

ASIAN AND NORTH AFRICAN  
STUDIES IN THE  
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC—  
TRADITIONS, POSITIONS,  
AND FINDINGS

Edited by  
Günter Barthel, Lothar Rathmann,  
and Martin Robbe

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### Developments, Points of view, Findings

Taking the occasion of the XXXIInd International Congress of their disciplines in Hamburg (FRG) in 1986 GDR scientists who deal with Asia and North Africa would like to inform their colleagues from abroad about their work. Without aiming at completeness they study certain problems of those regions and draw conclusions. Issues which are of current interest and indicate tendencies are published.

The events in Asia and North Africa — as in the entire "Third World" — after the second world war have challenged GDR scientists in two respects.

Firstly they had to tackle a rapidly changing subject of research. Peoples who had lived in colonial or semi-colonial slavery overcame the imperialist colonial system with the support of world socialism and other revolutionary forces and established sovereign states. In solidarity they more and more influenced the situation and events in the world. The Bandung Conference (1955) and the formation of the non-aligned-states movement were important steps on this path. All events had to be studied in detail and they had to be integrated into world history. Secondly GDR scientists were asked about their attitude. In Germany the fascist heritage did not only mean huge material damages, but also the destruction of valuable library stocks, an extremely high death toll, scientists had been forced to live in exile or were killed during the war and the fascist ideology had penetrated scientific institutions and disciplines. Scientific renovation was possible only in the framework of a general social transformation which started with the antifascist democratic revolution and led to the establishment of socialism. Being committed to the development in their own country GDR scientists acquired the viewpoint which enabled them to understand the events in Asia and North Africa.<sup>1</sup> This was a complicated process, not free of conflicts. Great scholars, among them Carl Brockelmann, Johann Fück, Richard Hartmann and Friedrich Weller helped to open the humanistic traditions of German orientalism to the construction of the new society and to continue them creatively.

Members of a new generation of scientists made great efforts to understand the new developments in Asia and North Africa. At the beginning some attempts were made in a rather timid and experimental way. An essential change began after March 1959 when a Board for African and Asian Studies was founded within the then State Secretariat for Higher and Technical Education. Already existing research institutions were extended and got a clearly defined programme. Other institutions were newly founded, such as an Africa Institute in Leipzig.<sup>2</sup> At universities departments for regional studies were established<sup>3</sup>, such as a department for African and Middle East studies at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig, which was the first one, later on at the Humboldt University Berlin for Asian studies, at the Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg one for orientalism and classical studies and at the Wilhelm Pieck University Rostock one for Latin American studies. Other institutions had or have dealt with problems of Asia and North Africa, among them the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology and the Central Institute for History, both attached to the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and the Institute for International Relations at the Potsdam-Babelsberg Academy for Political and Legal Science of the GDR.

The disciplines had got their character and clearly defined programme. By that the co-operation between their representatives increased. On March 24, 1966, the "Central Council for Asian, African and Latin American Studies" (ZENTRAAL) was founded, headed by Lothar Rathmann. The council has got following tasks: to co-ordinate the contemporary scientific work in its field and to concentrate this work on the main aims, to ensure publication of findings in journals, on conferences and meetings, to develop systematically further research capacities, to promote the effective co-operation between several sociological disciplines and to be the body which is co-operating partner of the Academies of the other socialist states in the multilateral problem commission "Economy and Politics of the Developing Countries". Within this council study groups on different fields, such as economy, politics, ideology, international relations and philology were set up.<sup>4</sup>



L. Rathmann also took chair of the German Democratic Republic's National Committee of Asian, African and Latin American Studies, founded on November 6, 1979. This body mainly is to serve the international reputation of the scientific disciplines which it represents. Hans-Joachim Böhme, Minister of Higher and Technical Education, emphasized during the foundation ceremony that "in particular the representatives of Africa, Asia and Latin America . . . highly appreciate the international, antiracist and anticolonial character of our Asian, African and Latin American Studies. These disciplines, having always reflected very clearly the interests of the respective ruling class, are in a way an indicator of friendship and co-operation as well as of honesty and sincerity towards the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting heavily against colonial heritage, for a better life without hunger, misery and illiteracy while being constantly threatened and hampered by imperialist interference".<sup>5</sup>

The Scientific Board for Asian, African and Latin American Studies attached to the Ministry of Higher and Technical Education mainly concentrates on issues of education and training. It is responsible for elaborating and discussing scientifically founded long-term documents for education and training in order to fix the general aims and contents on a uniform basis and to use the vast range of all educational opportunities on this ramified and manifold field of regional studies. Furthermore it assesses the state of the scientific development and elaborates plans for these studies which after approval by the Ministry serve as guidelines for the work of the respective leading bodies. The Board supervises the ten special disciplines of the basic line regional studies as well as more than thirty special subjects, such as Mongolian studies, Arab studies, Sanskritism, sinology, Egyptology.<sup>6</sup> Gerhard Brehme was its first chairman. His successors were Günter Barthel (1974-1981) and Manfred Voigt.

The Asia and Africa scientists developed far ranging publication activities. After the foundation of the Institute for Oriental Research at the Academy of Sciences R. Hartmann started the publication of the "Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung", MIO (Bulletin of the Institute for Oriental Research). At the beginning it mainly dealt with issues of traditional orientalism, but then also later and latest developments were dealt with to an increasing extent.<sup>7</sup> The "Mitteilungen" were published until 1972, after the Institute for Oriental Research had been dissolved in 1969. They were followed by the journal "asien, afrika, lateinamerika" (Asia, Africa, Latin America), published by ZENTRAAL since 1973.<sup>8</sup> Due to the tendencies directed towards scientific specialization and increased international influence the periodical has been supplemented by special volumes<sup>9</sup> and special issues.<sup>10</sup> The latter contain only articles, which engage with special problems, on scientific-theoretical basic issues as well as on problems in selected countries and regions. Contributions with GDR experiences in building socialism can be found in the contents.

In 1964 "Die nationale Befreiungsbewegung. Jahresübersicht 1963"<sup>11</sup> (The national liberation movement. Review 1963), edited by W. Markov et al., was published for the first time. It became a year book having the title "Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika. Bilanz - Berichte - Chronik"<sup>12</sup> (Asia, Africa, Latin America. - Review - Reports - Chronicle) since 1967. Since 1975 it has been published by the VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften under the title "Jahrbuch Asien - Afrika - Lateinamerika - Bilanz und Chronik"<sup>13</sup> (Year Book Asia - Africa - Latin America - Review and Chronicle). At the beginning it contained over-regional annual reviews, but later the share of articles dealing with special problems from certain regions increased more and more. Monographs are mainly published in three chronologically successive and interlinked series edited by the Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. The first one was started by W. Markov in 1959 having the title "Studien zur Kolonialgeschichte und Geschichte der nationalen und kolonialen Befreiungsbewegung" (Studies on the colonial history and history of the national and colonial liberation movement). The title of the first volume was "Die Anfänge der deutschen Kolonialpolitik in Ostafrika" (The beginnings of the German colonial policy in East Africa). Until 1966 11 volumes were published and then the series was renamed. The new one under the headline "Studien zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas" (Studies on the history of Asia, Africa and Latin America) was edited by M. Kossok, W. Markov and L. Rathmann until 1970. The titles "Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft" (Southwest Africa under German colonial rule) (1966), "Indien - Bilanz und Perspektive" (India - review and prospects) (1970) and "Industrialization in the Arab Countries of the

Middle East" (1972) a.o. met with great response. In 1971 the first volume "Nichtkapitalistischer Entwicklungsweg - Aktuelle Probleme in Theorie und Praxis" (Non-capitalist way of development - current theoretical and practical problems) of the present series "Studien über Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika" (Studies on Asia, Africa and Latin America) was published. Until 1985 37 volumes were edited. They published also findings of Soviet studies, e.g. in volume 3/4 "Asien und Afrika im revolutionären Weltprozess" (Asia and Africa in the revolutionary process of the world) (1972/73) as well as in volume 8 "Jahrhunderte ungleichen Kampfes in Asien und Afrika" (Centuries of an unequal struggle in Asia and Africa) (1974). Results of the co-operation between Soviet and GDR specialists in this field can be found a.o. in volume 11 "Partei und Staat in den Ländern mit sozialistischer Orientierung" (Party and state in countries with socialist orientation) (1978) and in volume 19 "Afrika - Gegenwärtige soziale Prozesse und Strukturen" (Africa - current social processes and structures) (1976). A special scientific landmark was set by the two-volume work "Grundfragen des antiimperialistischen Kampfes der Völker Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas in der Gegenwart" (Basic issues of the antiimperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples at present time) (volume 10, 1974) as well as by the volumes 23 and 25 "Afrika im antiimperialistischen Kampf - Probleme eines Kontinents" (Africa in the antiimperialist struggle - problems of a continent) (1978) and "Lateinamerika in antiimperialistischen Kampf - Probleme eines Kontinents" (Latin America in the antiimperialist struggle - problems of a continent) (1978). The volume which will engage with the specific character of the Arab region will be published in 1987. There is a wide range of scientific subjects dealing with the social relations and conditions in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, which are treated in the publications. They range from economic studies, such as in volume 7 "Industrialisierung in den Entwicklungsländern - Bedingungen, Konzeptionen, Tendenzen" (Industrialization in the developing countries - conditions, plans, tendencies) (1975), volume 35 "Industriepolitik in Entwicklungsländern" (Industrial planning in developing countries) (1981) to sociological articles, such as volume 13 "Die Arbeiterklasse in Asien und Afrika" (The working class in Asia and Africa) (1974), and cultural as well as philological works, such as volume 28 "Afrikanische Literatur und nationale Befreiung" (African literature and national liberation) (1977) and volume 34 "Studien zur nationalsprachlichen Entwicklung in Afrika" (Studies in the development of national languages in Africa) (1982), up to many monographs on certain countries.<sup>14</sup> In some volumes contributions with findings of GDR Asian, African and Latin American Studies, delivered on international congresses<sup>15</sup>, were published.

The collective work "Grundfragen des antiimperialistischen Kampfes der Völker Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas in der Gegenwart" (Basic issues of the antiimperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples at present time), written by L. Rathmann et al., is a review of current knowledge and findings.<sup>16</sup> Firstly the authors place and relate the national and social liberation struggle into the revolutionary process of the world. They consider self-government gained by the Asian and African peoples after overcoming the imperialist colonial system "a decisive intermediate goal on the whole process of the anti-imperialist and democratic liberation movement".<sup>17</sup> Secondly they study development problems under the conditions of self-government. Here special attention is paid to character, path and goals of a non-capitalist development in Asia and Africa, compared with the capitalist path of development. They say that the tendency of the transition to socialism, which determines world history, finds its clear expression in the countries with socialist orientation. "The reached stage of the world-wide class conflict between socialism and imperialism as well as the constellations of class forces in the interior of these countries include both the possibility of the non-capitalist development and also of the capitalist development over a shorter or longer period in the former colonial and semi-colonial Asian and African countries today. In Asia's and Africa's social life capitalist social structures and capitalist developing tendencies play an important role now as before."<sup>18</sup> A final chapter deals with basic problems of the antiimperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples.

Continuing the "basic issue"-project a paper written by GDR and Soviet Scientists under the leadership of Ch. Mährdel deals with a key problem of the struggle for national and social liberation: the unity of the antiimperialist forces on national as well as international



level.<sup>19</sup> It is an examination of the economic conditions and social prerequisites relevant for this unity as well as of strategy and tactics and of the ideological controversies waged for alliance and demarcation. Special attention is paid to the connection between socialist states and the national liberation movement. Another volume treating subjects of ideological controversies in the "Third World" is also a result of the co-operation of GDR and Soviet scientists.<sup>20</sup> It proves that the ideological component gains in importance in the struggle for complete independence and social orientation. Traditional and especially religious forms of behaviour and thinking are still widely spread. This applies also to nationalism which had become the major motive of the anticolonial struggle. At the same time socialist ideas spread in a tremendous pace. Hitherto non-proletarian — feudal — or bourgeois-patriarchal, bourgeois- or petty-bourgeois-reformistic, radical-reformistic and revolutionary-democratic — conceptions of socialism prevail, but also the scientific socialism gains in influence with the October Revolution and the result of the second world war each marking the beginning of a new phase. Social progress is opposed militantly by the forces of imperialism and the internal reaction.

They found a joint platform in anticommunism, which by melting with religious and nationalistic motives often gets "local colour". Because the social conditions have not yet ripened the borders between the different ideological conceptions are not always clear. They are interlinked in various forms, e.g. progressive forces who fight for a socialist orientation may understand it as a consequence of their religious belief. Nevertheless the proletarian and the bourgeois directions are more and more clearly confronted in the struggle of ideas.

Problems of Asian and North African countries are also taken up in publications with over-regional contents. In W. Markov's "Weltgeschichte im Revolutionsquadrat" (World History in the revolutionary square) papers of the author were published which deal with the liberation in the "Third World".<sup>21</sup> The volume "Revolutionen der Neuzeit 1500–1917" (Revolutions in modern times 1500–1917) contains a contribution by R. Felber "Die bürgerlich-demokratische Xinhai-Revolution in China 1911–1913" (The bourgeois-democratic Xinhai Revolution in China 1911–1913).<sup>22</sup> One separate section of the "Handbuch Wirtschaftsgeschichte" (Compendium Economic History) deals with the developing countries.<sup>23</sup>

Various scientific events have characterized in a special way development and achievements of the GDR Asian and African Studies.

In April 1961 an international conference on "Problems of neocolonialism and the policy of the two German states towards the peoples' national liberation struggle" was held in Leipzig. Guests from more than 50 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America had participated in this conference.<sup>24</sup> The Asian, African and Latin American peoples' liberation struggles as well as the opposite positions taken by socialist and imperialist states towards this struggle were on the agenda. Under historical as well as systematic aspects the new problems caused by neo-colonial activities of imperialism were examined by the participants. On the other hand they paid tribute to the attitude of solidarity taken by the socialist states, among them the GDR, towards national liberation movements and developing countries. "We heard the voice of the fighting Africa, we heard the voice of Kenyatta, we heard the voice of anti-imperialist Asia, we listened to the Latin American peoples' voice who defend their independence and stabilize it", said P. Florin in his final address. "Europeans, white men, gave proof of their anticolonial attitude. There was one common enemy: imperialism, neo-colonialism."<sup>25</sup>

Two years later another conference, also held in Leipzig, completed this subject: It dealt with the revolutionary struggle of the German working class against the colonial and neo-colonial policy of the German imperialism.<sup>26</sup> So a wide-ranging topic was set. L. Rathmann and G. Selzer outlined how in its own country the colonial policy of the German imperialism was opposed by the aligning and strengthening working class movement. Various speakers deepened the whole subject by concentrating on special topics. For example H. Tillmann outlined the policy of the German imperialism towards the Arab liberation movement at the eve and during the second world war, H. Nimschowski concentrated on the struggle of the revolutionary working class against the policy of the German imperialism during the first Morocco crisis in 1905/06 and F. Gruner delivered a speech on character and prospects of the Asian and African studies in the GDR.

Celebrating its twentieth anniversary of foundation in October 1967 the Institute for

Oriental Research of the Academy of Sciences held a session under the topic "Nationalism and socialism in the liberation struggle of the Asian and African peoples".<sup>27</sup> The introductory lectures were given by H. Krüger on "The Great October Revolution and the revolutionary Indian liberation movement abroad" and by M. Robbe on "Nationalism and socialism in the programme of revolutionary-democratic forces in the Middle East". The conference tried to elaborate deeper on the internal processes of the national liberation movement and put two terms in the centre of the discussion. These two terms got central importance with their ideological contents. Nationalism meant and means the unreserved acceptance of "one's own rights and features". On this basis patriots fight for the right to sovereignty and independence against threatening or existing foreign rule. In — first of all mainly non-proletarian — conceptions of socialism efforts become visible to tackle the social question being inseparably connected with the national one in view of blatant social grievances.

The ZENTRAAL organized — partly in co-operation with other institutions — scientific conferences every four years. So theorists and practitioners had got the opportunity for exchanging their knowledge and experience. At the same time it was a kind of public forum for the institutions forming the Central Council to report on their past activities. The first conference of this character, held in May 1971, dealt with "Topical problems in theory and practice of the non-capitalist way of development".<sup>28</sup>

The next conference (1975) dealt with "Criticism of non-Marxist conceptions on the socio-economic development of 'Third World' countries". It began with four lectures: "Theory and practice of non-proletarian conceptions of socialism in Afro-Asian developing countries" (M. Robbe, G. Höpp, Ch. Mährdel), "The petty-bourgeois ideological tendencies in the revolutionary process of the Latin American countries" (A. Dessau), "On some new aspects of the neo-colonial ideology and theory forming of imperialism" (G. Liebscher) and "Maoism and developing countries" (B. Scheibner).

After that the work proceeded in working groups: "Non-Marxist conceptions of socialism in 'Third World' countries" and "Neo-colonial conceptions", resp. Also in view of an international conference on the same subject in Kiev in 1976 this national conference marked a considerable step forward in the differentiating examination and evaluation of ideological currents in the struggle for national and social liberation, while especially focussing on the practical relevance of the studied ideas.<sup>29</sup>

In July 1979 scientists discussed on "The national liberation movement in the present-day stage and the unity of the antiimperialist forces". At the beginning Ch. Mährdel read his and E. Hackethal's paper on "The dialectics of the national and international characteristics of the national and social liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the present time and the strengthening of the unity of the antiimperialist forces". Further lectures, given at the session, dealt with economic (H. Schilling), politico-social (H. Nimschowski), ideological (M. Robbe) and international (R. Wünsche) aspects of the general topic. They were a useful preparation on the work in the groups. Objective as well as subjective factors had been examined comprehensively, factors which promote or hamper the formation and strengthening of the alliance of the antiimperialist forces on national and international level.<sup>30</sup>

In May 1983, the Karl Marx Year, a conference was held on historical experiences and contemporary processes of the national liberation seen from the angle of the socialist alternative for the development. The introductory lecture was given by Ch. Mährdel on "Social dimensions of the national liberation in Asia and Africa — a historical comparison of revolutions". Economic, political and ideological problems of the general subject were discussed in working groups.<sup>31</sup> According to Mährdel the following question arises again and again when comparing revolutions typologically: "To what extent are class forces of the non-proletarian working people, being in social hegemony and in the political leadership, able to accelerate the revolutionary process towards socialism or even simultaneously needed for a (more or less) long way on that path. This has to be considered under the respective universally historical conditions of the development of the epochal character on the one hand and in view of the hindrances, caused by socio-economic backwardness, unripe relationships between the classes and similar factors, for the evolution of the working class to become the hegemonial force in the social processes, on the other hand. In case it is like that, then there is possibly



a 'normal' sequence of development stages in the revolution. This sequence is generally named national-democratic revolution — revolution for the people's democracy — building of the socialist society (irrespective of the fact that it might be better to use a different term for this quality of the revolutionary processes).<sup>32</sup>

In September 1977 the commission of GDR and Soviet historians organized a conference in Berlin on "The Great Socialist October Revolution and the revolutionary process in the world". The working group II of that conference dealt with problems of the national liberation movement.<sup>33</sup> H. Piazza outlined in his introductory lecture: In the imperialist stage of capitalism the world's territory was distributed among a few imperialist superpowers as result of the colonial foray. The October Revolution broke that unjust world order. It made a decisive breach in the capitalist world system which had ruled undividedly everywhere up to that time. It was the beginning of a new epoch, namely the transition from capitalism to socialism, which inaugurated for the subjugated peoples the era of their real liberation. The discussion was concentrated on three major items: (1) The direct effects of the October Revolution on the national liberation movement, (2) the importance of real socialism for the international position of the developing countries, (3) lessons and impetuses of the October Revolution and socialism to the struggle waged by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for their national and social liberation.

Issues of the developing countries were also duly considered at the VIIIth congress of GDR historians held in Berlin in December 1982. Ch. Mährdel spoke about "Revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social dimensions of national liberation in our epoch". In working group XI the main speech was made by M. Robbe on "Reform and revolution in the struggle for national and social liberation". Among others he dealt with the issue, how the course for the development under the conditions of sovereignty had already been set during the anticolonial struggle.<sup>34</sup>

During the seventies and the eighties new possibilities opened up for the Asian, African and Latin American studies by the foundation of further institutions. In Leipzig at December 15, 1976, the "Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research on Revolutions" was set up. One of its research groups deals with issues of national and social movements in developing countries. Research results are published in "Leipziger Beiträge zur Revolutionsforschung" (Leipzig contributions to the research into revolutions)<sup>35</sup>. The "Leipzig Politico-economic Symposium on Research into Imperialism" has dealt also with problems of the economic development in Asia, Africa and Latin America since its 2nd session in 1977. This is done in co-operation with guests from abroad.<sup>36</sup> Natural scientists, social scientists as well as physicians are members of the "Interdisciplinary Study Group on Issues of the Developing Countries", set up on April 19, 1985. They meet irregularly to discuss essential trends in the social development of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.<sup>37</sup>

Science is a process. Besides knowledge and findings there are limits, sometimes even errors and illusions. GDR Asia and Africa scientists proceeded temporarily from the fact — and this hope was also with other progressive people in the world — that social progress would go on faster in developing countries than it did and does in reality. In the meantime it has been proven that the struggle for entire — also economic — independence and abolishment of underdevelopment is extremely complicated and long-lasting and that temporary as well as partial setbacks shall not be excluded. There, where progressive forces fight for a socialist orientation it is waged consistently to a large extent. Progress, however, is also possible in the framework of a capitalist development in developing countries and this in several respects. It can become evident in the development of the productive forces. Industrialization, even though realized in various places only, is an essential step for getting rid of former dependence. Furthermore following fact has to be taken into consideration: In developing countries it is about a capitalism dependent on imperialism. This does not mean that it would have its own laws and that it is a special capitalist development. But it is necessary to state this dependent relation, being the origin of — besides parasitic features — a contradiction to imperialism which in its turn becomes the source of antiimperialist potentials. Wherever in developing countries it is fought for pushing back imperialist rule there is progress. In this form it has become often characteristic of governmental policies, as in the non-aligned

movement as well as in the struggle for a New Economic World Order. Reforms may contribute to progress. This applies to those reforms which — possibly connected with the key word "basic needs" — serve more social justice and a better life of the poor and poorest. Capitalist conditions evoke their own negation in the long run, i.e. anticapitalist potential. Therefore socialism as consistent embodiment of progress is not only existing in those developing countries which consider it as their manifested governmental orientation. It exists as movement, which, according to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their work "The German Ideology", abolishes the "present state".<sup>38</sup>

In this sense it is alive wherever people — starting with the anticolonial struggle — rise against exploitation and suppression and fight for abolishing them.

Today GDR scientists feel especially committed to elaborate on the relationship between peace and social progress. In 1986 the global expenditures for armaments as well as the debts of the developing countries will exceed the 1,000 milliard US \$ line. There is an actual connection between these two things. The developing countries are brutally and directly affected by the imperialist states' policy of confrontation and arms build-up. They are burdened extremely by the arms race, indirectly by the United States' policy of high interest rates and directly by increasing tremendously their own spendings on armaments. (During one decade their portion of the global expenditures on armaments doubled and amounts to 16 per cent at present.) Since they are in an economically weak position the capitalist crisis strikes them especially hard. One milliard people have to live under conditions characterized by Robert McNamara as the "absolute poverty". Imperialist states try to use developing countries as field for their confrontation course and to destabilize progressive regimes. The latter attempt is mainly done in the Middle East, Southern Africa and Central America. The protection of peace, which has to be realized against the martial course of aggressive imperialist forces, has got a social dimension for the developing countries due to that reason. The question for their peoples is not only to survive — as for the entire mankind — but to improve the quality of their life. In case the arms race can not be stopped there will be simply a lack of the fundamental means to solve the most pressing problems which they are facing.<sup>39</sup> The international climate is of the same priority. A revival of détente — already a change in attitudes being the precondition — would open up far-going possibilities for co-operating internationally to abolish underdevelopment.

#### Notes

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Hans-Peter Vietze

Some remarks on Oriental Studies, with special considerations on Central and Eastern Asia Studies

*Des Alterthums Erforscher sey ein Janus=kopf,  
Rückwärts und vorwärts schauend. Für die Itztwelt sey  
Die Vorwelt da. Wo nicht, so tönt's wie Schellenklang.  
(Carl-August Böttiger, Dresden, March 17, 1826)*

Every science involves within and together with society in manifold relationship, with the possible temporary predominance held now by one factor and now by another. The effects on social processes caused by science development, new knowledge and discoveries are frequently striking indeed. Thus, the new knowledge of the laws of nature attained to a large extent by Galilei and Newton was instrumental in shaping a new world outlook, in making changes in the structure of religion and ultimately in bringing about social change.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries later Marx and Engels created dialectical and historical materialism, a philosophy with the declared aim of a fundamental transformation of production relations. Preceding the revolutionary cataclytic changes in the years to come, this philosophy predicted, moulded, explained and accelerated those changes. "No matter whether they are Marxists or non-Marxists, people have to admit that at a time, when nobody even thought of the possibility that British rule in India might end one day, Karl Marx was able to outline a clear picture of India's future which since has been proved by history."<sup>2</sup> Lenin elaborated the theoretic fundamentals and scientific principles of the revolutions of national liberation which later on took place in Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, the great social upheavals in all parts of the world throughout recorded history have always had a direct influence on the development of science. J. Bernal, undoubtedly one of the best-known science historians, held that all major and minor creative periods in the history of science and technology have been immediately related with profound social, economic and political movements, e.g. the first culmination of science coincided with the foundation of the first states and empires in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Possibly the most significant period in European science development, the Renaissance was characterized by the incipient supercession of the feudal economy by the budding bourgeoisie and their new interests.<sup>3</sup>

It can be safely stated that a science cannot develop over a longer period unless this development serves to satisfy the needs of society, or at least those of influential circles within society. However, it would be downright wrong to consider such needs only in the immediately political or economic spheres and to ignore aspirations for intellectual and cultural values with the resulting demands on science.

Oriental studies are no exception, as far as the relationship between social development and scientific progress is concerned. At all stages of the development of Oriental studies the impact of socio-economic, political, clerical, ideological and intellectual-cultural interests has manifested itself, and it continues to do so in the present as well. To regard Oriental studies as an "orchid science in an ecological niche" appears to be an extremely superficial approach and is contrary to the social commitment and implications of this science.

One even gets the impression that there is a positive correlation between the intensity of certain social changes and the reformulation of the content and aims of all, or at least some, of the directly affected branches of Oriental studies. Thus, the breakdown of the colonial system marked an unprecedented turning point in the concepts and orientation of Oriental studies which were suddenly confronted with new existential questions. A process of reflection, transformation and search for new methods and approaches began, so as to cope with the new social realities. Of course, one could not discard the history and results of Oriental studies



achieved up to that point. On the contrary, these were the foundations to build upon. This development of Oriental studies shall be briefly described below, especially with regard to the periods of science history largely neglected elsewhere.

Mainly concerned with research of the ancient Orient (Asia, Mohammedan Europe, and Africa), Oriental studies were originally embedded in philology, and in consequence were called Oriental philology. In Germany, for instance, the term "Orientalistik" (= Oriental studies) was introduced only in the 20th century. It is only against this background and within this framework that it is possible to understand the 700 year old history of this science correctly. Of course, philology was closely related to history and the other humanities, the general socio-scientific disciplines of today. With regard to linguistics, T. Benfey characterized these relations already in 1869 as follows: "So treten denn auch Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie in ein Verhältnis gegenseitiger Hülffleistung: Für die Sprachwissenschaft ist die Philologie, für die Philologie die Sprachwissenschaft eines ihrer wichtigsten, im ersten Fall ein unentbehrliches, Hilfsmittel."<sup>4</sup> However, philology developed as an independent, complex, interdisciplinary and powerful science ("Caesar non supra grammaticos") which shaped the ideals of education from the time of Aristotle well into the 20th century. It provided the basis for higher education in Germany and many other countries and was "in a way the fundamental discipline from which the elements of elite education within the bourgeois society derived".<sup>5</sup>

Oriental studies not only shared in the successes achieved by philology, but also in its problems which began already with the name of this science. Thus, the meaning of the term "philology" — love of the word — gave reasons for misunderstanding and had always to be explained as "love of scientific discussion, scientific debate", which is the reason why Socrates called himself a philologist vis-à-vis Plato, but this explanation was far from self-evident. It played a major role in the interminable philologists' dispute on whether philology had an encyclopaedic character, as in the view of the Romans, or whether it was part of "poly-mathie", i.e. language science (grammar, rhetoric, metrics, or grammar, critique, hermeneutic) and archeology or history in general, whether it only amounted to linguistic proficiency, to what extent literature belonged to it, and so on. The break-through in this dispute came with F.A. Wolf who, following earlier work by Heyn, showed that the entire antiquity in all its cultural and historical aspects, from language to archeology, was the subject-matter of philology. Goethe had also shown an active interest in this discussion and, to judge by his words "Ge- respect for philology. It was Goethe who encouraged F.A. Wolf in 1807 to publish his work "Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft nach Begriff, Umfang, Zweck und Wert",<sup>6</sup> thus joining the ranks of other great poets and thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries who had an interest in the Orient. Voltaire wrote his dramas "Zaire" and "Mahomet", Montesquieu his "Persian letters" and Goethe himself his "West-östlicher Diwan". The "Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften" by A. Böckh, posthumously published in 1877, clarified ultimately the complex and interdisciplinary character of philology, determining the identity of this science for the entire following time: "Leben und Geschichte des classischen Alterthums dessen Aufgabe die Erkenntnis der gesamten Cultur der classischen Zeit hervor- tritt."<sup>7</sup>

However, Greek and Roman Antiquity was the ultimate in any world culture for almost all great philologists, and philology itself was only thinkable in terms of the level of European intellectual developments. This approach also exerted an influence on Oriental studies so that, as far as the Chinese, Indian, Arab and other Asian peoples are concerned, comprehensive summaries of the development of philology are lacking to this day.

In the 19th century the philologies of modern languages, such as Germanic, Slavic and Romance studies, were generally accepted. Of course, they had deeper roots, e.g. Romance studies went back to Dante's "De vulgari eloquentia". Looking back on a long history, Oriental philology was already well established at that time. Notwithstanding the problems involved in any attempt to fix the date of the birth of a science, the establishment of a professorial chair has always been a break-through or at least an institutional starting position. In a way we thus go back to the middle of the 13th century when Pope Innocent IV. ordered a professorial chair for the study of Hebrew and Arabic languages and literature to

be established at the University of Paris. In 1236 the Dominicans founded a school of Hebrew in Paris and the Franciscan monk Roger Bacon wrote the first Hebrew grammar. The extant fragments of that grammar were published, together with his Greek grammar by E. Nolan and S. Hirsch in Cambridge.<sup>8</sup> According to J.W. Fück, King Jacob I. of Aragon, acting at the suggestion of Raimundus Lullus, established in 1270 a training place for Franciscan missionaries in Miramar, where Arabic was taught.<sup>9</sup> Already in 1143 the first Latin translation of the Koran had been published by Petrus Venerabilis.<sup>10</sup> The second half of the 13th century also saw the first great exploring expeditions to Asia by Marco Polo, Plano de Carpin, Wilhelm von Rubruk and others which were of considerable importance for the further development of Oriental studies.

The successors of Pope Innocent IV. also engaged themselves on behalf of the study of Oriental knowledge and Oriental sources. In 1311 under Pope Clement V. the Synod of Vienne decided to initiate studies of Arabic, Chaldaic, and rabbinic Hebrew at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca.<sup>11</sup> Pope Urban VIII. had the Collegium de propaganda fide established in Rome in 1627, which trained missionaries in several Oriental languages and prepared them for their work in the Orient.

The intension of the church was to expand Christianity by performing missionary work and to attain theological clarity and a higher efficiency by way of biblical exegesis — a field where substantial results were unthinkable without a knowledge of Oriental languages. In addition, Islam had to grapple with crucial problems of its teachings quite similar to those faced by Christianity, i.e. "the problem of the origin of the universe, the reconciliation of belief and reason, the revelation of the wording or the eternal existence of the Koran and the value of mystic experience."<sup>12</sup>

Secular science, notably the natural sciences, was all but neglected in medieval Europe. J. Bernal came to the conclusion that it mainly consisted of a few remarks by Albertus Magnus on natural science and minerals, an important treatise by Emperor Frederick II. on hunting birds, and a few improvements in optics.<sup>13</sup> From this situation resulted a marked interest in the superior knowledge and writings of the Arabs, especially in the field of mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. Already by the end of the 11th century Constantinus Africanus had made the first translations of works by Muslim doctors and thus given great momentum to western medical science.<sup>14</sup> In 1175 Ptolemaeus' "Almagest" was translated from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona.<sup>15</sup> Philology itself had also shown an interest in its oriental daughter, since it allowed philology to make use of the works of Aristotle extant only in Arab translation.

In more recent times definite political events or strategies have exerted an immediate influence on the development of Oriental studies. Thus, the gradual colonization of India, beginning in 1600 with the first trade companies, led to an intensified interest in this country and to extended stays of scholars and other persons interested in scientific matters. During his stay in East India (1780–1790) William Jones discovered the full wealth of Indian literature and he succeeded in attracting the attention of European scholars and literary circles to it. In Calcutta in 1784 he founded the first scientific Oriental society, the Asian Society.<sup>16</sup> The deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphs by J.F. Champollion (1822) was preceded by Napoleon's campaign to Egypt in 1798/99.

It was only in the 18/19th century that Oriental studies were finally secularized. Wilhelm von Humboldt was among those who initiated this process. He had come into contact with Oriental studies in the course of his Sanskrit studies and his work on the Kawi language spoken on Java. Humboldt, inspired by his neo-humanist educational ideals, had consistently demanded the discontinuance of the philologia sacra. As a typical secular institution the "Oriental Academy" in Vienna had been established already in 1754 (refounded in 1962). Of course it had a strong orientation towards Turkish language and literature due to the wars against the Turks. The "Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes" was established in Paris in 1795. In Russia the institutional beginnings of Oriental studies date back to two edicts by Peter I. in 1700 and 1702. The regular training and education of orientalist was subsequently introduced in 1807 at Kazan University and in 1819 at St. Petersburg University.<sup>17</sup> The Société Asiatique was founded in 1821, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1823/24, the American Oriental Society in 1842, and the Deutsche



Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1845. Cooperating with a great number of smaller scientific Oriental societies (Association for the Research of Palestine, Syro-Egyptian Society, Società Asiatica Italiana, Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society in India, Bengal, Ceylon, Hongkong, etc.), these institutions developed into influential organizations, with their scientific and social relevance increasing after 1873 as a result of the Congresses of Orientalists. With these societies and their journals (among them "Journal asiatique" since 1823, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" since 1824, "Journal of the American Oriental Society" since 1842, "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" since 1845) a prolonged boom of Oriental studies began in many countries of the world.

But at the same time imperialism cynically demanded that science should support its colonial policy. Thus, the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages was founded in 1887 as a kind of colonial academy at the explicit request of Bismarck. Typically, the African section taught only languages of colonial areas conquered or to be conquered, such as Swahili, Ewe, Hausa, Nama, and Herero. The language textbooks published by the Seminar were primarily intended to be used by the officials, settlers, and members of the colonial force in Africa. But in vindication of the honour of German orientalist it must be pointed out that this Seminar also turned out such outstanding scientific works as those of W. Grube, D. Westermann, or C. Meinhof.

Ultimately fascism, after having come to power, did great damage to German and international Oriental studies. In 1936 the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages was made into the so-called Foreign College ("Auslandshochschule") which, in 1940, was replaced by the Foreign Faculty ("Auslandswissenschaftliche Fakultät") of the Berlin University. The declared goal pursued with the foundation of both institutions was to provide the scientific foundation and the propagandistic justification of fascist foreign policy.<sup>18</sup> The foundation of the Oriental Institute of Berlin University in 1939 was a step in the same direction. Masterminded by B. Breloer, this institute comprised Indian and Iranian studies together with Sinology and Arabic studies after they had been separated from the Indo-Germanic Institute.<sup>19</sup> In 1944 the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Turkestan e.V." was founded within the "Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft" as a plain fascist organisation.<sup>20</sup> The war had devastating consequences for science and its research and teaching facilities, but most of all for the scholars themselves. Oriental studies in several countries of Europe had to make do without an entire generation of scholars well into the 1970s on account of the effects of World War II.

After World War II, the content and tasks of Oriental studies were reevaluated and revised at many academies and universities of the world. This new approach was mainly caused by the tremendous social upheavals in Asia and Africa. In the course of the national liberation movement many Asian and African countries, among them China and India, the most populous countries of the world, became powerful factors on the international scene. In the case of Japan it was an impressive economic upswing that aroused keen interest for the country among international political and economic circles. Within a very short period, historically, the continents of Asia and Africa thus began to pose problems and stimuli for the social acquisition of knowledge that were beyond the scope of Oriental studies in their traditional pattern.<sup>21</sup>

In the Soviet Union the process of transformation of the traditional content and methods of Oriental studies had begun already forty years earlier. Lenin, on the basis of his theory of revolution, clearly foresaw the coming national liberation revolutions in Asia and Africa and their consequences for social sciences. Thus, he personally encouraged the foundation of the Association for Oriental Studies in 1921 and called on orientalist to study "the actual problems of life".<sup>22</sup> Consequently the Soviet Association for Oriental Studies developed along up-to-date lines from the very beginning.

Thus, both the East and the West, as a spontaneous or planned reaction, witnessed a strong orientation of available science potentials towards current problems, modern history, questions of economy, state and law, ideology, and even the current policies of Asian and African countries. Oriental studies got a much more complex character than they ever had. There also was a rapid increase in the number of science institutions concerned with these problems, now totalling an estimated 1100.<sup>23</sup>

In the countries that used to be colonial powers this development was partly inspired by

humanistic science ideals, too, though it was political and economic interests that mattered most. So it was no accident that E.W. Said, an Arab engaged in Oriental studies, commenting on the work of H.A.R. Gibb<sup>24</sup>, an Englishman likewise engaged in Oriental studies and author of several papers on the state and tasks of Oriental studies in Great Britain during the 1950s, stated that Oriental studies should be interpreted not as purely scientific activities but as an "instrument of national policy vis-à-vis the newly independent and possibly unruly nations of the post-colonial world"<sup>25</sup> (retranslated from German).

As far as the United States are concerned, increasing investigation into present-day problems facing the Asian countries and the training of practical workers and specialists for work abroad was additionally spurred by the "Sputnik shock", since many of those countries are immediate neighbours of the Soviet Union. Thus, this trend was actively encouraged by the Office of Education through the National Defence Fellowship (more elegantly called National Resource Fellowship later on) and similar institutions.

Essentially, the development of Oriental studies followed three different courses (one of them the non-modification of contents and structures) which existed side by side in most countries, in many cases even in one and the same institution:

1. Maintenance of the original contents and designations of fields of science (Arabic studies, African studies, Sinology, etc.) along the lines of classical Oriental philology, i.e. unity of language, cultural, and ethnological research, including archaeology and parts of history without vast incorporation of current problems of Asian and African countries.

Examples in the GDR are the Oriental archaeology department of the "Sektion Orient- und Altertumswissenschaften" at Martin Luther University, Halle/Wittenberg, the ancient Orient department of the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, the Egyptology and Sudan archaeology department of the "Sektion Asienwissenschaften" at Humboldt University, Berlin, and the Egyptology department of the "Sektion Afrika- und Nahostwissenschaften" at Karl Marx University, Leipzig. In the Soviet Union, the Leningrad branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR is rooted in this tradition as a complex research institution. For individual fields, such as Turkish and Iranian studies, the academies of the various Soviet Republics can also be mentioned in this connection.

Several universities in the FRG also continue this line of tradition. We need only think of the department of Oriental studies at the University of Hamburg, but also of similar institutions at almost all FRG universities, such as Berlin West, Bonn, Göttingen, Cologne, or Munich<sup>26</sup>, though these usually do not cover all fields of the Oriental sciences. A unique position as a compact centre for ancient Oriental studies is held by the Orient Institute of the University of Chicago in the U.S.A. Of course, the degree to which all these institutions continue the traditions of classical Oriental studies also depends upon the fields of science they are engaged in. The research in cuneiform script, for example, does not require any research into contemporary history to round off its findings.

2. Continued use of traditional designations of the fields of science, but new contents owing to the integration of modern and contemporary history, economic processes, questions of state and law, including the political problems faced by the countries or regions studied. There is a marked emphasis on modern languages and on the intellectual and cultural processes going on in the Asian and African countries. This has led to considerable interdisciplinary research and instruction which is also manifest in organisational and administrative structures, especially at the universities of the FRG. There is great variety, frequently in dependence upon the countries studied, in the relations between classical Oriental studies and modern trends in research and training. One example is the East Asian Seminar of the "Free University" of West Berlin that includes classical Chinese, Japanese, and Korean studies as well as a special research group for Japanese and East Asian economy. Apart from the classics and modern languages and literature research is done into, and lectures are read about, the problems of "Economic development in East and South East Asia", "Women in Korea, Japan, and China", "Japan's management system", "Economic development in Japan", "Political history of Japan after World War II", "The Japanese security policy", "The importance of religions in today's Japan", and "Problems and perspectives of nationalism in



Korea", to mention only a few subjects. Another example is the interdisciplinary series of lectures on present-day South East Asian research at the University of Cologne within the framework of Malayan studies.

In the FRG this development is largely the result of discussions at a panel meeting of competent orientalists on questions of science strategy in 1960. The panel submitted a "Memorandum on the situation of Oriental studies", calling for a stronger orientation towards the more topical social processes in the Asian and African countries. The intensified and extended study of modern languages and cultures was called an urgent need following the pioneering work in this field by the Seminar for Oriental Languages of the University of Bonn. The panel found that Oriental studies in the FRG lagged far behind those in the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, and the United States of America.<sup>27</sup>

In Paris, Oriental studies had for long been pursued in a comprehensive sense by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section Histoire et Sociologie) and the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, in London by the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in Cambridge and Leiden by the universities, to mention only the most important institutions, where, for example, the subject of Sinology or Indology had been China or India from antiquity to the present time. This development also included the universities of the U.S.A., among them Berkely, Columbia, Harvard, Washington, and Yale<sup>28</sup>, and especially the many new departments founded during World War II, or shortly after, which frequently originated from the Army Specialist Training Program. Thus, it is considered standard practice for 18 out of the 98 M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations defended between 1965 and 1983 at the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies of Indiana University, Bloomington, to go well beyond the scope of classical Oriental studies, including such subjects as "The National Communists and Uzbekistan" or "Revolutionary Mongolia Chooses a Faith: Lamaism or Leninism".<sup>29</sup>

The Oriental departments of the universities of Budapest, Prague, Sofia, and Warsaw can also be subsumed under this second (and now dominant) general trend, whose most striking feature is an overall view of development from ancient times right up to the present integrating, as it were, various social sciences. A characteristic feature of all the above-mentioned science institutions is the fact that their structures roughly follow the pattern of the various sections of the International Congresses of Orientalists.

The concept of Oriental studies outlined above is particularly encouraged by the countries that are the subject matter of those studies. For the Mongols, Turks, or Koreans, to mention only three examples, Mongolian, Turkish, and Korean studies are the scientific reflection of all spheres of the social life, in the past and present, of their peoples. A similar course is followed by the majority of scientific societies operating under the aegis of UNESCO, such as the European Association of Chinese Studies, the European Association of Japanese Studies, the European Association of Korean Studies, the Permanent Committee of the International Congresses of Mongolists, etc. But there are also societies addressing themselves exclusively to modern studies, such as the European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies.

3. The development mentioned above, i.e. the trend for Oriental studies to give more attention to practical life, was taken up in the GDR within the framework of the third university reform and finally incorporated in a new approach to, and comprehension of, science. This was the culmination of exhaustive debates on science developments that began in 1959, when the "Thesis of the Scientific Council of the State Secretariat for University and College Education" appeared.<sup>30</sup> H.-J. Böhme, today's GDR Minister of University and College Education, was instrumental in launching the debate and realizing these plans first at Leipzig's Karl Marx University. As a result, regional sciences were established, among them the Asian, African, and Latin American sciences with the sections of Asian sciences at Humboldt University, Berlin, African and Middle Eastern sciences at Karl Marx University, Leipzig, Oriental and classical studies at Martin Luther University, Halle/Wittenberg, and Latin American sciences at Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock, all founded with a view to ensuring the continuity and further development of Oriental sciences. Back in 1966 the decision was taken to set up a Central Council for Asian, African, and Latin American

Sciences in the GDR<sup>31</sup> which, under the leadership of its chairman, L. Rathmann, has had a decisive influence on the development of Oriental sciences throughout all the following years.

The structure of the Berlin and Leipzig sections is roughly regional, with specialist groups (for language, literature, history, economy, etc.) existing to ensure the links to the basic disciplines. The old designations for Oriental sciences were retained within the regional structural units for research and teaching of languages, literature, culture, and archaeology. Thus, Sinology is an extremely important and indispensable part of Chinese studies, which regard it as their task to investigate into, and inform about, the socio-economic and intellectual processes and structures in China in times past and present. Classical Oriental studies are systematically continued, although certain gaps left by the retirement of scholars due to old age could not, and cannot, immediately be filled. At present the share of language, literature, culture, and archaeology in the total research done at the Section of Asian Sciences at Humboldt University, Berlin, amounts to 45%.

The emergence and development of Asian and African sciences in the GDR did not mean a break with classical Oriental studies, but continued them in modified social conditions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on a new level of quality. Thus, G. Schirmer, the former GDR Deputy Minister of University and College Education, wrote in a programmatic article in 1974: "The regional science sections bear a special responsibility for the further development of special fields of social sciences, such as Mongolian studies, Korean studies, Vietnamese studies, Sinology, Japanese studies, Indology, Sanskrit studies, to mention only a few fields of science cultivated within the framework of Asian sciences." And he continued: "Our basic approach shall once again be underlined: There are no fields of science 'unimportant' or even 'earmarked for scrapping'."<sup>32</sup>

This development was in keeping with the concept of Oriental studies such as represented by the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa at Lomonossov University, Moscow, and by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. This latter institute had been renamed in 1960 "Institute of the Peoples of Asia and Africa", but in 1970 resumed its original name, which it had already borne since its foundation in 1930, when the former Asiatic Museum in Leningrad was converted into the Institute of Oriental Studies. By and large, its structure is also regional, with the philologies — classical Oriental studies — forming a separate department. In the Soviet Union, African studies have been separated from Oriental studies and included in the Institute for Language Studies and in the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The Institute of Oriental Studies is the leading institution as far as all Oriental research activities in the USSR are concerned. Its activities are complemented by specialized institutes of the academies in the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, usually quite large and representing full-fledged Oriental sections, as well as by a great number of other science institutions at academies or within the framework of higher education. In the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR both aspects of Oriental studies — modern and classical research — are joined along the lines of dialectical unity.<sup>33</sup>

Reference must also be made to the Oriental Department of the Academy of Sciences of the CSSR which is primarily engaged in researching present-day problems of various Asian and African countries.

In most countries, including the GDR, the new emphasis in Oriental studies on the investigation of recent and contemporary social developments in Asia and Africa resulted in a considerable intensification of the tuition of modern Asian and African languages at the university departments concerned. In addition, general linguistic theory became more and more interested in those languages, too, so that scientists engaged in teaching and investigating them are now faced with the double task of having an equally good grasp of the methodology of foreign language teaching, on the one hand, and of the latest theoretical insights of general linguistics, on the other hand — a difficult task, indeed, but one that must be solved if they are to make the contributions to general linguistics expected of them.

New and important centres of research on Asia and Africa have arisen in those countries themselves. For example, Japan has become the centre of international Japanese studies, just as the Mongolian Peoples Republic now is the centre of international Mongolian studies. The



same applies to Korean studies and other fields of science, and to a certain extent to African studies. As an example, let us mention the establishment of the East African research centre for oral traditions and African national languages, jointly sponsored by Tanzania, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Sudan, Somalia, and Burundi. Similar developments have been particularly obvious in the Asian Soviet Republics. The Institute for Language and Literature of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences alone employs a staff of some 200 and is the undisputed centre of research of the Uzbek language and literature and, in addition, an important place of research for Turkish studies in general.<sup>34</sup>

However colourful the picture of Oriental studies might be in the world, and indeed even in identical institutions of academies and universities (some people even hold that the term "Oriental studies" should be applied to the studies of the Near East only), there is a clear-cut and undeniable tendency toward topical research including ideological and political problems related to the countries of Asia and Africa. This overall development, despite the differences between different universities and fields of science, has universally resulted in a new quality of, and a new approach towards, Oriental studies. One immediate consequence of this development has been the need for more far-reaching specialization. Gone are the times of the great allround scholars, such as Silvestre de Sacy, J.H. Klaproth, W.W. Bartold, C. Brockelmann, E. Haenisch and many other polymaths of equal standing. Recent developments in Oriental studies also seem to have been influenced by the fact that the time of fundamental discoveries of universal importance, such as Indo-Germanic language filiation, appears to be over, just as the time of great archaeological and epigraphical discoveries is over, although there are certain exceptions. Thus, for example, the ancient cultures of the Turks, Mongols, and other peoples of Central Asia are still far from being exhaustively researched.

Of course, the development outlined above has not proceeded without any problems. In the memorandum by competent experts from the FRG quoted above the following can be read: "Special difficulties for Oriental studies arise from the strained relations between a largely historical and philological tradition and the growing interest in contemporary questions of the countries of the Orient, aroused by the political, economic, and cultural development of those countries."<sup>35</sup>

More modern profiles led to a welcome reinforcement of the rows of orientalists by historians, economists, and representatives of other basic disciplines of social science. But even in the past orientalists never studied the Orient alone. Like all fields of science, Oriental studies benefited from knowledge from other branches of science, too. Thus, especially the work done by Marx and Engels in this field is not to be underestimated.

The trend towards specialization inevitably resulted in a greater orientation, both in terms of content and methodology, towards the general disciplines of social science, such as general history or general linguistics. And it is in those sciences that more contemporary additional roots of present-day Asian and African sciences must be looked for.<sup>36</sup> Without abandoning the specificity of Oriental studies, this tendency must be consistently encouraged, since it has a decisive influence on the theoretical level of Asian and African sciences. Scientific discussion, even of an isolated problem, say on the sentence in a given Asiatic language, is simply unacceptable without a sound theoretical basis and methodological exactness. On the other hand, the general disciplines of social science cannot do without the findings of Oriental studies, or Asian and African sciences, if they want to impart generality to their propositions. If linguistic universals are to be genuinely universal, they call for verification on the basis of Asian and African languages (which are always good for a little surprise...). The development of national languages, a topical subject of socio-linguistics, proceeded in many Asian and African countries along lines that differ considerably from developments pointed out in much detail with regard to the major European languages. Now as ever it seems to be generally necessary to help to overcome Euro-centrist views in many branches of the social sciences. The problem of the development, succession, or jumping of social formations in Asia and Africa indicates the potential dimensions inherent in the contribution of Asian and African sciences, or Oriental studies, to the basic disciplines of social sciences.

This briefly outlined development of Oriental studies led, in consequence, to questions concerning the comparative relevance of general and special features, of inductive and deduc-

tive methods, of disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, of integrative and centrifugal trends, including the very question of whether Asian and African sciences exist at all or whether they are, rather, a subject-motivated pooling of the efforts of historians, economists, linguists etc. In addition there are different views held by the representatives of the various fields of science. Thus, African studies have become largely independent and are no longer represented at the International Congresses of Orientalists. As far as African studies are concerned, the question of antiquity and ancient history also appears in a totally different light as viewed from the angle of recent sources.

Nevertheless, modern Asian and Africa sciences are not only united by their subject. They feel committed to continue their century-old history and tradition. They have in common a specific effectiveness of scientific cognition through the use of Asian and African languages. Their interdisciplinary character is especially developed as an integrative factor, and it is specifically in the interdisciplinary use of this potential that the Asian and Africa sciences of the GDR have made considerable headway.<sup>37</sup> Modern research necessitates the sound basis of knowledge about past historical processes. Who could have identified the nature of Maoism without a knowledge of ancient Chinese philosophy and history, or who can explain the problems of the Middle East without a knowledge of the history of Islam? A scholar committed to classical Oriental studies should also take an active interest in how his findings serve to work out scientifically based opinions on current processes.

The entire field of present-day Asian and African sciences is precisely identified and theoretically substantiated in an article by the former director of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Y. M. Primakov, writing on Soviet Oriental studies as a complex science: "Undoubtedly, its interdisciplinary nature is an asset of this science, promoting its progress. However, certain contradictions also emanate from it, which have to be overcome. Every sub-discipline of a complex science develops also as part of a master science (linguistics, history, ethnology, archaeology, etc.), and with the development of the latter the specialization of scientists also increases which, in its turn, results objectively in a tendency towards their separation from each other. Nevertheless, this does not at all mean that Oriental studies as a science do not have any future... Now as before there is an objective need for a complex study of the Orient, and this need is getting even more urgent. Therefore it is the more important to ensure the interdisciplinary nature of these studies in their new stage of development." Y. M. Primakov continues: "Great damage may be caused by any attempt to consider these two organically connected parts of Oriental studies (i.e. classical and modern Oriental studies — H.-P. V.) as opposites."<sup>38</sup>

Today, international Oriental studies, just as the Asian and African sciences in the GDR, have assumed considerably greater importance than ever before, when seen against the backdrop of a changing world. This importance should be increased through the intense cultivation of the humanistic traditions of these sciences, through a growing awareness of their history, through their integrative self-awareness and awareness of common tasks and contents, through the intensification of interdisciplinary research, and through a higher theoretical level and close cooperation with the basic disciplines of social science.

The goals and tasks of present-day Oriental studies, or Asian and African sciences, are imbued with a principally new moral motivation in an attempt to contribute to friendship and cooperation with these peoples of Asia and Africa in the sense of the struggle for détente and the preservation of peace. This also includes efforts made on the part of classical Oriental studies to take part in developing the national cultural heritage of the Asian and African peoples — a challenge worthy of highest respect and appreciation.

#### Notes

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## Ancient Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR

Ancient Oriental studies, i.e. the study of the languages and civilizations of the ancient Near, Middle and Far East,<sup>1</sup> have a rather long tradition at the academic institutions of Berlin, capital of the GDR. They were stimulated and promoted by the results of a series of successful archaeological expeditions sent to different regions of the Orient since the last decade of the 19th century. The great number of inscriptions and manuscripts discovered during these expeditions and then brought to the museums of Berlin demanded for a profound scientific treatment and an edition progressing continuously. Therefore a group of prominent orientalists, representing different academic institutions but at the same time members of the Berlin Academy, met in May 1912. They founded an Oriental Commission (Orientalische Kommission) at the (Prussian) Academy of Sciences.<sup>2</sup> It was the intention of this commission to promote and to coordinate all efforts aiming at the publication of the rich textual material preserved in Berlin collections. The date marks the institutionalization of ancient Oriental studies at the Academy in Berlin. But it took further 35 years until the first institute for Oriental studies was created, the Institut für Orientforschung, founded after the World War II in 1947. Ancient Oriental studies became one of the main tasks of this institution, which existed up to 1969, when there was created the Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR. Ancient Oriental research was incorporated into the scientific programme of the Zentralinstitut. In close cooperation with other relevant institutions in the GDR, the universities and the different museums, this ancient Oriental sector of the Central Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology developed scientific research in different fields, as, e.g., Egyptology, Assyriology and Hittitology, Iranian studies, Indology (Sanskrit), ancient Turkish studies and Sinology, thus comprising the main subjects of traditional ancient Oriental studies. These fields of research are also represented and supported by the inscriptional material kept in collections of the GDR.

With respect to this inheritance the philological and editorial activities became predominant. They were mainly connected with three important collections of original material: As far as Egyptology is concerned, there are at disposal valuable paper-casts and drawings of the Lepsius expedition to Egypt and Nubia.<sup>3</sup> Inventarization and description of this material has begun and will be finished in the near future. Thereafter there will be started the inventarization of thousands of paper-casts stemming from other expeditions to Egypt and Nubia. The Egyptian dictionary (Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache)<sup>4</sup> has produced more than 2,5 millions of reference-cards. After the reorganization of this material and the addition of new inscriptions into the files of the dictionary a continuation of this important work will follow; it is intended to elaborate the project by using computers. In connection with the Egyptian dictionary a group of Egyptologists prepared — in cooperation with colleagues of other institutions — the translation of the "Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums / Urkunden der 18. Dynastie", fascicles 5–16, as a prerequisite to a translation into German of all 22 fascicles. After completion the German edition of the important Egyptian documents will certainly become an indispensable instrument for all who are interested in the ancient history of that period.<sup>5</sup> In addition to fascicles 5–16 a volume with indices was composed in collaboration with the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (in the press). Besides that, Egyptologists of the Academy are concerned with the edition of texts belonging to the Egyptian department of the Berlin State Museums and museums abroad as well.<sup>6</sup> Others participated in the epigraphic expedition of the Academy to Upper Egypt and Nubia and shared in the publication of the results.<sup>7</sup>

Another collection of textual material originated in the German archaeological expeditions to Boghazköy in central Anatolia, the site of the former Hittite capital, Hattusha. Directed by H. Winckler during the years 1906–7 and 1911–12, these investigations resulted in about 10 000 texts and fragments, written in cuneiform characters and mostly in the Indo-European Hittite language. The clay tablets date back into the 2nd millennium B.C. when the Hittite state dominated Anatolia and parts of Syria; they mostly pertain to political and cultic affairs and practices. Whereas the texts from the later excavations remained in Turkey, those of

Winckler's expeditions are partly preserved in the Berlin State Museums for edition and treatment. The edition is done in handcopies with statements concerning the contents and — since vol. 43 — the proper names. The series "Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy" (KUB) proceeds regularly with usually one volume a year and is published within the responsibility of the Academy. Founded in 1921, KUB arrived at vol. 34 when World War II ended; now (1985) vol. 55 appeared and two other volumes are in preparation. Although foreigners and colleagues from outside the Academy are cooperating, most of the editions are done by collaborators of the Zentralinstitut.<sup>8</sup> It is planned to continue with one volume a year and it is to be hoped that all texts now kept in the Berlin State Museums, the edition of which is entrusted to the Academy, will be published within the next two decades. The bulk of the material yet unpublished is formed by rituals and other texts of cultic and religious contents; the edition thus contributes mainly to enlarge our knowledge of Hittite cult and religion, but adds also new information as to Hittite history and language. More than 13 000 photographs of Hittite texts help to work in the Berlin Boghazköy archives, the most important collection of Hittite tablets outside Turkey.

As far as the number of texts is concerned, the Boghazköy collection is surpassed by the Turfan texts, belonging to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin since 1926 when the manuscripts were handed over to the Oriental Commission. In the beginning of the 20th century four German expeditions to Central Asia, aiming at Turfan north of the Taklamakan desert, brought a great number of texts to Berlin (1902/3, 1904/5, 1905–7, 1913/14). Scholars like F.W.K. Müller, A. von LeCoq, F.C. Andreas, W. Bang-Kaup, A. von Gabain were occupied with the edition and evaluation of this rich epigraphic material from the famous "silk-road". The work continued under the auspices of the German Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Oriental Studies since 1947 and was developed after the formation of the Zentralinstitut in 1969, which created a special series devoted to the publication of the Turfan texts, "Berliner Turfan-Texte" (BTT), in 1971. The texts are handed down to us in 17 types of writing and about 24 languages, and they stem from the time between the 4th and 14th centuries.<sup>9</sup> The collection of the Berlin Academy consists of about 30 000 texts or fragments of texts, mostly of Buddhist, Manichean or Christian contents, but also pertaining to economy, science and literature. Corresponding to the respective language of the texts they are research subjects of different branches of ancient Oriental studies. The Turkish (Uighur) texts are represented by about 8 000 fragments, thus being the largest collection of this kind in the world. Written down in various types of scripts they mostly are concerned with Buddhist traditions; they have their origin in the period between the 8th and 10th centuries. Among the non-religious texts are documents pertaining to the socio-economic conditions of the Uighurs under Mongol rule. The texts in Chinese, about 6 000 fragments, date into the time between the 4th and 11th centuries and are mostly of Buddhist contents. There is only a relatively small group of Chinese texts bearing on the economic, juridical and scientific life. The Iranian texts, about 4 700 fragments in 8 types of writing and in different languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, etc.) inform about the Manichean, Nestorian and Buddhist religious traditions; their dates vary between the 7th and 10th centuries. Besides these large groups, to which should be added Sanskrit and Tocharian texts, Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts, a number of Syriac texts is of special interest. Born or compiled in Central Asia, mostly being translations from other languages — as, e.g., Chinese and Sanskrit — these Turfan texts are an extremely valuable source for Oriental studies. They refer not only to the situation of the regions they were coming from, but they are also of interest as an additional information as to the life and thought between the Pacific and the Mediterranean, i.e. along the silk road. Since the foundation of the Central Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology the edition of these texts focused on the Turkish, Iranian and Chinese fragments. Partly in cooperation with orientalists of other countries, there already appeared 15 monographs of the series BTT.<sup>10</sup> These Uighur, Iranian, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan texts published by the Academy of Sciences of the GDR enlarge considerably the inscriptional basis for the study of ancient and early medieval Central Asia and adjacent regions of the Orient.

The edition and treatment of original texts also includes the work with material outside the responsibility of the Academy. Thus the cuneiformists closely cooperate with the Depart-



ment of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the Berlin State Museums by publishing tablets from ancient Mesopotamia which belong to the collection of the Museum. In the series "Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin" (VS) were edited several volumes making available for the scientific discussion texts from the old Babylonian, the middle Assyrian and the late Babylonian periods.<sup>11</sup>

This philological work is connected with historical evaluations of the material; these investigations fit well into the research done in the field of political, social and cultural history of the Orient. Partly participating in projects with topics wider than the own specialization, partly restricting themselves to problems posed by the proper discipline, the orientologists of the Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie published a great number of monographs and articles, reviews and reports.<sup>12</sup> They took part in the elaboration of an outline of world history before feudalism,<sup>13</sup> a project which brought about many discussions as to the characterization of the ancient Oriental society and the historical periodization. There was put forward the proposal to consider the ancient Oriental society as an own socio-economic formation<sup>14</sup> different from both the slave-holding society of Greek and Roman antiquity and the feudal society. This differentiation was accepted by many historians of the ancient Orient, although there are several problems open for discussion or research. The orientologists of the Academy also participated in a history of scientific thinking in antiquity<sup>15</sup>, contributing to the very beginning of science in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. Other monographs, enriched by contributions of the orientologists, were devoted to the problem of the emergence of states,<sup>16</sup> the productive forces in their relationship to social progress<sup>17</sup> and the social development in pre-capitalist periods.<sup>18</sup> These — and other — projects necessitated an integration of oriental research into wider historical concepts.

Of more special concern were studies in the history of the various countries of the Orient. The political history of Syria during the 2nd millennium B.C. was subject of three volumes,<sup>19</sup> and a handbook of Syrian history in pre-hellenistic times is now in preparation. A monograph on the social organization of handicraft in Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium B.C. is in the press.<sup>20</sup> Other monographs are devoted to the problem of trade, either on the basis of cuneiform texts or the Indian Kautiliya Arthashastra,<sup>21</sup> to slavery during the Tang period of China<sup>22</sup> or to the relationship between society and literary tradition in the Middle and Far East.<sup>23</sup> In cooperation with colleagues of other institutions the cuneiformists and Egyptologists prepare a synthesis of cultural development in the Near East; the volume pertaining to Western Asia will be finished at the end of 1985. Among the many articles published in the journal "Altorientalische Forschungen", edited since 1974 by the Zentralinstitut, should be mentioned an investigation of the historiography of the Manichaeans.<sup>24</sup> Thus the publications cover a wide spectrum of problems; of special interest was and will always be the extraction of results pertaining to history from the original material kept in the collections of the Academy. For the years coming it is planned to focus on two important fields of research: the historical role of ideology and the daily life of the producing classes.

A third branch — or, better, method — of ancient Oriental studies at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR is archaeology. Some of the Egyptologists participated in the excavations carried out by the Humboldt University Berlin at Musawwarat es-Sufra in Sudan, uncovering a pilgrims' center of the Meroitic period. Some years ago (1980) there started a cooperation with the University of Zagazig which excavates the site of ancient Bubastis (Tell Basta) in the delta of the Nile. An architect of the Zentralinstitut is working in the Sudan already since many years. He is directing the reconstruction of the pyramids of Meroe and investigating Meroitic architecture. To the most outstanding results belongs the discovery of an ancient architects' drawing of a pyramid.<sup>25</sup> He was responsible for the building of the new archaeological museum in Khartoum and the dismantlement and reconstruction of temples from the area of the Nile valley which would have been submerged after the building of the dam.<sup>26</sup> Besides that he began the publication of an archaeological map of Sudan with commentary for every site and full bibliography.<sup>27</sup> In Iraq the Academy and the Berlin State Museums jointly took part in salvage projects of the Iraqi government, excavating in the Hamrin basin and the valley of the Euphrates near Haditha.<sup>28</sup>

These philological, historical and archaeological activities of the ancient Oriental sector of the Zentralinstitut are accompanied by a popularization of the results. There is a great demand for information about the ancient civilizations of the Orient, and it is one of the academic tasks to educate people by publishing relevant books or articles and by giving lectures. The collaborators of the Zentralinstitut wrote a series of monographs concerned with different aspects of politics and social life,<sup>29</sup> and most of these books had editions abroad. The orientologists also cooperate with the universities and the pedagogical institutions in the elaboration of textbooks for the students or the secondary schools.<sup>30</sup> Lectures and seminars are held at the universities, in the first line the Humboldt University of Berlin; thus the specialists of the Academy give additional information to the students and help to qualify also future collaborators of the Academy.

## Notes

- 1 The term "Orient" comprises not only Western Asia but all countries from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean to the Pacific, thus including the Nile valley, Syria and Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Iran, the valleys of the Indus and Ganges, Central Asia and China — centers of early historical development.
- 2 Grapow, H., Die Begründung der Orientalischen Kommission von 1912. Aus der Geschichte der Akademie in den letzten fünfzig Jahren, Berlin 1950 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Vorträge und Schriften, Heft 40).
- 3 Freier, E., S. Grunert, Eine Reise durch Ägypten. Nach den Zeichnungen der Lepsius-Expedition in den Jahren 1842–1845, Berlin, 1984.
- 4 Erman, A., H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Bd. I–VII, Belegstellen zu Bd. I–V, Leipzig–Berlin 1926–1963.
- 5 Blumenthal, E., I. Müller, W.F. Reineke, unter Leitung von A. Burkhardt (ed.), Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, IV. Abt. — Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzungen zu den Heften 5–16, Berlin 1984.
- 6 Cf. Grunert, S., Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bd. 2: Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z., Berlin 1980.
- 7 Hintze, F., W.F. Reineke (unter Mitarbeit von A. Burkhardt und U. Hintze), Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien (in the press), cf. also A. Burkhardt, Ägypten und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos, Berlin 1985.
- 8 As far as collaborators of the Central Institute are concerned: H. Klengel, KUB XL (1968); H. Freydank, KUB XLII (1971); K.K. Riemschneider, KUB XLIII (1972); H. Klengel, KUB XLIV (1973); H. Klengel (with H. Berman), KUB XLVIII (1977); H. Freydank, KUB LI (1981); H. Klengel, KUB LIV (1984); H. Freydank, KUB LV (1985); H. Klengel, KUB LVI (in the press). As cooperating editors are to be mentioned L. Jakob-Rost (Berlin State Museums), M. Salvini (Rome) and A. Archi (Rome).
- 9 Cf. the contributions by W. Sundermann, Th. Thilo and P. Zieme in: Orientalistische Bibliotheken und Sammlungen, Berlin 1970, pp. 39–68.
- 10 Collaborators of the Central Institute edited following volumes: P. Zieme (together with G. Hazai), Fragmente der uigurischen Version des "Jin-gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu" (BTT I, Berlin 1971); W. Sundermann, Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer (BTT IV, Berlin 1973); P. Zieme, Manichäisch-türkische Texte (BTT V, Berlin 1975); G. Schmitt, Th. Thilo, Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente, Bd. 1 (BTT VI, Berlin 1975; in cooperation with T. Inokuchi); P. Zieme (with G. Kara), Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung (BTT VII, Berlin 1976); P. Zieme (with G. Kara), Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas "Tiefer Weg" von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Manjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti (BTT VIII, Berlin 1977); W. Sundermann, Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts (BTT XI, Berlin 1981); P. Zieme, Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren (BTT XIII, Berlin 1985); Th. Thilo, Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente, Bd. 2 (BTT XIV, Berlin 1985); W. Sundermann, Ein manichäisch-sogdisches Parabelbuch (BTT XV, Berlin 1985). Editors of BTT



- volumes are also K. Röhrborn (Giessen), S. Tezcan (Bamberg), Ş. Tekin (Cambridge, Mass.), M. Taube (Leipzig) and N. Sims-Williams (Cambridge).
- 11 Cf. H. Klengel, VS 18 (1973) and 22 (1983); H. Freydank, VS 19 (1976), 20 (1978) and 21 (1982).
  - 12 Cf. the bibliography for the years 1969–1977 compiled by D. Heyde and A. Lübcke. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin, vol. 7, 1980, pp. 281–297.
  - 13 Sellnow, I. (ed.), *Weltgeschichte bis zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus. Ein Abriss*. Berlin 1977.
  - 14 It was proposed to designate this formation as "ancient Oriental class society" (altorientalische Klassengesellschaft); others prefer "patriarchalische Ausbeutergesellschaft" or "frühe Klassengesellschaft".
  - 15 Jürrs, F. (ed.), *Geschichte des wissenschaftlichen Denkens im Altertum*. Berlin 1982.
  - 16 Herrmann, J., I. Sellnow (eds.), *Beiträge zur Entstehung des Staates*, Berlin 1973.
  - 17 Herrmann, J., I. Sellnow (eds.), *Produktivkräfte und Gesellschaftsformationen in vorkapitalistischer Zeit*. Berlin 1982.
  - 18 Cf. the volume of the international conference "Grundprobleme vorkapitalistischer Gesellschaftsentwicklung – 100 Jahre nach Erscheinen des Werkes von Friedrich Engels 'Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats'", Dresden, November 26–30, 1984 (in the press).
  - 19 Klengel, H., *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z., I–III*, Berlin 1965–1970.
  - 20 Neumann, H., *Handwerk in Mesopotamien. Untersuchungen zu seiner Organisation in der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur* (in the press).
  - 21 Klengel, H., *Handel und Händler im Alten Orient*, Leipzig 1979; Ritschl, E., M. Schetelich, *Studien zum Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, Berlin 1973.
  - 22 Thilo, Th., *Das Bild der Sklaverei in der chinesischen Erzählliteratur der Tang-Zeit*. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin, 10, 1983, pp. 319–386.
  - 23 Thilo, Th. (ed.), *Probleme von Schrifttum und Gesellschaft in altasiatischen Kulturen. Sechs Studien zu gesellschaftlichen Aspekten der Literatur im alten Iran, Zentralasien, Indien und China* (in the press).
  - 24 Sundermann, W., *Studien zu Geschichte und Wert historiographischer Traditionen der Manichäer unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der iranischen Überlieferung*. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin, vol. 13–14 (in the press). Based on Turfan texts is also: Zieme, P., *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung* (in the press).
  - 25 Hinkel, F.W., *Pyramide oder Pyramidenstumpf? Ein Beitrag zu Fragen der Planung, konstruktiven Baudurchführung und Architektur der Pyramiden von Meroe*. In: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Berlin, vol. 108, 1981, pp. 105–124; vol. 109, 1982, pp. 27–61, 127–148; Hinkel, F.W., *Gedanken und Bemerkungen zum Thema "Meroitische Architektur"*. In: *Meroitica*, Berlin, vol. 7, 1984, pp. 290–309; cf. *ibid.* pp. 310–331 and 462–468.
  - 26 Cf. the outline as given by Hinkel, F.W., *Auszug aus Nuhien*, Berlin 1978 (English edition: *Exodus from Nubia*, Berlin 1983).
  - 27 Hinkel, F.W., *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan. A Guide to Its Use and Explanation of Its Principles*. Berlin 1977. — Fasc. 2: *The Area of the South Libyan Desert*, Berlin 1979 (in cooperation with A.J. Mills and with an introduction by A.J. Arkell).
  - 28 Jakob-Rost, L., R.-B. Wartke, B. Wesarg, Tell Oweisat. In: *Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, vol. 22, 1982, pp. 63–95; Jakob-Rost, L., E. Klengel-Brandt, R.-B. Wartke, *Archäologische Untersuchungen im Haditha-Gebiet, Irak*. In: *Forschungen und Berichte*, Berlin, vol. 24, 1984, pp. 45–53.
  - 29 Cf. Klengel, H., *Zwischen Zelt und Palast. Die Begegnung von Nomaden und Sesshaften im alten Vorderasien*, Leipzig 1972; Klengel, H., *Hammurapi von Babylon und seine Zeit*, Berlin 1976; Freydank, H., W.F. Reineke, M. Schetelich, Th. Thilo, *Der Alte Orient in Stichworten*, Leipzig 1978; Grunert, S., *Der Kodex Hermopolis und ausgewählte private Rechtsurkunden aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1982 (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, vol. 909).
  - 30 Cf. the contribution of H. Klengel to H. Grünert (ed.), *Geschichte der Urgesellschaft*, Berlin 1982, pp. 209–236.

# Basic moments of the relationship between unity and differentiation within the non-aligned movement

The foundation of the non-aligned movement, undoubtedly, reflected the efforts of numerous states and political figures to take a common stand in international relations. Thus, the tendency toward unity was crucial for the union of the countries which had met for their first summit in 1961. Efforts for unity were intensified above all by the developing countries which formed the majority of states within the movement. Their foreign-political activities after the achievement of state independence have always been characterized by a strong endeavour at upholding their interests collectively, this being essentially due to the joint colonial past, the economic weakness of the individual states as a result of colonialism, as well as only little experience in the international arena.<sup>1</sup> Also the movement's constantly growing membership that in a convincing manner proves its great attraction expresses the striving after collective action and an intensified trend toward unity. This, however, also caused a growing differentiation between the states. The non-aligned movement's membership rose from 25 at the founders' conference to 101 today. Its last summits moreover were attended by 20 observers and 20 guests. More than half of the world population lives in states members of the movement; these states constitute nearly two thirds of United Nations members.

The content of these common efforts of non-aligned states are in the first line determined by their anti-colonial and anti-imperialist basic orientation as well as by five criteria on which the movement was founded in 1961 and which have again and again been confirmed at its summit meetings.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the commitment to the principles of peaceful co-existence, in terms of the Pancha Shila formula, to support of the national liberation movement and to non-alignment with military alliances of the great powers form the common denominator of the movement. The non-aligned countries repeatedly made it a point at their summits that "unity and mutual solidarity between the non-aligned states are indispensable for the preservation of the movement's independence and strength and for achieving its aims".<sup>3</sup> Particularly under the conditions of an aggravated international situation in the 1980s, they affirm that if the non-aligned states wish to defend their independence and sovereignty there will be no alternative other than preserving and consolidating their cohesion and solidarity and frustrating any attempt which could endanger the unity of the movement.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it was emphasized at a UN festive session to mark the 23rd anniversary of the non-aligned movement in September 1984 that the strength of the movement was its moral power, its common efforts and the unity of its various members committed to their aims and principles.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1980s, this basic tendency in the non-aligned movement manifests itself particularly in the struggle for eliminating the nuclear threat to mankind as a whole, for arms limitation and disarmament, for maintaining and consolidating world peace as well as for liquidating focuses of regional conflicts as the most essential prerequisites to overcoming backwardness, starvation and misery, abolishing economic dependence on imperialism, and establishing a new international economic order as well as to social progress. The question of peace having been one of the basic concerns of the movement from its very beginning, has increasingly turned out to be a main integration factor in the 1980s. The evolution in the comprehension of the peace question is reflected above all by the fact that currently it is not only considered *one* but *the* main task of all mankind, and that peace is conceived in terms of global peace, i.e. world peace. The strengthening and, to a certain extent, the enlargement of coherent positions within the movement in the 1980s is all the more significant since the processes of differentiation between the non-aligned states have augmented, too.

The very composition of the non-aligned movement reflects the tendencies of unity and differentiation. It offers, on the one hand, a homogeneous picture but, on the other hand, the heterogeneous character of the movement cannot be ignored. The movement includes states with different socio-economic systems and social orientations, national liberation movements as well as international organizations.

The developing countries themselves which, on the one side, can be conceived as a coher-

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ent factor are, on the other side, extremely different from each other when looked upon from various angles. Also some socialist states as well as two national liberation movements, i.e. SWAPO and PLO, belong to the movement. Among the observers are some Latin American states, inter alia Mexico, a state which despite of having observer status only figures very actively exercising not small an influence in the movement. Further members are numerous national, regional and international organizations, among them the Organization of African Unity (OAU). States with guest status are, inter alia, Finland and Austria, a multitude of international organizations, above all from the UN sector, e.g. FAO, UNCTAD and SELA. Also from the geographical aspect the movement covers a wide spectrum. 29 members of the non-aligned movement come from Asia, 51 from Africa, 17 from Latin America, 3 from Europe and one country (Vanuatu) from Oceania.

In view of the heterogeneity of the non-aligned movement processes of differentiation are quite a natural phenomenon within such a strong, in terms of quantity, group of states. It was just those 25 states founded the non-aligned movement in Belgrade in 1961, which presented a differentiated picture and did by no means make a homogeneous whole as regards their internal socio-economic and political situation. The historic significance of this union just consisted in the fact that there were, despite these differences, common interests in the foreign-political sphere as well as in essential international questions which led to uniform conceptions and coordinated acting in the international arena.

Undoubtedly, the process of differentiation in and between the non-aligned states intensified during the past 25 years. Consequently, the question arises as to the influence the different developments within the individual states have on the development and orientation of the non-aligned movement as a whole, and whether or not the movement will continue to exist unaffected as an international factor. There is no conclusive answer to this question since not only internal processes but also international conditions are of essential importance to the non-aligned movement. Such an answer will be found only by an allround analysis having particular regard to the specific relationship between internal and external factors. This, again, is not only necessary for taking stock of what has been achieved so far but above all for drawing conclusions for the future development. The complicated interrelation between unity and differentiation within the non-aligned movement was, is and continues to be a key issue of its overall development and strength. The question of the significance of internal factors for the relationship between unity and differentiation is by no means of a theoretical nature only but of relevance to practice, too. Though in the course of the past 20 years multifarious, extensive and deep-going changes took place in Asia, Africa and Latin America where most of the non-aligned countries are situated, the commitment to non-alignment and adherence to the corresponding movement remained unshaken. Not in the last instance this is proven by its membership which is constantly growing, irrespective of all processes of differentiation. The "constant" adherence to the non-aligned movement, its principles and objectives quite show differences in dependence on the internal development of the individual countries. In case of the socialist members of the movement, for instance, this adherence is linked with a consolidation of internal conditions and a continuous policy of strengthening the non-aligned movement. So the Presidium of the FSRY in a report on foreign and domestic policy delivered in October 1984, confirmed once more the "foreign-political principles of non-alignment as the foundation of an equality-based and peaceful settlement of international problems and crises".<sup>6</sup> Also Cuba "being a socialist and, simultaneously, a developing country already as an original member of the movement took a great share in the development of non-alignment, and today its influence is a remarkable one".<sup>7</sup> This continuity can also be found with countries following a different economic and political course. So India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stressed the indispensable continuity of the Indian policy of non-alignment.<sup>8</sup> In March 1985, the Algerian foreign minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi confirmed the "unchangeable positions of Algeria's anti-imperialist foreign policy which predominantly are reflected in consistent non-alignment".<sup>9</sup> In October 1984, also the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Ali Abdullah Saleh, underlined the continuity of his country's foreign policy which has been based "on the principles of positive neutrality, non-alignment and peaceful co-existence" since the revolution of 26 September 1962.<sup>10</sup> There are, at the same time, examples of the adherence to the policy of non-alignment remaining constant

over long periods with the degree of activities, however, varying extremely. Indonesia, for instance, figured prominently as an original member of the non-aligned movement in the 1950s and 1960s. "As an active anti-imperialist and anti-colonial power its voice rang out loudly in the international arena."<sup>11</sup> After 1965, however, there was not only a change in Indonesia's foreign policy but its activities, too, noticeably diminished. Since the beginning of the 1980s, Indonesian foreign policy has experienced a clear revival. As it was put by the director of the Centre for Strategic and International Research in Jakarta, after a long period of dormancy, Indonesia awoke again as far as international relations were concerned.<sup>12</sup> The Indonesian foreign minister M. Kusumaatmadja stated that the time has come for Indonesia to return to a more active foreign policy of non-alignment.<sup>13</sup> There are also certain countries where the commitment to non-alignment was a "constant" one though there were inside these countries political or even socio-economic changes leading to a new course of development. Examples are, inter alia, Ethiopia which was a member of the movement as early as under monarchic rule and which now, being a socialist state, belongs to its most active members; India where the right-wing coalition temporarily in power continued the course of non-alignment in spite of all attacks at the Congress Party; Egypt which under the Saddat government fenced off with all its might the intentions of numerous Arab states to suspend Egypt membership in the movement due to its Camp David course; Argentina which belonged to the movement under military rule as it does under the Raoul Alfonsín government, and which undoubtedly has developed into an essential member of the non-aligned movement within a short period. Hence, there is at least no automatism between internal political development and changes inside an individual country and its relation towards the policy of non-alignment, and not at all towards the non-aligned movement as a whole. This fact is first of all due to the dimension of these countries' difficulties as well as to the objective contradiction with imperialism and the ensuing long-term nature of the movement's aims. It reflects the movement's broad concept and, not lastly, the wide range of possible consent in the views of most of its members. It cannot be deduced from this general trend, however, that the movement's state is one unchangeable for ages. In other words, there are within the movement also indications for changes into this or that direction. The point is the content and the main direction of these changes. The processes around and inside the non-aligned movement have undergone a further distinct development in the 1980s. Especially in the socio-economic sphere differences between the non-aligned states, predominantly among the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have grown in the 1980s. Although the consequences of the general and cyclical crisis of capitalism in 1983/84 affected and continue affecting the developing countries unexceptionally, clear differences as regards the extent of these consequences and the capability and possibility to cope with them cannot be neglected. Some Latin-American as well as oil-exporting states were able to develop into the direction of the centre of world capitalist economy. This, however, did not result in less economic dependency on imperialist states, monopoly groups or international banks. Quite the contrary, in the 1980s the relatively advanced developing countries with capitalist orientation are faced in an hitherto unknown measure, with the problem of dependency, especially financial dependency in the form of an enormously growing indebtedness. Logically, for many of these states such problems increase in weight also within the non-aligned movement. The demand for holding an international conference on questions of currency and finances within UN framework is voiced emphatically. On the other hand, however, a union of all "debtor nations" against the financial dictate of imperialist monopolies and organizations has not yet been formed what is due to the differing interests of the ruling circles. On the other hand in most African countries rapidly growing food shortage, underdevelopment and starvation of millions of people have become priority issues in the 1980s. Mainly in numerous countries which the UNO reckons with the LDC the living standards further decreased, with poverty, starvation and misery growing alarmingly and calling for long-term solutions. Considering this the non-aligned movement must increasingly deal with these questions and along with various forces, among them above all the OAU as that large organization on the African continent which members also belong to the non-aligned movement, must strive for spot aid and long-term programmes. But just in this context — and that cannot be disregarded — fatalism and resignation are on the rise.



Also the OPEC countries found themselves faced with increasingly deteriorating conditions on the world capitalist market, in particular in its oil sector. In the 1980s out of various reasons the oil demand of numerous Western European and of other capitalist countries declined, the big oil trusts manipulated prices and demand and made every effort to split OPEC. In nearly all of these states the dropping oil demand led to a decline of receipts and, step by step, also to the necessity to curb the production and the export of crude oil as well as to reduce the price per barrel, thus to a double decline of receipts. Also here the effects differ. While some countries are able to cope with these setbacks thanks to their annual interest proceeds from capital export transactions, e.g. Saudi Arabia, other countries, e.g. Iraq and Mexico, suffer much more. This development is of utmost importance, especially to the struggle of the non-aligned countries for a new international economic order. It is obvious that some initial progress reached on this way is not put up with by imperialist circles which by various means try to curb these processes aimed at economic independence in a very special field and, if possible, to reverse them. The concerned countries and the entire non-aligned movement, therefore, are faced with the task to continue making their programme of demands more precise and consistently implementing it.

In the 1980s, the process of differentiation finds a still stronger expression in the political relations of domination prevailing in the individual countries. In developing countries more or less following a capitalist path the typical political regimes and forms of domination are bourgeois-democratic regimes, monarchies, military governments and dictatorships of conservative forces. In India, the bourgeois-democratic regime of the Congress Party, despite of being massively attacked by right-wing circles inside and outside the country, and with even Prime Minister Indira Gandhi assassinated, was able to consolidate and to gain a convincing victory in 1985 elections. In Latin America, the tendency toward abolishing reactionary military dictatorships was started by Argentina in 1983, and continued in 1984/85 by Brazil and Uruguay where bourgeois-democratic governments seized power. Though in a number of other countries governed by right-wing military dictatorships no direct changes took place, are there clear indications of erosion, for instance in Pakistan. Multifarious changes occurred in such states as Egypt and Sudan. Some monarchist regimes were able to consolidate their rule, e.g. in Saudi Arabia. Mainly in Africa unsteadiness and change of political regimes with capitalist orientation have continued and caused numerous different modifications.

From the class aspect these processes particularly brought about a further development of bourgeois forces. In some of these states monopoly groupings consolidated, in other ones the big bourgeoisie gained in economic and political strength and influence. In general, the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie experienced an uplift. Differentiation within the various bourgeois circles increased and in the 1980s is reflected mainly in these countries' foreign policy. This development, however, did not lead to any fundamental change of basic positions what is due to the international as well as the internal situation. The safeguarding of peace, nuclear disarmament, solution of economic questions and settlement of regional conflicts continued to be objective categories and subjectively expressed interests and postulates for most of these bourgeois forces. Effects of this differentiation rather appeared in derived questions as the consistency of proposals and demands, a growing readiness to reach compromises as well as an increase of undifferentiated evaluations of international processes and events on the basis of the equidistance.

A differentiation could be observed more clearly also in connection with regional development processes. The policy of the heating-up of military conflicts in several regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America which was intensified by certain imperialist circles, chiefly in the USA, in the early 1980s, revealed new connexions between unity and differentiation in the reaction of the non-aligned states of the respective regions. In the Middle East, for instance, the Front of Steadfastness was not able to form up as in the 1970s while the Arab League and also the Gulf Cooperation Council made a stronger appearance. In Southern Africa the front states' cooperation strengthened, and in Latin America, the Contadora Group has come into existence following defence against a planned US military intervention against Nicaragua, and contributed to a new constellation of forces in this region. In South and South-East Asia, the support rendered by the USSR to Afghanistan and by Vietnam to Campuchea was used

by imperialist and regional forces to create "voting regulations" within the UNO which bear anti-Soviet and anti-socialist character and overshadow all other problems. Finally, some states tend to ambitions for regional power which, however, do not yet have any impact on the movement.

All these developments in the individual spheres of most non-aligned countries which caused intensified differentiation among them were and continue to be reflected, in terms of foreign policy, in grown endeavours after autonomy in international relations. This fact finds its expression in an affirmation of the policy of non-alignment as a joint, collective movement, in the adherence to the principles of the struggle for maintaining and strengthening sovereignty, economic equality and the establishment of a new international economic order. It implies above all the grown recognition of the relationship between threats to world peace and regional peace, particularly by the danger of a nuclear war and the deteriorating economic situation of the majority of developing countries. As the six statesmen emphasized in their "Declaration of Delhi" adopted in February 1985, a nuclear war "would turn the earth into a planet covered by darkness and ice, and endanger in an unparalleled manner all countries, even those far away from nuclear explosions".<sup>14</sup>

Departing from this evaluation and their innate national interests, most of the non-aligned have augmented their activities regarding the question of peace, in the 1980s. The non-aligned movement has developed into a mighty factor of international relations in the struggle for averting the danger of a nuclear war and for safeguarding world peace and made it their political credo "to do everything to ban the atomic danger threatening mankind, to end the arms race, mainly in the nuclear sphere, and to maintain and consolidate world peace".<sup>15</sup> This fundamental position leads them to joint action with numerous other states and political forces in the interest of the maintenance and safeguarding of peace.

#### Notes

- 1 Cf. India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, 1946–1961, New Delhi 1962, p. 215.
- 2 Cf. Dokumente der Nichtpaktgebundenen, 1961–1979. Berlin 1981, Introduction, pp. 5–31.
- 3 Ibid., p. 188.
- 4 Cf. Schlußerklärung der Konferenz der Außenminister nichtpaktgebundener Länder, New Delhi, Februar 1981. In: Europa-Archiv, Bonn, no. 11/1981, p. D 289.
- 5 Cf. UN-Press-Release, New York, September 14, 1984.
- 6 Internationale Politik, Belgrad 1984.
- 7 Grinevich, E. A., B. I. Gvosdarev, Kuba v mirnoy politike, Moscow 1984, p. 28.
- 8 Cf. Activities of the Non-Aligned Movement after New Delhi. In: Non-Aligned World, New Delhi, vol. 6, 1985, no. 3, p. 5.
- 9 Neues Deutschland, Berlin, March 19, 1985, p. 5.
- 10 Weg positiver Neutralität. Interview. In: Neue Zeit, Moscow, no. 43/1984, p. 11.
- 11 Andreyev, V., Novye akcenty vo vneyshney politike Indonezii. In: Meshdunarodnaya Zhizn, Moscow, no. 2/1985, p. 21.
- 12 Cf. The Indonesian Times, Jakarta, May 30, 1984, p. 4.
- 13 Cf. Indonesian Observer, Jakarta, March 28, 1985, p. 2.
- 14 Neues Deutschland, Berlin, February 15, 1985, p. 1.
- 15 Dokumente der VII. Gipfelkonferenz der Nichtpaktgebundenen. In: asien, afrika, lateinamerika, Berlin, 11, 1983, p. 563.



## East Asian studies in the German Democratic Republic\*

In 1947/48, a few years after the Nazi regime had been crushed, two traditional centres of East Asian studies — the East Asian Seminar of Leipzig University and the Sinological Seminar of Berlin University — resumed the teaching of Chinese (E. Erkes) and Japanese (A. Wedemeyer, M. Ramming, and H. Zachert) in the territory that is now occupied by the German Democratic Republic. E. Erkes, who was in 1947 made Director of the East Asian Seminar in Leipzig (which was turned into the East Asian Institute in 1951) and at the same time began to take on additional duties in Berlin, was also making important efforts to encourage a revival of adjacent branches of East and Central Asian studies. P. Ratchnevsky, who was made lecturer in Chinese and Mongolian in Berlin and Leipzig in 1950 and, in 1953, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies founded in Berlin in 1950 and turned into the East Asian Institute in 1954, established Mongolian studies as an independent discipline in the German Democratic Republic. In these efforts he was assisted by J. Schubert, a student of Mongolian and Tibetan, who was appointed to Leipzig University in 1950. Following the death of E. Erkes in 1958, he became Director of Leipzig's East Asian Institute in 1959, receiving the first German chair of Tibetan studies in 1960. Mongolian and Tibetan studies were in Leipzig also encouraged by F. Weller, a student of Buddhism. In 1951 H. Junker, a student of Iranian in Berlin, became the first scholar to teach Korean.

While undergraduates had previously majored only in Chinese, they were in 1953 also allowed to do so in Japanese and Korean, with Mongolian and Tibetan added a few years later.

After the second world war had ended in 1945, a new kind of East Asian studies had to be established. It had to continue the progressive, humanitarian traditions of German Oriental studies and was at the same time called upon to meet the new demands arising from the anti-fascist, democratic and, finally, socialist development in the German Democratic Republic, and also from the great social upheavals that were going on in East Asia at the time, including those triggered off by the victory of the People's Revolution in China. Very much as a result of the efforts made by the above-mentioned experienced scholars, the renewal was successful; East Asian studies, which were encouraged through the policies pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in academic matters, were gradually gaining in importance in the 1950's; and the first successful efforts soon came to be made to train new, young academic staff. The scholars were in the 1950's joined by S. Behrsing, who was made Professor of Sinology and Director of the Berlin East Asian Institute in 1959, and G. Mehnert, a student of Japanese.

It was typical of those grand old men of East Asian studies in the German Democratic Republic that each of them was, as a rule, engaged in two or three branches of studies. Nobody after them ever managed to rival them in terms of the breadth of their knowledge, a fact that was mainly due to the need for an increasing specialization felt over the last few decades.

In the 1950's, research in the field of East Asian studies was almost exclusively carried out by members of the older generation. While continuing traditional philological studies, they were trying to free the branches of study they worked in from the narrowness resulting from the view taken of them as a kind of extravagant pursuits concerned with nothing but things old and historical. The 1960's saw an intensification of the efforts made to train junior scholars. These scholars received part of their education on the spot (e.g. in China, Korea, and the Mongolian People's Republic) and also in the Soviet Union. As a result, a new generation of scholars of East Asian studies with an entirely new kind of academic education has been emerging since the late 1960's and, to a truly far-reaching extent, since the 1970's. These

\* The following report gives a comparatively detailed review of the academic disciplines that are regarded as East Asian studies in the narrower sense, i.e. Chinese, Japanese and Korean studies. Adjacent Mongolian, Tibetan and Vietnamese studies are given a more summary treatment.

developments went hand in hand with profound changes in the content-related and structural organization of East Asian studies. Without giving up their vital links with their philological mothers, they began to go beyond the framework of traditional philologies. They were deliberately developed as regional studies investigating and teaching the social, linguistic, intellectual and cultural affairs of certain regions or countries, relying on methods used in their modern basic disciplines of social science and linguistic science. As a result, East Asian studies were thrown open to the issues of the modern era and especially those of the present day. Yet the study of contemporary issues — although pursued with different degrees of intensity in the various branches of East Asian studies — was not carried out in isolation, but as an integral part of a more complex kind of East Asian studies. This trend was done justice to when the Department of Asian Studies was founded at Berlin Humboldt University in 1968, and a number of further measures were taken in matters of research organization by the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic and Karl Marx University in Leipzig.

The Department of Asian Studies of Berlin Humboldt University represents the largest potential of East Asian studies. It has for many years been turning out holders of the diploma degree (which is approximately equivalent to the Master's degree) and doctors in virtually all subjects of East Asian studies.

The department has chairs of Sinology (E. Müller), Chinese history (R. Felber), East Asian culture and literature (F. Gruner), East Asian history (I. Göthel), Japanese studies (J. Berndt), Japanese economics (K. H. Horn), Mongolian studies (P. Vietze), and Vietnamese studies (W. Lulei). Over and above this, it has senior academic staff teaching Chinese economics, the Chinese language, Korean studies and Korean literature.

Leipzig's Karl Marx University assigned the Chair of Sinology to R. Moritz in 1984, whose main concern is Chinese philosophy and intellectual history. It has professors and readers in Tibetan and Burmese linguistic science.

The Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin has a number of efficient research teams looking into issues of ancient Chinese history and Chinese linguistic science. And, finally, the Academy of Social Sciences of the German Democratic Republic has been investigating Chinese contemporary history (H. Peters).

## (1) Chinese studies

The second half of the 1940's and almost the entire 1950's saw Eduard Erkes lay the groundwork of a new kind of Sinology in the German Democratic Republic. He was giving lectures on Chinese general and cultural history and reading texts related to the history of religion and philosophy in China. As well as writing philology-based studies on the cults, religions and philosophies in ancient China (showing particular interest in Daoism<sup>1</sup>), he produced quite a number of writings on the history of the Chinese language, both spoken and written. Special mention should be made of his additions to the Chinese grammar by G. von der Gabelentz.<sup>2</sup> His untimely death in 1958 unfortunately prevented him from realizing his intention of writing a comprehensive palaeographic dictionary. But he did not only encourage the study of Chinese religious and linguistic history but also research into Chinese general history and its socio-economic background, writing quite a number of general surveys and studies of special issues.<sup>3</sup> In a book of travels he revealed with great clarity how his understanding of China's past and present allowed him to present a description of the country that was very comprehensive indeed.<sup>4</sup>

Since Chinese studies have since the early 1960's been subdivided into several independent disciplines that are based on the methodologies and theories of the various social sciences (linguistic science, history, etc.), the explanations given below will very much follow this same principle.

Stimulated by the GDR's growing and tightening relations with the People's Republic of China and our country's increasing demand for German speakers of Chinese, Chinese studies allowed *Sinological linguistics* to become a discipline of its own at a relatively early stage in their history. While its emphasis was at first on classical and pre-classical Chinese<sup>5</sup>, Sinological linguistics soon began to concentrate on the contemporary spoken language. As the early papers by M. Piasek showed, greatest importance was from the beginning attached to the production of teaching aids and dictionaries.<sup>6</sup> Work on a large Chinese-German dictionary began at the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic in the 1960's; and the requirements of Chinese language teaching led to quite a number of doctor's theses being written in the



field of linguistic science (K. Kaden, D. Gasde, M. Reichardt, G. Richter, G. Spies, H. Beutel, Sh. Reichardt, etc., etc.). They all dealt with aspects of Chinese grammar, with special attention being given to morphological aspects.<sup>7</sup> Only one of the theses has so far been published in book form: K. Kaden's analysis of ways of expressing plural ideas.<sup>8</sup> An international colloquy was held in Leipzig in 1965 to discuss toning and its realizations in the languages spoken in East and South East Asia. Lexicographical issues were considered at sessions of the Section of Linguistic Science of a conference that was held in Berlin in 1967. Conference proceedings were published about either event.<sup>9</sup>

The 1970's and 1980's saw a continuation of this research.<sup>10</sup> I. Karl and U. Kautz wrote doctor's theses investigating Chinese actional verbs or relative clauses respectively. The latter thesis was published in an extended English version in 1984.<sup>11</sup> K. Kaden tackled new subjects of research: issues of phonetics and phonology;<sup>12</sup> he also looked into the loaning of foreign words in the Chinese language.<sup>13</sup>

Yet the greatest achievements made in Chinese linguistic research so far has no doubt been the Chinese-German dictionary published in 1985. It was compiled under the chairmanship of H.-D. Gasde at the Central Institute of Linguistic Science of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic and was the first fairly large Chinese-German dictionary after Rüdberg. It contains 8059 capital signs and about 75,000 polysyllabic combinations, giving an impressive demonstration of lexicographical efficiency in the German Democratic Republic.<sup>14</sup>

In the area of *Chinese general and intellectual history*, studies were made of pre-Han society to continue the traditions started by A. Conrady and E. Erkes. Under the overriding influence of P. Ratchnevsky and S. Behrsing, additional periods of history were explored such as those of the Yuan time; and research was also begun into the modern era generally and the present-day period in particular.

In addition to the papers by the staff of the Central Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences that are mentioned in H. Klengel's research report,<sup>15</sup> mention should also be made of papers on *ancient Chinese history* like the monographs by W. Böttger on Chinese original hunting methods and by R. Felber on the exchange relationships existing in the late Zhou period.<sup>16</sup>

Analyzing special aspects of state development and social relations in the pre-Han era, GDR Sinologists were making active contributions to the international discussions on ancient Oriental societies.<sup>17</sup> G. Schmitt, of the Academy of Sciences, has for many years been investigating the cultural history of the Zhou era.<sup>18</sup> And Berlin Humboldt University has now employed a junior scholar who entirely devotes himself to this very subject of research.<sup>19</sup>

Increasing attention has been paid to ancient Chinese philosophy. In addition to a paper by G. Schmitt on the role played by Yijing in Chinese intellectual history,<sup>20</sup> we should here mention a number of papers by R. Moritz. Moritz was investigating the system of thinking adopted by relativist Hui Shi, and produced a modern German translation of Lunyu, to which he added a most original Marxist assessment of Confucius's social ethics.<sup>21</sup> He also wrote a number of very profound essays on the special characteristics of ancient Chinese thought.<sup>22</sup> E. Schwarz produced a carefully annotated translation of Laozi, which met with a great deal of public acclaim in the 1970's.<sup>23</sup>

Also in the 1970's, the Yuan era became one of the top priorities of Sinological research. This was mainly due to the work done by P. Ratchnevsky, a disciple of P. Pelliot. He gave a very detailed analysis of Mongolian rule in China,<sup>24</sup> encouraging further work to be done on the subject.<sup>25</sup> The result was a dictionary of historical terms of the Yuan era.<sup>26</sup> Ratchnevsky continued his research into the legislation of that era even after he had retired.<sup>27</sup> The earlier historical periods — Han, Three Empires, North-South Dynasties, Sui-Tang and Song — were at first almost entirely disregarded by GDR Sinologists, with the only noteworthy exception being a doctor's thesis on the Red Eyebrows,<sup>28</sup> which is only now being prepared for publication. It is therefore all the more gratifying to see that the 1970's and early 1980's brought about a gradual change of this situation. D. Heyde, e.g., wrote a number of essays discussing land ownership and rural communities of the Jin era.<sup>29</sup> Editorial work on Chinese texts of the Berlin Turfan Collection gave Th. Thilo the idea of studying Chinese household registers from Dunhuang.<sup>30</sup> In the following years, Thilo made very praiseworthy efforts to investigate the

prose of the Tang era so as to elucidate the historical and socio-economic relations existing at the time.<sup>31</sup>

Theoretical and methodological discussions on the Asiatic mode of production and on Chinese feudalism, in which G. Lewin took a particularly active part,<sup>32</sup> led to very specific research into the social conditions of the early Song period.<sup>33</sup> Thilo had already in the 1960's translated and annotated two chapters of *Tiangongkaiwu*, a book on agriculture from the Ming era.<sup>34</sup>

Mention should also be made of the splendidly laid-out general surveys of everyday culture, architecture and visual art in traditional China that GDR Sinologists have written to introduce the public at large to China and its problems.<sup>35</sup>

In the area of modern and recent Chinese history, research has been done in the following areas:

#### 1. History of German-Chinese relations

The analyses made by H. Stoecker in the 1950's of the pre-1894 period<sup>36</sup> were continued in the 1960's, when investigations of the 20th century began. We are sorry to say that not all of the doctor's theses have been published that were written in those years.<sup>37</sup> The specialized historians who were investigating documents of predominantly German origin were soon joined by Sinologists like S. Behrsing, who helped tap Chinese sources concerning the subject in hand.<sup>38</sup> Now, in the mid-1980's, the history of German-Chinese relations has again become a popular research subject in the GDR.<sup>39</sup>

#### 2. Social thinking at the end of the 19th century and during the first two decades of the 20th century

Mention should here be made of studies of the influence of traditional Chinese Utopian social ideas on latter-day socialist concepts<sup>40</sup> and, first and foremost, of the doctor's theses and essays on Sun Yatsen by H. Schermer and B. Scheibner.<sup>41</sup> The two women-Sinologists also edited German versions of Sun Yatsen's speeches and writings.<sup>42</sup> Translations of extracts of speeches and writings by Li Dazhao had already been published in 1969.<sup>43</sup> A monograph written by R. Müller deals with the emergence of the concept of social class in the writings by Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and Qu Qiubai.<sup>44</sup>

#### 3. Issues of the Chinese anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution and the struggle of the Chinese working class

Books on the subject include the notes by O. Braun on the experience he gained in the revolutionary struggle of the 1930's, and the book on the situation of the working class in Shanghai by J. Kuczinsky (who was enjoying the cooperation of Yan Zhongping). Either publication was, however, written by people who were not actually Sinologists.<sup>45</sup>

GDR Sinologists themselves wrote a number of doctor's theses and essays on the subject, dealing with aspects of the Taiping movement, the Xinhai revolution and the incipient working-class movement.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Chinese contemporary history

It is, of course, impossible in this report to mention all of the many articles written by GDR Sinologists on a large number of aspects of the current development of society in the People's Republic of China and of the foreign policy pursued by the Chinese government. There is just room to mention two books that take a closer look at matters related to the Chinese working class,<sup>47</sup> a monograph on the relations between China and the United States,<sup>48</sup> and a reference book-like annotated chronicle of Chinese events and developments compiled by a whole group of authors.<sup>49</sup>

Research into Chinese *geography* and *economics* was on a much more modest scale. A number of doctor's theses were written that considered matters of the location of industries, the development of agriculture, the development of economic relations with foreign countries, etc.<sup>50</sup> There are plans for research into the Chinese economy to be stepped up at Berlin Humboldt University over the next few years.

A lot of research has been done in the field of Chinese *literature*. Sinologists did splendid work in translating and editing literary works. The list of Chinese novels, stories, short stories, fairy-tales, collections of poetry, etc. published in the German Democratic Republic since its



foundation in 1949 is too long to be treated in any detail in this report. Suffice it to cite a few examples. As to classical Chinese literature, E. Schwarz compiled an anthology of Chinese prose. This was added to by a collection of Chinese poetry.<sup>51</sup> German translations were published of the novel *Rulin waishi* and the so-called Brush Notes by Ji Yun.<sup>52</sup> Doctor's theses on literary subjects were written by E. Schwarz, W. Bettin, E. Müller and B. Schneider.<sup>53</sup>

A great deal of attention was devoted to exploring the merits of latter-day Chinese literature, with special prominence being given to works by Lu Xun, Mao Dun and Lao She.<sup>54</sup> Works by these authors were analyzed in doctor's theses by F. Gruner, I. Peters and I. Henjes.<sup>55</sup>

Research into modern Chinese literature has come to concentrate on the revolutionary proletarian literature of the 1920's and 1930's.<sup>56</sup> This literature will be given very systematic treatment at Berlin Humboldt University in the next few years. It should finally be emphasized that GDR Sinologists have shown a great deal of interest in the Chinese literature of the 1950's and the literary works produced after 1976. E. Müller explored the issue of worker characterization in Chinese epic literature.<sup>57</sup> A most revealing insight into modern Chinese short-form prose was provided through the publication of a collection of short stories by 16 contemporary narrators.<sup>58</sup> An encyclopaedia on East Asian literatures was compiled by several authors to explain major trends in Chinese literature and give information on China's most important writers.<sup>59</sup>

### (II) Japanese studies

After M. Ramming had continued the philological traditions of Japanese studies with his lectures on ancient Japanese literature and language in 1947, H. Zachert concentrated on teaching modern Japanese as soon as he had started lecturing at Berlin University in 1949. The first to profit from his efforts were a group of undergraduates who majored in Sinology and studied Japanese as a secondary subject.

When the East Asian Institute of Berlin Humboldt University set up its Department of Japanese Studies in 1956, Japanese studies gained a considerable degree of independence in terms of academic organization. This was soon followed by the employment of a number of Japanese guest lecturers (among them historian Jujirō Uesugi) and, in 1959, by the appointment of G. Mehnert as Lecturer in Modern Japanese History and Philosophy. The number of undergraduates grew, and Japanese studies became more firmly based, extending their range of subjects. This was, in turn, followed by the resumption of the teaching of modern Japanese literature in the 1958/59 autumn semester by J. Berndt, the first undergraduate ever to complete a course in Japanese studies at Berlin Humboldt University, and by the intensification of language teaching through the employment of Japanese native speaker E. Yasui in 1961.

The research potential that had meanwhile been created was at first geared to the growing needs to teaching the Japanese language. As a result, a number of teaching materials and textbooks were drafted, which included the textbooks *Japanisch für Naturwissenschaftler und Techniker* (Japanese for natural scientists and technologists), which had previously been tried out in courses of further education for natural scientists and technologists, and *Grundkurs der modernen japanischen Sprache* (Modern Japanese for beginners), which had first been tested in undergraduate training at the university.<sup>60</sup> The latter will soon have its efficiency increased when additional materials have appeared in print. An addition to the two textbooks was the *Japanisch-Deutsches Zeichenlexikon* (Japanese-German encyclopaedia of signs), which was produced by the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic.<sup>61</sup>

Research into Japanese literature has mainly been concerned with important Japanese plays and pieces of short-form prose, which were translated and annotated. J. Berndt excelled himself in this field in particular.<sup>62</sup> He also investigated the genesis of Japanese socialist literature.<sup>63</sup> Lexicographic research has so far culminated in the production of the *Lexikon Ostasiatischer Literaturen* (Encyclopaedia of East Asian literatures) by a group of authors under J. Berndt's chairmanship.<sup>64</sup> These publications as well as a book in two volumes on Japanese art and another on Japan that is intended for the layman allowed Japanese studies to familiarize the public at large with the fruits of its efforts.<sup>65</sup>

The establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the German Democratic Republic

and Japan made things much easier for Japanese studies, which at the same time came to face demands of an entirely new kind. It proved necessary to take a closer look at the present-day Japanese economy, at contemporary Japanese history, at Japanese philosophy and also at other areas, without, however, neglecting traditional subjects. This required a number of junior scholars to be trained and subsequently employed. The first results of these efforts were demonstrated by, amongst others, a doctor's thesis on the philosophy of Nishida Kitarō.<sup>66</sup> At the Academy of Sciences, R. Hartmann investigated aspects of early 20th-century history, especially the history of Japan's socialist movement.<sup>67</sup> I. Göthel gave a historical assessment of the Meiji Revolution.<sup>68</sup>

How very much Japanese studies had improved in the GDR was demonstrated at the Sixth European Symposium on Japan Today held at Berlin Humboldt University from September 24th to 27th 1984 in cooperation with the Tokai University and with the support of the Japan Foundation. A collection of the most important papers read at the symposium is forthcoming. The section of the symposium that was considering the introduction of new information systems and their effect on the Japanese economy and on Japanese society under the chairmanship of K.-H. Horn produced important ideas for inter-disciplinary research.

The inauguration of a memorial honouring the memory of famous Japanese physician and writer Mori Ōgai, who was making studies in Berlin in 1887/88, was met with world-wide acclaim. The memorial has meanwhile been affiliated to Berlin Humboldt University. When it was opened in Berlin's 31 Maternstrasse, the Mori family presented it with three original manuscripts. There are plans for turning it into a place of teaching and research for GDR students of Japanese, who have meanwhile resolved to devote increased attention to the history of German-Japanese relations.

This brief outline of the history of Japanese studies in the German Democratic Republic would be incomplete if we were not to mention the fact that even outside GDR universities increasing efforts are being made to give academic treatment to a wide variety of aspects of Japanese life. To cite just one example of many, let us mention the reference book *Japan heute* (Japan today) by R. Hartmann. Japanese studies are now giving more and more attention to matters of present-day economic and political developments in Japan.<sup>69</sup> They are in this way taking account of the growing need for information to be provided about Japan, a need that results from the socio-economic, political, scientific and technological developments going on in that country.

### (III) Korean studies

Korean studies are one of those branches of regional studies that began to be pursued at a German university only after the German Democratic Republic had been founded.

As the relations between the GDR and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea developed, so did our country's academic interest in Korea. This was particularly noticeable during the Korean people's struggle against the US military aggression in 1950–1953, when there was a wide-ranging solidarity movement in our country with the DPRK, which had been founded in 1948. H. Junker, a general linguistic scientist and student of Indo-European languages, was investigating the structure and grammar of the Korean language and began in 1951 to teach it to interested undergraduates at Berlin Humboldt University majoring in other languages. The first undergraduates majoring in Korean began their course of studies in 1954, completing it five years later. This made Berlin Humboldt University one of the first in Europe to educate undergraduates majoring in Korean, the others being Lomonossov University in Moscow and Charles University in Prague. In his philological teaching and research, H. Junker laid the academic foundations of the later transformation of Korean teaching into complex Korean studies.<sup>70</sup> Also in the 1950's, Karl Marx University in Leipzig began investigating and teaching Korean history under W. Markov within the general framework of the teaching of, and the research into, general history.

As relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea widened, an increasing need was felt for German translators and interpreters of Korean. Undergraduates attending courses of this kind considerably improved their knowledge



of the language when they went to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a time to continue their studies there. They had their knowledge further widened as a result of better methods being evolved for teaching them the language in the GDR. The first translators and interpreters of Korean were trained in the 1970's. The experience gained in the process, and the teaching materials that were being drafted in cooperation with university teachers from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea itself are now being used for producing a Korean textbook for beginners. We owe it to scholars like R. Rentner that it has for the first time become possible to reproduce Korean personal and geographical names correctly, in accordance with their originals.<sup>71</sup> R. Rentner also wrote a number of essays commenting on aspects of the development of Korean literature.<sup>72</sup> Two doctor's theses were written about Korean literary history.<sup>73</sup>

R. Rentner's section of the encyclopaedia of East Asian literature gives a brief outline of Korean literary history.<sup>74</sup> The Korean literary works published in the 1950's<sup>75</sup> have meanwhile been followed by others, among them the first contemporary novel.<sup>76</sup> Results of research into the history of Korean revolutionary proletarian literature were described in a book discussing the way in which Marxism was received in Asia. It was written by H. Picht, who also investigated the relations between the Communist International and the communist movement in Korea.<sup>77</sup>

Aspects of Korean general and intellectual contemporary history were considered in a large number of papers by I. Göthel.<sup>78</sup> The same author, who also dealt with matters of the anti-colonial revolution of liberation,<sup>79</sup> has completed the first-ever German-language Marxism-based description of entire Korean history.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, it should not be forgotten that students of Korean in the German Democratic Republic are devoting increasing attention to contemporary Korean affairs and aspects of the development of society in both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea.<sup>81</sup>

#### (IV) *Mongolian and Tibetan studies*<sup>\*</sup>

Although they had made brilliant academic achievements even before 1945 (e.g. E. Haenisch managed to reconstruct the entire text of the Secret History of the Mongols in 1937, publishing it in a complete translation in 1940), the scholars engaged in Mongolian and Tibetan studies (two branches of Central Asian studies) succeeded only after that date in overcoming the status of their studies as auxiliary sciences of Sinology and establishing them as independent disciplines. This change took place in Berlin and Leipzig under the considerable influence of P. Ratchnevsky and J. Schubert. P. Ratchnevsky at first studied Mongolian-Tibetan relations in Leipzig,<sup>82</sup> and went to Berlin in 1953 to investigate the history of the Mongolian-Cingisidic Empire, Mongolian rule in China, the legislation of the Yuan era, and the role of major Mongolian rulers.<sup>83</sup> J. Schubert in Leipzig was principally interested in Tibetan ritual literature and Mongolia's historical geography.<sup>84</sup>

Their disciples later continued their work at the two towns' universities. M. Taube, after writing his first doctor's thesis on Mongolian grammar in 1957 and his advanced doctor's thesis on Tibetan literary history in 1966,<sup>85</sup> was in later years very successful in opening up works of Tibetan and Mongolian literature. In 1966 he published a four-volume catalogue of the Tibetan block prints and manuscripts available in the GDR. He followed this in 1980 with a volume on the *Tibetica* of the Berlin Turfan collection, and is now busy preparing another one on the *Mongolica*.<sup>86</sup> K. Lange gave a philosophico-historical assessment of the works by Sansrgyas rgya mcö.<sup>87</sup> R. Gaudes analyzed an aspect of contemporary Tibetan history.<sup>88</sup> E. Taube made studies of Mongolian fairy-tales and was engaged in much-headed research into the ethnography and folklore of the Altaic Tuwinians in the western Mongolian People's Republic.<sup>89</sup> Cooperating with M. Taube, she published, in 1983, a complete survey of the intel-

Cf. *inter alia*: M. Taube, *Tibetologie und Mongolistik an der Leipziger Universität*, in: *Progressive Traditionen der Orientalistik an der Universität Leipzig*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe 1979, no. 1; and E. Klien, *Zur Entwicklung der Mongolistik im Hochschulwesen der DDR*, in: *Der revolutionäre Weg der Mongolischen Volksrepublik zum Sozialismus*, Berlin 1978.

lectual culture of ancient Mongolia.<sup>90</sup> E. Richter wrote papers on the Tibetan language and compiled a Tibetan-German dictionary.<sup>91</sup> Although a Mongolian-German dictionary had been published in Leipzig in 1961,<sup>92</sup> research into modern Mongolian was in the subsequent years mainly carried out at Berlin Humboldt University. In Berlin H.-P. Vietze, a disciple of P. Ratchnevsky, began in the 1960's to lay the foundations of systematic classes in Mongolian,<sup>93</sup> which enjoyed the support of experienced Mongolian guest lecturers. Undergraduates are usually sent to the Mongolian People's Republic for a time to continue their studies there. A group of students of Mongolian under the chairmanship of H.-P. Vietze published a German-Mongolian dictionary in 1981 and is at present preparing a Mongolian-German dictionary for publication.<sup>94</sup> Mongolian studies were rapidly becoming a modern branch of science in Berlin in the 1970's and early 1980's. As a result, the study of Mongolian philosophy and cultural history, which was mainly pursued in Leipzig, was added to by research into modern and contemporary Mongolian history and modern Mongolian literature.

Doctor's theses were written to look into questions of the history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the emergence of the Mongolian socialist state and the country's cultural revolution. These questions and also the non-capitalist path of development followed by the Mongolian People's Republic were considered at an international conference held in Berlin in 1975.<sup>95</sup> Issues of the history of the country were also explained in an anthology,<sup>96</sup> and a description of the entire Mongolian history is forthcoming. Following up the research started by E. Haenisch and P. Ratchnevsky, U. Barkmann is now engaged in exploring the history of the Cingisidic Empire and Manchurian rule in Mongolia, simultaneously continuing the traditions of Manchurian research.<sup>97</sup>

As far as achievements in the field of Mongolian modern literature are concerned, special mention should be made of the many translations by R. Bauwe, which received the translator's award of the *Verlag Volk und Welt* publishing house,<sup>98</sup> and the translations by K. Koppe of Mongolian minstrel poetry dating back to the turn of the century.<sup>99</sup>

#### (V) *Vietnamese studies*

Research into the history and language of Vietnam began in the German Democratic Republic in the early 1960's, with Vietnamese guest lecturers rendering invaluable assistance. After a sub-department of Vietnamese studies had been founded at the Department of Asian Studies of Berlin Humboldt University in 1970, undergraduates majoring in Vietnamese began to be trained. This was done in close cooperation with Hanoi University. The Berlin university's chair of Vietnamese studies, which was established in 1980, is the only one of its kind in all German-speaking countries.

Since there was a lot of emphasis on teaching, academic papers concentrated on linguistic matters. The German-Vietnamese dictionary published by W. Boscher in 1964<sup>100</sup> — he died 20 years later — was followed by the compilation of major textbooks and teaching aids in the 1970's and 1980's to improve language teaching.<sup>101</sup> Doctor's theses on linguistic matters — some of them written by Vietnamese scholars — have been very instrumental in writing a practical Vietnamese grammar, which is to come out in the near future.<sup>102</sup>

As to Vietnamese history, interest centred on the anti-colonial struggle of liberation and Vietnam's socialist revolution. A conference was held in Berlin in 1980 under the motto 'The national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution in Vietnam put Marxist-Leninist theory into revolutionary practice'. Special mention should be made of the brief general outlines of the history of the Vietnamese revolution of liberation<sup>103</sup> and the investigations made by W. Lulei into aspects of Vietnamese contemporary history.<sup>104</sup> W. Lulei, who discussed the subject in a large number of essays,<sup>105</sup> was also the editor of a German-language collection of speeches and writings by Ho Chi Minh.<sup>106</sup> K. R. Barthel (Heidel) looked into the policy of setting up cooperatives in northern Vietnam,<sup>107</sup> and is at present giving a great deal of attention to Vietnam's pre-colonial history. A pocket-book on the history of Vietnam is forthcoming.

Vietnamese literature, which has for a long time been receiving a lot of attention in the German Democratic Republic, began to be investigated in Berlin in the second half of the 1970's, when U. Lies was doing research into Vietnamese modern short-form prose.<sup>108</sup>



## Notes

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# Some aspects of tradition processing and foreign influence in the narrative prose of present-day Chinese literature

The consideration and investigation of modern Chinese literature encourages us again and again to raise the question of what the relations are that exist between this literature, on the one hand, and the extremely long-standing Chinese literary tradition and the literature of foreign countries, on the other. The relations between the old and the new — between tradition and innovation — in literary creation have been of considerable importance to a Chinese literature that seeks to answer new social and literary needs. It will therefore be helpful to examine present-day Chinese narrative prose in terms of whether and where there is a clear influence of foreign models, and whether and where more or less close relations can be found to exist with traditional Chinese literature.

Nearly all major present-day Chinese writers have, in one way or another, learnt from foreign models, in particular those of the European realist literature of the 19th and early 20th century. Chinese literary historian Tang Tao believes, however,<sup>1</sup> that, as a result of social, economic and cultural similarities, the new Chinese literature was, in the past, more under the influence of Russian and Eastern and Northern European literature than under that of British and American literature, although the latter's influence ought not to be underestimated either. This influence — especially that of Russian and Soviet literature — can even be felt today, in the works by writers of fairly young age. On the whole, however, all the important present-day writers do, in one way or another, rely on their national heritage. As a matter of principle, they neither take their bearings only from foreign models nor only from domestic traditional ones. They willingly face the new social and literary requirements, producing works that combine elements of both — if present — to form a new synthesis.

This became particularly obvious when a new age of fruitful literary creation began after the "ten chaotic years" of the "Cultural Revolution". In the late 1970's, China's narrative prose entered a new stage, which is generally referred to by the two-symbol key word *tansu*, *exploration*.<sup>2</sup> This kind of exploration is being made in terms of both content and form. New content-related issues arise from a change in social conditions: from the efforts that are being made to settle accounts with the "left-extremist" line pursued by the People's Republic of China following the late 1950's, with all its negative social and human consequences; and also from the objectives of the "four modernizations" and the construction of socialism "in Chinese colours".

The following will primarily take a look at the form-related problems, touching on content-related ones only in passing.

As is well-known, the new Chinese literature emerged in and with the "May 4th Movement" of 1919. This was a general anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement in China that brought about a lot of changes, among them a revolution in literature. The new Chinese literature marked a profound ideological, artistic and literary change in the development of Chinese literature and was, especially at its initial stages, very much influenced by models set by foreign writers. Its creators were, at first, resolutely opposed to the old literature. What they hated most of all in that literature was its content and its function of embodying the old feudal ideology. In the wake of a bitter confrontation with the old literature, many intellectuals adopted a downright nihilist attitude to their own literary heritage, especially during the "May 4th Movement" of 1919 and, in some cases, even afterwards. In the field of narrative prose — which, in its short form, made a crucial contribution to the first phase of the development of the new Chinese literature —, this attitude was reinforced by the fact that the old narrative prose proved wholly incapable of meeting the new demands that were being made on literature. To all intents and purposes, the old narrative prose did not allow giving analytic descriptions and making use of complex reflectional and situational analysis. It relied on just one style, on the whole, the epic style evolved by professional narrators. The flow of the narration was frequently interrupted, usually by technical elements and also, although to a minor extent, by content-related ones. The narrator was very much to the fore; he was omni-

present. This mode of narration, which had a rich scatter of the usual traditional phrases and clichés, was invariably produced from a third-person point of view. The author had, on the whole, no opportunity for expressing the innermost thoughts and feelings of his characters or interpreting developments from their point of view. The exception was the dialogue, whose extensive use also introduced a kind of scenic element. This was added to by the fact that since Confucius the view had commonly been held that it was one of the main characteristics of a work of art that it should serve a didactic function. Riffin says that "this function was done justice to by a kind of linear literature that drew a clear line between the positive and the negative, a literature that did not reflect the complexity of life and the constant re-emergence of contradictions in it".<sup>3</sup> Apart from the ideological reasons for the rejection of the old literature, there were, as a result, also important form-related ones. Yet the creators of the new literature soon came to adopt a productive attitude to their literary heritage, although there were serious setbacks in the time to follow, e.g. during the "Cultural Revolution". Lu Xun, the most important exponent of the new literature, rejected the old literature for a variety of reasons, sharply condemning it for its feudal ideological content. But it is in his literary works in particular that we can detect powerful links with China's intellectual and literary heritage. And neither he nor the other creators of the new literature had severed their ties with traditional culture and literature, as is even obvious in the early works by Lao She, Mao Dun and others.

In the narrative prose of the late 1920's and early 1930's, writers like Mao Dun and Ding Ling, who learnt a great deal from western models, tried to describe social issues that had arisen by a particular time. They sought to show the operation of social forces in these forces' complex mutual inter-action, and explain the effect that the forces had on people generally. They took an interest in the fate of the individual only to the extent that it could be made to shed light on the wider social issues involved. And they clearly tried to update their material. Abandoning the old Chinese technique of narration, Mao Dun's stories and novels did not narrate, but describe. Overcome are all the compulsory devices of mediaeval narrative art like content-related and linguistic stereotypes, the plain mode of narration, the long-winded introduction of the characters, and the artful weaving of the plot at the end of each chapter. Even in its subjectivized form, the objective mode of description required the narrator to enable his reader to see the developments through the eyes of many of his characters and gain an insight into the innermost thoughts and feelings of these characters as a result of the use of several different methods, including the internal monologue, the reflection technique, and the "stream of consciousness". In this way, the narrator allowed the reader to penetrate into new psychic and psychological areas.

But even writers like Mao Dun, who insisted on "objectivity", can be found to be tied to China's epic traditions, e.g. when they used the modern episode technique. Yet the episodes that he devised are not — more or less — accidental in nature, but form part of a well-conceived, closely-knit artistic whole. They focus on intersections of social life and expose certain definite motive forces in society. As the development of the new Chinese literature continued — and especially after the defensive war against Japanese aggression was over —, stories began to be written that were once again adapted to what the broad popular (i.e. peasants') masses were capable of understanding and liking: stories episodic in form, straightforward and semi-traditional in their mode of narration, and couched in a language steeped in proverbs and dialect and consisting of short sentences and a vocabulary of not more than 600 symbols. Considerable recourse was again taken to traditional forms of narration so as to increase intelligibility. Yet the new conditions also gave rise to a narrative prose literature that had a very sophisticated intellectual content and was linguistically rather elaborate. This narrative prose — which at first took the form of fairly short stories, with novels being added around 1945 — continued in the 1940's what had been begun by the "May 4th Movement". A fine example was the novel *The Story of a Sowing Campaign*, written by Liu Qing (*Zhonggu jì*) in 1945. In this novel, the writer used all the description techniques common in the European tradition of realist narration. The mode of narration was "modern". Traditional Chinese elements of description were mainly used in connection with the characters and the way they talked. The use made of dialect to provide local colour was confined to dialogue.



while the narrative and descriptive passages were written in the generally understood standard language (*putonghua*).<sup>4</sup> As early as the first ten to fifteen years after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, works of narrative prose were written that were of considerable literary importance. Works of this kind were produced by Zhou Libo, Zhao Shuli, Ai Wu, Li Zhun and others. But it was not until the late 1970's that a new surge of literary activity opened another fruitful stage in the development of narrative prose. Narrative prose began to re-define its content and purpose, extending its subject areas, adopting more differentiated modes of description and, in particular, giving deeper insights into man's innermost thoughts and feelings. The questions of the writer's attitude to national traditions and foreign models have meanwhile begun to play a considerable role, especially with regard to the mode of description. Foreign models are not mechanically and uncritically adopted, while tradition processing mainly concentrates on overcoming a formalized attitude to tradition, so that the cultural heritage will be seen as historically conditioned and the attitude to it will become contradictory, with account being taken of the needs of the present day. The consideration of both things historical and things contemporary have been interwoven to form a united whole, within which the creative writer can jump about and establish links freely, without, however, giving way to utilitarian inclinations.

This is the attitude that Wang Meng adopts in his narrative literature when he makes his "explorations", thus virtually renewing this literary genre in the People's Republic of China. Gao Xiaosheng uses his stories to reveal the historical roots of the fates of peasants, often confining himself to mere intimations and leaving many things unsaid. Quite remarkable are the artistically profound characters in the stories by Zhang Xianliang. Jiang Zilong, whose stories are set in industry, describes a life full of colour and movement. And Deng Youmei, Lu Wenfu, Shen Rong and Feng Jikai also break new ground in the art of narration cultivated in the People's Republic of China. All these writers also follow foreign models. Feng Jikai, e.g., has been influenced by Turgenev, Tolstoy and Chekhov. Soviet Sinologist Riffin believes that there is hardly any new Chinese writer today who has not been under the influence of Russian and Soviet literature.<sup>5</sup>

The more tradition-based mode of narration and description is in a new way manifest in today's stories and novels that have been written to portray social customs (*Fengsu hua xiaoshuo*). These are prose creations whose harmonious whole is dominated by forms of national expression or style and marked by local particularities and idiosyncrasies, presenting a portrayal of social customs. They describe or present habits and customs in social life in general and everyday life in particular. Chinese literary scientists Ding Fan and Xu Zhaohuai say in an article on the subject<sup>6</sup> that accentuation of, or emphasis on, local idiosyncrasies and particularities should not be allowed to lead to an excessive fostering of regional and local values and traditions, but that the general and joint efforts that people make should be shown, a demand that was made by Lu Xun on regional literature (*Xiangtu wenxue*) as early as the 1930's. Present-day Chinese writers who in this way combine national and local particularities with a general characterization of people and society include Gu Hua, Deng Youmei, Wang Zengqi and Jia Ping'ao. An important mode of narration consists in describing characters in close association with general habits and customs. This makes character description more profound, with less emphasis being placed on a description of the rest of the circumstances. A trend of this kind was earlier on found in the narrative works by Lao She and is today particularly conspicuous in the stories by Deng Youmei. Yet as a rule, narrative works of this kind unite several trends, so that the portrayal of social customs is poetically interwoven with a description of the details of social conditions. Examples can be found in the stories by Gu Hua, Ye Wenlin, Han Shaogong, Tan Dan, Deng Gang, Jia Ping'ao, etc. It is this, in particular, that shows a long line of tradition in Chinese narrative art, a line that goes back to the *huaben* stories of the Ming and Qing eras. The line was continued and renewed earlier on by Lu Xun and Lao She. In the 1950's, it was taken up by Zhou Libo in his novel *Major Changes in a Mountain Village* (*Shanxiang jubian*). This kind of narration was typified by the narrative works by Shen Congwen, which were in many ways followed up by Wang Zengqi, e.g. in his story *The Ordainment of the Monks* (1980, *Shoujie*). Similar trends can be found in the works by Gu Hua, Deng Youmei, Jia Ping'ao,

etc. Even the works by Lu Wenfu, who was probably the first writer of "urban literature", are distinguished by a vivid description of national particularities and by a good deal of local colour. Lu Wenfu links in his stories the customs and habits in and around the town of Suzhou in Southern China with the views and sentiments existing in society there for generations and simultaneously subject to a process of change in the course of their historical development.

Chinese literary traditions that are very different from those relying on a portrayal of social customs and habits are creatively used in stories by Zong Pu. She looks for, and aspires after, the "beauty of the mind", not denying that she has a considerable predilection for Chinese classical paintings and poems. A letter in her story *Zhongshan* (*Bell Mountain*) says: "In all these two years I have never stopped thinking of the Chinese art of painting. Our art of painting is a demonstration of a non-selective (i.e. realistic, the author) approach to reality; but it is capable of establishing a mental relationship and conveying intellectual ideas... I think that art must reflect a world of imagination and thought, and that it must be 'adequate in word and not short of meaning' (*yan you jin er wu qiong*). This is in particular an advantage of the Chinese poem."<sup>7</sup>

So, Zong Pu is not very busy making use of certain advantages of the ancient Chinese art of narration, but she tries in her stories to achieve an expressiveness typical of the ancient Chinese art of painting and poetry and helping her to form her own aesthetic views.

Naturally enough, the trends operating in present-day narrative prose in the People's Republic of China are not only based on traditional aesthetic values or means of artistic expression. On the contrary: encouraged by the decisions taken on matters of cultural policy in the People's Republic of China in the late 1970's, which guarantee the writer full freedom in the choice of his means of literary expression, the young and fairly young authors, in particular, have been making increased use of foreign models when looking for adequate forms of narration and means of narrative expression. They are thus following up a certain 'line of tradition' in the New Chinese literature, because brilliant writers like Yu Dafu, Bing Xin and Mao Dun, who had been influenced by western models, were in their time — i.e. in the 1920's — taking similar paths. Even in the 1940's and 1950's, Chinese writers learnt a great deal from foreign literature, especially Soviet literature. Chinese comparative literary scientist Chen Xiaoying says that this is demonstrated by a wealth of examples. E.g. Liu Qing's novel *Story of the Re-Builders* (1960, *Chuawaye shi*) can be compared to Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* and, in terms of language — as a result of the method of "counter-rhetoric" (*fanxiuci*) —, with works by Gogol and Tolstoy. In Chen's opinion, Liu Qing is obviously very much under the influence of both the Russo-Soviet and the American-European literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. And he adds that the works by Wang Meng and Feng Jikai show a very clear influence of American black humour. But even in this respect, writers like Sholokhov, Tvardovsky and Shukshin may have influenced Wang Meng, Gao Xiaosheng, Lu Wenfu, Gu Hua, etc.<sup>8</sup>

But Chinese literary critics have also made a number of quite impermissible comparisons between new Chinese stories and foreign ones, claiming that the latter served as models of the former. Writer Deng Gang refuses to accept comparisons of this kind because he says they are superficial and are not based on serious academic analysis. He adds that there were not a few literary critics in the People's Republic of China who compared his story *Temptation by the Sea* (1982, *Miren de hai*), which was quite successful in China, with Hemingway's short story *The Old Man and the Sea*. As a result of (superficial) comparisons of this kind, a lot was made of Hemingway's alleged influence on Deng Gang, although no academically sound proof was given or could have been given. In Deng Gang's view, Hemingway's forms of narrative expression are brief and concise, marked by an almost total lack of descriptive elements and distinguished by extreme compactness. He says that his own mode of narration is long-winded by comparison. He points out that Hemingway knows exceedingly well how to express the main theme of his short story in artistic disguise and how to describe the innermost processes of his hero. Yet his own mode of description, he says, is rather simple, aiming at external circumstances. Deng Gang believes that every writer is no doubt exposed to a certain influence of foreign literature and foreign writers, but that any influence of this



kind can hardly ever be attributed to just one source, since it invariably comes from a whole group of sources. He says that before he wrote *Temptation by the Sea* he had not read Hemingway, but the *Call of the Wild*, etc. by Jack London and stories about the Siberian tundra, where the subsoil is permanently frozen.<sup>9</sup>

A major development in present-day Chinese narrative prose is the diversification of structure, e.g. of China's sometimes newly discovered story of "medium length" (*zhongpian xiaoshuo*), in which western models — right up to Kafka and Joyce — are playing a certain role today. In an article on this subject, Chinese literary scientist Zhou Zhengbao says that the structure of the present-day story of "medium length" is based on both western models and traditional literary procedure. From western models this kind of story has mainly borrowed the narrative structure, which is wide-spread in world literature and which, first and foremost, aims at expressing moods and emotions, with the description of the characters or certain external features receding into the background. In aesthetic terms, the medium-length story, which has no clear-cut plot, seeks to reflect a mood that is the result of a certain social or personal situation. This kind of writing was taboo in the People's Republic of China during the long years when literary creativity was stagnating and even declining; and it practically had to be re-learned by China's writers after those years were over.

How rapidly and skilfully present-day writers acquired the capacity for this kind of literary expression in the field of narrative prose, has over the last few years been shown by the narrative works by Wang Meng. Describing innermost sentiments and emotions, he relies on the "stream of consciousness". In stories like *The Butterfly* (1980, *Hudie*), *The Voice of Spring* (1980, *Chun zhi sheng*), and *Pinto* (1981, *Zase*), the "stream of consciousness" in the principal mode of description. In *Pinto*, the writer deals with nothing but the thoughts and feelings of the central character, Cao Qianli, as they emerge when he looks at the landscape on his way to the mountains. Added to this are his thoughts about his horse, which he relates to the experience that he has gained during his life, and to the ideas that he has concerning the value of life as such. A "stream of consciousness" reveals the emotions — including their emergence and development — of a person at the beginning of a new spring in society, emotions that the reader will find are, in a way, as "multi-coloured" and "piebald" as the character's horse.

This mode of narration, which serves to convey moods and sentiments, may also come close to the form of the essay, or may make use of essay elements. The essay ranked second in the literary hierarchy of Chinese classical literature, coming next to poetry. Using essayistic means in their narrative prose, writers make deliberate use of a means of expression that has a long-standing tradition in Chinese literature. Essayistic means are eminently suitable for describing mental recognition and philosophical reflection derived from personal experience. In the words of a phrase well-known in Chinese classical literature, this means "loose in form, but not in spirit" (*Xing san er shen bu san*). This can, in turn, be found excellently illustrated by several stories by Wang Meng, because Wang Meng offers a compact presentation of his own ideas without relying on a well-defined plot, but by using a style that is pretty close to that of an essay. A case in point is his story *Eyes of the Night* (1979, *Ye de yan*). Among the authors of present-day narrative prose, writers like Wang Zengqi and Zong Pu are very much aware of the close relations existing between their works and the traditional Chinese essay. Wang Zengqi says: "If people say that my stories are hardly distinguishable from essays, then they are no doubt right. Even when I was still quite a young man, I sought to break down the barriers put up between story, essay and poem ... What is called the essay ... does not give an immediate description of the properties, psyches and actions of the characters. It may convey nothing but atmosphere on occasion ..."<sup>10</sup>

When the present-day Chinese writer of narrative prose resorts to essayistic means, he can rely on a great independent tradition of Chinese literature. Using the "stream of consciousness", he follows foreign models, though. But writer Zhang Xianliang feels that this "stream of consciousness" is not very popular with most Chinese readers. This is, *inter alia*, due to the fact that pictures change a little too fast for those readers to like it. Zhang Xianliang thinks that Chinese readers are used to a kind of story and a mode of narration that offer the details in a rather close-knit fashion, without any big jumps and digressions. In his story *Soul and Flesh*

(or *The Horse Herdsman*) (1980, *Ling yu rou*), he therefore tries to use the "stream of consciousness" and the composed pictures in the Chinese manner. He makes every effort to connect the details in the "stream of consciousness" and provide narrative links between the pictures so as to increase the vividness of the narration. These new methods of description are meant to meet the Chinese readers' expectations half-way.<sup>11</sup>

The share of the present-day Chinese narrators' independent creativity in story-writing becomes apparent when it comes to using techniques like artistic "metamorphosis", which were — and are — mainly used by the expressionists and modernists among European and American writers. Writing an essay on the subject, Chinese literary scientist Zhang Delin says<sup>12</sup> that the technique of "metamorphosis" is not at all a discovery of western modernism, but was already wide-spread in ancient Chinese literature. It was extensively used in the stories by Feng Menglong (1574–1646), the novel *The Travel to the West* (*Xiyou ji*) by Wu Chengen (16th century) and, in a downright classical manner, in the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hongloumeng*) by Cao Xueqin (18th century). Even the dream visions or dream descriptions of ancient Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi (4th–3rd century BC) can be cited as examples. But there is no denying that the technique of artistic "metamorphosis", as evolved and used by the western modernists, exerts an influence on the Chinese narrators of the present day. Proof can be found in stories such as *With Bolshevik Greetings* (1979, *Buli*) and *Pinto* by Wang Meng, *My Modest Hut* (1980, *Woju*) by Zong Pu, and *The Park Area Tree* (1984, *Lihuashu*) by Zhang Xianliang, which all use a mode of narration that includes artistic "metamorphoses" of that kind. In her story *My Modest Home*, Zong Pu depicts intellectuals who were suffering political persecution during the "ten-year chaos" of the "Cultural Revolution" and were forced to give up their own "self". Describing this depressing state-of-affairs and the resultant human misery, the stories show unmistakable signs of the influence of such surrealist means of expression as Kafka uses in his story *Die Verwandlung* (*The Transformations*). Zong Pu makes this comment: "My works of this kind were very much influenced by the method of the western modernists. Yet I had never made any deliberate efforts to study it. I just felt while I was writing that this technique of expression was more accurate. I therefore wrote like I did. I believe that the works of western expressionism and surrealism are not at all mere mad talk, but that they are in many ways worth imitating. The point is, however, that things like these should be introduced into one's own works in a modified form. You have to make it Chinese and your own. If you do, it will work."<sup>13</sup>

Zhang Delin says that Zong Pu makes creative use of this method of description since she, in her story *My Modest Home*, does not only show people who are stricken with fear and have therefore crawled back into their own shells, wearing masks, informing against others and seeking to heighten their own authority and reputation, but also because she depicts people who bring a ray of hope into the world, sacrificing themselves in the name of a good cause. Zong Pu is in this respect radically different from Kafka's ideology of passivism and despair over the human fate. In Zong Pu's works, there is always a beam of light shining through fear and heartless cruelty. The underlying theme of her story is not despair, but the longing and search for man's ideal way of life, and a spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of the nation.<sup>14</sup>

The novel *The Bell and Drum Tower* (1984, *Zhonggulou*) by Liu Xinwu has won a good deal of acclaim among Chinese literary critics, especially for its mode of narration. It relates sections of the life and experience of about 40 people living around the bell and drum tower in Peking. It is a kind of national self-reflection that suggests deep historical roots and philosophical profundity. A review by Zhang Zhong'e says<sup>15</sup> that Liu Xinwu, although using a number of western methods of description — like the "opening structure" (no proper plot, just loosely connected details, etc.) —, shows a number of trends in his writing that are new to the mode of narration in this kind of novel. The novel presents a large number of episodic, often apparently accidental events and details, which are inter-connected on some occasions and are very isolated on others. Yet the reader never gets the impression that everything falls apart, because time and place are very closely concentrated. A description is given of the twelve hours between the morning and the evening of December 12th, 1982 in the area around the drum tower in Peking. The novel does not simply list a number of incoherent



details, but has a firm basis in terms of time and place and is subordinated to a general whole. The author himself described this in the following manner: "The style I used here can be called 'the style of the flowered ladle' or 'the style of orange-peeling'; i.e. of a flower opening from its centre, with the petals bending one by one, in every direction; or of some-one peeling an orange, going from layer to layer."<sup>16</sup>

The novel has neither a plot nor gives a detailed description of the characters. Parallels can in this respect be drawn to modernist models in late bourgeois literature with its "opened structure". In its mode of narration and the description of everyday life, the novel does, however, clearly reveal local national colour — in this case, that of Peking — and imitates traditional modes of narration. In an essay on western influence and national style in Chinese literature, Tang Tao offers the thesis that, in the course of the development of the new Chinese literature, the western ideas and foreign artistic forms that were absorbed into this literature had to be adapted to the soil and climate of China if they were to take root there.<sup>17</sup> So, if western ideas (both bourgeois and socialist) and foreign literary forms and means of expression were to be harmonized with Chinese realities and the conditions of artistic and literary reception in China, they had to be "Sinicized", so to speak, i.e. they had to be adapted to the way of life, the readings habits, the tastes, the social habits and the customs of the Chinese. If this is not taken to imply a merely utilitarian adaptation or schematic acceptance of that kind of foreign literary models and means of expression without any regard for aesthetic pre-conditions, but is rather taken to refer to creative acquisition and processing in line with the social and literary conditions present in China, then this thesis can stand, of course.

The development of narrative prose in China over the last five to six years has been so successful in artistic and literary terms that the thesis is fully vindicated. All major narrators who have over the last few decades begun to use the new mode of narration developed in western literature, and employed it in particular to describe the mental and emotional lives of their characters, have been acting in accordance with the thesis, thus making their own creative contributions to Chinese literature. They did not confine themselves to copying, but more or less relied on their own Chinese literary tradition in one way or another. When asked what literary and philosophical works had influenced them most when they were young, Wang Meng and Li Zhun said: "The Dream of the Red Chamber, the works by Lu Xun, and the Chinese classical poetry of the Tang and Song eras." Li Zhun added that he had also been under the considerable influence of Walt Whitman.<sup>18</sup> Looking back on the days of the "Cultural Revolution" and her own political persecution, writer Zhang Jie, who has become well-known as a result of her fine stories and especially her remarkable novels like *Heavy Wings* (1981, *Chenzhong de Chibang*) and *The Ark* (1982, *Fangzhou*), says, not without sarcasm: "It is rather amusing that in the past, whenever we were asked to summarize our ideological remoulding and I was supposed to try and uncover the class and social origin of my longstanding and unreformable bad habits — no strong sense of class struggle, low political consciousness and slack discipline — I always heard people comment exasperatedly, 'The problem with Zhang Jie is that she has been too deeply poisoned by 18th and 19th century western novels.'"<sup>19</sup>

To sum up, we can say — even after we have considered only a limited number of aspects of tradition processing in, and the foreign influence on, the narrative prose of present-day Chinese literature — that all important present-day writers have creatively absorbed what they found in their own national traditions and in foreign models. They have learnt from both the old tradition and the fairly new one, and proved open-minded vis-à-vis all foreign experience that they found they could make use of. And since writers differ in artistic temperament, it is only natural that some should adhere more to the customary mode of description (with a plot, a positive and a negative hero, a sharpening of contradictions, etc.), and others more to an "open" style of writing (with internal monologues, the "stream of consciousness", and complex techniques of reflection). The important thing is, however, that a large number of present-day writers of both the older and the younger generation have made creative use of both their own country's traditions and influences from abroad so that they are now in a position to write narrative pieces that allow the narrative prose of present-day Chinese literature to be exceedingly successful in terms of both quantity and quality.

## Notes

- 1 Tang Tao, Western Influences and National Style. In: Chinese Literature, Peking, Spring 1985, pp. 210 ff.
- 2 Cf. Wu Bingjie, Lun xinsiqi xiaoshuo fengge de duoyanghua. In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1985, no. 3, pp. 38 ff.
- 3 Rittin, B., Literatur in China. Begegnungen in Tianjin 1981. In: Kunst und Literatur, Berlin, 32, 1984, p. 490.
- 4 Cf. Holm, David L., National Form and the Popularization of Literature in Yanan. In: La littérature Chinoise au temps de la guerre de résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 à 1945), Paris 1980, pp. 215 ff.
- 5 Rittin, B., op. cit., p. 484.
- 6 Ding Fan, Xu Zhaohuai, Xinsiqi fengsuhua xiaoshuo zongheng tan. In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1984, no. 6, pp. 22 ff.
- 7 Quoted in: Chen Suyan, Lun Zongpu. In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1984, no. 3, p. 60.
- 8 Cf. Chen Xiaoying, Rang dangdai wenxue yanjiu yu bijiao wenxue "lianyin". In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1984, no. 6, pp. 93 ff.
- 9 Quoted from: Chuangzuo duoyanghua pinglun zenmeban. In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1984, no. 5, p. 14.
- 10 Quoted in: Huang Ziping, Lun Zhongguo dangdai duapian xiaoshuo de yishu fazhan. In: Ibid., p. 31.
- 11 Ibid., p. 28.
- 12 Cf. Zhang Delin, "Bianxing" yishuguilu tansu. In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1985, no. 3, pp. 93 ff.
- 13 Quoted in: Zhang Delin, op. cit., p. 99.
- 14 Cf. Zhang Delin, op. cit., p. 99.
- 15 Cf. Zhang Zhong'e: Changpian xiaoshuo chuanzuo de tansu — ping "Zhonggulou". In: Wenxue pinglun, Peking 1985, no. 2, pp. 99 ff.
- 16 Quoted in: Zhang Zhong'e, op. cit., p. 100.
- 17 Tang Tao, op. cit., p. 218.
- 18 Cf. Wang Mingjie, The Second Chinese and American Writers Conference. In: Chinese Literature, Peking, Summer 1985, p. 231.
- 19 Zhang Jie, My Boat. In: Ibid., p. 52.



## The North Africa and Middle East studies as mirrored by their publications

In the GDR scholars of various institutions deal with North Africa and the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> The major part of these studies is done in a separate educational and research section at the department for African and Middle East studies at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. Here also full-time students study various combinations of regional studies and academic training is offered for future translators/interpreters in the respective languages. Following sections at universities and institutions also deal with the mentioned subject: section for history, languages and culture of the Middle East (Arabic studies) at the department for orientalism and classical studies of the Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg; section West Asia at the department for Asian studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin; section history of the developing countries at the Central Institute for History attached to the Academy of Sciences of the GDR in Berlin; and the department for foreign policy of the Asian, African and Latin American states at the Institute for International Relations attached to the Academy for Political and Legal Studies of the GDR in Potsdam-Babelsberg. The scholars working at these institutions try to grasp the subject's complexity, i.e. to consider all essential sectors of the society. They deal with both past and present times.

Historians, committed to the requirements of the antiimperialist democratic and later socialist revolution in their own country, started to examine the colonial activities of the German imperialism. L. Rathmann analyzed the imperial Germany's political, economic, military and cultural efforts during the first world war to settle down in the Middle East.<sup>2</sup> While concentrating mainly on issues of strategy and tactics H. Tillmann examined the endeavour of the Axis powers during World War II to include Arab people and Arab territories in their struggle for world supremacy.<sup>3</sup> GDR scholars soon followed up also the new events and developments in North Africa and the Middle East after World War II, such as the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the formation of sovereign states. L. Rathmann outlined the historical dimension of the current processes in his paper on the Arab peoples' liberation struggle till the outbreak of the second world war.<sup>4</sup> Specialists of various disciplines at the Oriental Institute of the Karl Marx University published findings of their research on development processes in the states of that region as well as on the correlation between national emancipation and international conflicts between the systems.<sup>5</sup> M. Robbe et al. studied policies and ideology of the Egypt liberation movement under Gamal Abdel Nasser.<sup>6</sup> In numerous articles regional developments and those ones in single countries were considered.<sup>7</sup>

In 1983 L. Rathmann et al. finished the seventh and for the time being last volume of the first comprehensive History of the Arabs in German-speaking territories approached from Marxist-Leninist positions.<sup>8</sup> Maps, pictures, bibliographic data, registers as well as chronological tables with the headlines "World History Events", "Dynasties and Sovereigns", "Politics and Economy", "Culture" make the book easy readable, i.e. they help the reader to understand the book's message. The two volumes of part I of the work cover the period between the start and breakdown of the Ottoman Empire. The authors point out that even today the "early history" of the Arabs still lies nearly in the dark. Muhammad ibn Abdallah started a far-ranging transformation on the Arabian peninsula: While founding Islam — he is considered to be its prophet and founder — he was able to concentrate those energies set free in the ruin of the patriarchal tribal society for building a huge feudal empire, the Caliphate. The peoples forming this empire made an extraordinary contribution to the progress of mankind. Characterized by feudal structures with dynastic rivalry, preprogrammed to some extent, it was, however, doomed to ruin from the very beginning. Its successive states were neither capable to withstand the Mongolian conquerors nor the erection of Turkish-Ottoman rule. In the 19th century European colonial powers, first of all France, Great Britain, Italy, made efforts to become the successors of the "sick man at the Bosphorus". Willing to fight for independence the Arabs had to face the task to do away with the still existing powers of the Turkish-Ottoman rule and to fight increasing European colonial expansion. And they

fought: In Algeria under the leadership of Abd al-Qadir and in Egypt under Ahmad Urabi. At the beginning they were not yet successful, since the colonial powers were stronger. But nevertheless, so the authors, they "laid the fundamentals for the formation of the Arab movement for independence after the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire in the first world war".<sup>9</sup>

The two-volume second part of the work deals with the struggle of the Arab liberation movement against imperialist colonial rule (1917–1945). In the first chapter the authors outline the importance of the October Revolution for the anticolonial struggle of the Arab peoples. They analyse the new situation in the world starting in 1917: the formation of the first socialist state, the foundation of the Communist International and of Communist parties in imperialist countries as well as in colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies. They prove how the ideas of the October Revolution fell on fertile ground in the Middle East and North Africa. These ideas were a.o. conveyed by European workers and Arab soldiers who were forced into the Turkish, British or French army. When dealing with the colonial situation and the anticolonial struggles the authors do it for each individual country. Socio-economic conditions and processes are duly considered. With differing speed in the various territories capitalism, dominated by foreign capital, developed on the basis of precapitalist conditions in forms crippled and very painful for the producers, which had consequences for the anticolonial struggle. The rural strata formed its mass basis. Representatives of intermediate strata, mainly students and secondary school pupils, played a very active role. Although being on a low level of development the proletariat worked for more consistence; trade unions and communist parties emphasized the aspect of social liberation inseparably connected with national liberation in this struggle. In some territories, such as in the Moroccan Rif Mountains, in Libya and the Syrian Druze area, the liberation movements were under the leadership of the upper strata of the traditional tribal system with a socio-economic basis getting gradually semi-feudal and feudal features. In other areas, such as in Egypt and Syria/Lebanon, the leadership was in the hands of bourgeois class forces.

Separately and in a special chapter ideological forms of expression of the anticolonial struggle are studied. Those ones which fought foreign rule had Islam as their ideological basis available. The so-called modernists with Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad Rashid Rida and Abd al-Hamid Bin Badis tried to clean it from obscurantism, ignorance and fanaticism and to revive it as a "uniting link" in the national liberation struggle "by recalling it and its progressive historical traditions". At the same time bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces needed an ideology which was able to identify much more effectively their own interests with those of the national movement, if these forces wanted to give their hegemonial position in the Arab national movement also theoretical and philosophical fundamentals. And they found it in the bourgeois nationalism. Nationalist scholars considered the Arab language the "soul of the Arab nation"; according to their opinion everyone "whose mother's tongue is the Arab language and who thinks and expresses his/her thoughts in this language", is an Arab, "irrespective of his/her parents' race".<sup>10</sup> Panarabists called for gradual political unification of all Arabs by overcoming the "regionalism". In the anticolonial struggle petty-bourgeois socialists as well as communists expressed also socialist ideas, which became a traditional line. (It was not seldom that the activities of petty-bourgeois socialists laid the fundamentals for the foundation of communist parties.)

The three-volume third part of the work deals with the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the Arab liberation movement's struggle for social progress (from 1945 till present time). The authors show how national liberation movements overcame the imperialist colonial system in the Arab territories when this process had started in Asia after the second world war. Sovereign states or states which could strengthen their independence were the result of the anticolonial and antiimperialist struggle. Of course, the process' course had been different from country to country — in Egypt it was relatively peaceful when the "free officers" seized power in July 1952, while the Algerian patriots had to wage an eight year long armed struggle (1954–1962) at a great cost in human lives — in any case, however, it was a political revolution having importance for the revolutionary process in the world at the time when it took place, but also for the future. Always the authors show the social dimensions of national liberation. They outline not only how the anticolonial struggle



had been waged by certain forces of the society under concrete social conditions, but they also prove that in many ways the overthrow of colonial rule implied necessarily a change in the interior. In Egypt the struggle for withdrawal of the British army had to be connected with overthrowing the inner ruling circles, the reactionary rural aristocracy and its leading figures, the court clique. In Iraq the local regime, which had supported foreign rule, had to be abolished together with the latter. In a "résumé" on the 5th volume general circumstances, tendencies and results of the anticolonial struggle are dealt with. It reads: "The achievement of autonomous statehood characterized the successful completion of the first stage of the Arab peoples' struggle for their liberation. It proved to be one of the factors with long-term effects changing the relative strength to the disadvantage of imperialism in this important zone where three continents meet. In most of the cases the Arab liberation movement developed from a power in opposition to a power reigning the state. ... The possibility to use state power for realizing goals of the liberation movement was a qualitatively new feature and strengthened enormously its antiimperialist potential."<sup>11</sup>

Every Arab country has long-standing traditions of its own making it unmistakable and claiming appropriate consideration. Therefore special studies have been made to give an all-round picture of Arab history. M. Robbe examined the struggle of the Palestinians for national identity and sovereignty.<sup>12</sup> M. Wolf describes development courses in the Palestinian resistance on the basis of his own experiences which is of benefit to a differentiated treatment of the subject. Criticism on illusions in the ranks of the Palestinians results from deep emotions for their just struggle.<sup>13</sup> In a pictorial documentation with text Th. Billhardt and P. Jacobs present every-day life and struggle of the Arab people of Palestine.<sup>14</sup> Also in the paper by G. Höpp on the liberation struggle in Algeria from 1954 to 1962, published in the series "illustrierte historische hefte" of the Central Institute for History at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, illustrations are of great importance.<sup>15</sup> W. and A. Bator edited a documentation on the relations between the GDR and the Arab states between 1956 and 1982.<sup>16</sup> In their introduction they point out that from the very beginning the GDR's foreign policy has been aimed at contributing actively to the consolidation of peace and détente with regard to the situation in the world as a whole as well as to regional conflicts in the Middle East. The collection of documents prove this statement.<sup>17</sup>

It would be desirable to see publications on the history of countries such as Egypt, Algeria and Lebanon on the market in the forthcoming years. The consideration of the events in the countries on the Arabian peninsula is also still too poor. It would be a good idea to study the history of the entire Arab component which will be more than summing up the single countries' histories.

The history of the Arabs in ancient times and the Middle Ages deserves greater attention. Some good work, however, has been done. H. Preißler and G. Hoffmann co-operated with I. Sellnow who published "Weltgeschichte bis zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus".<sup>18</sup> Hoffmann presented findings of his research on the Arab-Islamic town.<sup>19</sup> D. Sturm studied the Arab countries' economy in the 10th century.<sup>20</sup> G. Strohmaier and K. Rührdanz published science-based papers.<sup>21</sup> However, it remains a lot to do, especially concerning the evaluation of respective sources.

Following the latest developments the scientific discussion focusses on the Middle East conflict in its national, regional and global dimensions. Most of the publications till 1985 on this conflict study certain periods or selected aspects of the explosive situation in the East Mediterranean, its roots, its eruptions and consequences. Here the following articles and books should be mentioned: "Kein Friede in Nahost?" by M. Robbe<sup>22</sup>, dealing with the history of the origins of the Arab liberation movement and the foundation of Israel as well as the first four Middle East wars till 1973; "Spannungsherd Nahost" by G. Engmann<sup>23</sup> who examined the four Middle East wars under military-political aspects and compared the armaments of the two sides in war; "Nahost. Fortschritts- und Friedenskräfte gegen imperialistische Konfrontationspolitik" by P. Bathke and K. Fuchs<sup>24</sup>, analysing the imperialist strategy in the Middle East and the potential of the opposed forces taking the fifth Middle East war (1982) as example. The first and hitherto single scientific study of the entire subject was produced by M. Robbe

under the title "Scheidewege in Nahost". In three main chapters, dealing with case history, the Arab-Israeli confrontation and the class lines in the latest events in the conflict, the author gives evaluations, showing backgrounds, ramifications and connections. He comes to the conclusion that the aggression of the Three in 1956 helped middle-class and petty-bourgeois-democratic forces fighting for national liberation to recognize the fronts of classes in the world.<sup>25</sup> According to the author the Camp David Agreement was an "imperialist, anti-Arab conspiracy".<sup>26</sup> He considers Palestine to have a special importance. "Historically seen the Middle East conflict began here. Then it expanded and became the focus of controversies and conflicts between the Arab national movement and the working people of Israel on the one side and the alliance between imperialism, political Zionists and Arab reaction on the other side. The Palestinians' cause, their struggle for national identity and sovereignty, however, remains in its centre."<sup>27</sup> Having the present and the future time in mind the author writes: "Although a turn for the better can not yet be seen in the Middle East, it can only imply to increase the efforts for this turn. Too much is at stake, for the Palestinians, for all peoples in that region, for world peace."<sup>28</sup>

At the beginning of the eighties A. Jörgensen<sup>29</sup> and P. Bathke with K. Kulow<sup>30</sup> contributed to the enrichment of the book market, given notice from many sides. With their publications on Israel they helped to fill a gap with respect to the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of both the history, the internal and foreign policy and the communist party's and the anti-war movement's role since 1982 of this state.

After the publication of his book on the history of the Ottomans<sup>31</sup> years before E. Werner edited together with W. Markov the history of the Turks<sup>32</sup> in 1978. For the first time the subject in its totality had been approached from Marxist angle in the German-speaking area and in this respect it may be compared with "Geschichte der Araber". They write: "It was a rather unusual history the Turks have had. Their first thousand years were in Central Asia and fell into darkness to become a saga. It was not earlier than in the 19th and 20th century that historians brought it to daylight again. The Islamic minor state, founded by Ertugrul and Osman in the 13th century in Northwestern Anatolia, succeeded to Byzantium and became soon a formidable opponent to the 'Christian West'. The huge feudal Ottoman Empire, excellently organized, the administration of which was admired by the people at that time, expanded to the gates of Vienna. Its yoke weighed heavily on the subdued peoples: Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Hungarians, Armenians, Arabs, and others, whose fate was determined by it for a long time."<sup>33</sup> Werner and Markov show the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire. They describe how on one side the conflict about its division formed a basic feature of European power politics while on the other side the revolutionary struggles against the Turkish foreign rule resulted in the foundation of national states on the Balkan peninsula. It reads that the antiimperialist liberation struggle headed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk — J. Glasneck dedicated to him a remarkable book<sup>34</sup> — opened a new chapter in the history of the Turks. It laid the foundations for the Turkish Republic of our days.

GDR scholars continue the German tradition to deal with Islam scientifically. B. Brentjes gives a lively picture of this religion in several works with scientific character. The "Islamic art" is given an equal place with the "Islamic history". Many of his studies deal with developments in Soviet republics in Central Asia.<sup>35</sup> W. Walther wrote a book "Die Frau im Islam"<sup>36</sup>. She studied the woman's role in Islamic jurisdiction, in the Koran, the family and the society in previous times and today. Love as well as the women's efforts for equal rights in the Islamic part of the world have got appropriate consideration.

The "reactivation of Islam", which began in the seventies — the "Islamic revolution" in Iran (1978/80) was one of the first peaks — inspired also GDR scholars to intensify studies in Islam. M. Robbe, G. Höpp, M. Grzeskowiak, I. Itscherenska and D. Norouzi put following question in their article: "Atmosphere of Departure in Islam: Escape or Overcoming the Crisis?"<sup>37</sup> In June 1980 the department for African and Middle East studies of the Karl Marx University and the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR organized a meeting with the topic "Islam and Society" in Leipzig.<sup>38</sup> H. Preißler delivered the introductory speech on "Islam in the Middle East and North Africa and the present social problems".<sup>39</sup> Celebrating the centennial of R. Hartmann's birthday the department for history of the devel-



oping countries of the Central Institute for History at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR held a session on methodological problems in the research on Islam in May 1981.<sup>40</sup> B. Brentjes and M. Robbe outlined developments and features of Islam in two booklets.<sup>41</sup> H. Preißler and M. Robbe published contributions on this subject in English in a special issue of the journal "Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika".<sup>42</sup> I. Itscherenska and D. Norouzi studied intensively various aspects of the development in Iran.<sup>43</sup>

The reactivation of Islam is a fact full of contradictions. That is the opinion of the authors mentioned. On one hand it may express anti-imperialist trends. W. Walther considers it to be a reaction to the "westernization, disappointing" also members of the upper strata.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand it may be connected with taking back progressive achievements when there is e.g. a return to the shari'a, the old Islamic law. As proven by G. Höpp these developments were influenced by the fact that there was no deep-going reformation in Islam.<sup>45</sup>

No doubt, Islam and its reactivation have to be studied more intensively. And here it is very important to make those mechanisms transparent which cause a religious conveyance of social needs. To make the point clear, in Iran, for example, there was a revolutionary situation in the mid-seventies. Why did just the claim for a return to Islam and for an "Islamic state" mobilize the great majority of the Iranians?

A study of the entire subject "Die Welt des Islam. Geschichte und Alltag einer Religion" will likely be published in 1987, written by a team of scientists of the Central Institute for History. Its contents will be made up by the following five topics: "Origin and Features", "The Arabian-Islamic World Empire", "War, trade: Expansion of positions in Asia and Africa", "Islam and colonialism" and "In the class struggles of the present time". When writing the book the authors again felt the discrepancy which has been existing for a long time. And only to a limited extent they were able to bridge it: Although the vast majority of Muslims is living in non-Arab countries, Islam is studied mainly in its features which it got in the Arab areas.

Especially since the sixties progress has been made in the field of analyzing economic conditions and processes. Although studies with general economic character, dealing also with issues of the North African and Middle East region, prevailed, gradually more and more publications concentrating on regional aspects or those ones typical for single countries were produced. The books, edited in the series "Studien über Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika"<sup>46</sup>, on issues of industrialization, co-operatives, industry planning and economic integration as well as books and brochures of other publishing houses<sup>47</sup> on economic problems of the developing countries have to be mentioned here.

The monograph "Industrialization in the Arab Countries of the Middle East" by G. Barthel deals with the Arab region.<sup>48</sup> Here esp. economic, social and technical problems and processes in the course of the necessary industrial development are characterized. Being part of the economic growth the relationship between traditional and dynamic branches of industry and the combination of capital-intensive and labour-intensive technologies play a decisive role. Basing on the respective level of the conditions of production and the productive forces models for economic and political decisions in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon and Syria had been elaborated which take the endeavour to abolish economic backwardness and to gain also economic independence under the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution on one hand and the existence of a huge army of jobless and part-time workers on the other hand into account. In the authors' concluding remarks it reads: "From these remarks, it follows that the decisive problem today is not the question of heavy or light industries but principally of achieving an optimal relationship between department I and department II. In department II, the investments per enterprise are low on the average, give quick returns, provide a large number of jobs, mostly manage without foreign assistance and can dispense with imports for the maintenance of production. In department I, it is a question of projects which call for considerable investments, provide only a few jobs and only give promise of a very high contribution to the rate of accumulation via a sum of direct and indirect efficiencies. Only in this way a collision can be avoided with the limited financial resources, the unbalanced structure of demand and the growing number of those seeking employment."<sup>49</sup>

An economic-geographical study by G. Barthel and G. Nötzold also deals with the Arab

region.<sup>50</sup> It wants to be first of all a compendium for economists and geographers. In a generalizing survey the Arab region is presented in its entirety. In eight chapters, making up one third of the book, an outline is given on the natural conditions, economic history, socio-economic conditions, demography, distribution of production, external factors of influence and the development of the territorial structure. The book's main part deals with every Arab country being situated between the Atlantic and the Persian Gulf. A uniform scheme is used: position, size, frontiers, capital, natural conditions, social development, population, economy, peculiarities in the territorial structure. By having reliable access to essential and important data, facts and tendencies the reader is able to orientate himself quickly in the region and single countries, resp., and to understand better the developments of the Arab peoples and states, full of conflicts.

Emphasis is put on economic items also in those special issues of the journal "Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika" which publish exclusively country-specific studies.<sup>51</sup>

The mentioned situation in economics is similar to that one in the jurisprudence. Anthologies and monographs dealing with general issues of peoples and public law in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries still prevail in number; only step by step monographs on states in North Africa and the Middle East are published to a greater extent. For the time being they can be found for Syria and Algeria only. S. Petzold studied the development of the state led by the Arab Socialist Baath-Party since 1963 under the headline "Staatsmacht und Demokratie in der Syrischen Arabischen Republik".<sup>52</sup> He concentrated on the constitution of 1973 which was analyzed with respect to the central and local state bodies' power and position. So he came to conclusions which do not only say something about the actual level of democracy, but also on the range between the text of the constitution and the constitutional reality. In his book "Staatsmacht, Demokratie und Revolution in der DVR Algerien" H. Baumann deals with issues which go beyond the foundation, development, mechanisms and function of the Algerian state.<sup>53</sup> Esp. problems connected with policy and ideology of the leading forces become evident. In publications with wider subjects general aspects of public and international law are treated being relevant in one or another way also for the North African and the Middle East region. Studies in the national-democratic state and the relationship between state and party as well as in positive neutrality and the activities of international organizations, sovereign management of the natural resources and the constitutional development in states with capitalist and socialist orientation are in the centre.<sup>54</sup> In two anthologies, published at the beginning of the eighties, articles consider the specific features of individual Islamic countries as Egypt, Iran, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen as well as the PLO.<sup>55</sup>

In high commitment to the humanistic heritage of the German orientalism studies have been produced dealing with aspects of cultural science and linguistics in the development of North Africa and the Middle East — mainly of the Arab countries. Continuing the great work of renowned scholars<sup>56</sup> of the 19th and 20th century — such as H. L. Fleischer or C. Brockelmann — J. Fück published his "Arabiya" in 1950.<sup>57</sup> His studies in the cultural history of the Arab standard language and in the linguistic situation of today's Arab language met and meet with great interest by specialists in this field. He considered the Arab language mainly as medium of active and creative life. Translations of this standard work into Arab and French prove its high value.<sup>58</sup> His book "Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts"<sup>59</sup> and selected papers edited by M. Fleischhammer<sup>60</sup> were acclaimed in the same way.

The cultural development between the Atlantic and the Persian Gulf in the politically independent Arab states is surveyed by D. Bellmann, which is a novelty in the German-speaking region.<sup>61</sup> He proves with great accuracy that inspite of manifold cultural links and common roots in the past the individual Arab countries show different levels in the intellectual culture. Dependent on the divergent socio-economic and political conditions he finds direct and indirect analogies to bourgeois ideological currents in cultural theory and cultural conceptions, which he calls "traditional", "national" and "anti-imperialist-democratic" trends. They are contrasted with "the direction for a democratic cultural development with socialist orientation".<sup>62</sup> In 16 chapters on the individual countries, being of great benefit, the author characterized the respective country's cultural development and policy as well as its literature, performing art (theatre, film), visual art and music.



From theoretical angle issues of the development of literature, which are generally as well as particularly connected with Arab countries, are taken up in volume 26 of the series of studies published by the ZENTRAAL.<sup>63</sup> On the IIIrd International Symposium on Theoretical Issues of African and Asian Literature in Weimar in 1976 literary scholars of the socialist states dealt mainly with the relationship between revolution and literature, the correlations of literary developing processes as well as the relation between classic/tradition on one side and present literature on the other side.

The "Chrestomathie der modernen arabischen Prosaliteratur" by M. Fleischhammer and W. Walther proved to be useful for schools and universities.<sup>64</sup> Besides literary texts there are also various original texts by contemporary Arab theoreticians of culture.

Remarkable results of their scientific studies in music of the Arab world and beyond were published by H. G. Farmer<sup>65</sup> as well as P. Collaer and J. Elsner<sup>66</sup>. The authors shed more light upon the history of music of the peoples living in that region and introduce musical instruments. K.-H. Bernhardt<sup>67</sup>, B. Brentjes<sup>68</sup>, E. Claudius<sup>69</sup>, I. Seibert<sup>70</sup>, H. Simon<sup>71</sup>, G. Strohmaier<sup>72</sup> produced works on the history of cultures as well as extraordinary personalities. The authors want to be widely read by delivering a lot of facts based on many and serious sources and materials.

Thanks to a.o. D. Bellmann<sup>73</sup>, E. Littmann<sup>74</sup>, H. Preißler<sup>75</sup> and St. Schreiner<sup>76</sup> there are translations of Arab texts of the epoch of cultural prosperity. They enjoy great popularity. From contemporary Arab literature the GDR readers are made acquainted with those authors who give impressions of the life of the broad masses and evidence of their heavy struggle for national sovereignty, social progress and repulse of threats and interference from abroad.<sup>77</sup>

The Syrian Adel Karasholi, living in Leipzig, holds a special position in the literary scene. Being mediator between two worlds he translates Brecht into Arabic and Arabic dramas into German. Having biographic features and showing his endeavour to work for humaneness in his old as well as in his new motherland his poems are of special attractiveness.<sup>78</sup>

The linguists proved to be extremely productive, full of initiatives. They managed better and better to consider the social feature language as a whole and to connect it with the demands of a practice-oriented training of students. In a long process, not free of problems, the dialogue with representatives of the general philology, German, Slavic and English philology etc. improved, which can be considered a contribution to overcome Euro-centric opinions in literature of general linguistics.<sup>79</sup>

The linguists concentrated mainly on the production of linguistic teaching instructions and textbooks and the reorganization and improvement of Arabic lessons. They often pioneered in this field. This applies without limitations to the three volumes of the "Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch" published in W. Reuschel's and G. Krahls series "Modernes Arabisch". It was written thanks to the initiatives by W. Reuschel and has got its firm place in the academic training of students of Arabic.<sup>80</sup> The book supplies the fundamentals in grammar, the basic vocabulary, morphology and syntax for at least 10 lessons per week plus 10 to 15 hours studies of the student at home, which is required per week. A forthcoming volume will deal with semantics as well as formal and informal language. Furthermore textbooks on phonetics and phonology of modern standard Arabic<sup>81</sup>, a dictionary on frequent occurrences in modern Arabic used in newspapers and a phrasebook German-Syroarabic<sup>82</sup> will be published in the series "Modernes Arabisch". There are several dictionaries, partly not published in the series, which were produced to a great deal thanks to the activities of G. Krahls. They became indispensable aids to Arabists and other people interested in this subject.<sup>83</sup> There are textbooks for Hebrew<sup>84</sup>, Persian<sup>85</sup> and Turkish, but no conversation books. A dictionary for the Persian language only is on the market.

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**"The Islamic Awakening" in Arab countries. Discussion of the current role of Islam in the social development of the Middle East and North Africa**

The role of Islam in the public life of Asian and African countries has noticeably grown since the late 1970s. The fall of the Shah at the hands of the Iranian people led by Islamic forces and the subsequent establishment of an Islamic Republic, in which official representatives of the Shi'ite Imamite movement of Islam occupied leading positions, was certainly the most significant phenomenon involved. This alone was responsible for the rapid growth of interest throughout the world in the Islamic religion. "Islamic Renaissance", "Islamic Renewal", "Re-Islamisation" or, as it is referred to in modern Islamic usage, "The Islamic Awakening" (al-shahwa al-islamiyya) have all become slogans of countless journalistic and scientific statements which attempt to portray and to explain reasons and causes, processes and phenomena, historical roots and possible long term effects of this area, which are extremely contradictory and differentiated.<sup>1</sup>

The causes and reasons for the noticeable release of heterogeneous religious Islamic forces and ideas in the politics and culture of the countries of Asia and Africa, and for the concomitant repression of secular, primarily non-Islamic movements and views from the late 1970s are many-sided. They relate to the problems of those regions, reflecting them on the one hand in many ways and on the other hand providing answers and having an important impact on them.

Accordingly, they arise primarily generally and in the long term from the situation with which the developing countries are confronted in the world-wide conflict of systems. They result therefore from the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia against imperialism, and from their striving for national independence and social progress at a time when conditions of continuing under-development and a multi-sectoral economy have, despite progress, a great impact on all areas of social life. In this respect, those who formulate their social tasks with Islamic concepts and ideas are faced with similar problems to those which face Buddhists, Hindus and also Christians in the nation states of Asia and Africa.

They also have other starting points in common with them:

1. The capitalist modernization "from above" as it occurs in contorted form in most countries in this region under the conditions of increasing neocolonial dependence on the centres of world capitalism, pushes social differentiation ahead and is used as an unbearable burden aimed at the mass of workers. Even if it is possible, (at least selectively and temporarily) to put a brake on negative effects with the help and the plentiful income from oil; it could also be possible to participate in demonstrating the welfare and wealth of individual states, as well as their attempts to nurture hopes there, as a contrast to the pauperization.

2. This modernization followed on from gaining sovereignty, mostly in the shape of models and ideas, which were then taken over from European and North American petit-bourgeois and middle-class executives, often without applying them thoroughly and creatively to the concrete social conditions but rather in the hope of achieving, with their help, a fast, if possible peaceful non-conflict development and thereby solving the problems facing them. Thus first of all there were illusions, then disappointments which demanded compensation.

3. With the formation and consolidation of Afro-Asian national states and bourgeois nations grew the need (which had already emerged in the anti-colonial struggle) for the support and development of a national feeling of their own, a feeling which based itself on the study of the national heritage and national culture and which led to nationalism. In order to protect oneself from national alienation caused by massive imperialist influences, one thinks increasingly of one's own, the national specificity.

These factors have not just had an effect since the late 1970s, and they also do not lose their importance in the 1980s. In addition it must be said that:

1. The crisis of the capitalist world economy as portrayed under these conditions badly affected both the economy and the whole society of the named countries. The working masses were forced to carry the consequences and had therefore to do without what was already achieved, or rather, to fight to maintain it without being able to make any improvements.

2. Petit-bourgeois forces, which had seized power with nationalist and non-Marxist socialist



ideas after the state became independent, and which had undertaken several bold steps on social development, pursued often an inconsistent and shaky policy. They became bourgeois; thereby digressing partly from their radical-reforming and revolutionary-democratic positions and discrediting themselves through their own behaviour.

3. Above all, it has been Imperialism and local reaction which have disabled and hindered the establishment and development of the democratic conditions involved in ensuring power. They have persecuted progressive forces with every possible means, have encouraged disagreements between them and even liquidated them. Parts of the younger generation see the joining of religious groups and movements as one alternative to this situation. They put their hopes in such groups, although they often find themselves getting tied up with the reaction.

All the processes which are connected these days with Islam in the Middle East and North Africa happen against this background. The degree of its secularization and the confinement of religious influences are very significant for its position in society.<sup>2</sup> Even in the 19th Century this process was setting in in the most highly developed Arab countries; for example, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and it progresses everywhere even further this century, even though not entirely straight nor without contrary tendencies. Contemporary Islamic statements are always a reaction to secularization and they try to tackle it even when it is totally rejected or even denied. But it is to be noted that the whole of society, no matter to what extent, is affected by it and that it contains specific features which result from the historical development of these countries as well as from Islam. The degree of secularization is shown to vary between towns and villages, between social groups and classes and between age groups and the sexes.

On the whole it can be taken from this that the mass of the population still has an inner relationship to the Islamic religion, especially in the countryside and in the large middle-class population of towns and among the older generations and women. Extensive sociological examinations are lacking.<sup>3</sup> However this does not mean that such a relationship is expressed in the strict observance of religious rites and regulations, but that more importance is attached to the sense of belonging to the Muslim community, which is always seen as historical and cultural and which, to a considerable extent, carries the individual and group identity with it. Here traditional ideas continue to have a strange effect even when the social-economic relations on which they are built are already very distorted. In spite of this there are here also dynamic changes to be demanded, although up to now they have eluded the researchers. It is not that Islam as a religion of the people, the so-called popular Islam<sup>4</sup> which is seen as an archaic and immovable block, is completely opposed to the more political Islam of different educated circles. The masses are also subject to progressive secularization and come under the growing influence of the official and officious propagandists of Islam. Politicians assess this situation very differently according to their own aims.

Whereas representatives of Islam are more inclined to underestimate the real role of Islam in public life in order to emphasize the urgency of their claims for promoting Islam, left-wing authors point to the high religiosity of the population, which does not appear to be conducive to revolutionary changes.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the situation varies from country to country more than is generally realized on the surface.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for the actual extent of secularization are complex. They are connected above all with the local, regional and international circumstances, under which the traditional tribal and feudal conditions are surmounted and in their place modern and usually pro-capitalist ones are introduced and promoted. This is especially so in those countries which, in the early 1960s when oil was found on their territory, moved rapidly out of their tribal and feudal society into the present, and where Islam, mostly in conservative forms, took or was once again given a position of monopoly; whereas in other countries which had already taken these steps more slowly decades before, Islam had already given up important positions in the fields of politics and culture with regard to secular ideas and forces. Here further factors must be added. The brutal policy of de-Arabization and de-Islamization of French colonialism in Algeria led the Algerian people in the struggle against colonialism to appropriate counter-reactions, so that Arab and Islam ideas became one of the important cornerstones of the creation of the Algerian Nation after 1962.<sup>7</sup> The laicistic policies of petit-bourgeois parties, in some

cases a heritage of the laicism of the Atatürk under Arab conditions of the 1950s and 1960s restricted Islam both consciously and at times radically in Tunisia<sup>8</sup> and Syria; but then also made these countries more susceptible to Islam-motivated opposition groups, which directed themselves against the phenomena of capitalist countries in Tunisia, and in Syria against the anti-imperialist course of the political leadership.

This shows that, in spite of all common interests with regard to the social position of Islam in politics and culture, which grow stronger through processes of internationalization, there are quite a few significant differences among the Arab countries, differences which seem only to get more noticeable with the consolidation of the Arab national states. Every political force must take this situation into consideration if it wants to spread its ideas and inspire and mobilize the masses. This is what happens in actual fact.

However, Islam does not exist within a vacuum. It has in fact changed much more than is realized on the surface since its emergence in the 7th Century on the Arab Peninsula and since its blossoming into the oriental feudal society. It lost its spiritual monopoly, even with the religious masses, in many countries decades ago and since the end of the 19th Century it has been reformed although hesitantly and with many particular features. This modern reformed Islam<sup>9</sup> has withdrawn on certain basic standpoints and has given up much of the heritage of the early days and the Middle Ages. It has accepted modern forms of education and science, dealt with secular ideas and remodelled and changed them to varying degrees. Islam formed an inseparable link with the predominant nationalism which arose in the anti-colonial struggle, and today it is nationalistic and this Arab nationalism is mostly Islamic. This gives Islam extra power to integrate and mobilize. In addition to this there are discussions<sup>10</sup> on up-to-date Islamic themes which include social and political questions in a dimension and form not known in the Middle Ages. Theological and judicial discussions have been forced into the background because of this. All of these are clear signs that Islam is becoming more and more secularized.

Arab Muslims take up varying view-points when they want to fit Islam into the concrete requirements of the age. They themselves endeavour not to show these differences so explicitly but rather to portray their view of Islam as the only true and proper one. The borders between them are usually unclear for there are many nuances and transitions. They can be achieved all the more easily, as Islam today has no central authoritative body which has to be accepted everywhere, but one which is marked by attempts to produce as broad a consensus as possible. The opportunities for individual opinions in this area are varied, often more than it appears at first glance, particularly since this Islamic framework appears relatively closed and unified.

In the scientific and journalistic literature published outside the Arab states on the current phenomena of Islam, many attempts are found which try to outline and categorize the existing differences. There is a wide variety of terminology. It is created mostly from the repertoire of Christian conceptualizations and can therefore lead easily to the wrong associations because of its dependence on the historically evolved ideological positions of the authors. There is a widespread confrontation between traditionalists, fundamentalists and modernists.<sup>11</sup>

It seems important that these terms do not define a priori social and political positions, instead they define attitudes as to how Islam is looked upon in modern society. Whereas traditionalists tend towards conservatism and do not even recall from cramped self-isolation, the other two movements adapt themselves more actively and flexibly to social changes and can thereby, on principle, represent the whole spectrum of political attitudes in the Arab countries. Movements and individual people can also change their views, for example, from fundamentalism to modernism, or also adopt points from both tendencies, so that they form a new intermediate trend.

Traditionalism, which though inflexible but not completely motionless, keeps a firm hold on the religious inheritance even when most Muslims have already given up some parts of it. It is based on the traditional conditions of society and on the views and institutions handed down from the Middle Ages. It has limited support among traditional law scholars in some countries, especially Saudi Arabia. It finds itself on the retreat, despite the temporary successes and respect that some of its representatives enjoy. It does not have a large mass following although there are always small groups, joined also by young people, which follow in its foot-



steps. The behaviour of the traditionalists when faced with concrete questions of Weltanschauung and politics seems more often than not faintly ridiculous even in Arab countries; as is shown by the reactions to the sometimes out-of-date comments of Sheikh 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Bāz (born in 1912), the General Chairman of the Administration of (religious) scientific research, Fetwa-Decree, Propaganda and Information, and President of the Islamic Fiqh-Academy in Saudi Arabia, the most well-known traditionalist in Arab territory.<sup>12</sup>

The modernists stand opposite the traditionalists. With references to history and often to romantically transfigured apologetics, the religious heritage is subjected to a thorough revision and they limit the effect of religion in particular areas. Generously they take on secular thinking which they often islamize superficially. Modernist views are supported in general by acknowledged representatives of the historical progress and who see impediments for their policies because of the exaggerated observance of national and traditional specifications; policies which they want to use to quickly achieve comprehensive development. The Neo-Destour-Socialists in Tunisia, the Baathists in Syria and Iraq and even the Egyptian President Nasser<sup>13</sup> can all be included in the modernists. Today, modernism influences progressive organizations and personages and preserves also a certain appeal, which, although in many respects is quite weak, attracts patrons of a national-capitalist development. Still, the effect of modernism on the masses of religious believers remains on the whole limited, and modernists have often to make concessions when dealing with them.

Since the "Islamic awakening" and the 1970s it has most of all been the fundamentalist<sup>14</sup> movement which has won renewed and obviously very profound standing. Basically the whole of reformed Islam is fundamentalist, for it, as a reformatory movement, reflects on the fundamentals of religion and with the claim that it stems from these fundamentals, it wants to solve the problems of the present day with new methods and questions.<sup>15</sup> Therefore fundamentalism does not stand facing social changes as if they are enemies but draws them into its sights and even encourages them to a certain extent. It actively furthers these changes. In French literature fundamentalists are also called integrists. The term "Islamists" is becoming more and more common as a means of self-expression. The first term emphasizes the efforts of the movement to give an allegedly closed, integrated Islamic world view, which, unlike the modernists, does not limit itself to simple features of religion, but rather underlines the Islamic Weltanschauung. Islamism refers to much the same idea. According to them Islam is comprehensively valid for all times and all places and crosses all state, ethnic and national boundaries.

The success of Islamic fundamentalism touches on countless historical factors; among some of the most important are:

1. Fundamentalist Islam gave its followers, under completely new conditions which were changing dynamically and profoundly contradictorily, the feeling that they need neither give up their religion, nor by holding on to it need they reject modern developments but be able to live with them both. Its external unity and apparent invariability on the one hand and its inner flexibility on the other, contained a lot of appeal especially for the strong petit-bourgeois classes in the fast-growing towns. They saw the dangers of the examples of "western" pro-capitalist modernisation for their own existence yet also wanted modernization themselves, which in its basic capacity encourages capitalism. Since the 1930s fundamentalist views have achieved a wide, if heterogeneous social base in most Arab countries.

2. In view of the fast decline of traditional religious institutions, the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>16</sup> gained the character of a wide basic movement in which representatives of the young national intelligentsia soon began to play a major role. Within the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood, fundamentalism was treated as a matter of priority by way of the clever association between traditional methods and forms, for example the mystical brotherhoods and modern organization modelled on petit-bourgeois parties.

3. Since in the first place the Muslim Brotherhood strongly represented reformed Islamic views on social questions in the fundamentalist sense and which then spread quickly all over Egypt, it is part of the origins of present-day fundamentalism but that does not mean that all fundamentalists can be mechanically equated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The views of the Muslim Brotherhood are now common property of reformed Islam, even outwith Arab

countries and even in places where their organization is seen and decisively fought against as a political enemy. It is worth noting that the Muslim Brotherhood is in no way homogenous. Distinctions and disagreements have continuously accompanied their history in the various countries and areas since the 1930s. Due to the events after the murder of its founder, Hasan al-Bannā, in 1949, and because of the conflicts with nearly all Arab regimes in the 1950s and 1960s its organization has disintegrated. However its representatives have not been passive and have been active in other institutions and organizations.

Since the 1960s the fundamentalist views have experienced a renewal and stronger circulation due to the close contacts between well-known Islamists and Saudi Arabia. This relationship has not been without opposition. In Saudi Arabia many Moslem Brotherhood members (mostly Egyptian and Syrian Muslims but also fundamentalists from non-Arab countries) found a home, attention and an area of influence. They helped to push back the resistance movement of traditionalist circles against the increasing capitalist modernization. They made Saudi Arabian politics appear more attractive to the outsider and encouraged, by means of their involvement and by Saudi Arabia's own political interests, the hurried regional and international Islamic contacts, even to the founding of the Moslem World League in 1962<sup>17</sup> as a non-state Islamic Ecumenical Organization and to the enforcement of countless meetings and the intensification of Islamic propaganda and legations. Saudi Arabia itself provided significant financial means so that by generously rebuilding the religious sites of Mecca and Medina, they would be able to invite and accommodate hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all over the world and in order to publicize, by means of modern communications, the Islamic fundamentalist views.

Egypt lost its central political role among the Arab states and many of the leaders of radical and revolutionary positions in other countries completely or partly resigned in the 1970s after the death of Nasser because of the pro-imperialist policies of al-Sadāt. The oil boom gave the monarchies of the Arab peninsula both economic weight and an increasing political significance. This gave the above-mentioned alliance an unexpected but lasting impact above all in the Middle East but also further afield. This does not mean however that fundamentalists have to have pro-Saudi tendencies. Even Mu'ammer Gaddafi (al-Qadāfi) in Libya represented basically fundamentalist ideas after 1969 and attempted to have them put into practice in the 1970s, only to lean more clearly towards modernist points of view at the end of the decade.

Even if the financial aid, which is available for the propagation of fundamentalist ideas, is considerable, their widespread impact cannot be explained by it alone. The social and political bases, from which these ideas developed, continue to exist in spite of all important international and regional developments. Moreover no movement apart from fundamentalism has as yet understood how to develop a similar relatively united Islam with such active masses.

Fundamentalists are not usually theologians or lawyers trained in religious law. They are primarily politicians from the petit-bourgeois and middle classes, representatives of various professions, who are secular first of all. Their main interest is politics which they try to incorporate into a religious way of life.<sup>18</sup> Leading Muslim Brothers such as the Egyptians Hasan al-Bannā (1906–1949), Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (born 1916) or the Syrian Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī (1915–1964) have elaborated it, helped considerably by the Pakistani Muslim Abū l-A'cā al-Maudūdī (1903–1979). They always proceed deliberately from the fundamentalist dogma of belief in the one God, Allah (tauhid), from which the unity of the world and humanity is derived, they then lay down detailed ethical-religious demands but then they turn quickly to current political problems.

According to this, the world will be divided into two, one Islamic and one non-Islamic. The latter would sweepingly be called "The West". To the Moslems this means all the countries of Europe and North America regardless of their social systems. They point to the high level of development in these countries and are prepared to take over their scientific knowledge and technical achievements in so far as they coincide with their own religious policy, but at the same time they criticize the (vulgar) materialism, the high level of secularization and the growing religiosity in these same countries. All in all the Moslems feel threatened



by them and hope to be able to stand up to them with the help of Islam. Capitalism and communism are both rejected as being too incompatible with fundamentalist Islam. In its place steps the "Third Way", the "Islamic Order" which wants to combine the Islamic religion and national traditions in politics, and life-styles and ethics with the "western" know-how, and "western" technology and science. The rejection of capitalism in terms is today very widespread. This rejection is directed first of all at imperialism but at the same time it conceals the fact that just such ideas mostly do not obstruct but in fact encourage the further development of capitalism (however oblique and distorted) in their own countries. Mind you, the anti-capitalist, or rather the anti-imperialist policy of fundamentalist circles, however vague and limited, can serve to represent and protect national interests and bourgeois forces against imperialist dependency and intervention. The rejection of communism of which only vague, stereotyped ideas exist and which has for them atheism as its decisive feature, allows fundamentalist groups to use religion against Marxists in their countries and also to fight other tendencies — not Marxist but secular — as "Communist". In spite of this principle of anti-communism, fundamentalists can join in matters of concrete political points in the wide front of the anti-imperialist fight and accept international relations with socialist countries.

The "Islamic Order", which is being developed in Islamic countries and such countries which have an Islamic majority, is a petit-bourgeois or middle-class utopia of a "welfare society" full of justice and class harmony. Basically it takes nothing from the rich even when it wants to limit its profit seeking by moral appeals; it promises social security for the majority of the people and raises the hopes of the poor for a better life by giving them charity and by the proportionate redistribution of wealth regulated by the religious law. The generous social policy which a few oil producing countries have put into practice for their citizens is often seen as a model; which is meant to prove that models of fundamentalist society are not just utopian.

The guarantor for the establishment of such a society is supposed to be an Islamic state. It is deliberately based on the *Sharī'a* and applies it. It supports Islam, disseminates and protects it. It ought to have democratic features but does not have to be republican. Its establishment forms the main aim of fundamentalist forces which are by no means satisfied with the fact that almost all Arab countries recognize Islam as the state religion. Laicist endeavours which are clearly expressed are fought uncompromisingly, while the extensive secularization of the state today in politics and in law is often accepted in silence.

In recent years economic ideas have also received a lot of attention in Islamic circles. They are based on the commandments and orders of the Koran; they demand the prohibition of (usury) interest (*ribā*) and the strict observance of the distribution of alms (*zakāt*); but otherwise they subordinate themselves to the bourgeois views, even when they devote their attention with more or less care to the peculiarities of the economic development in their countries.<sup>19</sup>

Questions of education and culture, especially of the way of life, remain in the centre of fundamentalist interest. Fundamentalist circles are especially sharp here and have been successful in maintaining and even strengthening their positions within the framework of the extensive secularization, e.g. of the school system.

There are often bitter clashes, which sometimes even take on macabre characteristics, when intense struggles about the preservation of Islamic moral standards take place in public. The strict application of the traditional dress regulations for women, which always penetrate out from the private into the public sphere, the ban on the sale and consumption of alcohol, observance of fasting in the month of Ramadan are among the most popular topics. In several Arab countries concessions have been made in recent years in order to reduce the harsh fundamentalist criticism but also partly to be able to protect themselves, at least superficially, from the overpowering influence of the expansion of imperialist culture. Further progress on the road to Islamization can be expected in this area at any time.

This is naturally a very rough sketch, for the expressed views of the fundamentalists are extremely many-sided in their complexity, their eclecticism and contradictoriness and in their temporal and spatial ties. It is often difficult, sometimes even impossible, to recognize the underlying concrete social, political and ideological interests, because on the one hand they

hide behind traditional forms, and on the other hand they claim to be speaking on behalf of all of the other classes.

The events of the last years have made it all the more clear that these, and similar, thoughts are represented by different forces with different aims.

It is the often small but militant groups with mostly young members which have found special attention in journalism and also in scientific literature. These groups, again and again, express their protest (partly with spectacular actions and even with terror) against the political practices of the ruling circles and also against consequences of capitalist development.<sup>20</sup> However, under other conditions they could become a tool for the reaction against progressive measures and an anti-imperialist orientation to politics. Their activities seem rather to have taken a step back in the recent past, however their views have not really changed so that they can always reappear in either old or new forms.

Often it seems as if the term fundamentalism is used even pejoratively especially when in conjunction with such religious activist and extremist groups. Then it is easy to forget that there are also other, less militant forces which call themselves fundamentalist.

These Islamic groups, which work towards the stabilization of the developed capitalist conditions and the represented political regime using various methods, are obviously very strong, even when they have to undergo detailed criticism and even when they are not always satisfied with their own political view-point. They demand a capitalist modernization, not of the "Western" model and not against or without the Islamic religion but one which considers both the national specifications and religion, which is suited to integrating the whole population and to concealing social differences and which at the same time justifies the desired aims by means of illusory hope to the believers.

This movement is again divided within itself. Those Moslems who demand the exclusive Islamic monopoly for themselves, work intensively especially in conditions of a flawed democracy. They reject the other Islamic and secular views and fight with intolerance and fanaticism. They possess all in all a tendency towards traditionalism. Their whole appearance shows their weaknesses rather than their strengths and endangers efforts made to achieve national and democratic aims.

Compared with them there are fundamentalist groups which tend more towards modernist views and which are ready to work together with secular, bourgeois-liberal groups as well as different progressive forces, in order to be able to solve national and democratic tasks and thereby in the long term being able to build up their own position. They direct themselves against the rapid exclusive thinking and the militancy of Islamic groups. With long-term considerations they strive towards a gradual and partial Islamization and do without spectacular measures and hasty steps. They succeed obviously in drawing conclusions from the stormy events of the last few years, thereby recognizing the dangers of undemocratic steps towards Islamization (something which is only intended to serve the purpose of consolidating certain political regimes), the dangers for their attempts to slow down the process of secularization and to safeguard Islam within it in the long term.

In the end it should not be forgotten that other movements exist alongside the fundamentalists. In the 1980s efforts were made to form an Islamic left, and not only bourgeois-liberals and petit-bourgeois radicals but also revolutionary groups like the Marxists in Arab countries tried — with varying degrees of success — to find their definition of their views on Islam. In spite of the predominance of the fundamentalists, a rich variety of ideas is found — ideas to be inherited, handed down and reacted to — a variety which until now has seemed incomprehensible. There is more and more demand for the inspection of the historical roots, of the complex social connections, of the long term effective factors and the change in the relationship between content and form.

#### Notes

- 1 Since 1979 increased efforts have been made within the German Democratic Republic to investigate the problems — both in general and from the example of differentiated ana-



- lyses of individual countries, periods and areas of social life. These investigations take place within the framework of Marxist-Leninist Asian and African studies, from the point of view of varying social scientific subjects and with obvious multi- and interdisciplinary tendencies. In doing so, the specialists continue with the critical evaluation of progressive and humanist traditions of the important German experts in Oriental studies, and above all the work of the 1960s and 1970s, working under new conditions and demands.
- Cf. the investigations on current Islam by Martin Grzeskowiak, Gerhard Höpp, Martin Robbe and Klaus Timm.
- Cf. a series of articles in: *Islamic Studies in the German Democratic Republic. Traditions, Positions, Findings*. Ed. by H. Preißler and M. Robbe, Berlin 1982 (asia, africa, latin america, special issue no. 10) and which include a selected bibliography.
- 2 Cf. among others: Preißler, H., *Islam in the Middle East and North Africa and Present-day Social Processes*. In: *Islamic Studies*, op. cit., p. 18.
  - Cf. Ignatenko, A. A., *Zekulyaritsiya arabskogo mira*. In: *Narody Azii i Afriki*, Moscow 1985, no. 2, pp. 69 ff.
  - 3 Hinnebusch, R. A., *Children of the Elite. Political attitudes of the westernized bourgeoisie in contemporary Egypt*. In: *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, vol. 39, 1985, pp. 535 ff.
  - Reiser, S., *Pan-Arabism revisited*. In: *Ibid.*, vol. 37, 1983, pp. 218 ff.
  - The above manuscripts show the different images.
  - 4 Cf. methodological reports from Jacques Waardenburg. In: *Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*, ed. by P. H. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg, The Hague-Paris-New York 1979, pp. 340 ff.
  - 5 Cf. Höpp, G., *Der Islam in der zeitgenössischen Diskussion linker arabischer Intellektueller*. In: *asien, afrika, lateinamerika*, Berlin, vol. 9, 1981, pp. 645 ff.
  - 6 Cf. the informative descriptions of the countries in: *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, ed. by W. Ende and U. Steinbach, Munich 1984, pp. 212 ff.
  - 7 Cf. Malashenko, A. V., *Ofitsial'naya ideologiya v sovremennom Alzhire*, Moscow 1983.
  - 8 Cf. Voronchanina, N. I., *Kul'turnye preobrazovaniya v sovremennom Tunise*, Moscow 1978.
  - 9 There are varying terms for "modern Islam" in use. In English and German literature the term "Modernism" is often used. After considering the Arabic word "islāh", meaning reform, Reformist, and the compound words such as Reform-Buddhism, Reform-Catholicism, we have decided to use the term "reformed Islam".
  - 10 Thorough analysis on even individual areas is often lacking. Literature on present day Islam is mostly concentrated on political actions and events.
  - 11 Cf. for example: Polonskaya, L., *Musul'manskiye ideynye techeniya i kontseptsii*. In: *Nauka i Religiya*, Moscow 1983, no. 6, pp. 57 ff.; Steppat, F., *Die politische Rolle des Islam*. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden, supplement V, 1983, pp. 24 ff.
  - 12 Cf. Ende, W., *Religion, Politik und Literatur in Saudi-Arabien: Der geistesgeschichtliche Hintergrund der heutigen religiösen und kulturpolitischen Situation (III)*. In: *Orient*, Opladen 1982, no. 3, pp. 378 ff.
  - 13 Cf. Muzikar, J., *Arab Nationalism and Islam*, Djamel Abdannasir and his attitude to Islam. In: *Archiv Orientální*, Prague, vol. 43, 1975, pp. 193 ff., pp. 302 ff.
  - 14 Cf. among others Humphreys, R. S., *Islam and Political Values in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria*. In: *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, vol. 33, 1979, pp. 4 ff.
  - 15 Cf. Peters, R., in: *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, op. cit., pp. 91 ff.
  - 16 Literature on the Muslim Brothers has grown in quantity since the publication of the fundamental work of Mitchel, R. P., *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London 1969. Cf. also for example Carré, O., G. Michaud, *Les Frères Musulmans (1928-1982)*, Paris 1983; Miloslavskaya, T. P., *Deyatel'nost' Brat'ev-musul'man v stranakh Vostoka*. In: *Islam v stranakh blizhnego i srednego vostoka*, Moscow 1982, pp. 3 ff.
  - Cf. Reissner, J., *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens*, Freiburg 1980.
  - 17 Cf. Robbe, M., M. Grzeskowiak, *Islamische Solidarisierung. Etappen, Möglichkeiten, Grenzen*. In: *asien, afrika, lateinamerika*, vol. 12, 1984, pp. 57 ff.

- Cf. Sharipova, R. M., T. P. Tikhonov, *Liga islamskogo mira: ot traditsionizma k reformatorstvu*. In: *Narody Azii i Afriki*, Moscow 1984, no. 2, pp. 30 ff.
- 18 Cf. brief summary by Reissner, J., in: *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, op. cit., pp. 155 ff.
  - 19 Cf. Höpp, G., *Über Charakter und Funktion des 'Islamischen Sozialismus' in der gegenwärtigen Etappe der Befreiungsrevolution der arabischen Völker*. In: *Revolution und Tradition*, Leipzig 1971, pp. 87 ff.
  - Cf. Schatter, M., *Islamische Wirtschaftslehren. Methodologisch-theoretischer Grundgehalt, politökonomische Einordnung und Kritik*. In: *asien, afrika, lateinamerika*, vol. 12, 1984, pp. 420 ff.
  - 20 Cf. Grzeskowiak, M., *Extremistische islamische Gruppierungen in Ägypten nach 1970*. In: *asien, afrika, lateinamerika*, vol. 8, 1980, pp. 67 ff.



# Industrial Development in the Arab Countries: A General Appraisal

The necessity of overcoming underdevelopment makes it imperative for the developing countries to achieve a quick, universal and effective industrialization in order to solve the economic and social as well as the political and cultural tasks set before them. This fact is generally accepted now, and it is supported for various reasons, so e.g. when Hershlag is of the opinion that "industry has appeared, under different names and definitions, as the leading sector of the growth process"<sup>1</sup>, or, even more precisely, when Castro underlines that "industrialization is a decisive process for the Third World's economic development, a need nobody dares deny, even though there are diverse opinions when attempts are made to establish its specific characteristics, mechanisms and periods for each country. Unquestionably, the industrialization of the Third World is equivalent, in strategic terms, to laying the main technological and material base for development"<sup>2</sup>.

In the end, the development of a modern and productive industry has become one of the major sources of creating the necessary prerequisites for overcoming colonialism and neo-colonialism and their consequences, and it exerts a lasting impact on social progress at all its stages.<sup>3</sup> Industrialization is inseparably linked to the development of the productive forces and the process of accumulation, stimulating the strengthening and formation of the working class, rendering an essential contribution to the abolishment of underemployment and unemployment, promoting the commodity-money-relations, enhancing the domestic market, directly interacting with the growth of agricultural output and transformation of the farming community (receiving from or giving strong incentives to them respectively), to mention only a few of the major factors. All this might open up new prospects to the domestic resources and cause the development of a national reproduction process provided that neocolonialist influences can be pushed back. Finally, industrialization plays an essential role in the improvement and re-orientation of the developing countries' external economic relations and in their struggle for changing and reforming their inadequate position in the system of international capitalist division of labour.

As far as the Arab countries are concerned, there is a deep rift between the urgent necessity of industrialization and its implementation in these developing countries at present. Contradictions in this direction are even growing, at least partially. This is particularly true for the development of the manufacturing industry in the Arab region. Having in mind the targets set forth at the 2nd General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) at Lima in 1975, it is justified to state — also with respect to the Arab World — that "nearly a decade after the adoption of the Lima Declaration ... the share of developing countries in world value added in manufactures has increased only in derisory proportions with the targets"<sup>4</sup>.

Furthermore, in spite of an obvious absolute growth in production and despite relative improvements mainly occurring in the seventies, and seen in comparison to other regions of developing countries, industrialization in the Arab World basically (if not almost exclusively as e.g. in some oil-producing countries) concentrates on the extractive industry. On the other hand, the rate as well as the extent and the structure of growth of the manufacturing industry in all the Arab countries remained at an unsatisfactory level, especially in view of the manufacture of tools, machines and other equipment as well as of high-technology-intensive production. In addition, this growth did not include the Arab countries in an equitable manner and, of course, with differing social tendencies.

To characterize the present situation of the Arab countries in the process of industrialization which takes place in all developing regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America and in order to specify their position in world industry, it is interesting and even essential to state that the share of the developing countries in the world output of manufacturing rose from 7.8 per cent in 1965 to 8.8 per cent in 1973, 9.6 per cent in 1975, 10.6 per cent in 1981 and (estimated) 11.6 per cent in 1984.<sup>5</sup> West Asia and Africa held shares of 0.7 and about 1.0 per cent respectively, i.e. altogether about 1.7 per cent. To determine the genuine position of the Arab world, we have to exclude Turkey and Cyprus from the total share of West Asia,

on the one hand, thus reducing the share of Arab countries in this region to about 0.3 per cent in 1981. On the other hand, we have to take into account that in 1981 almost 40 per cent of the output of the manufacturing industry in the African developing countries came from Egypt, Morocco and Algeria and approximately 47 per cent from all the countries of the Arab League situated in Africa. Accordingly, the Arab countries in Africa held a total share of about 0.46 per cent in the global production of the manufacturing industry, i.e. the member countries of the Arab League in West Asia and Africa had a share of approximately 0.76 per cent. This fact indicates that it had grown much quicker than the share of the developing countries as a whole in the global production of the manufacturing industry.<sup>6</sup> (Comp. also Table 1.)

Thus, the Arab countries taken as a whole belong to those developing regions in which the manufacturing sector grew up significantly. Especially during certain periods, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia made — in absolute and relative terms — particularly strong but sporadic contributions to manufacturing industry's overall development in the Third World. On the other side, none of the Arab countries was able to get or maintain a position among the ten major producers in the manufacturing sector within the group of developing countries. (Comp. Table 2.)

In Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Saudi Arabia the manufacturing sector experienced outstanding growth rates between 1963 and 1973. Stating this we have to underline that extremely high growth rates, as it was the case with Somalia, stem from a very low standard of the level of the manufacturing industry there. The relatively modest growth rates of such countries as Morocco, Egypt or Syria, however, result from a relatively developed starting point in this sector of the economy. Similar factors have to be taken into consideration for the period 1973 to 1981. As far as the per-capita growth is concerned, it is directly related to the number of persons employed and to the updating and profitable utilization as well as the application of the existing or, respectively, newly provided capacities in the manufacturing industries (see Table 3).

The absolute volume of output in the manufacturing sector varied in the individual Arab countries with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Algeria and Syria holding the biggest shares in the Arab countries' total value added in manufacturing in 1970. This fact is also true for 1982 with the only exception that Morocco and Algeria changed their positions in this order of the main producer countries of manufactured goods in the Arab region. Jordan, followed by the Yemen Arab Republic, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria (see Table 4) experienced the biggest absolute growth in the period of 1970 to 1982. With regard to the per-capita output of a given country, its magnitude is, of course, dependent on the ratio of population to the respective absolute production in the manufacturing sector. This means e.g. that Egypt, the country with the highest absolute output of manufactures in the Arab region but with the biggest population at the same time, has a relatively low per-capita rate. By contrast with that, Saudi Arabia — the second placed Arab producer country of manufactures with a level of production similarly to Egypt but a small population only — has a relatively high one. Consequently, Kuwait with its relatively small population and its relatively high output in the manufacturing sector has brought about the highest per-capita production.

The relative position of the manufacturing industry in the economies of the Arab countries has differently changed in relation to extent and speed of the given growth as well as within the framework of the overall development of other sectors of industry (see Table 5). Generally, these trends and many details of this change are to be estimated positively. As a rule, they were not only linked with improved industrial capacities as a whole, among them those of the manufacturing industry, but also with a widening of the range of goods produced, an increase in the number of persons employed and the employment ratio, better skills, a strengthening of national economic integration, a partial substitution of imports and/or an increase in exports. However, at the same time, one has to take into account that, in general, the quantitative and qualitative parameters and targets set forth in the national development plans and programmes for industrialization have not been achieved. Likewise, the great differentiation with regard to the manufacturing industry has not been overcome in the Arab countries but has been increased partially or, at least, the imbalances among the Arab countries have only been shifted.



Activities for the establishment of manufacturing capacities in most of the oil-producing countries were often very strictly limited to the refining sector. They increased the degree of processing oil as an easily available raw material and raised the export receipts but were only of little help to shaping a national reproduction process, especially as they were only indirectly linked to it. In addition, these activities were greatly or exclusively export-oriented which made them susceptible from the very beginning (and this applies, above all, to the protectionist practices of the capitalist industrialized countries). This is true e.g. for Saudi Arabia where a high-technology based petrochemical industry has been built up which was to produce, among other things, more than 3 million tons of ethylene products in 1985, i.e. approximately 10 per cent of the current West European consumption.<sup>7</sup> The state-owned Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (SABIC), which offers these factories for sale after their erection (i.e. for sale to private customers), has played the decisive role in this process.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, we were able to see, in the oil-producing countries as well as in other Arab countries very strong efforts to substitute imports. The United Arab Emirates may serve as an example. In Jordan the trend towards industrialization also had in its beginning an import-substituting orientation, but later on it aimed at promoting export activities, more and more.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the experiences of the Arab countries seem to confirm that neither export-oriented nor import-substituting concepts alone can pave the way for an industrialization process capable to support a self-reliant economic development based on a reasonable utilization of the existing national resources in their totality, taking into account the possibilities of international co-operation in the national interest and directed to meet the real needs (and not only the so-called basic needs!) of the whole people.

According to the present state of industrialization in the Arab countries, the effects of this process on foreign trade were very different. Despite sometimes relatively significant quantitative changes, foreign trade of the Arab countries is still marked by a, more or less, low share of exports of goods provided by the manufacturing sector and of investment goods in particular, and thus this becomes a reflection of the structure of production (see Tables 6 and 7). Exceptions to this development are the re-export-intensive Arab countries in which this share shows an "upward distortion" and not the real level of development of their domestic manufacturing industries. On the other hand, a typical and general feature is the high proportion of imports of manufactures in foreign trade, in particular machinery and transport equipment and/or industrial consumer goods.

Special problems for the process of industrialization emerged for Djibouti, the Yemen Arab Republic, Somalia and Sudan as well as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the five Arab countries belonging to the group of least developed countries, and for Mauritania. These countries revealed the slowest advance towards the erection of new capacities in the manufacturing sector owing to their very low starting level and their very limited resources.

To sum up, despite a certain advance, the level of industrialization in the Arab countries is still unsatisfactory. There is a variety of reasons causing this situation. Partly, they stem from the heritage of colonialism and the power politics of the former colonial countries in the Arab region as well as from the differing historical starting positions of the individual Arab countries. They are also due to the internal economic and political conditions and trends of their development brought about after having gained their political sovereignty. Other causes are a differing and often unsatisfactory mobilization of their own resources, negligence of the interaction between profound socio-economic changes and economic construction; an only reluctant recognition of the role of state and of the importance of planning; the effects of an uneven development within and among the Arab countries linked with the world capitalist economic system and, in addition, all parts of this system. Seen from the view of necessities of economic and social development, the generally modest advance in shaping the manufacturing sector in Arab countries was associated with a relatively high level of expenses and with the emergence of new forms of dependence on the international capitalist division of labour, both of them mainly caused by an evident lack of a domestic industry for investment goods and a lacking technological and scientific potential. But first and foremost, neo-colonialism by the imperialist centres and the effects of a crisis-

ridden development in the field of international relations resulting from the situation in these centres have played a major role.

All the Arab countries are extremely concerned about the hitherto gained low results and the current situation of their process of industrialization as well as about its prospects in terms of quantity and quality. Undeniably and emphatically, they presented their problems at various international meetings within the framework of the United Nations, in the Group of 77, or in the movement of non-aligned countries. This was especially clearly demonstrated at the 4th UNIDO General Conference in Vienna in August 1984, which, due to the rigid attitude of some of the capitalist main countries<sup>10</sup>, revealed anew the basically opposed positions of imperialism on the one hand and the national liberation movement on the other.<sup>11</sup> The officially stated standpoint of the Arab countries referring to their industrialization was marked by anti-colonial, anti-neocolonial and anti-monopolist but also by nationalist and national, social and political motives of differing shades interwoven with a lot of endogenous capitalist motives. The final statement was that the Arab world, with the oil-producing countries included, could not ignore the severe consequences of the current crisis in the international relations. Since the mid-seventies, the obvious deterioration of the world economic situation would have had negative effects on industrialization of the Arab world and the developing countries and that there were no signs of a basic change of that situation in the next future.<sup>12</sup>

As responsible for it the evaluation given by the Arab countries<sup>13</sup> mentioned the permanent and non-alternative refusal of the proposals for the establishment of a new international economic order by the "industrialized countries" and their refusal to take a genuine initiative towards the basic problems at the global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. Furthermore, the Arab countries blamed the policy of high interest rates and protectionist practices of the "industrialized countries", the uncontrolled consequences of technological advance taking place there, and their lacking readiness to transfer technology. The ever-rising arms expenditure in some of those countries would withdraw valuable resources from beneficial utilization in the interest of maintaining peace and security as well as development and would result in high budget deficits and inflation. At the same time, the official development aid of the "industrialized countries" would be reduced by those conditions and the amount of debts of the developing countries would be enhanced, which in turn would force them to resort to private external sources inflicting higher costs and considerably worse conditions. International financing organizations as e.g. the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund would confront them with conditions in that situation which due to their financial and social consequences would be rather unacceptable.

Though this evaluation is verbally addressed to all the so-called industrialized countries alike, the context makes it clear that the Arab side makes the capitalist centres in Western Europe, North America and Japan responsible for the "gravest economic crisis facing the developing world since the Great Depression"<sup>14</sup> and its impact on industrialization. In an assessment greatly influenced by the developing countries and made by an important body of the United Nations, this crisis is called "the product of the malfunctioning of the economies of developed market-economy countries"<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, the developing countries, and among them the Arab countries, pointedly stress<sup>16</sup> that the lasting crisis in world economy has been caused by these capitalist centres and will result, among other things, in transferring the load of crisis phenomena in the leading capitalist countries greatly onto the developing countries, thus, *inter alia*, essentially hampering the advance of their industrial construction.

As already mentioned before, the consequences are also clearly perceptible in the Arab countries. Differentiation is necessary, but only the financially strong and big oil exporters were partially and temporarily in a position to resist them successfully. Of course, the efforts to industrializing the Arab region must suffer from this situation which has been aggravated anyway by many internal factors. Since 1945, this process of industrialization has gone through two main stages: The first had some of its roots in urgent necessities of the allied forces in World War II.<sup>17</sup> Starting after the war or after having achieved political independence, in most countries it had been still determined, at least for a certain period, by the interests of the colonial powers. The second stage began as a so-called project-boosting stage



brought about by the growing oil revenues since the beginning of the seventies. Egypt and later on Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan as well as Morocco followed by Tunisia and Algeria were considered the centres of the first stage. The second stage saw the emergence of Gulf oil countries and Libya, but their revenues did not only contribute to industrialization within these countries but also in some other Arab and Sub-Saharan African and even Asian countries.<sup>18</sup> First and foremost, the result of the first stage was that a considerable number of factories was erected in a relatively short period, on the one hand, but that no Arab country was able to develop into an industrialized country, on the other. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is also true for the second stage, in which essentially improved resources for accumulation were available, in particular in the oil countries.

Well-known Arab economists see the reasons for this development in the fact that the building-up of capacities in the manufacturing sector was performed without taking into account more comprehensive aspects or a more versatile purposefully interrelated range of goods and in the fact that these capacities were greatly dependent on imported prime materials, supplies etc. This resulted in a burden on the balances of trade and payment, caused disturbances of supply and associated production, and kept the yield in terms of new values often below the profit line in this industrial process. The growth of home demand was, mainly due to an increased employment in the industrial sector, met by import-substituting measures and, to a certain degree, by imports, and was not linked with increased exports in order to compensate adequately the import requirements of industrialization. The lack of qualified personnel, not only of skilled labour, but also in the field of management (enhanced by the brain drain), too few efforts to qualify masses of labour, unsatisfactory orientation towards profitability, red tape, and a socially conditioned lack of pressure towards assuming responsibility resulted in considerable instabilities. Furthermore, industrialization was accompanied by granting various privileges to certain stratas and by subsidizing industry and consumption which was not adequate to the level of production achieved and which resulted in a reduction of accumulation and investment. It was a special problem to link industrialization with the development of agrarian produce or with solving the agrarian issue. In this context, the main and most delicate issues were the demand for food with the population and consumption growing, the low exporting capacities of the agrarian sector, and the unsatisfactory availability of accumulation funds there. The sometimes extraordinarily high investments which were made with a view of strengthening the agrarian sector (e.g. the Assuan and Euphrates Dams) did not yield the effects expected for industrialization.

At the same time, the newly established industries in the Arab world were, from the very beginning, dependent on foreign supplies which resulted in new relations of dependence, above all in or by the technological sector, and often accompanied by ecologically harmful consequences. Under the given circumstances, the necessity of getting technical know-how had offered great opportunities for neo-colonialist influences on the process of industrialization in the Arab region, especially enhanced by the activities of international monopolies. At present, the issue of technology transfer has reached completely new dimensions. The latest sophisticated key technologies as e.g. microelectronics, biological and genetic engineering, nuclear energy etc. as well as the use of new materials and techniques not only widens and deepens the gap separating the Arab and most of the other developing countries from the world standard of technological advances, but the gap reveals new and hitherto unknown features in terms of quality and with respect to availability and production-oriented introduction of modern means of production. All this is aggravated, firstly, by the fact that the receptiveness of the Arab countries to new technologies decreases due to the consequences of the crisis in the capitalist division of labour. Secondly, the present "technological wave" causes a considerable moral and physical "devaluation" of many of the technologies available in the developing countries or, respectively, of the industrial capacities installed on this basis.

However, the developing countries, and among them the Arab countries, have, despite the problems associated with the global processes of technological innovation, no other choice than taking these new technologies into account and involving them into their development in an appropriate way. In the end, they offer the only real opportunity to create the material and technical conditions fundamentally to shorten the complex process of overcoming

their underdevelopment. This does not mean to ignore the variety of conditions in the individual Arab countries or deny the different motives for a sensible continued use or revival of traditional production processes or of the scope of applying older or more advanced standard technologies.<sup>19</sup> But we have to state the absurdity of any concept which questions, for which reason ever, the application of modern and latest technologies in developing countries. This is even true when considering that the conditions for such measures are doubtlessly very complicated and that there is a quite an obviously manifested contradiction between needs and possibilities.

All these factors have been, of course in a specific way and their manifestations and effects being determined by the individual social facts, important for the industrial development in Arab countries embarking on the capitalist road of development and those countries with various shades of socialist principles and points of reference. It has to be re-stressed that this occurs in the Arab oil-producing countries in a modified way (though there are limits even there<sup>20</sup>) and that the densely-populated Arab countries face special problems but also possibilities. However, in the Arab world itself it is rightly stated that "nothing could be more dangerous than for the Arabs to lull themselves into a false sense of security by believing that an abundance of 'money and men' will necessarily lead to a rosy future" and "that Arab potential is dependent less on the size of available material and human resources than on the ability of the Arab national movement to complete the path to liberation from imperialism, to bring an end to dependency and to pursue concerted policies aimed at using the resources to serve the interest of the Arab nation as whole".<sup>21</sup>

Though the steps taken by the Arab countries for safeguarding, continuation and acceleration of their industrial development now and in the future do not reveal a concerted or even anti-imperialist programme, a fact not surprising with regard to the socio-economic and political differentiation, there are common concepts of crucial trends and requirements, however. They concentrate mainly on the following issues:<sup>22</sup>

- development of human resources<sup>23</sup> (i.e. training of domestic labour to become skilled workers; training of Arab experts and the successive replacement of non-Arab specialists backed by anti-brain-drain measures; integration of labour problems into the individual development plans; establishment of national and all-Arab training centres);
- technology<sup>24</sup> (i.e. development of national technological potentials; common utilization of the existing equipment and plants; integration of technological advance in general and of leading technologies in particular; adaptation or, resp., development of technologies matching the specific conditions of developing countries);
- mobilization of financial resources (i.e. strengthening the role of Arab financial institutions, banks, development funds etc.<sup>25</sup>; securing of a continued flow of financial resources into such industrial branches which produce investment goods proportional to the development necessities of the national economies; endeavours for getting increased development aid from the 'developed countries' at favourable conditions; change of policies and procedures of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and channelling larger amounts into the industrial sector; financing of joint ventures of or in developing countries; special consideration for the industrialization of the least developed countries; establishment of a capital and investment protecting system);
- energy for industrialization<sup>26</sup> (i.e. increase of the low proportion of energy supplies to the manufacturing sector; complete utilization of existing energy resources and their more effective use; preservation of crude oil as a raw material; development of alternative energy sources; more efficient energy transmission systems and the reduction of losses during transmission; opening up of new prospects for manufacturing machines and equipment to generate energy);
- provision of raw materials (i.e. increase of the Arab countries' capacities aimed at an improved and more complete utilization of the available agricultural, mineral and maritime raw materials and their processing);
- agrarian development, production of food<sup>27</sup>, basic needs<sup>28</sup> (i.e. establishment of suitable industries in rural areas and of agrarian-industrial complexes as well as repair and maintenance centres with a special view to improving the job facilities, reducing the migration



- to urban centres, and increasing food supply; proper linkage of agrarian and industrial development; meeting the basic needs of the population concerning industrial goods);
- industrial co-operation among developing countries<sup>29</sup> (i.e. co-ordination of economic policies, alleviation and increase of mutual trade in industrial goods; enhanced mobility of capital and labour; establishment of joint enterprises<sup>30</sup>; concentration on co-operation in the fields of energy and technology and in the basic industries<sup>31</sup> concerning financial affairs, sales of industrial goods and training of experts);
- support of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa<sup>32</sup> and strengthening the Arab-African co-operation;
- abolition of the obstacles created by the Israeli occupation concerning the industrial development of Palestine and cessation of the Gulf War with its serious and disadvantageous consequences for the economic development in this region.

Within the framework of these and further aspects and within the context of the necessity to overcome underdevelopment, the Arab countries are now in a stage to think about the perspectives of industrialization. These reflections are mainly aimed at, firstly, securing the present and prospective industrial development in its complexity beyond the 'oil period' and emphasizing that the Arab world cannot be simply divided into oil-producing or, resp., -supplying and on-oil-producing or, resp., non-supplying countries. Secondly, these considerations are strongly focused on the utilization of the co-operative potentials of the inter-Arab economic co-operation.<sup>33</sup> Seen from a methodological point of view, leading Arab progressive scientists state that in the necessary investigations for it there must be an intensified integration of individual problems and a complex approach. This is necessary because problems of industrialization like problems of development in general cannot be mainly or exclusively treated as economic issues, as it has been often the case up to now, but they are to be seen within the comprehensive framework of influencing political, social, cultural etc. factors, within their international relativity and according to their repercussions on the whole social development. Furthermore, it has been often stressed that aims cannot be simply formulated as aspirations but must be derived from given facts and combined with hints as to realistic ways of achieving them.<sup>34</sup>

Due to the diverging social facts and orientations and due to the differentiated structures of the national economies in Arab countries<sup>35</sup> industrialization, just as the development in the Arab region as a whole, "is not taking place in a vacuum, but within a framework of political and economic relationships, both global and regional" and contains "a process of emancipation from the shackles of dependency, a righting of the imbalances in the overall Arab economy and the achievement of a high degree of internal integration".<sup>36</sup> This requires, as it was stressed in Gamani Corea's report to UNCTAD VI 1983 in Belgrade with a view to all developing countries, "to choose growth patterns that are less dependent on the earlier linkages. This implies the building up of linkages amongst developing countries as well as realizing the potential for linkages with the socialist countries".<sup>37</sup>

Already since the fifties, the socialist countries have demonstrated an active open-mindedness and continuous engagement for the industrialization endeavours of the Arab developing countries; they have abolished the supply and credit monopoly of the imperialist centres, and from the very beginning they have connected the supply of technical equipment with the transfer of production experience, with the training of skilled workers, the opening up of their markets for goods manufactured in the newly established enterprises, and also with assistance to the national scientific and technological potentials. Perhaps, the existing possibilities have not been fully exploited by now, but such an approach of the socialist countries is surely suited to meet the needs of the Arab countries and future-oriented at the same time. Nevertheless, it is necessary to integrate traditional forms of trade more than ever before "into a complex system of economic, industrial, scientific and technological co-operation"<sup>38</sup> which is based on contractual and long-term security and using various forms of mutually beneficial co-operation<sup>39</sup>, such as, *inter alia*, in building up plants, in manufacturing, in solving scientific and technological problems, in joint activities on third-country markets and in East-West co-operation in or, resp., with developing countries.<sup>40</sup> "The CMEA member countries will, within the scope of their possibilities, continue to render economic and technical assistance to states

which have won freedom and independence, in their efforts to develop their national economies"<sup>41</sup> with finding more and more partners in the Arab countries for co-operation, oriented on the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

According to Al-Zaim, manufacturing and agricultural industries had been widely neglected in the Arab World in the past two decades. Between 1974 and 1983, especially many small oil exporting countries regressed in manufacturing in order to increase primary production and take advantage of the increasing oil demand.<sup>42</sup> But exactly in this ten years the entire world economy had been shaped by oil when OPEC decided to determine its own prices in 1973. Oil changed completely from a cheap source of energy and raw materials to a very expensive one. On the other hand, the rise in oil prices led to a determined and successful effort on the part of the industrialized capitalist countries as well as of developed socialist countries to develop energy-saving methods and to explore new sources of energy and raw materials. As a result of this and in the wake of external implications of discussions and altercations inside OPEC and measures taken by its members, the 1985/86 oil market situation has forced the Arab countries to manifold and serious considerations. In a certain degree, it has already led to concentrate their strategic concepts and their practical efforts on the development of their manufacturing and agricultural industries. This is especially true for most of the purely oil-dominated Arab economies, whereas oil producers like Algeria or Iraq and still agricultural dominated Arab countries such as Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia or Morocco have traditionally been more integrated economies. In this sense, with reference to the two stages of industrialization mentioned earlier in this paper, it seems to be correct to expect a post-oil period of industrialization in the Arab World.

#### Notes

- 1 Hershlag, Z. Y., *Industrialisation in Arab Countries: Patterns, Options and Strategies*. In: *Arab Industrialisation and Economic Integration*. Ed. by R. Aliboni, London 1979, p. 15.
- 2 Castro, F., *The World Economic and Social Crisis*. Report to the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, Havana 1983, p. 121.
- 3 For an overall view on problems of industrialization in developing countries and in the Arab region see *inter alia*: *Industrialisierung in Entwicklungsländern. Bedingungen, Konzeptionen, Tendenzen*. Hrsg. von einem Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von Grienig, H., G. Kück und M. Voigt, Berlin 1975; Barthel, G., *Industrialization in the Arab Countries of the Middle East. Problems and Trends*. Berlin 1972.
- 4 Statement by M. Mazouni, Head of the Algerian Delegation to the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO (Vienna, August 2 — 18, 1984), on 10 August 1984, p. 2.
- 5 At constant 1975 prices on the basis of manufacturing value added according to: UNIDO, *Industry in the 1980s: Structural Change and Interdependence*. Regular issue of the biennial Industrial Development Survey, United Nations, New York 1985, p. 16.
- 6 Calculated or quoted from: UNIDO, *Handbook of Industrial Statistics 1984*, United Nations, New York 1985, pp. 34 ff. According to other information of UNIDO, the share of West Asia and Africa in 1981 is one per cent each (see UNIDO, *Industry in the 1980s*, op. cit., p. 19).
- 7 In 1985 Saudi Arabia will have at its disposal about 4–5 per cent of the petrochemical capacities installed internationally. Already at present there are high protectionist barriers in industrialized Western countries for petrochemical exports of Saudi Arabia. Cf. Summary of the Survey of Economic and Social Developments in the ECWA Region 1985, United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Doc. E/1985/77, May 29, 1985, p. 5.
- 8 UNIDO, *Industry in a changing world*. Special Issue of the Industrial Development Survey for the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO, United Nations, New York 1983, p. 122.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- 10 Cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt, August 21, 1984.
- 11 Cf. Podschibjak, W., K. Djatschenko, UNIDO IV: *Im Interesse der jungen Nationalstaaten*. In: *Außenhandel*, Moscow (German edition), 2/1985, pp. 42–47.



- 12 Cf. The Position of Arab States regarding issues to be discussed at the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO, defined during a meeting organized by the Arab Industrial Development Organization (AIDO) of Ministries of Industry of Arab States, Tunis (Tunisia), July 4-6, 1984, Doc. ID/CONF. 5/37, July 19, 1984, pp. 3 ff.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 UNCTAD, Trade and Development Report 1982, United Nations, New York 1982, p. 1.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Cf., *inter alia*, Report of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, Doc. ID/CONF. 5/46, September 11, 1984, pp. 6 ff., or the documents of the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries 1983 in New Delhi.
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- 37 Development and Recovery: The Realities of the New Interdependence. Report by the Secretary General of UNCTAD to the 6th Session of the Conference, United Nations, New York 1984, p. 35.
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- 42 Cf. Arab Documentation and Information Centre: Arab News and Reports, vol. IV, no. 92, Paris, October 1985, p. 29.



Table 1

Share of Arab countries in world output of the manufacturing sector<sup>1</sup>  
(Percentage, at constant 1975 prices)

| Country or area                              | 1973   | 1981   |
|----------------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Algeria                                      | 0.07   | 0.09   |
| Morocco                                      | 0.08   | 0.11   |
| Tunisia                                      | 0.02   | 0.04   |
| Libya                                        | 0.01   | 0.02   |
| Egypt                                        | 0.12   | 0.18   |
| Sudan                                        | 0.04   | 0.02   |
| Jordan                                       | 0.01   | 0.01   |
| Syria                                        | 0.02   | 0.03   |
| Iraq                                         | 0.04   | 0.05   |
| Kuwait                                       | 0.03   | 0.06   |
| Saudi Arabia                                 | 0.13   | 0.15   |
| Arab countries mentioned, total <sup>2</sup> | 0.57   | 0.76   |
| Africa                                       | 0.78   | 0.98   |
| West Asia                                    | 0.61   | 0.70   |
| South and East Asia                          | 2.24   | 3.19   |
| Latin America                                | 5.09   | 5.69   |
| Developing countries, total <sup>3</sup>     | 8.76   | 10.61  |
| European socialist countries of CMEA         | 19.09  | 24.17  |
| Capitalist industrialized countries          | 72.15  | 65.21  |
| World                                        | 100.00 | 100.00 |

1 On the basis of manufacturing value added and data available of 97 developing countries; People's Republic of China excluded.

2 Other Arab States: below 0.01 per cent.

3 Including non-specified data and the Pacific area.

Source: UNIDO, Handbook of Industrial Statistics 1984,  
United Nations, New York 1985, pp. 34 ff.

Table 2

The 10 developing countries or areas with the largest share in the output of the manufacturing sector<sup>1</sup> of their economic grouping

(Percentage, at constant 1975 prices)

|             | 1963  | 1973             | 1981             |
|-------------|-------|------------------|------------------|
| Brazil      | 19.64 | Brazil 22.74     | Brazil 22.71     |
| India       | 13.48 | Mexico 12.36     | Mexico 13.88     |
| Mexico      | 10.71 | India 9.06       | India 8.61       |
| Argentina   | 9.02  | Argentina 8.40   | South Korea 4.86 |
| Venezuela   | 3.81  | Turkey 4.21      | Argentina 4.85   |
| Turkey      | 3.43  | Venezuela 3.08   | Turkey 3.69      |
| Philippines | 2.82  | South Korea 2.85 | Indonesia 2.77   |
| Peru        | 2.76  | Philippines 2.48 | Philippines 2.62 |
| Chile       | 2.40  | Peru 2.30        | Venezuela 2.46   |
| Egypt       | 2.10  | Iran 2.06        | Hong Kong 2.27   |
| Total       | 70.17 | 69.54            | 68.72            |

1 See Table 1, Note 1

Source: UNIDO, Industry in the 1980s: Structural change and interdependence.  
Regular issue of the biennial Industrial Development Survey, United Nations,  
New York 1985, p. 22

Table 3

Growth rates of output in the manufacturing sector<sup>1</sup> in Arab countries<sup>2</sup>  
total and per capita

(Percentage, at constant 1975 prices)

|              | Total     |           | Per capita |           |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
|              | 1963-1973 | 1973-1981 | 1963-1973  | 1973-1981 |
| Mauretania   | 5.1       | 6.8       | 2.4        | 3.9       |
| Morocco      | 5.0       | 7.9       | 2.2        | 4.6       |
| Algeria      | 12.8      | 7.0       | 9.7        | 3.5       |
| Tunisia      | 10.0      | 10.9      | 7.9        | 8.3       |
| Libya        | 13.6      | 16.3      | 9.1        | 11.7      |
| Egypt        | 3.3       | 8.2       | 0.9        | 5.5       |
| Sudan        | 5.6       | - 2.2     | 3.1        | - 4.8     |
| Somalia      | 21.5      | 2.9       | 19.0       | - 3.7     |
| Syria        | 2.6       | 5.9       | - 0.7      | 2.0       |
| Iraq         | 9.2       | 11.0      | 5.8        | 7.3       |
| Jordan       | 1.1       | 13.1      | - 2.1      | 9.1       |
| Saudi Arabia | 10.0      | 6.3       | 5.8        | 1.8       |
| Kuwait       | 8.2       | 11.8      | - 0.6      | 5.4       |

1 See Table 1, Note 1

2 No data available for countries not mentioned below

Source: UNIDO, Handbook of Industrial Statistics 1984,  
United Nations, New York 1985, pp. 24 ff.



Table 4

Arab countries: Value added in manufacturing  
(Millions of 1975 US-dollars)

|                               | 1970 | 1982  | Growth<br>1982 : 1970 |
|-------------------------------|------|-------|-----------------------|
| Mauretania                    | 18   | 26    | + 44.4                |
| Morocco                       | 1138 | 1960  | + 72.2                |
| Algeria                       | 1068 | 3643  | + 241.1               |
| Tunesia                       | 222  | 841   | + 278.8               |
| Libya                         | 154  | 638   | + 314.3               |
| Egypt                         | 1835 | 4847  | + 164.1               |
| Sudan                         | 253  | 433   | + 71.1                |
| Somalia                       | 42   | 53    | + 26.2                |
| Syria                         | 706  | 1510  | + 113.9               |
| Iraq                          | 522  | ...   | ...                   |
| Jordan                        | 55   | 300   | + 445.5               |
| Saudi Arabia                  | 1726 | 3817  | + 121.2               |
| Kuwait                        | 368  | 894   | + 142.9               |
| Yemen Arab Republic           | 25   | 118   | + 372.0               |
| Countries mentioned,<br>total | 8132 | 19080 | + 134.6               |

Source: World Bank (Washington), World Development Report 1985,  
pp. 186 ff.

## Industrial Development in the Arab Countries

Table 5

Arab countries: Share in total economic activity<sup>1</sup> of manufacturing value added  
(Percentage, at constant 1975 prices)

|              | Share of MVA in<br>total GDP |       | Share of MVA in<br>GDP less services |       |
|--------------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|
|              | 1973                         | 1981  | 1973                                 | 1981  |
| Mauretania   | 5.04                         | 6.29  | 7.82                                 | 11.34 |
| Morocco      | 16.89                        | 17.58 | 31.45                                | 38.67 |
| Algeria      | 8.34                         | 9.21  | 13.00                                | 15.73 |
| Tunesia      | 10.24                        | 13.36 | 19.74                                | 27.33 |
| Libya        | 1.21                         | 3.52  | 1.47                                 | 6.38  |
| Egypt        | 17.85                        | 17.31 | 32.41                                | 34.43 |
| Sudan        | 15.30                        | 7.83  | 27.43                                | 18.32 |
| Somalia      | 9.48                         | 9.67  | 17.01                                | 17.78 |
| Jordan       | 11.37                        | 14.77 | 40.09                                | 34.56 |
| Syria        | 9.76                         | 8.10  | 23.11                                | 18.88 |
| Iraq         | 5.73                         | 12.60 | 7.14                                 | 18.30 |
| Kuwait       | 3.48                         | 8.84  | 4.02                                 | 15.58 |
| Saudi Arabia | 5.88                         | 5.92  | 6.66                                 | 7.35  |

1 On the basis of gross domestic product

Source: UNIDO, Handbook of Industrial Statistics 1984, United Nations,  
New York 1985, pp. 34 ff.



Table 6

Arab countries: Distribution of manufacturing value added 1982  
(Percentage, 1975 prices)

| Country                   | Food and agriculture | Textiles and clothing | Machinery and transport equipment | Chemicals | Other manufacturing |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Morocco                   | 31                   | 12                    | 9                                 | 10        | 38                  |
| Algeria                   | 16                   | 20                    | 8                                 | 3         | 53                  |
| Tunisia                   | 22                   | 12                    | 13                                | 16        | 37                  |
| Libya <sup>1</sup>        | 14                   | -                     | -                                 | 21        | 65                  |
| Egypt <sup>1</sup>        | 20                   | 22                    | 14                                | 10        | 34                  |
| Syria <sup>2</sup>        | 27                   | 32                    | 4                                 | 4         | 33                  |
| Iraq <sup>1</sup>         | 22                   | 22                    | -                                 | -         | 56                  |
| Saudi Arabia <sup>2</sup> | 4                    | -                     | -                                 | -         | 96                  |
| Kuwait <sup>1</sup>       | 9                    | -                     | -                                 | 17        | 74                  |

1 1980

2 1981

Source: World Bank (Washington), World Development Report 1984 and 1985, pp. 264 ff. and pp. 186 ff. respectively

Table 7

Arab countries: Share of products of the manufacturing sector<sup>1</sup> in foreign trade  
(Percentage)

|                 | Export         |                  |                            |                             | Import         |                             |                             |                             |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                 | 1970           | 1975             | 1980                       | 1982                        | 1970           | 1975                        | 1980                        | 1982                        |
| Mauretania      | 0.8            | 0.4              | ...                        | 0.2 <sup>6</sup>            | 63.3<br>(37.9) | 53.8<br>(35.0)              | ...                         | ...                         |
| Morocco         | 9.7            | 12.5             | 28.2                       | 34.3                        | 55.7<br>(31.7) | 47.6<br>(28.7)              | 40.7<br>(21.3)              | 40.9<br>(23.8)              |
| Algeria         | 4.3<br>(14.4)  | 1.4<br>(18.1)    | 0.2<br>(11.0)              | ...                         | 73.3<br>(37.1) | 63.6<br>(39.9)              | 63.9<br>(36.9)              | 65.3 <sup>6</sup><br>(38.3) |
| Tunisia         | 14.4<br>(19.8) | 19.4<br>(34.4)   | 35.6<br>(75.0)             | 33.2 <sup>6</sup><br>(72.3) | 53.2<br>(26.2) | 60.1<br>(32.5)              | 51.8<br>(23.3)              | 52.5 <sup>6</sup><br>(27.2) |
| Libya           | -<br>(-)       | -<br>(-)         | ...                        | 0.4 <sup>6</sup><br>(100.0) | 65.5<br>(29.7) | 69.3<br>(34.3)              | 70.3<br>(38.0)              | 73.8 <sup>6</sup><br>(38.2) |
| Egypt           | 26.1<br>(27.4) | 32.2<br>(35.6)   | 8.4<br>(29.1)              | 7.9<br>(23.4)               | 49.9<br>(26.6) | 43.2<br>(20.5)              | 51.1<br>(27.3)              | 53.6<br>(29.4)              |
| Sudan           | 0.1            | 0.1              | 0.9                        | 0.8 <sup>6</sup>            | 62.3<br>(26.6) | 70.7<br>(32.0)              | 56.0<br>(28.7)              | 54.1 <sup>6</sup><br>(22.0) |
| Somalia         | 4.9            | 2.9              | 0.5                        | ...                         | 51.1<br>(16.5) | 61.0<br>(31.7)              | 58.8<br>(35.3)              | ...                         |
| Syria           | 10.9<br>(13.0) | 7.8<br>(26.2)    | 7.5 <sup>5</sup><br>(27.1) | ...                         | 47.6<br>(18.1) | 57.2<br>(28.8)              | 48.0 <sup>5</sup><br>(22.9) | ...                         |
| Iraq            | 1.0<br>(17.7)  | 0.2<br>(27.5)    | 0.5 <sup>4</sup><br>(35.6) | ...                         | 63.6<br>(28.8) | 62.2<br>(41.0)              | 78.5 <sup>4</sup><br>(53.7) | ...                         |
| Jordan          | 16.2           | 19.9             | 32.5                       | 42.1                        | 46.6<br>(16.9) | 58.0<br>(31.8)              | 55.6<br>(27.9)              | 53.6<br>(28.2)              |
| Saudi Arabia    | 0.1<br>(39.4)  | 0.6<br>(85.3)    | 0.6<br>(79.0)              | 1.0<br>(85.1)               | 57.9<br>(32.7) | 76.7<br>(41.1)              | 76.2<br>(38.9)              | 77.8<br>(43.3)              |
| Kuwait          | 4.6<br>(61.2)  | 7.7<br>(90.4)    | 10.2<br>(91.3)             | 14.4 <sup>6</sup><br>(87.5) | 73.3<br>(35.9) | 76.1<br>(45.6)              | 76.7<br>(36.2)              | 76.6 <sup>6</sup><br>(41.0) |
| PDR Yemen       | ...            | 0.2 <sup>2</sup> | 0.4 <sup>3</sup>           | ...                         | ...            | 25.7 <sup>2</sup><br>(14.4) | 33.9 <sup>3</sup><br>(22.7) | ...                         |
| Yemen Arab Rep. | 0.1            | 6.8              | 42.6                       | 73.0 <sup>6</sup>           | 26.5<br>(8.6)  | 46.3<br>(15.6)              | 57.1<br>(27.7)              | 53.9 <sup>6</sup><br>(25.4) |

Data in brackets: Export of oil-exporting countries: share of manufactures in total foreign trade minus oil (SITC 3)  
Import: share of machinery and transport equipment (SITC 7) in total foreign trade

1 SITC 5 to 8, SITC 67 and 68 excluded

4 1978

2 1976

5 1979

3 1977

6 1981

Source: According to data in UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics 1984, United Nations, New York 1984, pp. 98 ff.



Colonial rule, the national liberation revolution and the path of development adopted by Algeria

When an analysis is made of the highly complex developments now taking place in many Asian and African countries, the question arises to what extent the direction and content of the social process after independence have been influenced by factors which are rooted in the colonial past and anticolonial struggle of the country in question.

More specifically, a study should be made of how the following factors are reflected in the later history of the country:

- the content, form and duration of colonial rule (a colony mainly for trade or mass settlement, direct or indirect exercise of power, "conventional" colonialism and the transition to neocolonialism);
- the sharpness of the main contradiction between the suppressed people and imperialism, the relation between the national confrontation and social conflicts;
- the intensity, duration and form of the anticolonial and national liberation movement; the relation between the political and military struggle;
- the level of mass involvement in the national liberation struggle;
- the political and social character of the leading elements (national bourgeoisie, reformist or revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, proletarian forces);
- the position of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the national liberation struggle;
- the form in which the anticolonial and patriotic forces worked together (alliance of independent parties and organizations or one unified organization, relations with the world revolutionary movement);
- the character of the prevailing ideology and the role of religion in the liberation struggle.

In the following, the example of Algeria is used to show the effect of the specific forms of colonial rule and the anti-colonial struggle on the content, development and results of the liberation movement and the process initiated after the winning of national sovereignty.

This sovereignty was achieved in 1962 after a national-revolutionary war of liberation which lasted seven and a half years and was led by the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale/FLN).<sup>1</sup> It ended 132 years of French colonial rule, and the country has since undergone a process of thorough social transformation under the leadership of revolutionary democrats. These changes have been anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and, to some extent, anti-capitalist in character.<sup>2</sup>

Algeria defended and consolidated its political sovereignty by closing down the remaining French military bases, taking control of its natural resources, nationalizing the land owned by European agricultural concerns and settlers, and by gradually wresting from foreign capital the economic leverage it still had in the mining and manufacturing industries, and in the transport, banking and insurance sector. As a last step, the oil and natural gas industries were also nationalized. The country made great progress in establishing its own industry and the related infrastructure, and in economic planning.

The "agrarian revolution" weakened the stratum of feudal and feudal-capitalist owners of big estates. These domestic landlords had land taken away which was given to landless peasants and smallholders, leading also to the emergence of a cooperative sector. Radical transformations took place in the social, intellectual and cultural fields as well, particularly with the establishment of a modern education system, the fight against illiteracy and the fostering of the Arabic language and culture.

The cultural and living standards for the working masses improved with a number of steps taken in the social sphere, such as the fight against unemployment, the introduction of free medical care, large-scale housing construction and wage increases. The state developed into the organ through which the anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces exercised power. In the foreign political field, Algeria contributed greatly to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and for peace and detente.

As an independent country, Algeria is politically guided by the National Liberation Front which started out as an anticolonial front of national unity and has now grown into a revolutionary-democratic party. Its programs (Program of Tripoli 1962<sup>3</sup>, Charter of Algiers 1964<sup>4</sup> and National Charter of 1976<sup>5</sup>) call for anti-imperialist and democratic transformations and in the long term foresee the building of a socialist system.

The social changes introduced since 1962 in several stages go beyond the scope of bourgeois democracy and have the attributes of a national-democratic revolution.

Algeria was in the first group of nations which, after breaking free from colonial rule, chose this path of social transformation during the 1960s and as such played a pioneering role. In contrast to other developing countries where the national-democratic revolution and socialist orientation were soon deadlocked, the Algerian revolution survived many threats over a period of more than two decades. While making many steps in the direction of historical advance, it was never completed. In the late 1970s its inherent contradictions aggravated and its pace slowed down. At the present time, Algeria is under enormous pressure from imperialism and reactionary Arab regimes. On the domestic scene, the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeois elements in the government and economic sector who gathered strength during the 1960s and 70s are demanding more power, the liquidation of revolutionary achievements and a change of policy from the course adopted in 1962/63. There is a greater trend now to petty-bourgeois reformism and compromises with the local bourgeoisie. The steps taken by the national government in the early 1980s toward solving the social contradictions which have been developing, aimed particularly at economic recovery and higher output, are being used by bourgeois elements and their allies in order to strengthen the private capitalist enterprises, to undermine the public and co-operative sector, to attack the rights of the working people and to reverse the revolutionary gains of the past. Social contradictions in the country have aggravated. The revolutionary and patriotic forces inside and outside the FLN and in the mass organizations under its leadership are fighting against the threats from right-wing elements and working to strengthen and extend the revolution.

The following takes a closer look at some of the historical factors behind the liberation struggle which then played a role in the social process after independence and continue to have some long-term effects even today. There can be no doubt that the national-democratic revolution has taken its rationale and inspiration, up to this very day, from the war of liberation that preceded it.

1. Colonial rule - its impact on national and social contradictions and on the content and form of the liberation struggle

The colonial conquest of Algeria began when a French expeditionary force landed in 1830 and took almost 70 years to complete. It met with fierce armed resistance over a long period which reached its high points in the 19th century with the popular war under emir Abd al-Qādir (1832/47), the revolts of the Walad Sidi Saih, a tribal community in the south-west (1864 and 1881), and the uprising of tribes in central Algeria led by the al-Muqrānī brothers (1871/72).

This armed tribal resistance was the typical form of anticolonial defense and the liberation struggle waged by the country's peoples in the 19th century. It was a popular war, even though its leaders were of feudal and religious origin, and the unifying factor was the Islamic faith. The struggle led by Abd al-Qādir was crowned by the emergence of a national state. In the end, however, these uprisings were all defeated, mainly because the French forces were superior in numbers and better armed. Also responsible was their brutal and barbaric warfare.

Nevertheless, the impact of this resistance was felt long after it had been crushed. Apart from making it difficult for the colonial power to plunder the country economically and tighten its political grip for some time, the people were strengthened in their desire for freedom and gained practical experience in fighting a superior military force. These heroic wars were never forgotten, they inspired a spirit of resistance and a militant tradition in the national liberation movement.



The conditions under which colonial power was exercised and the plunder of the country carried on, had a major influence on the emergence and unfolding of a movement for national liberation. The conquest of Algeria by the French colonial army devastated and depopulated whole regions, and the population was drastically reduced in addition by epidemics and famine. Forced contributions were exacted from the defeated tribes, who also had their best land taken away by confiscation and usury. Algeria became a colony for the mass settlement of Europeans, and the area given to these Colons grew from 365,000 hectares of farmland in 1860 to 2.7 million hectares in 1940. This type of capitalist colonization dominated by large estates accelerated the disintegration of patriarchal structures and favored the emergence of feudal production relations. In contrast to Tunisia and Morocco which were later made protectorates, the exercise of power in the north of Algeria with its French settlers was mostly direct, i.e. through French civil servants, thus bypassing the traditional local dignitaries. Feudal leaders (sheiks, aghas and bachaghas) were given administrative functions only in the steppe and desert regions which were under the authority of the army. By giving them privileges, France created a stratum of collaborators. From the viewpoint of national law, Algeria was an "extension" of the mother country.

The European minority dominated the economic life of the country. A modern agrarian sector operated by the Colons (who produced wine, citrus fruit and early vegetables) for the French market stood in stark contrast to backward "traditional" farming where pre-capitalist social structures prevailed. The expropriation of Algerian peasants and the introduction of capitalist methods into agriculture by the settlers impoverished large sections of the rural population. An indigenous working class began to develop in connection with the growth of mining and some manufacturing industries during the late 19th and early 20th century.

Capitalist colonization made Algeria a supplier of minerals and farm products, and a market for French industry. Economic development was limited to some sectors and to the northern regions with French settlers, while most of the country remained backward. The only ones to profit from this state of affairs were the big bourgeoisie in France, the European settlers and capitalist entrepreneurs in the cities, and a comparatively small group of local owners of big estates. French monopoly capital and the wealthiest among the French settlers not only controlled the economy but also held key positions in the colonial administration.

Up until the 1950s few Algerians were admitted to the civil service, and most of them were required to have full qualifications as French citizens. The group of collaborators thus remained comparatively small. The prevalence of French capital considerably hampered the development of a national bourgeoisie which existed merely in the form of small and medium entrepreneurs. The result was that the overwhelming majority of the people, including the larger part of the bourgeoisie, were more or less victims of colonial exploitation and national oppression. The characteristic traits of French colonial rule in Algeria were the usurpation of land, exploitation, the denial of democratic rights, discrimination against the indigenous population, racism, contempt for the Arabic-Islamic culture which was suppressed, a desire to wipe out the national identity of the Algerian people, the crushing of all signs of anticolonial resistance and the striving for national self-determination, and the fostering of hatred between tribes and ethnic groups.

The upper stratum among the French settlers were always bent on retaining their privileges and stubbornly resisted the repeated attempts made by democratic forces in France to reform the system of colonial power in Algeria. In doing so, they were able to rely on support from a considerable element in the European population including part of the working class, who shared the same privileges to some extent.

The content and form of French colonial rule in Algeria created an unusually sharp confrontation between the majority of the people on the one hand and French imperialism on the other. This was reinforced by the fact that the national contradiction coincided with the social contradiction, so that the political antagonism between the fellahs, artisans and proletarians felt toward the French landowners and industrial capitalists was supplemented by social conflict.

That this was a confrontation of extraordinary dimensions became obvious not only before and during the liberation war from 1954-1962 but was already reflected in the tribal upris-

ings described above, and in the national revolt of May 1945. There were a number of reasons for the fact that after World War II the national liberation movement eventually took the form of armed struggle and a war of liberation. These included the changes which had occurred in the world relation of forces, the growing influence of a worldwide socialist system, the successful anticolonial struggles in east and southeast Asia and the Middle East, and most of all the aggravating socio-economic and political contradictions in the country itself. The impoverishment of peasants reached unprecedented dimensions, and there were more than six million people in the rural areas living below the subsistence level. A total of 1.5 million people were unemployed. The colonial administration dragged its feet on the reforms it had promised and instead stepped up its policy of reprisals against the liberation movement in 1948 and after, using punitive expeditions, mass arrests and the rigging of elections on a large scale.

The character of colonial rule and the resulting contradictions created a number of specific features in the Algerian liberation movement which can be described as follows:

*Firstly*, the national and social conflict were sufficiently intertwined to give the movement mass support especially from working people (urban workers, pre-proletarian elements, middle strata, farmworkers, peasants and intellectuals). The striving for national self-determination was always coupled with social demands, and due attention to both aspects was the key to success for any organization seeking leadership in the struggle for liberation. One of the reasons why the Algerian Communist Party failed in this role was the fact that it had underestimated the national question for a longer period. In addition, its membership was limited largely to the French workers living in Algeria up until World War II.

*Secondly*, there was a rapid growth of the radical petty bourgeois-nationalist elements inside the liberation movement particularly after the end of the war, which was caused by the extreme character of the main contradiction. These groups came together in the "Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties" (MTLD, Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques) whose predecessor had been the "Algerian People's Party" (PPA, Parti du Peuple Algérien). It was on this movement that the colonial power concentrated its reprisals, as a result of which many MTLD fighters went underground to join the armed struggle. The most militant of these forces united in 1948 to form the secret military arm of the MTLD, the "Organisation Spéciale" (OS). This grew into what was practically an independent contingent in the national liberation movement, after the MTLD had split into two rivaling factions neither of which had the right strategy for liberation under the new conditions.

The members of the OS were mostly young people who in the course of time came to see the limits of political struggle. Impressed by such developments as the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia, they concluded that the only way to liberate the country was armed struggle. They took the initiative in the middle of 1954 by making preparations for an uprising which broke out on November 1, 1954 under the leadership of the FLN. The latter organization had been founded by members of the OS, and its core consisted of MTLD militants who went about training and educating a new generation of fighters.

*Thirdly*, the Algerian people responded to the French policy of destroying their national identity by returning to the Islamic faith and the Arabic-Muslim cultural heritage. The unifying and mobilizing effect of Islam was reflected in the armed resistance of the masses which took the form of a Jihad, or "holy war" in the tribal revolts. The Islamic faith was an essential element in the political movement for national liberation and democratic rights which unfolded with the beginning of the century. It was a major factor in maintaining and emphasizing national identity and expressing dissociation from the oppressor nation.

An outstanding contribution to the establishment of a national liberation movement was made by the "Association of Algerian Reformatory Ulama" (Jamiat Ulama al-muslimin al-jaza'irin) which was founded in 1931 and led by Abd al-Hamid Bin Badis, Tayyib al-Uqbi and Bashir al-Ibrahimi. The organization advocated a renewal of Islam and saving it from degeneration, and it worked for the preservation of the Arabic language and Muslim culture and sought to propagate knowledge among the people, under the motto, "My religion is Islam, my language Arabic and my country Algeria". In this way it helped to develop a national consciousness and became one of the mainstays of the liberation movement. The members of the association joined the FLN in 1956.



The proclamation issued on Nov. 1, 1954 described as the main aim "the restoration of a sovereign, democratic and social Algerian state based on Islamic principles"<sup>8</sup>. Jihad was also the motive behind the armed struggle waged by the Algerian Liberation Army (ALN, Armée de Libération Nationale) but interpreted not as a religious war. Instead the understanding was that this was a patriotic campaign, and the soldiers called themselves mujahidun (fighters of the holy war) because they and the partisans who fought with them saw their actions as pleasing to Allah.

The Islamic faith, in this connection, was synonymous with proclaiming one's national identity, it aroused patriotism, strengthened national unity, and it created a good fighting spirit and a willingness to make sacrifices.

On the other hand, the Islamic religion has often hampered the propagation of a scientific world outlook. The National Charter of 1976 characterizes its role in the anticolonial resistance and national liberation struggle in the following appropriate words:

"As an inseparable part of our historical personality, Islam has turned out to be a principal bulwark against all attempts to extinguish that personality. During the worst times of colonial rule the Algerian people have taken shelter under a militant and strict Islam built around a sense of justice and equality, and drawn from it the moral energy and spirit that have saved them from self-surrender and brought them victory."<sup>9</sup>

Fourthly, the national liberation movement in Algeria established close ties with revolutionary workers and the democratic movement in France as early as the 1920s. This was done through Algerians working in France, and apart from being inspired by these contacts the movement also adopted a number of organizational and fighting methods. It should be noted in this connection that the first great political movement to raise the demand for national independence, the "North African Star" (L'étoile Nordafricaine) which then developed into the strongest advocate of liberation, was founded in Paris in 1926 by Algerian workers with aid from the French Communist Party.

The French workers' movement influenced its counterpart and the organizations seeking liberation in Algeria in two ways. On the one hand, the revolutionary and internationalist forces passed on valuable experience regarding the organization and methods of the struggle for social emancipation, and helped to propagate scientific socialism. On the other side, there were the opportunist elements and Right-wing socialists who supported the official colonial policies and promoted the emergence of an "aristocracy" among the workers of European extraction in Algeria. They did little to defend the social status of Algeria's Muslim workers. An additional problem was that even the organizations established in Algeria with assistance from the revolutionary workers' movement in France underestimated the national factor for a long time and had difficulty in linking the struggle for social rights with that for self-determination. This is probably one of the main reasons why the Algerian workers' movement could establish itself only in very close association with the liberation movement whose ideology it accepted (UGTA, the trade union federation, was founded under the auspices of the FLN on February 24, 1956).

#### II. Algeria's path of development and its roots in the war of national liberation

It is a special feature of the Algerian national-democratic revolution that it developed immediately from the war of national liberation (1954-62). The latter had a deep effect on the transition period which was short (spring to autumn 1962) and settled the struggle for power and the path of development to be chosen, and on the revolution itself. This influence was a result particularly of the following characteristics of the war:

1. The overwhelming majority of the people were involved in the political and military struggle against colonial rule in one way or another. The heaviest burden, also in terms of human lives, was borne by the working masses and especially the landless peasants and smallholders, the farmworkers and the proletariat in the cities. The urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, sections of the national bourgeoisie and well-to-do farmers also made a contribution and had to face terror and reprisals from the colonial administration.

tion. The Algerian people made tremendous sacrifices in order to win national sovereignty.<sup>8</sup>

Almost every family suffered from the war, and it was this bitter experience in a relentless confrontation that made people take sides and strengthened their patriotism.

For the working masses, this fight was linked with social demands. From national liberation they expected solutions to such urgent problems as receiving land, housing, jobs, food, education and health care. Every day that brought liberation nearer made it more difficult for the bourgeois and right-wing petty bourgeois elements in the FLN leadership, and for the Provisional Government formed in 1958, to ignore these expectations. In contrast to the Soummam program<sup>9</sup> which said little about the social aims of the liberation struggle, the program of Tripoli (1962)<sup>10</sup> proposed anti-imperialist and democratic changes with a socialist perspective. This met the expectations of most people.

The war of national liberation countered the attempts made by the colonial power to divide the Algerian people, to "assimilate" them and to impose a French character on the country. It helped to overcome ethnic and tribal boundaries, weakened the prestige of "traditional" leaders and gave influence and credit to men and women from the ranks of the common people.

2. The FLN was the political leader and organizer of the liberation war. It had been formed by those patriotic elements from the non-proletarian contingents of the liberation movement (especially the MTLN) who considered armed struggle the only route to national independence. In the course of two years the FLN grew from a comparatively small organization of militants into a united front of the masses which embraced a wide social spectrum and was anti-imperialist in character. All classes and strata of the Algerian people were represented. The political leaders came mainly from the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the middle bourgeoisie. Their principal strategic goal was to defeat the colonial rule, to win national independence and to restore the Algerian state in the form of a "democratic and social republic"<sup>11</sup>. The FLN was successful in mobilizing the masses around this aim, through an efficient organizational network which spanned the whole country. Its groups and sections worked in all urban neighbourhoods and villages, and even in the internment and relocation camps and prisons. There was also a strong FLN presence among the Algerian workers in France. The organization had offices in many countries which engaged in a number of diplomatic activities.

In its role as unity front of the Algerian people, the FLN worked through the affiliated mass organizations, the National Liberation Army (ALN) and an administrative network that existed underground (Organisation politico-administrative). In the widest sense, the FLN embraced all soldiers, partisans and members of affiliated mass organizations, while in a stricter sense it was a secret and tight-knit underground network which resembled a political party (FLN-clandestin).

In the countryside, the aspect of the front of national unity was embodied primarily in the Liberation Army (ALN) which was not merely the military arm of the FLN but represented its political core. This was possible because of its outstanding organization, the close ties it had with the peasant masses and farmworkers, its excellent fighting spirit and the revolutionary-democratic views held by most officers and men.

The ALN supervised and instructed the secret administrative system which operated in the liberated areas and the regions under its control. The local ALN commander was at the same time the highest representative of the FLN.

The two organizations were inseparably linked, and their military and political actions went a long way toward politicizing the people and involving them directly in the war. This unity of political and military action was, however, neglected in some cases when too much emphasis was given to the armed struggle and indiscriminate terror. Political work was underrated at times, and the combined effect was to make it impossible for the FLN/ALN to foil some of the demagogic maneuvers and subversive projects launched by the colonial administration. These tactical weaknesses were overcome in a corrective process as a result of experience gained. The diverse attempts made by French imperialism to isolate the FLN from the people were thus doomed to failure in the end.



The FLN was never monolithic either in its social composition or with regard to the political and ideological orientation of its members. It was beset with internal conflicts and factional struggles all the time, and particularly after taking in the members of the old nationalistic organizations, the MTLN and UDMA (Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien - Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto), and the Ulema association in 1956.

The Provisional Government established in 1958 was under considerable influence from representatives of the national bourgeoisie and the right wing of the petty bourgeoisie. Not later than 1959 the first differences arose between these elements and the revolutionary-democratic ALN commanders. They concerned the aims to be pursued, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, the negotiations to be conducted with the French government, and the road to be chosen after independence. These class-related contradictions were left aside for the time being so as not to jeopardize the joint struggle against the colonial power, but came to the surface again after the signing of the Evian agreements<sup>12</sup>. On a number of occasions they became intertwined with conflicts between rivaling power centers. Unity was also hampered by expressions of regionalism known in Algeria as "Wilayism" which arose from the fact that under the complicated fighting conditions individual military districts (Wilayats) were comparatively autonomous and did not sufficiently coordinate their operations thus creating various centers of power.

3. One of the features of the Algerian liberation revolution which was to have a long-term effect has already been mentioned - the role of the liberation army<sup>13</sup> not only as a military force. The ALN was a people's army, and 90 per cent of its personnel were poor peasants and farmworkers. Also represented were intellectuals, students, urban workers and employees, small tradesmen and artisans. Most of the officers and commanders came from a petty-bourgeois background. They took revolutionary-democratic positions, were closely allied with the working masses and aware of their needs and demands, and saw themselves as champions of the national and social interests of the working people.

The deep roots of the ALN meant that, on the one hand, it received food and information from the people and, on the other, it made every effort to alleviate the misery and suffering of the population through the administrative system it had created. This was done primarily by providing medical care and schooling, supporting the surviving dependants of fighters killed in action, and catering for the needs of refugees.

Military developments such as the closing and fortification of frontiers and the decimation of ALN units fighting in the interior of the country as a result of the big French operation launched in 1958/59 gave much political weight to those ALN contingents stationed in Tunisia and Morocco and known as the "frontier army". Its general staff under Houari Boumediène not only built up a well-equipped, disciplined and efficient force but also made the frontier army a decisive counterbalance to the domination of liberal-bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and pro-capitalist elements in the Provisional Government. In the end, it became the best organized military and political component of the FLN and the core of what was to be the National People's Army later on. Its headquarters and staffs served as a forum for discussing economic and social programs to be carried out in a future Algerian state after independence, with most officers favoring social changes in the interest of the working people and a continued revolutionary process while refusing to compromise with the neocolonialist designs of France.

When a dispute broke out in the FLN concerning the road to be taken in early 1962, it was the intervention of these officers that was instrumental in getting the views of the revolutionary-democratic group accepted. As a result, the national-democratic revolution was initiated.

4. The relations between the Algerian Communist Party (ACP) and the FLN played a considerable part in the internal balance of forces after independence. The ACP had worked hard to bring about national liberation. At the beginning of the 1950s it opposed the reformism that was then spreading throughout the liberation movement and sought to overcome its crisis and to unite the revolutionary forces. At that time the party no longer excluded armed struggle as a principal option but was taken by surprise when the uprising broke out on November 1, 1954.

Even though it had not been involved in the preparations, the party declared itself in favor<sup>14</sup> and called for support to be given to the armed struggle. The Central Committee instructed party members who lived in the combat zones to contact the ALN and give every assistance possible in the fighting. During the first months of the war, many Communists joined the Liberation Army.

The party then had to analyze the new situation with all its consequences and went about developing the necessary strategy and tactics. Until it was banned in September 1955 it used every remaining opportunity under the law to mobilize the masses in support of the uprising, by collecting money, weapons, medicines and clothing. At its meeting in June 1955 the Central Committee made fundamental decisions concerning the participation of Communists in the armed struggle. It set up task forces, the "Combattants de la Libération" who carried out military operations in some northern regions thus opening the door for co-operation with the FLN.

Under an agreement made with the FLN leadership in June 1956 the Communist task forces were incorporated into the ALN. Among them were nine members of the Central Committee, and five of these gave their lives in the liberation war. A number of party leaders were held in French prisons. It was the policy of the ACP to help establish a broad front of national unity and see itself as part of that alliance. On the other hand, the party refused to dissolve as was demanded by the FLN and continued to retain its own organization, policy and ideology. From 1956 onwards a number of problems and differences overshadowed the co-operation between the ACP and the FLN<sup>15</sup>. Some FLN leaders and ALN officers took up a negative or hostile attitude toward their Communist comrades in arms and discriminated against them. The ACP engaged in constructive criticism of weaknesses and mistakes made in the course of the war (disregard for the relation of forces and battle conditions, underestimation of the political factor, individual terror, too much separation of the national and the social element, illusions harbored by some FLN leaders with regard to the U.S. and other NATO countries). At the same time, the Communists made proposals aimed at strengthening the anticolonial front.<sup>16</sup>

The FLN accused the ACP of having rejected the armed struggle and of holding back in the fighting. Even though disproven by the facts, this charge was repeated on many occasions. Apart from fighting on the war front, the ACP greatly contributed to the political mobilization of the people and particularly the working class, and played a major role in strengthening the co-operation between the liberation movement, the revolutionary working-class movement around the world, and the socialist countries. It was thus instrumental in securing the international solidarity which was so badly needed by the Algerian liberation revolution.

5. The liberation war influenced the internal relation of forces in many ways. The extreme bitterness of the confrontation brought out the deep contradiction between French imperialism and the majority of the Algerian people. This had the result of creating a marked differentiation among the elements which made up the FLN already during the war. Of the two currents which established themselves, one revolutionary-democratic and the other bourgeois, petty bourgeois, reformist and pro-capitalist, the latter was forced back toward the end of the war but not completely eliminated.

Leadership was eventually assumed by those forces who regarded national sovereignty not as the ultimate goal but only an intermediate stage in the struggle for complete national liberation and social advance. This group had a strong foothold in the National Liberation Army which in turn had helped to establish People's Committees in the rural areas under its control. The committees were rudimentary forms of a state power which was to develop after independence.

### III. Historical effects on the social process after independence

The specific features of French colonial rule in Algeria, and the characteristics of the national liberation struggle not only created a set of general conditions for the social process after independence but also had a number of very concrete effects later on. Some of these can be felt up to the present day.



The following attempts to give a rough outline of how these historical factors were reflected in some basic aspects of the revolutionary process:

### 1. *The main contradiction and the political power balance*

For Algeria, the main contradiction continued to exist in its relations with French imperialism even after the country had won its political independence. Now, however, the confrontation took place increasingly in the economic sphere. Here the French monopolies held key positions for another few years, and the fight for economic liberation turned out to be long and extremely complicated in view of the close ties that existed with France and the capitalist world market. The worst starting problems were overcome with the help of French payments and personnel which the country had promised to provide for the Algerian economy in the agreements signed at Evian. At the same time, however, neocolonialist infiltration was possible through these channels. It is probably fair to say that Algeria had a better economic start than most of the other developing nations in Africa, despite the enormous destruction caused by the war and extreme colonialist terror, and despite the disastrous situation which prevailed in industry and agriculture in 1962/63. This was due to a modern capitalist sector with an emerging working class, which created fairly good conditions for building a national economy and for the fight against underdevelopment.

The exodus in 1962/63 of the European minority which numbered just under a million, had a two-fold effect. On the one hand, the country lost most of the trained and skilled personnel, which made it extremely difficult to revive the economy and administrative system. On the other hand, the political balance of forces changed for the better because most of the Algerian collaborators left with the Europeans. Of the feudal leaders who remained, the majority had lost credit and influence among the people for working together with the colonial administration, but they retained considerable economic power.

French imperialism thus lost some of its allies on the domestic front but could still count in its neocolonialist designs on Algerians who had been admitted into the civil service since the late 1950s. A number of those who continued in the public service after independence did not give up their pro-imperialist outlook.

The fact that the main contradiction was now increasingly embodied in the economic relations with French imperialism made it difficult for some leaders to realize the full extent of the neocolonialist danger at once. Many also shut their eyes to the social differentiation that was taking place in society and disregarded or even ignored the class conflicts that were in the making, in the light of an ongoing confrontation with imperialism.

### 2. *The role of the masses*

The working people of Algeria, and especially the poor peasants and the working class, expected major social improvements from national liberation, hopes which the new state could not, and cannot, afford to ignore. In some cases, however, the expectations far exceeded what was possible at the time, and attempts have also been made by counterrevolutionary elements to harness social discontent among the masses for their own schemes.

The lesson has been learned since that social problems cannot be solved simply by decree, and that a long-term economic effort must be made instead.

There was a widespread willingness among the working people to take an active part in the revolutionary transformation, but this was not always utilized to the full by the country's leaders. Examples of mass action included the taking over of farms and industrial enterprises left behind by the Colons and the setting up of self-administration organs (1962/63), the involvement of considerable parts of the peasantry in the agrarian revolution and the student movement initiated to support the latter ("volontariat"), the strikes organized to assert social demands and rights in the private capitalist sector, the work of committees for worker participation in the public sector, and the massive participation of working people in the nationwide discussion of the National Charter (1976) and its amendment (1985).

Up until the late 1970s, however, the activity and initiative of the masses were hampered by the organizational weakness of the FLN party at the grassroots level, and by such factors as an overemphasis on technical and administrative aspects, disregard for political argumentation and a patronizing approach to the mass organizations on the part of the FLN. Now as

in the past, a number of non-proletarian leaders are prepared to encourage mass involvement of the working people in the revolutionary process only to the extent that it does not erode their own power and can be controlled by them.

### 3. *The question of hegemony*

In the process of social transformation which began after independence, hegemony is exerted by the urban middle strata. This is a result primarily of the weakness of the potential main classes, and of the leading role the middle strata played during the liberation war. Their position is mostly, if not always consistently, anti-imperialist, anticolonial, antifeudal and generally democratic, but these forces have different and sometimes opposing concepts as far as the social content of advancing the revolution is concerned. Their position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat makes them likely to vacillate between these two main classes.

Within the urban middle strata, two currents have developed, one petty-bourgeois, reformist and with a pro-capitalist orientation, and the other revolutionary-democratic with an anti-capitalist outlook. The power balance between them has always been unstable, and there is a strong middle group which leans now this way and now that while tending toward one of the sides.

The reason why the revolutionary democrats assumed the political leadership in 1962/63 must be sought in the relation of forces inside the FLN at the end of the war. But this group never ruled unchallenged and always had to share power with elements from the middle section, with concessions made also to the reformist current. In addition, a process of differentiation occurred among the revolutionary democrats themselves. Some representatives of this group reached the limits of revolutionary action, did not keep abreast of the challenges posed by the revolutionary process and even fell back to reformist positions.

The differentiation according to class among the non-proletarian leading group was, however, hampered by a common anti-imperialist and anticolonial background, and superimposed on the picture were the power struggles of rivaling factions.

The FLN/ALN acted as a unity front, party and army during the liberation war and in addition performed administrative functions. It retained this leading role after independence and institutionalized it in terms of national law through the one-party system. This monopolization of power excluded other parties from political life, among them the Algerian Communist Party and its successor, the Party of the Socialist Vanguard (shortened in French to PAGES). The mass organizations were committed to following the FLN line. The feeling of resentment against the Communists lived on and was nourished largely by differences and misunderstandings from the time of the liberation war. This did not prevent the FLN, however, from establishing relations with many Communist and workers' parties.

But the role played by the FLN during the liberation war brought it not only advantages. One of its problems was that the organization was too diverse from a social and political point of view to meet the requirements of the national-democratic revolution. This meant power struggles between individuals and groups, and political in-fighting between the two main factions mentioned above.

These factors seriously handicapped the FLN on the way to becoming a revolutionary-democratic party.<sup>17</sup> Up until the second half of the 1970s it lagged behind the development of the revolution and was unable to perform the function of a vanguard party it had been intended for. Petty-bourgeois and reformist elements, and members of the middle group held influential positions in its executive organs. After the Revolutionary Council had taken over the power in 1965, the revolutionary democrats, while exercising leadership as FLN representatives and on behalf of the FLN, mostly worked through the organs of state power (Office of the President, the government, the army) in practice. At times they gave priority to building a national-democratic state power instead of party building. Only after its 4th congress in 1979 did the FLN begin to implement its claim to leadership step by step. One of the legacies of the liberation war is the fact that the National People's Army which succeeded the National Liberation Army, has always remained the supreme power factor and tipped the scales in critical situations (1962/63, 1965, 1971, 1978).

This is why the attempt of Ahmed Ben Bella, the former President, to establish the FLN



as a center of political leadership without/against the army was doomed to failure. The army continues to see itself not only as the successor to the ALN but also as the keeper of revolutionary traditions and part of the political vanguard. Even though social differentiation has not stopped short of its ranks, it remains a powerful political factor, and its position will be instrumental in the development of Algerian society.

#### 4. *The ideology of the revolutionary-democratic forces*

The social concepts of the revolutionary democrats after independence have reflected Algeria's specific road to sovereignty and particularly the link between the national and the social element in the anticolonial liberation struggle, and the role of Islam. They are a synthesis of nationalism, non-proletarian socialist ideas and the doctrines and traditions of Islam.

In their designs for a socialist society as reflected in the FLN programs of 1962, 1964 and in the National Charter of 1976<sup>18</sup> the revolutionary-democratic leaders evoke the original Islamic teachings of social justice and the equality of men, the progressive Arabic-Muslim heritage in the cultural field and the experience gained in the struggle for national liberation. At the same time they accept in a pragmatic manner, as the National Charter puts it, "contributions from the world-wide socialist experience"<sup>19</sup> as far as they are compatible with Algeria's national conditions. In this way they want to find their own original road to socialism.

This inconsistent social concept reflects the results of Algeria's historical development, its socio-economic, political and ideological situation, the viability of Islamic traditions, a widespread militant patriotism and anticolonialist feeling among the people, an unbroken will to achieve full national liberation and social changes in the interest of the people, and a desire to preserve the great cultural achievements of the Arab peoples and harness them for social advance. Despite certain reformist and utopian traits, this ideology as a whole is revolutionary and can provide a platform for the joint struggle of broad masses of people to achieve goals which are basically anti-imperialist, directed against neocolonialism and generally democratic and national in character. Depending on the further development of the power relation it may lead nearer to scientific socialism, but it may also degenerate into petty-bourgeois social reformism.

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Even though colonial domination and the anticolonial struggle have had a considerable effect on the history of Algeria after independence, this does not mean that the course of events will be automatic. On the contrary, many new conditions, influences and challenges of an international, regional, national, socio-economic and political nature have since come into the picture and modified the inherited situation.

It is through this conflict of the past with the present that the fight for social advance is continuing in Algeria just as in other developing countries.

#### Notes

- 1 For the history of the national liberation struggle see also: Alleg, H., and several authors, *La guerre d'Algérie*, vols. 1–2, Paris 1981; Chikh, S., *L'Algérie en armes ou le temps des certitudes*, Paris 1981; Kondratyev, G. S., *Armia alzhirskoy revolyutsii. Ocherki formirovaniya i boyevoy deyatel'nosti 1954–1962*, Moscow 1979; Landa, R. G., *Istoriya alzhirskoy revolyutsii 1956–1962*, Moscow 1983; Nimschowski, H., *Der nationale Befreiungskrieg des algerischen Volkes (1954–1962)*, Berlin 1984; Teguia, M., *L'Algérie en guerre*, Algiers 1981.
- 2 For social developments in Algeria since 1962 see also the following surveys: Team of authors, *Geschichte der Araber. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 7, *Der Kampf um den Entwicklungsweg in der arabischen Welt*, Chapter XIV, *Das algerische Volk auf dem Wege der sozialistischen Orientierung*, Berlin 1983, pp. 372–418; Baumann, H., *Staatsmacht, Demokratie und Revolution in der DVR Algerien*, Berlin 1980; Potyomkin, J. V., *Alzhir: problemy razvitiya*, Moscow 1978.

- 3 Programme du Front de Libération Nationale. In: *Alger Républicain*, Algiers, September 2/3, 1962.
- 4 Die Charta von Algier. Dokumente des 1. Kongresses der Nationalen Befreiungsfront Algeriens, 16–21. April 1964, Berlin 1965.
- 5 Front de Libération Nationale/République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, *Charte Nationale*, Algiers 1976.
- 6 Proclamation du 1er Novembre 1954. In: *La révolution algérienne. Réalités et perspectives*, Algiers 1972, p. 29.
- 7 Charte Nationale, op. cit., p. 21.
- 8 A total of 1.5 million people gave their lives for national liberation, among them 150,000–200,000 ALN soldiers. At least 400,000 people were kept in prisons and concentration camps, one million fled from the terror of the colonial administration to Tunisia and Morocco. The war destroyed 8,000 villages, and hundreds of thousands of fellahs and nomads lost their livelihoods and were driven from their homesteads.
- 9 The political program adopted at the first FLN congress in the Soumman valley. See: *Programm der Algerischen Front der Nationalen Befreiung*. Special issue (in German) of *El Moudjahid*, s.l., s.d.
- 10 Programme du Front de ..., op. cit.
- 11 Cf. *Programm der Algerischen Front*, op. cit.
- 12 The agreements signed at Evian, southern France, on March 18, 1962, between representatives of the French government and the provisional Algerian government on ending the Algerian war and on the future of the country. France recognized Algeria's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the country's right to choose its own political and social system.
- 13 For the structure, equipment and tactics of the ALN see Kondratyev, G. S., op. cit.
- 14 Declaration of the Politbureau of the ACP. In: *Alger Républicain*, Algiers, November 2, 1954.
- 15 These problems were addressed by the ACP in letters to the Provisional Government. See: *Lettres adressées au G.P.R.A. au cours de la guerre pour l'indépendance*. Au nom du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Algérien par Bachir Hadj Ali, Algiers 1962.
- 16 Ibid., and: *Das algerische Volk wird Sieger sein* (Declaration of the Communist Party of Algeria on the national liberation war), Berlin 1962.
- 17 Cf. Nimschowski, H., *Die FLN-Partei Algeriens. Ihre Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Rolle*. In: *Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika*, Berlin, 2, 1974, pp. 933–946.
- 18 Cf. Baumann, H., H. Nimschowski, *Die algerische Nationalcharta. Zu einigen Grundzügen ihrer Orientierung*. In: *Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika*, Berlin, 3, 1976, pp. 905–922.
- 19 Charte Nationale, op. cit., p. 23.



## Arabs in Berlin.

## The Political and Journalistic Activities of Arab Anti-Colonialists in the Capital of the Reich, 1918 – 1928

"The revolution that brought freedom by the Russian nation to the different peoples of this great nation has raised hopes in all oppressed nations for an early liberation. This hope is the more justifiable since the delegates of the Russian workers, soldiers and peasants did not demand freedom only for themselves, yet claimed and supported it in line with the principles of true democracy shared by the free peoples of the other countries. This new breath of democracy has prompted ... the community of oppressed nations to join their voices with that of the Russian democracy and to stretch out its hands to go jointly in the direction of this noble and grand aim."<sup>1</sup>

These were the words used by the Tunisian nationalist Šāliḥ aš-Šarīf to introduce a booklet that appeared in French language in the Berlin "Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft" in 1919 and in which he called for the liberation of the colonially oppressed peoples in Asia and Africa. About one year later, the Egyptian Muḥammad Farīd, his companion in sufferings and a man of the same conviction, on behalf of the "National Party" (al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī) led by him had appealed from Berlin to the participants in the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk to perceive "the need for the liberation of Egypt in the sense of the all-powers-aspired principle of nationality", expressly referring to the solemn recognition of this principle by the "Soviets in Petersburg".<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, he expressed his thanks to Lenin in a telegram which, however, was not published in the bourgeois press, as regretted by the sender in his memoirs.<sup>3</sup>

With the Egyptian and the Tunisian having just time left to express their hopes for the October Revolution in Russia and in this connection for the power established by the Soviets – Farīd died of a liver disease in a Berlin hospital the night from November 15 to 16, 1919, and aš-Šarīf dies in Lausanne in 1920 – it was the Syrian Šakīb Arslān who was able to make use of the change of situations in the new historical epoch to make the anti-colonial liberation movement of his country be heard and respected in the world. Far from being a communist, he was well aware of this situation and made it clear in an interview granted by him in Berlin in 1927. Answering the question why he had visited the Soviet Union, Arslān answered: "Because they (the Soviets) have proclaimed the right of oppressed peoples to independence and since they were the first European people who had declared that the oriental people suffering from the yoke of western colonization had to be liberated." He stressed: "I can only thank you for it and will thank any people in the same way that will make such a proclamation."<sup>4</sup>

Farīd, aš-Šarīf and Arslān belonged to a generation of Arab nationalists that harboured the illusion to bring about the liberation of their peoples from British and French colonialism with the help of Imperial Germany loyal to the Osman Empire and were seeking, primarily during World War I, to come closer to this aim on account of their own political and journalistic activities.<sup>5</sup> However, it was the outcome of the war and the circumstances and results of their efforts contributing to disillusionment. Nevertheless, it did not prompt the persons affected to take a consistent approach as that taken by Turkish students and intellectuals who in 1919 founded the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey"<sup>6</sup> and on May 1 of the same year published the first and only German language edition of their publication "Kurtuluş (Befreiung). Türkische Sozialistische Zeitschrift"<sup>7</sup> – it was their political position and their social background preventing them from doing so.

Rather it remained the task for the new generation of Arab anti-colonialists who since 1920 had preferably come to Germany and its capital as students and besides their study were active in the national liberation of their home countries and thus wrote also a chapter of Berlin history.

Initially there were still the "old ones" who after the end of war had remained in the capital of the Reich and had tried there to continue their anti-colonial political and journalistic activities under modified circumstances. First of all, mention has to be made of Mansūr Rifʿat, a tragic person in the Egyptian national movement. He had settled down in Berlin in

November 1914, after the Swiss authorities had expelled him from the country because of his political work in favour of the Egyptian "National Party".<sup>8</sup> In the capital of the Reich he maintained close relations with the German authorities, notably with the Foreign Office and the "Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient" (Information Centre for the Orient) established by Max von Oppenheim which, among other things, had the task of inciting Moslems in British and French colonies and semi-colonies against foreign rule in the interest of the Central European Powers. Rifʿat put forth a number of appropriate proposals<sup>9</sup> and supplemented them by several publications in which he made an uncompromising condemnation of British and French colonialism and demanded the national independence for Egypt.<sup>10</sup> His radicalism tending to anarchism soon alienated him from the German authorities and from his Party with which he finally broke, following the reconciliation between Farīd in December 1917 with the party officials ʿAbd al-Azīz Šawīš and ʿAbd al-Malik Ḥamza who also stayed in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> Rifʿat together with his friends ʿAdawī, ʿAlawī and Ḥalifa who were in Switzerland established the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Partei" (Egyptian National-Radical Party) or "Gruppe" (group), whose activities were presumably confined to Berlin.

On November 1, 1918 the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Partei" for the first time appeared before the public when an appeal to the Egyptian people was printed in the journal "Der Neue Orient"<sup>12</sup> which read among others: "Egypt's future lies in the hands of her children and their welfare rests solely in their own will power. There will be no longer any Egyptian question if the Egyptians want it to be so. Egypt for the Egyptians and through the Egyptians!" The undersigned also pointed out that they would "never turn down any sensible and honest support" but, on the contrary "would be extremely thankful" for it.<sup>13</sup> This hope was then also expressed in a telegram that was sent after a meeting of the Party in the "Ägyptischen Patriotenklub" (Egyptian Club of Patriots) in the Schöneberg Geisbergstrasse 40 to "Herrn Ebert, the German Volksbeauftragter" with the intention of finding the attention of the first representative of the new German Republic to look at the "sad and pitiable situation of 15 million Egyptian souls suffering from British tyranny and despotism".<sup>14</sup> Only a few months later the Party had a renewed and immediate reason to raise its voice: In a declaration on the Egyptian Revolution of March 1919 it protested against the "cruel and inhumane treatment of its country-men and the unlawful deportation of its adherents" in Egypt and declared that the Egyptians "will never give up their sacred and traditional rights" and "maybe at home or abroad ... will persistently use all the means available to obtain their rights".<sup>15</sup> At a protest meeting under the Indian nationalist Pillai in the Hotel Adlon in Wilhelmstrasse Rifʿat later reaffirmed the intention of his Party to act for the freedom of Egypt and to accept any support, as was promised to him by Pillai and the also-present Irish nationalist Chatterton Hill. In this sense he addressed a resolution to the Indian and Irish people with the following request: "As long as British imperialism continues to rule our country and to suppress our people, no soldier of our peoples should raise the weapons against his oppressed brothers, i.e. no Indian should fight in the battles of the British in Ireland and no Irish should be prepared to placate the Egyptians."<sup>16</sup>

Rifʿat's hope for support by the official representatives of the Weimar Republic disappeared gradually in the same way as those hopes he had once pinned on Imperial Germany. This was mainly caused by the lack of interest shown by the Ministers Noske and von Brockdorff-Rantzau in the financial requests of Rifʿat repeatedly addressed to them.<sup>17</sup> This was also one of the reasons for Rifʿat's turn to the right-wing opponents to the German Republic, especially to the "Deutschnationale Volkspartei" (German National People's Party) and their publications. Another reason was, however, the erroneous assumption shared also by other Arab nationalists that Germany after the Treaty of Versailles was in a situation of a country, like Egypt, humiliated and oppressed by the Imperialism of Entente, with the loud nationalists nourishing the illusion of having found in them an ally for the liberation from colonialism.<sup>18</sup> The extreme nationalism of Rifʿat and his Party had encouraged this tragic wrong orientation. It explained also the propaganda campaign mounted by Rifʿat after the assassination of Talaat by an Armenian student in the Charlottenburg Hardenbergstrasse on March 15, 1921. In several publications, among them in the German-National "Deutsche Zeitung"<sup>19</sup> and in the obscure "Morgen- und Abendland-Verlag"<sup>20</sup> he tried to prove that the



assassination of the former Turkish statesman was in the same way a "British conspiracy" as the cruelty against the Armenians in World War I which originated in a "British provocation" of Turkey.<sup>21</sup>

Rif'at, due to his nationalist motivated support for the discredited triumvirate Talaat-Enver-Djemeal – Rif'at did not even deny the suppression of the East-Arab independence aspirations by the Ottomans – and due to his senseless justification for the cruelty against the Armenians<sup>22</sup> appeared in such a light that many a representative of the liberal bourgeoisie and social democracy who were interested in the emancipation movement of the colonial peoples began to turn away from him.<sup>23</sup>

The year 1921, however, was remarkable in still another respect: On March 1 the first volume of the "Ägyptische Korrespondenz. Organ der ägyptischen Nationalpartei in Deutschland"<sup>24</sup> was published in Berlin. The reason for this was the increasing current of Egyptian students, mostly sons of well-to-do parents, among them also members and sympathizers of the "National Party", who made it possible and even necessary that the political activity was resumed by the German section. Šawiš who was in charge of it till 1922, marked clearly the anti-colonial thrust of the journal. In an introductory article he opposed the attempts made by Lord Milner to bring the Egyptian representatives 'Adli Yağan and Sa'd Zaghūl to a compromise that would weaken the anti-colonial movement in the country. Šawiš wrote: "We know the roots of British politics and their final aims. The entire style of Milner's project was unmistakable that there were no difficulties to identify the underlying intention". And he added: "Based on such declarations the imperialists had intended to intimidate our patriots and to obstruct their activities ... But can these threats and means of violence affect or impede the energetic national urge for activity?"<sup>25</sup> It was also impossible to impede the activities by the Egyptian colony in Berlin, for one week later already, on March 9, the members and friends of the "National Party" assembled in the Great Hall of the Lodge in the Charlottenburg Kleiststrasse in remembrance of the second anniversary since the Egyptian March Revolution. Apart from Šawiš, speeches were made by the members of the Party Muḥammad 'Alī as-Sirbīnī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Qāḍī<sup>26</sup> as well as by Arslān, Pillai, Chatterton Hill, the American Valentine and a Tunisian.

About three months after the publication of the first edition of the "Ägyptische Korrespondenz" another two journals were published in Berlin, even with Arab anti-colonialists publishing their ideas: the multi-language journal "Āzād-i šarq" (Freedom of the East)<sup>27</sup> run by the Iranian Abdurrahman Seif (Seif Azad) and the journal "Liwa-el-Islam" (Banner of Islam) edited by the Turk İlias Bragon Bey.<sup>28</sup> The Egyptian "National Party" used both journals already in the following months. In August and September it ordered its Open Letter to Prime Minister 'Adli Yağan to be published in German and Arabic<sup>29</sup>, admonishing him urgently to preserve the "sacred rights of the fatherland" in his negotiations with Great Britain: "Independence of Egypt towards inside and outside", the "inseparable indivisible unity" of the delta of the Nile, refusal of any commitment to England, because every "contract continues to help England reach her colonial and peoples-oppressing aims in the countries of the Middle East in general and on Islamic soil in particular"; Egypt shall not allow herself "at no price to become the helper and supporter of England so that ... she will not contribute to the implementation and execution of the policies of humiliation and enslavement".<sup>30</sup> In October the association "Freier Nil" (Free Nile) founded shortly before in Berlin by Rif'at's brother, Ismā'īl Labīb, called upon the public with a protest against "Man slaughter in Alexandria" that was printed in "Liwa-el-Islam" and in "Āzād-i šarq"; in the article the association denounced the murderous inroads by British troops and Egyptian police against an anti-colonial demonstration in Alexandria that had even gone beyond the atrocities committed during the tragedy of Dīnšāwī and appealed to 'Adli Yağan "to lodge a protest against the outrage committed against the peaceful dwellers of the Nile Valley. Otherwise he would feel committed", the protest ended, "to break off the 'negotiations' with the British usurpers with a view to relieving at least part of the dreadful sufferings of the Egyptian people".<sup>31</sup>

The commemoration ceremony of the German section of the "National Party" held on the occasion of the second anniversary since the death of its former Chairman Farid in the "Orient-Klub" (Orient club) on November 15, 1921<sup>32</sup> was entirely marked by the British

policy of oppression and the abortive negotiations between the Egyptians and the British. The speakers were Šawiš<sup>33</sup>, 'Abd al-Hamid 'Abd as-Salām<sup>34</sup>, 'Išām ad-Dīn Ḥifnī Nāṣif<sup>35</sup> and Sālim 'Abd al-Maḡīd; a telegram of solidarity was sent by al-Qāḍī from Freiburg/Br.<sup>36</sup>

The political activities of the Egyptian colony in Berlin reached their culmination on December 27, 1921: in protest against the arrest of Zaghūl and the murderous persecution of demonstrators in Cairo a great number of Egyptians came together in 30 motor-cars in front of the British embassy cordoned off by the German police in Wilhelmstrasse and shouted slogans like "Down with England" and "Egypt should live in freedom!" After it, the autocade drove through the Leipziger Strasse to the Brandenburg Gate and to the Strasse Unter den Linden, where they threw leaflets among the passers-by. In these leaflets they expressed the "solemn protest" by the "Ägyptische Kolonie in Deutschland" (Egyptian colony in Germany) and the "Vertreter der Ägypter in England, Frankreich, Italien, Oesterreich und der Schweiz" (representatives of the Egyptians in England, France, Italy, Austria and Switzerland) by appealing "to the impartial public opinion of the countries, to the unerring world conscience for the renewed infringement of the right of self-determination and the freedom of the peoples on the side of England".<sup>37</sup>

The journalistic solidarization by representatives of colonially oppressed peoples, as manifested in the joint actions of the three journals, was followed by similar attempts made on the level of political meetings; this was in part prompted by the jointly perceived fate of their home countries, but now increasingly, albeit concealed by the chauvinist mood<sup>38</sup> and the administrative obstruction of their activities in the host country. The festivity in honour of the Afghan envoy Mohammed Walikhan<sup>39</sup> was such on occasion. It was held on January 17, 1922 in the "Orient-Klub" and was attended, apart from Arslān acting as the host, and the representative of the "National Party" 'Abd al-Maḡīd, by the Indian Pillai as well as the editors of "Āzād-i šarq" and "Liwa el-Islam". Both the latter had mentioned, on the publication of their journals as the aim of their aspirations "the participation in the liberation of the peoples of the East from the shackles of foreign bondage, the fight against all imperialist aspirations, the assistance in the economic and industrial strengthening and for the intellectual promotion of all peoples of the Orient"<sup>40</sup> and they had expressed the intention "to describe the sufferings of the nations, forming a family as a member of Islam and today had to sustain a slave life", and to "show them the correct way for the destruction of foreign rule and to take care for creating the possibilities to recover morally and materially. In this struggle for liberty and justice", Bragon Bey accentuated, "we will accept the cooperation of all the other oppressed parts of mankind with great enjoyment".<sup>41</sup> In this context he also counted on the help by Germany, while Seif referred to another "valuable factor" which is necessary "both for the oriental people and for the German people today as a remedy against the diseases of selfishness and the greed of imperialists for land, i.e. the existence of the Russian popular government". With the slogan "Long live the intellectual unity between the Russian, German and the Oriental people!" he invoked an alliance which at that time was also popular among several conservative and German-national opponents to the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>42</sup>

The formal independence of Egypt proclaimed on February 28, 1922 by Great Britain in league with native reactionaries which replaced the open colonial rule by a covert one determined the actions of the Berlin-resident Egyptians up to the year 1923. The signal was given on the occasion of the commemorative festivities of the third anniversary of the March Revolution held on March 9 in the Brüdervereinshaus in Kurfürstenstrasse. In the presence of the Rector of Berlin University, the historian Eduard Meyer, the second chairman of the "National Party" of Germany, 'Abd al-Maḡīd<sup>43</sup>, and the chairman of the association "Freier Nil", Labīb, made speeches. In scathing words Labīb unmasked the new manoeuvre of the British colonial power and called it "nothing else but a link in the chain of projects, imperialist England had virtually drowned us in the last three years ... It means the protectorate 'tel quel' although several stylistic changes have been made ... In short, England abandoned the Protectorate and announced the sequence of its duration. But England imposed restrictions and conditions on the project which should enable her, under the guise of law, to interfere in our own affairs and to put her hands on our own sources of existence". Labīb reaffirmed: "We can never give our approval to such restrictions and conditions. For the chains of bond-



age remain chains for any time, let them be made of gold or iron."<sup>44</sup> The participants in the meeting adopted an "Appeal to the liberation from British yoke" which paid great tribute to the "great fighter of liberation and national leader Zaghlul Pasha" and appealed to the "public opinion of the civilized world" for help for Egypt.<sup>45</sup> Even the anniversary of the incident of Dinšawai — here on June 13, 1906 clashes had occurred between Egyptian peasants and British officers that caused a bloody retaliation by the colonial power — was now utilized to denounce the British policy of oppression. As a result there was a first serious confrontation with German authorities: In June ʿIṣām ad-Dīn Hifnī Nāṣif who already two months before had opposed the sham independence of his country<sup>46</sup> in the "Orient-Klub" published a sequence of articles in "ʿAzād-i šarq" under the title "The crimes of the British in Egypt", alluding to the events of Dinšawai.<sup>47</sup> As a result the British Consulate in Berlin refused to grant him entry to his home, he wanted to see for reasons of ill health, and in August the editor of the journal in the Foreign Office was cautioned against the future publication of "sensational news on Egypt", since the British ambassador had intervened with the German government. Seif responded to it with a caustic statement. "We probably assume with full right", he wrote in an appendix to "ʿAzād-i šarq", "that it was not our publication on the events in Dinsh(a)wai that caused the anger of a foreign power, but that they do not like the whole tendency of our paper ... We do not wish to raise difficulties for the German authorities. But we cannot give up our good right for objective coverage ... Still we do, indeed, not believe", he added, "to live in an English colony".<sup>48</sup>

To coordinate the actions of the Berlin-resident Egyptians against the new form of colonial oppression of their country an "Egyptian National Defense Committee" (Laḡnat ad-difāʿ al-waṭanī al-miṣrī) was established presumable in summer 1922. The Secretary-General was the lawyer Yahyā Aḥmad ad-Dardīrī who was closely associated with the "National Party" and was former Vice-President of the Egyptian Union of Students "Sphinx" in Switzerland. In July 1923 he also issued a journal under the title "ad-Difāʿ al-waṭanī al-miṣrī" (Egyptian National Defense), but which was unable to develop a clear-cut political profile.<sup>49</sup> The committee, for September 18, 1922, convened a "National Congress" of Egyptians in the "Orient-Klub", with the participation of delegates from Egypt, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria and Switzerland, which expressly opposed the sham independence decreed by Great Britain.<sup>50</sup> It was attempted by ʿAbd al-Gaffār Mitwallī — after the departure of Šawīš he was the new chairman of the "National Party" in Germany — and his deputy ʿAbd al-Maḡīd on November 10 to make this standpoint clear to several German journalists in the "Orient-Klub". But the response which was to come from this press conference remained negligible<sup>51</sup> despite the presence of Max von Oppenheim, Ernst Graf von Reventlow and Georg Kampffmeyer.<sup>52</sup> This will have been attributable to the fact that the German press considered — if at all — the Zaḡlūl-led "Wafd" as the representative of the Egyptian national movement, whereas in the German section of the "National Party" almost without influence in Egypt the criticism on the policies of "Wafd" was predominant. This was to be felt in the speech by Hifnī Nāṣif which he delivered on November 15, 1922, on the occasion of the death of Farīd in the "Orient-Klub"<sup>53</sup> and also in the article which he ordered to be published under the headline "The return of Wafd to intrigues" in January 1923 in "ʿAzād-i šarq".<sup>54</sup> The speeches made by Mitwallī, ʿAbd al-Maḡīd, Hifnī Nāṣif and by ad-Dardīrī on the occasion of the commemorative festivities of the death of the founder of the Party Muṣṭafā Kāmil on February 10, 1923 in the "Orient-Klub" were marked by this tendency.<sup>55</sup> This tendency went on even after the proclamation of the largely undemocratic Egyptian constitution on April 19, 1923, although the "Wafd" led the movement of the criticism on the Constitution in the country. The major criticism was levelled against the intention of "Wafd" to take part in the parliamentary elections that were planned. At a recent session of the "National Congress" held on May 31 in the "Orient-Klub" at the invitation of the German section of the "National Party", the "Ägyptische Nationale Verteidigungskomitee" and the Association "Freier Nil" it was openly pronounced, i.e. in the speeches by Mitwallī, ad-Dardīrī and Labīb as well as in the telegram to the Egyptian press signed by ad-Dardīrī. It read as follows: "The new parliamentary election is nothing but a trap to put Egypt forever under foreign rule. The people has to insist on the withdrawal of the troops and on independence. We demand from Zaghloul to declare immediately his firm programme which

would have to correspond exactly with the original mandate of the people, namely, the true and perfect independence of the Nile Valley and all its territories."<sup>56</sup>

The resistance put up against the Egyptian Constitution brought even Maṣṣūr Rifʿat back to the scene who despite his reservations had not broken off the relations with the German section of the "National Party". At that time both were united in their joint opposition to Zaḡlūl and to the "Wafd" expressed already by Rifʿat 1920 in a telegram addressed jointly with Mitwallī and Labīb to the Congress of Egyptian students in Paris.<sup>57</sup> Now he continued to put up opposition in an article that he published under the title "Der Patriotismus bei den Aegyptern" in the "Ägyptische Korrespondenz" in which he, among other things, demanded a unity of action between Moslems and Christians along the Nile.<sup>58</sup> In an article on "Ägyptens neue Verfassung" published on May 13, 1923 in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", a newspaper of the German-Nationals, he levelled also fierce attacks against Zaḡlūl whom he compared with the "group of powerful traitors in Ireland" who "betrayed the Irish nation and now posed as 'leaders' of the 'free state'".<sup>59</sup>

This newspaper article ushered in a phase of confrontation which in the following years of bitter reproaches Rifʿat saw to be directed even against right-wing German press organs which he had so far believed were on his side. First, an article in the mentioned "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" provoked his opposition, which sided with Zaḡlūl though originally designed as an answer to his own article. As a result Rifʿat sent another article to the editors with the headline "Eine grobe Geschichtsfälschung", in which he suspected the (anonymous) writer to be one of those persons "who can be easily conducted on the fool's rope by Zaghloul's agents".<sup>60</sup> Only a few months later another, however more serious fact aroused his indignation: On August 6, 1923, a group of people had come together in the Riehl-, corner Dresselstrasse in Charlottenburg, near the suburban train station Witzleben, who attended the foundation ceremony for a mosque designed by the architect K.A. Herrmann. The cornerstone ceremony should be done by order of the Aḥmadiya-sect, the representative of which Mubarak Alī<sup>61</sup> had invited, among other persons, the Afghan envoy, representatives of the host country, such as the Secretary of State Freund and the senior president of the land of Brandenburg, as well as Kampffmeyer and representatives of the press. During his speech Alī was interrupted by Rifʿat who protested with shouts, like "You are paid with English money!" and "Down with England!" against this undertaking. The ceremony was broken off, the mosque was not built.<sup>62</sup>

The background of this bizarre ceremony that was widely publicized in the Berlin press remains contradictory: Already in June 1922 the Indian Abdul Jabbar Kheiri founded the "Islamische Gemeinde zu Berlin"<sup>63</sup> (Islamic Community at Berlin) which for their meetings used the mosque on the premise of the former "Crescent Camp" at Wündorf near Zossen; Kheiri published also a journal under the title "Islam. Ein Wegweiser zur Rettung und zum Wiederaufbau"<sup>64</sup> in October the same year. The community having its seat in the Hannover-sche Strasse 1 (city district Mitte) was markedly anti-colonially oriented and enjoyed the sympathy of even the Arab colonies in Berlin. Rifʿat was afraid that the establishment of the Aḥmadiya, with its loyalty to the British rule in India well known, was aimed at a split of the Berlin-resident Moslems and at their political disorientation. Therefore he vehemently denounced the Aḥmadiya in leaflets, newspaper articles and personal letters — among them to the Afghan envoy and to the chief editor of "Vorwärts" — to act as the executor of the interests of British imperialism in Germany, meeting with approval from the "National Party", the "Islamische Gemeinde" as well as from the German Nationals and the Communists. The "Rote Fahne" that pointed out to the presence of official representatives of the State, asked its readers the following question on August 8, 1923: "Is this about to mean the solidarity of Germany with England against the oppressed peoples of the Orient?" The incident at Witzleben station did not end the dispute. More than one year later, on October 9, 1924, there was another attempt at a cornerstone ceremony for a mosque. This time the people came together near the Fehrbelliner Platz at Wilmersdorf and the building owner was the Indian Sadr-ud-Din, the representative of the Lahore line of Aḥmadiya.<sup>65</sup> Rifʿat once again interrupted the ceremony with several of his friends that among others was attended by the Iranian and the Afghan envoys, with green leaflets being distributed by



Rif'at, calling the planned mosque the "nest of espionage of the British". The consequences of this intervention which resulted in a change of place for the meeting but not in the abandonment of the undertaking — today the mosque exists in the Briener Strasse 7–8 — were much more dramatic to Rif'at than in the year before: Together with his friends they were taken to the police station 151 at Wilmersdorf and interrogated, which prompted the "Rote Fahne" of October 11, 1924 to make the following statement: "The Richter-police is thus protecting the agents of the British Empire against national revolutionaries in Berlin who as sworn enemies of imperialism are allies of the German working peoples!" But with this interrogation through the police the affair was not yet over for Rif'at. On October 17 he was summoned by the department I.A. of the Berlin Police Presidium for interrogation, against which he passionately protested in four letters. On October 20 he wrote in disillusion: "It is not known to us that it is not allowed in the German Republic to pronounce his opinion and conviction openly, especially since we are convinced that the opponents are ... mere British agents who do not only do damage to the Islamic cause but also pose a danger to Germany."<sup>66</sup>

With the distrust of the Egyptian *via-vis* Ahmadiya having its justification, his militant nationalism blocked up his view on the mitigating realities. Otherwise, it would have occurred to him that at least the Ahmadiya-branch of Sadr-ud-Din held at that time views that were incompatible with Rif'at's reproach: Already in the first number of the "Moslemische Revue"<sup>67</sup> published in April 1924 in Berlin by the Indian he called the British mandate over Palestine an attempt "to safeguard the English sphere of power" and the Jewish immigrants as a "suitable and usable tool to secure English interests". This, as Sadr-ud-Din said, "should be considered by the Jews and should act reasonably!"<sup>68</sup> Even the next number argued against the Zionist colonization. In his dispatch "Islam und Zionismus" Khalid Banning — who shows here considerable farsightedness — stated that the state of the Jews, as planned to be established in Palestine, had still another group of adherents apart from British politicians and Zionists, i.e. the "anti-Semites and the swastika-people who had even included the Balfour declaration in the anti-semitic party programmes". Banning wrote further: "In Europe there are enough elements who do not have any more ardent desire than the Jewish state in Palestine, so that its existence can be used by them as a pretext to throw the Jews headlong out of Europe."<sup>69</sup> In this way the "Moslemische Revue" was one of the first publications in Berlin taking up the cause of the Arab Palestinians. Rif'at had apparently overlooked it. The reason for this might have been the aggravation of the situation in Egypt, where on November 19, 1924, the British Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General of Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, had been assassinated. Great Britain used this occasion in order to crack down once again on the national forces in Egypt and Sudan. The Egyptian colony in Berlin joined the world-wide protests especially against the British ultimatum to the "Wafd"-Government in office since January and against the murderous onslaughts of the colonial power in Sudan.

Rif'at, who already in September had appealed to the League of Nations as to former affair<sup>70</sup> published an Open Letter to the British Prime Minister in November, in which he complained about the "extraordinarily savage, cowardly and indignant behaviour of the British Army and the British authorities", denounced Zağlul who had resigned under the pressure of the ultimatum as the "right hand of the British government in Egypt" and assured on behalf of the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Gruppe" to continue to stand up for the true independence of his home-country.<sup>71</sup> At the same time he had to find out that the bourgeois German press had covered the events in Egypt and Sudan "only in a few scant notices" — he positively referred to the "Rote Fahne" and to the "Vossische Zeitung"<sup>72</sup> — and that even many a newspaper, among them those of the German-Nationals, hailed even the "brutal actions of the British in Sudan and Egypt and even encouraged them to intensify their measures".<sup>73</sup> He was also disappointed to learn in his host country about the prevailing sympathy for a certain Mussolini who had concentrated "all his energy and craft on destroying our brothers in Tripoli"; even Spain "which for several years has been trying with all energy and brutality to eradicate the helpless Rifkabyles from the part of their own homeland" was hailed for its approach "especially in Germany", with Rif'at mentioning especially by name the German ambassador in Madrid as well as the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung".<sup>74</sup> The "National Party" lodged also public protest against the British colonial policy by allow-

ing, among other things, the leaflet on the "Tragedy of Sudan. The Truth on the Events there" (Die Tragödie des Sudans. Die Wahrheit über die dortigen Vorgänge) to be published and to be multiplied in the printing shop "Silesia" in the Marienburger Strasse in Prenzlauer Berg.

The persistent colonial policy of oppression by Great Britain in Egypt and Sudan in the following years brought the rivaling factions of the Egyptian national movement represented in Berlin step by step together. The pact signed between "Wafd" and "National Party" in view of the tense situation in Cairo on November 13, 1925 met with a response also in the capital of the Reich and at the same moment prompted Muhammad Fāḍil (Fadel) 'Abdallāh to publish the paper "Die ägyptische Flagge".<sup>75</sup> Fāḍil, in his introductory article, gave the reasons for this, namely, to stretch out the hands honestly and voluntarily to all Egyptian patriots, to whatever Party they may belong, for a defensive alliance with the intention of giving them a common organ for publication; and the final aim of this paper was the "independence of the entire Egyptian Empire from the sources of the Nile to the shores of the Mediterranean, under the beautiful flag that is all our landmark".<sup>76</sup> Apart from this confession of the loyal former member of the "National Party" the first and only copy of the "Ägyptische Flagge" contained a declaration of solidarity for the Rifkabyles under Abd al-Karim (el-Krim)<sup>77</sup> fighting against the French and Spanish colonial troops and it included a "Protest der syrischen Kolonien in Deutschland an den Völkerbundrat in Genf". In their names the "Syrischen Studenten in Berlin" denounced the "immeasurable damage" done to "world peace and understanding of peoples" by the French troops since the summer of 1925 in putting down by force of arms the Syrian resistance against the mandate; for this "barbarism and human slaughter" both France and the League of Nations would have to be made responsible "which had conferred on it the entirely unnecessary and unjust mandate". "We", said the students, "call upon the League of Nations to carry out an exact investigation into the situation in Syria, to atone for the injustice and to make up for it. In addition, we Syrians demand on behalf of 'international justice', as aspired by the League of Nations, that Syria should ultimately be released from the onerous mandate and be permitted its complete independence."<sup>78</sup>

The anti-colonial Syrian popular war of liberation lasting till 1927 triggered off a broad wave of solidarity among the Berlin-resident Arabs and the members of other Asian and African nations. Initially, the "Islamische Gemeinde zu Berlin" as well as the resulting "Islamia, Akademisch-Islamische Vereinigung" (Islamia, Academic-Islamic Association)<sup>79</sup> founded in 1924 and one year later the "Vereinigung Arabischer Studenten in Berlin, El Arabiya" (Association of Arab Students in Berlin, El Arabiya)<sup>80</sup> proved to be the leading groupings in which the members of the Syrian colony predominated. Apart from their protest to the League of Nations they still were trying in the same month to elucidate the Berliners by a leaflet about the events in their home-country, in which they called it a sin "to watch the rule of terror, the dreadful bloodshed without any opposition, without indignation and without any attempt at assistance".<sup>81</sup> On November 14, 1925 the "Islamische Gemeinde" held a commemorative evening for the Syrians and Rifkabyles fallen in the battle in the auditorium of the Princess-Bismarck-School situated in the Charlottenburg Sybelstrasse, in the course of which and after the welcome by Imam Kheiri the Syrians Hadsch Mohammed Tschelebi and Yahya Haṣmī<sup>82</sup> made speeches. Two months later, on January 21, 1926, another meeting was held at which a Syrian from Aleppo described the struggle of liberation in his hometown and stated that "despite the silencing of the newspapers the Syrian struggle of liberation is proceeding".<sup>83</sup>

Well, not all Berlin newspapers hushed up the struggle of the Syrians and it was the struggle which in the following month gave rise to the first common action by Arab anti-colonialists with representatives of the revolutionary German working-class movement in Berlin. On February 10, 1926, the "Internationale Arbeiterhilfe" (IAH, International Workers' Help) and the "Komitee gegen die Greuel in Syrien" (Committee against Outrage in Syria) convened a meeting "against colonial atrocities and oppression" in the Rathauskeller in Königsstrasse, with the participation, apart from progressive German organizations and personalities, of the "Islamische Gemeinde", the "Islamia" and "El Arabiya" as well as the "Verein



der Inder in Zentral-Europa" (Association of the Indians in Central Europe), the "Hauptverband der chinesischen Studenten" (Main Union of Chinese Students) and the "Verein der Kameruner" (Association of Cameroons). Ḥaṣmī as the first speaker of the evening referred to the "atrocious rule of French militarism in Syria", the other speakers were representatives of Guomindang and of Iranian students as well as the Secretary-General of IAH, the deputy to the Reichstag of the KPD, Willi Münzenberg, who submitted plans for an "international anti-colonial conference" and called for preparatory steps. The participants in the conference approved of these proposals and established an "Executive Committee" which still on the same evening established the "Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung" (League against Colonial Oppression) with its seat in Berlin.<sup>84</sup>

Fully in the spirit of the Statutes of the League to take care for the "enlightenment of further circles on the nature of the colonial policies and their effects" and for the "establishment of an intellectual and organic connection between the freedom-fighting colonial peoples and the exploited classes"<sup>85</sup> members of the Syrian and Egyptian colonies in the following months participated in the meetings of the member organization of the League: Syrian speakers took the floor on March 12, 1926 on the occasion of a festivity of Guomindang, the commemoration of the death of Sun Yatsen, and on April 14, at the meeting of the members of the League in the White Hall of the Lehrervereinshaus in the Alexanderstrasse; a representative of the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Gruppe" on July 13, at a meeting of members reported at the same spot under the pseudonym of Ahmed El Orabi on the "situation in Egypt".<sup>86</sup>

The highlight of the activities between the Berlin-resident Arab anti-colonialists with the German and international democratic and working-class movement was, undoubtedly, reached in 1927, during and after the "Congress against colonial oppression and imperialism" held in Brussels on February 10 to 15. Convened by the "Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung", there were taking part in it even the representatives of the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Partei" and the Egyptian "National Party", Ibrāhīm Yūsuf (Yousseff) and Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān who in 1923 had taken over the chairmanship of the Party; the "Ägyptische National-Radikale Partei (Sektion Deutschland)" and sent a welcome address to the Congress<sup>87</sup> and had published a memorandum, in which Egypt — situated between "two different politically opposing world spheres, the imperialist one and the enslaved one" — was designated as an "eternal protagonist against imperialism", Zağlūl was denounced and the "recognition of Egypt (the countries of the Nile and the Suez canal)" was demanded "as a sovereign state".<sup>88</sup> While Ramaḍān was elected as member to the General Council of the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence", Ibrāhīm Yūsuf, after having opened an "Egyptian Propaganda Office" in Berlin on March 5, 1928<sup>89</sup> worked in the editorial office of the organ of the League "The Anti-Imperialist Review"<sup>90</sup> published since July 1928.

While representatives of the Syrian colony in Berlin were not represented in Brussels, Maẓhar al-Bakrī, representing Syria at the Congress, stayed for some time in Berlin where he delivered four papers on the anti-colonial movement of his people on behalf of the "Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung" and with the support of his countrymen.<sup>91</sup> In addition, the meeting in Brussels inspired the Syrian colony in Berlin as well as the "Islamische Gemeinde" to take further journalistic and propagandist actions: On April 1, 1927, Tschelēbi published the first volume of the "Islam-Echo. Wöchentlicher Nachrichtendienst über Politik, Wirtschaft und Kulturfragen in den gesamten Ländern des Islam"<sup>92</sup> and from November the same year he published "Die Islamische Gegenwart. Monatsschrift für die Zeitgeschichte des Islam"<sup>93</sup>, with detailed reports on the anti-colonial struggle of liberation in Syria — the "Islam-Echo" was prohibited there already in June<sup>94</sup> — and in other Arab and Islamic countries. Both journals provided its space also to members of the Egyptian colony: In the "Islam-Echo" there were publications, among others, by Muḥammad Abū'l-Ġīt and in the "Islamische Gegenwart" by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muḥammad Abū'd-Dāḥab (Abul Zahab) and Kamāl ad-Dīn Galāl<sup>95</sup>, and "Der Islamische Student", the "Publikationsorgan der 'Islamia' Akademisch-Islamischen Vereinigung und der Vereinigung Arabischer Studierender 'El Arabiya'" related to the "Die Islamische Gegenwart" from its volume 2 onwards also spoke on behalf of the "Ägyptische Studentenunion an der Technischen Hochschule in Berlin" (Egyptian Students' Union at the

Technical College in Berlin)<sup>96</sup>. In addition, they informed on the activities of the Berlin-resident Arabs and Moslems, i.e. on the festivity of the "Islamische Gemeinde" on the birthday of the prophet (Maulid) in the "Humboldtshaus" on September 13, at which Imam Kheiri lodged a protest against the practices of colonialism in all parts of the world<sup>97</sup> and on the Congress of the Egyptian colony in December the same year.

On August 23, 1927 the "Wafd"-leader Zağlūl had died and his death provided the final inducement for the merger of the different political currents represented in Berlin among the Egyptian anti-colonialists. After a common funeral ceremony on October 7 in the "Humboldtshaus"<sup>98</sup> on December 3 the first common congress of the Berlin-resident Egyptians was convened. The Wafdist 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ad-Dardīrī was in charge of the congress, his deputy was Abū'l-Ġīt, treasurer Girtalla, first secretary Muḥtār Sa'd and second secretary 'Abdallāh Walī. After three meetings, where above-mentioned persons and Galāl<sup>99</sup> took the floor the participants adopted a resolution in which the genuine independence of Egypt, the pull-out of all British troops and the Egyptization of the Suez canal were demanded.

The thus-strengthened Egyptian colony continued its political meetings also in the year 1928, with the search for the increasing participation of other anti-colonial-minded people in Berlin.<sup>100</sup> After a meeting held on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution in the Grand-Hotel in Marchstrasse on March 9 and with their participants lodging a "Protest der ägyptischen Kolonie in Berlin" against the British colonial policy<sup>101</sup> the Egyptian colony shortly after it took part in a reception with representatives of "Islamia" and "El Arabiya" given by the Afghan King Amanullah Khan in the Palace Prinz Albrecht in Wilhelmstrasse,<sup>102</sup> on March 23 it ultimately organized a meeting in the Johann-Georg-Festsäle at Halensee, with speeches being made, apart from the Egyptians Abū'd-Dāḥab, Galāl, 'Abd al-'Aziz and Muḥammad Saḥīq, by the Syrians Tschelēbi and al-Muftī as well as the representatives of the "Verein der Inder in Zentral-Europa", of the Guomindang and the "Hauptverband der Studenten der UdSSR" (Main Union of Students of USSR). It became also obvious that there was a beginning to overcome the political and dogmatic differences among the Berlin-resident Moslems. Many of them attended the lecture by the leader of the Lahore-direction of Aḥmadiya, Muḥammad Ali read by him on September 22, 1928 in the "Humboldtshaus" on the subject "Die orientalische Freiheitsbewegung".<sup>103</sup>

By the end of the 20's the momentum of political activities came to a halt that had originated in the Arab anti-colonialists in Berlin. This was mainly due to the fact that the majority of the politically active students had concluded their studies and were returning, or had returned to their home countries. Part of them continued there the struggle against the imperialist rule, with the knowledge and findings acquired in Germany becoming effective in a different manner. Some of them combined the struggle for national independence with the aspirations for social justice in society. To them belonged the Egyptians 'Iṣām ad-Dīn Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1899–1969) and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Qaḍī who during his Freiburg time had attended lectures and seminars with Karl Diehl<sup>104</sup>; both of them in 1930 together with the former Secretary-General of the Egyptian Communist Party, Ḥusnī al-'Urābī, published the progressive journal "Rūḥ al-'aṣr" (Spirit of the time). In the same year Ḥifnī Nāṣif together with Maḥmūd Muḥammad Nāṣir founded the petty-bourgeois-socialist "Egyptian Party of Workers and Peasants" (Ḥizb al-'ummāl wa'l-fallāḥin al-miṣrī), after he had already tried in 1927 to bring into being a "Socialist Bloc" (al-kutla al-iṣṭirakiya)<sup>105</sup>; in addition he wrote articles and books in which he propagated a "democratic socialism"<sup>106</sup> and — especially after the German onslaught against the USSR — stood up decisively against fascism. He shared the anti-fascist attitude with the Syrian Muḥammad Kāmīl al-'Ayyād who, born in 1900 in Tripoli, had come to Berlin in 1921 and had studied history, philosophy, sociology and orientalistics, among others, with Eduard Meyer, Kurt Breysig, Alfred Vierkant, Heinrich Maier, Werner Sombart, Max Dessoir, Heinrich Cunow, Eugen Mittwoch and Carl Heinrich Becker and had written his doctoral dissertation in 1930 on Ibn Ḥaldūn.<sup>107</sup> Although al-'Ayyād in his Berlin days was not politically active in the public — his distressed economic situation was undoubtedly a reason for it — he took an active part in the anti-colonial and democratic movement of his country after his return, with his study of Marx being especially in great favour for him: in 1935 he belonged to the co-founders of the progressive journal "at-Tali'a" (The



Vanguard) and in 1941 to those who published "at-Tariq" (The Way) appearing still today by the Lebanese communists. In 1937 al-ʿAyyād took part in the foundation of the "League against Nazism and Fascism in Syria and Lebanon" and in 1941 in that of the "Society for Friendship with the Soviet Union".

Other former "Berliners", among them Yahyā Aḥmad ad-Dardīrī, were active in their countries as propagandists of the co-operative idea and of a "co-operative socialism".<sup>108</sup> The Tunisian Muḥammad ʿAlī (1894–1928) — he had presumably studied at the Free Evening Classes in Berlin and studied national economy and sociology with Sombart, Max Sering, Ignaz Jastrow and Heinrich Herkner<sup>109</sup> — went another step further: In 1924 he founded in his country the national trade union congress CGTT, after he had established two co-operative societies in the same year. There was still another "Berliner" who turned up as a trade union leader, Muḥammad Ṣubḥī Abū Ganīma born in 1903 in the Transjordanian Irbid<sup>110</sup>. As a member of the Palestine "Independence Party" (Ḥizb al-istiqlāl) he at the beginning of the 30's founded in Amman the "Union of Jordan Workers" (Ittiḥād al-ʿummāl al-urdunniyin), but he soon had to flee to Syria to evade the persecutions of the authorities.<sup>111</sup>

## Notes

- Chérif, S., *Appel du genre humain à la vérité*, Berlin (1919), p. 3.
- Berliner Tageblatt, Berlin, January 4, 1918.
- Cf. Farid, M., *Aurāq Muḥammad Farid. Vol. 1: Muḥakkirātī baʿd al-ḥiḡra (1904–1919)*, Cairo 1978, p. 389.
- Interview mit Emir Schekib Arslan. In: *Islam-Echo*, Berlin, nos. 31/32, 1927, p. 2.
- Cf. Rathmann, L., *Ägypter im Exil (1914–1918) — Patrioten oder Kollaborateure des deutschen Imperialismus?* In: *Asien in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1974, pp. 1–23; and Heine, P., *Ṣāliḡ ash-Sharīf at-Tūnisi, A North African Nationalist in Berlin During the First World War*. In: *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, Aix-en-Provence, no. 33, 1982, pp. 89–95.
- Cf. Harris, G.S., *The Origins of Communism in Turkey*, Stanford 1967, pp. 39 ff.
- The copy contains an appeal to the "Proletarians of all countries", in which among other things the following can be read: "Imperialist, capitalist, chauvinist-nationalist greed is anxious to usurp countries and to divide them up, the inhabitants of which are primarily Turks. This again means nothing else but the sowing of seeds for future wars. But we have enough of wars! Therefore, brothers, unite your ringing and powerful voice with ours which is suppressed against the unjustified attacks of capitalist interests, revenge-seeking chauvinist prayers and join us: Men are brothers! ... Long live proletarian unity! Long live world socialism!" Quoted in Emre, G., *300 Jahre Türken an der Spree*, Berlin (West) 1983, p. 23.
- Cf. Trefzger, M., *Die nationale Bewegung Ägyptens vor 1928 im Spiegel der Schweizerischen Öffentlichkeit*, Basle–Stuttgart 1970.
- Cf. Rathmann, L., op.cit., pp. 5 ff.
- Apart from newspaper and other articles the following booklets have to be primarily mentioned: *Lest We Forget ... A Page from the History of the English in Egypt*, n.l. 1915; *Ein Wahrspruch über England. 1882 — zwei Daten — 1914*, Ägypten und Belgien, Berlin 1915 (was also published in French, English, Arabic and Turkish); *al-Hind wa Inḡlitrā azāʾ al-ḡarb al-ḡadīra*. Kaifa yuzayyifūn al-aḡbār, Berlin 1915; *Die Knechtung Ägyptens*. Belastende Dokumente für englische Heuchelei, Berlin 1915.
- Cf. Farid, M., op.cit., pp. 387 ff. Ṣāwīs and Ḥamza with the help of the "Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient" had published the journal "Die Islamische Welt. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur", which was edited in Berlin from November 19, 1916 till 1918.
- This journal, whose editors — to them also belonged temporarily the writer Armin T. Wegner — called it the "organ of German interests in the Orient", emerged on April 1, 1917 from the "Korrespondenzblatt der Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient" which itself appeared for the first time in April 1915.

- Der Neue Orient, Berlin, 4th year, nos. 3–4, 1918, p. 135.
- Ibid., 4th year, nos. 5–6, 1918, p. 243.
- Ibid., 4th year, nos. 11–12, 1919, p. 454.
- Ibid., 5th year, nos. 1–2, 1919, p. 33. After the war it was even Arslan who published in this journal. Cf. Arslan, Ch., *La vérité est en marche (La question syrienne)*. Ibid., 4th year, nos. 9–10, 1919, pp. 358 ff., and the same, *Querelle de famille. La Palestine est elle aux Juifs ou aux Arabes?* Ibid., 6th year, no. 4, 1920, pp. 134–136.
- Cf. Rathmann, L., op.cit., p. 7.
- Thus the editor of "Liwa-el-Islam" wrote: "The liberation of this world from the enslavement and strangulation, the result of imperialism, does not apply to the Moslems, but to all oppressed peoples. That is why we hope that the German people which today despite its power is not imperialist-minded will hear us and will help us in our struggle with the violators and oppressors, such as the English, French etc." *Liwa-el-Islam*, Berlin, 1st year, no. 1, 1921, p. 1. This tendency became especially clear on the occasion of the French occupation of the Ruhr in January 1923: Rifʿat virtually equated it with the British occupation of Egypt (cf. Rifat, M., *Der Patriotismus bei den Ägyptern*, Berlin 1923, p. 3), the "National Party" in March 1923 held a protest meeting in the Hotel Esplanade in Bellevuestrasse and a special shade of meaning was accentuated by the editor of "Azād-i šarq" who wrote under the heading "Russisches Brot endet die deutsche Not!": "The Russian workers send their fighting and languishing brothers the bread, so that capitalism will die at the Ruhr and French militarism will be smashed by the firm resistance of the proletariat". *Azād-i šarq*, Berlin, no. 31, 1923.
- Der einseitige Prozeß. In: *Deutsche Zeitung*, Berlin, June 7, 1921.
- This publishing house was obviously affiliated to the "Morgen- und Abendland Akademische Buchhandlung und Antiquariat" founded by Gertrud and Zeki Haschmet Kiram-Bey in 1919 in the Karlstrasse 10 (today: Reinhardtstrasse in the city district Mitte). In 1921 there was also published Schekib Arslan's "Das armenische Lügengewebe. Frivole Haltung der Gönner Armeniens" with a final word by Rifʿat and Ali Eloui's ("Alawī's) "Die moderne Frau im Morgen- und Abendland. Kulturelle Betrachtungen eines Arztes und soziale Vergleiche".
- Cf. Rifat, M., *Das Geheimnis der Ermordung Talaat Paschas. Ein Schlüssel für das englische Propagandasystem*, Berlin 1921. Cf. even the same, *Talaat Paschas Prozeß, sein Verlauf und sein Ende*. (Der Ausgang des Talaat-Prozesses.) Ein letztes Wort zur armenischen Frage. Nachtrag zu "Das Geheimnis der Ermordung Talaat Paschas", Berlin 1921.
- Cf. Rifat, M., *Das Geheimnis der Ermordung Talaat Paschas*, op.cit., p. 85.
- Cf. ibid., pp. 77 ff.
- The journal was presumably published up to 1924; the editorial office was initially in the Lietzenburger Strasse 32 in Charlottenburg, from December 1921 on in the rooms of the "Orient-Klub" in the Kalkreuthstrasse 11 in Schöneberg.
- Schaulisch, A., *Ägypten in den Krallen Britanniens*. In: *Ägyptische Korrespondenz*, Berlin, 1st year, no. 1, 1921, p. 1.
- Both were students of medicine. aš-Širbīnī (el-Shirbini) took his doctor's degree in 1923 on "Chirurgische Behandlung von Adhäsionen nach Laparotomien"; al-Qādī (el-Kadi) born in Alexandria in 1896 had begun his studies in the summer term 1920 in Berlin, continued it in Freiburg/Br. in 1921/22 and in Munich and in 1925 in Berlin he concluded his studies with his doctoral thesis "Zur Thorakoplastik bei einseitiger Lungentuberkulose".
- The first edition was published on May 31, 1921, the last one presumably in 1930. The editorial office was initially in the Kantstrasse 140, then in the Hardenbergstrasse 37 and in the Weimarer Strasse 18 in Charlottenburg and ultimately in the Eislebener Strasse 11 in Wilmersdorf. Since 1925 the fortnightly journal was printed in the publishing house "Die Deutsche Industrie und der Osten", from January 1928 on it had adopted the subtitle "Organ für die wirtschaftlichen Interessen des Morgenlandes im Abendland". The smart editor (cf. Mahrad, A., *Die deutsch-persischen Beziehungen von 1918–1933*, Frankfurt/M. 1974, pp. 317 ff.) published additionally in Berlin from 1923–1927 the purely commercial journals "Senajā Alman wā Scharq" (The German Industry and the East), "Illustr. Orient-Kurier" (1924) and 1927/28 "ʿIlm wa hunar" (Science and art).



- 28 The first number was published on June 15, 1921; the editorial office was in the Normannenstrasse 6 at Nikolassee. From August 1922 the journal published fortnightly had been edited in Brunswick where it became politically dwarfed.
- 29 Special edition of "Āzād-i šarq", August 10, 1921.
- 30 Liwa-el-Islam, 1st year, no. 6, 1921, pp. 21 ff.
- 31 Ibid., 1st year, no. 7, 1921, p. 26; cf. also Āzād-i šarq, nos. 7–8, 1921, p. 12.
- 32 The "Orient-Klub" was founded at the beginning of 1921 by Talaat with the decisive cooperation of the Tunisian nationalist Muhammad (M'hamed) 'Alī as the meeting-place of Asian and African nationalists; its first president was Arslān and its rooms were in the Kalkreuthstrasse 11. In the middle of the 20's it was supplanted by the "Türkische Klub" which however did no longer play the political role as its predecessor.
- 33 Šawīš was entrusted in 1922 with the management of a commission for Islamic literature by Kemal Atatürk and returned to Egypt by the end of 1923; up to his death in 1929 he was employed in the Ministry of Education.
- 34 'Abd as-Salām (Abdul Salam) was a student of medicine and in 1925 took his doctoral degree on "Orbitalphlegmone und Zahnleiden"; in the same year he became secretary of the "Orientverein Würzburg" founded in September.
- 35 Hifnī Nāṣif had come to Berlin as Wafdist and had taken up a study at the Agricultural College in Invalidenstrasse; at the beginning of 1922 he broke with the "Wafd" and became member of the "National Party". Cf. as-Sa'īd, R., 'Isām ad-Dīn Hifnī Nāṣif, Cairo 1970, pp. 17 ff.
- 36 Cf. Āzād-i šarq, no. 9, 1921, p. 2. The same number published an article by Šawīš on 'Alī Fahmī (p. 8).
- 37 Liwa-el-Islam, 2nd year, nos. 1–2, 1922, pp. 2 ff.
- 38 After the chairman of the German students' body at the Technical College in Charlottenburg had criticized the eating habits of the foreign students, notably those from the countries of Asia and Africa who studied at the College by writing a nasty letter to the editor, the Rector ordered on May 19 that in future the foreigners would have to speak German in all departments of the College. Cf. Berliner Hochschul-Nachrichten, Berlin, 7th term, no. 3, 1922, p. 38 and nos. 4–5, 1922, pp. 55 f.
- 39 In autumn 1923 Walikhan published the English-language bimonthly in Berlin "The Crescent. The Only Muslim Organ in Europe", with reports especially on the anti-colonial movements in the Middle East. It stopped its publication after four numbers (vol. 1, nos. 1, 2, 1923 and no. 3, 1923/24, nos. 4–6, 1924) and was followed by "The Muslim Standard" in November 1924 (presumably one number only).
- 40 Āzād-i šarq, no. 1, 1921, p. 1. In a series of publications of the journal, named "Naṣrīyat Āzād-i šarq fī atnā ihtigābiḥā" in 1924 there appeared in Berlin the book "Fazā'i' al-isti'mār fi'š-šarq (Inklitrā fi'l-Hind)" which denounced the policy of British imperialism in India. "Āzād-i šarq" also published articles by Arslān (no. 2, 1921), Mohammed Girtalla ("Aegyptens Freiheitskampf", no. 11, 1922, p. 8) and Yahyā Aḥmad ad-Dardirī (no. 16, 1922, pp. 1 ff.) as well as declarations of the "National Party" (no. 22, 1922, p. 4).
- 41 Liwa-el-Islam, 1st year, no. 1, 1921, p. 1.
- 42 Āzād-i šarq, no. 2, 1921, p. 1. The nos. 6 and 7/8, 1921, published articles on Lenin and Trotsky as well as a picture of Marx. The pragmatically pro-Sov. attitude, however, in the second half of the 20's gave way to a primitive anti-Sovietism which was associated with the purely commercially oriented publishing activities of Seif. Cf. Senajā Alman wā Scharq, Berlin, 7th year, no. 66, 1927.
- 43 Cf. Āzād-i šarq, no. 12, 1922, p. 24. This volume also published the article "Aegypten vor der Okkupation" by 'Alī Ruṣṣī (Ruschdi) who was born in Cairo in 1897 and had come to Berlin in January 1920 where he, after studies in Tübingen, took his doctoral degree in 1925 on "Über Säuglingssterblichkeit in Aegypten".
- 44 Liwa-el-Islam, 2nd year, nos. 3–6, 1922, p. 11.
- 45 Ibid., p. 12.
- 46 Cf. Āzād-i šarq, no. 14, 1922, pp. 5 f.
- 47 Cf. ibid., nos. 17–18, 1922, pp. 9 f. and nos. 20–21, 1922, pp. 7 f. A meeting was also

- dedicated to the same occasion that was held on June 28, 1922, and where 'Abd al-Gaffār Mitwallī (Metwalli) took the floor, who in 1923 in Berlin took his doctor's degree on "Ein Fall von Sympus (Sirenenbildung)".
- 48 Supplement to Āzād-i šarq, nos. 20–21, 1922.
- 49 Presumably only two numbers of the Arab-language journal appeared, the first on July 15, 1923, the second in August. The address of the editorial office was Charlottenburg 2, P.O.B. 39. Out of the number of politically remarkable articles mention should be made of ad-Dardirī's "To Our Egyptian People" (no. 1, pp. 1–3) and "Conditions of Weakness in the Present-Day Policies of the Egyptian Parties" (no. 2, pp. 17–22), in which the "Wafd" was criticized. No. 2 contains also Muḥammad Abū'l-Ġīṭ's "What We Take Over From Europe and What Not" (pp. 32–34); Abū'l-Ġīṭ (Abu-Elghet) was born in Port Said in 1895 and arrived in Berlin in May 1920 where after a German-language course in the winter-term 1920/21 he took up the study of medicine; in 1927 he obtained a doctorate for "Gehirntumoren im Kindesalter".
- 50 Cf. Morgenland. Zeitschrift für Wirtschaft, Kunst, Technik, Handel und Industrie, Berlin, nos. 2–3, 1922, p. 36.
- 51 Kampffmeyer was chairman of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde" founded in 1912 and maintained close relations with many Arabs living in Germany. Among other things, he provided for the participation of the students Mohammed Girtalla, Mohammed el-Karagi, Mohammed el-Tawil and Kamāl ad-Dīn Galāl in the Congress of German Orientalists as representatives of the German section of the "National Party" held in Leipzig in 1921 and he took measures to secure the employment of the Egyptians Aḥmad and 'Abdallāh Walī, the Syrian Yahyā Ḥaṣmī and the Moroccan Mohammed Bel-Arbi as fulltime or part-time lecturers at the Seminar for Oriental Languages of the Berlin University. The evening lectures of the Society run by him were read, among others, by ad-Dardirī (in May 1923 and in February 1924 with lectures on the role of the woman in Egypt, or the Egyptian Constitution) and by the Syrian Hadsch Mohammed Nafi Tschelēbi.
- 52 Cf. Āzād-i šarq, no. 23, 1922, p. 10.
- 53 Cf. ibid., no. 25, 1922, pp. 1 f.
- 54 Cf. ibid., nos. 28–30, 1923, pp. 5 f.
- 55 Cf. ibid., no. 31, 1923.
- 56 Quoted in Rifat, M., Der Patriotismus bei den Ägyptern, op.cit., p. 8.
- 57 Text ibid., p. 14.
- 58 Cf. ibid., p. 8.
- 59 Ibid., p. 11.
- 60 Ibid., p. 12.
- 61 In 1924 he published in Berlin "Ahmadija-Bewegung oder Reiner Islam".
- 62 As to the events cf. Rifat, M., Die Ahmadija Sekte. Ein Vorkämpfer für den englischen Imperialismus. Belastende Dokumente für ihre Falschheit und Heuchelei, Berlin 1923, pp. 14 ff.; the same, Der Verrat der Ahmadis an Heimat und Religion. Ein Anhang zu der Schrift "Die Ahmadija Sekte", ein Vorkämpfer für den englischen Imperialismus, Berlin 1923, pp. 8 ff. and Der Neue Orient, 7th year, 1923, pp. 270 f.
- 63 Cf. Organisationsstatut der Islamischen Gemeinde zu Berlin, Berlin 1922. Apart from Khairi as Imam, the executive included the Turkish Schükri as first deputy, the Egyptian Aḥmad Walī as second deputy as well as the German Khalid Banning as manager, Mahmud Schewket as secretary and Ansari as treasurer.
- 64 Two numbers only were published, the second in May 1923.
- 65 The rift of the sect occurred in 1914; Ali belonged to the Qadyan-direction.
- 66 Cf. Rifat, M., Die Ahmadija-Agenten. Ein Rätsel. Werden sie tatsächlich von den deutschen Behörden unterstützt und geschützt? Berlin 1924, pp. 2 ff. Cf. also the same, Vollständiger Zusammenbruch der Ahmadija Sekte. Weitere Beweise für ihre Tätigkeit als englische Agenten, Berlin 1924. All publications by Rifat on the Ahmadija (which were published in English also) appeared in the "Morgen- und Abendland-Verlag".
- 67 The editorial office of the quarterly journal was in the Giesebrechtstrasse 5 in Charlottenburg, later in Wilmsdorf in the Briener Strasse 7–8, the location of the mosque. The



- "Revue" presumably stopped its publication in 1940. The journal "El-Islah" published in June 1925 by the Indian nationalist Barakatullah in Berlin — the office was in St. Gallen in Switzerland, the printing shop in Charlottenburg, Weimarer Strasse 18 — stood also closely to the Ahmadiya. The markedly anti-colonial journal probably published only till 1926 had the somewhat misleading subtitle "A Monthly Arabic Journal. Literary and Commercial", its editor is reported to have founded in Berlin a "Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Korankunde" and to have preached at the mosque in the Briener Strasse. Cf. *Die Welt des Islams*, Berlin, vol. 8, nos. 2–4, 1923–1926, pp. 175 ff.
- 68 Sadr-ud-Din, Palästina. In: *Moslemische Revue*, Berlin, 1st year, no. 1, 1924, pp. 43 f.
- 69 *Ibid.*, no. 2, 1924, p. 100.
- 70 On September 5, 1924 propagated in the "Deutsche Zeitung" and reprinted in Rifat, M., *Der Orient in wahrer Beleuchtung und Der Orientale wie er ist*, Berlin 1925.
- 71 Rifat, M., *Haltet den Dieb! Antwort auf das brutale englische Ultimatum, welches kürzlich an die ägyptische Regierung gerichtet worden ist*, Berlin 1924, p. 4.
- 72 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 5 f.
- 73 Rifat, M., *Der Orient in wahrer Beleuchtung*, op.cit., p. 1.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 3. Obviously desirous of opposing the painful mood, he in February 1925 published as a special edition of the "Stahlhelm" the booklet "Die ägyptische nationale Bewegung. Ursprung und Ziele", which was apparently his last greater publication in Berlin.
- 75 The newspaper with the subtitle "Unabhängiges Blatt. Mit Gott für König und Vaterland!" was published only once; the editorial office was in Charlottenburg, Fritschestrasse 67.
- 76 Die ägyptische Flagge, Berlin, 1st year, no. 1, 1925, p. 2.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 3 f.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 79 Chairman was the Aleppo-born Hadsch Mohammed Nafi Tschelebi, his deputy until 1927 the Egyptian Abu'l-Gif. Cf. Tschelebi, H.M.N., *Die Bildungsbestrebungen der Akademisch-Islamischen Vereinigung "Islamia"*. In: *Hochschule und Ausland*, Berlin, 5th year, nos. 6–8, 1927, pp. 103–105.
- 80 It emerged from the "Arabische Vereinigung" (Arab Association) founded in 1923; its chairman was Tschelebi, the secretary was Sauqat al-Mufti (Schewket el Mufti) who was born in Amman in 1903, had taken up a study in medicine in November 1923 and in 1930 had obtained his doctorate with a thesis on "Pathologie und Therapie der Fissura Ani". The seat of both associations was the "Humboldtthaus" in the Fasanenstrasse 23 in Charlottenburg. Cf. *Die Vereinigung Arabischer Studenten zu Berlin "El-Arabiya"*. In: *Hochschule und Ausland*, 5th year, nos. 6–8, 1927, pp. 105–106.
- 81 Heftiger Protest gegen die barbarischen Schandtaten der Franzosen in Syrien. In: Kampffmeyer, G., *Damaskus. Dokumente zum Kampf der Araber um ihre Unabhängigkeit*, Berlin 1926, p. 134.
- 82 He was born in Aleppo in 1903 and in October 1923 he came to Germany where he started the study of chemistry at the Technical College Stuttgart in the summer term 1924; at the winter term 1926/27 he continued the study in Berlin and in 1935 he obtained his doctorate in Bonn with a thesis on "Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bērūnī" 1927 he was secretary of "Islamia".
- 83 Der 10. Januar 1926 in Aleppo. In: Kampffmeyer, G., op.cit., p. 138.
- 84 Cf. *Der koloniale Freiheitskampf*. Mitteilungsblatt der Liga gegen Kolonialgreuel und Unterdrückung, Berlin, no. 1, 1926, p. 4 and no. 3, 1926, p. 4. The "Ägyptische National-Radikale Gruppe" belonged also to the founders.
- 85 Vorläufige Statuten der Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung. In: *Der koloniale Freiheitskampf*, no. 3, 1926, p. 4.
- 86 Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2, 1926, p. 3 and no. 3, 1926, p. 4.
- 87 Cf. *Das Flammenzeichen vom Palais Egmont. Offizielles Protokoll des Kongresses gegen koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperialismus*, Brüssel 10.–15. Februar 1927, Berlin 1927, p. 267.
- 88 Cf. *Das Memorandum der Ägyptischen nationalradikalen Partei an den Internationalen Kongreß gegen Kolonialunterdrückung und Imperialismus zu Brüssel 1927*, Berlin 1927, pp. 3 ff.

- 89 Cf. *Die Islamische Gegenwart*, 2nd year, nos. 2–3, 1928, p. 37.
- 90 The editorial office of the journal published by the International Secretariat of the League and presumably appearing until 1932 was first in the Friedrichstrasse 24, then in the Hede-mannstrasse 13 in Kreuzberg.
- 91 Cf. Kampffmeyer, G., *Der Kongreß gegen Kolonialunterdrückung und Imperialismus in Brüssel 1927*. In: *Nachrichten zur vertraulichen Kenntnis der persönlichen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft*, Berlin, no. 2, 1927, pp. 21 f.
- 92 The information bulletin first published typewritten, then printed appeared until 1929; the office was first in the Irmgardstrasse 34 in Zehlendorf, then in Pestalozzistrasse 15 in Charlottenburg. Part of the articles published were reprinted in the "Nachrichten aus der Gegenwartsgeschichte des islamischen Orients"; no. 5, 1927, of this supplement of the "Welt des Islams" contained a table of contents of the 1st year of the "Islam-Echo" (pp. 66–75).
- 93 The journal whose chief editor was the German Moslem Muhammad Hasan Hoffmann was published until 1929; the office was first in the Irmgardstrasse 34, then in the Winfriedstrasse 4a in Zehlendorf, finally in the Schmargendorfer Strasse 13 in Friedenau.
- 94 Cf. *Islam-Echo*, Berlin, no. 8, 1927, pp. 1 f.
- 95 Cf. Abu Elgheet, M., *Die Fremden-Kapitulationen in Aegypten*. In: *Islam-Echo*, no. 6, 1927, p. 9 and no. 7, 1927, pp. 6–8; the same, *Das "selbständige" Aegypten. Die ägyptische Niederlage. Das trockene Protektorat*. *Ibid.*, no. 9, 1927, pp. 5 f.; Abul Zahab, *Die ägyptische Freiheitsbewegung*. In: *Die Islamische Gegenwart*, 2nd year, nos. 2–3, 1927, pp. 7–10; Galal, K.E., *Der Sudan — ein untrennbarer Teil Ägyptens*. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–13; Abdul Aziz, *Die ägyptischen Kapitulationen*. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–16 and Schafiq, M., *Der Suezkanal als freie Völkerstraße*. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–19.
- 96 The society was founded in 1922, its chairman was 'Abd al-Hamid ad-Dardirī, secretary Galāl. In Leipzig there was also an Egyptian students' society publishing the periodical "Der ägyptische Herold" from March 1924 onward, where, among others, al-Qāḍī worked as a translator. Cf. no. 1, 1924, pp. 2 ff.
- 97 Cf. *Islam-Echo*, no. 19, 1927, p. 1.
- 98 Cf. *Der Islamische Student*, Berlin, 1st year, no. 1, 1927, p. 2.
- 99 Galāl who was born in ad-Dāmīr (Sudan) in 1903 came 1922 to Berlin where he obtained in 1939 his doctorate with a thesis on "Entstehung und Entwicklung der Tagespresse in Ägypten"; after 1933 he entered into the service of German fascism. Cf. Rathmann, L., *Mustafa Kamil — Politisches Denken und Handeln eines ägyptischen Patrioten*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin, Special issue 1961, p. 105.
- 100 It is not yet known whether the Arab colonies in Berlin participated in the great number of meetings carried out by the League in 1928, such as in those in the Piscatorbühne (Theater am Nollendorfplatz) on February 26, in the Andreas-Festsäle in the Andreasstrasse on April 2, in Artushof in the Perleberger Strasse on April 17, in the Berliner Kindl Brewery in the Hermannstrasse on April 24, or in the Cecilien-Lyzeum in the Rathausstrasse in Lichtenberg on May 7.
- 101 The executive committee of the colony consisted of Galāl, 'Abd al-'Azīz (born in Alexandria in 1899, 1922–1927 study of medicine in Berlin and 1927 doctorate with a thesis on "Die verschiedenen Behandlungsmethoden der Bronchiektasie"), Šubḥī Ḥannā (1905 born in Kafr Aulād 'Atīya, from 1922 study of medicine in Berlin and Greifswald, 1928 doctorate with a thesis on "Über die Geschwülste der Gallenblase"), Muhammad Ṭahā Abu'd-Dahab (born 1900 in Tanta, since 1922 study of medicine in Leipzig, Rostock and Berlin, 1927 doctorate with a thesis on "Karzinom im Kindesalter") and Šubḥī Munir.
- 102 Tschelebi and Galāl took the floor at this meeting.
- 103 On May 28, 1929 on the occasion of 'Id al-Adḥā in the Tiergartenhof in the Berliner Strasse in Charlottenburg the "Islam-Institut" initiated the formation of a committee intended to establish a uniform "Gemeinde der Muslimen" in Berlin; the "Islam-Institut" was founded on November 4, 1927 in the "Humboldtthaus", among others, by Tschelebi, Ḥaṣmī, Girtalla as well as in the presence of Arslān, Kampffmeyer and the German-National Bachem (cf. *Die Islamische Gegenwart*, 1st year, no. 2, 1927, pp. 23 ff.).



- 104 Cf. as-Sa'īd, R., *Tārīḥ al-ḥarakat al-iṣtirākīya fī Miṣr, 1900–1925*, Beirut 1972, p. 273.
- 105 Cf. at-Talī'a, Cairo, no. 8, 1970, pp. 154 ff.
- 106 Cf. his *al-Mas'ala al-iṣtirākīya*, Cairo 1933. Among other things, he translated Paul Kampffmeyer's "Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialdemokratie" into Arabic. Cf. *Ḥarakat al-'ummāl wa'l-iṣtirākīya ad-dimuqrāṭīya*, Cairo 1933.
- 107 His doctoral thesis "Die Bedingungen und Triebkräfte des geschichtlichen Geschehens in Ibn Ḥaldūns Geschichtslehre", in which he also discussed Marx, is the first Arabic analysis of the works of this medieval historian written on the basis of the knowledge of modern bourgeois sociology. Cf. also Ayad, K., *Die Anfänge der muslimischen Geschichtsforschung*. In: *Geist und Gesellschaft*. Kurt Breysig zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag. Vol. 3: *Vom Denken über Geschichte*, Breslau 1928, pp. 35–48, and the same, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Ḥaldūns*, Stuttgart–Berlin 1930.
- 108 In "Maḡallat aṣ-ṣubbān al-muslimīn" edited by him in Cairo he wrote also about Fourier and Raiffeisen. Cf. Reissner, J., *Die innerislamische Diskussion zur modernen Wirtschafts- und Sozialordnung*. In: Ende, W., U. Steinbach (eds.), *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, Munich 1984, pp. 157 f. Cf. also ad-Dardīrī, Y. A., *Kitāb at-ta'āwun*, Cairo 1926.
- 109 Even he, with the exception of the sarkastic obituary notice on the Bey of Tunis Muḥammad an-Nāṣir II in "Āzād-i šarq" (nos. 20–21, 1922, p. 9) which he signed with Muḥammad ad-Dastūrī, had hardly come into prominence politically in Berlin; his stay there (1918–1924) has not yet been investigated sufficiently. Cf. Ahmad, E., S. Schaar, M'hamed Ali and the Tunisian Labour Movement. In: *Race & Class*, London, vol. 19, no. 3, 1978, pp. 254 f.
- 110 In October 1922 he had come to Berlin and had taken up the study of medicine in November 1923; in 1929 he took his doctorate with a thesis on "Abul-Kasim, ein Forscher der arabischen Medizin". In 1927 he was elected on the advisory board of "El Arabiya".
- 111 Cf. Laqueur, W.Z., *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*, London 1961, pp. 124 f. and *Oriente Moderno*, Rome, vol. 12, 1932, p. 381. In 1931 he participated in the Islamic Congress in Jerusalem and in 1937 he was the representative of his country on the Political committee of the "Arab National Congress" in Blūdān.

### Tradition, class and class struggle: Industrial workers in colonial India

When large-scale capitalist production began to emerge in colonial India in the nineteenth century, the working class on the South Asian subcontinent found itself at the beginning of its history. It is generally believed today that the country's industrial proletariat had become a social class as such by the turn of the century since workers had by then flocked to large cities and centres of industry in considerable numbers. They either totally depended on the sale of their labour power or mainly engaged in wage labour for a living.

The industrial proletariat accounted for a very small percentage of India's labour force, rising from 1.5 per cent in 1910 to 3.1 per cent in 1941. Although growing slowly, it finally managed to reach a remarkable absolute figure. Factory workers went up from 316,000 in 1891 to 1,751,000 in 1939, miners from 104,000 in 1901 to 305,000 in 1939, railway workers from 370,000 in 1901 to 700,000 in 1939, and plantation workers from 700,000 in 1911 to 1,000,000 in 1939.<sup>1</sup>

Since India's capitalist relations of production were colonial in nature, the conditions under which the country's proletariat developed were very different from those under which the working class in the metropolitan countries formed and gave it the unmistakable characteristics of a colonial proletariat.

#### *The coolie was the typical colonial capitalist wage labourer*

The metropolitan countries maintained the dependence of their colonies not only by placing obstacles in the way of their all-round industrial development, but also by preserving pre-capitalist modes of production in agriculture. This is why India's capitalist sector, which was a symbiosis of foreign and indigenous capitalism,<sup>2</sup> did not until the end of the country's colonial era have the strength to abolish pre-capitalist forms of economy, which continued to go strong. Outdated conditions were modified under the pressure of colonial exploitation and subsequently combined with the rising capitalist forms of production to create what is generally referred to as a dependent multi-sectoral structure, which came to be beset by a large number of internal contradictions. The classes and strata of Indian society, which were rooted in these widely varying relations of production, were, in turn, involved in more than one sector of the economy. This also applied to the proletariat, which, in a manner of speaking, had one foot in capitalism and the other in several different pre-capitalist modes of production, especially in that of the feudal colonial sector in the countryside.

Under what might be called normal capitalism, the working class emerges on the basis of the existence of free wage labourers and a free labour market. Marx wrote that the immediate producer, the worker, could dispose of his own person only after he had stopped being bound to the soil and being adscriptive and enslaved to some other person, and that, on the other hand, those newly liberated people began to sell themselves after they had been robbed of all their means of production and of all the guaranties of their existence that the old feudal institutions had offered them.<sup>3</sup> In terms of world history, the disintegration of feudalism released the elements that are required for creating the economic structure of capitalist society. Yet wage labourers were being rapidly and completely released only in the capitalist metropolitan countries, while in the colonies the process took much longer, and assumed a very different nature.

India's peasants were, on the one hand, being differentiated, ruined in large numbers and deprived of their means of production as a result of exorbitant revenue, new systems of land settlement and spreading commodity-money relations. Yet on the other hand, they were closely attached to agriculture due to an inadequate development of industry, even though they had to accept the most enslaving terms of tenancy. Elements of feudal exploitation and dependence and also of traditional ways of life (such as the caste and the extended family) were becoming stronger rather than weaker. This is why expropriated rural producers, although enormously numerous, were not forcibly driven from their soil and totally uprooted as a result of their



expropriation. Debts, underemployment and pauperization were exerting pressure on agriculture and, as a result, produced a lot of redundant manpower, a potential proletariat, which did, however, till the soil for a living and tenaciously clung to inherited social institutions.

India's large cities and centres of industry began to need wage labour even before a free labour market had come into existence where the workers faced the capitalists "as equals"<sup>4</sup>. This and the special nature of colonial capitalist production created special conditions for the emerging proletariat in particular with regard to the ways it was introduced to industrial production, had the value of its labour power defined, and did itself fashion its cycle of work and life, which remained closely connected with the countryside. Foreign capital, which was bent on making maximum profits, needed and created a special kind of colonial capitalist wage labourer: the coolie. This name 'coolie' was originally given to any manpower hired for work in the British colonies overseas in nineteenth-century India. However, it soon came to be used as a synonym of an unskilled and racially discriminated and underprivileged wage labourer who migrated a long way to work in industrial centre, went back and forth between the countryside and the town for the rest of his life, earned wages that were too low to protect him from chronic starvation, paid interest to usurers, made payments to employment agents, worked under conditions suitably labelled "infernally on earth"<sup>5</sup>, and vegetated in unfit housing far away from his family.

Since the capitalist conditions were embedded in a feudal economic and social structure that had not yet been totally destroyed, industrial workers in colonial India were much more of rural origin than were his class brothers in western industrial countries, e.g. in Britain and Germany. The villager was for quite a variety of reasons ready to take up employment in the city. The most important reason was financial pressure. He and his family were either unable to pay the rent demanded for their small-holding, or had incurred such an amount of debts that they were in urgent need of additional earnings. Other reasons were hunger and the hope for making a better living. The fragmentary data available on the socio-economic background of workers — such as on that of the workers employed by Bombay's cotton textile mills and Calcutta's jute factories — appear to indicate that the rising industrial proletariat was made up of three principal elements: first, lower strata of the peasantry, tenant farmers (who could have their leases terminated at any moment) and share-croppers (who tilled small-holdings just to survive); second, members of lower service castes and untouchables (who were traditionally banned from owning land); and third, descendants from urban and rural craftsmen — including those who had been forced back into the countryside under the rule of the East India Company — (who were being increasingly ruined as a result of capitalist competition).<sup>6</sup>

Although the majority of the industrial proletariat stemmed from the rural population, it would be wrong to consider the industrial workers of colonial India as peasants in disguise. There was only a very small number of urban wage labourers who were directly relied on agricultural production for earning money. A much larger number had more indirect connections with the soil, connections that were based on their links with their extended families, which were engaged in working small-holdings. Most workers, however, came from the poorest strata of the rural population and had no land at all.<sup>7</sup>

Yet both the repulsive force of the countryside and the magnetic pull exerted by the enclaves of capitalist production that were emerging in the vast expanse of India, were too weak to start a constant and sufficiently large stream of manpower moving from rural to urban areas, and to satisfy the demand for labour that had newly arisen in the plantations, the country's transport system, the mines and the factories. A special mechanism had to be found to recruit manpower for industrial production so as to make the potential proletarians leave their rural hinterland.

This phenomenon has over the last few years given rise to lively international discussions on whether capitalist companies were employing really free wage labourers in the colonies or not. A wide variety of views was expressed on the subject. A number of economists and historians assumed that the colonial wage labourers had had a freedom of choice. Others believed that there had been a kind of dual market in terms of both the provision of manpower for production and the conditions of their employment: an unfree market (as exem-

plified by the system of indentured labour) and a more or less free market, which offered the rest of the unskilled manpower. A third group maintained that wage labour had, under India's colonial capitalist conditions, been generally marked by coercion and dependence. They added that both the appearance of workers on the labour market and their involvement in the process of production had not only been determined by capitalist market conditions, but also by a pre-capitalist lack of personal freedom and extra-economic coercion.

True enough, the striking external feature of indentured labour in the nineteenth century was coercion.<sup>8</sup> Licensed contractors employed recruiters, who resorted to trickery, deceit, intimidation and force. A. Guha compared the system of indentured labour — the catching of coolies, their transfer to tea plantations, and the chasing of fugitives — to the slave hunting practised in Africa.<sup>9</sup> Even when the indentured system proved incapable of meeting the requirements of rising large-scale production at the end of the nineteenth century and was therefore replaced with the jobber system,<sup>10</sup> industrial wage labour retained certain elements of dependence. Workers willy-nilly lost their independence because their recruiter could frequently take away his newly hired labourers only after he had agreed to pay their debts vis-à-vis their feudal lords or grant them an advance wage payment so that they could pay for their travel to the city in question. Workers were usually forced to make payments to the jobber in order to receive a job, keep it, or get it back after a period of absence. The fact that workers were at the mercy of the jobber who had recruited them placed a considerable economic burden on them and limited their social thinking and acting.

However, the fact that coolies did not give up their connections with the countryside proved even more important than their rural origin. From the moment the Indian proletariat emerged, this phenomenon attracted the attention of colonial officers and historians, who began offering different explanations and conclusions. Some believed that the reason for the retention of connections with the countryside was the inhuman working and living conditions found in the cities. Others advanced socio-psychological reasons, claiming that the Indian workers were fond of change. The latter view, which was put forward by the Indian Factory Labour Commission in a report in 1908, was still the general official opinion in 1929/30.<sup>11</sup> But there were also voices which said that exactly the opposite was true: that Indian workers were very conservative. The common cliché had it that the Indian worker was a peasant at heart.<sup>12</sup> It cannot and will not be denied that those who had little or no land and were therefore forced to take up employment in industry did indeed cherish the hope that they might one day be able to return to their villages for good and own a piece of land there. What else can a person dream of when he lives in a predominantly agrarian society? But was the Indian industrial worker therefore really primarily a peasant, "temporarily forsaking the mattock and the plough to add to the income by a brief spell of industrial work in the city", as the Royal Commission on Labour in India rightly asked in 1931?<sup>13</sup> Repeated complaints by company managers and colonial officers about the frequent absence of workers from work and a high rate of fluctuation among factory employees led to a misinterpretation of the ties that India's industrial workers maintained with the villages they came from. This gave rise to the idyllic idea that Indian workers were leading the lives of both workers and peasants, a myth that was spread by colonial officers and a number of historians. Although some people quoted authoritative sources to refute this view, the literature on Indian labour history reflects contradictory opinions on this issue until today.

The principal reason for the close relations that India's industrial workers maintained with the countryside — and also for their close links with the feudal sector of the economy — lay in the colonial capitalist relations of production. These relations produced factors that determined the value of labour power and the degrees and forms of exploitation. Soviet economist S.I. Tyulpanov believed that the laws determining the value of labour power under capitalism received their most far-reaching modification under the conditions of colonialism.<sup>14</sup> One of the factors that kept the value of labour power extremely low was an almost inexhaustible reservoir of manpower. The number of potential proletarians was several times larger than that of active wage labourers. This allowed reducing the price of labour power to the very minimum required for the labourer to continue his physical existence.

Over and above that, the capitalists did not under these circumstances take account of



the need for, as Marx put it, the perpetuation of labour power.<sup>15</sup> This means that the lowest pay limit was the subsistence minimum of the individual employed in production rather than that of the whole of his family. But when the price of labour power falls to its minimum value — i.e. to the value of the total amount of commodities without which the worker cannot renew his life processes every day, and when it does not take account of the worker's need for a certain amount of education and the general need for a replacement of worn-out manpower with fresh workers, it sinks below the value of labour power because the latter can then only be preserved to an insufficient extent.

What used to be called the single man's pay,<sup>16</sup> which was given to the urban worker, was merely enough to keep him alive while he was actually engaged in work, i.e. not while he was ill, was having a necessary rest, was of old age or was taking part in long-drawn-out strikes. His pay was too low to allow him to bring his family to the city on a permanent basis. His family usually stayed behind in the village. As Gail Omvedt said, the principal mechanism that supplied colonial capitalism with cheap labour was the absence of what might be called family wages.<sup>17</sup> Foreign capital made a surplus profit in the colonies by managing to avoid paying for the reproduction of labour power. And this is how indigenous capital, which exploited workers in the same manner, consolidated its position in capitalist competition.

Reference to the undervaluation of labour power provides the theoretical explanation not only of the simultaneous involvement of India's industrial workers in two modes of production, but also of the cyclical nature of urban wage labour and, in consequence, of the instability of the industrial proletariat. Most of the workers who had left their families behind in the countryside visited them on a more or less regular basis. They also returned to their villages when they were ill, unfit for work, or too old to find paid employment in the city.<sup>18</sup> During the many months of strikes in the 1920's and 1930's, there was a veritable exodus of workers returning to their native villages. The number of visits that workers paid to their villages depended on the size of their budgets and the distances that they had to travel. Many textile workers in Bombay and Calcutta went to their villages once every year or once every other year, preferably during the harvesting season, staying for anything between one and three months.<sup>19</sup> Yet there were also large numbers of workers who had so little money that they could not afford the travel for several years in succession.

The periodic return of urban workers to their villages and their close ties with the agricultural sector provided the colonial government and foreign and indigenous company managers with arguments in support of their policy of low wages. Pointing to the function of the village as what it liked to call a social save-all, the colonial government took a favourable view of the unbroken contacts of the industrial proletariat with the countryside. It recommended that these links should not be undermined, but encouraged and, if possible, regulated.<sup>20</sup>

In view of the attachment of urban workers to the places of their origin, the question has often been asked of what the function of the traditional social institutions was in this context. S.K. Sen observed that "it does not seem that joint family, caste and village system stood in the way of labour mobility".<sup>21</sup> But the institutions turned out to be yet another factor favouring close ties between urban workers and the villages that they came from. Both the rule that people must only marry within their own caste, and the fact that every member of an extended family was duty-bound to help support the whole of that family made it very difficult for workers to break off their traditional relations. Whatever they may have owned or not owned in the countryside, the first few generations of proletarians — and not only they — held certain definite positions in rural society, which were due to their links with the extended family. The Labour Investigation Committee concluded from this in 1946 that "the most predominant cause of workers' visits to their homes in villages does not appear to be cultivation of land so much as seeing relatives and friends, attending marriages and festivals, although such visits often coincide with festival seasons such as Holi, Pujas, etc."<sup>22</sup>

### *Traditional behaviour and proletarian attitude*

Although India's industrial workers were closely linked with the countryside in terms of socio-economy, family and social psychology, the country's industrial development did not fail to produce what also emerged in every other country: a permanent industrial proletariat. A number of fact-finding commissions have investigated the consolidation of this proletariat since the turn of the century. They at first cautiously described it as a new phenomenon and later began to refer to it as a stable factor and well-established trend. The Textile Factories Labour Committee, analyzing working conditions at textile mills in 1907, said that "Indian workers are becoming more accustomed to mill life".<sup>23</sup> In 1908, the Indian Factory Labour Commission was much more outspoken when it said that "there are some indications that a class of factory operatives, detached from agriculture and village life and depending largely or solely upon industrial employment, is beginning to be formed".<sup>24</sup> Arno S. Pearce called the workers "permanent in the sense that they are not merely birds of passage but continue to work in the industry for a considerable period of time once they join it".<sup>25</sup> The Royal Commission on Labour in India reiterated this assessment in 1931.<sup>26</sup> And finally, the committee investigating the situation of the Indian working class on the eve of the country's independence, also spoke of an increasing stabilization of the industrial proletariat in India.<sup>27</sup>

Many observers were surprised at the early appearance of a hard core of workers at India's factories,<sup>28</sup> even though a factory commission, questioning Indian workers, had established as early as 1890 that a large number of workers had been spending many years working in industry. It can safely be assumed that most factory workers seldom gave up or changed their jobs.<sup>29</sup> This fact, too, contradicts the view mentioned above that the Indian industrial worker was, in essence, a peasant. The opposite appears to have been true. The Indian worker knew full well that he depended on the factory for his income. Once he had realized this, it became possible for him to discover his new identity as an industrial worker. As his hard core grew stronger, the Indian proletariat began to acquire new characteristics: it turned into a social force capable of both actively participating in the struggle for national liberation and taking the first few steps towards setting up a movement of its own, a movement that would truly represent its class interests.

The working class did not change its class nature as a result of the special features that it had acquired because of the colonial conditions under which it emerged. Yet it was inevitable that the process that transformed the workers into a social class of its own should remain incomplete in a socio-economic environment that allowed wage labour and capitalist relations of production to develop in an industrial sector of relatively small size and did not allow the capitalist mode of production to get established as the predominant factor of the entire economy. It was impossible for the working class to become wholly and clearly separated from any other class and stratum in society, and more particularly from the rest of the working people in town and country. The results was the emergence of a class that got bogged down at a low level of its process of formation, a proletariat that was not really very clearly delineated. This incomplete differentiation of the working class from other social classes and strata<sup>30</sup> had quite a number of different aspects and became visible in both socio-economic and politico-ideological terms.

As it formed, India's working class had to get rid of pre-capitalist ties that their class brothers in Europe had either never had or had laid down as soon as they entered industrial or urban working life. A case in point was the jobber system operating in the contracting of manpower and subjecting workers to a patriarchal type of dependence on their recruiters. The system came under severe attack by the working class in the 1930's and began to show signs of decay as soon as the working class had set up its own organizations, which set out to fight the system. But it proved impossible to overcome the mechanism producing the undervaluation of labour power — a mechanism inherent in the system of colonial capitalist exploitation — before India gained her independence. Despite all their efforts, India's industrial workers were therefore bound to fail in their attempts to make significant progress in the direction of obtaining family wages under colonial conditions, and close rural ties remained one of their most important characteristics.



It is extremely difficult to give a proper description of 'class', especially because of the distinction between the *class as such* and what might be called the *class for itself*, or in other words, between the socio-economic nature of a class and the politico-ideological reflection of this nature.<sup>31</sup> The process of class formation is no doubt even more complex in a society in which several different forms of economy — and, as a result, several different attendant ways of thinking and acting — exist side by side. The emerging working class does not only have to give up its ties with outdated traditional institutions, but also to establish and cultivate new, proletarian traditions.

Historians have already analyzed some of the aspects of the political maturation of the Indian working class. Extensive research has meanwhile been done into India's trade union movement and, up to a point, also into the country's communist movement. Remarkable analyses have by now also been made relating to the history of India's working class and working-class movement in a number of branches of industry or geographical regions. Most of the analyses give a detailed description of the structure of the working class, its working and living conditions, its class struggle, and the role that workers played in the national liberation movement. They also look into the ties that the working class had with traditional institutions like caste and religion. But there are as yet no profound, generalizing research results concerning the development of social and class consciousness and the emergence of a typical proletarian way of life among India's industrial workers. It was only recently that historians began examining questions affecting the relations between traditional behaviour and class consciousness, and their importance for the working-class movement as a whole.

Ethno-linguistic, religious and caste-related heterogeneity is generally regarded as the principal factor delaying the consolidation of the Indian proletariat. This heterogeneity made it difficult for the workers to give up what remained of their traditional ties and become aware of their class interests. This is no doubt true to say of the process of class formation as a whole. But at certain stages of the class struggle waged by the Indian working class, and also in class's working and everyday life, ethno-linguistic bonds as well as caste relationships and religious affiliations must be given a more differentiated assessment.

The multi-national composition of urban workers was the result of the fact that capitalist development progressed in the various parts of India at different paces. This, in turn, led to the emergence of just a very few centres of industry, to which manpower began to migrate. While the ethnic situation of the workers in Bombay, e.g., was relatively uniform — workers there consisted of a majority of Maharrattas and a minority of Gudsherrattas —, the ethnic situation in Calcutta was rather heterogenous: only a minority were Bengalis, while the majority came from Bihar, Orissa and the united and central provinces. The ethnic composition of metal workers was particularly diversified. Jamshedpur had workers from nearly all Indian provinces.

Hardly any research has so far been done into the importance of caste relationship for the industrial workers and into the way castes operated among the proletariat and affected the working-class movement. In general, the villagers who came to the cities were not only recruited from the economically weakest groups of the population but also from the socially discriminated-against ones. This meant that most industrial workers were members of either the lower castes or the group of the untouchables. Investigations among industrial workers also revealed, however, that they also included a number of members of medium and upper castes.<sup>32</sup>

Capitalist enterprises hardly seem to have been guided by considerations of caste membership when hiring manpower. No branch of industry, no factory and no factory department had a personnel exclusively belonging to one particular caste.<sup>33</sup> Factory-style production tended to modify traditional caste rules anyway. This was because (i) modern industrial activities allowed a larger amount of freedom in choosing a trade; and (ii) the rules governing relations among people were given a less strict interpretation at factories and were in many cases even abolished. Members of the Hindu castes, e.g., had to co-operate with untouchables in one and the same room. But the traditional relations between caste and occupation or activity continued to play a certain role in both the actions and thoughts of the workers. Members of the upper Hindu castes, e.g., sought to avoid doing manual work; and untouchables virtually always did strenuous physical and lowpaid jobs.

Although large-scale capitalist production undermined the traditional social hierarchy to a certain extent, traditional institutions like caste, village community and extended family as well as the social consciousness that they generated, were not fully overcome. They were definitely preserved on the lowest level of production relations, a fact that was also due to the special, i.e. colonial, conditions under which labourers were made to engage in industrial production. The jobber system acted as a regenerative factor in this context. The jobber preferred choosing workers for his team who came from the same area, spoke the same language, were frequently members of the same caste or were linked by family ties, albeit very loose ones. He was thus setting up a socially rather homogeneous group engaged in joint work in the process of production.

The question is now often being asked to what extent loyalties to caste, village community or religion hampered or encouraged workers' protest at the early stage of the consolidation of the proletariat. R. Newman is not the only one to believe that "the jobber's gang forms a crucial link between the new institutional expressions of work force solidarity and the primordial relationships that the millhands brought with them into industry".<sup>34</sup> And indeed, history shows that the first protests of industrial workers were made on the level of the lowest production units at the factory. The protests were mainly over pay, fines for allegedly spoilt material, and the number of working hours. Workers' gangs also took exception to victimizations of their jobbers by company managers. Protests mainly took the form of short-term production stoppages staged either by individual gangs or all the gangs working at a certain factory department.<sup>35</sup>

If large-scale capitalist production was hardly capable of abolishing traditional ways of life and behaviour under colonial conditions, the urban way of life was even less so. Common ethno-linguistic features, caste membership and religious affiliation became important whenever new arrivals were looking for accommodation in the cities, and new neighbourhood relations were forming. Workers generally preferred settling in those residential areas in the cities where they found members of their own religious groups, castes, etc. Describing life in one of the slums of Calcutta, R. Ray writes: "The labour force, drawn from different provinces, castes and communities, continued to live in the city, year after year, as isolated social groups with no widespread communication among themselves." And he continues: "The working-class quarters seethed with tensions between different communities, which on a few occasions flared into communal riots."<sup>36</sup> While forced to disregard a few rules of traditional behaviour in the process of production at the factory, workers followed them very closely in fashioning the life of their families and arranging their own personal relations. Even industrial workers allowed their friendships and inter-family relations to be guided by caste considerations to a very considerable extent. Marriages, e.g., usually obeyed the principle of caste endogamy. Food rules were also adhered to with considerable strictness. Physical untouchability was not, however, observed in the residential areas of the workers. The joint use of water taps did not in the city give rise to the kind of problems that it did in the village.

Under the conditions described above, the transition from traditional social consciousness to class consciousness was an extremely difficult and protracted process. The fact that the transformation did, in the end, go ahead, is due to three factors: first, large numbers of workers had gathered together in the centres of industry; second, their bond to traditional institutions was ignored in capitalist production; and third, those leaders of the workers were gaining increasing influence, predominantly organizing their followers on a class basis. As a result of their joint experience in production and the similarity of their living conditions, workers began to form trade unions, and on this level, the castes were hardly capable of bringing any influence to bear on the mass organizations' function of representing the interests of workers.

In addition to caste relationship, it was religious obligation that encouraged workers at the initial stages to form their own organizations. But these connections soon lost this quality and began to impede progress. In the long run, they proved a factor that divided — and therefore weakened — the working-class movement. The case of the jute workers in Calcutta and that of the cotton textile mill workers in Bombay showed that workers' protests, at their embryonic stages could brought forward by groups formed on the basis of religious



communities, but were also likely to take the form of clashes between e.g. Muslim and Hindu workers. Similarly, it was perfectly possible that while clashes were taking place between workers from different religious communities, spontaneous, but nevertheless powerful strikes in protest against wage cuts and excessive working hours were being held in which workers participated without regard for their traditional religious ties.<sup>37</sup> Capitalist competition under colonial conditions — with expropriated peasants or ruined craftsmen fighting for jobs in the city — and financial hardships caused by low wages, price rises, poor working conditions, etc., at first served to encourage, rather than destroy, the separate links that workers had with the ethno-linguistic group, the religious community or the caste that they belonged to. There were outbursts against colonial suppression and capitalist exploitation but also fratricidal riots. We cannot but agree with S. Sarkar when he says that this kind of fluidity, with communal, class and national consciousness penetrating and overlapping each other, has been a significant feature of Indian history throughout the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> The Indian industrial workers' way of life and political movement show in a most striking manner in what way different ways of thinking and acting, which had arisen as a result of different forms of society, existed side by side and acted upon each other. While caste, religion and village life were still influencing the thoughts and actions of people, a modern bourgeois, capitalist society was rising, including all its structural components like town and factory, and its institutions like political parties and trade unions. It took a long time to overcome anachronistic social behaviour and establish new, progressive traditions.

Historians are now trying to shed light on the relations between the rural descent and the forms of protest of India's industrial proletariat. As is commonly known, the Indian industrial worker, unlike his European counterpart, cannot look back on democratic traditions because the country's industry did not develop in the classical way, i.e. via the stages of handicrafts, manufacture and mechanized industry.<sup>39</sup> This is generally considered as an explanation of the fact that India never had a stage in the development of its working-class movement that might have been comparable to the Luddite movement in Britain. Although there are reports that show that workers expressed their anger at their working conditions by throwing weaver's shuttles through factory windows,<sup>40</sup> these were isolated actions, and they were quite different from the kind of machine-breaking that proletarianized craftsmen in Britain resorted to in the early nineteenth century to show their disgust for work at a factory. And it was the one-time craftsmen who later organized the defence of the proletariat in Britain. The skilled workers in Britain often had once been independent craftsmen and had a great sense of dignity. It was this sense of dignity and the craftsmen's democratic forms of organization that they brought into the labour movement, whose leaders they in many cases became. The Indian proletariat, however, had only a tiny percentage of craftsmen in its ranks, and the country's working-class movement lacked the craftsmen's radicalizing influence. On the contrary, factory work brought the economically ruined and socially discriminated and underprivileged villagers of India a certain amount of freedom from traditional hierarchic subordination; and in many cases it offered them the only chance of survival. Hard work and a constant threat to their existence had scarcely left any pride in the members of the lower castes and the untouchables, who formed the majority of factory workers. These workers, therefore for a long time did not possess the ability to organize themselves on a permanent basis or be leaders of their own organizations.

Yet the workers were familiar with the types of protest that India's peasants resorted to. E.g., under the Mughal rule, pitilessly oppressed peasants left their villages, leaving their fields untilled.<sup>41</sup> Similarly non-violent were the actions of Indian workers at the early stages of the development of the working-class movement when they left their places of work, either singly or in groups, as a sign of protest, without, however, formulating their demands or lodging specific complaints.<sup>42</sup>

Non-violence was not, however, the most important feature of workers' protest. On the contrary, workers often did use force in support of their demands. Violence and spontaneity were not only typical of the Indian working-class movement during its early stages, but remained so for the entire colonial period. D. Arnold rightly says that violent outbursts into which strikes or other typical forms of proletarian protest occasionally turned, were, on the

one hand, the result of spontaneous action by workers, which showed hardly any sign of the discipline of proletarian struggle, and, on the other hand, the result of both the stubborn refusal of foreign and indigenous employers to introduce social improvements, and of the attitudes of the colonial government, which met workers' resistance with brutal force, thus doing its very best to provoke violent eruptions.<sup>43</sup>

Without minimizing the importance of traditional forms of protest for the rise of the young working-class movement, we must never forget that the incipient workers' protest had a completely new basis. Facing horrible working and living conditions, which bore the mark of ruthless colonial-capitalist exploitation, the young Indian industrial proletariat got ready to defend itself, showing the first signs of its revolutionary nature. It was inevitable that this should lead to forms of struggle that were very similar to those employed by the working-class movement in Europe.

In India, too, workers began to feel indignant at the treatment they received from the bourgeoisie soon after industry had been established. This indignation passed through several stages. India's industrial workers began to oppose the bourgeoisie as a class when they stopped individual protests and started joint ones. Strikes were at first few and far between, and were geographically rather limited. But later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, they turned into a typical means of class struggle and became more frequent. From that time on, the working-class movement maintained a dialectic relationship with the national liberation movement. Through its actions, the working class mobilized large masses of the people to take part in the liberation struggle, which became militant as a result. The liberation movement, in turn, gave the working-class movement more and more impetus, as it began to turn its attention to the masses, increasingly linking national issues with social ones. As a result of the socio-economic changes taking place during the first world war, and of new national and international political facts (first and foremost those created by the Great October Socialist Revolution in tsarist Russia in 1917), India's workers realized during those years that strikes were their very own means of economic and political struggle. They then began to use it with increasing efficiency to defend their interests as a class.

When they began uniting for joint action, Indian workers were ready and able to get organized for the purpose of achieving short-term or long-term aims. In the beginning, however, workers' organizations frequently came about as strike committees, which rapidly dispersed after they had served their purpose. But since workers came to feel a strong need for setting up permanent organizations of their own, they began to raise their movement to a higher level. When communist forces succeeded to get Marxism-Leninism firmly established in the Indian working-class movement, an important step had been taken towards turning India's proletariat into a *class for itself*. The Communist Party of India has since been trying to become the party of the *masses* of the proletariat.

Since it was retarded in its growth, was suffering social discrimination and had its freedom of action severely curtailed, India's proletariat was incapable of building up and running its organizations on its own. Its organizations were therefore in most cases run by patriotic intellectuals who were ready to work for the settlement of social issues. Primarily motivated by a concern for national issues, these intellectuals as trade union organizers certainly held significantly different political and ideological views, often enough adhering to more or less traditional ways of thinking and acting. Truly revolutionary trade unions began to be built up in the mid-1920's. It was these unions that turned proletarian class instincts into class consciousness. They did, however, face obstacles, which were due to both the unscrupulous suppression of any revolutionary activities by the colonial government and the lack of socio-economic maturity in the working class. This was the reason why all the efforts made to consolidate workers' organizations and put workers into leading posts of these organizations, were crowned with limited success only.

Colonial exploitation and traditional behaviour were the main reasons why in the days before India's national independence the working class was organized only to a relatively small extent, and the trade unions were so unstable that they could play just a limited part. Whenever impressive strike action was taken, the membership of workers' organizations increased rapidly; but as soon as the strikes were over, workers stopped being active members.



Philip Spratt, an eyewitness of the development of the trade union movement in those years, says that especially the illiterate unskilled workers were a "floating population" in the trade unions. To illustrate how difficult it was to ensure a stable membership, he points to the experience gained by Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal and describes the "steady stream of members through the union".<sup>44</sup> Yet despite all this, India's trade unions played a very prominent role in the formation of the working class, a role that was similar to the one that their predecessors in Europe had played in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Karl Marx called them institutions necessary to make the subjects come of age, adding that they did have the power to teach the workers how to walk not depending upon others.<sup>45</sup>

The specific historical conditions under which the working class got started in colonial India, and also the particularities of that working class in those days have been increasingly attracting the attention of historians. In the context of their research, some scholars raise the question of whether the upward-trend thesis that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had put forward and substantiated with regard to the working-class movement in Europe,<sup>46</sup> also applies to the process of working-class formation in Asia and Africa, or the conditions produced by colonial exploitation require a new typology to be evolved so that in a new perspective can be looked at the realities of the process of maturation going on in the working classes of those countries.<sup>47</sup>

To sum up, social progress in India in the form of an advance of the capitalist mode of production, although taking place under colonial conditions, produced forms of proletarian class struggle that were, on the whole, identical with those found in the working-class movements in the metropolitan countries: elementary forms of social protest, the beginning of organized struggle, the combination of economic and political struggle, and the knowledge of what the final aim of the movement should be. Under the conditions of colonial exploitation and dependence, however, elementary forms of class struggle and class consciousness existed side by side with more sophisticated forms for a longer time, and in enormous quantities and, therefore, essentially determined the nature of the working-class movement. First signs of development and consolidation of class consciousness were, under colonial conditions, always in danger of being lost again. Continuing traditional ways of thinking, the continued existence of traditional social institutions, and the constant and increasing influx of a kind of workers into the working class who had not yet gained any experience in class struggle but had intact relations with the countryside prevented class consciousness from both developing in a straightforward manner and becoming an irreversible achievement of the Indian proletariat.

# Notes

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- 4 Marx, K., *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*. In: Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, vol. 42, Berlin 1983, p. 209.
- 5 Sen, S., *The Working Class of India. History of Emergence and Movement 1830–1970*, Calcutta 1977, p. 38.
- 6 Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (RRCLI), London 1931, pp. 14–16.
- 7 RLC, op. cit., p. 77.
- 8 The recruitment of manpower for the Assam tea plantations is described in: Bhowmick, S., *Class Formation in the Plantation System*, New Delhi 1981, pp. 50 ff.
- 9 Guha, A., *Planter-Raj to Swaraj. Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826–1947*, Delhi 1977, p. 18.

- 10 The jobber — variously called *sardar*, *mukadam* and *mistri* in the different regions — usually hired unskilled manpower for factories, railway companies, ports and mines from near, but, in most cases, more distant, places, or — especially after the first world war, when the stream of manpower increased and supply exceeded demand — from right in front of the factory gates. He was not only a manpower recruiter, but also an overseer, a foreman or a machine setter. He also taught new arrivals the few skills they needed to know in order to do their work. He often made additional money by lending sums at extortionate interest rates or by letting accommodation.
- 11 Indian Factory Labour Commission Report (IFLCR), London 1908, p. 20.
- 12 India in 1929–30. Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1929–30 (SEMMPCI). London–Calcutta 1931, p. 171.
- 13 RRCLI, op. cit., p. 12.
- 14 Ibid., p. 2.
- 15 Tjulpanow, S.I., *Politische Ökonomie und ihre Anwendung in den Entwicklungsländern*. Berlin 1975, p. 89.
- 16 Marx, K., *Das Kapital*, vol. 1. In: Op. cit., p. 185.
- 17 "Turning now to the single man's budget, we might begin by explaining that by the term 'single man' is meant not an unmarried man without any dependants, but a married man whose family and dependants are living away from him." India in 1927–28. SEMMPCI during the year 1927–28, London–Calcutta 1929, p. 135.
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Petra Heidrich

# The Indian National Congress and the peasants

## A strained alliance in the struggle for national liberation

The path the Indian National Congress (INC) has gone in the one hundred years since its foundation is marked by many great successes. It was the Indian people's leader in their struggle for national liberation, which it crowned with the victory over the colonial power. Assuming governmental powers for many years, it made a decisive contribution to constructing an independent India whose word is respected in today's world. All the successes it scored resulted from the support it was given by the masses of the working people.

In the beginning, the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885 articulated the vision of the well-to-do urban intellectuals and nationally minded upper classes. Immediately after World War I and against the background of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia it became a mass movement constituting a serious threat to British rule. This fact was primarily a result of M.K. Gandhi's policy of involving the peasantry in the national movement.

The following paper will look into the relationship between the bourgeois national and the peasant movements, which was not free from tensions. However, it was the mutual influence the two movements exerted on each other that imparted the national liberation movement with the strength it needed to emerge victorious from the struggle against the colonial power.

On the one hand, the National Congress's turn toward the masses of the peasants had far-reaching effects on the character of the peasant movement: Bourgeois nationalists came to deal with the situation in the countryside. They took up concerns voiced by certain strata of the peasantry and urged the colonial government to fulfil them. In this way, they helped arouse a social awareness among all peasants, with national democrats preparing peasants for founding their own organization and becoming more willing to accept socialist ideas. Various forces with a socialist outlook and the young communist movement in India had made major contributions since the early 1930s toward organizing the peasants on a class basis.

On the other hand, the organized peasantry gave a major impetus to the struggle for national independence. Under the pressure exerted by the peasants, the INC was forced to modify its socio-economic programme. As the bourgeois national movement got in touch with the peasantry, it became democratic in character. At the same time, an antifeudal thrust was added to the anticolonial struggle giving it a new social dimension.

### *Peasants and the nationalist movement*

There have been peasant movements throughout the entire history of colonial rule, although they were usually local movements spontaneously set up and lacking a proper degree of organization. Up until the mid-19th century, the peasants in India used to seek solace in the past or joined movements against the foreign rule which were led by the traditional upper classes. After the failure of the big uprising of 1857 the situation changed. As the control of India passed to the British Crown, the colonial power had firmly established itself and its authority was unrivalled. In the second half of the 19th century, sporadic uprisings by peasants were directed not only against the foreign domination proper but against its socio-economic consequences. As an example, tribal uprisings were directed against an advancing disintegration of the tribal system as a result of external influences.<sup>1</sup> Riots occurred in various parts of India, with people protesting against the despotism by domestic landlords who were installed by the British colonial rulers. Relatively well-to-do peasants offered resistance to the tenancy conditions imposed on them by foreign or indigenous landowners. As usury flourished in the wake of expanded commodity-money relations the peasants, in a blind rage, turned against the local money lenders who misappropriated the land of the debtors. Reacting to these uprisings, the colonial government combined harsh repressive steps with minor legislative concessions, thus pursuing the policy of divide and rule and ultimately gaining the upper hand.



In the first few decades of the 20th century, a national awareness gradually got hold of the entire Indian society. The peasants, too, became active, as the burdens of World War I pressed particularly heavy on their shoulders. The decline in the price for farm produce filled them even with more bitterness. Soldiers returning to their villages after the end of the war imparted their experience to the villagers, questioning the supremacy of the white man and the eternity of the given system. Rumours kept pouring in regarding revolutionary changes in far-away Russia. When M.K. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress called upon people not to co-operate with the government, they found a sympathetic echo among the peasants. As the INC expressed its solidarity with the Pan-Islamic Caliphate Movement, the Moslem peasants also became involved in the advancing national movement.

The fact that the INC changed its character and approach in that situation turned out to be of importance in later years. In December 1920, it became an operational leadership body of the national movement at its annual conference in Nagpur. For the first time, it declared self-government (*swaraj*) instead of self-administration within the Empire its objective. At the same time, it adopted Gandhi's method of passive resistance to colonial rule. An electrifying effect on the already mobilized peasantry was exerted by the news that the INC would adopt the non-payment of land revenue as the utmost measure of non-co-operation — a measure that would hit the colonial power hard.<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi's role was essential regarding the link-up of national and peasant movements. He was a leader with a legendary impact on the masses. His social philosophy which rejected both British rule in India and all modern civilization was attractive, at least for some time, to the ruined craftsmen and peasants and certain urban strata. His personal style bridged the gap between the educated upper classes and the masses of the people. In addition, the methods conceived by Gandhi for the struggle offered bourgeois circles favourable conditions to press for fulfilment of their demands by the colonial power without endangering their own social position. In other words, the masses became involved in the national movement as a powerful force, but at the same time some measure of control was exerted by obliging them to abide by the principles of non-violence. Social conflicts arising within the rural society — either between the peasants' class interests and those of the feudal landlords or among the peasantry themselves — were forced to the background.

Gandhi's co-operation with the peasants was quite effective in Champaran, Bihar, in 1917 and in Kheda, Gujarat, in 1918. In both cases, peasants' local issues were at stake which were the result of either a direct confrontation with the colonial power or conflicts with its representatives. The movement in Champaran was directed against the British settlers' order to grow indigo and against an enormous increase in rents against freedom from liability to grow indigo. In Kheda, peasants campaigned against higher land revenue imposed by the colonial government. In the years that followed, however, the national leadership abstained from taking up tenant farmer's problems because this would have inevitably resulted in conflicts with indigenous landlords in the zamindari regions and with the rural upper classes in the rayatwari regions.

It was mainly the aspiring rural strata who were the main allies of the bourgeois nationalists. Being producers of commodities, they were remorselessly exposed to the price fluctuations on the world capitalist market. Periodic increases in the land revenue in the rayatwari regions, of the water rates in the Punjab and insufficient tenancy legislation in other areas fomented the peasants' dissatisfaction with the colonial power. As these strata belonged to numerically strong and locally dominating peasant castes, the caste ties constituted the unity-fostering and mobilizing element.<sup>3</sup> At times when the imposition of higher taxes coincided with a tense economic situation brought about by unfavourable price trends or adverse weather conditions, only a minor incident was needed to spark off the peasants' protest. While such uprisings had up to that time been of a local nature and never posed a serious threat to the colonial system, such protests assumed a new dimension as a result of the peasants' contacts with bourgeois nationalists. Their contacts with influential urban circles and the support they were given by the national press and the Indian public was a strong backing for them and reduced the danger of their movement collapsing. The national leaders, in turn, by advocating a number of the peasants' demands, provided their movement with a wider social footing.

Direct contacts between peasants', Congress and caliphate leaders were for the first time established when the Indian National Congress and the caliphate leaders initiated the Non-Co-operation Movement in 1921/22. Peasants turned to Congress activists for help during the latter's tours of the country to proclaim the idea of non-co-operation. The young Congress activists learned of the miserable working and living conditions of the rural population and were confronted with their conflicts for which they could offer no solution.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes their mere presence boosted the peasants' morale, with useful contacts established on many of these occasions. At the same time, the pressure exerted by the masses of the people urged the national leaders of the Congress and Caliphate Movements to adopt a principled stance vis-à-vis the colonial power.

After World War I, peasant movements developed in an atmosphere where the economic and social unrest in the country combined with a general anti-British sentiment. Despite the contacts established, the peasant movement existed mostly parallel to the INC-led political movement, and they were very different in character.<sup>5</sup> In the Punjab in 1921, the Babbar Akali Group initiated a no-tax campaign and called on the peasants to the peasants to wage a struggle against money lenders. In the feudal princely states of Rajputana, the tribal and peasants' antifeudal protests against increased taxes and forced labour reaches new climaxes in 1920–22. In Bihar in 1919/20, Swami Vidyanaid led the peasants of the large estates of the Prince of Darbhanga in their struggle against unfair taxes and the curtailment of their traditional rights to the land, meadows and woods. In Southern India, in the delta region of Andhra, a powerful no-tax movement developed in 1921/22 with the backing of the Congress leaders, and on the Malabar Coast, under the influence of Congress and caliphate agitation, the dissatisfaction accumulated by the Moslem peasants, the moplah, forced its violent way. A tenants movement led by Baba Ram Chandra emerged in the United Provinces (U.P.), a centre of the non-co-operation movement, in 1920.<sup>6</sup> At first, it opposed feudal taxes and forced labour, later on, it also turned against the eviction of tenants. Close contacts were established with Congress leaders.

The sunset of the non-co-operation movement, the adoption of the Audh Rent Act in 1921, and the arrest of local leaders put an end to the Kisan Sabha Movement in the U.P. In the meantime, however, in late 1920, early 1921, the Eka (Unity) Movement emerged under the leadership of Madari Pasi in northwestern Audh. Most of those who joined the movement were poor tenants of small allotments.

Congress leaders were concerned at the peasant unrest in the United Provinces because it threatened to destroy the class harmony they envisaged. On May 18, 1921, Gandhi said in an article published by the *Young India* magazine: "Whilst we will not hesitate to advise the kisans when the moment comes to suspend payment of taxes to the Government, it is not contemplated that at any stage of non-co-operation we would seek to deprive the zemindars of their rent."<sup>7</sup> Although the peasants in various parts of the country had already taken action in the wake of rumours of the upcoming refusal to pay taxes, Gandhi chose only the Bardoli Taluk in Surat District, Gujarat, for the refusal to pay taxes, which had been planned to take place from February 22, 1922, onward.

However, before the Bardoli peasants could provide proof of their discipline during a controlled no-tax campaign, Gandhi called off the entire non-co-operation movement on February 11, 1922. His motive: An embittered crowd had stormed a police station and killed a number of policemen in Chauri Chaura. The rise of the national movement which provoked a revolutionary situation across the country came to a sudden end.

In the period that followed, the close ties of the bourgeois nationalist and peasant movements remained an essential characteristics of the struggle for the independence of India. They fostered joint actions by all those classes and strata interested in a liberation from colonial oppression and exploitation, thus creating decisive preconditions for their eventual victory. These close ties made the peasants aware of the principle of national unity beyond regional and local peculiarities and beyond religious and caste barriers. They aroused the peasants' concern for national matters. Through the national movement, the peasants learned to see the relationship between their own economic situation and the colonial exploitation they were exposed to. They developed an anticolonial awareness. In the name of national unity,



the INC leadership applied the principle of integration also to all those problems of the Indian society that resulted from its marked subdivision into classes and strata who pursued, in part, antagonistically opposed interests. Class contradictions were regarded as endangering national unity so that harmony seemed desirable.

The bourgeois nationalists' influence on the peasants had two facets. On the one hand, it contributed to generating a certain degree of cohesion and class consciousness among the various groups of peasants so that they, together with the national forces, became involved in the anti-imperialist struggle and, objectively, were put into the position to start the struggle against the feudal system of exploitation. The peasants were given new opportunities to formulate their own concerns and endorse them in an organized and efficient way.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the leadership of the national movement tried to curb the peasants' vigour in their anti-colonial struggle. Trying to suppress a movement against feudal landlords, the leadership retarded the development of the peasants' antifeudal awareness.

#### 1920s:

##### *Political forces reorganize*

Gandhi's prediction made in 1920 that India would be self-governed (*swaraj*) within one year did not materialize. This failure resulted in a temporary disintegration of the national movement. The religious controversy sharpened. At the same time, however, the 1920s saw the heterogeneous social and political forces involved in the national movement which consolidated and reorganized below the surface.

Gandhi's followers consolidated their influence in the Indian village through "constructive work" which included relief operations after disasters, educational work, propagation of hand spinning and the home industry, social work among the lowest of the caste groups. This helped the INC win support by large groups of the low castes, by the untouchables and others.

There were other political and social groupings that also won influence among the villagers. In places where the INC was not willing to accept peasants' antifeudal demands, movements developed on a religious and caste basis. So, in the Punjab, the Punjab National Unionist Party<sup>9</sup> which was founded in 1923 to protect the interests of the landlords and rich peasants (Moslems, Sikhs and Hindus) won the hearts of the peasants with its call on the Jat caste to display cohesion and with its other popular slogans, whereas in Bengal the Moslem peasants joined the 1929-founded Prja Party.

Social problems pushed aside by nationalist movement leaders came to the fore in the Backward Classes Movement which sought to improve the social position of entire caste groups through political means, finding some sort of support by the colonial government in its pursuit of a policy of divide and rule. The movement was set up in the first quarter of this century, spreading from Madras all over southern India.<sup>10</sup> It was primarily the numerically strong peasant castes who gave the movement its characteristic features. Like the Non-Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra, it levelled at the Brahmins' predominance in India's social life. Also at caste level, but with a more radical socio-economic dimension, a movement of the untouchables developed which was led by their small educated upper class and was directed against social discrimination in Indian society. Pointing to the example of Kerala, E.M.S. Namboodiripad said that, although small in number, "it was the organizations of the oppressed and untouchable castes that, for the first time ... started mobilizing the overwhelming majority of the peasantry against the prevailing social order ... The formation of the caste organizations of these people ... laid the basis for the rising peasant movement".<sup>11</sup>

Another development emerged in the 1920s: A left wing formed within the Indian movement for national liberation.

The first few communist groups set up in various parts of the country united to form the Communist Party of India in Kanpur in 1925. Ruthlessly oppressed and persecuted by the British colonial power, they shifted, toward the second half of the 1920s, their main practical activities into legal political mass organizations at regional level. Between 1926 and 1928, workers' and peasants' parties were set up in Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the U.P. These workers' and peasants' parties had only little influence in the country. The Bombay

Party restricted its activities almost entirely to the labour union movement, whereas the Kirtin Kisan Party in the Punjab and, to an even greater extent, the Bengal Party established contacts with the peasants. In December 1928, the regional parties united to form the All-India Workers and Peasants Party at its First Conference in Calcutta. However, this party was only a short episode, because at its Second Conference in Lahore in October 1929 it decided to end all its activities in view of the new political conditions that arose.

Some of the programmatic documents, however, assumed major importance. Even the first Manifesto of a Labour & Kisan Party of Hindustan — published by Singaravelu in Madras in 1923 — contained general democratic demands such as universal suffrage and, in addition, an antifeudal programme aimed at an "eventual abolition of permanent settlement" in zamindari areas.<sup>12</sup> The First All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference held in December 1928 passed a resolution demanding, on behalf of the peasants, an immediate abolition of permanent settlement, and as an ultimate demand, the abolition of landlordism in any form whatsoever without compensation and the establishment of peasant proprietorship in land.<sup>13</sup> This was not only an attack on the feudal forms of exploitation but, for the first time, a strong indicator of the need to do away with the overall semifeudal exploitation system in the countryside.

Socialist ideas which were relatively widespread among young Indian intellectuals in the 1920s, had an impact also on the younger generation of the INC national leaders, among them J. Nehru and S.C. Bose. In the late 1920s, they called for total independence and, what is more, considered it essential, in the words chosen by the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee under the influence of Nehru in April 1928, "to make revolutionary changes in the present social and economic structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities".<sup>14</sup>

##### *Peasants and Civil Disobedience*

In the early 1930s, the Indian national liberation movement experienced a new upswing which temporarily even suppressed the contradictions that were gaining ever sharper contours in Indian society. Again, all strata of the Indian people rallied around the INC, total independence being the objective this time.

The peasants constituted the social core of the civil disobedience movement in the years 1930/31 and 1932/34, as they were hit hardest by the consequences of the world economic crisis which in 1930 led to a decline in the prices of agricultural produce disastrous to the commercially oriented, surplus producing rural stratum. Confronted with payment difficulties, they rebelled against the tax and rent payments, against cut-throat interest and taxes. In doing so, they provided the INC with a strong backing in its political conflict with the colonial government.

In the meantime, the INC strengthened its backing especially by the peasants in the rayatwari areas, in organizational terms. Thanks to the untiring "constructive work" by the Gandhists among village dwellers, the INC, as compared to the days of non-co-operation, was in a much better position to channel the peasants' dissatisfaction into the desired direction. As a result, the peasant movement attained a previously unknown regional dimension together with a simultaneous loss of its radical character.

As an example of the successful work by Gandhi's followers among the peasantry, the Bardoli satyagraha of 1928 met with nation-wide attention. It was only due to the non-violent no-revenue campaign launched by the Patidar peasants led by Vallabhbhai Patel that the Bombay Provincial Government was forced to abstain from raising taxes which had been planned for 1927 despite a steady downtrend in prices for agricultural produce. The Bardoli satyagraha was successful because the rural strata were united in action.

Just as in Gujarat the INC had established a firm social basis among the broad strata of rich and middle peasants in Coastal Andhra, a rayatwari area, in the second half of the 1920s. In view of the increase in land revenue rates announced for the Kistna Godavari area and the successful outcome in Bardoli some of the Congress leaders urged non-payment of revenue in Coastal Andhra, too.<sup>15</sup> Gandhi, however, hesitated, because in zamindari or talukdari regions such as the United Provinces tenants called for a refusal to pay rent to the indigenous landowners. Instead, Gandhi organized a mass movement in March 1930 against the government's monopoly in salt. It was only after Gandhi's arrest in May 1930 that the INC Working Com-



mittee, yielding to the pressure by the masses, permitted a non-payment-of-revenue campaign to be started in the Rayatwari areas. In the zamindari areas it limited the peasants' action to a no-chowkidari campaign, while planning a violation of the forest laws in the central Provinces.<sup>16</sup>

Large-scale non-payment of revenue campaigns were, in accordance with those INC recommendations, held in Gujarat and Andhra. In Bihar where the INC was firmly rooted among the numerous small landowners and well-to-do tenants a powerful no-chowkidari-tax campaign developed, while the Provincial INC Committee failed to allow a no-rent campaign to be held, although the prices were on a steady decrease and tenants unable to pay their taxes. It was only in the United Provinces that in October 1930 the local Congress leadership issued a call for a no-tax movement, advising zamindars to stop paying revenue and peasants to withhold rents.

However, the INC found it not as easy as that to direct the peasants' grown dissatisfaction into the desired directions. More recent scientific analyses have arrived at the conclusion that the peasants' activities during the upswing in the national movement passed two stages. In the beginning, the well-to-do peasants refused, within the framework set by the INC, to pay increased revenue, rents and feudal taxes. After the arrest of the most distinguished local Congress leaders, the peasant movement usually became more militant. Unknown local leaders made more radical demands, with lower-stratum peasants attacking representatives of the colonial power or indigenous exploiters.<sup>17</sup> A second wave of militancy seized the country toward the late 1930s when tribal revolts and sporadic fighting was reporting from many parts of India.

The sudden discontinuation of the non-payment-of-revenue campaign following the Gandhi Irwin Pact of March 1931 came as a real surprise to the peasants in India's various regions and prevented them from having their economic demands implemented. Therefore, they participated in the second civil disobedience campaign of 1932/34 in much fewer numbers than in 1930.

Two new trends of major importance to the future peasant movement emerged in the period 1930–1934 when the national movement gained fresh impetus. The well-to-do and middle peasants and tenants in the rayatwari areas increasingly lost interest in direct and risky protest actions.<sup>18</sup> Instead, they became reliable prospective voters for the INC or took an active part in the INC policy. In contrast, those middle strata of the peasantry, primarily the tenants in the zamindari regions, who were exposed to dual exploitation — colonial and feudal — advanced their antifeudal and democratic demands more energetically. Therefore, in the United Provinces, where most such demands were put forward, the Provincial Congress leadership under J. Nehru underscored the need to include democratic aspects in the INC Programme on a national level.

The Karachi Congress of 1931 made the first few steps into that direction. It declared that swaraj or "political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions". To the peasants it promised a "substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue".<sup>19</sup> At its 1931 meeting in Bombay, the All-India Congress Committee went even further by promising that "the system of land tenure and revenue and rent shall be reformed" and that "the relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury" will be effected.<sup>20</sup> However, the INC still proved unable to include truly antifeudal objectives such as the abolition of big landlordism and a redistribution of land. As a result, it provided no framework within which the peasants would have been in a position to organize themselves for their antifeudal struggle. They turned to other, socialist-minded forces who stood up for their demands.

#### *The emergence of a democratic peasant movement*

The outlines of a democratic peasant movement emerged as early as in the late 1920s, although they were thrust into the background owing to the national movement's revitalization in 1930/31, the peasants' mass participation in civil disobedience and the oppressive measures taken by the colonial government. This situation did not last for long. Now as the national movement declined a strong democratic peasant movement emerged.

N.G. Ranga tried to organize the peasants on a class basis in Andhra where the rayatwari system dominated. The South Indian Federation of Peasants' and Workers' Associations which was founded on April 28, 1935, with N.G. Ranga as its Secretary General, in addition to looking after day-to-day matters, demanded outright antifeudal steps such as an "ultimate abolition of zamindars and all other intermediary institutions between the peasants and the Government".<sup>21</sup>

The strongest and most active peasant organization of the 1930s was set up in Bihar. It was the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) led by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati (1889–1950).<sup>22</sup> His ashram (retreat) which was created for the study of Sanskrit in Bihta near Patna had developed into the centre of Congress activities in that region since 1927, becoming, on top of that, a centre of the struggle for the liberation of peasants from feudal oppression and colonial exploitation.

Within the INC, those favouring socialist ideas founded the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934. The Congress socialists were, however, too weak to wield a decisive influence on the policy pursued by the INC, but helped the peasant movement gain new strength. In this way they exercised a considerable indirect pressure on the Congress leaders.

It was N.G. Ranga who took the initiative to found an all-India peasant organization. The Congress socialists adopted this idea. On April 11, 1936, at the time the annual meeting of the INC was held, the first All India Peasant Congress took place, with delegates from India's most important provinces in attendance. It adopted a resolution calling for the foundation of the All India Kisan Congress (which later on was called All India Kisan Sabha — AIKS). The All India Kisan Manifesto which was declared the peasant organization's principal document at the first meeting of the All India Kisan Committee on August 21, 1936 contained the movement's principles and short and long-term objectives.<sup>23</sup> It called on the peasant movement, "through its active participation in the national struggle for winning complete independence", to achieve the "ultimate economic and political power for the producing masses". The miserable situation of the peasantry was attributed mainly to the "land tenure and revenue and credit system" introduced by British imperialism. It would have to be abolished before any other constructive measures for an improvement of the peasants' situation could be tackled. The Kisan Sabha declared itself to represent "not only the ryots, the tenants and the landless labourers but in some places the petty Zamindars". In other words, it represented all those "who live by the cultivation of the soil". All those different strata of the kisans were to unite and fight for the removal of all "fetters imposed by British imperialism and its allies, the landlords".<sup>24</sup>

The radical and antifeudal agrarian programme of the AIKS was a clear challenge for the INC. At its meeting in Lakhnau in April 1936, it adopted a brief agrarian programme citing the "appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry" as being "due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems". In rather vague terms, it spoke of the necessity of thorough change after independence has been won.<sup>25</sup> A more detailed agrarian programme which became part of its platform was confirmed by the December-1936 INC meeting in Faizpur. Some of the minimum demands contained in the AIKS Manifesto were also included in the INC programme, but in much less sharp terms. The abolition of big landlordism was not included.<sup>26</sup> These facts notwithstanding, the INC was wholeheartedly supported by the peasants and their organization, the AIKS, in the elections for the legislative assemblies of the provinces in 1937.

The anti-imperialist movement was given a fresh impetus when the INC assumed governmental responsibility in the provinces in 1937. The organized peasant movement made considerable headway. Its strength was shown to the public at its Second All India Congress held at the time of the 1936 INC meeting in Faizpur, with some 40,000 of the peasants in attendance coming from very faraway villages.<sup>27</sup> In 1938, it numbered more than half a million members.<sup>28</sup>

Its demands were emphatically voiced during the rallies, meetings, demonstrations and large-scale marches it held. Fighting in their local regions, tenants defended their rights to the soil they cultivated, peasants opposed increases in water rates, land revenue, rents and feudal taxes.



Under the massive pressure exerted by the peasant movement, the INC was forced to begin passing agrarian legislation in the provinces governed by it, but overall, its policy which was based on many compromises with the feudal landlords especially in the zamindari areas such as Bihar failed to come up to the promises contained in its election platform and agrarian programme adopted in Faizpur in 1936. This came as a disappointment to the peasants who had come to play a more active role, and their leaders. As a response, the Kisan Sabha became more radical, and, at a meeting in February 1938, the All India Kisan Committee adopted a resolution calling for the "abolition of feudalism". The resolution read, in part, that "no reforms in tenancy laws could substantially alleviate the woes and oppression of the kisans so long as they remain the virtual serfs and slaves of the landed aristocracy and so long as vast areas of land remain vested in non-cultivating landlords". The Committee therefore called upon all Kisan Sabhas "to concentrate their best attentions on the abolition of all feudal systems as the immediate issue and launch forthwith a vigorous campaign for abolishing all systems of landlordism root and branch without paying any compensation".<sup>29</sup> The peasant movement which renamed itself into All India Kisan Sabha at that time confirmed that resolution at its annual meeting in Comilla, Bengal, in May 1938.<sup>30</sup> The changed political situation following the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the class contradictions and internal tension which arose during the time the Congress ran a number of ministries in the provinces and an increasing alienation of the INC from the masses of the people were used as reasons by the Congress leadership to walk out of the provincial ministries in October 1939. In 1945, the INC Working Committee put the "reform of the land system" in more concrete terms in its election platform: "removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State".<sup>31</sup>

The mobilization of the peasants in the framework of the national liberation movement resulted in a democratization of the national political umbrella organization. As the conflict arose with the representatives of the old semifeudal and colonial-power-backed social systems the bourgeois-democratic dimension of the anticolonial struggle came to the fore. This notwithstanding, the national leaders channelled the peasants' dissatisfaction into directions which were in line with their own class interests. They succeeded in using the revolutionary potential of the peasantry to the benefit of the anticolonial struggle and to curtail it at the same time. It was not until the anti-imperialist united front of left-wing and democratic forces reached its climax in the period 1935 to 1939 that an organized peasant movement emerged within the framework of the national liberation movement. That peasant movement put forward a thoroughly antifeudal alternative agrarian programme. As a result, the INC was forced to prepare its own antifeudal agrarian programme.

#### Notes

- 1 Cf. Sunil Sen, *Peasant Movements in India. Mid-nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, Calcutta 1982, pp. 2 ff.
- 2 Cf. Indian National Congress (Thirty-Fifth Session), Nagpur, December 26–31, 1920. Resolutions adopted by the Congress. In: Zaidi, A.M. (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress, Volume Seven: 1916–1920*, New Delhi 1979, p. 659.
- 3 Cf. Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat, Kheda District 1917–1934*, Delhi 1981, pp. 247, 250 ff.
- 4 J. Nehru, one of the young Congressmen touring the villages described the situation as follows: "A host of Congress workers in each district went about the rural areas with the new message to which they often added, rather vaguely, a removal of kisan grievances. Swaraj was an all-embracing word to cover everything. Yet the two movements – non-cooperation and the agrarian – were quite separate, though they overlapped and influenced each other greatly in our province." Nehru, J., *An Autobiography*, Bombay 1962 (repr.), pp. 58/59.
- 5 Cf. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885–1947*, Delhi 1983, pp. 200 ff., 211, 215.
- 6 Cf. also Siddiqi, M.H., *Agrarian Unrest in North India, The United Provinces (1918–1922)*, New Delhi 1978

- 7 Gandhi, M.K., Notes, *The Zemindary and the Ryots*, Young India, 18/5/1921. In: Mahatma Gandhi, *The Collected Works*, vol. 20, Ahmedabad 1966, p. 106.
- 8 Bipan Chandra, *Peasantry and National Integration in Contemporary India*. In: Panikhar, K.N. (ed.), *National and Left Movements in India*, New Delhi 1980, p. 125.
- 9 Cf. Josh, B.H., *Communist Movement in Punjab (1926–1947)*, Delhi 1979, pp. 35/36.
- 10 Cf. Sivakumar, Ch., *Higher Education, Social Stratification and Social Change in Mysore in the 1960s*. In: Srinivas, M.N., S. Seshiah, V.S. Parthasarathy (ed.), *Dimensions of Social Change in India, Bombay 1977*, pp. 190, 196.
- 11 Namboodiripad, E.M.S., *Kerala, Society and Politics, An Historical Survey*, New Delhi 1984 (revised edition), p. 95.
- 12 Manifesto to Hindustan Labourers and Kisans for Organising a Political Party of their Own. In: Adhikari, G. (ed.), *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, vol. II; 1923–1925, New Delhi 1974 (revised edition), p. 121.
- 13 First All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference Report. In: Adhikari, G. (ed.), *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, vol. III C: 1928, New Delhi 1982, pp. 749/750.
- 14 Nehru, J., *Recent Essays and Writings*, Allahabad 1937, p. 33. Quoted according to L.P. Sinha, *The Left Wing in India (1919–1947)*, Muzaffarpur 1965, p. 285.
- 15 Cf. Stoddart, B., *The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra, 1925–1937*. In: Low, D.A. (ed.), *Congress and the Raj. Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917–1947*, New Delhi 1977, pp. 113, 116.
- 16 See The All India Congress Committee, *Proceedings of the Working Committee*, Allahabad – 12th to 15th May 1930. In: *The Indian Annual Register*, July–Dec. 1930, vol. II, Calcutta (no date), p. 436.
- 17 Cf. Hardiman, D., *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarati Kheda District 1917–1934*, op. cit., pp. 254/255; Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India*, op. cit., p. 291.
- 18 Cf. Hardiman, D., *The Crisis of the Lesser Patidars: Peasant Agitation in Kheda District, Gujarat, 1917–1934*. In: Low, D.A. (ed.), *Congress and the Raj*, op. cit., pp. 69/70; Stoddart, B., *The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra, 1925–1937*, op. cit., p. 111.
- 19 Indian National Congress, *Resolutions on Economic Policy Programme and Allied Matters (1924–1969)*, New Delhi 1969, pp. 3, 5.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 8/9.
- 21 Ranga, N.G., *The Indian Peasant*, no place 1936, pp. 66, 68.
- 22 Cf. Hauser, W., *The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1929–1942. A Study of an Indian Peasant Movement*, Chicago 1961 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- 23 Cf. Ranga, N.G., S. Saraswati, *History of Kisan Movement*, Madras 1939, pp. 58 ff.
- 24 Cf. The All India Kisan Manifesto, as adopted by the All-India Kisan Committee on 21st Aug. 1936. In: *The Indian Annual Register*, July–Dec. 1936, vol. II, Calcutta n.d., p. 293 ff.
- 25 Indian National Congress, *Resolutions on Economic Policy Programme and Allied Matters (1924–1969)*, op. cit., p. 10.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 12 ff.
- 27 Ranga, N.G., S. Saraswati, *History of Kisan Movement*, op. cit., p. 64.
- 28 Ibid., p. 84.
- 29 Ranga, N.G., *Kisan Hand Book*, n.p. 1938, p. 59.
- 30 Ibid., p. 68.
- 31 Indian National Congress, *Resolutions on Economic Policy Programme and Allied Matters (1924–1969)*, op. cit., pp. 15/16.



## Industrial Bourgeoisie and National Liberation Movement

## The Strategy of the Indian Capitalist Class between the Wars

In October 1915 the British Viceroy in India submitted a Confidential Memorandum to the Government in London "Upon questions likely to arise in India at the end of the war". In his assessment the supreme representative of the colonial authorities stressed that "the war has had the effect of giving direct encouragement to political development in India, and the conclusion of peace must find us prepared to consider new problems of Indian administration". The educated classes, the Memorandum says, have been filled "with the expectation of political concessions after the war, which will result in a complete readjustment of the relations between India and England".<sup>1</sup> A well-considered political concession "that involves nothing affecting in any way the stability of our rule" could serve to weld yet another link "in the golden chain binding India to Great Britain and the British Empire". Were the faith of the people of India to be shaken, and their legitimate aspirations and ambitions denied, "the consequences might be far-reaching and disastrous".<sup>2</sup>

The wave of national awakening which swept across almost the whole of Asia at the beginning of the 20th century threatened to undermine British colonial domination. British rule over the subcontinent could no longer rely on its earlier social pillars, i.e., the colonial-feudal aristocracy and the landlords who had been its main supporters throughout the second half of 19th century, ever since changes were brought about in the governmental system as a consequence of the 1857-1859 people's uprising. The internal social pillars of alien rule revealed their weakness once the anticolonial stream began to swell and when it began to draw support from additional sections of the population, apart from a comparatively small intermediate stratum not integrated into the colonial system. The anticolonial movement not simply grew in size; it developed a more radical and determined outlook and reached a higher stage altogether. The anticolonial stream transformed itself into a nationwide bourgeois-democratic movement or — as Lenin also termed it — into a modern national movement. That movement set before itself the task to achieve overall national advance along the lines of world progress and through national self-determination. No longer was it satisfied with reforms within the framework of imperial connections. Finally, in the post-World War I and the post-October Revolution period, the issue of complete independence from imperialist rule emerged as the focal point.

As soon as the new type of national movement began to take shape, any attempt at continuing the colonial domination over the subcontinent was bound to fail, unless support could be secured from all the really influential social forces of the land. The chances for continuing the colonial rule appeared to be even more remote, if the alien rulers were pitted against the aspirations of major and socially active forces. Facing a complex and somewhat critical perspective, the ruling circles in England decided in favour of colonial reforms which became effective from 1919. The changes introduced would enable the "natives", the citizens of the land, to occupy seats in legislative bodies and to exercise a limited right to co-determination which, again, was confined to some areas of internal administration — without, of course, in any way affecting the stability of British rule. The constitutional reforms were meant to create preconditions for winning new "allies" by integrating additional social strata into the colonial system of governance. The new facilities thus provided were exclusively intended to be made use of by members of the Indian propertied classes. In the given situation, the most important among the sections of the Indian population who had recently emerged to active life was the indigenous bourgeois class. It was that class which had tremendously grown economically and advanced as a class during the war.

The Indian capitalists had, at that time, already made their specific interests felt and had, for that purpose, established institutions of their own. An Indian Industrial Conference was in existence since 1905, and an Indian Commercial Congress came into being in 1915. They were amalgamated into a new organization in 1920 called the Indian Industrial and Commercial Con-

gress. The amalgamation was brought about as a result of the recommendation of a Committee appointed by the Industrial Conference to consider the reorganization of the Conference "and the improvement of its driving capacity".<sup>3</sup> Indian capitalists realized the chance offered by the constitutional reforms of the colonial power to project their own interests before the authorities more effectively and they accepted the possibility of co-operation within the framework of the newly-created bodies. However, the affairs did not move as anticipated.

The reasons for this are not merely to be found in the policy which the colonial power pursued. Likewise it would be futile to point only to the interests of British monopoly capital which determined the course of the colonial policy. Another significant factor was the ongoing process of transformation of the Indian capitalist class from within which brought about structural changes. Among the different components of the indigenous bourgeois class the industrial-entrepreneurial element grew in weight and in strength, gradually pushing other elements into the background. The class did not only expand but intensified, in the process, its linkage with modern industrial production. As a consequence, the class lost many of its comprador features and rapidly assumed a more definite profile of a national bourgeoisie. Henceforth the urge for development and advance of the country along the pattern of capitalist industrial progress became the dominating aspect of all strategic considerations regarding the long-range perspective.

Before long differences between the interests of the local Indian and the imperialist bourgeoisie began to surface. The root-cause of the conflict was the competition for the largest possible share in the surplus-product available in the country. The immediate reason for clashes can be traced to the strive of the indigenous capitalist class to get unlimited access to the material and human resources of the country and to secure for itself favourable conditions to increase, invest and utilize its capital in a profitable manner. The representatives of the Indian capitalist class desired to get rid of any discrimination of the local capital on economic or political grounds. They wished to expand the home market and they wanted to achieve a status of equality for themselves on the international market. But when the first steps were taken in that direction, the Indian capitalists began already to face stiff resistance. An early occasion was the issue of protective tariffs. The Indian members of the Indian Fiscal Commission (excepting one) disagreed with the Report prepared by the British members in 1922 and issued a Minute of Dissent. They strongly resisted the suggestion made in the Report that "India for many years to come is likely to concentrate on the simpler forms of manufactured goods ... in which the United Kingdom has the smallest interest". They insisted on a policy which would enable India to intensify the process of industrialization as the path towards progress. "If in the process of her attaining her full stature, there is any risk to the immediate interests of the British manufacturers, that risk must be faced."<sup>4</sup>

At that point of time, the interests of British capital in India had already their own "strong organization", as G.D. Birla mentioned in 1923 in a letter addressed to Purushothamdas Thakurdas. The activities of the organization "will be very detrimental to Indian interests if steps are not taken immediately to organize a similar institution for the Indians".<sup>5</sup> This led to the decision to establish a separate all-India institution of the Indian commercial and industrial interests. The decision to have such an institution received considerable impetus from the practical experience obtained and which demonstrated that the colonial authorities were inclined to listen to and render favours only to the representatives of British capital.

At last, in early 1927, the institution was born which two years afterwards adopted the name that is still in use today: the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). The Federation was entrusted with the task to represent and to project the "Indian" interests, that is, first of all, the common aspirations and objectives of indigenous capital vis-à-vis the authorities and the colonial government. The establishment of the organization and more so the tasks allotted to it reflect a demarcation of the specific interests of national capital. One intention of its founders was to influence government decisions concerning economic matters. It was hoped that with the help of the institution some of the obstacles could be removed which stood in the way to progress along the path highlighted by the advanced capitalist countries. Among the hindrances to progress which were singled out was the "dependent position of the political and economic life in India". An appeal was addressed



to "the Indian commercial and industrial organizations to stand shoulder to shoulder to fight against policies for exploiting this country and for retarding the development of its trade and industries".<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the fact that the differences in relation to British capital and to the colonial government were felt and also expressed, the Indian bourgeoisie, at that juncture, did not at all contemplate to stop co-operating with the authorities and adopt methods which, for some time already, were used by the national political movement under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi. Indian capitalists had no intention to allow an open confrontation to take place and even less to work for a break in the relations with the British capital. It was taken for granted, at least implicitly, that basically the class interests of Indian and British capital would coincide. The Presidential Address to the second annual meeting of FICCI in 1928, delivered by P. Thakurdas, reflects that view. Thakurdas spoke about his vision of a day "when the distinction between Indian and British in the commerce and industry in the country will disappear, and both British and Indian industrialists and businessmen will work harmoniously together in promoting the economic well-being of the country". He, however, attached this hope to a situation when India would be a self-governing country, and he added another precondition: The Britishers "should recognize ... that Indians have the same right to a predominant share in the commerce and industry of their country as other nationals have in their country ...".<sup>7</sup> The speaker, on this occasion, made a brief review of the history of ideas of national economic development and traced their origin to the writings and speeches of D. Naoroji, R.C. Dutt and Ranade. In his opinion this look back was necessary "to understand that Indian commerce and industry are intimately associated with and are, indeed, an integral part of the national movement ... The ideal of the national movement in the political sphere, namely to make the Indian nation united, prosperous and progressive, is also the ideal of Indian commerce and industry in the economic sphere. ... Deprived of its inspiration in Indian nationalism, Indian commerce and industry might be reduced to mere exploitation".<sup>8</sup>

What the statement amounts to is a postulate about fundamentally parallel objectives aspired at by both the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian national political movement. That presentation implies a conformity or at least a close proximity in the assessment of India's position under colonial rule. The insight into the nature of colonial exploitation which leading representatives of Indian capitalism obtained may be chiefly attributed to their practical experiences. But all this did not, however, in real life result in an immediate co-operation of the bourgeois class with the national movement, led by the Indian National Congress (INC). For quite some time the Indian capitalists concentrated their activity on the various bodies established by the colonial government and tended to project their views mainly through their own institutions.

Yet all expectations of substantial concessions on the part of Great Britain and consequently, of an overall understanding with the British bourgeoisie proved a failure. It was finally the interests of the most influential group of British monopoly capital that had the last word on the colonial policy of England as well as on the strategy to be pursued by the colonial authorities in India.<sup>9</sup> Since the mid-twenties Great Britain made repeated attempts to regain some of the positions which had been lost to the Indian national industry. Steps were taken to facilitate the penetration of British capital into Indian companies and to hold the further expansion of Indian industries.<sup>10</sup> There was no scope to bridge the gap between the policy of British imperialism and the interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie. That gap even widened and became more prominent in the context of a sharpening of the political contradiction between the Indian liberation movement and the colonial power. In 1929, the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the institution of British capital in India, raised a sharp protest against the possibility of transferring to Indian hands the right to decide on economic matters, in case some form of self-government would one day be granted to India. The President of the FICCI immediately answered in unequivocal terms saying that there could be no self-government in India if she was to be denied the power to device and follow a national economic policy including the right, if her interests required it, of making economic discrimination against non-national interests.<sup>11</sup> The spokesman of the Indian capitalist class demanded, in essence, nothing less than the right to self-determination on national affairs, although for the time being the demand covered economic matters only.

There were important factors other than the conflict with British imperialist bourgeoisie and the colonial power which shaped the evolution of the strategic concept of India's bourgeoisie. After Gandhi had assumed the leadership of the Indian freedom movement in 1919, large sections of the peasantry and new sections of the urban population joined the movement. India had then entered the era of "mass nationalism". In a parallel development, within the national movement the ideas of liberalism were finally replaced by ideas of democracy. The preponderance of democratic ideas and ideals found expression in the attention that was henceforth devoted to the actual conditions and to the role of the toiling masses in society. But there was another aspect of immediate significance. The following years and more so the closing years of the decade witnessed sharp battles between the Indian working class and the British capitalists as well as the indigenous capitalist class. In this connection, revolutionary forces and class organizations of the proletariat played a prominent role. How did these events influence the attitude and the strategic thinking of the national bourgeoisie?

The correspondence between the leading Bombay capitalist P. Thakurdas and the London-based chief of the Tata clan, Dorabji Tata, as well as the comments offered by G.D. Birla on the issues dealt with by the two men, is of relevance to the question. All the three shared a common platform: they were determined to industrialize India through national efforts. They agreed that guarantees and scope should be provided for the national capital to grow and to operate. The correspondence focussed on the relationship of the Indian bourgeoisie with the British bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and with the working class of the own country, on the other. The question shot into prominence against the background of the strikes in the Bombay textile mills in 1928 and because of the advance made then by the revolutionary forces in the working-class movement. Dorabji Tata was strictly against a separate institution for Indian capitalists. He recognized the difference in interests between the Indian and the English commercial communities in India and supported the view that India's interests should command first priority. His conclusions were, however, influenced by other considerations. Tata pointed to the severe and lasting labour struggles and the influence gained by communist policy and by the doctrine of class-struggle. He considered that India's politicians had failed to safeguard the essential economic interest of the country as well as to stand up against the "Red leaders". That is why, in his opinion, the capitalists — he himself uses the term — should join hands and "in their own way take such action as they deem best to protect themselves". Welcoming Tata's stand that Indian interests should predominate, Thakurdas wondered how a fight for Indian interests can be put up in a body where the other interests were bound to clash with Indian interests. He referred to what he had already said about Indian commerce and industry as constituting an integral part of Indian nationalism. The recognition of this fact, in his opinion, was an irrevocable precondition for any co-operation between Indian and British capitalists. At the same time, he completely endorsed Dorabji Tata's desire that the spread of communist ideas should be stopped at any cost.<sup>12</sup>

G.D. Birla supported Thakurdas' approach. He was critical of "most capitalists" for ignoring "the fact that to some extent they themselves are responsible for breeding Communism ...". He cautioned: "The salvation of the capitalist class does not lie in joining hands with the reactionary element. ... What we capitalists can do towards driving this evil (communism — J.H.) out of India is to remove the root-causes so far as we are concerned and also to co-operate with those who through constitutional means want to change the government for a national one."<sup>13</sup> The lengthy quotation does not simply reveal the views of an individual. It embraces the essentials of the creed which rose to predominance in the thinking of the most influential institutions of the Indian capitalist class. This happened at a time when the INC raised the slogan of "complete independence" as the goal of its political struggle.

The colonial power, while applying every means at its disposal to keep down and suppress the revolutionary forces, took the initiative for a countermove and offered another dose of constitutional reforms as a remedy to save its rule. The reforms while holding out the promise of certain political concessions, were intended to cement India's position as an economic dependency of Great Britain. The reforms did not at all promise any chance for a step forward towards the equality of Indian and British capital in India, the aim the Indian bourgeoisie had been striving for. Realising the situation, the FICCI declined the invitation to be represented on the commission that was entrusted with the task to work out the new draft constitution.



When a conference was announced which should consider the question of preferential tariffs for the Commonwealth territories and which was to be held in late September 1930 in London, FICCI issued a Press statement. The top institution of Indian capitalists declared that "any commitment not only in respect of Imperial Preference but with regard to all economic questions made at any Conference until India gets full freedom over her own affairs will not be binding on her".<sup>14</sup>

The prevailing political situation in the country no doubt had its impact and favoured the decision. The current political movement for national self-determination enjoyed the support of the masses to a much larger extent than the non-co-operation movement had ever received in 1921. Such, at least, was the assessment made by P. Thakurdas in a confidential letter to the British Viceroy.<sup>15</sup> Thakurdas was himself prepared to go any length in the search of a possibility to come to an understanding and to co-operate with the colonial power. But he now saw himself compelled to urgently appeal to the Viceroy "to move the British Cabinet to authorize you to make a statement that in the next constitution, Indians will be masters in their own house".<sup>16</sup> An assurance to that effect was, however, never conceded. In these circumstances the Indian capitalist class in its majority decided to support the national freedom movement led by the INC.<sup>17</sup> This, again, was not done without reservations.

First of all, the bourgeoisie as a rule continued to refrain from any participation in political actions. The bourgeoisie, secondly, took the decision only haltingly and without much fervor because of the fear that the civil disobedience campaign launched by the INC (1930 to 1932) might mobilize the masses to an extent where the political actions could become uncontrollable. When M.K. Gandhi called off the campaign and the INC chose a more constitutional form of struggle, the bourgeoisie heaved a sigh of relief. Thirdly, rather soon afterwards loud voices were heard from the bourgeois camp which depicted the spectre of a communist threat to India. In those years, it should be recalled, the communists were outlawed. The pretext for the outcry was the emergence of left groups within the national freedom movement and the emergence of a left wing in the INC, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. The left wing raised socialist slogans and advocated radical socio-economic changes. Its radical demands had, however, already been rejected by the majority of the INC leadership. The results of the INC conference held at Lakhnau in April 1936, at which Nehru explained his ideas, provided ample proof of the state of affairs in the INC leadership.

The events nevertheless, caused considerable ferment and turmoil among the ranks of the capitalist class. Protests were launched by bourgeois groups and institutions in various parts of the country. 21 leading figures of the Indian commercial and industrial capital in Bombay issued a joint statement which denounced the advocacy by J. Nehru of a socialist form of government. On the whole, however, the capitalist class did not alter its basic strategy, nor did any change happen in its attitude towards the INC. G.D. Birla, that far-sighted representative of the Indian bourgeoisie, in letters addressed to two great men of the Bombay business, Walchand Hirachand and Purushothamdas Thakurdas, expressed his regret on their signing the Bombay declaration against J. Nehru. He considered the action a short-sighted move which could only lead to strengthen the opposition towards capitalism. Birla called it "very crude for a man with property to say that he is opposed to expropriation in the wider interest of the country. ... We are all against socialism", he assured, "and yet nothing is being done to carry on argumentative propaganda and even people like Vallabhbhai (Patel) Bhulabhai (Desai) who are fighting against socialism are not being helped".<sup>18</sup>

The arguments in favour of a well-considered and long-term approach met with a positive response. When shortly afterwards the INC prepared for its next annual meeting at Faizpur (Maharashtra), Walchand Hirachand, at the request of Vallabhbhai Patel, rendered generous assistance by spending the amount of 100,000 Rupies.<sup>19</sup> This was by no means the unanimous approach of the political forces and groups in the country linked with propertied strata. Still one year later the Indian Liberal Federation, a political party comprising reactionary and conservative circles, singled out the "communist tendencies" of the INC as the main danger and pleaded in favour of the continuation of British rule as a guarantee to uphold the social order of the country.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, we have the statement which the President of the obviously not too progressive Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber made in January the same

year: "It is useless to say we can dissociate business from politics. Politics has its different colours but generally, politics of this Chamber, as I believe of all Indian Chambers of Commerce and even of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, is politics of a Nationalistic colour. ... The Chamber has to shape its policy in consonance with national demands and urgings."<sup>21</sup>

The Indian capitalist class had by then reached a considerable level of consolidation on the all-India plane; it possessed institutions of its own to project the collective views of its members on matters of common interest. It had acquired considerable economic strength, was politically mature, and had gained self-confidence. The Indian bourgeois class was no longer prepared to subordinate its own interests to those of the British monopoly bourgeoisie and much less to sacrifice them altogether. With the decision to support the struggle of the Indian people for the independence of their country, the bourgeois class on the whole placed itself objectively on the side of the anti-imperialist forces. The class aspired for an independent economic development and the modernisation of India on the basis of industrialization. It was with that object in view that the class came forward "wholeheartedly", as the then FICCI president said in a speech in 1939, to support the goals of the National Planning Committee established by the INC in 1938.<sup>22</sup> A few of the most prominent representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie served at least temporarily on the Planning Committee. In the minds of the leading figures of that class the achievement of an unhindered growth of national industrial production and the enhancement of the level of productive activity of the society as a whole became almost a synonym of progress. It was expected that a thorough process of modernization — set in motion by industrialization — would in the long run abolish the fundamental social problems, that is poverty and unemployment, or would at least create favourable preconditions for their solution.

In the late thirties, the Indian capitalist class claimed the lion's share of the profits available in the country for itself. The class was sure to reach the target when it decided to launch its attack against the resistance offered by British capital. The class was sufficiently confident also to achieve the modernization of the country by chiefly relying on its own resources but it simultaneously attributed a crucial role to the national state.

The replacement of the alien government by a national one was, therefore, the *sine qua non* and the foremost task also from the viewpoint of the Indian bourgeoisie.

So far as the interrelationship of the major social forces of Indian society was concerned, the bourgeoisie had succeeded in occupying the strongest position. The class looked confidently ahead. The planning concepts for independent India put forward by the bourgeoisie are a reflection of that attitude. The Indian capitalist class felt sure of its capability to influence the political movement towards independence as well as the future course of the country after liberation. The class did not go back from its fundamental demands, a national form of government and complete independence, even while British imperialism offered fresh constitutional concessions during World War II. In reply to Winston Churchill's charge that manufacturing and financial interests were behind the Congress, the then President of FICCI made it clear that "they were an integral part of the national movement and were fully in accord with the essentials of the Congress demand for freedom and transfer of power".<sup>23</sup>

The political and social processes which took place since the twenties, as well as the events during the thirties which led to the emergence of the constellation of social forces analysed above, pre-determined to a considerable extent the course of development on which independent India embarked in 1947.

#### Notes

- 1 Memorandum by H.E. the Viceroy upon questions likely to arise in India at the end of the war. Simla (October 27) 1915, pp. 1, 3.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 1, 19.
- 3 Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, New Delhi 1951, p. 10.



- 4 Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission. Main Report. Minute of Dissent (dated 5 September 1922). In: The Indian Annual Register (hereafter: IAR), 1922/23, Calcutta 1923, pp. 924 ff.
- 5 G.D. Birla to Purushothamdas Thakurdas, 7 December 1923. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (hereafter: NMML), Purushothamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 42, Pt. III.
- 6 Fourth Session of the Indian Industrial Congress. Presidential Address by Dinshaw Petit, Calcutta, 31 December 1926. In: IAR, 1926, vol. II, p. 425.
- 7 Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (hereafter: FICCI), Second Annual Meeting, December 1928. Presidential Address by P. Thakurdas. In: IAR, 1928, vol. II, p. 494.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Cf. Chatterji, B., Business and Politics in the 1930s. Lancashire and the Making of the Indo-British Trade Agreement 1939. In: Modern Asian Studies, vol. 15 (3), 1981, p. 531.
- 10 Cf. Beauchamp, J., British Imperialism and India, London 1934, pp. 52 ff.
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