and, particularly, the compensation angle of erosion should be judged by all possible methods combined.

Soil Building (Soil Formation)

The third large complex of tasks for research is the investigation of upbuilding processes, the problem of soil formation or the natural improvement of soil conditions. As far as possible, exact knowledge of these upbuilding forces is just as important as knowledge of destructive powers, in order to influence soil development in the desired manner.

In Palestine, the properties of the numerous and very different soils are investigated at three research institutions. The Government Chemist, G. W. Baker, deals with physical and chemical analyses of soil types. At the Hebrew University, soil research is carried out by A. Reifenberg, and at the Experimental Station in Rehovot by the Division of Soil Chemistry, headed by S. Ravikovitch.

In the constructive processes of soil formation, mechanical and biological forces work closely together. Ecology, the science of the surrounding factors and their influence on the living organisms, compasses many branches of science (²). All have to be combined in close cooperation, in order to pursue the manifold problems of the soil and to influence their development to the profit of human economy.

Continuous chemical and physical reactions are combined in the soil with complicated biological processes of decomposition and humification of all organic matter, and all these processes are considerably modified by native rock on the one hand, and plant cover on the other. The final result, however, will always be the same in a certain area, because soil formation is mainly dependent upon climate.

In the Middle East countries, *the climate is our strongest ally in the struggle for soil conservation and development.* The high mean tempera-

tures accelerate most of the physical, chemical and biological (e.g. bacteriological) processes to a remarkable degree. But the main influence for soil formation is the very frequent and considerable fluctuation of temperature not only between seasons, but also between day and night, and even sun and shadow.

According to our own observations, the extraordinary speed of soil building in the Middle East is such, that in spite of the tremendous damage done by erosion during past centuries, caused by neglect and ignorance, a general intensive care of the soil could produce a state of high fertility and general wealth in relatively few decades.

A prerequisite is, however, the speedy creation of further scientific foundations, and Palestine — in view of its large number of experienced scientists — should take a leading part in assisting neighbouring countries.

All these countries have lost their former wealth and importance with the loss of their soil. They will regain their old fertility, become once more rich and attain a high economic and cultural position in the world with the restitution of their soil, as a result of scientific aid.

Science may prompt cooperation in spite of boundaries and temporary political controversy, and may bring inestimable advantages at this time of mistrust and isolation.

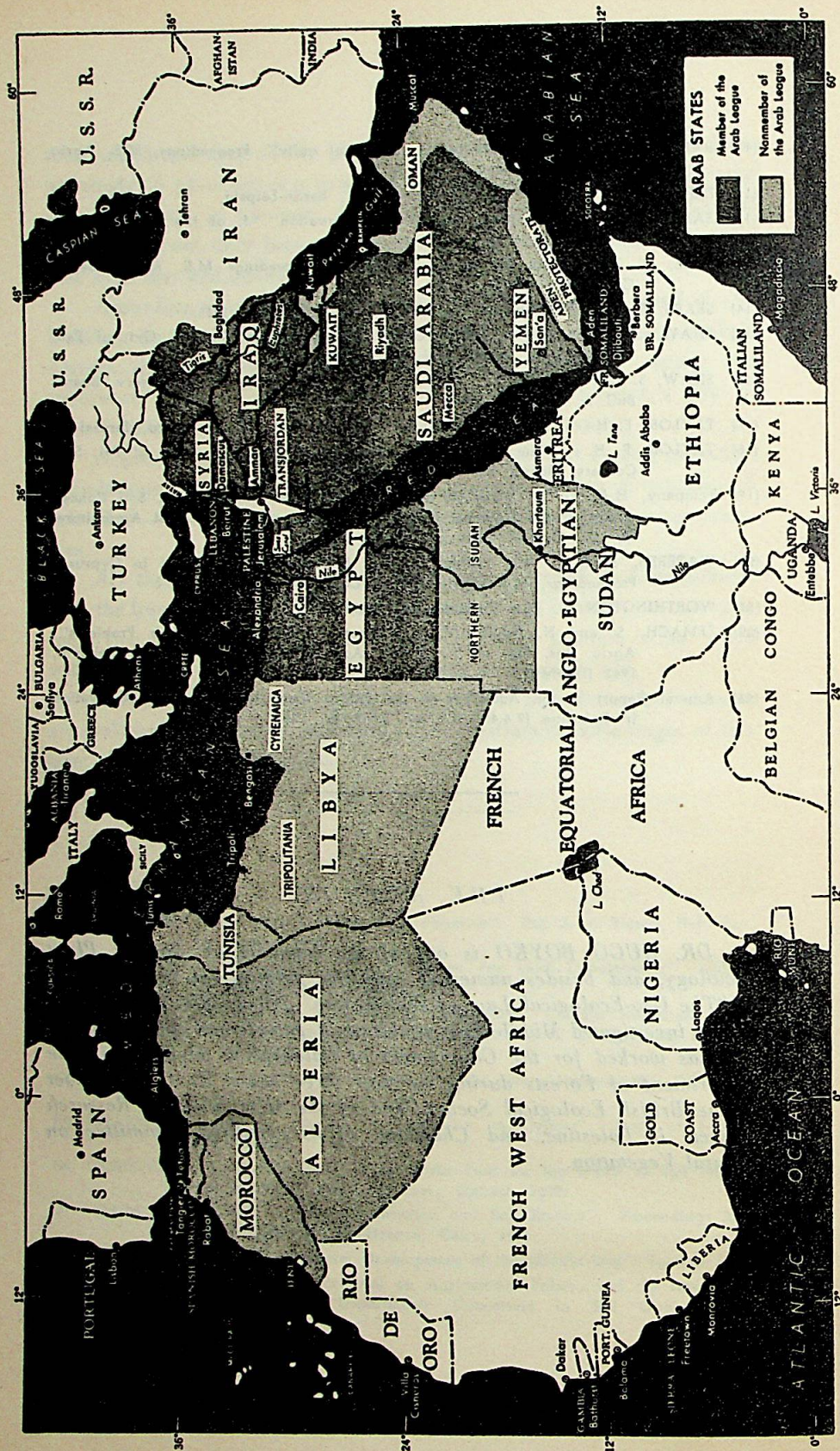
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DOCUMENTS

I. THE TRANSJORDAN-TURKISH TREATY OF JANUARY 1947

II. THE GREATER SYRIA SCHEME

I. THE TRANSJORDAN—TURKISH TREATY OF JANUARY 1947

The Turkish Republic was one of the first foreign powers to recognize the independence of the Trans-Jordan Hashimite Kingdom and the accession to its throne of H.M. King Abdullah. A delegation, headed by M. Faridon Jamal Arkin, Secretary-General to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, visited Amman early in December, 1946, in order to convey their country's congratulations to King Abdullah and to submit to him a draft treaty of friendship and peaceful relations. They also bore a cordial invitation from President Ineunu to His Majesty to visit Turkey.

His Majesty was pleased to accept the invitation, but the negotiations on the proposed treaty were postponed in order to be taken up in Ankara during the King's visit.

This took place some four or five weeks later. King Abdullah, accompanied by H.H. The Emir Naif and Mohammed Pasha Esh-Shuraiqi, Foreign Minister of Trans-Jordan, was conveyed from Haifa on board President Ineunu's private yacht, "Savorona" and was received with widespread popular acclaim on his arrival in Turkey.

Speeches were exchanged between His Majesty and the Turkish President, expressing sentiments of deep friendship between the two countries, affirming the principles and ideals of the U.N.O. and emphasizing the need for international peace and cooperation as the basis for national well-being and progress.

The Trans-Jordan-Turkish Treaty was concluded during the King's visit to Ankara. Although a number of amendments had been inserted by the Trans-Jordan delegation, the treaty was based on the original draft, and its conclusion was marked by the publication of a Joint Official Communiqué.

1. JOINT OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN ANKARA ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE TRANSJORDAN-TURKISH TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP * :—

On the occasion of this visit of King Abdullah of the Transjordanian Hashimite Kingdom to the Turkish Republic, close contacts have been made between the representatives of the two States. These contacts have led to frank and extensive discussions regarding the relations between the two countries and the maintenance of peace throughout the Middle and Near East.

As a result of these discussions, it is clear that both countries hold the same ideals of peace and international cooperation, which are embodied in their national policy and inspired by common interests, and which advocate reciprocal cordiality in the desire for cooperation with all neighbouring countries. These common ideals have led to the

* Unofficial translation.

conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship between the two countries, designed for their common welfare.

2. TEXT OF THE TRANSJORDAN-TURKISH TREATY * :—

H.M. King Abdullah Ibn Al-Hussein, King of the Trans-Jordanian Hashimite Kingdom

and

H. E. Ismet Ineunu, President of the Turkish Republic,

In accordance with their desire for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the Trans-Jordan Hashimite Kingdom and the Turkish Republic, and, in the conviction that this will be in the interest of their peoples and that the development of international solidarity is a goal of world peace,

Have decided to conclude a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and have appointed for this purpose the following delegates:—

Mohammad Pasha Esh-Shuraiqi (Nahda Medal 1st class), the Trans-Jordanian Foreign Minister, representing H. M. King Abdullah Ibn-Al-Hussein, King of the Trans-Jordanian Hashimite Kingdom.

and

Hassan Saqqa, Deputy for Tarabzoun and Foreign Minister, and Faridan Jamal Arkin, Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, representing H. E. Ismet Ineunu, the President of the Turkish Republic

who

after exchanging their credentials have agreed:

ARTICLE 1 — *A state of peace and friendship shall exist permanently between the Governments and peoples of the Trans-Jordanian Hashimite Kingdom and the Turkish Republic.*

ARTICLE 2 — *The two contracting parties have agreed to exchange diplomatic representation in compliance with international law and practice, and hereby pledge that the representative of each shall be granted equal status¹, in accordance with existing rules.*

ARTICLE 3 — *The two contracting parties have agreed to conclude in the future a special agreement on judicial, commercial, consular, residence and tourist matters affecting the citizens of each state, in accordance with international law and on the basis of equal treatment.*

ARTICLE 4 — *In case of any dispute between the two contracting parties, a decision shall be sought by peaceful means, in accordance with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter.*

ARTICLE 5 — *The two contracting parties agree that this Treaty*

* Unofficial translation.

على اساس التبادل ا

contains nothing that may conflict² with the rights and duties binding on either of the two contracting states under the United Nation Charter.

ARTICLE 6 — This treaty will remain valid for a period of ten years, with effect from the date of its coming into operation; and unless one of the contracting parties, one year before the lapse of this period, informs the other of his desire for its termination, the Treaty will continue to be valid, and, thereafter, will become invalid only after one year from the date on which either of the two contracting parties communicates to the other party his desire for its termination.

ARTICLE 7 — This Treaty, written in Arabic and Turkish, will come into force after the exchange of the ratified version³, which will take place as soon as possible.

ARTICLE 8 — This Treaty was written in Ankara on 18th Safar⁴, 1369 A.H., 11th January, 1947 A.D., in two copies, Arabic and Turkish. Both versions have equal validity⁵.

(—) HASSAN SAQQA (—) MOHAMMAD ESH-SHURAIQI
(—) FARIDON JAMAL ARKIN

3. H. M. KING ABDULLAH'S ADDRESS TO HIS PEOPLE ON HIS RETURN FROM TURKEY :—

“... I return from a country which was a part of us and of which we were a part. I am very pleased to have seen true brotherly cordiality towards their Arab brethren wherever they live...”

“... When I returned last year from London, the Mandate was abolished, independence was achieved and the friendship of the first democratic power in the West was obtained.

“Now I return with the friendship of a great nation and state in the East...”

“... If Great Britain has become our great friend in the West, Turkey has become our friend in the East. This friendship is between equal comrades within the framework of international law and peaceful aims. In concluding this Treaty, we were inspired by our true Arab feeling and by the interest of our country to strengthen her international position and to safeguard her independence in accordance with the U.N.O. ideals and the Arab League principles.”

² يخل

³ وتتخذ حلالا يتم تبادل وثائق الأبرام

⁴ صفر الحوير

⁵ عين المقام من الاعتبار

II. THE GREATER SYRIA SCHEME.

The question of Greater Syria, sponsored largely by H.M. King Abdullah, arouses considerable interest in the Arab world to-day. The following extracts from a few documents translated from the **White Book of Trans-Jordan*** are presented in this connection.

1. Resolution adopted by the Syrian Constituent Assembly in Damascus on March 8, 1920.

"Having regard to the nation's insistence on its rights and unity, we hereby unanimously declare the following points essential:—

a. — *Complete independence of Syria within its geographical frontiers including Palestine.*

b. — *The construction of a State, based on the Parliamentary System, with special stress on the safeguarding of the rights of minorities.*

c. — *Rejection of Zionist claims for the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.*

d. — *The choice of Emir Feisal Ibn Hussein as the constitutional King of Syria.*

e. — *Termination of the Military Government of Occupation in the three parts of Syria and its replacement by a Constitutional Monarchy responsible to Parliament.*

f. — *The Syrian Provinces will be administered by means of a decentralized system of Government, with special regard to Lebanese national aspirations in administering their provinces..."*

2. Statement of Policy by the Syrian Cabinet under Syd. Hashim el-Attassi, read on May 8, 1920, by the late Dr. Abdul Rahman Shahbandar, the Foreign Minister, contained the following points:

a. — *Complete independence.*

b. — *The unity of Syria within its geographical boundaries, coupled with a rejection of Zionist claims to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine.*

c. — *Rejection of any foreign interference in Syria's national sovereignty.*

* See also Book Reviews, — "The White Book of Transjordan".

3. Appeal to the League of Nations by the Syro-Palestinian Conference held in Geneva between August 25 and September 21, 1921.

a. — *Recognition of independence and national sovereignty for Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine.*

b. — *Recognition of the right of these countries to unite under a constitutional Government which may join with other Arab independent countries in the form of a Federation.*

c. — *Immediate abolition of the Mandate.*

d. — *Evacuation of French and British troops from Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine.*

e. — *Abolition of the Balfour Declaration.*

The following are among the signatories to the Appeal:

Emir Michael Lutfallah — Chairman — Chairman of the Central Committee of the Syrian Federation Party; Syd. Rashid Ridha — Vice Chairman — President of the Syrian General Congress in Damascus; Haj Toufiq Hammad — Vice Chairman — Former Deputy for Palestine in the Ottoman Parliament and Chairman of the Moslem-Christian Association; Emir Shakib Arslan — General Secretary — Delegate of the Arab Independence Party; Suleiman Cana'an — Member of the Lebanese Administrative Council; Ihsan el-Jabiri — Former Secretary to the Ottoman Sultan and Mayor of Aleppo; Amin el-Tamimi — Member of the Palestine Arab delegation; Wahbeh el-Eisa — Chairman of the Palestine Arab Committee in Egypt; Shibli el-Jamal — Secretary of the Palestine Arab Delegation; Riad el-Sulh and Najib Shuqeir — Members of the Arab Independence Party

4. Memorandum of the Syrian Delegation formed in 1922, to the International Conference of Geneva.

(The Delegation consisted of Emir Michael Lutfallah, the Emir Shakib Arslan, Suleiman Bey Cana'an and Ihsan Bey el-Jabiri).

".....The Syrians have clearly expressed their point of view to the U.S. Committee of Enquiry, which visited Syria when the Peace Conference was held in Paris. The overwhelming majority has expressed its request for complete independence, in spite of terrorist measures adopted by invaders; the people of Syria have once again expressed their will for independence. The partition of Syria into several states does not lead to the fulfillment of our aspirations and this imperialist plan will definitely meet with failure..."

5. Proclamation of the Syrian Revolt in 1925.

"Oh... Syrians, remember your history, traditions and national honour. Remember that God Almighty is with those who are united... The imperialists have looted our country and partitioned it, imposing barricades and creating peoples, communities and states".

6. Statement of the Executive Committee of the Syro-Palestine Congress issued on March 30, 1928 on the occasion of Syrian elections for the Constituent Assembly.

"...The Executive Committee declares once again its intention to achieve the country's independence within its natural borders.

"The Committee also welcomes this opportunity which will enable the country's sons to express their views concerning their destiny and the form of government they choose, freely and without any pressure..."

7. The Syrian Constitution, drafted by the Constituent Assembly in 1928, contained the following passage, which was withdrawn on the insistence of the French authorities :

"The Syrian territory separated from the Ottoman Empire is a political unity, which cannot be partitioned. Any partition which took place after the Great War will not be considered valid."

8. Resolutions passed by the Trans-Jordan Council of Ministers on July 1, 1941.

Paragraph 3. — Syria, in view of her geographic position and natural resources cannot live, particularly from an economic point of view, except if united. Previous events have made it clear that any barricade separating parts of this territory will create political anxiety and outrages, hinder economic development and prepare the way for intrigues spread by enemy powers.

9. Letter from King (then Emir) Abdullah to Fares Bey el-Khoury, former Syrian Premier, now Syria's Delegate to the Security Council of U.N.O.*

"...The position now in Syria is national rather than personal. It is closely connected with all parts of Syria (Palestine, Trans-Jordan, the Lebanon and Syria). I wish here to express my regret that a number of persons believe that I work in this direction for my personal ambitions... This is absolutely untrue..."

"...When Syria was declared independent by Free France... and this declaration was endorsed by Britain... Trans-Jordan immediately

* No date is given in the White Book of Trans-Jordan, but presumed to have been written in 1942.

expressed her desire to unite with Syria or that Syria be united with her. I have supported this desire for the sake of the totality and unity of the country without the knowledge of the future form of government, whether it be a republic or a monarchy. This is a sacrifice on my part."

10. Fares Bey's reply to King Abdullah.*

"...After the formation of a democratic government representing the people, as a result of new elections, Syria can re-adjust her present constitution, or draft a new one by agreement with the other parts of the Syrian territory, in order to change the present form of government into one which will be more in the interest of the country and its inhabitants....."

"...I wish here to refer to the fact that the presence of the Mandate in 1926 was one of the most important factors, which led those who drafted the Constitution, to choose the Republican form of Government. They wanted to keep the throne of Syria free from any foreign domination... But now, after the decision to abolish the Mandate and to grant Syria her independence, there will be no reason why the situation should not be reviewed and a Monarchy chosen, to which, I would wish success, as it has a great number of adherents..."

11. A Political Memorandum submitted to King (then Emir) Abdullah by a number of "Veteran Strugglers"*, who met at Amman on March 6, 1943.

A. A United Syria Plan.

(1) *The Allies should declare Syria's independence within her national*

(2)

frontiers and consider her national and geographic unity as a basis for the future form of government.

(3) *The following points should be observed:—*

(a) *The recognition of Syria's independence with a constitutional monarchical form of government.*

(b) *United Syria will include Syria Proper, Trans-Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon.*

(c) *Some parts of Palestine and the Lebanon within its old boundaries will have a special administration to safeguard the rights of the Jewish minority and the Holy Places in Palestine, and to protect the national aspirations of the Lebanese.*

(d) *The abolition of the Balfour Declaration... or a final reinterpretation of it, allaying the fears of the Arab and Moslem*

* No dates are given in the White Book of Trans-Jordan, but presumed to have been written in 1942.

* "Veteran Strugglers" are believed to be some of the leaders of the Syrian Revolt of 1925/6.

worlds, maintaining the present proportion of one-third Jewish and two-third Arab, and putting an end to Jewish immigration.

- (4) ...The Emir Abdullah Ibn el-Hussein will be called to head the Government of Syria...
- (5) After the formation of Independent and United Syria, an Arab Federal Union will be formed consisting of the Syrian and Iraqi States ("The Fertile Crescent"), for cooperation in Foreign Policy, Defence, Culture and Economy. There is no reason to prevent other Arab States from joining this Union...

B. A Unified Syrian State and an Arab Federal Union.

In case United Syria cannot be created immediately... a central Syrian Union can be established to safeguard the interests of the Syrian States...

- (1) *A Central Unified State will be created in Syrian territory, comprising Trans-Jordan, Syria Proper, the Lebanon and Palestine, with Damascus as Capital.*
- (2) *The Central Unified State will be in charge of defence, communications, national economy, foreign policy, education and justice, with autonomy for regional parts...*
- (3) *The Unified State will have an elected Legislative Assembly representing the federated states. This Assembly will elect... the Council of Ministers...*
- (4, 5)
- (6) *The Emir Abdullah Ibn el-Hussein will be called to head the Unified State.*
- (7, 8, 9)
- (10) *If the Lebanon will not join the Unified State for particular reasons, the Syrian territory annexed to the Lebanon... should be returned to Syria after a referendum.*
- (11) *Should Palestine desire to join the Syrian Union... the following conditions should be observed:—*
 - (a) *A National Constitutional Government in Palestine should be established within her present frontiers.*
 - (b) *The White Paper will remain in force temporarily, to be replaced later by an official final interpretation on the part of Britain of the Balfour Declaration....*
 - (c) *The special position of the Holy Places should be taken into consideration.*
 - (d) *Regions with Jewish majority will be given autonomy to safeguard the rights of the Jewish minority.*
 - (e) *The General Arab Union will cooperate economically with the Jews.*
 - (f) *The responsible Jewish body should declare its approval of*

this solution, as a primary condition to the Arabs' ratifying this scheme.

- (g) *In case the Palestine problem is not solved by Britain on this principle, Palestine will remain outside the Union and the Arabs will continue not to recognize the present situation in Palestine.*

12. King Abdullah's appeal to the Syrian People, April 8, 1943.

"...we hereby appeal to those responsible in Syria to work for a plan of Syrian unity or federation, upon which they may decide in a Congress to be held in our capital, whenever they wish..."

13. King Abdullah's Memorandum to the British Government * :—

".....In order to prepare a useful solution, the following steps should be taken:—

- 1.— An official communique be issued, supporting Syria's independence within her geographical boundaries.*
- 2.— Practical cooperation should be created now between the northern and southern parts of Syria.*
- 3.— The question of Syrian Federation or Unity should be considered as an internal Syrian affair.*

* No date is published, but it was presumably written in May, 1943.

MIDDLE EAST DIARY

JULY TO DECEMBER 1946

AFGHANISTAN

- 19.11.46 Afghanistan admitted to membership of U.N.O.

ALGERIA

- 26.11.46 Emir Said of Algeria, residing in Damascus, arrives in Cairo to represent Algeria in the Arab League deliberations.

EGYPT

- 10.7.46 Anti-Communist campaign launched with the publication of a new draft law against Communists.
- 17.7.46 Explosion of hand grenades at a British Officer's Club in Alexandria resulted in over 30 casualties. Widespread arrests throughout Egypt of journalists and intellectuals suspected of Communism. Several books banned.
- 22.7.46 Renewed anti-communist arrests in Cairo and Alexandria.
- 12.8.46 Foreign Ministers of Arab League States meet at Alexandria, discuss common front at UNO, Palestine question.
- 3.9.46 Prime Minister Sidki Pasha announces intention to include in Cabinet representatives of Saa'dist and Dustour parties.
- 11.9.46 New three-party cabinet formed.
- 15.9.46 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations resumed.
- 23.9.46 British proposal rejected by Egyptian delegation.
- 28.9.46 Sidki Pasha resigns as Prime Minister of Egypt.
- 30.9.46 Failure of Sharif Sabri Pasha to form new cabinet.
- 2.10.46 Cancellation of Anglo-Egyptian alliance demanded in Wafdist manifesto.
- At request of King Farouk, Sidki Pasha resumes his position as Prime Minister.
- 12.10.46 State of Emergency declared in Cairo.
- 14.10.46 Sir Edward Spears arrives in Cairo on a tour of the Arab countries.
- 17.10.46 Sidki Pasha and his Foreign Minister arrive in London for talks with Bevin on the deadlocked treaty negotiations.
- 25.10.46 Treaty talks end on optimistic note.
- 27.10.46 On return to Egypt, Sidki Pasha states that Bevin had initialled new draft treaty agreeing to unity of Egypt and Sudan under Egyptian Crown and providing for withdrawal of British troops from Egypt within 27 months.
- 28.10.46 British Premier, Atlee, classifies Sidki Pasha's statement as "partial and misleading", adds that nothing definite had been decided and that Sudanese status quo would continue.
- 1.11.46 Sidki Pasha reports that as a result of his talks with Bevin,

- the latter had agreed to Britain's recognition of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan, providing the Anglo-Egyptian condominium should continue until the Sudanese selected their own form of government, also that Britain would completely evacuate her forces from Egypt within three years.
- 13.11.46 "National Struggle Day"; clashes occur between Police and members of the Wafd.
- 15.11.46 Fayid, on shores of Great Bitter Lake, announced as new British H.Q. in Egypt.
- 16.11.46 Although Cairo schools reopen, students do not attend in order to participate in demonstrations of protest against line taken by Egyptian Government in treaty negotiations.
- 19.11.46 Delegation from Sudan, composed of the National Front groups, demands immediate end to the condominium and creation of a Sudanese Government under Egypt.
- 21.11.46 Terms of proposed treaty with Great Britain submitted to Egyptian Chamber of Deputies.
- 22.11.46 57 members of the Ikhwan al-Muslimun arrested in Alexandria.
- 23.11.46 French and Egyptian diplomatic missions raised to the rank of embassies.
- Egyptian police attack Moslem Brotherhood H.Q. at Alexandria.
- 24.11.46 Nationalist demonstrations by students in Cairo and Alexandria.
- 25.11.46 Draft treaty, drawn up by Sidki Pasha and Bevin, rejected by 7 of the 12 members of the Egyptian treaty delegation.
- 26.11.46 156 to 0 vote of confidence in Sidki Pasha. 54 opposition deputies abstain from voting.
- Student rioting in Cairo and Alexandria continues.
- 27.11.46 Universities in Cairo and Alexandria closed on account of students demonstrations.
- 1.12.46 All British naval units withdrawn from Alexandria. Government bans political meetings, thereby preventing Wafd party leader Nahhas Pasha, from attending opposition rally at Tanta.
- Egyptian Bar Association declares a general strike as a protest against the Sidki-Bevin draft treaty.
- 2.12.46 Six explosions take place in Cairo.
- 5.12.46 Wafd accepts Government ban to avoid internecine strife.
- 8.12.46 Sidki Pasha resigns as Prime Minister on grounds of ill health.
- 9.12.46 Nokrashi Pasha, leader of Sa'adist Party, is asked to form new cabinet.
- 10.12.46 Nokrashi Pasha is inducted as Prime Minister, forms a coalition cabinet composed of Sa'adists and Liberal Constitutionalists.
- 11.12.46 Three killed and 67 injured in political riots at Asyut.
- 15.12.46 American wartime air base near Cairo, Payne Field, handed over to Egyptian Government.
- 16.12.46 Prime Minister Nokrashi Pasha receives a vote of confidence of 150 to 21, with 7 abstentions.
- Nokrashi Pasha states his intention of working towards complete Egyptian independence under Egyptian Crown.
- 24.12.46 Hand grenade explodes in the premises of the Anglo-Egyptian Union in Cairo.
- 25.12.46 Renewed bomb incidents in Cairo.
- 29.12.46 Sir Ronald Campbell, British Ambassador, and Nokrashi Pasha meet to discuss the possibility of resuming treaty negotiations.

ERITREA

11.7.46 Six members of Jewish Underground Organisations from Palestine, deported to Eritrea, escape from prison.

ETHIOPIA

5.10.46 Ethiopia's share in war reparations from Italy, amounting to 25 million dollars, is decided at the Paris Peace Conference. Ethiopia's claim exceeds 700 million dollars.

IRAN

14—16.7.46 General strike of over 50,000 labourers at the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's installations in the Khuzistan province. Strike is organized by Tudeh party agents.

4.8.46 Arab tribe-chieftains in Khuzistan appeal to the Arab League for assistance against the Iranian Authorities.

10.8.46 Iran protests against presence of British Troops in Basra area.

2.9.46 U.S. Abadan base returned to Iranian Government. General Arnold of the American Air Force arrives in Teheran.

4.9.46 Central Government regains control over Zenjan province.

8.9.46 Martial Law declared in Isfahan following the discovery of an anti-Government plot.

21.9.46 Azerbaijani troops block the entry of Iranian Central Government forces into Zenjan.

22.9.46 Arab tribesmen besiege Bushire and cut communications with Teheran. Government reinforcements rushed to Fars province.

23.9.46 Arab Qashqai tribesmen surround Shiraz and demand cabinet changes, release of Bakhtiari tribe chieftains, discharge of certain army officers, a provincial council and

autonomy, readjustment in taxation and appointment of new provincial officials.

24.9.46 Prime Minister Ghavam Sultaneh rejects tribesmen's demands.

25.9.46 Government mission sent to Shiraz to negotiate with rebellious tribes.

Shitzoff, Soviet Foreign Commissariat Middle East Dept. Head arrives in Teheran for discussions with Prime Minister regarding Soviet oil concessions and elections.

1.10.46 Iranian Government asks for the recall of G. A. Trott, Oriental Secretary of the British Embassy, for his alleged connection with the revolt of the tribes in the South. Government issues ultimatum to tribesmen. Government forces in Khazarun, Bushire and Shiraz, though heavily outnumbered by attacking Arab tribes, resist the rebels.

6.10.46 Parliamentary elections announced in a decree by the Shah.

13.10.46 Government conditions accepted by Qashqai chief, Nasir Khan. Revolt ends.

16.10.46 British Foreign Secretary Bevin denies in a statement in the House of Commons the connection of any British official with Iranian internal affairs.

17.10.46 Iranian Cabinet resigns.

19.10.46 Ghavam Sultaneh forms new cabinet. Tudeh members excluded. Former Propaganda Minister Prince Firuz appointed Ambassador to Moscow.

Damascus-Teheran airline inaugurated. 16.11.46 Zenjan occupation by Central Government forces completed.

24.11.46 Central Government troops concentrate on the Azerbaijani frontier to supervise parliamentary elections.

27.11.46 Azerbaijani and Kurdish leaders protest against the dispatch of Government troops to Azerbaijani border.

29.11.46 Prime Minister Ghavam Sultaneh insists on presence of troops during elections and warns against separatist tendencies.

30.11.46 Azerbaijani Provincial Council announces opposition to presence of Iranian troops in Azerbaijan and informs Central Government of preparedness to supervise elections without assistance from Teheran.

4.12.46 Border incidents between Central Government supporters and Azerbaijani Democrats.

10.12.46 Central Government forces enter Azerbaijan.

11.12.46 Azerbaijani Democrats capitulate to the Central Government.

IRAQ

4.7.46 Workers strike at Kirkuk oil-fields for higher wages.

20.7.46 A party of Rashid Ali's followers returns to Baghdad.

24.7.46 Emir Abdul Ilah returns from London.

5.8.46 Fresh British troops land in Basra.

Shammar tribesmen raid villages and sedentary tribes in the Sinjar area. Hundreds killed and wounded.

8.9.46 Railway workers strike.

25.9.46 Followers of the Barazani Kurdish rebels surrender to the Iraqi army.

28.9.46 The Iraqi legation in London becomes Embassy.

6.10.46 Iraq protests to Great Britain and U.S.A. against President Truman's statement in favour of Jewish immigration into Palestine.

8.10.46 Iraqi parliament passes resolution against President Truman's statement.

5.11.46 General Spears arrives in Baghdad.

16.11.46 Resignation of Arshad el-Oma-ri cabinet.

20.11.46 Emir Talal, son of King Abdullah, arrives in Baghdad on official visit.

Air Chief Marshal Tedder arrives in Baghdad.

21.11.46 New Iraqi cabinet formed by Nuri Pasha es-Said.

22.11.46 Dissolution of Iraqi parliament announced.

23.11.46 Iraq and U.S.A raise their legations to the status of embassies.

1.12.46 Veterinary Conference opens in Baghdad.

4.12.46 Emir Zeid appointed Ambassador to London.

14.12.46 Iraq elected to U.N. Trusteeship Council.

30.12.46 Two cabinet Ministers resign.

KENYA

15.10.46 In reply to questions, Prime Minister Ailes announces in Parliament that Kenya is considered as one of the possible G.H.Q. alternatives after withdrawal from Cairo.

KUWEIT

1.7.46 Work starts on new oil plants at Kuwait.

LEBANON

6.7.46 General Beynet, last in C-in-C of French Troops in the Levant States, leaves for France

9-17.7.46 Aviation Conference held at Aley.

10.7.46 Labour strikes in railways and Regie.

10.8.46 Lebanese army holds manoeuvres.

- 19.9.46 Emile Eddé returns from France.
- 30.9.46 British military personnel leave Lebanon.
- 8.10.46 1800 Armenians leave for Soviet Armenia.
- 22.10.46 General Spears arrives in Beirut.
- Habib Abu Shuhla (Orthodox) elected president of parliament. This arouses indignation of Shi'ites, who held that appointment hitherto.
- 13.11.46 Foreign Minister declares in parliament that Greater Syria Scheme will not be accepted by Lebanon.
- 17.11.46 Bishop Nicolai of Leningrad arrives in Beirut.
- 23.11.46 Lebanon celebrates Independence Day.
- 24.11.46 H. Boswell appointed British Minister to the Lebanon.
- 1.12.46 U.S. Navy units arrive in Beirut.
- 7.12.46 Cabinet of Sa'adi el Munlah resigns.
- 10.12.46 Czechoslovakian Trade Delegation arrives in Beirut for trade negotiations.
- 15.12.46 Riad Bey es Sulh forms new cabinet.
- 31.12.46 The last contingent of French troops leaves Lebanon.

MOROCCO

- 10.10.46 U.S.-French negotiations for the lease of the port of Lyau-
tey as naval base for U.S.
- 13.10.46 Muhammad Ibn Abboud, leader of the Moroccan delegation to the Arab League, arrives in Damascus.
- 26.10.46 Muhammad Ibn Abboud visits Trans-Jordan.
- 18.11.46 19th anniversary of Sidi Muhammad's accession to the throne of Morocco.

PALESTINE

The detailed diary of events in Palestine has been compiled with the kind assistance of G.S.I., H.Q., British Troops in Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

- 1—11.7.46 Military operation "Agatha", commenced on 29.6.46, continues with searches of Jewish settlements and detention of thousands.
- 2.7.46 Hagana ship with 1100 refugees arrested.
- 3.7.46 High Commissioner commutes to life imprisonment the death sentences on two IZL* members, who were convicted by Military Court for participation in raid on Sarafand on 6.3.46.
- 4.7.46 IZL release 3 British officers kidnapped and held as hostages since 18.6.46.
- 8.7.46 General Sir Miles Dempsey, C.-in-C., Middle East Forces, arrives from Egypt.
- 11.7.46 High Commissioner announces end of military operations commenced on June 29.
- 15.7.46 Troops ordered to carry arms off duty.
- 17.7.46 Dr. Ch. Weizmann leaves Palestine for London. Protest strike observed by Palestine Jewry.
- 18.7.46 High Commissioner leaves Palestine for London. Jewish ex-servicemen found new settlement in Lower Galilee. An Arab delegation to the Vatican leaves Palestine.
- 20.7.46 Order to troops to carry arms off duty withdrawn.
- 22.7.46 IZL blow up a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, where Government Secretariat and Palestine Military Headquarters were
- * IZL — "Irgun Zevai Leumi" (National Military Organization), a Jewish Underground Organization.

situated: 91 dead and 56 wounded, offices demolished.

23.7.46 High Commissioner returns to Palestine.

26.7.46 376 Jews arrested in various parts of Palestine.

British Government proposes conference in London with Jews and Arabs.

28.7.46 Chief Secretary leaves Palestine for London.

29.7.46 Arab Higher Committee rejects participation in London Conference.

2678 unauthorized immigrants arrive on a Hagana ship.

30.7—2.8.46 Two divisions of British troops cordon off Tel-Aviv, impose strict 4-day curfew, search for arms and screen inhabitants. 793 arrests made and 8 arms caches found.

31.7.46 House of Commons debates Palestine.

Hagana ship with 550 refugees arrives in Haifa.

Hagana arms cache found in Atarot.

Jewish ex-servicemen found new settlement in Sharon plain.

1.8.46 The Morrison Plan for cantonization of Palestine under a federal form of government is announced.

4.8.46 Arab National Bank opens branch in Damascus.

5.8.46 Jewish Agency Executive at a meeting in Paris rejects Morrison plan.

6.8.46 Chief Secretary returns from London.

Protests to High Commissioner against mass requisitions of private premises in Jerusalem.

Troops search synagogues in Old City of Jerusalem. Nothing found.

7.8.46 Arab mayors in southern Palestine reject Federal Plan and urge Arab League bring Palestine question before UNO.

8.8.46 Jamal eff. el Husseini refuses invitation to London Conference.

11.8.46 LHI* raid Jaffa Government Hospital in attempt to release wounded comrade.

1298 unauthorized immigrants arrive on board of two Hagana ships.

12.8.46 Foreign Ministers of Arab League States meet in Alexandria to discuss Palestine problem.

Another refugee ship with 615 on board arrives in Haifa.

13.8.46 British Government issues statement on measures against illegal immigration to Palestine.

Deportation of refugees to Cyprus causes demonstrations in Jerusalem, Haifa and Hedera, during which 3 Jews were killed and 7 wounded in clashes with army and police.

Hagana secret radio transmitter calls to riot.

Another ship with 835 unauthorized immigrants arrives in Haifa.

15.8.46 New settlement founded by Jewish ex-servicemen in Galilee.

16.8.46 Military Court sentences to death 18 LHI members and 4 girl-members to life imprisonment for participation in attack on Railway Workshops on 17.6.46.

About 200 unauthorized immigrants land near Caesarea.

21.8.46 Two Hagana members place limpet charges and blow hole in hull of a deportation ship in Haifa harbour.

24.8.46 Golda Meyerson appointed Acting Head of Jewish Agency Political Department.

* LHI — "Lohamey Herut Israel" (Fighters for Freedom of Israel), also known as "Stern Group".

- 26.8—2.9.46 Troops search Sdoth Yam, Dorot and Ruhama settlements, find arms caches.
- 29.8.46 Death sentences on LHI members commuted to life imprisonment.
- 31.8.46 Arab Higher Committee refuse invitation to London Conference.
- Another LHI prisoner sentenced to death. Sentence subsequently commuted. The transfer from Palestine of Sir John Shaw, the Chief Secretary, is announced.
- 2.9.46 Over 1000 refugees arrive in Haifa on board a Hagana ship, and are transhipped for deportation to Cyprus.
- 5.9.46 Jewish Agency refuses invitation to London Conference.
- 8—9.9.46 Widespread attacks by IZL on railways and pipeline.
- 9.9.46 British C.I.D. Sergeant shot dead in Haifa by LHI.
- 10.9.46 Area Security Offices blown up in Tel-Aviv by LHI. Two killed.
- Other mine explosions by IZL result in killed and wounded.
- London talks on Palestine begin, without Palestine Arabs and Jews.
- 13.9.46 Bank hold-ups in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa by IZL and LHI. 5 killed.
- 20.9.46 IZL blow up waiting room of Haifa East Railway station.
- 22.9.46 Hagana ship carrying about 600 refugees boarded by British forces off the Palestine coast in face of strong resistance. One Jew killed, 10 males and 11 females wounded.
- 23.9.46 Refugees' transshipment for deportation to Cyprus causes demonstrations in Haifa. IZL blow up train south of Haifa.
- Colonial Secretary informs Jewish Agency that leaders detained since 29.6.46 will not be released.
- 25.9.46 Acting on information, troops find arms cache in Ramat Yohanan settlement.
- Inner Zionist Council decides against participation in London Conference.
- 1.10—19.11.46 After warning against deportation of refugees, LHI launch extensive sabotage campaign against lines of communications (railroads, roads, telephone and telegraph lines). In 29 attacks considerable material damage is caused and many casualties inflicted on British military personnel. Several killed and wounded.
- 2.10.46 The London Conference of Arab States with Great Britain is adjourned.
- 3.10.46 Text of the Arab States' proposal for the solution of the Palestine problem is published.
- 4.10.46 President Truman issues statement on Palestine urging immigration of Jewish refugees.
- 6.10.46 12 new Jewish settlements established in one day in the Negev.
- 7.10.46 LHI shoot two British airmen in Jerusalem: 1 killed, 1 wounded.
- 8.10.46 LHI kill two British soldiers by electrically detonated mines under lorry, several wounded.
- 9.10.46 Military search in Jewish quarters of Jerusalem.
- 17.10.46 Hagana kill British police-inspector as act of revenge.
- 19.10.46 Curfew imposed on Jewish quarters of Jerusalem.
- 22.10.46 Hagana ship carrying over 800 unauthorized Jewish immigrants intercepted for transshipment of refugees and their deportation to Cyprus.
- Transfer of Lt. Gen. Barker from Palestine and the appointment of Lt. Gen. MacMillan as G.O.C. Troops in Palestine and Transjordan—announced in London.

- 24.10.46 LHI attack military curfew patrols: 4 explosions, 1 killed, 11 wounded.
- 27.10.46 New Jewish settlement founded in Judean hills.
- 28.10.46 Election of delegates to the World Zionist Congress, due to take place in Basle (Switzerland) on December 9, 1946.
- 30.10.46 IZL blow up Jerusalem Railway station. 1 British constable killed. LHI mine roads: 4 military vehicles destroyed, 4 killed, 21 injured.
- 31.10.46 New settlement founded in Emek Jezreel.
- 1.11.46 Hagana ship carrying 1279 unauthorized Jewish immigrants brought to Haifa. Passengers transhipped for deportation to Cyprus.
- 2.11.46 Arabs strike on anniversary of Balfour Declaration.
- LHI continue road mining activities.
- 3.11.46 In a land dispute between Arabs and Jews in Galilee 3 Arabs and 2 Jews are killed, 9 injured.
- 4.11.46 IZL claim responsibility for bomb attack in British Embassy in Rome on 31.10.46.
- 5.11.46 Zionist leaders released from detention in Latroun, while Arab 1936/9 exiles permitted to return from Seychelles.
- Road curfew lifted.
- IZL attack two railway trains.
- 6.11.46 General Dempsey arrives from Egypt in Palestine on a short visit.
- 7.11.46 IZL blow up troop and passenger train on Lydda—Kantara line.
- 9.11.46 LHI lure Police into house in Jerusalem, where booby trap explodes killing 4 British policemen.
- 10.11.46 IZL blow up Ras-el-Ain railway station: 1 killed, 3 injured.
- 13-18.11.46 LHI continue blowing up of military vehicles and trains: 12 killed, 18 injured.
- New settlement established on Lake Tiberias.
- 18.11.46 Air Marshal Tedder arrives in Palestine.
- British constables riot in Tel-Aviv in reprisal for terrorist activities.
- 20.11.46 Jerusalem District Income Tax offices blown up by IZL.
- 26.11.46 Hagana ship with 3854 unauthorized immigrants arrives in Haifa. Passengers transhipped by force for deportation to Cyprus. 2 Jews killed.
- 27.11.46 New Jewish settlement established in Galilee.
- 28.11—1.12.46 Field Marshal Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, arrives in Palestine.
- 29.11.46 Palestine High Court rejects Habeas Corpus petition aimed at prevention of deportation to Cyprus of last batch of refugees.
- 30.11.46 LHI attack police post in Jerusalem.
- 2.12.46 LHI blow up two military jeeps by electric detonation: 5 killed, 2 wounded.
- 3.12.46 LHI blow up military jeep in Haifa: 1 killed.
- 5.12.46 LHI blow up "A" and "Q" Offices at Sarafand camp by driving into the camp and leaving truck which explodes: 2 killed, 26 injured.
- 29.12.46 British Brigade Major and 3 Sergeants kidnapped by IZL and flogged in retaliation for flogging sentence passed by Military Court on IZL member.
- IZL attack military road patrol: 1 soldier wounded, 1 attacking Jew killed, 4 captured.

31.12.46 Troops search Nathanya, Rehovot and Petah Tiqva: 3073 screened.

SAUDI ARABIA

27.7.46 King Ibn Saud offers "date plants" as gift to King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan.

29.7.46 Sheikh Abdullah es-Suleiman, Saudi Arabian Finance Minister leaves for U.S.A.

17.8.46 Emir Feisal returns from Alexandria Conference of the Arab League.

2.9.46 Emir Feisal leaves for London to attend the Palestine Conference.

30.9.46 Syrian pilgrims arrive by plane for the first time in the history of Hedjaz.

23.10.46 King Ibn Saud arrives in Mecca to attend the pilgrimage.

18.11.46 Treaty of Friendship is concluded between Saudi Arabia and China.

24.11.46 An American mission of experts arrives in Jeddah to study the Dhahran-Riyad railway project.

2.12.46 Consultative Assembly holds its annual session.

15.12.46 Sudanese delegation arrives in Saudi Arabia.

SUDAN

5.8.46 The Independence Bloc is formed.

25.8.46 Floods stop train-traffic.

25.9.46 Clashes between followers of union with Egypt and opponents.

20.10.46 During Bevin-Sidki Pasha talks, Sir Said Abdul Rahman's party representative flies to London to oppose constitutional union of Sudan with Egypt.

24.10.46 Opening of the Sudanese Advisory Council.

29.10.46 Government appeals to party-leaders to maintain calm in face of rising tension in the country.

3.11.46 Umma Party decides to send delegations to Arab countries.

All public meetings in Sudan banned.

7.11.46 Clashes between pro-Egyptian and anti-Egyptian elements.

12.11.46 Sudanese delegates return from London.

19.11.46 The Sudanese delegates reject the Sidki-Bevin agreement.

23.11.46 The Governor General of Sudan, Sir Hubert Huddleston, arrives in Cairo.

28.11—23.12.46 Mahdi Pasha in London.

SYRIA

1.7.46 Syrian Minister of Defence visits Egypt.

9.7.46 About 1000 Armenians leave Syria for Soviet Armenia.

10.7.46 A gang allegedly engaged in smuggling Jews to Palestine is disbanded, its members arrested.

15.7.46 Legal Committee of the Arab League holds its session at Bludan.

Oil is struck in the Latakia region.

24.7.46 First two army planes leave England for Syria.

7.8.46 First French Minister submits his credentials to the Syrian President.

22.8.46 Legal Committee of the Arab League drafts a unified Commercial Ordinance.

26.8.46 Italy asks for diplomatic representation with Syria.

27.8.46 Arab Medical Congress held in Aleppo.

13.9.46 Following unrest among the Alawites, one of their leaders,

Suleiman el Murshid, who escaped into the mountains, is arrested by

Syrian forces in the Latakia province.

14.9.46 Cultural Committee of Arab League meets in Damascus.

2.10.46 Syria admitted to the International Monetary Fund.

12.10.46 Syrian Oil Company starts drilling operations in Aleppo district.

16.10.46 Sir Edward Spears arrives in Damascus.

21.10.46 "Ordinance No 50" published, vesting dictatorial powers in Minister of Interior.

29.10.46 Mixed Courts in Syria abolished.

6.11.46 Sultan Pasha el Atrash, leader of Djebel Druze, publishes manifesto strongly criticizing the Syrian Government.

17.11.46 Students demonstrate for amendment of electoral law.

19.11.46 Syria elected as member of the UN Security Council w.e.f. 1.1.47.

23.11.46 Syrian Parliament adopts resolution condemning the "Greater Syria Scheme".

The trial of Suleiman el Murshid and his followers begins in Latakia.

U.S. decides to separate the diplomatic mission to Syria from their joint mission to Lebanon and Syria.

10.12.46 Suleiman el Murshid sentenced to death.

21.12.46 Al Ja'abri submits resignation of his Cabinet.

22.12.46 A parliamentary committee recommends direct elections.

24.12.46 Jamil Mardam Bey entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet, the members of which are named on 28.12.46.

29.12.46 Following continuous unrest in Djebel Alawite, Suleiman el Murshid's son is arrested.

TRANSJORDAN

1.7.46 Trans-Jordan asks for admission to UNO.

31.7.46 Trans-Jordan denies that Saudi Arabia submitted an official claim for Aqaba and Ma'an.

2.9.46 General Dempsey, C. — in C. M.E.L.F. arrives in Amman.

4.9.46 Trans-Jordan consulates in capitals of Arab States are raised to the status of legations.

6.9.46 5 planes of the Arab Aviation Co. of Amman leave England for Amman.

11-16.9.46 King Abdullah visits Iraq.

20.9.46 King Abdullah states that Iraq and Trans-Jordan are considering the desirability of their union.

10.11.46 General Spear arrives in Amman.

11.11.46 New session of the Legislative Assembly opens. King Abdullah in an address to the Assembly, affirms his willingness to enter into a union with Iraq or with any other Arab State. New constitution is submitted for the Assembly's approval.

16.11.46 Italy asks for diplomatic representation with Trans-Jordan.

26.11.46 The new constitution is ratified by the Legislative Assembly.

28.11.46 Emir Abdul Majid Haidar, until recently Lebanese national, submits his credentials as first Trans-Jordanian Minister to the Court of St. James.

2.12.46 Turkish good-will mission arrives at Amman.

30.12.46 Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Emir Feisal, arrives at Amman.

TURKEY

9.7.46 Turco-Syrian frontier incidents. Syria protests.

- 10.7.46 General elections in Turkey.
- 27.7.46 Three opposition papers suspended.
- 4.8.46 Sarajoglu resigns premiership.
- 5.8.46 New Kamutay meets and re-elects Inoenü President of Republic for third time.
- 7.8.46 New cabinet formed under premiership of Peker.
- 8.8.46 Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Ankara presents Note to Turkish Government on revision of the Montreux Convention of 1936 for the control of the Straits.
- 22.8.46 Turkish reply handed to Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Ankara. Copies sent to all signatories of Montreaux Convention and the U.S.A.
- 31.8.46 Franco-Turkish trade agreement signed in Paris.
- 5.9.46 Nuri es Said Pasha, the Iraqi leader, visits Turkey.
- 7.9.46 Devaluation of the Turkish lira announced.
- 10.9.46 King Farouq visits the Turkish port Mersin.
- 24.9.46 Second Soviet Note to Turkey, renewing demand for control of the Straits.
- 2.10.46 Turkey admitted as member of the International Monetary Fund.
- 9.10.46 Britain presents Note on Straits to Turkey and U.S.S.R.
- U.S. Note to U.S.S.R. affirms American support to Turkey.
- 14.10.46 New York - Istanbul airline opened.
- 18.10.46 Turkish reply to second Soviet Note handed in Ankara.
- Copies sent to Great Britain and U.S.A.
- 2.11.46 Turkish National Assembly meets.
- 13.11.46 Another Soviet Note on the Dardanelles.
- 5.12.46 Commercial Agreement signed with Czechoslovakia.
- 15.12.46. New Turkish Ambassador to Moscow, Faik Zihni Akdur, presents his credentials.
- 16.12.46 Anti-communist measures taken by Turkish Government: disbanding of two parties, suspension of 6 papers and arrests. These measures are taken under the Martial Law.

YEMEN

- 6.7.46. Emir Saif ul-Islam, the Crown Prince of Yemen, visits Lebanon.
- 23.7.46 Emir Saif ul-Islam arrives in Egypt.
- 4.12.46 French and Yemenite governments begin trade talks.

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST", by E. A. Speiser (Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 263, \$2.50).

In his introduction to Prof. Speiser's thoughtful study, Mr. Sumner Welles writes: "Before the Second World War there was no region on the earth which to most of us here in the United States seemed more remote than the Near East". Prof. Speiser's book is the first important document to record the sudden and revolutionary impact. It is a dual revolution — affecting the American attitude to the Old World and bringing auguries of social upheaval to the most sheltered backwaters of Asiatic life. The workshops and industrial housing projects which now transform the immemorial landscape of the Arabian Peninsula are no mere superficial accretions. They are portents of a strange evolution from feudalism to industrialism with no intervening stage of liberal progress. The British impact on the Middle East being confined to institutions of government, could easily preserve the old society intact. The American intrusion is into the very fabric of society and economic organization, and its original field was cultural relations. American contacts, therefore, though less direct in the sphere of political strategy, are likely in the long run to exert a profounder influence. Prof. Speiser is the first to evaluate these potentialities in their true dimensions.

He is concerned with the destiny of the Arab world for its own sake, and not merely for its relation to the West. In this respect the title of the book gives it an unmerited aspect of limitation. As an Orientalist and historian the author is well equipped to pass judgement without the usual pitfalls of romanticism. Of the new Arab States he writes: "The government structure is shaky because it was put together out of imported parts, by artisans having a very superficial acquaintance with the design and materials... Most of the new Arab States have adopted Western constitutions, codes and techniques without an appreciation of the mental processes that went into their creation. Corruption is rampant, social inequalities have been accentuated, and the unity that has been achieved to date derives from a negative impulse and fails to inspire genuine confidence".

The opinion of European critics is that the Arab world needs to find a balanced moral relationship with the West. It is because the West has been imported and not absorbed that the synthesis has so far not succeeded. The most ominous signs of malaise are the movements of political and religious reaction which have sprung up at the very cradle of modern progress. Muslim Brotherhoods, Young Egypt, Iraqi Futuwwah, Syrian People's Party — all these show how slender is the crust of resistance in the democratic sentiment of the Arab world. Prof. Speiser is a

welcome example of an extremely rare phenomenon — a western writer who refuses to melt into gurgling sentimentality at the sight or mention of Ibn Saud. "Fanatical sectarianism" is not the harbinger of the new age.

What Prof. Speiser calls "the fundamental unsoundness of the present economic structure of the Arab Near East" can only be cured by a far more diversified economy. The keys are scientific agriculture and skill industries and Prof. Speiser notes that so far the healing process "has practically been limited to little Palestine, and more particularly to Jewish Palestine". There is a salutary warning against the belief that foreign oil interests can assist much towards the growth of a balanced regional economy.

Prof. Speiser sees the strategic pattern in terms of an encroachment by Russian influence upon a British policy now thrown back on to the defensive. The United States has a balancing or mediating function in this tension. "A resurgent Russia which had not tasted a major victory since Napoleonic times might not be satisfied with a purely Platonic contemplation of the Near East". The threat cannot be neutralised by British strength alone. A joint Anglo-American front is therefore the objective of British policy. Since Britain is the more vulnerable and exposed of the two parties, Prof. Speiser construes this alliance in terms of American dependence upon British policies and interests. The central message of his book is a warning against any such prior surrender of American independence. "An Anglo-American bloc in the Near East may be to Britain's immediate in-

terest, but it cannot be to our ultimate interest nor to the interest of the world at large... An independent American policy... may reduce general tension. But automatic American support of British policy in the region threatens to increase tension to the explosive point" (p. 231). An independent policy calls for trained and confident specialists, and Prof. Speiser finds a source of American weakness here. He vindicates his own independence in a remarkably objective chapter on the Palestine conflict—which he considers as a triangular contest, not as a duel. In recent British proposals the British interest has been so clearly the dominating purpose that the illusion of the disinterested umpire should give way to a more realistic and by no means discreditable view that Britain is one of three interested parties in the story. The solution can be produced only by the assertion of international authority. "The Arabs and Jews of Palestine would eventually reconcile themselves to a verdict representing the genuine sentiments of a majority of nations — especially if it carries with it the certainty of resolute enforcement by these nations — whereas they will continue distrustful of the intentions of any single interested power". It is clear that American influence is required in the verdict and the enforcement alike. In this problem, and in all others of the Near East "a great deal depends on how conscious the United States is of its vital role and its vital opportunity." Prof. Speiser has done much in this book to assist his fellow countrymen towards a deeper and more informed consciousness.

A. S. Eban

"TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIA" by W. Bączkowski.

(Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 216, 500 Mils).

During World War II and since, the Middle East has become an object of increasing interest to the Great Powers. Prominent among these has been Soviet Russia, whose geographical proximity adds considerably to her importance as an element connected with this region. Students of the Middle East might, therefore, be interested in learning more of the policy and ways of thought of the U.S.S.R.

Despite the promising title of this book, its contents fail to bring the reader even a step nearer to an idea of what Soviet Russia, her policy and problems really are. However, the fact of its having been published in Jerusalem by a member of the Polish emigré community, who refused to return to their native country after its liberation, has induced review.

The author seems to be still suffering from the old Polish mania of the world being threatened by a tremendous, though vague menace of "some mysterious and formidable organization aiming at undermining or destroying mankind. It may be Freemasonry, or United Jewry, or somebody else, according to the actual circumstances. This time the ghost, who deprives Mr. Bączkowski of peace and sleep is Soviet Russia threatening the whole world and oppressing her own 200,000,000 citizens and conquered peoples.

Bending to his purpose all forms and combinations of vocabulary concerning the term of "betrayal" known to him, such as "cunning ruthlessness", and particularly his favourite term of "Macchiavellism", the author attempts to convince the reader that the Russian State is but an instrument to keep the

equilibrium between Asiatic cunning and ruthless methods, inherited by the Russians from Genghis-Khan, on the one hand, and the Western influence as contributed to Russia solely through Macchiavelli and his political school, on the other. It will probably be no use explaining to Mr. Bączkowski, that neither cunning ruthlessness nor Macchiavellism are the exclusive speciality of Russia, but the most widely accepted and most frequently employed means of all political power. The example of Russian policy, as quoted by the author, can be easily found in the history of any European State: — "They employ subtleties of subterfuge to outwit foreigners. Either they present lies as truth or they pass in silence over things that should be said." (p. 28.); whereas his accusation as to the Russians' immoral behaviour in the war against Napoleon ("The Russians pushed back Napoleon's invading army by subversive tricks, propaganda, and corruption"), casts rather a humorous light upon all his argumentation.

It seems obvious to anybody unprejudiced approaching the phenomenon of Soviet Russia that at least a brief examination of Soviet Russia's social achievements and her specific economic structure, giving special consideration to her historical background, must be made, in order to obtain a general judgement on whether the Russian experiment means a positive progress in the development of mankind or not. This would be one of the positive steps towards an understanding of Soviet Russia.

But the work of Mr. Bączkowski brings nothing of that kind. A brief look at the headings leaves no doubt as to the kind of book before us. "Fictitious liquidation of the Comintern", "Macchiavellism of Soviet

Foreign Policy", "The Church as an instrument of the State", are all terms collected from the well-known store of classical anti-Soviet propaganda and clearly reveal the tendency of the author. This tendency has nothing to do either with finding out the truth or with trying to understand it. The only aim of the author is to incriminate Soviet Russia and her policy. This ever-present tendency prevents Mr. Bączkowski from clear and consistent thinking. He gets frequently confused as to his own ideas and merely goes on repeating the same cheap and worn-out arguments. When the tired reader emerges at last from the jungle of this often absurd argumentation, he is at loss again, since he cannot find out

what the final thesis of the author is supposed to be.

Indeed, most of the author's arguments would appear to be on a rather absurd level. He speaks thus of Russia's negative role in international life: "Russia exporting abroad the products of her precipitous soul and her negative, disintegrating influence (Dostojewski, Tolstoj) is causing a deep social and cultural ferment in Western Europe and Asia" (16). Moreover, among the sources quoted, some are known to be very indifferent (Rasputin, Kucharyewski). They are not in a nature to inspire very much confidence in his historical facts generally.

M. Hurmezian

"FACING EAST", by L. B. NAMIER
F.B.A. (Hamish Hamilton, London,
1947, pp. 159, 8/6).

A review of reviews of up to ten books on aspects and stages of European history can only be an adumbration of the whole. Professor Namier has chosen what at first appears to be a series of studies too diverse in subject to achieve the coherence of one volume. There is, it would seem, too great a distance between the fumbling and posturing of Napoleon III, and the origins of the impatient pride and power of the Third Reich. But the book travels further and faster.

It is startling to find such a measure of agreement between Goethe and Niemöller that the Germans hold to the unfashionable doctrine that good government is better than self-government. Especially as the Germans consider that war is the natural function and component of good government. Luther and Goebbels had a similar effect, however different their aim, on "this nation of

N.C.O.s" — as malleable and dangerous as gelignite. Ever since the Reformation permitted the individual conscience to succumb to parochial despotism, Germany has missed every opportunity to rescue it, 1848, the Weimar republic, and now what? A united Germany can only be a dictated Germany, involving the "monolathy of a political desert", which bolstered the ineptitudes of Napoleon III.

A glimpse of the oppression and corruption of Eastern European peasants by kulak landowners and kulak ministers is a suitable introduction to sketches of the hopeless agglomeration of races and religions called Yugoslavia, and the apparently endless ricochet of Poland between Prussia and Russia.

A few pages make it clear that Russia has little to offer Europe. Her tradition of putting a diseased Europe in quarantine is older than American isolationism. The merciless collectivization of her huge arable tracts is too recent to produce a surplus large enough to

arouse an enthusiastic interest in European markets.

A theme now emerges. The author tells us with the same vigour, if not with the cryptic clarity of Henry Ford — Europe is sunk. There is, one fears, something of the cool detachment of the English Channel in this casual despair. But Britain is no rat, she has never had more than two paws on the sinking ship.

The West is dead — ingloriously, long live the East! From the East came the Jews. In most countries of Europe they became the scapegoats of Europe's confusion, wandering and always surviving. In nearly seventy years the percentage of Jews living in the English speaking parts of the world has increased from 4% to 55%. "Thus the fate of Jewry is bound up in the English speaking world — and vice versa". Here, then, is the answer. Have not the Anglo-Saxons taken most of Jewish history as their nursery tales and part of the Jewish religion as the moral basis of their world? The friction of the dispersion is not all the Jewish problem, there is that most persistent obsession of the history of the world, the yearning for the national reintegration of the Jews in the land of Israel. The deg-

ree of anti-Semitism has ever been the thermometer of the healthy Christian culture, and the five million Jews in the United States can find peace in the settlement of the European remnant in Zion, and the health of the Anglo-Saxons means the health of Europe, particularly at the time when the United States is vesting an interest in her distress. The theory inspires hope if not conviction.

The return of the Jews to the land of Israel owes much to Chaim Weizmann, one of the world's leaders: and Professor Namier's review of the tributes paid to him on his seventeenth birthday is as graceful as the individual contributions themselves. And there, bewildered by the extent of the subject and the speed of the argument, we are told that the story had better stop.

But can it? Dr Weizmann has now to speak for his people unofficially. A new element, almost Hasmonean in character, with the same parabola of popularity and violence, has arisen. If the redemption of the Jews in an Arab world is part or whole of the salvation of Europe, there is much to do.

A.G. Hughes

"THE COLONIAL OFFICE FROM WITHIN, 1909—1945", by Sir Cosmo Parkinson (Faber and Faber Ltd., London 1947, pp. 157, 8/6).

From military occupation, over mandatory and "protectorate" administration, on to widening areas of rule of real or demonstrated self-government, large parts of the Middle East have seen and experienced what may conveniently be summed up as British colonial policy in its day-to-day work. Contacts of varying character, sometimes loose and frequently semi-permanent, have been estab-

lished in this part of the world with agencies of the United Kingdom government. It is not therefore unnatural that a book on the working of the Colonial Office during the past 35 years should arouse considerable interest here. It comes to us from one who would seem prominently qualified to guide us, by the very length of his service at the Office, into the inner organism of which it is his avowed purpose to give us a glimpse, more intimate than the ordinary citizen is customarily allowed.

Sir Cosmo Parkinson is a retired

Civil Servant, who at the end of a distinguished career in the Colonial Office, reached the highest rank attainable to a member of the Service. He was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the summer of 1937 and served in this capacity until April, 1942. As he tells us himself, it has been rare for one engaged in the administrative work at the Colonial Office to see himself gradually raised to the post he finally held after an almost unbroken career at Downing Street. But it is for the very traditions of the permanent service and its apparently attendant unimaginativeness that we are never given a chance in this quasi-biographical book to obtain admission to "within".

Sir Cosmo Parkinson is no stranger to us, neither is a great part of the galaxy of names which he has paraded before the reader. But, surely, we might have expected more than an ever ready stock of personal anecdote and a somewhat stale sentimentality for the consecrated halls of Downing Street and its loyal keepers, in which this book abounds. Apart from the changes in staffing and administration occasioned by the creation of a separate Dominions Office in 1925, and the appointment of a separate Secretary of State for the Dominions in 1930, there is hardly a fact or remark, through the whole length and breadth of this account, of the fundamental and deep-going developments that have affected the Colonial Office, more than most other Government Departments, during the long period of time reviewed by Sir Cosmo Parkinson. Thus the impression gains ground that, for example, so tremend-

ous an experiment as "indirect rule" in Africa, or so successful a development as that of the Legislative Council in the Crown Colonies of the Empire, have grown from outside rather than from "within" the Colonial Office, an impression which in so general a form our author would be the very last to endorse.

The Colonial Office, unlike other purely administrative Departments, is constantly emanating and administering policy. With its formulation — pre-eminently a task for the Minister himself — the author has naturally no dealing. But that he should have neglected to introduce us, even ever so cursorily, into the executive problems of colonial policy, with which we might expect him to have become thoroughly acquainted, remains a matter for regret. The author nowhere in his reminiscences feels called upon to do more than to give an account of a fairly intricate office-machinery, and to pay here and there a passing, if somewhat personal and undiscerning, tribute to colleagues and friends. A very full index appended is most revealing in this respect. As far as this reviewer has been able to ascertain, there is not a single constitutional term to be found in it, while it abounds in names of Civil Servants whose careers have filled the annals of the history of colonial administration throughout the British Empire over the past decades.

Thus, after an expectant dive into Sir Cosmo Parkinson's review, the reader is left with only one very strong impression: that of a most regretted disappointment.

J. Breuer

"AL-RISALA AL-KHALIDA"

الرسالة الخالدة (The Eternal Mission),
by Abdur Rahman Azzam Pasha
(Cairo, 1946, pp. 228, 600 Mils).

In the Middle East there is a wealth of spiritual value for the loss of which not all the dollars and the pounds of the West, and not all the oil and gold of the Middle East itself, can compensate. And in this age of dearth of spiritual principles and ideals, Azzam Pasha's book which is essentially based on the ethics of Islam, from which the author evolves the basis for a New World Order, should be welcomed. Some of the conclusions reached, however, should be treated with reserve and not taken at their face value.

Man, says Azzam Pasha, is instinctively religious. He is prone to believe in a Superior Power, in which he finds refuge from the ills of the world and which he continuously placates by prayers and sacrifices. But, although the age of fear and superstition is gone, ills and evils still beset us, and consequently we must now turn to a different conception of God from that formed by our primitive forbears. In Mohammed's religion Azzam Pasha finds the ideal conception of God. This "mission" of the "Arab hero of heroes", which is basically the total belief in the one true God, rests upon two pillars: Faith and Charity. Monotheism is the best chance for world salvation and unity; as all believers, including the "People of the Book", would thereby become equal in the eyes of God. The precedent for this is to be found in the Old Islamic Empire where toleration was the order of the day. Bigotry and fanaticism are "a Western Commodity", and they were imported into the East.

This ideal of submission to the one and only one Power makes for the universal brotherhood of men, and would

automatically render persecutions and oppression an anachronism. All this is epitomised by the rebuke administered by the Caliph Omar to one of his governors who had ill-treated a non-Moslem: "How dare you maltreat one who was born free?" But Azzam Pasha warns against complacency. Not all those who call themselves Moslems are eligible citizens of the Kingdom of God. Many of them, he regrets, know nothing of their religion but merely outward rites and prayers, fast and pilgrimage. They have no belief in God nor the concomitant charity for men, save when it suits their whims and interests. Theirs therefore is the religion of deceit and falsehood.

After having roamed through and explained the Utopian realm of metaphysics, Azzam Pasha proceeds to apply his philosophy to a New World Order. There is, he stresses, but one cause for all our troubles: hydra-headed materialism. If it is powerful enough to divide a family against itself, how likely for it to cause discord among nations and religions? It is the begetter of imperialism, the enslaver of nations and of classes. Our very values of civilization are being threatened by this evil from which emanates what the author calls "the trinity of corruption", namely, deceit, calumny and mendacity. Spiritual and moral values should be employed in combatting materialism, if we are to avert a major catastrophe, a second Destruction, which is what a third world war threatens to be.

Azzam Pasha is right in saying that all spiritual values of the West have been either destroyed or suppressed, but it should be equally true that to imbibe some of their values which are essential for the development of the Middle East and for the amelioration of life therein, need not mar the Eastern soul.

Light could and should still come from the East, but not under present stagnant conditions. The typical Eastern resignation should be spiced by the dash and vigour of the West, while the in-

herent spiritualism of the East may completely offset all the evils and abuses of the unmitigated materialism of the West.

E. H. Kharoum

"AL KITAB AL URDUNI AL ABIAD —
SURIA AL KUERA"

الكتاب الاردني الابيض - سوريا الكبرى
(The Jordanian White Paper —
The Greater Syria), (The National
Press, Amman, May, 1947, pp. 294).*

This document, which is believed to have been published under the personal auspices of H. M. King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, and not by his Government, as was originally presumed, is a collection of "national documents", arranged chronologically and dates from 1919, when the American King-Crane Commission undertook its enquiry in Syria, till 1946. The introductory note, which may conceivably have been written by H. M. The King, defines the Greater Syria Scheme and sheds a fair amount of light upon it.

The Greater Syria Scheme or the "Geographical Unity of Syria" is stated not to be a new idea, but rather an ideal adopted by the nation some thirty years ago, based on the realities of the geographic situation of the country and its historical traditions. An appraisal is made to the people to dissociate themselves from those separatist elements, who attack the scheme "to cover their retreat from the joint field of struggle".

The argument that the unity of Syria is incompatible with the concept of a broader Arab Union is dealt with, and the point is stressed that the differences in the systems of Government in the various parts of this region do

not justify the continuation of partition. The Introduction concludes with the assertion that the Arab League Charter is by no means irreconcilable with this scheme, the fulfilment of which would satisfy no selfish ambition or interest on the part of Trans-Jordan.

The White Paper sponsors the establishment of a United Syria comprising Syria proper, Trans-Jordan, Palestine and the Lebanon. Syria and Trans-Jordan, it is contended, can now be easily united, as all foreign influence, represented by the French in the former and the British in the latter, has been eliminated. To achieve such a union, a general congress is proposed, where the respective representatives could meet and decide on their future. The question of the eventual form of government should constitute no obstacle to unity, as it can be decided by a general referendum of the people, who will vote freely on the subject.

The principal difficulties arise in the cases of the Lebanon and of Palestine.

The Lebanon desires to remain independent. If, however, such a "hostile attitude" is maintained, it is proposed that the Lebanon's present frontiers be re-adjusted in such a way as to "annex" those provinces which were joined to the Lebanon after the French occupation, and to return them to Syria.

As for Palestine, the solution of the problem must be a prior condition to its inclusion in the Greater Syria. The proposed solution is as follows: A

* See also DOCUMENTS page 107 supra.

democratic national Government should be established in the whole of Palestine, with autonomy to some regions where the Jews form a majority. The present proportion of one-third Jews two-thirds Arabs should be strictly maintained, and Jewish immigration into the country should cease. This can be achieved if Britain will declare that her obligations under the Balfour Declaration have been fulfilled, and the Jewish Community, represented by its responsible leaders, will denounce all further claims. The rights of the Jewish minority will be safeguarded and special provisions for the protection of the Holy Places will be devised. Finally, economic cooperation between the Jews and the Arab world as a whole will be encouraged.

The White Paper is divided into six sections: —

The first deals with historical documents on the Greater Syria Scheme dating from 1919 to 1930 and comprising various notes and memoranda on the subject by divers Syrian bodies, committees and congresses.

The second section contains correspondence between King Abdullah on the one hand and Syrian leaders and parties on the other. It also includes various statements on the subject, issued by the British Government, the Free French during the war and the Trans-Jordan Government.

Section three is devoted to the An-

glo-Trans-Jordanian Treaty of Alliance of 1946. The full text of the Treaty, several pronouncements on the subject and a comparison between the position of Trans-Jordan before and after the Treaty are included in this part.

The fourth part deals with the King's correspondence on Zionism with the late President Roosevelt, the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, the British Government and President Truman. Several replies are also recorded in this section.

Discussions on the Greater Syria Scheme in the meetings of the Arab League Council and its Foreign Affairs Committee are recorded in the fifth section.

The sixth and final section reprints the recent Turco—Trans-Jordanian Treaty of Friendship, together with a general report of the King's visit to Turkey.

While the book is in general well prepared, several documents do not, unfortunately, bear a date, and, in some cases, it is difficult for readers to place them chronologically.

The White Paper will be of considerable interest to those interested in Arab affairs, as it contains the first publication of many significant documents on the subject of Greater Syria. It is to be regretted that the book is not on sale.

Khairi Hammad

"FI TARIQ EL-HURRIYYA"

في طريق الحرية (On the Road to Freedom) by Ali Rifa'a Al Ansari (Al-Akha' Press, Cairo, 1947, 240 Mills).

For the past two years Egypt has been the subject of prominent headline news. Relations between her and Britain have come to a head, and Egypt

has placed her case before the Security Council.

This fact makes understanding of the background of the Egyptian problem essential, and it is for this reason, if for no other, that Mr. Ansari's book should be welcomed. It gives us a sober, sometimes almost dispassionate, account of

the various points at issue, such as the thorny question of the Sudan, now the main bone of contention between Great Britain and Egypt.

Mr. Ansari rightly declares that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 marked the end of the Middle Ages in that country and it is at this turning point in Egypt's history that he commences his book. The guns which cracked the strongholds of the Mamelukes and the Turks served to awaken the Egyptians from their age old stupor. Egypt's modern history was ushered in on the 13th May 1805 when the people rose against their despotic Wali, forced him to abdicate and replaced him by Mohammed Ali, an Albanian by birth. This historic event opened a new era in the history of Egypt, the effects of which are in evidence to this day.

Mohammed Ali's initially brilliant campaigns in Syria ended, as a result of the jealous apprehension of the Western Powers, in a lamentable fiasco in 1841. Corruption and disintegration resulted; the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was followed by the bankruptcy of the Khedive, and finally in 1882 with the ostensible purpose of supervising Egypt's finances and maintaining law and order, the British Occupation took place.

All these momentous events are soberly recounted, a rare phenomenon in Arabic political works, where usually unrestrained emotion prevails over reason, distorts facts and at best, presents them in a biased manner. Yet the author's presentation of the other side of the story does not make him any the less a patriot. Arabi Pasha's rebellion, for instance, is sharply criticised in that it failed, because of inherent tactical blunders, to fire the people. His strictures on other top-ranking Egyptian personalities are no less severe and no

less sincere.

After the British Occupation censorship, deportations and the gallows kept the country comparatively quiet until the appearance, early in the present century, of Mustafa Kamel, the fiery editor of "Al-Liwa", and the indomitable Sa'ad Zaghloul, the greatest son of modern Egypt and the founder of the Wafd Party.

But the outbreak of the First World War gave Britain an excuse to defer the fulfilment of her pledges. Taking advantage of the Khedive's absence in Constantinople on the eve of the declaration of war, she deposed him and declared Egypt a British Protectorate. Unrest broke out again soon after the cessation of hostilities, and continued until the grant of independence in 1922.

The book ends with a somewhat detailed account of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, and its implications, and of the three previous treaties which prepared the way for its acceptance by both parties. They were: The 1924 treaty, negotiated between Sa'ad Zaghloul and Mr. MacDonald, the 1927 treaty, between Kharwat Pasha and Sir Austin Chamberlain, and the 1929 treaty, first negotiated between Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha and later (1930) between Nahas Pasha and Mr. Henderson.

Throughout the book, Britain is held to task for her broken pledges, and because of the detachment of the Sudan, Egypt's "Southern twin". The Condominium of 1899 was from the start unworkable, as it was evidently a "partnership between the wolf and the lamb". Yet an agreement with Britain conducive to the benefit of both countries is not precluded, as long as Britain is prepared to respect Egypt's sovereignty and treat her as an equal partner in the negotiations. Britain's legitimate interests in the Suez Canal are

recognised, but it should be made clear that the Canal belongs to Egypt and not vice versa.

The book, contains more information

than propaganda, and is one of the few books of its type worth the price and the time spent in reading it.

Abdullah H. Kissawi

"ADEN TO THE HADHRAMAUT" by
D. Van Der Meulen (John Murray,
London, 1947, pp. 253, 18/—).

Years ago a friend of mine, returning from a 4-months' trip to the Arctic regions, attempted to record his journeys in a book. He never got beyond one typed sheet. Apart from a few minor incidents, all his experience centered on a handful of men in his party, on ice and icy gales.

He summed it all up in a single unprintable sentence.

Whether you travel in the Arctic regions, or in the wilds and jungles of Africa and Asia, you must be the born explorer to see things: else you will find it difficult to take your mind off your more immediate concerns, comforts and discomforts for a single moment, to find something of interest in a monotonous landscape.

There is particularly little to see, en passant, in the Hadhramaut, an apparently barren track of forlorn black hills in the south-east corner of Arabia — except a wadi. But Colonel Van Der Meulen, a Dutch colonial administrator, made a wealth of interesting finds in and around that wadi, and along the ancient "Incense Road", part of which he rediscovered. He was lucky that the country's archaeology has remained more or less undisturbed since the days of King Solomon, when Southern Arabia was a centre of commercial traffic between the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

Most revealing, too, were Van Der Meulen's discoveries of certain ruins.

It may be necessary, in the light of these, to rewrite a good deal of the modern surmises on ancient history. Little was known of the tracts traversed by the author until 1919, when much information was collected by Captain Lee-Warner who went there on a mission to the Kathiri sultans on behalf of the British Government. Until then our knowledge was almost entirely based on the reports of J. T. Bent who, accompanied by his wife and Leo Hirsch, reached Tarin in 1893.

With Professor von Wismann, Van Der Meulen undertook this 300 mile journey over the "black mountains" shortly before the late war, having failed in a previous attempt (1931) to complete his explorations as planned. The first time he had started out from the other end, the Hadhramaut end, but — as he tells in his earlier book: *Hadhramaut: Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* — "tribes at war barred a passage through their territory."

He was forced to turn back before he reached Aden.

Nevertheless, he mapped important roads and saw places that few Europeans dared visit before him or, for that matter, are likely to visit again for many years to come. He even called at the hostile village of Khuraiba from where, in 1843, von Wiedl, robbed and penniless, was driven into the wilderness by the sheikh. At wadi 'Amd, a Beduin valley strewn with small villages, Van Der Meulen found the largest ruin-fields known in the Hadhramaut, proving that this area was once very popu-

lous. Not far from there lies 'Anda, Hadhramaut's "first town" which has not been visited by any European either before or since the Dutchman.

Aden to Handhramaut describes the second journey which, as the title says, started at Aden. The eternal tribal feuds that had prevented him from reaching his goal eight years earlier had meanwhile ceased — thanks to H. A. Ingrams, the British Political Officer. Van Der Meulen was deeply impressed with the Englishman's success in enforcing the Pax Britannica among a people that had warred between themselves so relentlessly for centuries.

"He (Ingrams) explained to us how a punitive expedition was prepared. This last and extreme means of punishing and establishing order was only used against tribes that had repeatedly committed brutal acts of robbery and murder. To such a tribe a chance was first given of paying a heavy fine. The leaders would be called upon to appear at a fixed time and place, bringing money, rifles and camels to the amount of the fine, and to sign, then and there, a treaty with the legitimate Arab Government that would ensure their future peaceful behaviour.

"If that summons was not obeyed, a warning would follow, informing them that they would be bombarded if they did not present themselves within forty-eight hours.... As an introduction to a bombardment, a smoke bomb was always dropped first, and only after that real bombs, but no dropping took place when living beings could be seen in the target area. These punitive expeditions had a wholesome effect. It was a notable fact that the tribes who were bombed, and the Hadhramis in general, never protested against the methods employed, deeming it not worthwhile to mention the eight

killed as a result of four expeditions. In their own wars... they were used to many more casualties. They would, in fact, come along and make peace in high spirits and express thanks for the expedition, for because they had fought and blood had flowed they could join the 'Sulh Ingrams' (Ingrams' Peace) without losing face with their old enemies."

Some people — notably scholars, politicians and explorers of the parts described in a travelogue — are sometimes unreasonable in expecting the author to share their opinions in points of archaeology and politics, points that, to say the least, are highly disputable. Like other explorers' works, Aden to Hadhramaut is exposed to just these criticisms. It is true that Van Der Meulen committed some bad, if excusable, errors of judgement where he predicts certain political developments in Southern Arabia — excusable with regard to the fact that he wrote the book before the war, immediately on completion of the journey. Being but human, he could not have foreseen the changes that would take place, but on the other hand it may be argued that he should have revised the script before it went into print, which was only recently. I feel inclined to think that he had his own reasons for not doing so.

But the book reads extremely well. Unlike Freya Stark, whose descriptions of Southern Arabia are full of more than unnecessary complacency (she loves picturing herself as a kind of "white queen" among tamed savages), Van der Meulen is a sober writer without being too scholarly. He does not give us the Starkian circumscriptions, which though admirable literature, seem so out of place in a book of this kind. "Those who always call a spade a spade should be compelled to use one." Perhaps Miss Stark is taking Oscar Wilde

too seriously.

Apart from its great archaeological interest, Aden to Hadhramaut has a high entertainment value. The book is full of people: it is one of the rarer travel books where native personnel accompanying the author — guides, cooks, carriers, dragomen, servants — are treated as human characters. The story is

not lacking in moments of hardship and danger, but these are told good-humouredly and sometimes in understatement. The pictures are excellent, but it is the simple crisp writing, rather than the illustrations, that does full justice to the monotonous majesty of the eternal Hadhramaut.

Keith Scott-Watson

"STUDIES IN THIRD MILLENIUM HISTORY", by T. Burton-Brown (Luzac & Co. Ltd. London, 1946, pp. 120, 10/6).

The studies in this book are confined to the lands and peoples of the Near East, to the cultures which excavation between the Aegean and the Persian Gulf has opened up to the student of Archaeology. They are studies written with a purpose. It is inevitable, in the nature of the case, that Archaeologists will specialize, and each tends to regard the material from his own area and period in its local development. There were, however, culture contacts at all periods, and the purpose of these Studies is to suggest that there is evidence for thinking that in the Third Millennium B.C. these contacts were much more considerable, at least in the Near East, than has been hitherto recognised. The presentation of such evidence is necessarily highly technical, so that the book will appeal to experts more than to the general reader, but no effort has been spared to make the material intelligible to all students of Ancient History.

The Studies are seven. In the first an attempt is made to survey the archaeological evidence that would seem to point to a series of cultural influences from the Caucasus region having affected Egypt, the Aegean and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the early Bronze Age.

The second seeks to show that in the latter part of the Third Millennium travellers from Northern Iraq brought the technique of light-on-dark ceramic decoration to the Aegean, and it was only later that this same technique was brought to Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. The third and fourth are on chronology, the former assembling little pieces of evidence to show that the dividing point between Nineveh IV and Nineveh V periods should be set at 2500 B.C., and the latter being an attempt to correlate dates in Elam, Egypt and Mesopotamia for the period of the early Third Millennium. Study V is devoted to Egypt, where cultural changes succeeded one another rather astonishingly in the Third Millennium, and seeks to estimate how far these changes may be attributed to foreign influences. The sixth is a brief sketch of the material of this period from excavations in North Persia and Armenia, with suggestions of possible parallels with material from other areas. The last discusses the evidence from the Aegean, indicating how it was affected by migrations westwards of peoples disturbed by the wide-spread movements of population further East at the close of the Third Millennium.

The book has been well printed and well illustrated, and students will be grateful for the careful assembling of material, however they may regard the conclusions the author seeks to draw

therefrom. In his Postscript he suggests that we have too often been content to study Ancient History as a series of chronological schemes worked out for different areas, whereas the study of the pottery styles, the burial customs, the various material remains brought to

light by excavation suggests that throughout the ancient world there was a movement of ideas, the history of which is more important than that of chronological schemes.

Arthur Jeffery

"ARABIC-HEBREW DICTIONARY OF CURRENT ARABIC", by David Neustadt, Ph. D., and Pessah Schusser, M.A., (Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 430, LP.2.—).

This is the first modern Arabic dictionary in any language, which is really worthy of its name. It is modern not only because its content is up-to-date, since it includes such items as 'atomic bomb', 'snap-sho', 'non-cooperation', 'pilotless aircraft', 'columnist', 'identity-card', but also because it is based on modern methods of language study and word research. The Arabic dictionaries of which I have any knowledge have been condensed from the great classical lexicons with more or less arbitrarily chosen additions from modern usage. They contain too much and too little: too much, insofar as they carry with them masses of dead material, e.g. such expressions from the ancient Arabic poetry as rarely appear in the whole of Arabic literature and which in any case demand consultation of the original lexicons, and too little, because hundreds, or even thousands, of the most common modern words are not included and especially because they lack, or are deficient in, the life blood of modern lexicography: "the words in their natural environment", the phrases and idiomatic expressions, in which Arabic, modern as well as classical, is so profusely rich.

The new dictionary avoids all these shortcomings, because it is the result of many years of methodical scientific re-

search. The authors have based their work not on those of their predecessors, but on the sources themselves. For almost ten years they have systematically made collections from Arabic newspapers, periodicals, books of a literary, scientific and even specialist character, as well as from such classical works as may be regarded as still alive among Arabs. They were always careful to put down, in addition to the single words, the expressions and combinations in which they occur and made special statistical enquiries as to what items ought to be excluded. In all this they have shown a refreshing amount of common sense, in addition to their regard for accuracy and scientific procedure.

One example chosen at random, may illustrate the progress represented by Neustadt-Schusser's new Arabic dictionary. The root *qss* (قصر) has here 19 entries as against 33 in Reverend Hava's Arabic English Dictionary, which is no doubt one of the best, most practical and most widely used of Arabic dictionaries. To my mind, 13 out of 33 entries are not essential and may be dropped altogether. On the other hand, 10 items included in Neustadt-Schusser, i.e. more than one half of their whole material, do not appear in Hava. E.g. *uqsusa*, 'short story', a word now found almost in every issue of an Arabic periodical, *qasasi*, 'narrator, author of stories'; *shi'r qasasi*, 'an epic'; *qusal waraq*, 'a scrap of paper', an expression unfortunately very common

nowadays, *maqsus aljinah*, 'clip one's wings', also typical of a period of constant frustration, or such everyday items as *miqass* 'railway switch', *miqassdar* 'cutter (the tailor who cuts out)', etc.

The many modern transliterations of European words are copiously registered: e.g., *mim ya sin* ميس means '(officers') mess', *ra waw jim* روج is nothing but 'rouge', *mim alif ya waw* مايو is 'maillot', (bathing suit), etc.

I have tested the new dictionary by reference not only to modern material, but also to Abu Yusuf's *Kitab al-Kharaj*, a book written at the time of Harun ar-Rashid, i.e. 1150 years ago — and it has stood the test well. I missed only a very few items, as e.g. *duraba*, the plural of *darib*, 'similar', and had al-

most nothing to remark concerning the translations and explanations. I would not call *riyal* 'a Spanish coin'. The origin of the word may be Spanish, the *Riyal* itself is the name of a coin current in Yemen and in other Arab countries.

The benefits of this fine contribution to Arabic lexicography should not be confined to the readers of Hebrew. An English edition should follow as soon as circumstances allow, and, of course, a Hebrew-Arabic dictionary is urgently needed as well. I understand that the present volume contains only a fraction of the material actually collected. Let us hope that a more peaceful and prosperous future will enable the indefatigable authors to bring out their magnum opus in full.

S. D. Goitein

"RIJAL AL HUKM WAL IDARA FI FALASTIN"

رجال الحكم . الاداره في فلسطين
(Governors and Administrators in Palestine) by Ahmed Sameh El-Khalidi (The Modern Press, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 95).

Arabic history has always lacked chronological reference books dealing with particular ages or historical eras. This desideratum has been felt particularly by students of history, and the recently published book sets out to fill such gaps in Arabic literature. Ahmad Sameh Bey Khalidi has produced a relatively complete register, arranged in chronological order, of those who governed and administered Palestine, either as a separate administrative unit or as part of a greater one comprising Syria, over a period of fourteen centuries, commencing with the Islamic Conquest and concluding with the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918.

The book is the first one or a series which the author intends to publish in the near future. While, as the author admits in the introduction, the book by no means covers all aspects of the subject, it is nevertheless a good start and a real attempt to prepare a historical register of the names of all those who administered Palestine through the centuries.

The book consists of nine parts, every one of which deals with one of the following eras: the Rashidin, the Umayyads, the Abassides, the Tulunian and Akshids Dynasties, the Fatimides, the Seljuks, the Boury Dynasty, the Ayyoubites, the Mamelouks and the Ottoman Turks.

Each section contains a relatively complete list of the Governors of Palestine, together with the relevant dates, and their main achievements in the general development of the country, and in the construction of schools,

mosques and institutes.

The book is an attempt by the author to facilitate the task of students

of Arab history and is distinguished by its easy style and accurate data.

Khairi Hammad

"THE RAPE OF PALESTINE" By William B. Ziff (Argus Books Inc., New York, 1946, \$ 1.-).

"Banned by the British" — is flashed across the flyleaf of this book, which contains a most forcibly advanced flow of arguments and accusations against Great Britain.

Mr. Ziff's work is vigorous, bitter, denunciatory and, at times, slightly ridiculous. In this re-print of the original edition, which appeared in 1938, the author re-asserts his eight years old conclusions in a foreword which bristles with comparisons between present British administration in Palestine and the brutal anti-Semitic policy of Nazi Germany.

It is interesting to note that the language and logic which Mr. Ziff employs to describe the "Imperial oppression" are reminiscent of the more violent speeches which flowed from Dr. Goebbels' transmitters during the war. He deplores the "open British terror conducted against the Jewish people in Palestine and Europe". One gathers that Mr. Ziff regards the British official in Palestine as an unsavoury and sinister despot, who will not hesitate to slaughter every innocent Hebrew upholding the National Home. The extravagance of this remark can be justified by a glance at the author's contumacy. It is all very familiar stuff. After a short history of the Jews in Palestine, he provides brief and devastating comment on the events which followed the first World War.

In their turn, the issues arising from the Balfour Declaration, the subsequent "white paper barrage", the pogroms

and revolts, economical and sociological abuses, come under fire. He trounces out many time-worn points, and roundly abuses the Arabs and the Arab League—"an invention of British politics".

In his new Epilogue, the author filts at the British Labour Party. Brandishing the 1945 Election statements, which championed adherence to the terms of the Mandate, he pins the label of turn-coat on the Labour Government.

What does he suggest as physic to the Palestine malady? Mr. Ziff would like to see the repatriation of those Arabs who wish to leave the country, and would have them settled in Iraq. He also favours the immediate granting of Palestine citizenship to the 2,000,000 displaced persons who, according to him, consider themselves expatriate Palestinians.

"In any case (he writes) it will be necessary to revoke the iniquitous land laws which now condemn Jews of Palestine to the status of a second-rate people, to withdraw the disgraceful anti-Semitic legislation which permeates all aspects of the Holy Land's economy, and to throw State lands open to the incoming Jewish migrants in order to facilitate 'close settlement on the land' as specifically required by the Mandate."

It is evident that the author made fervent research for statistics and data on which to base his attacks. The reader will decide for himself whether his sources of information were impeccable and authentic.

The book is of value to the dogmaticist as a catalogue of the evils which have befallen the Jewish people in the

last few decades. Two appendices provide the text of the Mandate for Palestine and some handy population statistics.

Mr. Ziff's prose gives the reader the impression that he is reading at great speed. His style combines the virile, racy patter of the American advertising world and the stilted platitudes of the

demagogue. Whilst he often betrays a certain amount of emotional hysteria, he is obviously very sincere. We feel that he has a deep and honest regard for the interests of the Jewish people, which is almost, but not quite, obscured by his Anglophobia.

H. McNab

"MIN AL QUDS ILA WASHINGTON"

من القدس الى واشنطن (From Jerusalem to Washington) by Ahmad Shukairi (As-Sarouji Press, Acre 1947, pp. 92, 250 Mils).

Mr. Shukairi is well-known as the founder of the Arab Office in Washington and as Head of the Arab Office in Jerusalem, from which latter post he resigned last November. He was to have been elected to the Arab Higher Committee, but because of his political differences with the Committee on the ground that it does not represent all the Arab elements of Palestine, he not only withdrew his candidature, but founded a new party named "Ash-Shaab" (The people) to which he is now devoting himself.

In this small book he records in diary form his daily impressions while on his journey to and stay in Washington. The entries, which date from 26th July to 11th November 1945, are written in a highly strung and excitable tone, occasionally redeemed by faint and rare bursts of humour.

Mr. Shukairi's purpose in establishing the Arab Office was, as he informs

us, "to feed the Americans with true information" with which to offset Zionist propaganda. He made strenuous efforts to win the sympathy of Arab immigrants in America as well as of the Americans themselves. At first he was deeply disappointed with the unsatisfactory results because the "Zionist-controlled" American press gave little publicity to his efforts and to those of his colleagues. But he persisted until he was satisfied that his work was bearing better fruit.

The author is obviously favourably impressed by all that he said or did. This perhaps accounts for his disappointment at the discovery that his hearers were not equally impressed.

Perhaps the best estimate that can be made of this book is to be found in the author's introductory note, in which he says, "this book will not impress the initiated, nor will it benefit the layman. It will just kill a bit of spare time". It is surely not unreasonable to have expected something more than this from the founder of the Arab Office in Washington.

Shibli K.

"ARVEY ERETZ YISRAEL"

ערכי ארץ-ישראל (The Arabs of Palestine) by J. Shimon (Am Oved, Tel-Aviv, 1947, pp. 476, LP. 1.750).

Before us lies a comprehensive work

which goes into a detailed description of present-day Arab society, its customs, foundations, and organisations. The great care taken by the author and the original material used have already

made this book into a standard work for the expert and a competent guide for the general student. In its eighteen chapters, the book contains rich photographic illustration, a number of maps principally on minorities, a chronological table on the development of the Arab national movement, a bibliography, and various other indices.

The first three chapters form a kind of general introduction into the already well established results of scientific research on the history of the Arab population in Palestine in its multifarious phenomena. In this part the work leads us back into the very beginnings of tribal immigration from the East-Jordan lands in biblical times and the many echoes in the Bible itself reminiscent of these movements.

To this part of the world Mohammed's Islam was no novelty, where a full monotheism had found expression in the Jewish and Christian teachings. Islam, however, became a momentous and rejuvenating force to the Arabs. But with the expansion and conquest of Islam over many parts of the world many of its original bastions became enfeebled, and it so happened that among them Palestine remained a backward and neglected country during the long period of Ottoman rule.

After a brief survey of the foundations of Islam the book in its fourth part turns to a description of Moslems in Palestine proper, their mosques, and their festivals. The fifth chapter dealing with Moslem institutions in Palestine is perhaps one of the most satisfactory parts of this work, in which a very full account, both historical and contemporary, is given of such institutions as the Moslem Supreme Council, the Waqfs, Sharia Courts, etc.

After an account of the minorities within the Arab population (such as Druzes, Sudanese, etc.), the author turns to the various Christian sects. In an important chapter Shimoni explains the character of the Arab families and their domination.

A very rich material has been collected in the concluding chapters of the book on the late war, the resumption — after the period of disturbances — of public and political activities, the appointment of the Arab Higher Committee in June 1946, and lastly on Arab educational and cultural work.

Shimoni has made use of a most variegated material hitherto only very incompletely exploited.

A. Lutzky

"TOUR POCKET GUIDE TO PALESTINE", edited by W. Turnowsky (Tour Ltd., Tel-Aviv, 1947, pp. 148, 350 Mils).

This richly illustrated volume has not been rightly named. It is a pocket guide insofar as Palestine in general is concerned, but insofar as it is devoted to the Jewish National Home, it gives full information on all towns and settlements in a detailed and comprehensive manner seldom found in standard guide

books of other countries. It has obviously been designed to provide the traveller interested in modern Palestine with an all-encompassing survey of recent developments. The concise historical survey, the tables of Government expenditure, the summary of income and expenditure of the Jewish National funds and the diagrams showing the development of Palestinian industry — all deserve of special attention. A novel feature is to be found in the joint ex-

hibition of a sketch of the Lowdermilk Plan together with a map of the Negev water-pipelines actually laid.

The publishers would be well advised to add in future editions some more detailed information on towns like Jaffa, Nablus and Tulkarm and on the

Arab village in general.

The lay-out, paper, photographs and maps have been kept at a standard which can easily compete with that of similar publications issued in the U.S.A. and in England.

J. Carmi

"MIN AL QUDS ILA LONDON"

من القدس الى لندن (From Jerusalem to London) by Azmi Nashashibi (The Commercial Press, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 90, 200 Mils).

In this small book, Mr. Azmi Nashashibi, Controller of Arabic Programmes at the Palestine Broadcasting Service, recorded in 24 delightful sketches his impressions during his journey from Jerusalem to and in London, which took place in August—December, 1946. In its clarity, objectivity and freedom from tendency, it stands in remarkable contrast to "From Jerusalem to Washington", by Ahmed Shukairi. Mr. Nashashibi, although intensely proud of his Arabism, meticulously eschews politics on the understandable assumption that "it corrupts everything it contacts", and that "it is a moth which, were it to touch my pages, would render them waste paper." It is this fact which makes his judgment almost always fair and accurate, and the book itself pleasant and interesting.

The author is a great admirer of the English and English way of life. He gives us a striking picture of the "average Englishman", who spends all his life in England, as distinct from those Englishmen who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Empire: he is simple, quiet, courteous and kind-hearted. He does not understand politics, nor does he want

to understand them. He believes that his duty ends after he has elected the men of Whitehall and Downing Street, who alone have the right to busy themselves with politics.

If he admires so much the individual Englishman, he has greater love for English society as a whole. He found the English still living under wartime austere conditions. But nobody was dying of hunger, whereas in opulent Egypt, where more people, says the author, die of surfeit, than of hunger, "the problem of the poverty of the majority of the population has nevertheless become the main pre-occupation of the Government, the press and the entire nation." While this age has become the age of the radio and the aeroplane, in England it is still "the age of points and coupons". But what keeps the English cheerful is that everybody shares equally everything with his neighbour. A lord who used to spend £ 10 per meal has now to content himself with one, costing five shillings. The whole British nation has become like one family, each member sharing with the other the nation's trials.

This social miracle has been accomplished by the English "economic socialism" which has, inter alia, brought about the nationalization of the banks and the coal mines. "But as for the existence of political socialism, the question is still a moot one". Time will show whether this form of

socialism will prove but a "masked Conservatism". Leaving speculation aside, the author contends that England is certainly not applying her Socialist philosophy abroad and only cautiously at home. The English nation is inherently conservative, exalting everything old. The factors which helped to mould the British national character, which is a unique mixture of

conservatism and progressiveness, are well explained.

Here is a straight-forward, well-balanced account of British social life as seen through the eyes of a distinguished Palestinian Arab, and for this reason the book should be of interest to the people of the Middle East.

Ahmad S.

JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY

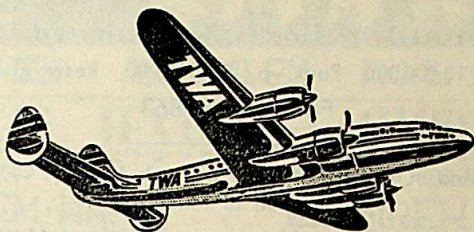
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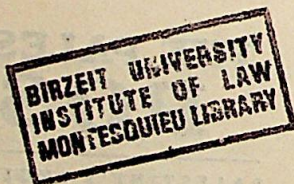
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