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To Our Subscribers and Contributors

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The Editor will be glad to receive articles for publication. These will receive careful consideration and an honorarium arrived at by mutual arrangement will be paid for all manuscripts accepted for publication. All articles not accepted will be returned to their authors, but the Editor regrets he is unable to accept responsibility for their loss in transit.

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EDITORIAL . . .

ABOUT Ourselves

In the world of to-day there is taking place a great struggle —political, moral, religious and intellectual. Out of this turmoil is emerging a new world with its great hopes and dark anxiety, in which the world of Islam is destined to play a great part not only ideologically, but also strategically. In this setting, although literacy is increasing and geographical barriers between countries have been broken down, new barriers even more impenetrable have arisen in the form of class and race.

Signs are not wanting that the peoples of Islam are becoming conscious of their future and destiny. But to be able to face the unknown and to have a clear view of the vision of his future the Muslim has, in the first place, to be sure of his ground, to know his religion, its aims and ambitions, and the trials and problems which face his world. It was with the purpose of infusing confidence in our future that the ISLAMIC REVIEW was started thirty-six years ago by that noble servant of Islam, the late Al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, and it is to reinforce this purpose that this new series is being published.

We have always looked upon the world of Islam as an indivisible unit. Also we have always held that life in the Muslim world cannot be sectionalised into political and religious compartments. This separation of religion and everyday life, let it be admitted, is now in fashion, mainly because of the theory of dialectical materialism which is in the ascendant and also because the separation of the spiritual from the temporal has been accepted by the West as a verity.

In opposition to this we consistently held that Islam does not admit of any such interpretation of, and outlook on, life.

It is an irony of fate that Muslims, as a result of the political supremacy of the West, began to absorb this outlook, quite foreign to their way of life. They have fallen away from their lofty mission of giving to the world the solution of the eternal problem of disharmony within man himself.

Another misfortune which befell the world of Islam, in common with the rest of the world, was that it fell a victim to the various divinities of materialism —class, race, labour and money. We have in our own limited way worked against the rising tide of these evils and have attempted to inculcate the true ideals of Islam amongst Muslims and have unveiled them to non-Muslims. How far we have succeeded in our aims is for our readers to judge, but we believe we shall not be accused of self-adulation if we permitted ourselves the compliment of stating that the success which has attended our work is not inconsiderable.

For various reasons our policy has been to print in the ISLAMIC REVIEW articles mainly concerned with the polemic aspects of Islam. An over-emphasis on this aspect was liable to give rise to the impression that Islam, like other religious systems of the world, was yet another favouring and sponsoring the view of separating the spiritual from the temporal. Realising the growth of this impression resulting from the continued pursuance of our policy, we every now and then included in the ISLAMIC REVIEW cultural, political and economic articles, but this did not go far enough. Having realised that this distorted view of Islam had to be corrected, we decided to change and enlarge the scope and purview of the articles in the ISLAMIC REVIEW. But when we were ready to give effect to this, the war intervened and all our plans and ideas had, so to speak, to be put in cold storage. We continued to cherish this idea right through the fateful years of the war, believing that at its termination we would have the opportunity of giving shape to our ideas and plans. The obstacles, especially the shortage of paper, proved once again insurmountable, until to-day when we are placing our first issue of our New Series before our readers. While we are proud of our efforts to serve the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds, and of the potent part we are playing in interpreting Islam to the world of to-day, thus creating a bridge between the Muslim world and the West, we are equally anxious to play a larger and more dignified part in the world of Islam of tomorrow. The long continued and successful existence of the ISLAMIC REVIEW convinces us that the time has now come when, in compatibility with its past and in harmony with the task it has been shouldering so valiantly, the ISLAMIC REVIEW must now meet the demands of the new world of Islam which is rising from the present struggle of materialistic values. We are widening the scope of our articles so that anything of interest to the world of Islam is of interest to the ISLAMIC REVIEW. The choice of articles and their range in this issue will give our readers an indication of our future policy.

The ISLAMIC REVIEW will continue to observe rigorously its adherence to the fundamental truth that there are no sects in Islam, and will emphasise as, heretofore, the essential unity and fundamental solidarity of Islam all over the world.

JANUARY 1949
By the Light of the Qur’an and the Hadith
Compiled and Annotated by Dr. S. M. ‘ABDULLAH, Ph.D.

We read in the Holy Qur’an:
Read in the name of your Lord who created.
He created man from a clot.
Read and your Lord is most Honourable.
Who taught (to write) with the pen.
Taught man what he knew not. (96: 1-5).

O you who believe! when it is said to you make room in (your) assemblies, then make ample room, God will give you amply; and when it is said, Rise up, then rise up. God will exalt those of you who believe, and those who are given knowledge, in high degrees, and God is aware of what you do. (58: 11).

Supremely exalted is therefore God the King, the Truth: and do not make haste with the Qur’an before its revelation is made complete to you and say: O my Lord! increase me in knowledge. (20: 114).

He grants wisdom to whom He pleases, and whoever is granted wisdom, he indeed is given a great good; and none but men of understanding mind. (2: 269).

(Consider) the inkstand and the pen and what they write,
By the grace of your Lord you are not mad.
And most surely you shall have a reward never to be cut off.
And most surely you conform (yourself) to sublime morality.
So you shall see and they (too) shall see,
Which of you is afflicted with madness. (68: 1-4).

The Qur’an, from which the Muslims draw their entire code of life and all their laws—spiritual, moral, ethical, social, civil, etc., lays a great emphasis on knowledge, its acquisition as well as dissemination. It is interesting to note that although the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be the peace and blessings of God, was illiterate, yet the very first revelation that came to him, nor only lays stress on both reading and writing, but also speaks of the Lord of Honour, showing that men can attain to honour only through the light of knowledge and learning. The Holy Qur’an even directs the Prophet to seek more and more of knowledge and it was the Prophet’s constant prayer and desire to know more, as is clear from the verse quoted above (20:114).

The Qur’an, leaving aside the opening chapter of the book, begins with three letters, alif, lam and mim, which, according to some of the best commentators of the Qur’an, stand for words which, when translated into English, mean, “I am God, the best knower,” which refers to the claim of the Qur’an to be the word of All-knowing God and this revelation based on wisdom and knowledge. It is also of interest to know that the very name given to the Holy Book of Islam—Al-Qur’an—signifies joining letters together for the object of reading or reciting, which again points out the importance and close association of the art of reading and writing with the religion of Islam. Even in refuting the allegation of the critics of Islam that the Prophet Muhammad was mad, The Qur’an brings the testimony of “pen and ink” in support of his not being so afflicted. (See the Qur’an 68:1-6). The advancement of science and philosophy and the dissemination of knowledge has proved the excellence of the Prophet and will continue to do so in the future. Islam is thus a strong advocate of light, learning and knowledge.

AT THE FEET OF THE PROPHET

The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said:

“Speak to people according to the level of their intellectual capacities.”
“He dieth not who taketh to learning.”
“He who leaves home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God.”
“The acquisition of knowledge is a duty incumbent on every Muslim, male and female.”
“Whosoever reveres the learned reveres me.”
“The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr.”
“Seek after knowledge though it be in China.”
“There is no envy but for two (persons): the one whom God has given wealth and power to spend it in the service of Truth, and the person whom God has granted knowledge of things and wisdom and he judges by it and teaches it to others.”

The desire to acquire knowledge is here made akin to the desire to possess wealth, which is a natural desire in every human heart. It is thus made clear that the acquisition of knowledge is as important as that of wealth, and every human being should acquire both. The desire to possess either, however, is made subject to a further condition: the possessor of wealth should spend it in the cause of truth, and the possessor of knowledge should teach it to others, so that the benefit of humanity is the real end in view.
"MOST SUCCESSFUL OF ALL THE PROPHETS"

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S BIRTHDAY

(12th Rabi' ul-Awwal, 1368 A.H.—12th January, 1949 A.C.)

[The World of Islam is meeting everywhere this month on the 12th January, 1949, to commemorate the 'auspicious date of the 12th Rabi' ul-Awwal, 1368 A.H., the date on which the Prophet Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be upon him!) was born.]

We are printing below a short sketch of his life and an account of the success which attended his mission.—

Editor, I.R.]

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE HISTORY OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

Muhammad, the son of 'Abdulla and Amina, was born on the 12th of Rabi' ul-Awwal—29th August, 570 A.C.—in a family of the Quraish, in Mecca. His father had passed away a few months before his birth, and he lost his mother when he was in his sixth year. The charge of the orphan was undertaken by his grandfather, 'Abdul Mutalib, who, after four years of fostering, confided the boy to the care of his uncle, Abu Talib. At the age of twelve, Muhammad accompanied his uncle on a trading expedition to Syria. From his early childhood until the age of 40, he showed all the noble instincts of human character that command respect from friend and foe alike; and, indeed, the Arabs used to call him "Al-Ameen," or "the truthful one." He married at the age of 25 a venerable lady, Khadija, in whose service he was a caravan conductor. The lady was fifteen years his senior, and several children were born to them. One notable achievement before his Call to prophethood deserves mention; for it affords us a glance into the heart of the Prophet. He formed a band of honest men, whose aim it was to track down offenders and to bring them to justice, and to adopt means to protect the widows and orphans who were mostly the victims of oppression.

When the Call came to him, the Prophet, weighed down with the sense of great responsibility, sought relief and consolation from his wife. The words she used to comfort him are worth recording: "God will never forsake you; for you show due regard for blood ties; you carry the burden of the decrepit; you practise virtues that are extinct; you entertain guests; and stand by what is righteous in the face of odds." The first to accept his assurance of the Divine commission were Khadija, his wife, and his friends Zaid, 'Ali, Abu Bakr and 'Aqam. The hailing of open denunciation at the ancestral idols of the Quraysh, by Muhammad, had angered all Arabia. This resentment of the Quraysh led them to approach Muhammad's uncle, Abu Talib, in an endeavour to persuade him to silence his protégé. The uncle, under the collective pressure brought to bear upon him, agreed to counsel his nephew to desist from his efforts. Muhammad said: "Uncle dear, even if they were to place the sun in my right hand, and the moon in my left to turn me from the work I have in hand, verily will I not cease till the Lord carry my cause to victory or till I perish therein." Upon these words he burst into tears. His uncle said, "Go in peace, son of my brother, and say what thou wilt; for by God, I will on no condition abandon thee." This least expected decision of Abu Talib to stand by Muhammad came as a surprise to the Quraysh. They resolved to try to entangle the feet of Muhammad in allurements. They said to him, "Listen; if your ambition is to possess wealth, we will amass wealth for you, as much as ever you wish; and if you aspire to power and honour, we are prepared to swear allegiance to you as our overlord and king: and if you have any fancy for beauty, you shall have the hand of the fairest maiden in the land." Muhammad's reply was, "Neither do I want wealth, nor do I want power. I have been commissioned by God as a Warner unto mankind. I deliver His message unto you. Should you accept it, you shall have felicity in this life and in the life hereafter; and should you reject it, surely God will decide between you and me."

In the meantime Islam had been making slow but constant progress. The Quraish had realised that Muhammad was not to be turned aside from his object, so they decided to try the effect of putting the Banu Hashim—the family of Muhammad—under the ban of ostracism, because they had refused to disown him. But, as before, this device died a natural death, and the ban was revoked.

Muhammad's efforts, attended by physical persecutions and mental tortures and extending over a period of thirteen long winters, were utterly wasted upon his own kinsmen. He now turned in despair to the people of Taif to convince them of the truth of his mission. But here, as well, a none-too-promising outlook—rebuffs and scorn—awaited him. The people of Taif even went so far as to pelt him with stones, so that his heels bled.

The persecution waxing even hotter and more intense, Muhammad had already advised about a hundred men and women of his adherents to seek refuge from the inhuman cruelties of the Meccans by emigrating to the Christian country of Abyssinia. Shortly afterwards, when he stood sorely in need of the protection of his uncle Abu Talib and the comfort of his wife Khadija, the cruel, indiscriminate hands of death snatched them both away from him, thus affording the Quraish a freer hand in dealing with the situation. And they lost no time in deciding upon exterminating his disciples and making short work of Muhammad on a certain night, but the Prophet, under the guidance of Divine Revelation, fled for his life to Medina, 150 miles distant from Mecca, accompanied by his friend Abu Bakr—the precise date of the Prophet's flight being June 20th, 622 A.C. This epoch-making event in the history of the world marks the beginning of the Muslim Era called hejira." The Prophet and his companion were pursued. On their way they hid themselves in a cave on Mt. Thaur, three miles from Mecca, for three days. Hearing the footsteps of the enemy, who had reached the mouth of the cave, Abu Bakr said, "We are but two, and the enemy are many." "Do not be downcast," said Muhammad. "We are two, and God in our midst, a Third." After eight days' journey, they reached Medina; but there, too, the enemy would not let Muhammad rest. An army of 1,000 men marched against him, and the Muslims, who were but 313 strong, won a victory at Badr, situated 30 miles from Medina and 120 miles from Mecca. Having learnt nothing from this defeat, the Meccans rallied once more to the call of Abu Sufyan, their leader, to make another desperate attempt against the rising tide of Islam. A second battle was fought, this time at Uhud, which lies 12 miles from Medina and 138 miles from Mecca. The Meccans were driven off. Having

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expended their strength, they showed from now onwards no
marked signs of hostility against the resistless power of
the Muslims. They entered into a truce with Muhammad in the
6th year A.H. (628 A.C.).

Two years later, Muhammad triumphed over a new foe—
the Jews; and in 630 A.C. he made a bloodless entry at the
head of an army 10,000 strong into the town of Mecca—his
birth-place, from which, eight years before, he had fled a hunted
fugitive. The Meccans, remembering full well their past dark
record, were surprised at the general amnesty granted even to
such as had attempted to take the Prophet’s life. The Prophet
said, “There is no reproof against you, O Meccans, God will
forgive you; for He is Merciful and Loving. Go, you are free.”
History fails to record any other such display of magnanimity,
where a person, wielding the sceptre of power, freely forgives
his vengeance on the vanquished foe.

The Ka’ba—the House dedicated to the worship of God
—was purged of the 360 idols standing in it. In another two
years Arabia had either embraced Islam or sworn loyalty to the
Prophet. Shortly before his death, Muhammad had succeeded
in effecting a mighty reformation. He had swept away all
corruption, he had stamped out the vice of gambling and female
infanticide, he had raised the status of women, he had abolished
wine drinking, he had put a check on polygamy, he had put a
stop to constant and bloody wars and had welded the warring
tribes of Arabia into one brotherhood. The whole of that land
was, so to say, transformed into a garden on earth during the
short period of but 23 years. And when the Prophet completed
his mission, he addressed a vast congregation of over 120,000
people in the plains of Mina, in the following memorable
words:

“Ye people! Hearken unto my words, for I know not
whether in another year it will be vouchsafed to me to find
myself amongst you in this place.

“Your lives and properties are sacred and inviolable
amongst you, as this day and this month are sacred to all, until
ye appear before your Lord. And (remember) ye shall indeed
appear before your Lord, Who shall demand from each of you
an account of his actions.

“Ye people! Ye have rights over your wives and your
wives have rights over you. Treat your wives with kindness
and love; verily, ye are responsible for them to God.

“Usury is forbidden. The debtor will return the principal,
and a beginning will be made with the loans of my uncle
Abbas, son of Abdul Muttalib.

“The aristocracy of old time is trampled under my feet.
The Arab has no superiority over him that is not an Arab, and
he that is not Arab has no superiority over the Arab. All are
children of Adam, and Adam was made of earth.

“Ye people! Hearken to my words and understand
them. Know that all Muslims are brothers, one of another. Ye
are one brotherhood. Nothing which belongs to another can
be lawfully possessed by any, unless freely given out of good-
will. Guard yourselves against committing injustice.

“And your war-captives! See that ye feed them with such
food as ye yourselves eat; and clothe them with the stuff that
ye yourselves wear; and if they commit a fault which ye are
not minded to forgive, then part with them, for they are the
servants of the Lord, and are not to be harshly treated.

“I am leaving to you two noble things; so long as ye
cling to them ye shall not go astray: the Book of God and
the Tradition of His Prophet.

“Let him that is present tell it unto him that is absent:
for it may be that he who shall be told may remember better
than he who hath heard it here.

“O ye that are assembled here! have I delivered my
message and fulfilled my word?”

The assembled congregation cried out with one voice:

“Yes, verily thou hast.

A sudden glow flashed upon the face of the Prophet, and
with eyes filled with grateful tears he raised his hands towards
heaven and said thrice:

“O Lord! I beseech Thee, bear Thou witness unto it.”

“THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF ALL THE PROPHETS”

By the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din

This day I have perfected for you your religion and com-
pleted my favour on you—Holy Qur’an, v. 3.

Moses was brought up in the house of wealth and culture,
Jesus arose under a nation that could boast-of the highest form
of civilization; but Muhammad was raised to recite commu-
nications of God” to those who had not emerged even from
the twilight of an early civilization, and were wrapt up in the
shrouds of ignorance. He came to “purify” a nation steeped in
barbarism, superstitions, cruelty, and vice; he was inspired “to
teach the Book and the Wisdom” to a people shrouded in absolute spiritual darkness, and sunk in complete mental and
moral torpor.

The career of a Prophet is never an easy one. He is raised
up among his own kin and kith, and has to seek an audience
from among those who have known him from his childhood;
who are aware of the intimate details of his life and well
acquainted with his merits and demerits. The spirit of rivalry
and jealousy is also at work against him, and is a subtle
impediment to success. Yet Muhammad, an illiterate Arab and

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2 He it is who raised among the illiterates an Apostle from among them-

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a camel-driver, an orphan and a protegé of Abu Talib, comes forward against these same odds, with the mission of a Prophet, and has achieved a success that could not be claimed by any of his predecessors in the line of Prophets. "It is easy to make
good and far-reaching plans, but more difficult to carry them out." Moses, Jesus, and many of the Prophets before Muhammad,
did not live to see the success of their respective missions. One,
indeed, was so despondent that he thought God had forsaken
him; and if some of them did win a following, they were not
able to inspire them with a spirit of confidence in themselves.
The emancipated children of the Egyptian bondage repeatedly
disobeyed Moses; Peter and other disciples denied their
Master. They left him in the moment of his dire need. But
the humble preacher to the haughty Meccan, who had only the
other day been jeered at and ridiculed, molested and persecuted,
neighbours, and the strong despoiled the weak of their
property. We had long been in this condition when God sent
a Prophet to us from amongst our own people, whose noble
birth, truthfulness, honesty and righteousness were well known
to us. He called us to God, to worship Him, and Him only;
and to leave off adoring the idols and stones before which our
fathers and forefathers had knelt. He ordered us to obey God
alone, and not to make anyone His equal. He made it incumbent
upon us to offer up prayer, to give alms, to fast, when not
sick or travelling. He commanded us to speak the truth, to
give back safe and whole what is entrusted to us by others, to
be affectionate to our relations and kind to our neighbours,
to shun wicked acts, licentiousness and bloody quarrels. He told
us not to bear false witness, not to deprive orphans of their
property, not to impute bad motives to nor be suspicious of

"The Dome of the Rock" at Jerusalem, built in 691 A.C., the place which the Prophet Muhammad visited in his
"Night Journey"

stoned and hunted out of the city of his birth, had "within
the short space of nine years," after his flight from Mecca,
"lifted up his people from the abyssal depth of moral and
spiritual degradation to a conception of purity and justice." The
ministry of Muhammad lasted for twenty-three years, but
even in the short space of the first five years after the proclama-
tion of his mission, the miraculous change which he was able
to effect among his followers appears from the words of Ja'far
al-Tayyar, one of the ninety Muslim refugees in Abyssinia
from the persecution of the Meccans, to the Christian king of
that country: "We were an ignorant and misled people, we
worshipped images, are dead bodies, were lewd, ill-treated our
women. We have taken his advice and admonitions to heart;
have believed in his truthfulness, have followed all the orders
which God has made known to us; and have believed in the
unity of God. We abstain from what is forbidden, and confine
ourselves to what is permitted. Our people are infuriated at
this change in our belief, thoughts and actions. They have per-
secuted us, and done their best to force us back to the
idols, images and wicked acts which we have left. When it
became impossible to live among them, and when persecution
and torture became unbearable, we left our country, and,
believing you to be a tolerant king, have taken refuge in your
dominions."
The above may sound to some ears like the words of a zealous admirer of the Prophet, and from one who had to make the best of his case in order to win favour with the Abyssinian king, and obtain from him shelter and protection. But let an avowed enemy of Islam bear testimony to the above statement. Sir William Muir says:

"Few and simple were the precepts of Mohammed. His teaching had wrought a marvellous and a mighty work. Never since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep and waged mortal combat with heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life, the like faith that suffered sacrifices and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience' sake.

"From time beyond memory Mecca and the whole Peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism, Christianity or philosophical inquiry upon the Arab mind had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake; all remained still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty and vice. It was a common practice for the eldest son to take to wife his father's widow, inherited as property with the rest of the estate. Pride and poverty had introduced among them the crime of female infanticide. Their religion was a gross idolatry, and their faith rather the dark superstitious dread of unseen beings, whose good will they sought to propitiate and whose displeasure to avert, than the belief in an overruling Providence. The life to come and retribution for good and evil were, as motives of actions, practically unknown. Thirteen years before the Hejira (July 2, 622 A.D.) Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had those thirteen years now produced! A band of several hundred persons had rejected idolatry, adopted the worship of one God and surrendered themselves implicitly to the guidance of what they believed to be a revelation from Him, praying to the Almighty with frequency and fervour, looking for pardon to His mercy and striving to follow after good works, almsgiving, chastity and justice. They now lived under a constant sense of the Omnipotent power of God and of His Providential care over the minutest of their concerns. In all the gifts of Nature, in every relation of life, at each turn of their affairs, individual or public, they saw His hand. And above all, the new existence in which they exulted was regarded as the mark of special grace, while the unbelief of their blinded fellow-citizens was the hardening stamp of reprobation. Mohammed was the minister of life to them, the source under God of their new-born hopes, and to him they yielded an implicit submission.

"In so short a period Mecca had, from his wonderful movement, been rent into two factions which, unmindful of their old landmarks of tribe and family, had arrayed themselves in deadly opposition one against the other. The Believers bore persecution with a patient and tolerant spirit, and though it was their wisdom so to do, the credit of magnanimous forbearance may be freely accorded. One hundred men and women, rather than abjure their precious faith, had abandoned home and sought refuge, till the storm should be overpast, in Abyssinian exile, and again, a still larger number, with the Prophet himself, were emigrating from their fondly loved city with its sacred temple, to them the holiest spot on earth, and fleeing to Medina. There the same marvellous charm had within two or three years been preparing for them a brotherhood ready to defend the Prophet and his followers with their blood. Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina, but it was not until they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian Prophet that they, too, awoke from their slumber and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life."

The Prophet was "the most successful of all the Prophets and religious personalities." He worked out such a political, social, mental and theological transformation in his own time as has never been effected in any country or in any nation even by successive generations of reformers. His was the voice of thunder. The most deep-rooted evils were swept away before his mighty word like straws before a hurricane. He aroused men from their death-like sleep and carried them to the highest pinnacle of development. Those who, two decades before, had worshipped every fetish and carried pieces of stone with them on their journeys to serve as objects of adoration, became Monotheists in the pure and true sense of the word—so much so that the great Caliph 'Umar, who in the days of paganism would fall down prostrate before any good-looking piece of stone that he came across, or worship a sand-hill after milking his she-camel, if he failed to find a piece of stone, became so exalted in his conception of the oneness of God that he was heard to utter the following words while kissing the sacred black stone of the shrine of Karba with the end of his sword resting on it: "Thou art but a piece of stone, and I would have shivered thee to pieces, had it not been that the Prophet of God had kissed thee." Not only was a vast area—the twelve hundred thousand square miles of Arabia—wrenched from the curse of idolatry within a fifth of a century, but such a fire of enthusiasm for proclaiming the Unity of God was kindled in the hearts of the Arabs that it carried them throughout the length and breadth of the then known world to exalt the name of the One God. Those who but yesterday, as it were, had dwelt in a state of permanent warfare among themselves, and had revelled in scenes of bloodshed and murder on the most trivial pretexts of revenge, became welded into a unique brotherhood that inspired every member of it to do anything and everything for others, and not for his own benefit. The most ignorant race of the world became the torchbearers of knowledge and learning to the then benighted world. "A poor shepherd people, roaming unnoticed in its deserts since the creation of the world: a Hero Prophet was sent down to them with a word they could believe: see, the unnoticed becomes world-noticeable, the small has grown world-great; within one century afterwards, Arabia is at Granada, on this hand, at Delhi on that; glancing with valour and splendour and the light of genius, Arabia shines through long ages over a great section of the world." Those who cherished no respect for women became the first champions of female rights and carried into the world a chivalrous spirit hitherto unknown.

In short, the most debased of sinners became men of righteousness and piety, keeping all the laws of God and respecting the ordinances of society. Those whose actions arose habitually from only sordid motives began to look to "something beyond the grave," the "something higher, purer and diviner," that inspired them to deeds of charity, goodness, justice and everlasting love. "What a change had these few years witnessed! The angel of Heaven had walked by the land, breathing harmony and love into the hearts of those who had hitherto been sunk in the most revoltng semi-barbarism. What had once been a moral desert, where all laws, human and divine, were condemned and infringed without remorse, was now transformed into a garden." Idolatry, devil-worship, festivism, were rooted out; gambling, drunkenness and adultery disappeared. Polygamy was regulated and slavery nearly abolished. Female chastity became a virtue; industry

4 Carlyle.
replaced idleness; the Kingdom of Heaven, prayed for by Jesus and others, had been established in Arabia!

It is not easy to picture for oneself a system of government without a police force of some sort, for the purpose of keeping the peace and maintaining order, yet just such a system did the world see in the last days of the Prophet at Medina, when crime became extinct and whosoever committed sin, even though unobserved, would make full confession thereof, straightforward, before the Prophet. The presence of God became a living reality among those who surrounded the Prophet of God, and there was no need for any detective service. The culprit was his own captive; falsehood became unknown; no case needed long and tedious sifting and an army of lawyers trained in the sophists' art of making the worse appear the better cause. No assistance was needed, even by the humblest, in making good his case. There were no allegations of facts or jointers of issue, no statement of clairvoy or skilfully concocted defence. The omniscient and omnipresent God was before the eye everywhere. "Thy kingdom come"—the prayer of Jesus—became reality at the bidding of the Prophet Muhammad.

This success, unique in its kind and unparalleled in history, bears testimony to the extraordinarily high stage of spirituality to which the sacred Prophet had attained. No reform in any community can possibly be worked out unless its members entertain some regard for the reformer, and are willing to obey him. But no worldly riches or power, nor even any amount of miracle-working, can inspire others with that love, respect, and obedience which always follow an advanced spirituality. The words of Muhammad were not the dictates of a potentate. Nay, he disavowed always the possession of things which might influence others in his favour. In the words of the Qur'an he would say often and often: "I say not to you, 'In my possession are the treasures of God'; neither do I say to you, 'Verily I am an angel'; only what is revealed to me do I follow." But still he commanded submission and homage unimaginable. His words were the words of the beloved, to be respected and cared for by the lover. And if such is the mental attitude of the people towards their teacher, it is not surprising that he was "the most successful among all other religious personalities" in working out reforms.

On the battlefield of Uhud, the Prophet, being hard pressed by the force of the enemy, fell into a pit. He had received eighty wounds, his face wretched in blood and his life was in danger, but the unprecedented devotion of his followers came to his rescue. The Prophet was in the pit and a sure prey for the enemy, should they find him; only the thing in the nature of a fortification which could save him at the moment was a lining-wall of human beings which his companions made. They stood round the pit and exposed themselves to the arrows of the enemy, that pierced the bodies of this human fortress but did not reach the body of the Prophet. The members of this living fortification fell dead one after the other, but their place was filled by others. Women were not behindhand in showing their devotion to the Prophet on this occasion, for Umm Nasiba drew her sword and her example was followed by Umm Salma, Ayesha and others, who made onslaught on the enemy and can rightly claim to have saved the situation in the nick of time. The companions of the Prophet used to sing the following as their war-cry: "We are that very people that have pledged themselves to Muhammad to fight in defence of our faith throughout our lives." The occasion came and they proved true to their words. It is glory both for the teacher and the taught.

The spirit infused by the Prophet not only manifested itself on the field of battle, but it also enabled "the sons of the desert" to face courageously the most formidable foes that a man has to grapple with—his own corrupt nature and evil habits. History fails to give a single instance where a reformer met with such implicit obedience to his precepts, from the people he wished to reform, especially in the matter of eradicating their most deeply rooted evils. "Drink" was one of their evils. No Bacchanalian orgies could surpass the Arab indulgence in alcohol in those days. Their daily meals were three, but they worshipped Bacchus five times a day. When, however, the time came for the Prophet to turn them to total abstinance, the streets of Medina were overflowing with the detestable contents of the wine-barrels, which were emptied at the one magic word of the Prophet.

No appeal from the brain-power of the nation to the Cabinet to stop liquor traffic—and that only for a short period—was needed. One word from the master-mind, and the five times fixed for the worship of Bacchus were converted into the five times of God's worship, in Islam. Such radical revolutions in the morals of people cannot be accomplished save by one at the highest stage of spirituality—as was Muhammad. After all, the whole prime of his manhood, spent in retirement in the Cave of Hira, could not but bring forth fruit. Though they were the early days of his marriage, Muhammad would often retire to that cave, and spend month after month there in divine contemplation. There the angel of God appeared to him and brought him the first message.

His duties increased with his ministry, but nothing could keep him back from his communion with God; his days were spent in action, and his nights in long prayers. Even in the busy life of Medina one could see his feet swelling, for at nights he stood humbly in the presence of God; and thus he continued till he left the world.

In the tenth year of the Hegira the hosts of Arabia came flocking to join the faith of the Prophet. Numerous embassies poured into Mecca and Medina from all the tribes of Arabia to testify their adhesion and that of their chiefs and tribes to Islam. The Prophet then received the last revelation from the Most High. It ran thus:

"When there comes the help of God and the victory, And you see men entering the religion of God in companies, Then celebrate the praise of your Lord, and ask His forgiveness; surely He is of-fur-mering (to mercy)."

These verses, that speak of the great help and divine victory, indicated the accomplishment of the mission of the Prophet. This was the last revelation, and the Prophet received it at Mecca when visiting that sacred town with over a hundred thousand followers. It showed how the wonderful prophecies that announced the final victory of Islam, in the days when the Prophet was in utter loneliness and helplessness, became fulfilled. A companion of the Prophet, Ibn 'Abbas, saw in the above revelation an indication of the approaching death of the Prophet. Ibn 'Abbas was right. The Prophet lived only eighty days after it. On the '10th of Zil-Hijja (8th of March, 632 A.D.) the Prophet was in Mina—the place of sacrifices—after performing his last pilgrimage. And what an impressive spectacle! There was a concourse of Muslims around him that numbered upwards of 140,000 men, women and children. A great multitude without a single polytheist among them—and at the very place where the Prophet, some twenty years previously, was discarded and rejected. "This day," the Word from God brought him the happy news, "I have perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour on you."
THE PROPHET'S HUMILITY OF MIND

Notwithstanding his exalted position, the Prophet was, above all others, meek and humble. He visited the sick and went with a funeral, and accepted a slave's invitation, and mended his own shoes, and patched his own clothes, and when in his own house he would join his wives to work for their needs. His companions did no work for him, for they knew he disliked such a thing. When he passed by some boys he saluted them. A woman was brought to him who got terrified and awed. On seeing him he said: "Be not afraid"; for that he was not a king, but a son of a woman of the Quraish tribe who ate dried flesh. With his associates he was as familiar as if he were one of them, and a stranger could not identify him till he had inquired about him; wherefore his companions besought him that he should sit in a place where he could be recognized by strangers and so had a raised platform of earth made for him to sit upon. And if any of his companions or anyone else called him, he would, in answer, say: "Here am I." And when in a gathering of the people they talked of the Judgment Day, he would dilate upon that topic; or if eating and drinking, he would speak of the same to them; and if of worldly matters, he would do the same, for he would be meek and mild with them. And when his companions recited a poetical couplet before him and made mention of their childhood and laughed, he smiled also, and never bade them refrain from anything but what was prohibited.

Once the Prophet came from his home, and the people who were waiting for him rose in token of respect. Thereupon the Prophet said: "Do not get up like the non-Arabs to show your respect." This humility of mind reaches its zenith when we learn that he did not like others to address him with the respectful epithets which he undoubtedly deserved. Once a certain friend of his addressed him in the following words: "O our master, O the son of our master, the son of the best of us!" The Prophet said: "Guard yourself against sin, lest Satan should pull you down from the high pedestal of virtue on which you are standing. I am Muhammad, the son of 'Abdullah, the Servant of God, and His Apostle. I do not desire that you should exceed that which God has conferred on me." Once again a certain man came and addressed him with the words: "O best of the world!" The Prophet's reply was: "It was Abraham." 'Abdullah bin Sukhair relates that when the deputation of Bani 'Amir waited upon him they pointed to the Prophet and said: "Here is our Lord." The Prophet said: "Your Lord is God." They continued, saying: "He is the best of us, the noblest of us." The Prophet said: "When you speak, think and weigh whether or not it be Satan who is driving you." Humility of mind is put to a very severe test when a man is surrounded by admirers and faithful followers who are ready to shed their blood for his sake. But the Prophet's humility of mind becomes all the more conspicuous on such occasions. It is related that when he entered Mecta as a conqueror, with zealous admirers all around him, numbering more than ten thousand ready to sacrifice their lives for him, the Prophet bent his head so low as to touch the saddle. Makhzama, one of the companions of the Prophet, asked his son to accompany him to the Prophet and request him to give them their share of the sheets of cloth which the Prophet had received. The distribution was already over when they arrived, and the Prophet was no longer in the Mosque. Makhzama asked his son to call out the Prophet. The son said: "But how can I dare do such a thing as to call out the Prophet?" Makhzama said: "Son, Muhammad is not harsh by nature." Maswar was emboldened by his father's words, and did as requested. The Prophet came out immediately, and gave them their due share.

THE PROPHET AT HIS MEALS

The Prophet ate what he found ready. The dish he liked above all was of which numerous persons ate. And when the table was spread and ready, he would pray to God. He often squatted at meals like a Muslim when praying, but his thigh answered to his thigh, and his foot to his foot, and he would say he was a creature, and lived by eating like other creatures and sat like them also. He would not take his dinner when hot, but would say it lacked blessing, and that God did not give us fire to eat, so let it be cooled. He would eat at his hand's length, with three fingers, and sometimes added the fourth also for support. Once Usman bin 'Affan brought falooda (pudding) to him, and when he had eaten of it he asked him: "Father of 'Abdullah, what is this?" Usman said: "My life on thee, my sire. We put honey and butter in a pot and cook it on fire, and adding wheat flour to them, we keep stirring them with a spoon till it is cooked to the consistency you see." The Prophet then said: "It is a delicacy or sumptuous fare." The Prophet would eat bread made of unsifted barley flour, and would eat green cucumber with green dates, and salt of the green fruits; he liked grapes and melons more than anything else. He would eat melons with bread and candy. Sometimes he would eat melon with green dates and would eat with his fingers. One day, while eating dates with his right hand, putting the stones in his left hand, a goat happened to come near him. He showed her the stones, and she ate them out of his left hand, while he himself was with his right till he had done eating, when the goat went away. He often ate dates with water. He would now and then take a sip of milk and eat a date over it, and would then repeat drinking and eating good things in turn. He would eat sarih with meat and pumpkin, which he liked much. 'Aisha says that Muhammad ordered her to put much pumpkin when cooking, as it strengthens a saddened heart. Of a goat he liked the forerquarter; of the cubiary objects, the pumpkin; of the things used with bread, the vinegar; of the dates, the ground dates; of the vegetables he liked only two or three. He would not use raw onion or garlic; and never did he despise a meal, but would eat it if it pleased him or refuse it if he disliked it. When he finished his meals he would pray to, thank and praise the Almighty God. When he are bread and meat curry he would wash his hands well till they were perfectly clean, and would then wash his face with the water so left. He would drink water three times, and every time recite a blessing, Bismillah in the beginning and Alhamdulillah after finishing. He would drink water slowly and not by large mouthfuls; and sometimes he would finish his drink of water in one draught. He would not take breath in the bowl or cup from which he was drinking, but would breathe out of it when necessary. He never ordered his meals to be brought by his wives, nor wished them to prepare any favourite dish, but ate what they gave him and accepted what was placed before him and drank what was brought to him; and sometimes he would fetch his dinner plates himself.
THE CONCEPTION OF THE STATE IN ISLAM

By MAULANA MUHAMMAD 'ALI

The State was originally intended to ensure liberty and justice for man and protect him from the oppression of his more powerful neighbours, but with the advancement of the material civilisation its tendency is more and more to deprive man of his freedom, to enslave him, and to become an instrument of oppression instead of being a check on it. Broadly speaking, material civilisation has developed three kinds of States, the Democratic State, the Fascist State and the Bolshevik State. Of these the Fascist told us in plain words that the State is all in all, the individual being only a slave to carry out its will. The Fascist leaders were at least candid, though undoubtedly wrong, when they say that "the dogma according to which the individual personality has a right to its liberty and to its dignity can bring nothing but destruction," or that "man is only free in and through the whole; the whole can only be a sovereign state which tolerates no discussion and no control." The Bolshevik State, which may rightly be called the Capitalist State, goes a step further than the Fascist and carries to the extreme in practice the Fascist theory by depriving the individual both of his freedom and his property. As regards the Democratic State, its claims are high-sounding so far as theory goes, but in practice it goes further than even its two younger sisters by enslaving under different names more than half the human race, whose only fault is their weakness.

All these new conceptions of the State are the natural outcome of the lines along which the material civilisation of the West is advancing. Material benefits have so obsessed the views of the civilised world that God and religion have been relegated to the corner of oblivion and the higher values of life are utterly neglected. The Western States may not be one in their lip-professions so far as the supreme authority of God is concerned, but, strangely enough, they are one in worshipping the two new gods which material civilisation has created in place of the One God Whom it has dismissed as a thing of the past. The Nation and the State are the new idols before which the civilised man has fallen prostrate. And along with the old—perhaps the oldest living—god, Mammon, Materialism has its own Trinity in the place of the Trinity of the Church. The gain of economic advantages or the acquisition of wealth being the sole consideration of the civilised man, he is prepared to make any sacrifice that is required of him to gain this end, in the name of the State and for the love of the Nation. Wealth, the Nation and the State have thus the highest place of honour in the heart of the civilised man and he worships these idols. The desire to bow is there in human nature, and if men will not bow before their Maker, they must bow before things of their own making. Unworthy objects of worship have, however, always led humanity to ruin, and the worship of Mammon and its two associates, the Nation and the State, through which alone access can be had to the chief idol of the Trinity of Materialism, is even now leading civilisation to sure destruction.

The State was needed to stop the aggression of man against man, to protect the weak against the strong and to ensure justice between man and man. But where do we find the civilised State? The State in the West, whether it is labelled as a Democracy or as a Fascist or Bolshevik State, stands for expansion, for aggression and for oppressing the weak who are considered to be unfit to take care of themselves. It is not Machiavelli alone with whom "consideration of justice or injustice" carries no weight, and "every scruple must be set aside" when the safety of the State is at stake. Even those who condemn him are following in his footsteps; they go in fact a step further, as the expansion of the State is as much of a duty with them as its defence. With the gold of the world in their possession and with their bombs and bombers, they claim that they have got an additional right of expanding themselves to bring more and more economic advantages to their own people. Marching into another nation's country becomes a duty with them when that nation is too weak to defend itself; falling on it like a bolt from the blue so that it should not be able to take any measures of self-defence is a happy performance. Aggression is the very essence of the civilised State. The weak have no rights; the right belongs only to those who have the might, who have the strength to command respect and attention; so that if a weak neighbour does not pay attention to the word of a powerful State, it may be wiped out of its existence. This mentality has been developed by every Western nation, so that every State strives to outvie others in its armies and armaments. And the result is the deadly conflict of the different States and a burning passion to destroy one another.

The responsibility for this state of things rests entirely with the materialistic conception of the State. Every State must necessarily be invested with power with which it may stop aggression and oppression and protect the weak, dealing out fair justice to all. The advance of science has increased this power a thousandfold. On the other hand, the materialistic outlook on life has made man more unscrupulous in the use of his

Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, the Translator of the Holy Qur'an. There is probably no living Muslim scholar who has written in English in defence of Islam more than be
power against fellow-man, and with advancement in the conquest of nature, the conquest of self which alone serves as a check on the tyranny of man against man, has been retarded and thrown to the background. The result is that the increased powers of the State which must necessarily be exercised through individuals are being used more for the enslavement and destruction of man than for his deliverance from tyranny and for upholding the cause of truth and justice. It has been rightly remarked that while science has given man powers fit for the gods, to their use the civilised man brings the mentality of a savage. The State, instead of being helpful in increasing human happiness for which it was originally meant, has become the greatest menace to human happiness, the individual being so enthralled by this idol that, willingly or unwillingly, he is working as part of a machinery for the destruction of humanity.

It is to remedy this evil that Islam requires the vesting of State authority in the hands of men who are God-fearing before all. The head of the State in Islam is called both an amir, lit., one who commands or rules, and an imam, lit., a person whose example is followed, i.e., a person who stands on a very high moral plane. On his death-bed, the Prophet Muhammad gave an indication as to who should succeed him as the head of the Muslim State by appointing Abu Bakr, admittedly the fittest man, to lead prayers for the Muslims in his absence. For a long time this practice was continued, and the head of the State led the prayers. Righteousness—fear of God and regard for other people's rights—was as necessary a qualification for the ruler as fitness to rule. Spiritual force alone could enable a man to control the powers which temporal authority gives him, and which in the absence of such a force are often in danger of being abused, and the early Islamic State organization, which combined the offices of the spiritual and the temporal head of the community, was, therefore, the most perfect which the history of statecraft can show. The head of the State considered himself responsible to God, in the first place, for the exercise of his temporal authority. His responsibility to those who elected him was secondary.

There exists a misconception in some quarters that the Islamic State was a theocracy. The head of the Muslim State never considered himself a representative of God on earth but a representative of men who were chosen to serve them, but he certainly considered himself responsible to God for every act that he did in the exercise of his authority. Perhaps history cannot show a greater conqueror than 'Umar, the second successor of the Prophet, a conqueror and an administrator at one and the same time. Yet he would not stop even one of his lowest subjects rebuking him in public. "Fear God, O 'Umar!" said the man repeatedly; and when some people wanted to stop the man, 'Umar himself intervened, saying, "Let him say so; of what use are these people if they do not tell me such things?"

This monarch of four kingdoms visited a famine-stricken camp at night incognito, and when he found a woman with no food to give her children he rushed back to Medina, a distance of three miles, and took a sack of flour on his back to feed the destitute woman and her children. When a servant offered his services to carry the load, he simply replied, "In this life you might carry my burden for me, but who will carry my burden on the day of judgment?" Yet when this great servant of his people was lying on his death-bed and a young man lauded his great services, he said, "Enough, young fellow! It is sufficient if the evil I may have done in the exercise of authority is neutralized by any good that I have done." It is such a mental attitude alone which can make men fit for ruling their fellow-beings. But such a mentality is created only by a strong faith in God and a feeling of one's responsibility to God.

It was such a responsible government that Islam created, government by men who realized that above all things they were responsible to God for every thing which they did. The men to be honoured—and entrusting a man with command was certainly doing him honour—were those who paid the greatest regard to their duties (the Qur'an 49:13), and it was such men that were to be placed in authority over others: "God commands you to make over (positions of) trust to those worthy of them" (the Qur'an 4:58). Every one who was entrusted with authority in the State organization was told that he was a ruler in his own sphere, and that he was responsible to God for those who were placed under his trust. Says the Prophet: "Every one of you is a ruler and every one of you shall be questioned about those under his rule; the king is a ruler and he shall be questioned about his subjects; and the man is a ruler in his family and he shall be questioned about those under his care; and the woman is a ruler in the house of her husband and she shall be questioned about those under her care; and the servant is a ruler so far as the property of his master is concerned and he shall be questioned about that which is entrusted to him." The ruler or head of the State is thus, along with all those persons who hold any authority over others, placed in the same category as a servant. Just as a servant is entrusted with certain property for which he is responsible to his master, those entrusted with State authority, in whatever position they may be, are entrusted with the care of the people and guarding their rights, and for the proper discharge of their duties they are responsible, in the first place, to the real Master—who is God, and then to the people who have entrusted them with this charge. A right mentality of the different parts of the State machinery is the first necessity of a good State organization, and the greatest stress is therefore laid on this in the Islamic conception of the State.

The verses and the hadith quoted above show further that hereditary kingship is foreign to the conception of the State in Islam. Nor is it an autocracy, as uncontrolled authority is not vested in the head of the State. Speaking of the great qualities of Muslims, their reliance on their God, their shunning of all kinds of indecency, their forgiveness, their keeping up of prayers, the Holy Qur'an says: "And their rule is by counsel among themselves" (42:38). So much was the principle of counsel to be adhered to that the Prophet himself was enjoined upon in the Holy Qur'an to take counsel with his followers in affairs of State: "Pardon them and ask protection for them and take counsel with them in affairs of State" (3:158). The Islamic State is thus a democracy in the truest sense of the word. The first successor to the Prophet was Abu Bakr, who was elected as the head of the state by the agreement of all parties, and so were the three successors that followed him. Why the State organization was needed and what the constitutional position of the head of the State was, was explained by Abu Bakr in his very first address:

"You have elected me Khalifa (successor to the Prophet as temporal head of the State), but I claim no superiority over you. The strongest among you shall be the weakest with me until I get the rights of others from him, and the weakest among you shall be the strongest with me until I get all his rights . . . Help me if I act rightly and correct me if I take a wrong course . . . Obey me so long as I obey God and His Messenger. In case I disobey God and His Messenger, I have no right to obedience from you."

The people's responsibility to the State is to respect its laws and obey its orders so long as they do not require disobedience to God and His Messenger; orders of the State which involve disobedience to God shall not be obeyed. It was considered an act of great merit, "an excellent Jihad," to speak out the truth in the presence of an unjust ruler. But active opposition to constituted authority or rebellion against it is not allowed, "unless you see an act of open unbelief in which you have a
clear argument from God” (The Prophet Muhammad). In such an extreme case, the Khilifa may even be deposed. The head of the State was a servant of the State who was paid a fixed salary for maintenance out of the public treasury, like all other public servants. He had no special privileges, and in his private capacity he could be sued in the court like any other member of the Muslim community. ‘Umar the Great, ruler of four kingdoms, appeared as a defendant in the court of a magistrate. Among the orders given to his provincial governors was this, that they shall be accessible at all hours of the day to those who had a complaint to make, and that they shall not keep a door-keeper who should prohibit people from approaching them. And further that they shall make themselves accustomed to lead hard lives. The head of the State carried on the administration with the help of ministers, all important state affairs being decided by a council.

Those entrusted with carrying on the work of government, including the head, were required to work for the good of the people: “There is not a man whom God grants to rule people, then he does not manage their affairs for their good but he will not smell the sweet odour of paradise” (the Prophet Muhammad). They were required to be gentle to the people, so as to make them rejoice on account of the State management, and were forbidden to do anything which might cause aversion. They were enjoined to lead simple lives and to be easily accessible to those who needed their services, to be God-fearing, to tax the different classes of people according to their capacity, to provide for those who could not earn, and to have as much regard for the rights of the non-Muslims as for those of the Muslims. The State was not only required to maintain uncared-for families, but also to pay the unpaid debts which were contracted for a lawful need.

As regards relations with other States and questions of peace and war, the motto of the Islamic State is a defensive war and a generous peace. War was a necessary human condition but the principle was laid down in the clearest words that there should be no aggression. It was in defence alone that permission was granted to the Muslims to fight: “And fight in the way of God with those who fight you and do not exceed this limit” (The Qur’ān 2:190). And on another occasion: “Permission to fight is granted to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed” (The Qur’ān 22:39).

This does not leave the slightest doubt that Islam does not allow aggressive war; neither does it allow a war for expansion, nor a war for prestige. It only allows war when a State has been attacked. And even then, if the enemy offers peace, peace must be concluded. The enemies of Islam attacked the Muslim State to annihilate it. “They will not cease fighting with you,” says the Holy Qur’ān, “until they turn you back from your religion if they can” (2:217). Yet even if such an enemy desired peace, the Muslim State could not refuse it: “If they incline to peace, do thou incline to it and trust in God” (The Qur’ān 8:39). The proposal of peace might be insincere; it might be made to gain time and prepare for another war; but even then peace was to be preferred: “And if they intend to deceive thee, then surely God is sufficient for thee” (The Qur’ān 8:39). The Muslim’s faith in God was an assurance to him that if the enemy made another war, he would again be defeated and would have to beg for peace.

Such a war was a mercy; it was mercy at its start because it had to be fought in self-defence—a people were to be saved from the aggressor who was out to annihilate them; it was a mercy in the end because it had to be stopped when the aggressor sued for peace—safety of the oppressed being the object, not the annihilation of the aggressor. It was a mercy for the non-combatants, who in civilised warfare are greater victims of the tyranny of war than even the combatants, as there was an express prohibition against the killing of non-combatants. Not even the aggressors were to be annihilated, because annihilation was not the only means of stopping the aggression. At times, a generous peace was a better corrective than annihilation. The attempt to annihilate a people would only fan the fire of revenge among the vanquished, while a generous peace might bring about a change of heart. Hence it was that Islam did not allow the rejection of an offer of peace even by an aggressor.

It was in this generous spirit that the Prophet treated his own enemies. For twenty-one long years he suffered unimaginable tortures at the hands of his foes; and he and his faithful band of followers were persecuted most cruelly; even when they fled from their homes and found a haven of peace in distant Medina, the powerful warriors of Mecca attacked them in their new homes. Three times did the enemy attack Medina with strong forces to annihilate the small Muslim community that had found shelter there. Yet when the time came to punish the brutal aggressors who were at the mercy of the Prophet and his followers at the conquest of Mecca, they were greeted with a message of love: “This day there shall be no reproach against you.” This generous treatment brought about a change of heart in the erstwhile blood-thirsty enemies, turning them into fast friends. It is such a peace that the world needs to-day, but only a State based on the broad principles of Islam could offer such a peace.

There exists a great misconception regarding jihād, one of the five basic religious obligations of a Muslim. It literally means the exerting of one’s power in repelling the enemy or in contending with an object of disapprobation. In the terminology of Islam it is used in both these senses, being applied to the purely missionary activities of a Muslim and his defence of the faith in a physical sense. The first duty, the duty to invite people to Islam, is a permanent duty laid upon all Muslims of all ages, while the second is a duty which arises upon certain contingencies. The Holy Qur’ān and the Hadith call attention to both these duties in the clearest and most forceful words, under the name of jihād. A jihād—jihād-an kabīr-an, or a mighty struggle—by means of the Qur’ān must be carried on against the unbelievers, we are told: “Strive hard against them (jihād-hum), a mighty striving (jihād-an kabīr-an) with it (i.e., The Qur’ān)” (25:52). Islam’s greatest jihād is, therefore, not by means of the sword but by means of the Holy Qur’ān, i.e., a missionary effort to carry the message of Islam to all nations. Hence it is laid down that there should always be among Muslims a party to invite people to Islam: “And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoins what is right and forbids what is wrong, and these it is that shall be successful.” (The Qur’ān 3:103).

Fighting was undoubtedly allowed but it was expressly allowed only as a defensive measure against those who took up the sword to annihilate Islam, as already shown. The sword could not be used to force Islam on others, compulsion in religion being forbidden in clear words: “There is no compulsion in religion” (The Qur’ān 2:256). There is not a single instance on record in the Prophet’s life in which an expedition was undertaken to convert a people to Islam; nor was a single individual ever required to confess the faith of Islam at the point of sword. Speaking of the fighting with Iran in ‘Umar’s time, and quoting ‘Umar as saying: “I desire that between Mesopotamia and the countries beyond, the hills shall be a barrier so that the Persians shall not be able to get at us, nor we at them,” even an antagonistic writer like Sir William Muir admits that “the obligation to enforce Islam by a universal crusade had not yet dawned upon the Muslim mind.” If such an idea was unknown to Muslim mind in the lifetime of the Prophet or during the Early Caliphate, it certainly is not Islamic.
PAKISTAN IN WORLD AFFAIRS

By Z. A. SULERI

The foreign policy of a nation is an effort to pursue its ideals, and build up material interests to support those ideals in a given world situation. It further means the choice of allies and friends in accordance with the degree of affinity in outlook. To some, Pakistan will naturally be warmer in regard than to others. Her foreign policy can at once be stated as that of peace and support of the United Nations Charter. No one needs peace more than Pakistan, for it has so much lee-way to make up. Thoughts of aggression are completely incompatible with her ideals.

Looking at the world from this point of view, Pakistan must first turn its eyes towards the Muslim countries. Afghanistan, Iran, the Arab States and Turkey, the first act of the Pakistan Foreign Minister in the United Nations Assembly was to plead the case of the Palestine Arabs. In considering an association with Muslim countries, Pakistanis do not think in material terms, but in those of common ideals of life, to whose fulfilment they wish to employ all their material possessions.

The idea of Pan-Islam has been suspected as dangerous by the opponents of Islam, in the East and the West. This opposition is strange. Countries in the West are basing their hopes of a union on their common heritage of Christianity. The Communist world under the aegis of Russia is welded into a single formidable bloc on the grounds of its common ideology. Both seek sanctum for these alliances from the Charter of the United Nations, which clearly envisages regional arrangements. Why should not the Muslim countries come to a similar arrangement for mutual benefit and strength? An Islamic bloc would have been natural under any circumstances; it has become urgent in the light of anti-Islamic policies followed by other powergroups.

The case of Palestine has compelled attention to the necessity for the immediate formation of such a bloc. The United Nations has a Western bias and it is only when the Muslim countries cultivate closer understanding among them that they will be able to influence its deliberations. The foremost step of the leaders of Pakistan should, therefore, be to devise ways and means of channelising the emotional unity of the world of Islam into mechanical and constitutional forms. While the Governments form some consultative machinery, the people should be afforded the chance of greater cultural contacts, through learning Arabic, the language of the Qur’an, and travelling. A exchange of students and teachers should also be organised. In the economic sphere, the Pakistan Government should lead in constituting a study group on the economic resources of all the Muslim countries. Such a study would reveal the direction in which the economic resources could be mobilised towards making the entire bloc strong as a whole. This should also suggest ways of avoiding economic development entirely dependent on America, Britain or any other country.

It is of vital importance to begin developing a collective view of the economic situation to replace the present state of anarchy in that sphere. This should be augmented by collective deliberations on foreign policy to determine a common attitude towards the United Nations.

Strategically, and here oil may be mentioned, the Muslim world occupies a most important position. Our endeavour should be to use our strategic position for the best results in the diplomatic world.

As nation-members in the Assembly, we can utilise our right to make our opinions known in a manner that may contribute to our strength and progress. Singly we are weak, but collectively we can be formidable. The time has not yet come for a single Muslim world order, but events have shown that it will be the only way to ensure Muslim existence.

The above feelings in Pakistan are now shared by other Muslim countries. World forces are challenging us to face the reality of the situation. Cultural, economic and diplomatic co-ordination will inevitably lead to the development of a political machinery to cover the constitutional and defensive sectors of life. These humble beginnings will develop into a full-blow Muslim world. Efforts to do things any other way will not be fruitful. So, united, the first task which awaits the attention of the Muslim world is to secure the liberation of the Muslim countries of North Africa, Indonesia and Malaya.

Consideration of our position in the British Commonwealth is of immediate importance. The first question that arises in this connection is: how much reality is there in such an association? What are the common ideals and interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations? The first year of our membership has not proved encouraging. Pakistan’s appeal for arbitration on the Kashmir issue failed to evoke any practical response. Again the Commonwealth has failed to take account of India’s aggression against Hyderabad. If the Commonwealth is unable to call to account its members on matters of such far-reaching consequence, what are its uses?

Before the emergence of India and Pakistan as independent nations, the Commonwealth was essentially representative of the British family of nations scattered in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. Their affinity of outlook and interests had a racial complexion. India and other subject colonies did not have any say in Commonwealth affairs except through British representatives. Thus a homogeneity of outlook, common allegiance to the Crown (more truly sentimental than formal) guaranteed the unanimity of views. India and Pakistan have now changed that complexion. Both people bring a new outlook to bear on every question. Their cultural background is different from the rest of the members and so are their interests. Unanimity of opinion cannot, as heretofore, be expected. On the other hand, the complex international situation demands closer consultation and association.

If the Commonwealth is to endure, it is thought, some kind of machinery should be devised to control inter-commonwealth questions. The question of devising such machinery is, indeed, already engaging the attention of many leaders of thought in Britain. Circumstances are, however, against the formation of too rigid a form of machinery as the very membership of India and Pakistan precludes such an eventuality. South Africa is definitely against an all-inclusive conference, where its policy might be made the subject of discussion and voting. South Africa would prefer a bilateral exchange of views and arrangements between member-nations. Such relations would express the warmth of feeling animating any two countries in the Commonwealth. Thus the degree of confidence to which they are able to be open to the other, whether it be shared, will be the same towards India and Pakistan or vice versa. The method of bilateral adjustment to accord with the varied degrees of relationship between any two countries would suit the requirements of all member-nations.

Looking at the situation from the British angle, it would be suitable for another good reason. Australia, Canada, New
Zealand and South Africa, through a long period of self-assertive existence, have been able to assess their true interests and so have developed a distinct approach to various international issues. For example, Canada has closely associated herself with the American sphere. Australia occupies a peculiar position in the Pacific and has to reconcile her policy towards the new independent nations there. South Africa's views about white interests in Africa are not necessarily those of the Colonial Department. Now, India and Pakistan have entered the Commonwealth with their own interests and views, and, it so happens, divergent interests and views. On the other hand, Britain has a conception of her own greatness. In the past, she has been used to presiding over international conferences, particularly Commonwealth conferences, and by virtue of her pre-eminent position always influenced the views of others. To-day, the material situation is against her. Her weakness has made the view-points of other Dominions more pronounced and their weight heavier, so that it is quite conceivable that Britain's views might not command the same support from the Dominions as before. Around a table, the views of any one Dominion can become the agreed views of the majority, and may well be in disagreement with Britain's. Thus the principle of collective responsibility subjects her policies to the judgment of all. British independence, on the contrary, is well-secured by a bilateral exchange of views; it leaves her free to determine her own policy or any given issue and to influence those of the Dominions by bilateral discussions.

The question which the leaders of Pakistan have to ask is whether they derive any particular benefit from Commonwealth membership, and whether they should advocate the setting up of a rigid form of machinery to decide inter-Dominion disputes and issues. Will the delegation of sovereignty to a Commonwealth Council thus involved be commensurate with benefits for Pakistan? I personally feel that, while association with the Commonwealth will give us some advantage, a further tightening of relationship through the agency of machinery will not suit Pakistan. Freedom to develop a relationship in whichever sphere is suited to our interests is much more important in the infant stage of our independence than for other senior members of the Commonwealth.

Another consideration which should confirm us in a cautious attitude is the design for Western Union. Britain is closely associated with the defensive system evolved by the Brussels Pact powers. Her leadership of Western Union is sure to involve her in policies, political and military, over which the Commonwealth, much less Pakistan, will have no control. The essence of Western Union lies in its thoroughly anti-Communist sentiments; and these sentiments are bound to shape the trends of Commonwealth policies. This out-and-out anti-Communist complexion of the Western bloc might suit Dominions like South Africa, whose policy of white domination in Africa is well served by this grand alliance, or even Australia, New Zealand and Canada who have already integrated their defensive plans with those of America; but it certainly does not accord with the best interests of Pakistan. Muslims are not Communists, but nor are they thirsting for battle with the Soviet Union.

Still another feature of Western Union which vitiates its conception for us is the plan of its component States to hold colonies in Africa, and elsewhere. The hard core of this Union is composed of Britain, France, Belgium and Holland—all colonial powers. Alone, they are unable to continue their domination in Africa, Indonesia, Indo-China and Malaya. Italy is also an important part of the proposed Union and every effort is being made to return her former colonies to her under one pretext or another.

Not only in pursuit of Pakistan's general policy of freedom for all subject countries and colonies, but particularly because some of these countries constitute integral parts of the Muslim world, Pakistan cannot be a party to any such design on the part of any power or group of powers. All these considerations point to an independent attitude towards the Com-
monwealth. The present loose association will leave us free to develop our relationships with member-nations according to mutual feelings of regard, trust and interests, and will not influence the development of our relations with the Muslim world.

An important question to be faced is our relationship with India. Pakistan desires cordial relations with India, not merely in pursuit of a general policy of peace, but also in recognition of certain circumstances. Geographically, both countries are situated in the same subcontinent. Past economic development makes continued co-operation desirable. Moreover, Muslims are sentimentally attached to India where millions of their co-religionists still live and where lie some of their cherished sacred and historic places. The background of independence movements also places a special responsibility on both of them towards the liberation movements of other countries in Asia, particularly Indonesia and Malaya in the south-east. Although Pakistan and India may have achieved their independence, the problem on consolidation still remains to be solved, and that common problem should draw them closer. India has been particularly vocal in championing the cause of freedom in Asia, but it seems that her leadership, ignoring the realities of the world situation, is pursuing just the opposite policy.

As has been noted, colonial domination is an integral part of the Western Union’s programme. Influential publicists like Walter Lippmann, consider French and other European powers’ hold in North Africa as strategically of the utmost importance to the American defensive system. The same consideration holds true in the case of Indonesia. Therefore, those who stand for the freedom of Asiatic countries, which is vital to their own independent existence, cannot hope to restrain the hands or influence the minds, diplomatically or otherwise, of Western politicians by this lack of unity in their own ranks. Conflict between India and Pakistan will only weaken their already unstable economic position and enable foreign powers to carry out their anti-Asiatic plans. Nehru’s hale-call to the Dutch in Indonesia can be more effective if he also calls a halt to his country’s aggression in Kashmir. Long term considerations should compel India to revise her policy towards Pakistan. As far as we are concerned, Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan. Our stand there would certainly make India sober. Our closer association with the Muslim countries in the Middle East should also help in our relations with India. Her interests demand the cultivation of cordial relations with the Middle Eastern countries, but she cannot possibly hope to develop such relations with them while maintaining her present attitude towards Pakistan.

Finally, what should be Pakistan’s attitude to the two great powers, Russia and America? The answer is simple. We do not want to be a satellite State of either of them. Independence is our watchword. Therefore, there is no question of our laying down a permanent policy of alliance or enmity for one or the other. We shall endeavour to maintain the best trade and diplomatic relations with America and Russia, though perhaps we can get what we need in capital goods more easily from America than Russia. But in no case should we be drawn into their conflicts. America, in the name of the Atlantic Community is organising both Americas, the Western countries and Africa into a grand alliance against the Soviet Union and her partners. Statesmanship demands that we steer clear of these gigantic world combines. Since our resolve is to develop our independent line of thought, we should forge our own bloc of Islamic countries. It is in the development of a united Islamic front, apart and distinct from the American and Soviet fronts, wherein lies our future. Away from it, there is little chance for our distinct existence. Once this front is built up, the independent nature of our relations with America and Russia will automatically fall into a proper perspective. Without it, our centre of life will necessarily be either in Moscow or Washington. Some of our politicians, deceived by short term advantages from America, will drag the nation towards Washington; others opposed to this trend will want us to make pilgrimage to Moscow. To demonstrate that the inspirational centre of gravity for Muslim life remains Mecca, will require the employment of all the mental and material resources that the nation can command.

To sum up, the secret of Pakistan’s independent existence and growth lies in developing close ties with the Muslim world. Even in purely physical terms, regionalism can be counteracted by regionalism. Having grasped this central fact of our foreign policy, it will be easy to define and maintain an independent policy to the rest of the world. Our greatest danger will be to believe in the inevitable necessity of following the lead of either Russia or America. The independence of smaller nations can yet restrain the war-like outlook of these two blocs, and the smaller nations should realise, not only for the sake of their own existence but for the sake of world peace, that they might well provide a Third Force. No amount of immediate advantages should blind the leaders of Pakistan to the necessity for freedom of future action. As Muslim countries, we can play an important role in the assembly of the United Nations. Free from the complex of power-politics we should be able to judge every issue impartially and not from any preconceived bias in favour of one power-group or the other.

The raising of the standards of justice and peace is the most urgent need of the United Nations. Weak otherwise, we might well be the people to raise these standards. Therein lies our greatest victory indeed, the consummation of our historic role as Muslims.

WHITHER PAKISTAN?

:: BY ::

Z. A. SULERI
(Author of “MY LEADER”)

The ideological basis of Pakistan has faced the new-born nation with the urgent problems of defining its approach to modern social, political and economic institutions in the light of Islamic values; and of fashioning its foreign relations in the present critical world situation. In an attempt to answer these questions, Mr. Suleri has given a masterly summary of the drift of thought of a people who have boldly proclaimed their determination to uphold the principles of their religion, Islam, under the darkening clouds of materialism.

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The Living World of Islam

By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

Professor of Oriental Culture and Philosophy

It may be true that the universal theocratic democracy which gave the early Islamic period a drive and force, has from time to time received a check. The portents of present-day conditions, however, make it imperative that the people of Islam should rally round a unity of feeling, before the onslaught of a materialistic world may inflict upon them a fatal blow.

For more than a century, not entirely without the connivance of the Christian West, the great confederacy of Islam has been imbuing economic and political nationalism; and, therefore, tribal loyalties and pride in national and racial heritage— as opposed to Muslim history—raised its head again. It was precisely this form of aggrandisement which the preaching of the Prophet was calculated to destroy, so that success in that direction imparted a true purpose to the spread and triumph of Islam.

Obscure even to many Muslims themselves, these consequential propensities, however, soon gripped the minds of those in power in many Muslim lands. And one heard such slogans as Pan-Turanism, Pan-Iranianism—and even the dark-skinned Muslims and the fair-complexioned ones, forgetting that the black-skinned Sayyidina Bilal was one of the major personalities of the Prophet’s time and that in the sight of God in the Qur’an, the only excellence or differentiation is according to the degree of piety and godly living, and that one man is equal to another in all respects.

The progress of this disintegration of the original conception of the brotherhood of the Muslim world is due to many reasons; political, social and economic, in which the Muslims were bound to be affected by enforced contact with the Christian West. The impact could be neutralised only by one form of strength: the spiritual. So long as the Muslims could show to mankind that matter was after all subordinate to the things of the spirit, and that religion entered into their thoughts and actions, nothing could overpower them.

The Governments, whether dictatorial or democratic, could have received strength from the “inward qualities of the people,” rather than by apeing the European system of mechanical advancement, and considering it as the end of all things. Not that the weapons of a machine age should not or could not have been pressed into the service of the Muslim peoples; but such adjuncts ought to have been invested around a hard core of ethical sanctions.

It was to awaken his co-religionists to this truth that that Man of God, Syed Jamaluddin Afgani operated throughout the World of Islam from 1858 to 1896. The torch that he bore, and the various candles that have since been lit, call the 400,000,000 sons of Islam, from West Africa to the fringes of the Far East, to reclaim their glorious past and to save the ailing world of to-day from the unpredictable fate of an atomic age. For gargantuan drums which are now being beaten to warm mankind of the coming of a catastrophe should not go unheeded, if the past is not to be choked by the present. The time, therefore, is ripe for Muslims to band together to save humanity from self-destruction.

The message of the great Syed is to be upheld by every Muslim in this hour of trial, so that by forming a Unit, or rather reverting to their original conception of one Unit—as Brothers in Islam—they may worthily prove to the distracted non-Muslim peoples that the Islamic form of philosophy is the only real custodian of world peace. This can only be done by fulfilling the crying need of an Irthihad Muslimin where there are no, Pakistani Muslims, Chinese Muslims, Afghan Muslims, and Arab Muslims; but Muslim brothers: and that there is no China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia or Egypt, but Darul Islam—the Land of the Muslims.

Let us look into the lives and labour of those who have worked for this worthy ideal, and from that deduce what our own actions in that direction should be. Born at Asabad in the Kunar Syed family of Afghanistan, the Syed’s great scholarship gained for him the high dignity of being selected as the tutor of the Afghan Crown Prince, but the court atmosphere at Kabul proving uncongenial to him, he left for the Sultan-Khalifa’s capital of Istanbul. Then being attracted to the devout influence of Cairo, he enjoyed the patronage of the Khedive Tewfik; and there had the first opportunity of exposing the non-Muslims’ intrigue for weakening the bond of friendship amongst the Muslim peoples.

But, soon these foreign influences which had rendered Egypt’s Muslim monarch powerless, compelled the Khedive to banish the Syed in 1879 from Cairo. In his quest for a free country whence he could loudly condemn the thraldom of those who throttled the Muslim peoples, Jamaluddin Afgani endeavoured in vain to go to America. During his brief stay in London, too, his activities for Islam were circumscribed; and not until he arrived in Paris did his work begin to take shape. From the liberal vistas of the French capital he was able to start his Islamic review entitled "Al-Urwat al-Wuthqa"; he refused the attack of Renan in his Sorbonne lecture. This fact is a sad commentary upon the power and prestige of the Muslims, that the only place whence he could advocate the cause of the “liberation” of his co-religionists was the non-Muslim country of France: from which it can be imagined to what depths the Muslim peoples and their rulers had descended in regard to their free action and thought.

JANUARY 1949
The enemies of the Mahdi tried without result to enlist his sympathies against the Sudanese. In 1886 he returned to Persia; then he was sent to Moscow; again he was in Persia, until exiled again; but he continued to preach his Union of Muslims theory far and wide. Later, as he was regarded as a "good agent" by the Sultan, he went back to Egypt and gathered a large following—only to return to Turkey, where he died somewhat embittered, due to the fact that the Sultan’s interest was purely one of personal ascendency, and was not all-embracing for the benefit and union of all Islamic countries. The Syed was too good a Muslim to walk on moral stilts.

Shaikh Muhammad ’Abdu, who, as a favoured disciple of Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, took up the call of Ittihad-ul-Islam from 1849-1905 in Egypt, reconciled the Syed’s doctrines with modernism in so far as to permit the adoption of certain European methods of working out the renascence among the Muslim people; and the liberal programme which he promulgated had its counterpart in distant Muslim India through Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh University. Shaikh Muhammad ’Abdu’s co-operation with the national movement of Arabi Pasha is not unlike Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s making common cause with the British administration in India, save in the sense that Sir Syed had yet to “make a Muslim Nation” out of 400,000,000 Indians; and that Muslim national consciousness had to be fashioned through an educational programme with its fountain-head in the United Provinces of India.

When Shaikh Muhammad ’Abdu agitated for reforms of Al-Azhar in 1888, and began the publication of al-Manar, the Muslims of the Middle East were already a step ahead of the Indian Muslims; where Sir Syed was first to educate his people, and slowly to invite Turkish and Persian Muslims to send their students to Aligarh. The movements of the two succeeded because, finding the Muslims of the time too far “apart,” they had temporised with the “Great Syed’s” views without sacrificing the spirit of them.

These movements were showing good results all round; and focal points began to show signs of a revival towards an Ittihad; but non-Muslim elements felt very unhappy about it. Time and again one or the other party endeavoured to ally the several awakening groups of Muslims towards their own Power politics; but men of courage and wisdom amongst the Muslims could still be found, who preferred to serve under no other banner than Islam’s. Therefore among the non-Muslims it became a fashion from then onwards to regard this resurgence as some sort of threat to the Christian West by taking up the reprehensible chant of the French journalist Gaston Chare, who joined the word Pan-Islamism for us, in tune with such harassing phrases as the Yellow-Peril, little crediting that renascent Islam had nothing in view but to extricate itself from the welter of centuries in which its ignorant priests, unknowingly working for non-Muslims, had precipitated their co-religionists.

From 1908 the Muslim world entered into an era of confusion and distrust: confusion in the sense that ’Abdul Hamid’s tottering Empire gave reality to Gladstone’s dictum of Turkey being the Sick Man of Europe. The naming of the Sultan in the Khutba on Friday in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the Khalifa, the opening of the Hijaz railway to Medina, the reception of Turkish envos amongst the Indian Muslims as an Islamic gesture, the right of appointment of the Grand Qadi at Cairo, were merely the flickerings of a dying candle; until at last the resurgent Young Turks dispersed the illusion, and many in the Delhi mosques wept over the defeated glory that was the Khilafat.

The bitter regret amongst sentimental Muslims was not entirely because Istanbul was no longer Suleiman’s Turkey; but the fact that the rise of the Committee of Union and Progress was Pan-Turanc, and now looked not towards the Egyptian, the Arab or the Javanese as their helpers, but hoped to bring under Turkish interests all those Turkish-speaking people who lived in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Turkish nationalism had to be strengthened. As if this was not enough, the imperialism of the West was also copied to the extent that when the Arab nationalists—no doubt due to the prevailing atmosphere—demanded the recognition of their nationhood, a man of Jamal Pasha’s importance, the Governor of Syria, admonished them by saying that a Syrian demand was tantamount to a revolt against the Turkish Imperial Government at Constantinople.

Having lost its own bearings, contemporary Islam now began more readily to play into foreign hands; for if a Pan-Islamic Society was started in Berlin at the behest of the Kaiser in 1911, a loyal Muslim Association was brought into being in Calcutta, not entirely without British “approval” and support; and the Kazan Muslim Conference under the guise of a Sunni-Shia federation in 1906 gave an opportunity to the Czarist regime not to lag behind in enticing the Muslims towards a Russo-Muslim co-operation.

The bluff, however, was called when in 1913 the heavy tapestry of priest-made and unnatural political exploitation was laid bare by the non-acknowledgment of the call to a Holy War as proclaimed by the Turks against the Allies. Muslim soldiers of India fought against their co-religionists in Syria, in Iraq, and in the Frontier Province of India; even the Muslim Princes of India sent help against Afghanistan in 1919. Nor a Muslim hand was lifted to redeem the national integrity of Egypt, the Arab fight for self-assertion was resented, and the ancient Emirate of Bokhara succumbed under the red tide of 1917 without a single shot being fired by their fellow-Muslims in the defence of the Uzbek realm and thought. Muslims everywhere were in the dust when the First World War ended: and ashes were upon their heads even a decade after that date, for European magic had done its work; dismemberment of the Muslim confederacy was complete. Nationhood was upon the lips of every Muslim, and the new-found liberty in Asia brought the freed slaves to membership of the League of Nations at Geneva, not as brother Muslims, but as spokesmen of their race and tradition. Chauvinism was writ large upon every banner.

The shades of Jamaluddin Afghani and of Shaikh Muhammad ’Abdu receded further into the depths of the European fog, the intrigue of the West had been an enchantment: the radiant days of the early Khilafat were to their eyes but chimerical, unreal in the pounding, throbbing life of the advancing, conquering might of the Christian West. All else was without value, the existentialism of Nietzsche captured the Soul of the East and the West, the Prophet’s teachings were only a smouldering ember giving no warmth to a world built for export and import, and the only thing that interfered with the easy flow thereof was a world war; not once but twice in a generation, with a third devastation in prospect from whatever reason.

In between the two wars, here and there, of course, there has been a break in the clouds: the Oriental League of Cairo organised by ’Abdul Hamid al-Bekri in 1922, the Young Men’s Muslim Association in 1927, the Al-Mo'tarm al-Islamî in Mecca in 1927; one in Jerusalem and another—the European Muslim Conference—at Geneva, have all been indicative to the wiser heads among the Muslims of the fact that at least Young Islam was on trek, seeking the road to its original home, no longer unsure of its path—the path to the Book and the Tradition—and everyone was preparing to meet the challenge of material-
ism, striving to rid himself of the slough and the dross that had accumulated over the true practices of the Prophet's day (which was entirely due to the straying of the faithful from the right path) and realising that the majestic idea of nationalism—aggressive economic nationalism, the only form that the Christian West knows—was foreign to the spirit and the purpose of Islam. Millions of enlightened Muslims have now awakened from their half-slumber, no longer should the intriguing peace-slogans of non-Muslims rock them back into repose. No more must they compromise by arbitration with the West in things of purely material face and form. They should now exorcise this evil from their bodies and souls, and dedicate themselves to that truth which made Islam the instrument of peace and contentment to all and sundry, so shall they rule the future with the recollection of their past.

No longer are they ready for further metachrosis, but consider the love of another man's country as the best form of patriotism. Already the Islamic scintilla which each and every one of my co-religionists has preserved in his heart is kindling, and by the grace of God will act in every bosom as a worthy beacon to guide not only himself, but distracted humanity also to the real destiny of peace and fellowship divine.

To do that we are, further, to banish all thoughts of irredentism from our hearts, and to bring about an immediate coming together of all Muslims—Arabs, Persians, Afghans, Pakistanis, Chinese and the rest—again into one fold: a fold from which none can take them, a refuge which has the benediction of God. Let us no longer fear the West if we come together, nor think that the Christian West will consider that such a Muslim Unity has aggressive designs against them. Let the Christian West continue in its hallucination, for if even after 1,300 years' contact with us, and in spite of our most honourable dealings with them, they still feel that their safety resides in discord amongst the Muslim peoples, then surely they are the smitten of God, and God alone can cure them. We can promise the non-Muslims—if our practice has ever been at variance—that we do not intend to be aggressive, and that we shall always stand by our friends. Unlike others, our path was never strewn with the wrecked souls of our friends.

We should, therefore, arise, to claim our tradition and, being sure of our purpose, unite for the benefit of the Muslim world and to give humanity that peace and contentment which mankind sorely needs to-day; but speedy action should be our watchword:

"For strong souls
Live like fire-hearted suns; to spend their strength
In furthest striving action."

A general view of the interior of al-Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem, where during the al-Motamir al-Islaml (the Muslim Conference) some fourteen years ago, the solidarity of Islam as one unit was emphasised by requesting a Shīa divine to lead the entire congregation in prayers.
INDIAN MUSLIMS OR MUSLIM INDIANS?

By Dr. BARON 'UMAR VON EHRENFELS

1.—The Problem of Muslim Indians.

"Can we live as real Indians?" is the question which many Indian Muslims ask themselves, "can we take part in the re-birth of the Indian nation?"

Nationhood, unlike nationality, cannot be sharply defined. Nationhood rests on affinities in a common race, language, geographical environment, culture and tradition. But few nations in the world consist of a single unit covering all these spheres. Even such a small and steadfast nation as the Swiss comprises different racial, linguistic, religious and historical elements within its limits.

A vast country like India can, no doubt, be no exception to that rule. B. S. Guha\(^1\) established fifteen areas of different racial configurations in India. Most Indian languages belong to four different linguistic families (Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic). There are even more cultural types than there are religions, religion being one, but by no means the only factor, in the building up of civilization. There are, in India, various types of industrial, agricultural, nomadic, fishing, and other food-producing types of culture. There are patriarchal and matriarchal joint family systems, side by side with various types of individualistic- and group-economy social organizations. Even the ideally well-defined geographical unity of the mother country is sub-divided into sharply outlined provinces, such as the Gangetic valley, the plateau of Southern India or the South-Western coast of Kerala.

Some of these nation-constituting elements are, in the case of Muslim Indians, some places slightly at variance with those of their neighbours. Muslim Tamilians or Malayalees are often the product of racial mixtures, somewhat different from those of their Hindu and Christian neighbours, since among the latter there was usually less inter-caste marriage than among the former. Muslims from the United Provinces or Rajput, racially very much like their Hindu neighbours, use a somewhat different form of Hindustani, and so on. But such partial deviations cannot be considered as constituting different nations. The same or similar racial deviations from their immediate neighbours is often also present in various Hindu castes who, like the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and others, had already spread over vast parts of the country in India's early history.

The same is no doubt also of religion and ideology. These cannot make or unmake nationhood, however bitter a quarrel over them may rage within a nation. This also applies to the history of Sivaism and Vaishnavism in India, Catholicism and Protestantism in Europe, as well as Nationalism and Communism in China. They may bring partitions, civil wars and interference from outside powers; but do not create new nations, or integrate nationhood.

The fact that there existed Muslim States in India, such as the Moghal Empire, does not prove the contrary, for they were not national but dynastic states and their citizens considered themselves to be Indians. Yet it was the remembrance of these Muslim states in India which created most difficulties in the minds of Muslim Indians, who were brought up in an atmosphere of dissatisfaction over the loss of political pre-

dominance of the Moghal Empire. This resentment of a de-throned class was strengthened by the often subconscious revolt which converts (or descendants of converts) nor infrequently show towards the system from which conversion has taken place. These, but not differences of nationhood, are the difficulties which stand in the way of Muslim Indians' whole-hearted Indianhood.

Let us now consider whether these difficulties are peculiar to India alone, or whether similar problems have also been encountered elsewhere.

2.—A Historic Parallel.

The establishment of the Turkish Empire in the Near East, South-Eastern Europe and Caucasia, with spheres of influence in Southern Siberia, created there conditions comparable to those which the Moghal Empire had brought about in India. A population of Muslim converts sprang up in these regions during the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries of the Christian era. The differences between the Christian European and the Muslim Turkish style of life were greater than those between the style of life of the first Arab settlers in India and that of their Indian converts. Political antagonism between the former was by far greater than among the latter, if there was any antagonism at all in India. Consequently, the European convert population was smaller than that of India. Yet it was not negligible then, nor is it now. As in the case of India, there were slight variations in the racial—and linguistic—configuration of the converts there.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the Turkish Empire had begun to crumble. More and more former Turkish provinces constituted themselves into independent kingdoms under the tutelage of Czarist Russia, or became parts of it. A period of bitter enmity between the Muslim converts and their co-nationals began.

A complete change of the situation was brought about by two events: (a) the disappearance of Czardom and military orthodoxy in Russia; and (b) the change of Turkey into a modern national state. The Muslim convert-populations of Russian provinces, and of the Balkan States, were no more considered as undesirable, owing to their religion, nor did they themselves look to Turkey for help in their difficulties. From then onwards Muslim convert groups became active participants in the cultural and political life of their respective countries, alongside with their non-Muslim co-nationals. The process began in Buchara and Tadjikistan and spread so far as Albania and Yugoslavia. Islamic thought, culture and tradition have substantially contributed to the new style of life which these countries are evolving. The process is the more remarkable, as the differences there had been sharper than those in India. Yet, the Muslim convert populations in European, Near East and South Siberian countries completed the process of national identification with their own countries and nations without losing, thereby, their religiously conditioned qualities in most essential matters. But in outward appearance, and many features of secondary importance, far-reaching assimilation of the Muslim convert-populations to their co-nationals' style of life became the rule. This equalisation resulted partly in the abolition of evils which were, really speaking, quite un-Islamic and of com-

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\(^{1}\) "Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs," No. 22. Bombay, 1944.
paratively late introduction among certain classes of Muslims. So the veiling and purdah system for women and a number of feudal institutions disappeared. But, at the same time, some features of doubtful value to the well-being of a nation were generally adopted, such as the heavy and ceremonious European style of men's dress and other similar elements adopted from the majority's way of life.

3.—The Rebirth of India.

A process, parallel with that which followed the downfall of the Turkish Empire, was considerably retarded in India as the Moghal rule was not followed by independence. Foreign rule replaced it and a struggle for independence set in. This struggle was partly born of revivalist ideas. Indian Muslims dreamed for some time of a new Moghal Empire and Indian Hindus of a full-fledged caste system which, at that time, had not been weakened to the extent it has to-day as a result of the lifelong efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the influence of Islam. This was a stage psychologically comparable with that in which the Balkan countries began to establish themselves under the tutelage of Russian Czardom and militant orthodoxy, with the great difference that India was not free but simply dreamed of freedom. The political quarrel of Indian Mussalmans has its foundation in the mentality of those early days. The development of a new India and her freedom-movement, however, soon took another turn. Amazingly enough, many Muslims either failed to see this, or did not want to realize it. Mahatma Gandhi, who had begun as a fighter for freedom, became more and more a reformer and the creator of a new social system.

In the course of this development he actually attacked one by one the features in late Hinduism which Indian Muslims might have been justified in fearing in Hindu revivalism. Gandhi's criticism of untouchability, caste-endogamy, later the caste system as such, his objection to the exclusion of any group from full participation in the affairs of national life, as well as his break with the traditional indifference towards non-Indian affairs—all these are examples of the trend of his national education which might well be styled "essentially Islamic," if by "Islamic" we understand to be in conformity with the main ideas of Early Islam.

4.—The Way of Islamic Indians.

As in India by Mussalman and even by Muslim a certain traditional culture type is understood, it will be better to speak here of Islamic Indians, rather than of Muslim Indians. The way back to a traditionally determined culture-pattern is closed

His Excellency Shri Rajagopalachari, the Hindu Governor-General of India, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (wearing a black cap), the Muslim Minister of Education in the Government of India, addressing a Muslim gathering in the courtyard of the world-famous Jama' Mosque of Delhi. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is interpreting His Excellency's address.
to our generation the world over. This may be sad, in many ways, and the cause of much cultural loss and personal tragedy. But it is a fact. Even the most reactionary movements, from European Fascism to Japanese militarism, resulted not in reviving old culture but in its final destruction. The same is true also of Indians, whether Hindu, Muslim, Zoroastrian, or any other of the many religious denominations in this country. The typical Mussalman of Moghal or even British Indian days is dying out. But Islamic Indians are, should be, and will be, a living feature of New India, and the New World in the making.

Islamic Indians then can contribute to, and gain in, India much of the highest quality. The discussion of these tremendous possibilities is far beyond the scope of a short article, as the present one. We have therefore confined this summary to the mere indication of certain trends which, it is hoped, may serve as a basis for discussion.

(1) In India, as all over the world, a new phase of cultural development has set in and the way back to outgrown patterns of civilization is closed. This outstanding feature in contemporary history determines the attitude towards the problems of life, if it is to be lived in the reality of facts, instead of in the dreamland of imagination. The way back, to a supposedly theocratic state, would in the case of Muslims only lead to identification with countries in the Near East where secularization has gone even further than, and was built upon a national tradition different from India's. The only open way lies in going ahead, on the path of the rebirth of India, along with the other co-nationals of this country.

(2) This progressive direction is not in contradiction to the essential qualities of Islamic ideology. On the contrary, the development of the Indian nation under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance was decidedly towards the realization of what is best and noble in the original conception of Islamic thought and style of life.

(3) A creative movement for the combination of these essentially Islamic ideas with the genius of Indian civilization can bring about even greater results than those very remarkable achievements in which a similar unification of Muslim and European, or Russian, co-nationals resulted in the West. The success of this process depends largely on the readiness of Islamic Indians to shed minor differences in outward appearance, etc., etc., just as this was done by Muslim converts populations in the West.

(4) This inevitable process can only be achieved if it is fully realized that it is not the outcome of any "concession" to anybody, but the result of evolution. The same process transforms the traditional culture-pattern of every nation and every community the world over. It cannot be avoided by Muslims, Christians, Hindus or any other community in India.

(5) Much inspiration can be gained, for this task, by the study of cultural history. Especially the relations between India and Early Islam (ancient Arabia) should be taken into consideration here. It is this relationship, rather than the period of Moghal conquests in India, to which Islamic Indians should look for inspiration, if to the past they look at all, whilst the present and immediate future are full of urgent problems and glorious possibilities.

‘ID UL-ADHA (1367 A.H.) SERMON’

By W. B. BASHYR-PICKARD, B.A.

My brothers and sisters,

To-day you have gathered together in this place to take part in the celebration of the Id-ul-Adha, the festival of commemoration of the sacrifice offered by Abraham, for indeed you are of the religion of Abraham (Peace be upon him !), Abraham, who was upright before God, who became the friend of God. Peace be upon Abraham !

To-day the pilgrims from many countries of the world, from the East and from the West, assemble in holy Mecca, where stands the Ka'ba, historically said to have been re-built by Abraham, the upright one, who submitted himself unto God, who set aside idol-worship and bowed himself in adoration of the One True God. Peace be upon Abraham ! And peace be upon you, one and all, the followers of Abraham. For he was Muslim (resigned unto God) and you are Muslim, resigned unto the will of God. Upon Abraham was perpetrated the salutation, " Peace !" and, believe me, being Muslim, you also have laid hold upon peace.

This may seem a strange remark to make, but I want each one of you to awake to the realization of that peace which dwells steadfastly in your heart. Being Muslim, you have, each and all, submitted yourself unto God—and who is God ?

Though He transcend language, God is the One, the All-Encompassing, the Completely-Dominant, the Near and the Far, the All-Powerful, the Ever-Living, the All-together-Wise, the Most-Merciful, the Truth, the Peace.

Submitted unto Him, who is the Truth (Al-Haqq), the Light (An-Noor), the Peace (As-Salam), you yourselves, if you keep faith and sink not into disobedience and forgetfulness, you yourselves have truth, have light, have peacefulness.

Remember Abraham, the upright one (Peace be upon Abraham !), remember that you yourselves are partakers of peace, Muslims submitted unto God (As-Salam), the only author of peace. So, there is nothing that can possibly distract you from that fundamental peace. Perhaps, on the surface, the waters may be troubled by the winds of adversity; but the peace remains constant, unassailable, in the depth of your heart.

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. Ye bear the light within you. Beware what coverings ye put across that light! Let not gross flesh in darkness hide that light, nor gross ignorance muffle that brightness which nothing can put out! Purify yourselves! purify yourselves! purify yourselves! When the lamp-covering is clean, the light will shine clear. When the soul's casement is without stain, then will you see clearly the fundamental reality, enjoy the fundamental reality with knowledge that is joy. Purify yourselves, therefore, yes, purify !

I now offer a few thoughts for your consideration. Recently a high dignitary of the Church of England at the closing service of the Lambeth Conference in Westminster Abbey concluded his remarks with a statement that only a united Church could hope to stand firm against the united front of Islam, Hinduism, or of an aggressive Communism.

First of all, let me say that brethren should be united. What indeed separates them but inessentials? But let me stress

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1 Being the text of the address delivered on the occasion of the Festival of Adha held at the Shah Jahan Mosque, Woking, England, on the 6th October, 1948.
that to say such unity is necessary against Islam, against Hinduism, is an unfortunate remark and, as I view it, inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus (upon whom be peace!). Eventually there can only be one united front, to use this reprehensible military metaphor, and that "united front" is humanity itself.

As the Qur'an has proclaimed, la ikhra a fiddyen, there is no compulsion in religion. It would seem that to seek to dominate the world is an anti-religious idea. One Dominant there is and that Dominant is God. Humanity is multifarious. The approach to God is multifarious. The one sun shines upon a thousand thousand beings, and those thousand thousand beings look towards its beneficent brightness from a thousand thousand view-points. Could they, or should they, assemble upon one square mile of earth to obtain the same view of the bright heavenly luminary? The idea becomes ridiculous.

So, having given you this simple illustration, let me follow it up and say that in the unseen there is One Dominant, and that humanity, all peoples and races and nationalities and sects and cliques and clubs and fraternities, every good person, every bad person, the indifferent, the lazy, the ignorant, the learned the healthy, the unhealthy, the old and the young, are all one brotherhood, are all brothers.

"He is my brother; he is my Christian, he is my enemy." Say rather, "He is Muslim, he is my brother; he is Christian, he is my brother; he is Hindu, he is my brother." Let there be no more two scales of treatment, one for Muslims, one for non-Muslims; one for Christians, one for non-Christians. Always say, "He is my brother; he is my brother."

Certainly I would not ask you to do anything impossible, anything that is outside truth. If I now ask you to recognize this essential brotherhood of humanity, it is because that brotherhood rests upon fundamental reality. Listen now, "He is my brother!" Be he atheist or thief, scoundrel or criminal, we cannot subvert the fundamental fact that he is our brother. Whether he do us harm, please us or offend us, we cannot change the fundamental creation. God has created him our brother.

Another point, and this at least I hope you will consider, what we receive from others, what others do to us, how others treat us, has nothing whatever to do with how we behave to other people. Do not misunderstand me. We should not give simply love for love and hate for hate, good treatment for good treatment and ill-treatment for ill-treatment. Our standards should be higher.

Becoming purified, we should invariably give benefit, and on no occasion injury. Love your relatives and do good to them, though no benefit accrues to you from them. It is our bounden duty—and indeed the source of our happiness—to believe in God, and to do good. If we only do good to those who do good to us, what merit in this? Never at any time have we an excuse for doing evil. If we meet hate and ill-usage with hatred in return, we shall but reap hate as harvest, and our lives will be dark. If we meet love and good with love and good in answer, our lives will be bathed with blessing, our lives will be filled with light. (Allahu akbar! Allahu akbar! Alhamdulillah! Alhamdu-lillahi-s-Salam!) Yea, if we meet hatred with love, we shall overcome hatred, and our lives will be testimonies to the triumph of light over darkness. Praise be to God, the Light! Alhamdu-lillahi-n-Noor! the Imperishable Light!

Again must I stress, even as God is one (Alhamdu-lillahi-l-Wahid!), so humanity is one. Hear the Qur'an thus:

"And people are naught but a single nation, but they disagree." X. 19.

And again:

"All people are a single nation; so God raised prophets among them, bearing good news and giving warning."

II. 213.

The call to serve God and to lead a good life was no one nation's prerogative. Witness the Qur'an:

"And certainly We raised in every nation a messenger, saying, Serve God and shun the devil." XVI. 36.

And again:

"To every nation we appointed acts of devotion which they observe." XXII. 67.

So I say, Arab and Jew, Hindu and Hottentot, American and Malaysian, should remember in their hearts that, in their hearts, they are one. Let them keep, and rejoice in, their brilliant surface differences! Would we have every flower to be a rose or every fruit an orange? Praise be to the Glorious Creator of diversity! But let no surface differences occasion heart hatred and violence.

Peace be upon Abraham! Shall not Arab and Jew remember that Abraham is their common ancestor? That Abraham, the patriarch of the Jews, is no less the patriarch of the Muslims? Peace be upon Abraham! he was one of the upright ones. Arab and Jew, followers of Abraham, the upright one, the God-fearing, are brothers in ancestral religion. Let Arab and Jew, following the religion of their great ancestor, show themselves upright ones, God-fearing, brothers! Let them dwell, as for centuries they have dwelt, side by side in amity in their ancestral land. Sons of Ishmael, sons of Isaac, remember the perpetual salutation, "Peace be upon Abraham!"

So I conclude, when you disperse, remember that you are bearers of peace, distribute that peace whithersoever you go. By giving peace broadcast you will not lessen your own peace. By scattering the grains of wheat is the harvest lessened? Peace truly is a living thing with blessing from a well perennial. Peace be with you!

"Ever over Paradise a cool, fair wind was blowing, Celestial scent of life upon the Faithful strowning.

Ever over Paradise the sound of silver rivulets, Running with murmurs of celestial waters, ceaselessly Splashing over pure celestial pearls, was echoing;

And a song upon the air with music soft was making Immortal melody,

Celestial harmony:

"Ah, Paradise! Ah, Paradise! Garden of Peace,
Eternal Abode!"

"Enter in peace, ye Faithful, secure; a Reward
never ending!"

"Peace from a Merciful Lord, and Rapture that hath
no ending!"

"Blisses beyond conceiving, a Bountiful Lord
is sending!"

"Ah! melody supreme,
On ev'ry breeze a dream.

With shade of peace of Eden ever blending:
The song that hath no ending,
Of love unending,
The Love of God, all other loves transcending.
The angels there
Do oft repair,
And hail the Faithful still with salutation sweet:
'Peace!' and the glades of Paradise repeat,
(Most blessed word,
That ear hath heard),
'Peace' by the Grace and the Pow'r of a Merciful Lord!
'Peace' and forever Peace! Praise the Beloved, Adored!
Praise to the Lord of the worlds! Praise to the Lord of the worlds!"
THE COMING REVIVAL OF THE TRUE
ISLAMIC SPIRIT

By AHMED EMIN YALMAN, Ph.D.

In 1939, while a member of the Turkish World's Fair Commission in New York, I had occasion to attend some of the meetings of the New York Islamic Society. I found there American brethren, coming mostly from an advanced intellectual environment, who kept repeating that their soul found perfect moral satisfaction and a sublime joy in Islam, after a lifelong search in many other fields. In their interpretation, Islam was primarily a struggle with one's own conscience to come as close as possible to an ideal pattern which God originally allowed human beings to behold. In view of the shortcomings of human nature, nobody could pretend to be able to achieve the aim fully, but as long as one continued with good faith to keep struggling, one could be considered to be on the right path, even if occasional deviations might appear to be enormous.

All these select Americans seemed to be attracted to Islam, because it does not admit of intermediaries between God and human beings; because it does not allow men to judge the acts of their fellow-beings (a prerogative of God alone), and expects them to conserve a good opinion of the behaviour of an Islamic brother, in spite of most unfavourable outside appearances; because it is the only religion which tolerates other dispensations as right and legitimate paths to attain salvation; because also it has come nearest to the ideal of any religion in actually establishing the brotherhood of men.

In private conversation with some of the American brethren, I noticed that their individual interpretations of faith took the following lines:

"Prayers and sacrifices in Islam are not an end in themselves, but means to an end. God does not need our adoration and our flattery, we cannot expect sins to be forgiven by offering God bribes in the form of mechanical prayers, while we make no effort to be repentant and to lead a better life. Islam is not rigid, it makes full allowance for changing times and conditions, and for variations in geographical conditions and social environment. It allows men, who practise justice, who are altruistic, who lead a virtuous life, to dispense with the rigid details of prayer, and it allows them to follow an individual course in trying to please God, in harmony with their own consciences. A religious law of a fixed character can only create a stagnant, theocratic society, incapable of surviving, of progress, of being a match for societies making their laws by common concert, and freely adjusting themselves to the requirements of changing conditions. Moreover, the main field of a religion being love, altruism and virtue, Islam should not neglect its main object by wandering into the dangerous areas of political and personal influence, and should avoid any conflict with science. Attempts to take old religious teachings literally, to try to reconcile modern scientific teachings with them and to condemn any scientific progress which does not permit such an interpretation, are futile and disgraceful from the viewpoint of the dignity and broad spirit of Islam."

All these lines formed a new presentation of Islam to me, quite different from the religious teachings which existed in Turkish schools in the period of my childhood. Those teachings lost themselves in minute details of acts of devotion, and hardly stressed the ethical role of the religion. They stood for absolute authority and against the free use of reason.

As a result of the contact with enlightened American Muslims my indifference to religion ceased and a new interest was revived which I have made it my duty to give expression to on all possible occasions ever since.

During a visit to Egypt late in 1943, I had the pleasure of having a long conversation with the late Shaykh Al-Maraghi of Al-Azhar. Hoping to give him a happy surprise, I told him all about the religious enthusiasm of the brethren in New York.

His reaction was an unexpected one for me. He made the following gloomy statement:

"These people have extracted their knowledge of Islam from books. I hope that they never visit an Islamic country and never behold the picture of misery, corruption, ignorance, fanaticism and backwardness which we present. My only hope for a revival of the true and broad Islamic spirit rests in Turkey, in view of the fact that reason has become free there to deal with the abuses and hypocrisies which Islam has been subjected to as a result of ignorance or the desire to advance personal interest and influence."

Such an approach to the problem by a man who had attained one of the most respected positions in the field of Islamic teaching was quite a revelation to me. I kept thinking about it. In the course of my thoughts, I remembered the details of a long discussion which took place in İzmir at the beginning of 1923, between Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and seven Turkish editors, while Istanbul was still occupied by the victors of the first World War. As one of the seven editors, I had taken an active part in that most memorable discussion.

Atatürk had made up his mind to abolish the Caliphate. He wanted to convince us that this was the right thing to do so that we could make this idea appear as our own and prepare the ground for a smooth abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey not by dictation, but by persuasion. The idea was too new and unexpected to be easily assimilated by us. Even an hour before this startling revelation, there was not a single person in the whole of Turkey who considered that such a revolutionary idea could possibly take shape in the mind of a human being.

All the editors present had many objections. Atatürk encouraged us to express them. The conversation lasted for thirty-six hours without any interruption for sleep.
In answer to a remark which I made about the possibility of disturbances due to the influence of the class of people who posed as the representatives of religious authority, Ataturk made the following most remarkable statement:

"The people you refer to represent, with honourable individual exceptions, not the true spirit of religion, but the abuse of it for the sake of personal power and influence. The people are not sincerely attached to such persons, and do not consider them, unless they are personally men of true virtues, as their moral leaders. They are mere mercenaries of personal influence. They come to the Government and say:

'You must follow our recommendation. The people are behind us. If you ignore our advice, terrible things might happen to you.'

"Then, they come to the people and use the following language:

'The Government is submissive to our influence. We can cause you all sorts of harm, in case you do not listen to our directions. On the other hand, we can facilitate your relations with the State, if you are obedient to us.'

"This double game has always led to stagnation, corruption and hypocrisy and forms a denial of the true role of religion. The moment we simply ignore this class of people, their role and influence will immediately cease."

This prophecy really came true. When the Caliphate was abolished, after the ground had been fully prepared by the Press and by intensive lecture work, the separation of State and religion being perfected and the use of religion for political purposes being declared an offence, the influence of the class of persons acting as agents between the State and the people ceased almost overnight. People began to think in the following terms: "How was it possible that we felt so attached to the Caliphate? It should obviously be abolished. Its predominance in public life creates a theocracy, an obvious obstacle to progress. Its co-existence with the State is liable to become a source of constant friction for power and influence, which interested foreign powers could take advantage of to undermine our progress and even our existence."

In answer to another question during the memorable conference with the Press concerning the destiny of the institution of the Caliphate, Ataturk made the following statement: "All the imperialistic powers wish us to continue a theocratic way of life, to have only religious schools and courts, and to be handicapped from the viewpoint of adjusting ourselves freely to the requirements of changing times. They foment religious fanaticism and ignorance, wherever they go, because only retarded people can be made slaves, and enlightenment and the free use of reason form the path of potential emancipation, so fatal to their continued domination."

This diagnosis has been proved everywhere by facts to be perfectly true. The imperialistic powers insisted for a long time that free institutions and scientific knowledge remained a monopoly of their own, and that the dominated people should have no general enlightenment, with the exception of a few educated individuals who could be bribed by salaries, ranks and titles and used as obedient tools for their own domination.

As a result of the separation of State and religion in Turkey there appeared a temporary reaction against the abuses of religious authority in the past. Although all religious practices were tolerated and respected, the 'official attitude towards religion cannot be considered to have been friendly during that period.

Many Muslim observers outside Turkey have jumped too quickly to the conclusion that the Turks had made up their minds to deny Islam, to neglect its spirit and to try to imitate the West as the result of an inferiority complex.

I am far from denying that mistakes have been made in Turkey. I have always been an opposition journalist, and have kept criticising matters including the wrong attitude towards religion during the transition period, which must be considered, as I said before, as a reaction against the abuses of religious authority in the past.

However, the essential course of things has been most beneficial from the viewpoint of Islam and must be considered as one of the impenetrable ways of God leading to a revival of the true Islamic spirit.

Developments in Turkey have created a break with the past, a sort of "tabula rasa" allowing radical new departures for the purpose of reviving the true spirit of Islam. Such a "tabula rasa" putting an end to the abuses of religious authority, perpetuated for centuries and still continued in some Muslim countries, is essential for a new orientation without which the Muslim world cannot be saved from the present state of stagnation and actual or potential foreign domination.

There are hopeful signs that such a period of revival is in full sight. The era of negative reaction in Turkey is at an end. Constructive religious interests are now encouraged. The new religious faculty, projected at the University of Ankara, will certainly become a hopeful centre of Islamic revival in a modern spirit.

I write in this article of a revival, not of a reform, because all the elements of a religious orientation, capable of appealing to the twentieth century reasoning man, already exist in Islam. They have been practised fully in various periods of history with full beneficial results from the viewpoint of progress and freedom of thought. The stressing of the condemnation of priesthood, acceptance of only virtuous brethren as examples to follow or as leaders, freedom of personal interpretation and of a behaviour which accepts responsibility only towards God, and not towards any human being, tolerance of other religions, the making of full allowances for changing times and conditions, the sincere enforcement of the true democratic spirit in Islam, the combining in the best manner of freedom with equality and respect of human dignity, are elements which can easily usher in new developments. Such a course will not only open new horizons to Muslims, but will constitute a general progress in the religious thinking of the century and a power of appeal to the mentality of the new generation which no religion has proved itself fully capable of achieving up to the present.

The new orientation of Islamic thought is a virgin field, open not only to religious interpreters with no privileged standing in Islam, but to all people interested in this subject. As a sociologist who has closely followed up the developments in Turkey, and has watchfully made comparisons with the state of things in Christian countries, I shall be delighted to discuss some of the phases of the problem in further articles to appear in the coming issues of the Islamic Review.
AFGHANISTAN

A gunboat is now working on the Oxus river, on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, to convey Afghan Frontier officials travelling to and from their posts. Several cinemas are to be built in various Afghan towns, and an officer has been sent to Pakistan and to India to consider what American and other films may be bought for exhibition in Afghanistan. A course of practical training for students of law has been instituted at Kabul. Here, during the three year course of studies, students in law are expected every Thursday to recite their discourses; and those approved must be delivered at the Mosque gatherings after Friday prayers in the city’s several mosques. Post-war fluctuations in world markets, and uncertain political conditions in the world, did not leave the Karaqul produce market for Afghanistan unaffected, but things are now picking up. Likewise, the recent disturbed conditions which have prevailed in Pakistan and India have affected the fruit trade with those two countries. This year Afghanistan had to import sugar, as the size of the beet crop did not fulfill expectations. Taxes on the import of petrol, oils, motor-car spare parts, etc., as essential items, were lifted. During the current year, more than £200,000 has been expended on charitable purposes, among others upon such items as night schools for the poor, the poor women’s fund, the repair of certain cemeteries, and the provision of board and lodging for needy students.

EGYPT

Cairo as well as other capitals of the Islamic world is occupied with the Palestinian question. Meetings and conferences are being held, negotiations and consultations take place and civil and military measures are occasionally taken. There is a strong common feeling that the Egyptian and Arab armies could have solved the question had not U.N.O. and the Security Council interfered.

Al-Azhar University.

In October the school year began at Al-Azhar. Students flock from everywhere to the great Islamic University. Statistics show that thirty thousand students, representing twenty nationalities, have joined its faculties and institutions. The courtyards of Al-Azhar are seen to be overcrowded by groups of students—African, Arab, Pakistani, Indian, Turkish or Muslim European. They attend courses regularly, pursue their research work and make new friendships within their own world. These proceedings convince one that Islam will recover its former strength and depth of belief.


The Pakistani Community in Egypt has recently paid homage to the memory of Al-Qaid Al-A’zam Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah. On Wednesday, the 20th of October, 1948, a great meeting was held in Khedive Ismail Square, where the Pakistani Charge d’Affaires received the mourners.

Prominent Muslim personalities seized this opportunity of expressing their sorrow for the great loss. Sheikh Mamoon el Shinnawi, the Grand Sheikh, Rector of Al-Azhar University, paid tribute to the deceased, and in pointing to his mission in life, said that the great man had given the Islamic world much power by creating a new Islamic state, a matter with no parallel in history.

Muhammad ‘Ali ‘Allouba Pasha, the Muslim leader and the first Egyptian Ambassador to Pakistan, declared that he had known Jinnah twenty years before and found him a practical and persistent man who in his struggle for his ideals knew no compromise, and that this was why he could realize his objectives, which had been considered by others to be fanciful imagination.

Sayyid Amin el Hossaini, Grand Mufti of Palestine, attended the meeting. In his view, Jinnah was an inspired politician who knew how to use politics in the service of his aims. His intelligence gained him the respect and admiration of those who came in contact with him.

Ibn Sina’s Millenary (Avicenna).

The Arab League Cultural Committee discussed the celebration of Avicenna’s millenary and decided to have researches made into his works and letters in all Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Western libraries. Photographic copies are to be taken and distributed among those interested. His works will be systematically published by certain specialists. The best books on Avicenna are to be re-examined, whether written in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, English, French, German, etc. Non-Arabic researches are to be translated into Arabic. A ceremonious week will be held in an Arab capital, preferably Baghdad. Famous writers will be asked to contribute on the occasion. Articles will be collected and published. His printed works and manuscripts will be shown in an exhibition. It is recommended that a scientific institution be established in memory of his medical and astronomical achievements.

Hostels for Arab Students.

In addition, the Arab League Cultural Committee has recommended the establishment of a hostel for the Arab students resident in Cairo. The sum of £15,000 is being ear-marked for the purpose. The establishment of Arab hostels in other capitals is also urged.

350,000 Pilgrims.

This year the number of pilgrims is a record for several years. It is due to the great number of pilgrims who came from Hejaz and Nejd and other quarters of Sa’udi Arabia, as it is the custom there to go on the pilgrimage whenever King Ibn Sa’udi performs this religious duty. Also Iran and Sa’udi Arabia have come to good terms and no more obstacles stand in the way of Iranian pilgrims. Their number exceeded sixty thousand. The number of Indians and Pakistanis comes next at thirty thousand, followed by Egyptians and Indonesians. The majority of the pilgrims, seventy-nine thousand four hundred, took the sea route to Jeddah. Two thousand pilgrims went by air, so as to save time and trouble.

Mahatma Gandhi (a great spirit), by ‘Abbas Mahmoud al ‘Akkad.

‘Akkad, the renowned Egyptian writer, has lately made this happy choice. Mahatma Gandhi is the right subject chosen at the right moment.

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Gandhi’s soul and highly sacred ideals are strongly emphasised in an age of materialism. He is described as the teacher of new models of patriotism, nationalism, spiritual struggle, peace and tolerance.

Akkad has picked up this great personality after its mournful end and fully analysed its different elements. One could easily imagine the Indian environment on reading the book, and one could accompany the great man from childhood through manhood to old age. Akkad deals with his principles, creed, culture, religion, conflicts, his fasting and prayers not as a biographer narrating but as a critic judging and moving from effects to conclusions.

Really Akkad is praiseworthy for his success in producing such an analytic study of such a prominent character.

Bahitah Al Badi’a.

Thirty years have passed after the death of Malak Hifni Nassef in October, 1918. She had adopted the pen name Bahitah Al Badi’a, “The Desert Wanderer.” In 1900, she was the first Egyptian girl to get the primary certificate at the age of thirteen. She had a good knowledge of French and joined the Sanieh Training College. After getting her diploma she was employed as a teacher for four years, and then married the late ‘Abd al Sattar el Basel, one of the patriots of the Egyptian Movement in 1919. Her articles appeared first in newspapers and were collected and published in 1910. She was involved in the conflict between conservatives and reformers over the role of Muslim women in life. She backed Qasim Amin Bey in his call for the emancipation of women. She was the first woman to believe that women should be accorded a better education as a means to a better social status. She considered polygamy, the veil and the seclusion of women as the main roots of the unhappiness of Muslim women.

MUSLIM NORTH AFRICA

Moroccans in France.

In France there is a colony of Moroccans of about three hundred thousand persons. It is composed of workmen, students and merchants. This community has acquired a status in France because of its unity and its efforts for the struggle for independence of North-West Africa. The contending French political parties try to win them over to their respective ranks, but despite this, the Moroccans maintain an attitude of neutrality in the French political struggle which increases in intensity every day. Because of this neutrality many of the Moroccans have suffered very much materially. Nevertheless, they are braving this difficulty. The number of those who, as a result of their political attitude, have been deprived of their employment reached in one part of France five thousand, and in another part ten thousand. According to some the number is not under twenty thousand. The French Minister of the Interior tries to make it difficult for these Moroccans, resident in France, to ventilate their political grievances, by placing upon them strict police supervision in the matter of holding meetings which might bring the unhappy state of affairs resulting from the French Colonial policy in Morocco to the notice of the United Nations Organisation in Paris.

The Situation in Morocco

In the following are extracts from a memorandum submitted to UNO recently by the Moroccan Istiqlal Party. The memorandum is intended to correct and supplement the report on Morocco presented by the French Government to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Political and Administrative Organization.

The Protectorate established by France over Morocco in 1912 has been defined as “an agreement according to which the protecting state pledges itself to respect the authority of the protected state.” The French Resident-General may propose reforms which he deems expedient but the Sultan has the right to accept or reject these proposals. This system, however, which was to operate through a control commission, was soon transformed into a direct administration in which the Resident-General assumes full control of the affairs of the country.

Out of the total budget of 22,482,783,000 francs, 331,753,000 fr. were assigned for the Moroccan Government and 3,490,120,000 fr. for the Residency and the departments directly connected with it, that is 1.47% and 15.52% respectively.
Labour.

A decree of the 24th December, 1936, grants to Europeans resident in Morocco the right to form trade unions among themselves, while a decree of the 24th June, 1938, refuses this right to the Moroccans and makes affiliation to any labour organization punishable by 5 days to 3 months' imprisonment and a fine from 5 to 300 francs. The Moroccan agricultural labourer is compelled to work ten to twelve hours a day. Salaries and family allowances are subject to racial discrimination. For four children the European worker receives 4,200 francs while for the same number of children the Moroccan worker receives 1,000 francs.

Public Health.

According to Pierre Parent, former deputy for the French in Morocco, there are 3,723 hospital beds for eight million Moroccans, that is one bed for each 2,150, and 1,614 hospital beds for under 300,000 Europeans, or one bed for each 189. Ration books for Europeans have 14 items while for Moroccans they have only 5, and children's ration books for Europeans have several additional items which are not given to Moroccan children. The same discrimination applies to clothing and housing. The result is that the mortality rate is 8.52 per 1,000 Europeans and 15.08 per 1,000 Moroccans, while the infant mortality rate is 94.1 per 1,000 Europeans and 285.60 per 1,000 Moroccans.

Education.

The French admit that their aim is "to replace the Arabic language and culture by the French language and culture." The example of Algeria, which is becoming neither Arab nor French, forces the Moroccans to oppose this policy. This state of things, together with racial discrimination which is here particularly pronounced, renders education in Morocco both inadequate and sterile.

Economic Policy.

Morocco is in urgent need of industrial equipment, but this is unobtainable because under the present régime she is compelled to export to France three-fourths of her natural products, which if exported elsewhere could buy tractors, machines and spare parts. The franc which she gets for her products is only raising the cost of living and production and precipitating inflation. Political and economic independence therefore is the only way out of this vicious circle.

The Moroccan people, the memorandum concludes, are in no way hostile to friendly co-operation with France on the basis of respect for mutual interests.

The memorandum is dated 26th October, 1948, and signed for the Istiqlal Party by the Secretary-General, Ahmed Balafrej.

MALAYA

People in Malaya are beginning to get really nervous about the international situation in Europe. They seem to think that if the United Nations Assembly, which is at present in session in Paris, should fail to devise a solution satisfactory to both the Soviet Union and the three Western Powers comprising Britain, the United States and France, the Berlin crisis will inevitably lead to a third World War, which may mean an end to civilization.

Most of the Malays in the Peninsula are engaged in planting rubber and paddy, the former being their cash crop and the latter their staple diet. The average householder owns two to five acres of rubber on which he works with his wife and children throughout the year in order to obtain money for the purpose of buying clothing and other necessities of life. Paddy is an annual crop, to produce which they have got to labour off and on for about five months in the year. In addition to these activities, they sometimes breed cattle and poultry for their domestic consumption, selling the surplus at the local markets. Very few of them engage in trade, and both internal and external commerce is in the hands of Europeans, Chinese and Indians domiciled in the country. The average Malay family is therefore very poor, almost all wealth being concentrated in foreign hands. Owing to their poverty, the Malays have not been able to obtain higher education such as is possessed by members of the other communities and are accordingly unable to compete with people of other races in every field of human activity.

The tin mines and large rubber estates are almost all owned by European and Chinese companies who engage the Malays as their coolies. The Malays have, however, built great hopes upon the new system of administration in order to obtain an opportunity of improving their lot economically, educationally, politically and socially, but it remains to be seen whether their hopes will be fulfilled in the next few years. The new administrative system has functioned for only about eight months, and it is too early to make any prediction as to the course of events during the next few years. However, as a measure of independence has been given to the Malays to run their country on a less democratic basis, it will not be the fault of the protecting Power (Great Britain) if the Malays fail to achieve an all-round improvement during the next decade.

It would, however, seem that the only remedy to apply to the present ills of the Malays is education, technical, scientific, economic and commercial, as well as industrial education. Unless attention is concentrated on these matters, it is feared that there will be no hope whatever for the Malays to survive as a race.

Under the new Treaties recently entered into between the Malay rulers of Malaya and the British Government, each Malay State has been given an opportunity of making a written constitution, and part of this has already been completed and promulgated. It is rumoured that, so far as the State of Perak is concerned, two more purely Malay bodies are being created to safeguard the future interests of the Malays. It is hoped that this may be done as soon as possible, for from what is known of the proposed functions of these bodies, they will probably be effective in stemming the tide of foreign economic exploitation which has overwhelmed the sons of the soil. This will, of course, be in addition to the Federal Legislative Council representative of all States and Settlements, and the State and Executive Councils already functioning everywhere. It is not yet too late to save the Malays from extinction as the racial, original inhabitants of the Peninsula, provided the correct type of statesmanship is exercised by the Malay rulers and their Ministers of State.

The Malays have their religion, Islam, which, if rightly handled and practised, would be capable of raising them.
to the highest pinnacle of prosperity. Remember the Arabs who were, at the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, the worshippers of some 360 idols housed in the House of God at Mecca, and were probably the most backward nation on the face of the earth. Yet, by means of the holy Qur’an, which is happily to be found in each Muslim’s home throughout Malaya today, this nation of raw savages was converted in the short period of 23 years into a people whose civilization radiated its light and learning in all directions throughout the globe. This unique book contains the latest Message of God to man, showing him among other things what to do in order to make life peaceful and prosperous. But unfortunately, the teachings of this book remain hidden from the so-called Muslims of the Peninsula, as it is taught and read only in the original Arabic language of which about 99 per cent of the Malays are ignorant. This system of reaching the Book needs an early overhaul.

The chief topic of conversation among the general public to-day is the Communist revolt which has been raging during the last few months, very much to public inconvenience and hardship. Many loyal citizens have lost their lives and property, notably among the Europeans and Chinese engaged in the production of Malaya’s tin and rubber, as well as among the rank and file of the Government forces employed to suppress the insurrection. A few cases of sabotage have also occurred from time to time where the terrorists have attempted to blow up railway lines and trains, and to destroy bridges. They are, however, mostly done on the sly, and as soon as the security forces appear on the scene of any Communist raid the perpetrators usually run away into the jungle where it becomes very difficult to track them down.

SA’UDI ARABIA NEWS FROM MECCA

From H. St. J. PHILIBY

The pilgrimage of 1948 (A.H. 1367), the twenty-fourth to be celebrated under the auspices of the Sa’udi Arabian administration, is now over; and the vast concourse of pilgrims who stood on the plain of Arafat on October 12th is gradually being dissipated to the four corners of the earth. There may have been about 350,000 of them in all, including an overseas visitation of some 93,000, which represents the largest gathering from foreign parts since 1899, the year before the economic slump, which so seriously and for so long a period affected the sources of many eastern countries, notably Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, from which the largest contingents of pilgrims used to travel to Mecca. There had been welcome signs of economic recovery in many of these countries when the outbreak of the second World War reimposed restrictions on travel; but the large number of visitors who came this year provides welcome proof that the Muslim world is returning to something like its old prosperity, and that the will of Muslims to make the pilgrimage is as strong as ever.

As has been the case in recent years, the largest contingents of pilgrims were those from India and Egypt, the former including the newly-appointed Minister for Pakistan, who is accredited to both Egypt and Sa’udi Arabia. The resumption of diplomatic relations between the latter and Iran, after many years of regrettable coolness between the two countries, was celebrated by the arrival of many thousands of Iranian pilgrims under the official auspices of the Teheran Government, most of whom came in an imposing convoy of large and well-equipped motor-buses; and this year Indonesia and Malaya were again represented by some thousands of visitors, while most of the other countries with Muslim communities were also well represented. The aeroplane is now a recognised vehicle of travel for pilgrims, and the airport of Jidda was kept unusually busy as the planes from many countries landed to discharge their passengers (about 2,500 in all). But during the days of the actual pilgrimage it was the motor-cars and motor-buses which dwarfed all other kinds of transport, including the once familiar camel. There must have been at least 4,000 or 5,000 motor-vehicles continuously engaged in plying between Mecca and Mina and ‘Arafat during those days; and at times there were inevitable traffic-jams, which often made progress through the narrow streets of Mecca a slow and weary business, and was particularly noticeable at sunset on the day of ‘Arafat, when all the pilgrims sought to get away from the scene of the “standing” at the same time. But there do not appear to have been any accidents of a serious nature during these days, and perhaps some countries with a bad record for accidents would do well to take a lesson on traffic control from the Sa’udi Arabian administration, which deals very drastically with drivers for damage to pedestrians or other users of the roads.

Perhaps owing to the general gloom created by the Palestine situation, there seems to have been a marked absence of the festive spirit during the recent pilgrimage. The King gave his usual pre-pilgrimage banquet in honour of some 700 or more of the principal pilgrims, but there were no speeches during the evening, and the large audience had to be content with listening to two panegyrics recited by the Poet Laureate and another local versifier. An address by His Majesty, reviewing the moral and material progress of the Islamic world during the past year, would certainly have been welcomed by his guests, assembled from all parts of the world in search of comfort and guidance in these critical times; but the King doubtless considered it politic to avoid any criticism of the Great Powers at a time when the United Nations are assembled in Paris to consider the Palestine question once more, as well as various other problems of interest to the Arabs and, indeed, to the whole Islamic world. With over 500,000 Arabs of Palestine suffering the acute discomfort of refugee camps, and many thousands of their compatriots from the neighbouring Arab countries actively engaged on Palestinian battle-fronts, the ‘Id of this year was a sad and anxious occasion. There is a general tendency in Arab circles to blame the Great Powers and their all too obvious bias in favour of the Jews for most of the misfortunes which have befallen the Arab cause during the past twelve months; but there are also some level-headed critics who wonder whether the Arab League and its member-States have dealt with the problems confronting them with the energy and determination required by the circumstances. “For God changeth not that which is in a people unless they change that which is in themselves.” The Jews, with everything to gain and little to lose, are fighting with a frenzy and fanaticism reminiscent of the Wahhabis of a generation ago, and are prepared to flout even the United Nations to gain their objectives, while the wave of economic prosperity that has swept over the Arab world since the first World War seems somewhat to have weakened the will of the Arabs to fight all out for a cause in which they profess loudly enough to believe. Such a state of affairs may well encourage the United Nations to adopt the proposals of the late Count Bernadotte for a final settlement of the Palestinian problem; and it is difficult to see what effective resistance the Arabs can put up against the resulting partition of the country. On the other hand it is unlikely that they will favour Count Bernadotte’s suggestion that the Arab part of Palestine should be amalgamated with Trans-Jordan, and the decision on this point is expressly left to their discretion. They have indeed unanimously, except for Trans-Jordan, decided to recognise the provisional Palestinian Government recently set up with its temporary headquarters at Gaza.

His Majesty King Ibn Sa’udi left Riyadh by air to camp at Hawiya, near Taif, on September 11th; and proceeded from
there by car to Mecca on the 30th. Early in October he paid a short visit to Jidda to greet the Diplomatic Corps and the European commercial community; and it is probable that he will pay another, and longer, visit to the port when the press of departing pilgrims is less great than at present. Incidentally the Jidda water-supply scheme, inaugurated last year by the Crown Prince, has more than fulfilled the expectations of all concerned; and it is calculated that at the present time the daily supply to the town amounts to at least 500,000 gallons, while for the convenience of pilgrims proceeding to Mecca taps have been installed at frequent intervals along the pipe line, from which they can draw water as required. In due course the total amount of water reaching Jidda will increase to some two million gallons, when the scheme for house-to-house distribution, will be brought to completion. The town itself, no longer walled since the demolition of its original defences, is expanding inland at an astonishingly rapid rate, as houses are built along the Mecca and airport roads and also northwards along the Medina road. Attention is also being paid to the improvement of local sanitation and to other medical and quarantine needs of the town, and two British experts on such matters have been engaged by the Saudi Government to study the situation and to advise on the measures necessary for the reorganisation of the health services of this country, and the expansion of its hospital and quarantine accommodation. It is a remarkable fact, to which of course many causes have contributed, that during the 24 pilgrimages conducted under the auspices of the Saudi Arabian Government not a single case of epidemic disease has been recorded; and the envisaged improvements in the local health services will no doubt enable the Government to maintain its unassailed record in the years to come.

Many other development and improvement schemes are also on the taps, to be taken up as and when opportunity offers. The towns of Mecca, Medina, Riyadh, Jidda, and Taif will all in due course have realised their ambition to have municipal electric lighting schemes in actual operation. Many roads are being constructed or repaired, particularly in those areas where the pilgrim traffic is heaviest. And financial experts from America and Britain will soon be in active consultation with the Government with a view to preparing a project for the introduction of a paper currency into the country to meet the requirements both of the pilgrims and of the growing commercial community, and to obviate the chronic seasonal shortage of silver and nickel coins. A long-range wireless transmitting station is nearing completion at Jidda, and has already been successfully tested in communication with America; while active consideration is being given to the establishment, also at Jidda, of a broadcasting station. These are of course only some of the projects under consideration or execution in Saudi Arabia at the moment; but they will suffice to show that the Government is determined to improve the amenities of the country with the great financial resources now available from its rapidly increasing oil revenues.

Since the above was written the Muslim world has entered upon its new year of 1368 A.H., beginning on November 2nd. As usual, there were no celebrations to mark the occasion; and there is little tendency in Saudi Arabia to view the immediate future with optimism or complacency, as far as the political outlook is concerned. Internally the prospect is cheerful enough with full Government coffers, and a programme of public works, which is now being considered and budgeted for by the Finance Department.

Meanwhile, on October 25th, His Majesty the King proceeded to Jidda for a prolonged visit, which is scheduled to end on November 4th. To some extent his sojourn at Jidda has been a holiday for His Majesty, who has enjoyed the sea breezes of this season and escaped for a time from the heavy burden of work, which is his normal lot. Incidentally the beginning of the new year serves as a reminder that next year the King will be celebrating his golden jubilee. On the 3rd Shawwal, 1369, corresponding with July 19th, 1950, he will complete fifty (lunar) years of absolute rule over his subjects, during which he has literally led his people out of the wilderness into a land flowing with milk and honey. His subjects will surely wish him many more years to rule over them and direct their fortunes amid the dangers of a world very different from that in which he started his reign only a year after the death of Queen Victoria. It was on the 3rd Shawwal, 1319 A.H., corresponding with January 14th, 1902, that he led his gallant little band of heroes into Riyadh to put an end to the rule of the usurping Ibn Rashid dynasty, which had been in occupation of the Wahhabi capital and provinces for about eleven years. Since then his realm has steadily expanded to comprise practically the whole of Arabia Deserta. The establishment of peace and security throughout the land has been the outstanding achievement of King Ibn Saud: a fact which will be gratefully acknowledged by the tens of thousands of pilgrims who have visited the Hijaz during his reign. And over and above this his country, once one of the poorest in the world, has been developed, thanks to the discovery of oil and other minerals, into a relatively wealthy and prosperous State, administered in accordance with the accepted standards of the modern world.

It is understood that steps are already being taken to ensure the proper celebration of the King's golden jubilee; e.g., by the issue of commemorative stamps, and other customary measures. And it may be noted in conclusion of this article that, since the abdication of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland earlier this year, King Ibn Saud has become the doyen of the world's ruling Sovereigns. Long may he live to enjoy that distinction!

SOUTH AFRICA

Muslims in South Africa, not yet recovered from the dismay created by the death of A. I. Kajee, formerly Indian political leader and later leader of South African Muslims, have had to face another stunning blow. This came in the form of the death of the beloved Qaid-i-A'zam Mr. Jinnah. The news spread like wildfire, but Muslims doubted it until confirmed by newspaper reports. Earlier this year A. I. Kajee, who had championed the cause of South African Muslims, passed away at the Cape as the result of a heart attack. Now, another leader across the ocean was also dead.

To Muslims in South Africa, Mr. Jinnah was not just another political outsider but a leader and the creator of a nation. He was held in awe and his struggle had been closely followed through the years. His appeal alone resulted in over half a million pounds towards relief in Pakistan being raised in South Africa in the last twelve months. And now, side by side with news of progress in Pakistan, came the sad announcement of the demise of her beloved leader.

In spite of the memorial prayer meetings held in every mosque throughout the Union, Mr. Jinnah is to South African Muslims still very much alive as his country, Pakistan, is synonymous with his name. In conversations in cafes, homes, businesses and theatres he is still referred to as "Qaid-i-A'zam," or "Mr. Jinnah." "The late," someone may interject, but the conversation proceeds unheeding, for to all South African Muslims the Qaid-i-A'zam still lives in spirit.

Id-ul-Adha was celebrated here with a little more zeal than in the past. This was on account of a spirit of unity due to the plight of our brethren in Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia.

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Reassured by last year's enthusiastic support, Indian Views, South Africa's pro-Muslim English and Gujarati weekly, continued its drive for the Qurbani (Sacrifice) Fund. The Fund was started last year for those intending to have their Qurbani donations distributed among the refugees in Pakistan. Contributions were sent direct to Pakistan, where animals were sacrificed and meat was distributed. This year, sums from South Africa amounting to £1,336 10s. paid for 392 Qurbani and 'Aqiqah sacrifices. This was in addition to individual contributions sent direct to Pakistan from other centres in the Union. In spite of this, local sacrifices did not show a decline.

The Secretary of the Bazmi Ikhwanus Safa (Muslim Brotherhood) Union of Durban informs that there has been a very poor response to their appeal for contributions in aid of the Fort Johnston Madressa Fund, the proceeds of which will be utilised in the building of a religious school for poor children at Fort Johnston, East Africa. The appeal, which called for £300, resulted in the sum of £86.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

Islam and Christianity in the Middle East

The following extract occurs in "A Short History of the Middle East," by George E. Kirk, published in London, 1948:

"While the masses still hold as unquestioningly as ever to their traditional Islam, there has been a marked trend towards materialism, agnosticism, and atheism among the upper and middle-classes, especially among their younger members, as a result of contact with Western ideas. Many of the young nationalists are conscious of being Muslims only as a political bond with the masses, and of Islam only as a political rallying-cry against the foreigner. Between these sects and the mass of the population come the 'ulama, the preachers, the graduates of the Muslim seminaries, whose indurated conservatism of centuries has barely been touched by more modern ideas. Some beginnings of reform in Al-Azhar, the ancient and well-frequented Muslim university of Cairo, have been effected in the last fifteen years, but the process is bound to be very slow. Islam has fallen into such a state of moral, intellectual, and spiritual catalepsy that it will take many decades, if not centuries, to re-animate the inert hulk; and it is doubtful if outside forces, whether the impact of the Anglo-American world or that of Soviet Russia, will give traditional Islam so long a respite.

"Nor can it be said that Christianity in the Middle East is in much better case. It makes virtually no converts from Islam, and is in fact losing in Egypt hundreds of Copts annually to Islam, for political reasons. Except in Lebanon it is the religion of a minority, suspected by the Muslim majority with some justification, of intrigue with one or other European Power, and driven by this very circumstance to regard its religion as a political instrument rather than as a way of life. While some Christian Arabs are trying to fuse their religious differences with the Muslims in the crucible of Arab nationalism, the Muslims, conscious of their own intellectual inferiority, are slow to give them full confidence. Some Christians accordingly entertain the idea of concentrating their numbers by migration into the Lebanon, which they think might thereby be made strong and homogeneous enough to remain permanently independent of Muslim Syria. Christian unity is, however, greatly impaired by its division into sects—Orthodox, Catholic, Monophysite, and Protestant—no fewer than ten of which exist in Syria and Lebanon; and their mutual repulsion is hardly less than the antipathy with which all regard the Muslim majority. The growth of nationalism and the struggle for independence has everywhere subordinated religion to politics, and it cannot be said that a genuine sense of religion, as opposed to the externals of religious sectarianism, is an important social force in any wide circle in the Middle East today."

Pakistan as seen by a Member of the British Parliament

Mr. M. Philips Price, writing in the Manchester Guardian for November 11th, 1948, has the following observations to make in his article "The New Moslem Dominon":

"Even a few days in Karachi convinces one that the Moslems of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent have acquired a national consciousness which nothing can now suppress. However deeply one regrets the partition of this great country, one realises that what has happened in the Valley of Indus and in East Bengal is the same in another form that has happened throughout the whole Middle East—namely, the awakening to its role in the modern world of the Moslem peoples, each in their separate way, whether Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghans, or Pakistanis. This new Moslem Dominion, with a population of 70,000,000, is now the largest Moslem State in the world. Moreover, it has historical roots in the past. It is the inheritor of traditions come down from Baber, Akbar, and the early Moghul emperors, the Moslem invaders from Central Asia that ruled India for centuries.

"Pakistan, however, has suffered much in its birth pangs. The Moslems of India were more backward than the Hindus in education and in the intellectual equipment for the running of a modern State. Islam inculcates many valuable qualities of human nature. But during recent centuries it has succumbed, throughout Asia at least, to a fatalism and contentment with things as they are which are out of place in the modern world. On the other hand, the Hindu cult and philosophy is so deep and profound that few can attain its perfections, and hence the average man among them is more open to modernisms of all kinds. But Islam is simple and practical, if rather rigid and conservative, so that the Moslems of India as a solid block have not moved easily with the times.

Position of Women.

"Particularly significant in this respect is the position of women, which is still in many Moslem countries a great drawback to meeting the problems of the modern world. In Pakistan, however, progress in this respect has been made, and one sees in the streets and bazaars of Karachi a mixed assortment of women in all stages of emancipation. Moreover, it is satisfactory to note that women who do become emancipated are not persecuted by the mullas, as is happening in Persia to-day. A liberal attitude is being adopted by public opinion, and it is regarded as a matter of personal choice."

JANUARY 1949
Every year there takes place in Cairo an impressive and colourful pageant which marks the departure of the Covering for the Ka'ba—The House of God—at Mecca, on the occasion of the Pilgrimage. This Covering—The Kiswa—is renewed every year and the ceremony of departure from Cairo is attended by the King, high ranking officials of the Egyptian Government, members of the Egyptian Parliament, the nobility and other prominent citizens of the Kingdom of Egypt. The population turns out in their thousands and line the streets to witness the spectacle. There is also a military parade held as part of the ceremony and this year tanks and armoured cars took part.

The Covering is conveyed to Mecca by the pilgrim caravan under the leadership of an important personage selected by the Government. He is known as the Amir ul-Hajj and this year it was Hamid Judah Bey, the President of the Lower House of the Egyptian Parliament, upon whom the honour was bestowed.

Until a few years ago, Egyptian military forces would escort the caravan all the way to Mecca, but now the duties of escort are taken over by Saudi Arabian troops as soon as the caravan crosses into territory ruled by His Majesty King Abdul Aziz Aal Sa'ud.

The very heavy cost of producing the Covering is borne by the King of Egypt. The highest quality materials are used in its manufacture, and it takes a whole year to weave, a special staff being constantly employed on the work.

The Covering itself is of black brocade, covered with inscriptions of passages from the Qur'an and elsewhere which are interwoven with silk of the same colour. There is also a broad band about two thirds of the way up into which is woven the Shabada—"I bear witness that nothing is worthy of worship but God and that He has no associates. I bear witness that Muhammad is the Prophet of God." In the procession this band, called the Hizam, is carried in four portions, each on the shoulders of twenty men. The Covering is draped on the four walls of the Ka'ba and reaches to the ground, where it is attached to copper rings fastened to the marble base of the Ka'ba, known as the Shadharwan. Gaps are left in the Covering for the waterspout and door of the Ka'ba, the latter being covered by a separate cover called the "Burko" or Veil.

The old Covering, which has remained on the Ka'ba since the previous Pilgrimage, is taken down on the 25th Zu'l-Qa'da, which is the eleventh month of the Muslim year, and the Ka'ba is temporarily draped with a white covering which hangs down to within six feet of the ground.
At the end of the Pilgrimage the Ka'ba is draped with the new Covering and pieces of the old one are sold to the pilgrims by the door-keepers of the Ka'ba.

Another very important feature of the pre-Pilgrimage procession in Cairo is the Mahmal. This is a litter in the form of a square frame of wood with a pyramidal top. It has a covering of brocade richly ornamented and worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold, in some parts upon a ground of green or red silk, and bordered with a fringe of silk with tassels surmounted by silver balls. The ornamental pattern varies from year to year, but the insignia of the ruling monarch of Egypt always appears.

Inside the Mahmal nothing is carried, but two copies of the Qur'an, one in scroll and the other in book form, both contained in silver-gilt caskets, are attached externally at the top. The Mahmal is carried on the back of a fine tall camel which heads the pilgrim caravan from Cairo to Mecca. After the Pilgrimage the Mahmal returns to Cairo, and the camel then enjoys a life of ease until the end of its days.

The origin of the Mahmal is somewhat obscure, but since the thirteenth century such richly decorated empty litters have been sent by Muslim princes to Mecca on the occasion of the Hajj. According to the historian Makrizi this custom was first introduced in 670 A.H. by the Mamluk Sultan Baibars, but others attribute it to the Sharif Abu Numair. This custom may have been adopted by Muslim rulers to demonstrate their independence, and, indeed, at times some sent Mahmals to Mecca in order to try to establish their claim to independence. On their arrival in Mecca the Mahmals were hailed with joy and were led through the streets in a solemn procession, after which they accompanied the pilgrims to the plain of 'Arafat, where they occupied a position reserved for them.

It is interesting to note that in ancient times the Arabs had portable sanctuaries which were made of a frame-work adorned with ostrich feathers and carried on the back of a camel and it is from these that the structural idea of the Mahmal may have been derived.

The Egyptian Mahmal came to obtain the place of honour as a result of the political influence of the Mamluk Sultans. The only other Mahmal which approached the Egyptian Mahmal in honour was the one from Syria, which ceased being sent to Mecca after the end of the 1914-18 World War, and now the Egyptian Mahmal is the only one to make the yearly journey.
Above: The henna-ed richly decorated camel that is going to carry the Mahmal to Mecca. On the Mahmal the insignia of the reigning monarch of Egypt is visible. Below: The Prime Minister of Egypt, His Excellency al-Nokrashy Pasha, is giving the lead of the camel to Amir al-Hajj Hamid Judah Bey, the President of the Lower House of the Egyptian Parliament.
FRANCE'S FUTURE IN NORTH AFRICA

By VERNON McKay

French hopes for a calmer political atmosphere on the pleasant Mediterranean coast of North Africa received a welcome although possibly deceptive boost in the April 1948 elections for the first Assembly in Algeria's history. Most observers, both French and foreign, were surprised by the success of Muslim candidates who favoured co-operation with France rather than Algerian autonomy. Less than eight months earlier, Algerian delegates seeking autonomy had staged a walk-out when the French National Assembly enacted a Statute authorizing an Algerian Assembly with only limited powers. Meanwhile, an Arab war of nerves against French domination of the Maghreb (the land mass including Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) had been mounting in intensity, all three countries having witnessed sporadic outbreaks of violence since the Germans were driven out of Tunisia in May 1943. A wider uprising had been held in check only by France's prompt dispatch of troops, planes, and tanks to areas of ferment. Although the Algerian elections may mark an easing of this tension, undercurrents of unrest remain strong from Tunis to Casablanca. France may yet be confronted with an imperial crisis more serious than the rebellions it has already faced in Syria and Lebanon, Indo-China, and Madagascar.

The 17 million Arab-speaking inhabitants of the Maghreb, or "western island" of the Arab world, differ in many respects from the 36 million Arabs of the main "island" (Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Fertile Crescent). Although diverse in origin, many North Africans feel themselves unified by the strong bond of Islam and by common resistance to the divisive effects of French policy. This Arab-French conflict is a matter of growing concern to the United States, a newcomer in the Mediterranean political arena. Humanitarian and cultural interests which many Americans have in the countries of North Africa are bolstered by the new economic and strategic interests of the United States. Economic reconstruction of French North Africa is important for the success of the European Recovery Program, and the strategic significance of the Maghreb was demonstrated by its role as an entrying wedge for Allied forces during World War II.

An Attractive Land.

A geographical unit bordered by the sea and the Sahara, the Maghreb is related in history and geography to both the Middle East and southern Europe. The Atlas mountain ranges, a product of the same geological age as the Pyrenees and Alps, rise to 15,000 feet in Morocco and diminish gradually eastward to Tunisia, where two-thirds of the land is no higher than 1,300 feet. Between the Atlas and the Mediterranean lies the fertile land known in Algeria and Tunisia as the "Tell" which has repeatedly attracted invaders. Invaders entering any part of the Maghreb have sooner or later attempted to seize all of it by expanding eastward or westward along the Tell. The indigenous Berbers, over the last two thousand years, have survived invasions by Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Sicilian Normans, Spaniards, Turks, and French. The two dominant peoples in the Maghreb to-day are thus foreign conquerors: the Arabs, who came from the East more than a thousand years ago; and the French, who first entered Algeria (1830) and later spread out in both directions until they had absorbed Tunisia (1881) and Morocco (1911).

France has good reasons for desiring to stay in North Africa. Militarily, the area is important as a strategic bastion and source of man-power. Economically, its trade is profitable for many Frenchmen, and its resources are capable of great development. Psychologically, France needs North Africa in order to maintain its pride and prestige among the great powers, for the Maghreb contains nearly a third of the population of France Overseas. Its value to France is conceded even by those critics of empire who contend that "colonies do not pay." The most compelling reason for France's determination to retain control, however, is the presence of more than one million Frenchmen in the three possessions. They constitute 12 per cent of the population in Algeria, 4 per cent in Morocco, and 2.5 per cent in Tunisia. In this respect North Africa is roughly comparable to the Union of South Africa where a large European population (20 per cent.) is heavily outnumbered by indigenous peoples.

Constitutional Reforms of 1947.

As a French critic has recently written of his fellow-countrymen who settled in Algeria, they are "vigorous, hard-working, brave in battle, proud to be French but, like all peoples living in a rural environment, avid of profit, little conscious of the great political changes afoot in the world and unsympathetic to the rapid social development of surrounding peoples." They have consistently opposed concessions to Arab nationalists. They blocked the reform program with the Popular Front government of Leon Blum tried to inaugurate more than ten years ago. They even disliked the wartime ordinance of March 7, 1944, and the electoral law of October 4, 1946, which enabled Algerian Muslims to attain French citizenship without relinquishing their personal status under Muslim Law in such matters as marriage and inheritance.

Under the pressure of great changes throughout the colonial world, however, France inaugurated a moderate program of constitutional reform in its three North Africa possessions in 1947. In August and September the French National Assembly adopted the Algerian Statute authorizing an Assembly to replace the old Financial Delegations. The new law-making body consists of a 60-member first college elected by an estimated 550,000 French nationals, including many educated Muslims, and a 60-member second college chosen by approximately 1,300,000 Muslim voters. Although the Assembly, which meets three times a year, has greater power than the former Financial Delegations, most basic political and administrative legislation is still reserved for the jurisdiction of the French Parliament in Paris, where Algeria has thirty deputies. Moreover, the Assembly can be dissolved if it discusses matters outside its jurisdiction, or if it refuses to carry out its principal function of voting the budget. Advocates of autonomy for Algeria thus lost their battle, for French authority is fundamentally unimpaired.

Unlike Algeria, which contains three French departments under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, Tunisia and Morocco are protectorates whose relations with France are theoretically determined by treaty, and which are therefore supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The administration of Tunisia was modified by decrees of July 29, August 7, and August 9, 1947, which created a new Tunisian cabinet of twelve members containing for the first time an equal number of French and Tunisians, and also opened other administrative
posts to Tunisians. In Morocco, a similar reform on July 5 provided for a cabinet consisting of an equal number of French and Moroccans. The change in Morocco was greater than in Tunisia because the Moroccan Government, or Makhzen, was previously all-Moroccan in membership, although under control of the French Resident-General. Under the new regime France hopes both to establish a more efficient administrative system and to curtail the authority of Morocco's nationalist-minded Sultan.

While these constitutional reforms are a step forward in bringing more North Africans into the management of their own affairs, they do not change the relationship between France and the Maghreb and have therefore been branded as unacceptable by Arab nationalists. The war of nerves against French rule continues. In January 1948, 'Abd el-Karim, 67-year-old Moroccan warrior who eight months earlier escaped from French exile, assumed in Cairo the leadership of a committee for the liberation of the Maghreb. The Egyptian capital has become the propaganda centre for a group of exiled French North African nationalists. Habib Bourguiba, eloquent and talented leader of the Tunisian independence movement, has expressed the hope that "the North African question" will come before the United Nations in 1948. UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie has been petitioned to bring the conflict before the Security Council as a matter which "may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security." Maghreb leaders hope that the Jewish Agency's hearing before the UN set a precedent which may enable them to present their case. France, however, considers the problem a domestic issue outside UN jurisdiction.

Special efforts to win American sympathy have also been made by North African leaders. In February 1947, Secretary-General 'Azzam Pasha of the Arab League publicly voiced the contention that President Roosevelt had orally promised the Sultan to support a movement to free Morocco from French rule after the war. Two months later the popular 38-year-old Sultan made a dramatic visit to Tangier where, in the presence of the French Resident-General, he delivered a widely publicized speech emphasizing the unity of Morocco with Islam and the Arab countries, and deliberately avoiding mention of any possible Moroccan role in the proposed French Union. In June 1947 a young delegate of the Moorish independence movement arrived in New York, where he contacted American officials and presented two long documents to the United Nations setting forth the Moroccan case against French and Spanish domination. Six months earlier Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia had made a similar visit to the United States to put North Africa's claims before American leaders and UN members.

**Nationalism in French North Africa.**

If the intensity of nationalism is the test, the old North African proverb calling the Moroccan a lion, the Algerian a man, and the Tunisian a woman, should be reversed. For the nationalist movement is strongest in Tunisia, while in Morocco it has only a small though ardent following. With possibly 200,000 adherents in a total population of only 2,600,000, two illegal but tolerated Dastour (Constitution) parties seek independence for Tunisia. They are the oldest, best organized, and most numerous nationalist elements in the three possessions. The French made their position in Tunisia more difficult by their mistake in arbitrarily deposing the wartime Tunisian ruler, Munsif Bey, on unproved charges of collaboration with the Germans. Although the Bey lives comfortably in France, reportedly on an income of 300,000 francs a month, Dastour propaganda has made him a legendary martyr in exile. In a difficult position because they have committed themselves to the new Bey and his supporters, the French show no signs of restoring the former ruler. Tunisian nationalists, however, contend that France has offered to reinstate him if he would agree to Tunisian membership in the French Union.

In contrast to the unity of the Tunisian movement, Algerian nationalist leaders are so badly divided that they were unable to unite even for the first elections to the Algerian Assembly in April 1948. The two main factions are the Triumph of Democratic Liberties Movement (MTLD), headed by the extremist, Messali Hadj, who demands independence for Algeria; and the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA), headed by Ferhat 'Abbas, a Muslim intellectual who advocates the establishment of an autonomous Algerian republic within the French Union. Ferhat 'Abbas was the stronger of the two leaders until France rejected his plea for Algerian autonomy, when many Muslims turned towards the more radical ideas of Messali Hadj. A third nationalist group is the conservative ulema reform brotherhood, which wants to restore a traditional Islamic state under strict Muslim law.

Morocco's spreading nationalist movement possibly numbers 20,000 of the country's eight million inhabitants. After the landing of American troops a number of Moroccan leaders united in an Independence Party (Istiglal) at the end of 1943. A second more moderate party was organized in 1946. The movement grew in strength after the Sultan indirectly assumed the role of Morocco's leading nationalist. In 1947, Allal al-Fassi, for many years the country's most noted nationalist, escaped from Paris to Cairo, where he apparently was largely responsible for persuading 'Abd el-Karim to flee French custody.

**Causes of Conflict.**

The anti-French feeling of Arabs in the three territories is partly economic, but more fundamentally political and psychological in origin. Predominantly an agrarian land, the Maghreb is suffering badly from an abnormally low level of agricultural production. The rapid growth of population is making the situation more critical. Algeria, for example, had three million inhabitants when the French arrived, has nine million today, and will contain twenty million at the end of the century if the present rate of increase continues. Major food shortages have naturally augmented hostility towards the French, who are condemned by Arabs for discrimination in rationing, and for removing needed wheat to France.

Several years of drought are partly responsible for the low level of agricultural production. "The best Resident-General is rain," say the Tunisians, who have been threatened with famine during the past year. Crop diseases and a general decline of productivity were also caused by neglect of many farms through the war, when lack of transport facilities cut off access to markets. The Maghreb's pre-war position as a net exporter of cereals has consequently changed to that of a net importer. Algeria's 1945 cereal crop met only one-third the local requirements; the output doubled in 1946 but declined again in 1947. France has provisionally estimated the cost of North African reconstruction at 244 billion metropolitan francs, and has worked out plans for the economic development of the three possessions. But the task is easier said than done, for colonial development programmes to-day are stalemated by shortages of technicians and materials, and by balance of payments difficulties.

But even if France were able to remedy Arab economic grievances by increasing food production, raising wage rates, and providing more land for the farmers, Arab nationalists would doubtless continue to condemn French rule. For the history of colonial nationalism indicates that as standards of living rise, colonial peoples become more conscious of their capacity for advance, and therefore multiply their demands. The Arab-French conflict thus has a political aspect which is to a considerable
extent psychological in character. Mutually indulging in half-truths, the two peoples are building up false images of each other as ruthless exploiters or ignorant agitators. Seldom is either party willing to credit the other with a sincere intention to better the future of the Maghreb and its people. The resulting friction has frequently erupted into violence and bloodshed during the past five years.

With a fine flair for exaggeration, the Arab press has magnified these explosions as much as the French have minimized them. In one of their petitions to the UN the Arabs contended that the French killed 40,000 Muslims and wounded 200,000 others during the Algerian uprising of May 1945; that nearly 10,000 Tunisians were killed and 40,000 arrested in May 1943 when Munif Bey was deposed; that French forces killed or wounded demonstrators at Sfax, Tunisia, on August 5, 1947, during a general strike called by the all-Muslim Tunisian Labour Union in support of the demand for independence; that the French "massacred hundreds of Moroccans and arrested thousands" while suppressing the independence movement of January 1944; and that French Senegalese troops killed 813 Moroccans and wounded several hundred others at Casablanca after an incident on April 7, 1947.

French observers generally contend that the actual casualties were less than one-tenth the Arab figures; they put the number of Arab deaths in the Algerian uprising at 1,200, and point out that this repression occurred only after more than 100 Frenchmen had been slain. Whatever the facts, it appears beyond a reasonable doubt that several thousand natives of the Maghreb have been killed by French troops since 1945. Arab bitterness has naturally intensified both among the educated classes and illiterate tribesmen. The French bombing of Algerian villages in 1945, like the bombing of Damascus in 1926 and again in 1944, has left an indelible impression on nationalist leaders, many of whom have spent long terms in French prisons or in exile. In Arab eyes these leaders hold high places on the honour roll of national heroes.

The French View.

In French opinion, however, nationalists are endangering the future of the Maghreb by seeking too rapid an advance. The French argue that economic, educational, and other problems of the area are infinitely more complex than native leaders believe. Although France has taken a lot out of the Maghreb, it has also put a great deal into its three possessions. The building of roads, railroads, bridges, and telegraph and telephone lines has broken down the isolation which retarded dependent peoples, while the improvement of medical and sanitary facilities has greatly reduced the death rate. These improvements are reflected in the rapid population increase. Meanwhile, the French declare, educational advancement and economic development are slowly but steadily equipping the native peoples to govern themselves.

France also places great emphasis on its role in protecting minorities. This was an important part of the rationalization for remaining in Syria and Lebanon, where the French accused the Arabs of a chauvinism dangerous to other peoples. In North Africa it is Berber tribesmen and the European community whom the French claim they are protecting. However, except for the Europeans, the argument applies less to the Maghreb than the Levant. When France was forced out of Syria and Lebanon, a French scholar made the somewhat ironic comment that it would have been more justifiable to get out of Tunisia, for the Tunisians are at least one people.

France's conception of the minorities problem has led its Arab experts to attack Britain's "extremely rapid methods of emancipation" in turning Arab countries over to their own rulers. Angered by Britain's role in pushing them out of the Levant, many Frenchmen to-day believe that an Anglo-American conspiracy is under way to drive them out of North Africa too. The conspiracy is a fantasy but it is true that British, American, and Russian statements and actions have given indirect encouragement to Arab nationalists. Moreover, the French are correct in asserting that Arab nationalism frequently expresses itself in dangerous attitudes of intransigence and irresponsibility, a fact well illustrated by the history of the Wafd Party in Egypt.

There is a good deal of self-deception, however, in the growing tendency of French writers to emphasize the extreme aspects of Arab nationalism and the disturbing influence of foreign powers. For this attitude inevitably leads France to overlook or minimize the weaknesses in its own policy. At the end of World War II France's leading specialist on North African problems was quite critical of his country's actions in the Maghreb. To-day, however, his writings are noticeably more defensive in tone, emphasizing France's constructive work rather than pointing out its failures.

French vs. British Methods.

The principles of French colonial policy might be easier to justify if the empire were threatened only in North Africa where a large French population lives. But rebellions in Syria and Lebanon, Indo-China, and Madagascar have also confronted France in recent years while Britain, for the most part, has been peacefully transforming its relations with India, Burma, Ceylon, Transjordan and other areas. France's troubles may in part be attributed to the aftermath of World War II. Its prestige and power suffered immeasurably as a result of the swift German conquest, the Vichy regime, and subsequent economic devastation. Colonial nationalists seized the opportunity to take advantage of France's weakness. Moreover, the equivocal attitude of the French Communists has had disruptive influence. Native leaders were encouraged by Communist support in the French National Assembly, and by Communist insistence that the government negotiate with Indo-Chinese and Malagasy insurgents. Such tactics caused further confusion, for Communist aims were never entirely clear.

Fundamentally, however, France's difficulties are caused by a policy that is ill suited to the handling of contemporary colonial problems. Britain, as well as France, seeks to preserve its empire, and the two countries are equally well-intentioned toward colonial peoples. But the theory of the French Union is so rigid that if a colony breaks away the whole structure is threatened. Conversely the departure of a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations morally strengthens the idea behind the structure.

Factors of geography and history account for the different colonial methods employed by the two powers. Geography has given France for many centuries a dual role as a colonial and a continental power. Potential danger from German, Spanish, and Italian rivals on its borders long prevented France from devoting adequate attention to its overseas possessions. Britain often neglected its colonies too, but on the whole geography enabled the British to spend more time and thought on their maritime and colonial role.

The effectiveness of French colonial policy has also been impeded by the long tradition of centralization of government in Paris, a practice deeply rooted in France's geographical and historical background. French scholars usually contend that the motivating spirit in French colonial rule is not the spirit of Paris, but the practical spirit of administrators in each possession. Officials in the colonies, however, are occasionally heard to express the wish that they could follow the British system in which local administrators are allowed a considerable degree of autonomy from London.
Local autonomy in British colonial rule is another product of geography and history. The steady evolution of English institutions ever since the days of the Saxon towns and shires was featured by a jealous guarding of the right to local management of community affairs. Englishmen who settled in the colonies in the early days of British expansion insisted on local freedom until London gradually developed the system of self-governing dominions. This political pattern is naturally being extended to colonies without British settlers. If the Gold Coast in British West Africa attains self-government within another generation, as seems possible, the repercussions in the neighbouring French West Africa are likely to be profound. Already, most of the Ewe people in French Togoland would prefer British rule.

The French have made greater cultural contributions to Western civilization than any other people. A fertile soil and a favourable location at the Western cross-roads of Europe brought France trade, prosperity, and peoples from many lands who were successfully assimilated into a single French nation. Proud of its great culture and historical tradition, France has often sought to extend this policy of assimilation to its overseas possessions. As an English critic writes, the French in the past have "propagated French culture not purely out of political ambition but merely for idealistic motives; because every Frenchman believes in the universal mission and validity of French culture as France's greatest gift to the world." True, for many years French colonial experts have been talking more about "association" than "assimilation," but the impulse to make good Frenchmen out of a native "elite" remains strong. Moreover, the French have achieved outstanding success in assimilating a small minority of Arabs in North Africa. Other Arabs, however, react intensely against "la mission civilisatrice." Disliking both colonial powers, many Arab nationalists nonetheless contend that British "snobbery" at least leads the British to let the Arabs alone, while French "fraternization" squeezes the life out of them.

Prospects for the Future.

Can French and Arab aims in the Maghreb be reconciled? The outlook is dark because each people has a strong emotional attachment to views which, if not modified, are likely to precipitate future violence. Maghreb nationalists, moreover, will probably receive growing support from the Arab League as soon as the Palestine problem ceases to absorb its energies.

France realizes the danger although its hopes were raised by the results of the April elections for the two colleges of Algeria's new Assembly, in which 102 of the delegates chosen are advocates of Franco-Muslim co-operation and only 18 are autonomists. In the all-Muslim second college Messali Hadj's separatist MTLD party acquired 9 seats, and Ferhat 'Abbas' autonomist UDMA party had 8 successful candidates; the remaining 43 delegates represent four parties advocating co-operation. The Communists, who have achieved little success in Muslim countries, won only one seat (in the first college); on the second ballot for the second college the Communist Party withdrew its candidates, transferring their votes to the most favoured candidates of the MTLD or the UDMA. It is too early to judge the full significance of these elections, but even assuming a certain amount of pressure and fraud at the polls, the vote is still a surprising pro-French victory.

In this situation France is confronted by a challenging opportunity. If the creation of an Algerian Assembly is made the beginning rather than the end of a reform program, an atmosphere of relative peace and friendship between French and Muslim may yet be possible. Meanwhile, Tunisia should be moved more rapidly along the road to self-government, thereby setting an example to which the Moroccans can look forward. It will be extremely difficult, however, to persuade French settlers in the Maghreb to accept such changes. As Jules Ferry said of Tunisia when that country became a French protectorate in 1881, Tunisia and Morocco are the keys to France's house in Algeria. Just as the French fear that successful rebellions in Indo-China and Madagascar would encourage uprisings in the Maghreb, so do they fear that independence for Tunisia and Morocco would have violent repercussions in Algeria.

The danger is that the primary objective of French policy in North Africa will be to hold the lid on, while Arab nationalists will concentrate on blowing it off. The moderate French reforms of 1947 might have been suitable for a stable and orderly period of history, but this is an age of colonial upheaval in which a slow but steady evolutionary policy, however sound in theory, is inadequate. Colonial peoples are undergoing in a few decades many of the fundamental economic, social, and cultural changes which took several centuries in Europe. It is therefore possible that those Frenchmen in North Africa who to-day regret their failure to accept the limited reforms proposed by the Blum Government in 1936, may in another decade wish they had given greater consideration to the demands of autonomists in 1947.

THE LIBYAN QUESTION

By Dr. TAHIR KHEMIRI

Introduction.

There are indications that the Libyan question is developing closely along the lines of the Palestinian. We read these days in connection with Libya of "promises" made to the Arabs, and "assurances" given to the Italians, of "partition," of commissions of enquiry, of United Nations trusteeship and claims of interested nations.

Brigadier H.S. Longrigg, former Chief Administrator of Eritrea, writing in the New Times and Ethiopian News of April 10th, 1948, gave the warning that all this is sowing the seeds of a great deal of trouble both in North Africa and in the Arab world generally.

The present article is designed to give such information on the question as would assist the reader to form an impartial opinion. It is based, with a few exceptions, on non-Arab sources.

The Country and the People.

North Africa has been likened to a loin chop of which Morocco is the best meat, the narrow lands of Algeria and Tunisia the edible but sparse flesh on the bone, and Libya the bone itself. This bone-end of the chop has an area of 679,358 square miles, of which not more than 17,000 are cultivable. Libya stretches from Tunisia on the west to Egypt on the east, extends southwards into the Sahara and is divided into three main territories: Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan. It has no coal, no iron, no minerals, no forests, no lakes, no rivers, and very little rain, but it has a coastline of over 1,000 miles directly across from Italy and Greece, which renders it of great strategic importance.
According to unpublished official sources, the population of Tripolitania in 1946 was as follows:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>732,591</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>40,536</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>28,031</td>
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With the quarter of a million Arabs of Cyrenaica, from whence all Italians were evacuated, and including the inhabitants of Fezzan, the present total population of Libya may be roughly estimated as follows:

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<tr>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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Consequent upon French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, Italy began to cast covetous glances on Libya and a period of diplomatic preparation followed. In a secret agreement of 1900, France undertook not to oppose Italian claims in Libya, while Italy promised France a free hand in Morocco. Accordingly, in 1912 France established her protectorate over Morocco, and Italy annexed Libya. Arab resistance, however, especially in Cyrenaica, continued till 1928 when Marshal Graziani finally subdued the whole of Libya. This was achieved "acre by acre," as he put it, and took him the best part of ten years. "Over months on end 30 persons a day were executed, escaping Arabs were taken up in planes and hurled on to the rocks below. In pitiless deserts, wells were sealed with cement. Nearly half of the native population of Cyrenaica perished. 80,000 of them, with all their cattle, were turned into the wilderness of the Gulf of Sidra." According to Field Marshal Lord Wilson, the population of Cyrenaica had dropped by 75% since the Italian war of occupation.

The next ten years, that is 1928-38, was a period of preparation for mass Italian migration. Drawn up by Air Marshal Balbo, Governor-General of Libya, and approved by the Duce in March, 1938, the colonisation plan was put into operation. Before the end of October sixteen ships were carrying the first 1,800 families to homes which had been built and farms which had been cleared and ploughed and which after a generation of labour would belong to the Italian peasant. No family of fewer than eight persons was accepted. Hence the official calculation that, in round figures, the 1,800 families who took part in this first migration totalled 20,000 individuals.4

In 1939, writes Field Marshal Lord Wilson, "it was realised that in the event of war developing with Italy the Arabs of Cyrenaica could play a useful part in assisting us with information, sabotage and assistance to planes compelled to make forced landings in the desert. Certain Shaikhs who had been banished by the Italians from Cyrenaica and were living in Egypt came forward with a request to be allowed to fight with the Allies against the Axis. A conference was arranged by the British Embassy which I attended. The outcome was that, subject to the concurrence of the Egyptian Government, the question of raising an Arab force should be explored. Prince Mohammad 'Ali graciously consented to initiate discussions which brought in El-Sayyid Idris, the Head of the Senussi, and myself, with the result that a plan was made for raising a western Arab Force to serve under the British troops in Egypt. With the entry of Italy into the war in June, 1940, it came to be realised generally that the Western Arab Force had an important part to play in the future and this added a spurt to recruiting, resulting in the addition of an extra battalion. The loyalty of the Arabs to our cause was put to the test and proved that they never lost faith in us. The German attack which swept across Libya to the Egyptian frontier caused many British troops to be cut off and isolated. The Arabs hid and fed them, eventually working them back to the British lines on foot over the desert—a distance of some 300 miles with very little water."

While on a visit to the Middle East in January, 1942, Mr. Anthony Eden, the then British Foreign Secretary, thanked the Libyan leader, El-Sayyid Idris Senussi, for his help and promised that "His Majesty's Government are determined that at the end of the war the Senussis in Cyrenaica will in no circumstances again fall under Italian domination."

The expulsion of the Germans and Italians from North Africa in 1943 brought Tripoli and Cyrenaica under the control of the British military administration and the Fezzan under French control. According to the terms of the Hague Convention, this administration is only temporary.

In October, 1947, a commission of enquiry was appointed by the deputies to the foreign ministers of Britain, France, U.S.A. and Russia to investigate the former Italian colonies. On the 27th July, 1948, it issued its report on Libya. The main findings of the Commission were: (1) a large percentage of the population is nomadic and illiterate; (2) no part of Libya is self-supporting and it is dependent on financial and administrative aid from outside; (3) the principal Arab political parties agree on complete independence, the unity of Libya (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan), and membership of the Arab League; (4) the Italian colony in Tripolitania favours a return of the Italian administration; (5) opposition among the Arabs to a return of Italian domination is widespread and deep; (6) a strong desire to terminate the present British and French military administration as soon as possible. On the basis of these findings the Commission decided that "Libya is not ready for self-government."

The deputies of the Big Four are at present studying the report and are to decide on the future of Libya and were to have their decision ratified by the Council of Foreign Ministers before September 15th.

These are briefly the main facts. There are, however, two prevalent misconceptions about Libya and the Libyans which it is necessary to clear up before any discussion of the problem.

Libya is frequently referred to as one of Italy's former African colonies. This is a misleading generalisation. The coasts of North Africa being Mediterranean, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco are Mediterranean countries, separated from the rest of the African Continent by the great Sahara. They are inhabited by Arabs and Arabised Berbers and are quite distinct in character from black Central Africa and black-white South Africa. The four countries are called in "Arabic "Al-Maghrib al-Arabi" which means "The Western Arab Land." Any plans the Great Powers may have for Africa cannot therefore automatically include Libya.

The second misconception is that the Libyans are a primitive and lawless people because a large percentage of them are nomad and illiterate. This can be traced back to the account given of them by the Italians when Italy was making diplomatic preparations for the invasion of Libya. An Englishman who travelled through Libya during that campaign gave this other account. "The Libyans are a peace-loving people, but when they are attacked they are never found wanting in readiness and ability to defend themselves... They were among them lads of less than 15 and grey-bearded men of more than 50 years old. They fought, barricading their blouses with stones at both ends, and counting on their rifles only when the enemy were upon them."

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4 "Fourth Shore" by Martin Moore, London, 1940, pp. 18-30.
6 "Tripoli and Young Italy" by Charles Lapworth, in collaboration with Helen Zimmern, London, 1912.
of age ... Destitute of everything save valour ... there was no mistaking either the sincerity or the fixity of their purpose. They would go on fighting for ever ... Those who witnessed the struggle had a unique opportunity for realising the marvellous and matchless extent of Arab endurance ... The trait that characterises these Tripolitanians Arabs most forcibly is their readiness to help one another ... An Arab army possesses all the spontaneity, the elasticity and the mobility of a living body ... The Italians continue their effort to seduce the Arabs from the cause. The Arab answer is always the same: 'Let the Italians come out and fight. If they beat us we shall submit to their rule, but not otherwise' ... As to the Arab warriors, no one who saw them during that retreat would have said from their carriage that they were beaten ... Fortitude, frugality, piety and gallant disdain of death, such are the Arab virtues we have learned to admire in the course of this campaign ... During this war I had every reason to admire the Arabs' phenomenal honesty ... I doubt whether there is another nation on the face of the earth capable of such a literal obedience to the precepts concerning the 'stranger within your gates' "...

The tribute paid to them by Field Marshal Lord Wilson for the part they played in the Desert Campaign shows that the Libyans have not changed. It is true that in this respect a distinction is generally made between the Arabs of Cyrenaica and those of the rest of Libya, but this distinction has, as we shall see, no real justification.

The Problem.

The question has a local and an international aspect and it is generally realised that the difficulties lie less in the complexities of the problem than in the fears and jealousies of the Great Powers. We propose therefore to deal here mainly with the local aspect of the question.

Those directly concerned are the Arabs, the Libyan Jews and the Italians.

One of the findings of the Commission of Enquiry was that "the principal Arab political parties agree on the unity of Libya (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan), complete independence and membership of the Arab League."

The three parts of Libya are economically interdependent. Cyrenaica supplies Tripolitania with live-stock, milk products, wool and sometimes also wheat and barley. Tripoli provides Cyrenaica and the Fezzan with olive oil, cotton, wool and silk fabrics, and agricultural and other implements, while the Fezzan supplies the whole of Libya with dates which take the place of bread in years of drought and scarcity. None of the three provinces can exist economically without the products it receives from the others.

This claim of unity is supported by many neutral observers. A Manchester Guardian Special Correspondent wrote: "These three parts of Libya are economically interdependent, and the cruel effects of partitioning a territory so poor that every resource within it is a matter of life or death has been sharply felt in the great drought this year. The Arabs in Tripolitania recall how in a similar drought in 1936 they were relieved by the dates and other produce from the Fezzan's rich bases and how they were able to preserve their live-stock by driving them into Cyrenaica. This year the Fezzan dates have gone to French Tunisia and half the live-stock in Tripolitania have died."

"The partition of Libya is an economic injustice and would also be a political blunder."7

See also The Fate of the Italian Colonies, by L. James, published in the Fortnightly, of November, 1947.

"The Libyans, while insisting on full respect for the unity of their country, demand with equal vigour its full enjoyment of complete independence."8

When Italy entered the war in 1940, a body of Libyans from Tripoli and Fezzan met General Noguès in Algiers and agreed with him on the formation of an Arab force to take part in the fighting against the Italians. The plan failed only because the Vichy Government decided to collaborate with the Axis. But the Libyans of Cyrenaica, in the words of Field Marshal Lord Wilson, "played an important part in the Desert Campaign and stood by the Allies during the dark days of the war." The pledges given to them at the time were not understood to apply to the Cyrenaicans only and to imply a partition of Libya, for, while the Libyans of Cyrenaica had the opportunity and "resisted," those of Tripolitania and Fezzan had no opportunity but did not "collaborate" and all were assured that it was to be a war of liberation at the end of which no territorial changes would take place without full consideration of "the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." The Commission of Enquiry is of the opinion that Libya is not ready for independence as it needs administrative and financial help from outside. The Libyans say that a country of just over a million inhabitants and with limited resources does not require an elaborate administrative machine, and that there are Libyans now occupying high administrative positions in Turkey, Syria and Egypt who are quite able and ready to undertake the management of the affairs of their country. As for financial help, it is being granted in the form of Marshall Aid to the Italians who "entered the war treacherously and without reason because they expected a cheap and easy victory." Help in a similar form and not at the cost of freedom and independence should be forthcoming to the Libyans "who stood by the Allies during the dark days of the war."9

The third Libyan claim is membership of the Arab League. This is fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations which recognizes three regional groupings, the Pan American, the Western Union and the Arab League.10 Of these three, however, the Arab League represents the most homogeneous group. All its members are Arabs (elements of non-Arab origin have been Arabized); they all speak the same language and they have no religious differences that correspond to the differences between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches. Libya has always been regarded by the Arabs as the bridge which connects the eastern and the western parts of the Arab world. There are thousands of Libyan families who have relatives in Egypt and Tunisia. Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, took an active part in the different stages of the Libyan struggle against Italian occupation and is said to be himself of Libyan origin. The number of Libyans in Tunisia alone is estimated at 70,000. When the Italians invaded Libya in 1911-12, both Egypt and Tunisia sent volunteers and both took a large number of refugees.11 It is natural therefore for the Arabs to regard Libya as an Arab League territory and for the Libyans to claim membership of the Arab League.

The Italians claim Libya as the Zionists claim Palestine—first on historical and sentimental grounds. They emphasize

8 The National Council for the Liberation of Libya quoted in footnote (8).
10 The National Council for the Liberation of Libya quoted in footnote (8).
that Libya was once part of the Roman Empire and that the memory of Italian soldiers, explorers and pioneers is a strong sentiment which attaches them to that country. Then they claim it on economic grounds. They argue that Italy’s population is growing rapidly and will soon reach fifty millions, that there are at present one and a half million unemployed and 50,000 refugees from Africa, that the United States’ Italian immigration quota is inadequate, and they conclude that Libya is the only outlet. This argument, apart from any other consideration, overlooks the fact that Libya, with its limited possibilities, can contribute to the solution of these difficult Italian problems no more than Palestine can contribute to the solution of the Jewish problem. Then there is a humanitarian ground on which the Italians claim Libya. They believe that they have a civilizing mission that must be fulfilled. They regard Libya as Italy’s “fourth shore” and say that a country so near Europe must be developed and its inhabitants must be civilized. Imperialism, we are assured, does not enter into the question. It is to be an Italian union after the pattern of the French Union.

There are at least three objections to this claim. The first is that even if the Libyans wished to be civilized by a foreign Power, Italy would be the one least fit for the task. When they invaded Libya in 1911-12, “the Italians had by their cruelty earned the hatred and by their cowardice the contempt of the Arabs, and it will take them a long time to live down either of these feelings.” The “pacification” of Libya by Marshal Graziani, the Fascist regime and the conduct of the Italian soldier in the last World War intensified these feelings considerably and made the continuation of the Italian “civilizing mission” in Libya impossible. This is confirmed by the Commission of Enquiry, who described the opposition among the Libyans to a return of Italian domination as “widespread and deep.” It is, moreover, rather strange that while the English are abandoning Kipling and the “white man’s burden” is no longer mentioned in polite English society, the Italians seem to be re-discovering Kipling and the idea of a “civilizing mission.”

The second objection is that the development of Libya depends on the necessary financial means and the co-operation of the Libyans, and Italy has neither of these. As for the Italian Union, if the French Union, the older idea, is not functioning in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, it is unlikely that an Italian union would function in Libya.

The Jews in Libya have become so much a part of the country that they dress like Arabs, speak only Arabic and many of them even adopt Arab names. They identify themselves with the Arabs also politically. When on June 8th, 1946, the Libyan United National Front issued a memorandum on their claims of unity, independence and membership of the Arab League, one of the signatories of that memorandum was Zakino Habib, a Libyan Jew who then represented the Jewish community in Tripoli. A year later Arab-Jewish rioting broke out in Tripoli and the Jews were reported to have been the aggressors. This change in the attitude of the Libyan Jews is generally explained as being the result of Zionist activities. The rioting was quelled by British security forces but its cause is not removed. Zionist papers and pamphlets still find their way to Tripoli and Zionist textbooks are still used in teaching Libyan Jews modern Hebrew.

Without Zionist propaganda there would be no Jewish problem in Libya.

Some Suggested Solutions.

The views expressed by the many “interested governments” on the future of Libya fall into four groups: United Nations’ trusteeship, Anglo-French trusteeship, Italian trusteeship, and independence.

United Nations’ trusteeship is generally regarded as impracticable because of the grave disadvantages which would arise from a trusteeship held by several states and because as a solution it can satisfy nobody.

Australia supports British trusteeship in Libya, Canada favours Britain as the administering body if a single trusteeship for the whole of Libya can be arranged, and South Africa, while recognizing the validity of the war-time pledge to the Senussi by the British Government that they would not again be placed under Italian rule, considers that the trusteeship of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania should be allocated to Great Britain and proposes that the Fezzan be placed under French trusteeship, but an Anglo-French trusteeship would be strongly opposed by Russia, who regards it as an attempt to turn Libya into a Western Powers’ military base.

The French and the Russians, for different reasons, advocate Italian trusteeship, the French because they want a companion in their own position, that is a Western Power in conflict with North African nationalism, and the Russians because they have in mind the next Italian election, while the United States is inclined to agree with them on this point because, among other things, America has an internal Italian vote. Mr. Dewey recently told a group of United States citizens of Italian descent that he favoured Italian administration of the colonies under U.N. trusteeship. On the other hand Australia, Canada and South Africa, the States of the Arab League and the Libyans themselves are definitely against an Italian trusteeship.

Independence is advocated by all Arab States through the Arab League and supported in principle by a number of writers who are authorities on the subject. Says L. James of Alexandria University: “The authorities who will recommend Libya’s final status to the four major powers would be wise to pay heed to the growing demand for complete independence among the Libyans and other Arab peoples. Nothing less will satisfy them, and since the western world has laid down in the Atlantic Charter that territorial changes ought to reflect ‘the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned’ (Point Two), the only satisfactory way to decide the fate of Libya is to give complete and unconditional independence while offering technical and economic assistance under the aegis of an international body such as U.N.O.” And Captain the Hon. Robin Maugham writes: “The solution would appear to be that a local autonomous Government should be formed in each of the three zones. These three Governments would recognise the sovereignty of the Emir El-Sayid Idris as limited by the Constitution (which would also safeguard the rights of Italian and Jewish minorities), and they would be federated for purposes of economy and foreign representation. The Libya thus formed could be granted immediate independence.” Similar views seem to be implied in the statement of Brigadier S. H. Longrigg quoted above.

This solution, besides being the simplest and the one that gives due weight to considerations of justice and human rights, will remove at least one cause of dissension among the Great Powers and restore some faith in the United Nations Organization and in international sanity.
THE MUSLIMS IN INDONESIA

By Dr. HURUSTIATI SUBANDRIO

Indonesia has had commercial relations and cultural intercourse with the rest of Asia for centuries. There have been migrations to, and from it. Hinduism and Buddhism, both emanating from India, had permeated it in pre-medieval times.

Arabs and traders from India, especially from Gujarat, had commerce with it, and brought it Islam, which, to-day, is the prevailing religion in the Indonesian islands. The Islamic religion is also to be found in Malaya, and has a large number of followers in the Philippines. Pakistan, and particularly Eastern Pakistan, is another Islamic neighbour.

Our other neighbours in South East Asia have the Buddhist religion which has prevailed up to the present time.

Marco Polo during his travels in 1292 A.D., came across Muslim states in Sumatra which had been set up by Indian traders from Gujarat in India. Gradually the Islamic religion gained ground and had its ultimate victory in Indonesia with the downfall of Modjopahit, the last Hindu-Javanese state in Java, in 1520 A.D. This Islamising process is still continuing, but at the present time it is developing not so much in breadth as in depth.

Now nearly the whole area of Indonesia has embraced the Muslim religion, excepting the Batak area in Sumatra with its Christian population, the Dajak area in Central Borneo, Bali, Moluccas and New Guinea. More than 90 per cent of the population are Muslim, thus making a total of about sixty-five million Muslims. There are about two million Christians, two million Chinese Buddhists and one million Hindus (in Bali).

Islam means more than religion to the Indonesians, because it has also brought a new philosophy of life and community, which is different from the previous one. Islam has brought a new view on the significance of man on earth. Muslim philosophy has influenced the structure of society. For instance, Muslim law prevails alongside the customary law, which varies according to the customs in different regions.

The Islamic influx in the cultural sphere can also be traced in the new words and terms which have been absorbed by the Indonesian language. In many fields of cultural life words of Arabic origin can be traced. It is a proof that, in many spheres of life, Islam has brought a welcome renovation. The number of these words has recently increased, partly because of better communications with South Arabian countries (which has made "Haj" journeys easier for our pilgrims) and partly because of the presence of Indonesian students in the countries of the Middle East, for instance, in Egypt.

Another reason for the influx of Arabic terms in the Indonesian language is to be found in the great development of the Indonesian language itself in the last few years. Indonesian is now used in all fields of civil administration, in public life and in all schools, including universities, thus replacing the function of the Dutch language in pre-war times. Many new terms have to be introduced into the Indonesian language, which is basically Malay. (This language was spread by Malay traders throughout the whole archipelago and it became the lingua franca. Now this lingua franca is recognised as the national language. People prefer it to "regional" languages such as Javaneze, Menangkabaus, Sundanese, etc., which are mainly spoken only among the populations of their respective areas). In order to find suitable terms, especially in the field of science, and for the civil service, many words have been introduced from Dutch, Latin, Arabic, French, English and Sanskrit. It has been a big task for the Indonesian Language Committee to find those words, but the result is satisfactory and many words are now commonplace.

To-day we write our language in ordinary Latin script.

1 Being the text of a lecture delivered before the Muslim Society in Great Britain, London, on 28th September, 1948.
Arabic script is also taught to the children, as an essential part of religious education, but this teaching is not carried out in schools but is done privately by religious teachers. In many schools in Java, Javanese script is taught too, for use with the Javanese language. This script originated from Sanskrit.

One can give some characteristics of Javanese culture: before Islam was brought to this island.

This Javanism had developed in a late Hindu period in Java, but this Javanese Hinduism was sectional, and had no intercourse with typical national Hinduism. It was rigid, and essentially motionless, a voluntary isolation from the currents and turbulence outside its own frontiers. There was no contact with any other philosophy.

When Islam came to Java, this Javanism could not defend itself against the vital new religion. With Islam, which developed a philosophy congenial to the currents of the world, Java was compelled to be a part of the world. Before Islam, it was isolated from the world. Islam had changed the complicated hierarchy of Javanism.

The term "Ummat Islam" suggests equalisation of all people in Islam. It suggests also the possibility of individual progress and development: Javanism is characterised by the consciousness of the unity of all things, the cosmic unity. Heaven and life on earth are subordinated to the same unalterable law and order. The Javanese prince was the ruler of all earthly life as he was the incarnation of divine spirits. Prosperity of the people depended on his magic power.

Community was also ruled by unchangeable law, and the relationships between the various groups of society was fixed according to old systems. Only the group was of any importance, not the individual person. The various groups were the nobility, the learned group, the warriors, the artisans and the peasants.

Many characteristics of this Javanism were to be found in Western Europe in medieval times. With Islam, revolutionary changes came into existence.

In the Indonesian islands, which are spread out from the Malay peninsula to Australia, Dutch authority was supreme until the Japanese invasion in 1942.

The Dutch exploited the islands, in particular Java. Colonial rule failed to satisfy the people and to fulfill their needs.

After the Japanese surrender the Indonesian nationalists assumed power, and established the Indonesian Republic.

Since the end of the war the country has witnessed a great deal of intrigue and a great deal of bloodshed, due to the return of the Dutch to Indonesia. The Indonesian people are militantly resisting Holland's aim to reimpose colonial rule in those areas.

Holland's anxiety to recover her former position of power in Indonesia is understandable. But equally intelligible is the interest in the archipelago shown by other Powers. For the region is one of the richest in the world. Indonesian raw materials are needed for American and European industries.

Our neighbours in South East Asia, too, must have their share of Indonesian products.

The Dutch are also anxious to maintain their monopolistic system in Indonesia. The effect of this anxiety has been to cut off the people from all normal intercourse, cultural or intellectual, with their neighbours. The Dutch blockade of Indonesia, economically and strategically, is terribly felt by the people. Even people going abroad to foreign countries have difficulties, for instance, in obtaining passports.

In South East Asian countries, it was a common feature of pre-war colonial rule that the only international intercourse the metropolitan power encouraged in its colonies was between itself and the colonies, and the Dutch system was no exception. Muslims alone because of their pilgrimages to the Holy Places in Arabia, had links with other foreign countries.

Indonesian Muslims base their fight against colonialism on the conviction that colonial rule is tyranny. It is against humanity, and is prohibited by Islam. Every Muslim's duty is to struggle for the freedom of his country and of his religion. Many are the resentments of Muslims against colonial rule.

The Dutch Government policy was not very drastic towards religion, and took no interest in Islam, but it encouraged and subsidised Christian institutions on a large scale. Our institutions did not get any assistance. There were no higher training schools for Muslim religious teachers, but there were several for Christian teachers. Intercourse with other Islamic countries was not encouraged; on the contrary, it was disliked.

Faith in the Western world is decreasing, especially because of the fact that it has been the centre of two world wars in only one generation. A third world war seems inevitable. If Christians in Europe are not capable of avoiding large scale bloodshed amongst themselves, Muslims have no faith that they can maintain their religion and culture.

Another resentment is caused by the fact that colonialism and imperialism both originated from this Christian world, although Christianity is based on peace and humanity. Recently these objections to western civilization have been heard more and more in Indonesia.

Indonesian Muslims are seeking their way through these difficulties of world-wide importance and are expecting salvation from a stronger and united Islam. Many people aim at Darul Islam. Together with other countries they want to overcome world difficulties of war and peace, and, what is most necessary at the present time, to struggle for the freedom of subordinated countries.

He who would understand the meaning of Darul Islam today, its ideology and its relation to the Indonesian problem, would be well advised to realize the difference between the modernised Darul Islam and the old, which was created especially in wartime, as opposed to Darul Kufur. Darul Islam, in the new version, prepared the way for democracy and world peace, for the independence and sovereignty of colonised people. The ideology of Darul Islam is not aggressive or intolerant to dissidents.

The movement of this new-styled Darul Islam in Indonesia, significantly enough, made its first movement towards organised action simultaneously with the national revolution. In the present circumstances the break-through of the Islamic movement in the stronghold of Dutch colonialism is inevitable, and in the struggle, Muslim and nationalist leaders have joined together to achieve independence.

The idea of holding an international Islamic congress proposed by the late Shaykh El Maraghi, of Cairo, is considered a well-thought-out plan, because the Darul Islam ideology in its modern version must be adapted to, and adapted by, changing conditions of the world of Islam.

Darul Islam, according to the present currents in the Indonesian Muslim world, should be the illustration of an ideology concerned with the social and economical structure and with government according to the will of God. Darul Islam does not seek controversy with Darul Kufur, the non-Islamic countries. Darul Islam means a state ruled according to the moral principles of Islam. It is a democratic state, and aims at social justice.

In the meantime the Indonesian Republic has gained sympathy from most of the countries of the Arab League. The Arab League passed a resolution on the 18th November, 1946, advising its members to recognize the Indonesian Republic. On 12th March, 1947, Mr. Muhammad 'Abdul Mun'im, delegate from the Arab League, visited the Republican capital, Yogyakarta. Afterwards a Republican delegation, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hadjji Agus Salim, visited the Arab League countries.

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Before the war Indonesian delegates were sent to the following Islamic congresses in the Middle East:

In 1924 in Mecca, convened by His Majesty King Ibn Saud.
In 1926 in Cairo, convened by Al-Azhar University.
In 1931 in Palestine, convened by the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Amin el-Husseini.

Many Indonesian students have studied in Cairo and there has always been a big Indonesian pilgrimage to the Holy Places. Colonial rule has exercised a depressing influence on the Indonesians. Colonial relationship has caused inferiority complexes, and it was Islam which awakened the people for their the West. People are aware that Europe has power, because she has scientific richness. Therefore Islam should not isolate itself from Western intercourse, but should also apply Western methods.

A united Islam is necessary; superstition has to be fought. The original "pure Islam mind" is decreasing, because Islam has changed from an intellectual religion by conviction into religion merely by heredity. This is not the fault of Islam, but is the fault of Muslims. There is a strong appeal amongst Indonesian Muslims to return to the pure teaching of the Qur'an and Hadith.

A big Muslim social association is Muhammadiyyah, national struggle. One century ago the Javanese hero of the insurrection against the Dutch in Java, Diponegoro, fought under an Islamic banner. In the beginning of this century, Sharikat Islam, the Indonesian nationalist movement, rapidly gained ground. People enthusiastically joined this movement and in a short period it had 350,000 members.

Sharikat Islam has eliminated many of the feelings of inferiority and had a great share in the emancipation of the people towards national independence. The aim of the Sharikat was to make social improvements on Islamic lines. Later, political aims were introduced into this party.

In 1920, nine years after its foundation, Sharikat Islam split up into a right wing and a left wing. The left wing became incorporated in the Indonesian Communist party. In 1925, under the influence of this party, there was a big strike of railway workers. After this railway strike, the Dutch Government put very stringent restrictions on political activity. Due to this repression, in January, 1927, a large scale revolt occurred in West Java and in Sumatra. Though no doubt inspired by the Communists, the fact remains that the rebellion was an expression of the people's discontent with the Government. About 4,500 people were arrested and exiled to the concentration camp in New Guinea.

Muslim currents from other countries are well received by the Indonesian people. These modern currents come into existence partly under Western influence and as a reaction towards which has erected schools, hospitals and orphanages. Unlike Christian institutions of the same kind before the war, Muhammadiyyah institutions did not get a subsidy, or only a comparatively small one.

To-day the biggest Indonesian political party is the Masjumi, the Indonesian Muslim League. It has branches all over the archipelago, and has a strong women's and youths' movement. It is represented in the House of Representatives and also in district and municipal councils. Its main aim is national independence and Darul Islam, but I do not know what the chance is for either an Islamic or a secular state in the near future.

In Indonesia we have many political parties, and some of them are powerful, such as the national party, the left wing parties, the Socialist party, and the Christian and Catholic parties. Relationships between the various parties have recently deteriorated, due to left wing activities, which have started an insurrection on a large scale against the Republican Government. The President has full power to suppress this revolt, which is aiming at the setting up of a Soviet Republic. The Muslim League, the Nationalist party, the Socialist party, the Catholic and the Christian party are all supporting the Government in this difficult task.

Another point is that up to the present no real settlement with the Dutch has been reached, but only a truce agreement, and economically the whole area is at a standstill.
A PAGE FOR OUR YOUTH

The Boy who was Born to Change the World

By CASSIM ISMA'IL COLIN EVANS

When people find something that is good and valuable, and new, they too often become so full of this new find that for it they neglect even better and more valuable old things they already had. This is what has happened in our present times. The modern world has found all sorts of really great and valuable inventions, machines, ways of making goods in vast numbers. For instance, it has found means of travelling all over the world in a day or two instead of in years. It has discovered apparatus for making speech heard thousands of miles away. It can flash news in a small part of a second from one continent to another. It has invented machines for making hundreds of thousands of copies of a book all at once instead of copying one at a time for years. And so on. And so on. Now if the peoples of the world welcome them, they are not wrong. Their anxiety to develop and use them is understandable. As a matter of fact, they are proofs of the growth of some kinds of knowledge. But we must not forget that there are ways of using that knowledge. By seeking knowledge man can rise above the angels. By making wrong use of knowledge he can debase himself to a level lower than that of the animals. Where people are wrong is in fancying these things are more important than things that God taught man much, much earlier in the world's history. These are the things that show us how to make life happy much longer than we live in this world, to make life happy long after we leave this world. It is these that make every man the brother of every other man, and the loving server of the Creator of man.

God taught men from the first moment that they were men—men with the gift of reason, not mere animals on earth. God taught men that they were put on earth to be local governors, as it were, or provincial rulers, vice-regents, of this little globe, to rule it according to the perfect principles of the Lord of All Worlds. And those are the things that the modern world is rather forgetting in its excitement over the new, good but less important, things.

And the young people, now growing up, boys and girls all over the world, in Islamic families, who possess the religion that, to use the words of the Qur'an, "This day have I made your religion perfect," at some later date may have to go more and more among the people who happen to be foremost in the new, good but less important, developments of material science and modern inventions. You will find that because in recent generations nations are more and more drifting away even from the purely true religions they possess, are the nations who are getting more and more power through material inventions. The result is that their languages and customs and manners have become fashionable all over the world. The neglect of the older, greater, things that God always put first in teaching man, is tending to spread. You who read this page may be an English Muslim, an Egyptian, a Turk, a Pakistani, a Persian, a Malay. If your home is in Europe or America, you live and study among people of whom so few are Muslims that it is hardly known around you what "Muslim" means! If you live where most of your neighbours are of our religion, you may still find more and more that those most anxious to "get on in the world" are making European educations and European inventions seem as if they were the chief things to aim at! Yet misery and poverty and death and disease and hatred, which modern inventions could help to get rid of, if used by people with whom the great teachings of God's Messengers (His blessings and peace on them all!) came first, are so far from being got rid of, that they are wrecking the world.

In every generation, we are told, God raises men who are not Prophets of God but who are inspired to bring people's hearts back to the Prophet's teachings, so easily forgotten in a world of the worldly. It is among you, who are growing up now, among you (perhaps) who read the languages of those parts of the world where inventions have developed most of late and religion decayed most, that such men may be looked for next. And you, therefore, must know all that can be learned of the Prophet who was used by God to make the religion perfect. You must know of "the Boy who was Born to change the World." You should know how he came to give an everlasting foundation to the thoughts every boy in the world today must try to develop and spread. Every one of you is expected to play his part in making the ideas of this "Boy who was Born to change the World" the most active force in the world.

Nearly fourteen hundred years ago he was born, "the Boy who was Born to change the World," a widow's son, at Mecca, in Central Arabia.

He was born to a mother mourning for her late husband. He was taken away, sent into the desert with strangers from a mother and wife mourning her husband and longing for her baby.

Why? Because those same modern inventions of which we have been speaking were not there then; the life in a crowded business city like Mecca was not healthy for little children, compared with the open air and sunlight and natural life of the tribes who cared less for making money and roamed the Arabian desert. Thus babies of anyone who was in at all a good position were always sent away to be nursed through their first years by desert-wanderer foster-mothers. He it was, however, who was to change the world. Not, indeed, by introducing modern housing improvements, and the like, but by being the Messenger to teach men how to organise a life in relation to their fellow-men and to their creator in a way that would both encourage science and discovery. He was a Messenger who came to ensure that scientific inventions when they were made as a result of the science his religion encourages men to pursue, were used for good purposes and not for bad ones.

His is the life that we are going to study in the next few months in these pages. His life, the great inspiration for boys and girls, is the life of the "Boy who was Born to Change the World," the life of the boy who began by teaching that girls matter as much as boys, putting an end to the wickedness of killing girl-children simply for not being boys.

JANUARY 1949
The Social and Educational Progress of Women in the Middle East

By KISMET ABU LABAN

Very little is known by the outside world about the Muslim women of the Arabic speaking countries. By Arab countries I mean the whole of the Middle East excluding Persia and Turkey. What little is known is unfortunately presented in a prejudiced manner by writers who pretend to be familiar with the subject and thereby convey a misleading impression of the present position of Arab-Muslim women.

It is true that Arab women were hardly conscious of the social and political factors around them during the twelfth century and after. But this applied equally to women throughout Europe with very few exceptions. Before discussing the position of Muslim women in the Middle East, I would like to give the reader a general picture of the role played by some prominent and able women during the early days of Islam.

In studying the Arab women of ancient times, one has to admit that the women themselves benefited greatly from the awakening which swept the Arab peninsula with and after the birth of Islam. Islam secured to woman that advancement which is usually only attained by long and persistent endeavours. Arabia has had her brilliant literary women and poetesses, women who rivalled men in poetical talents; there was no sex distinction, and there was nothing strange in seeing ladies at the market fair of 'Ukaz taking part in poetic competitions. ('Ukaz fair was somewhat similar to the literary debates of modern times.) There were some women who competed successfully with leading poets in public debates; the best example being the Arab poetess Tamadur, the daughter of 'Umar Al-Harith, better known as Al-Khansa, who sacrificed her four sons in the defence of Islam. When she sent them to join the army, she charged them in the following words, still memorable in Arab history: "O my sons! ye have embraced Islam of your own free will, ye know the reward of God for Muslims who fight in the defence of Islam against the unbelievers; know ye, then, that the world to come is better than this world." When she was informed that all of them had lost their lives in the battle, she said, "They have honoured me with their death." When the Prophet was asked once who was the best poet living, he answered, "Al-Khansa," without hesitation.

It is true that the women of to-day are better organized than were their sisters of by-gone times. They are also more interested in matters of public concern, yet there were women who were brave enough and sufficiently sure of their principles to rebuke the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid for his errors. He was hardly twenty-two years of age when he succeeded his father as caliph and his mother Khazurin acted as his personal adviser in all matters of public importance. It was the practice of Yahya, his vezir, to consult her and seek her advice on almost all matters affecting the state.

There have even been women rulers of Muslim states. Shajrathud Durr, a woman of great ability and courage, succeeded Turan Shah as queen of Egypt, and was the ninth Ayyubite Sovereign. She attended meetings of the Council of Ministers, the Friday Khurbah (Sermon) was recited in her name, and coins were inscribed with her title.

There were lady jurists who were considered equal in merit to the foremost male jurists of the time. During the days of the Abbassides a woman presided as judge over the high court, a position which Western women have attained only in comparatively recent times. Zeinab, mother of Al-Mu'ayyid, who lived in the sixth century of Hijra, was highly qualified in jurisprudence and taught law. Again, in trade and commerce, the Arab woman of old reached an outstanding position before and during the early stages of Islam. Khadijah, the first wife of the Prophet, could be given as the best example. She owned a vast number of caravans which used to trade between Mecca and Damascus.

Arab Women of To-day.

Having glanced very briefly at some of the famous women of old, I would now like to discuss the progress and advancement made by some of the Arab Muslim women of to-day. Among the Arab countries of the Middle East, Egypt can boast of many women writers and reformers, who have won for themselves a world-wide reputation. Even in the political field, where there is a growth in national consciousness, these ladies, through their active participation, have proved to be an invaluable asset to their countries. The best example which may help to illustrate these facts is Madame Safiyya Zaghloul, the wife of the late Sa'd Pasha Zaghloul, who headed the Wafd (Nationalist) Party in Egypt for over fifteen years. She has associated herself after the death of her husband with every national movement of the Wafd, and her advice and counsel are highly valued by the Wafd leaders, the successors of her husband.

The late Huda Hanum Shalawie may also be mentioned as one who has done a great deal as a social and national worker. She has been most helpful to many women's enterprises and movements which have sprung up in Egypt in recent years.

We can hardly leave this subject without mentioning May Ziade, one of the most brilliant writers of the modern era, who has contributed greatly to the thought-life of Egypt, and has indeed exerted a very constructive influence on the advancement of Egyptian women.

Arab Women in Professional Life.

In its main outlines the economic position of Eastern women in different countries has been the same. Eastern society as a whole has assigned to women a position of economic dependence as regards their earnings and livelihood. The Eastern man has always assumed the responsibility for the support of all the women in his family, and guarded this responsibility as a matter of personal honour and pride. A woman's sole sphere has been her home, and departure from it, except as a necessity, has been regarded with disfavour.

To-day this traditional position of economic dependence of Muslim women is being gradually modified, and a general trend towards a greater freedom, enabling women to earn their own living, is evident in all classes of society. Muslim girls and women of the upper and middle classes enter professions, and the others, industry. A general movement toward social freedom is opening the doors of economic opportunity. Education is giving the basic preparation needed for this advance of women in business and professional life, and throughout the whole of the Middle East there is evidence of a general movement toward economic life. There is also evidence of a direct ratio between the disappearance of the veil and the extension of economic opportunity for women. Prevailing social attitudes and social conditions in each country determine the rate of advance toward economic independence.
The different opportunities of economic efforts opened up in business, professional life and industry all register evidence of the change in the economic status of women. Teaching, medicine, nursing and midwifery are the most popular of the public professions.

The progress in the field of teaching during the last few decades was the forerunner of the general advance of Muslim women toward economic independence, since it did not necessitate the elimination of the veil. The teaching profession has been regarded as entirely within the bounds of Muslim conven-

A group of the Young Women's Muslim Association, Beirut, Lebanon. The President, Madame Habibeh Yakan, is addressing the meeting.

tions and the career of medicine offers an unusual opportunity for women in the East, because of the very urgent needs in the field of medicine. Iraq, where this is particularly true, affords an unusual field for women doctors. The attitude towards other branches of the health services, e.g., nursing and midwifery, is distinctly biased. The social stigma, not the veil, is the main deterrent. These professions throughout the East are held as being rather lowly. In some countries, e.g., in Egypt, midwifery has a much higher status than nursing, while in others the situation is the reverse. But the promotion of both services as a career for well-trained, educated Muslim girls is an uphill task.

Other professions, such as law, journalism, secretarial work and radio announcing have here and there an individual pioneer in their ranks.

The Widening Sphere of Muslim Women's Interests.

Formerly, as mentioned above, the frame of a Muslim woman’s life was her home. Her contacts were limited to her family, and her thought-life was family centred. But within the last two decades the radii of her interests have widened very much. Her world is no longer bounded by the four walls of her home, but by the wider area of civic and national interests.

Twenty years ago a Muslim women’s club was scarcely known; today almost every town and city in the East has its club or gathering place for women. Different social and educational activities are being carried out by the club members, such as talks, lectures, discussion groups, musical recitals, etc. The development of women’s societies in different places has followed similar lines. Arab women’s associations with Muslim and Christian membership were established roughly around 1930. Their objects, as declared by their rules, are to assist the Arab woman in her endeavours to improve her status, to help the poor and distressed and to encourage and promote Arab national enterprise.

Funds are being raised annually by the members of the associations through many different channels, e.g., subscriptions, donations, collections, bazaars, plays and musical recitals.

The Najdatul Fatat Society is another form of association. It was established during the second world war by a group of young and enlightened Arab ladies. Its main objects are to teach grown-up girls who missed the opportunity of going to school in their childhood days elementary reading and writing, knitting, weaving, hand embroidery and dressmaking, so that they may be able to earn their living in the future, and to train them to be independent, honest and straightforward members of the community.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Arab women’s progress, whether social or educational, was due not only to the efforts exerted by the women themselves in the last few decades, but also to the growing general enlightenment among the men who are realizing that the retarded development of women is a real handicap to the development of children and hence to the progress of the State.
The Eighteenth of November in Morocco

By M. DAWDI

The Eighteenth of November is the anniversary of the accession to the Throne of His Majesty King Muhammad V of Morocco. On this day, twenty-one years ago, the present King of Morocco, Muhammad Bin Yusuf, succeeded to the throne of his ancestors as Prince of the Believers, Guardian of Islam and the interests of his subjects, and symbol of the government and unity of the Moorish nation.

To acknowledge the King's great efforts in guiding and strengthening the people of Morocco towards their goal of the Independence and Unity of Morocco, the leader Muhammad Hassan el-Wazzani and other leaders all over Morocco, decided that the Eighteenth of November must become a National Day for the country and its people.

This anniversary was first celebrated in 1935 in all the large cities and towns of Morocco. Greetings were sent to H.M. the King from every part of the country, and from the leaders of the Nationalist Movement, who expressed to his beloved King the admiration, confidence and respect of the nation, which realised at last that the time had come for putting an end to the current regime, the dual Protectorates and the internationalisation of one of the most important ports of Morocco.

The King himself was very pleased with this idea, and ordered that the anniversary become a formal one for the throne and nation together, as the nation is as one with the throne and the throne as one with the nation. Since then, great ceremonies are held every year on this happy occasion in the King's Palace as well as in every town and village in Morocco.

The anniversary becomes more important year by year; the nation's respect for its King increases and now surrounds his throne more nearly than ever, for it sees in him the great organiser who is using all his power and sincerity to protect it. He formed the illustrious University of Karawyn and prepared its programme. Today it is famous and has given scores of skilled men of law and lecturers, writers and poets to the world. He also brought to life the Ben Yussuf University at Marrakesh, the second establishment of which Morocco is proud, which will presently make its effect felt in the southern part of the country.

During his reign, Morocco sent a number of her youth to study law, medicine, literature, agriculture, engineering and politics in the Universities of France. Others were sent to Cairo to study at Al-Azhar Mosque, the Egyptian University and Dar al-Ulum.

During the war the beloved King of Morocco decided to prepare the students for the future. He repaired the boarding colleges, built new ones, erected the new library of Karawyn University, opened dozens of schools and promised to build others in every town and village of Morocco, even in the remotest Berber regions. He ordered that for the first time in the country's history Moorish girls must be educated according to a programme which was based on Muslim teaching. He took care to do his best for the common interest and to realise the hopes of his nation.

In proof of this we recall the historical speech he delivered at Karawyn seven years ago at a gathering of professors and students after the university examination. He ended with the words:

"We have given our word to do our utmost in the interest of the people everywhere and to pursue all possible means of ensuring the prosperity of the nation, and we shall never hesitate to give advice and guidance. We shall never tire of working for the people, hoping to lead the country to the height of perfection. So Morocco will flourish in the future as well as in the present. Almighty God, His Name be exalted, is able to guide us in the way in which He, the All-Knowing, knows best."

In April 1947 H.M. the King visited Tangiers for the first time after his accession to the throne twenty-one years before. He was enthusiastically received by his subjects, who made up ninety per cent of the inhabitants of the town. At all times the King appeared before his people they shouted, "We want our freedom, our unity, our independence"; "Why should we stay under foreign power?" "We fought for the liberation of Europe, too"; "We too fought against Nazism and Fascism"; "Long live United Morocco under our beloved King!"

The King was seen in tears when the leader 'Abdulkhaliq Torres presented him, on behalf of the people of Tetuan, a map of Morocco engraved on a golden plate. He declared to the foreign ministers and ambassadors that he was prepared to give his subjects in every part of the country their full democratic rights, and that Morocco was bound to the Arab States of the Middle East and wished to join the Arab League, which works for the welfare of Arabs everywhere. He concluded by proclaiming that Morocco had the right to enjoy once more its full unity and complete independence.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
JUBILEE OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

By SALAH-UD-DIN AHMED TOTO

Over twenty-five years ago, the old Turkish Empire, which had lain prostrate at the end of the First World War under the military might of the victorious Allies, with its territories dismembered beyond recognition; the hinterland of Asia Minor reduced to the status of a colonial dependency; and what is more, a large part of what remained placed under the heel of Greek military occupation, there arose from the ashes of "the Sick Man of Europe" a model State through the military genius of one man—Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, later aptly acclaimed Ataturk—"the Father of the Turks." Ataturk was the prime architect of this new State: what he achieved and did is now history.

No less remarkable is the fact that this State, peopled by the same race who had never known peace, since the foundation of the Ottoman State in Asia Minor in the middle of the thirteenth century, has since its inception contrived to remain in peace. For that credit must go to the shrewdness of her present leaders headed by the radiant personality of the President, Ismet Inonu.

Many reforms instituted by Ataturk from the early days of new Turkey, had in their motif, recognition of the necessity of removing restrictions on the intellectual and natural abilities of the Turks. But in the implementation of these reforms, the initiators, as is usual among all radicals in the wake of revolution, exceeded the bounds of moderation. In this respect, the one party system of government on the one hand and the other within voluntarily, and not forced by the pressure of events outside.

Religious teaching is being revived and encouraged in elementary schools and courses in Muslim theology are to be established in the universities. In addition, plans will be made to start special training courses for Imams and preachers in all large towns of the country.

Among a host of achievements to its credit, we need mention only two in order to show that in its work for the betterment of its citizens, the Republic has conferred an equality of opportunity which has yet to be equalled by the much vaunted democratic systems of the West. First is the Land Reform Act which abolishes for ever the rich land-owning class. The second is the educational system which, while insisting on compulsory primary education, confers free education through the other stages up to the University stand-
ard. It is, therefore, with justifiable pride that the Republic of Turkey on October 29th, 1948, celebrated its 25th year of birth. Below is the résumé of the speech made on November 1st, 1948, by the President Ismet Inonu to the third year's session of the eighth Grand National Assembly:

"I am opening the third year's session of the eighth Grand National Assembly. I salute the great Assembly with all my sympathy and respect. Having had two years of activity full of great achievements, we are now entering the third year of the Eighth Grand National Assembly. The wounds caused by the Second World War have not yet healed, neither has security we are grateful, is helping a great deal to strengthen our army with modern equipment and with systematic instruction."

After these words, the President, speaking on the issue of the recovery of the country, explained that the road-building problem, which required urgent attention, was being dealt with seriously, that the construction and improvement of ports was being carried on speedily, that mineral production was increasing this year, and that great progress had been made in installing local electric power stations aiming at an inexpensive supply of power as well as in the realisation of mining and industrial schemes. He also said that the oil boring activities at Raman taken root among nations. The events taking place in the world have strengthened our decision that the ever-present vigilance shown by us in the matter of national defence must continue with increasing care and attention. Great sacrifices have been made in order that our land, sea and air powers may meet effectively the requirements of the defence of our country; these requirements have been continuously growing since the year 1939. In fact, in preparing the budget for next year, our government have borne in mind that the needs of our glorious army, which is the defender of our sovereign existence, should be thoroughly met. The aid in military material given by the friendly Government of the United States of America, for which had given positive and hopeful results. He also stressed that they were trying to benefit as much as possible from the European Recovery Programme for their own agricultural recovery, and that the distribution of land to landless farmers was being carried out in a regular manner. The President also spoke about the measures that were being taken to put industrial life into good order, to increase the prosperity of workers' families, and to ensure a good capacity for work. He said that with the addition of worker's insurance for old age and illness those measures had now been completed. He explained that measures were being taken to increase foreign trade and that the Turkish trade fleet would be improved. On the subject of
health, the President said that the health organizations which the country were in need of would be formed shortly and that the struggle against contagious diseases would continue. He outlined the results that were expected from the new schemes in the field of education and discussed the newly instituted schools and scientific research organizations. After stressing the measures that had been taken to improve the judicial functions, the President spoke on the improvements achieved in internal politics and said “The experiments we have made since 1945 have proved that the Turkish nation is able to preserve a democratic administration in a faultless and firm condition.”

President Inonu stressed that during the 25 years of republican regime the Turkish nation had made great improvements and that she had emerged from the disturbances of the Second World War in a powerful and honourable position. He made the following pronouncement on foreign policy: “We observe, with regret, that the attempts to attain a state of peace, which the world is so anxiously awaiting, cannot give the expected results this year. Our conviction is that peace can be realised within the framework of the United Nations if the peace-loving nations act with resolution. Turkey is faithfully carrying out the duty devolving upon her within the United Nations Organisation and she will continue to do so. We believe that the European Recovery Programme will soon give good results due to the zeal and work of all the participating countries and with the aid of the United States of America. We are co-operating with all the peace-loving democracies and especially with our ally, Great Britain, and our close friend, the United States of America. We are not in a position to report fresh improvement in our relations with the U.S.S.R., although it is our sincere desire to be on good terms with that country. As a valuable sign of our old friendship and good relations with France, we are happy to see among us today the parliamentary delegation from France. Our friendly relations with the neighbouring countries of Greece, Persia, Afghanistan...

\textit{The Turkish motorised units of the Defence Forces taking part in the Ceremonial Parade held at Ankara to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Republic}
A HUMAN DISASTER

The Arab Refugees

By E. ATIYYAH

The result of the support for Zionism by the British and Americans, whether ignorant or informed, innocent or guilty, has resulted in a terrible tragedy, a tragedy long foreseen by its Arab victims. Ten years ago, George Antonius concluded his Arab Awakening with the following words: "The logic of facts is inexorable. It shows that no room can be made in Palestine for a second nation except by dislodging or exterminating the nation in possession." This is precisely what has come to pass. The attempt to establish a Jewish state in Palestine has directly resulted in the expulsion from their homes of 500,000 Arabs or nearly one-half of the total Arab population of the country: the attempt to solve the Jewish refugee problem in Europe at the expense of Palestine and of Palestine alone has resulted in the creation of a more ghastly refugee problem in the Arab countries. The number of the Arab refugees is to-day three times that of Jewish displaced persons in Europe and their condition is infinitely worse. Few people in the world seem to realize the reality of these facts, or the full horror of what has happened.

How it Came About.

It would appear that no one in the West knows how this tragedy has come about, nor does anyone seem inclined to confess to being responsible for it. The 500,000 homeless Arabs are called "refugees" and people imagine that they became homeless as an unfortunate result of the fighting in Palestine. Many, indeed, under the influence of Zionist propaganda, believe that it was the Arab States or the Arab leaders who caused the tragedy by encouraging the Arabs of Palestine to leave their homes when the fighting started. It is alleged by some Zionist propagandists that the Zionists did not want the Arab population to leave and that they appealed to them to stay and gave them assurances that if they did so no harm would befall them. The answer to these baseless allegations is that such brutal massacres as that of Deir Yassin and the other atrocities committed by the Zionists against the civil Arab population of Palestine in the early days of the fighting are much more likely to persuade people what course of action they should take than insincere verbal assurances uttered for the benefit of the gallery of world public opinion. The object of those massacres was precisely to bludgeon the Arab population into panic and flight and many Arabs, seeing the alternatives before them as either extermination or departure, left their homes to seek refuge in the surrounding Arab countries. But this is not the whole story. Very many of the Arab refugees did not panic or leave their homes of their own free will. These did not flee but were expelled or deported by the Jewish military authorities when they occupied their towns or villages. It happened many times (and for this there is the unimpeachable testimony of Brigadier Glubb Pasha) that the Jewish commanders, on entering an Arab district, ordered the inhabitants to leave it within a few hours and even forbade them to take away any of their belongings.

Deliberate Zionist Policy.

There is thus no doubt that it was the deliberate intention of the Zionists to get rid of the Arab population in the areas which they wanted to include in the Jewish state. The fact that the Jewish authorities are now refusing to allow these refugees to come back to their homes and that they refused Count Bernadotte's request to this effect confirms that it is a matter of calculated cold-blooded policy on the part of the Zionists to eliminate from their midst the indigenous Arab population (looting their property in the process) in order that the Jewish state shall be exclusively Jewish and that there shall be more room in it for more and more Jewish immigrants. The Zionists have always said (Dr. Weizmann proclaimed it as far back as 1918) that they wanted Palestine to be as exclusively Jewish as England is English or America American. They have always said that they want to bring into Palestine millions of Jewish immigrants. When the Arabs protested in the past that these objects could not be achieved except by their extermination or eviction, the Zionists denied this vociferously. Now they have accomplished it.

Impact on Arab Countries.

Walking away on foot without any of their belongings; or, from the heat and weariness of the march, having to drop anything they may have tried to carry away when they started, 500,000 of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine have either fled from terror or been driven away by order from their homes in the towns and villages which they had inhabited peacefully for centuries. In tens of thousands they wandered about the barren country-side of Palestine, with very little food and no shelter except rocks and trees. Many of them left by sea from Haifa, Jaffa and Acre in small rowing boats, some of which were wrecked on the way. Those who were able to make the journey, reached, after days of walking, the territories of the Lebanon, or Transjordan, Egypt or Syria; and some have trekked as far as Iraq. The Arab States and private organizations in the Arab countries did what they could to provide relief for them, but the problem was so great and its impact so sudden that their internal means and resources were insufficient to deal with it and the conditions in which the refugees had to live in some places and for many days were appalling. Sir Raphael Cilento, the U.N. Refugee Expert, described what had happened as "a human disaster comparable to the Japanese and San Francisco earthquakes." Monsignor Arthur Hughes, the Papal Nuncio, declared in Cairo a few days ago that if prompt aid was not given, 200,000 of the refugees would perish in the coming months from malnutrition, exposure and disease.

Of the total number about 200,000 are still in the Arab areas of Eastern Palestine and these are the most difficult to succour, because of the absence of an organized government to look after them on the spot. These, together with the 80,000 who have been able to make their way to Amman, are the liability of the Transjordan Government. In Syria, there are about 110,000, and in Lebanon 60,000 or 70,000. The rest are in Egypt and Iraq.

But dry facts and figures cannot convey anything like a true impression of the appalling sufferings of these refugees, the dangers to which they are still exposed or the extent to which they are taxing the resources of the Arab populations and governments with whom they have sought refuge. This can be only realized or conveyed by somebody who has seen it.
Problem of the Palestine Middle Class Refugees.

Though the majority of the Palestinian refugees are fellahen or small shopkeepers from towns, there are some 10,000 middle-class refugees scattered round the Arab states of Transjordan and Lebanon. Many of these people have lost everything. Their homes have been occupied or looted and their money gone.

But one of the chief causes of the hardship inflicted on these people was the action of the British Mandatory in leaving Palestine. When the British authorities left, they gave cheques or promissory notes to all employees which the latter imagined could be cashed at will at the banks. But after the British left the banks were closed and have not yet re-opened. Moreover the Palestine Government funds are locked up in Cyprus. This means that all Government officials due to receive pensions or back payments for salaries have not been able to draw a penny since May 15th last.

Most of them who brought money with them have now exhausted what they had and are living on borrowed money, or are destitute. Though some of them have managed to get jobs in Transjordan and Syria, many cannot and in countries like Lebanon, where already there is local unemployment, it is practically impossible for a Palestinian to make a living in a middle-class job.

Questioned for the reason for this state of affairs, a British official said: "I admit it is a scandal. It appears that the Mandatory Government had some vague idea that there would be some 'successor authority' to whom they could hand over and incomprehensible lack of foresight of the Mandatory Government.

Conclusion.

This is what Zionism and the attempt to establish a Jewish state in Palestine has done to the Arabs. With such dreadful accuracy and realism has George Antonius' prophecy quoted in our opening paragraph been fulfilled . . . "The logic of facts is inexorable. It shows
those whose minds are not completely warped by a pre-conceived and shockingly mistaken idea will see it and have the courage to admit it and to recant their terrible error. The responsibility for this appalling human disaster rests upon every government and every organization, every statesman and every newspaper in England, in America and elsewhere, who have supported and continue to support the Zionist movement and its aims. If the Arab refugee tragedy is not enough to show the world, to show the champions of humanitarianism and decent liberal sentiment in particular, that the aims of Zionism are evil, and that its object cannot be attained except by the infliction of a terrible injustice on the Arabs of Palestine, culminating in their complete dispossession and expulsion from their country, then the moral perception of the world must be so distorted and obscure that nothing can be hoped for from it. What those who still support Zionism have to realize is this, that whatever immediate relief is given to the Arab refugees, their problem, the problem of homelessness, cannot be solved as long as what calls itself the Jewish state remains in existence.

UZBEKISTAN’S NATIONAL POET
ALISHER NAWAI

By SALAH-UD-DIN AHMED TOTO

Unlike Nizami of Ganja, the Azerbaijan poet and philosopher, Nizamuddin Alisher who is more popularly known as Alisher Nawai of Uzbekistan is less widely known in the Muslim world.

Alisher Nawai was born in Gerat on February 9, 1441, 300 years after the birth of the great Nizami. His father was the governor of the Khurasan town of Sebezvar, and his mother was the nurse of Sultan Hussein Baikara (1469-1506). Nevertheless Alisher’s childhood and youth were far from peaceful, as at that time, Central Asia was the scene of a fierce struggle for power among the heirs of Tamerlane. This struggle had an adverse effect on social life, and the rapid changes in the political situation compelled the Alisher family to move frequently from place to place, until 1469, when Hussain Baikara became the ruler of Gerat. It was here that Alisher, who began to write poetry at an early age under the pen-name of “Nawai” (melodious) and showed exceptional gifts in the Uzbek language, Persian, philosophy, history, grammar and cosmography and other branches of learning, occupied important government posts. Under Nawai, the cultural and political importance of Gerat, the then famous cultural and political centre, became greatly enhanced. Nawai’s home in Gerat became the meeting-place for men of letters, art and science, whose patron he was. He spent huge sums to build schools, hospitals and libraries in Gerat, encouraged irrigation projects, and the construction of gardens. Hendermir, the historian and contemporary of Nawai, records that Alisher Nawai was often to be seen working on the building sites of Gerat, “his robe tucked up” like a common labourer. To Nawai practice was synonymous with precept: he always sought to carry into life the ideas he believed in and which he propounded in his writings—as according to him “he who has imbibed knowledge and has not applied it, is like the peasant who ploughs his field but does not sow it,” and “what do all my crafts and learning mean to me if I do not apply them in deed?” (“Farhad and Shirin”).

Nawai’s literary heritage is colossal. His biggest poetical work is the “Khamsa” (Quintet) consisting of five long poems. Noteworthy also are his four volumes of lyrical verse; a long poem “The Language of the Birds”; a moral treatise in prose and verse; “Collection of Rare People,” a historical work dealing with men of letters in Gerat at that time; “Struggle of Two Languages,” a long treatise comparing the lexicon and grammar of the old Uzbek and Persian languages and proving the virtues of the old Uzbek; “Table of Verse Metro,” a book on the rules of verse-writing; “The History of Iranian Kings,” and others. The vast majority of Nawai’s works have survived to the present day, many of them in well-preserved manuscripts dating back to the author’s lifetime.

Nawai’s aim was to develop the cultural traditions of his people in their own language, not through the medium of Persian or Arabic as has been the wont of all other Near Eastern and Central Asian poets before him, including Nizami, so that his works would be easily accessible to the common people as a whole. He not only revived the Uzbek language and literature, but also concentrated his attention on expressing his ideas in the simplest possible language. He criticised the
poets of his day for their ornate style in which the meaning of their work was often lost. The purpose of poetry was to serve the people, he said. "The principal element in poetry is content, the form does not matter; verses whose content is uninteresting are of little value to intelligent people... only he is a diver in the ocean of words who finds the gem of meaning."

Nawai's "Khamsa" (Quintuple), which runs to more than 58,000 rhymed lines, is written in the Uzbek language. It consists of five poems, the best known of which are "Leyla and Majnun" and "Farhad and Shirin". Nizami, the great Azerbaijan poet (1141-1203) was Nawai's predecessor in the creation of the quintuple form of poetry. Nevertheless, the originality and independent value of Nawai's "Khamsa" are by no means minimised by the fact that some of his poems bear the same titles and follow the same measure as Nizami's. Nawai deliberately employed the tradition-hallowed images and themes to create a work of art in the old Uzbek language.

The first poem of Nawai's Quintuple, "Consolations of the Righteous," numbers more than 8,000 rhymed lines. In it the poet addresses the ruler and expresses his views on society. In a number of literary miniatures Nawai attacks the bearers of social evil, brands officials for abusing their power and the priestly classes for exploiting the ignorance of the people.

One of the most remarkable of Nawai's attributes was his amazing capacity for work. Some of his long poems were written within the space of a few months. The entire Quintuple was written in two years, 1483 and 1484. His works have found their way to the people. Nawai is known and loved not only in Uzbekistan but far beyond its boundaries. His influence on the development of literature and progressive social thought in Central Asia, in Azerbaijan and the entire Near East is profound. The Azerbaijan classic Muhammad Fizuli, the great Turkmenian poet Makhmtum-Kuli, the founder of Kazakh literature Abai Kunanbaev, the founder of Kara-Kalpakian literature Berdak and many other poets and prose writers number him among their teachers. Nawai's heroes—Farhad, Shirin, Leyla, Majnun and Bahram—have been given a new lease on life in the works of Uzbek, Turkmenian and Tajik folk-lore. Many mountains, rivers and settlements in Central Asia have been named after them. One of the biggest power developments now under construction in Uzbekistan under the Soviet five-year plan bears the name of Nawai's hero Farhad.

The first scientific study of Nawai's works was made by Russian scholars. In a dissertation, delivered in 1856 at the Oriental Languages Department of St. Petersburg University, M. Nikišky gave a high appraisal of the poetry and statesmanship of Nawai. From that time on Nawai's writings began to be included in the textbooks of Russia's higher schools. It was only in Soviet times, however, that a thorough scientific study of the works of Nawai was made. Nawai's writings are being translated into Russian and many other languages of the Soviet Union and are being made accessible to the average Soviet reader. A film depicting the life of Nawai has merited a Stalin Prize.

In May 1948, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Alisher Nawai, the entire Soviet Union paid homage to the memory of Uzbekistan's greatest poet, and delegations from all republics gathered in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, to take part in the commemoration. The Union of Soviet Writers of Uzbekistan and the Uzbek Academy of Sciences have issued a manifesto declaring that a state public library bearing Nawai's name is to be opened in a new, recently-erected building, and on one of the public squares of Tashkent a foundation stone will be laid for a future monument to the great poet.
NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE "GOOD TIME" GIRL

A recently published book reports the result of enquiries made by the author into the lives of 103 ordinary British girls from 14 to 20 years of age, all drawn from working class areas in an industrial town, a mining village and a central London area.

The book makes sad reading, for the moral welfare of the future depends upon the young of to-day. The author in her survey found the girls in question to be almost completely ignorant of, and indifferent to, all activities outside their own circle. Almost their sole interests were their personal appearance, boys and money.

The reason for this deplorable state of affairs is not far to seek. Lack of religious training and moral discipline in the home coupled with the lamentable portrayal of life on the films together with unrestrained opportunities of meeting the opposite sex in dance halls, public houses, etc., are the root causes. The paramount desire of all the girls appears to be to get married as soon as possible, and rather than risk being "left on the shelf" they are prepared to marry anyone no matter how unsuitable.

In a Muslim country a society of this kind, producing this type of womanhood, is quite unthinkable. A society in which young girls frequent public houses and dance halls, mixing indiscriminately with men and staying out until the early hours, a society in which pre-marital sexual intercourse is the rule rather than the exception, is impossible under Muslim tradition, which is governed by the laws governing sexual life of the community. Here, too, the reasons are not far to seek. To begin with, religion among Muslims is still much more of a living force to-day than it is in western countries, Muslims believing themselves to be eventually accountable to God for their actions in this life. Secondly, the family as a unit with all its character-forming traditions plays a most important part in the structure of Islamic society. Thirdly, illegal sexual intercourse is not only looked upon with abhorrence, by the strict Muslim, but is even considered a crime, so that no girl who had experienced it could hope to get married. An adulterer or adulteress has no place in Islamic society.

From what we read we are driven to the conclusion that there is no hope of redemption for these poor creatures without a general change of heart. Social conditions in Great Britain to-day with the acute overcrowding of cities caused by the housing shortage and the "devil may care" attitude of a large section of the population brought about mostly by the insecure political horizon make such a change most difficult to bring about. Something must be done to instill in these girls a feeling of self-respect, a feeling which will cause them to realise instinctively what is right and wrong. This can only be done by training people to accept religion as a living reality so that they are ever conscious of their duty to God.

PSYCHIC RESEARCHERS STUDY ISLAM

Mr. Qassim Isma'il Colin Evans, B.A., an English Muslim who is also a well-known writer and lecturer on psychic research and a medium, was invited to deliver two lectures during October, 1948, to the Manchester Psychic Research Society, and to suggest a list of subjects for the Society to choose from. From a long list, they selected as one subject a lecture on the Prophet Muhammad (on whom be the peace and the blessing of God) with special reference to the trance state in which the Revelations were received by him, and other points of interest to psychic researchers and Spiritualists in the Prophet's life and, the Qur'an and Islamic doctrine.

Not only did an audience of several hundreds (half of whom afterwards bought literature on the Islamic faith, including the lecturer's own pamphlet, Essentials of Islam: a Muslim Englishman Summarises His Religion, listen with engrossed attention to a longer lecture than is usually encouraged there, and follow it up with intelligent and sympathetic questions aimed at securing more information, not at "heckling" the speaker, but Psychiatric Research Societies in other cities have since requested repetitions of the same lecture, heard or heard of by some of their members when it was given at Manchester.

The speaker, after pointing out that it would be obviously wrong to ignore the enormous difference between a Revelation meant for all mankind and for all future ages, given by direct Divine Command through an exalted spirit entity or angel, Gabriel, to a great Prophet, and Messenger of God, on the one hand, and the trivial messages of only ephemeral interest, given by spirits through mediums to their personal friends, or small gatherings on earth, and not meant for any wider or lasting circulation, yet there seemed good grounds for saying that the process or means by which messages transmitted from or through discernable spirit minds reach the earth-medium or messenger is essentially the same process in both cases. He pointed out the bodily symptoms accompanying the deep-trance states of the Prophet, as so closely resembling those familiar in modern Western trance mediums, and the fact that sometimes the Angel appeared as a human form or with a human voice and sometimes not, and was occasionally visible to others than the Prophet himself, as by materialisation, and quoted a hadith in which the Prophet spoke of the Angel as once taking the form of a young man recently "killed," one of the Prophet's own companions.

After showing how much better trance-control rather than epileptic fits (as alleged by some hostile critics) explained the Prophet's recorded experiences, the speaker went on to outline the religious and sociological tenets of Islam. It is significant that it was on these, rather than on technical details of mediumship, that the members of this Psychic Research Society proved afterwards to be most anxious for fuller light.

ARABIC SCRIPT IN PAKISTAN

The following is the text of an address delivered by the Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Pakistan Education Minister, when he spoke at the Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association in Karachi:

"It gives me great pleasure to say a few words on this occasion in order to bring out the significance of the tasks which the Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association has to perform in the context of the aims and ideals animating Pakistan.

"Pakistan, as you are well aware, has been established so that the Muslims should have the freedom to mould the pattern of their existence on the basic principles of Islam. The first objective towards which Pakistan should, therefore, strive is the realization of a World Order based on the democratic concepts of universal brotherhood; equality, tolerance and social justice as taught by Islam. The object of the Pakistan-Arab, Pakistan-
Iran, Pakistan-Turkish and Pakistan-Afghan Cultural Associations is not to emphasise the distinct character of the different Muslim countries but to strive to achieve a synthesis of the various cultures which may truly be called Islamic culture. The evolution of such a synthesis would be an important step towards the attainment of one World Order.

What I would, however, like to emphasise is another aspect of this matter which, in my opinion, deserves serious consideration, for it is one of the most important contributory factors in the achievement of the objective I have mentioned to you. I refer to the Arabic script. In view of the fact that the Holy Qur’an is written in this script, it should be adopted for all the regional languages in Pakistan as well as other Muslim countries. This would not only enable the Muslims of the world to pick up the languages of all the Muslim countries, but would also enable them to acquaint themselves with the Holy Qur’an and to have direct access to the Hadith and other religious books in their original texts.

"Given determination and enthusiasm, I am confident that all these difficulties can be surmounted, and I expect that the Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association will take a lead in this respect. The sphere of its work needs to be extended, and I hope that steps will be taken for the immediate establishment of branches of the Association in all parts of Pakistan."

IRAN

During the last century or so there was to be noticed in Iran a weakening of the hold of the world-wide brotherhood of Islam. This was bringing about a general sense of decay in the religious life of the people. But now, it is encouraging to note this decline has been stopped and in the last twenty years there has been slowly but surely taking place in Iran the rising, as it were, of a new sun.

The marks of this progress are to be seen in the conduct of the people, who seem to be more and more inclined to live their lives in accordance with the precepts of Islam. Many Islamic reunions are organised in rowzas and medresas, and mosques so long left unoccupied are again being used.

In another way also the true teachings of Islam as preached by the modern preacher are gaining ground and supplanting the defective knowledge given by materialism which had brought about in recent years a wrong appreciation of the modern sciences as taught in schools. The young men who had been so led astray by this distorted form of teaching are now turning more and more to the teachings of true Islam.

A most effective force in this struggle against materialism is the Islamic Propaganda Centre at Tehran, which was estab-
lished in 1942 and which issues many reviews, books, pamphlets and other Muslim propaganda publications in many languages. The Centre has branches in over fifty Iranian towns and now has more than seven thousand four hundred members in all parts of the world. The members are closely inter-connected, thus forming a kind of Islamic circle throughout the world. Many weekly Islamic meetings take place with lectures. Tabligh activities are organised by the centre and its branches.

In this connection we cannot forget the tireless struggle of the eminent Mujahid Haj Sayyid Abul Qasim Kashani, who is guiding people to the Islamic way of life.

We reproduce a picture of ‘Id ul-Adha prayers which were held on 14th October in Javadieh, Tehran. More than ten thousand people took part with Ayatullah Kashani leading the prayers.

PHILIPPINE PILGRIMS IN CAIRO

The Philippine Head of the Hajj Delegation, the Honourable Manalo of Mandalono, called upon the Supreme Department of Religious Affairs at Cairo.

Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Salim received him and had conversation with him with regard to the Muslims in the Philippines.

The Honourable Mandalono thanked him for asking his Government to send a religious delegation for the spread of the culture of Islam in the Philippines.

The Honourable Mandalono also met the Minister of Wakfs, His Excellency Dr. 'Ali 'Abdur Razzaq Pasjia, and talked to him about literature in the Philippines. His Excellency presented him with two copies of the book _Al-Mazahib ul-Arba’a._

AZHAR AND INDONESIA

The Rector of Azhar University of Cairo received a delegation on the 11th of November in his office. The delegation consisted of Mr. Muhammad Rashidi, the Indonesian Representative in Egypt, and Mr. 'Adnan, the Head of the Department of Religious Affairs in Indonesia, and the Leader of the Hajj Delegation this year.

The interview lasted for about half an hour, in which matters concerning the affairs of Muslims in Indonesia were discussed, as also the future of those students who come from there, to study at Azhar University.

The representative of Indonesia stated that in his country it is the Shari'at Law that prevails, and that the graduates of the University of Azhar on their return occupied important positions in their own country.

The delegation requested His Eminence the Rector to give a clear indication of his views on the matter of Communism, so that it might be of guidance to the Indonesians.

The Rector promised that he would give the matter his thought and attention.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD MUSLIM UNION, ALEXANDRIA—ISLAM IN JUGOSLAVIA

The Executive Committee of the World Muslim Union met under the Presidency of Dr. Muhammad Talaat Taha and resolved that special efforts should be made for a realisation of unity between Iran, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, and also that attention should be drawn towards the mutual aid pact covering the various Islamic powers of India and Chitria. It was also resolved that Azhar University authorities and the various Islamic Governments should be approached to create Central Offices for the purpose of getting into touch with various Islamic organisations and associations in the whole of the world.

Dr. Muhammad Talaat Taha received a letter from Imam Ibrahim Fejje, Ra'is ul-'Ulama, Sarajevo, Bosnia, Jugoslawia, in which he says that the Islamic community there enjoys the same rights and privileges as other communities and that the construction of the country allows it to give religious instruction and permits the observance of religious institutions and festivals. The Imam states that they also have complete freedom and do not experience any persecution.

AZHAR DELEGATIONS

Azhar University receives repeated requests from various parts of the world of Islam to send qualified men to teach religious knowledge to the inhabitants of those countries. It is of interest to note that the Azhar authorities are seriously considering these requests and are taking active steps to overcome difficulties, the principal one being the lack of such scholars as are sufficiently conversant with the foreign languages of the countries in which they are expected to serve.

The authorities have prepared a plan which aims at starting specialised courses in foreign languages. The scholars, upon completion of their studies, will be examined with regard to their efficiency in the mastery of the language they have acquired.

After this, these scholars would be sent to foreign universities for a further period of study in these languages. Upon the completion of their training they will be sent out to the different countries where their services are required.

The Azhar authorities are anxious to train such scholars up to a standard which would enable them to hold lectures and converse freely in the necessary foreign languages.

WHAT IT PLEASED ME TO OBSERVE IN TURKEY

'Abdul Qadir Turkoman As-Shahbandar of Aleppo, Syria, writing in _Al-Tammaddun Al-Islami_, Damascus (Numbers 16 and 17), says:

"A visitor to Turkey is struck by its natural beauty, lofty mountains, beautiful trees, its gentle expanses of water, and particularly, by the resurgence of religious life in its affairs. One notices this in all places of worship. I visited many of its mosques, such as those of Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Ayyub, Sultan Bayazid, Sultan Fatih, Nur Usmaniyya, Mahmud Pasha, Sultan Saleh and others.

"Once I said my Friday prayers in the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed. I looked towards the direction of the Qibla and the courtyard; it was full of devotees. I saw in this mosque a place especially set apart for women. In many of the mosques I saw religious teachers lecturing on the Qur'an to men and women. They were also teaching the principles of Islam in the Arabic language. I also noticed people sitting in mosques reciting the Holy Names of God.

"In the neighbourhood of some of the mosques I saw large schools in which religious knowledge was being taught, and amongst the scholars I noticed some young men who were suffused with pure religious fervour. At one place I came across a man with great religious zeal, named 'Adnan Qizi, a student of theology. He insisted on my dining with him. This was a most pleasant experience.

"It pleased me to notice that village women no longer cover themselves with old-fashioned veils when they come to Istanbul, and to observe that there are many factories which augur well for the economic future of the country. I was also happy to find that Government officials are very efficient and attend to their duties faithfully."
**ISLAM IN ENGLAND**

**FORMATION OF A FUND IN AID OF ARAB REFUGEES**
**BY MUSLIM BODIES IN LONDON**

A Committee has been formed in London for the purpose of raising funds in aid of the Arab Refugees from Palestine. It was felt that an urgent matter of this kind affecting the Muslims as a whole should be dealt with by a Committee representative of as many Muslim associations and bodies as possible from in and around London. We are happy to report that the response from the Muslim Community was very good, the members of the Committee being as follows:

Chairman:
Dr. `Abd el-Kader (Islamic Cultural Centre).

Honorary Secretary:
Mr. Ismail de Yorke (Muslim Society in Great Britain).

Members:
Dr. S. M. `Abdulrahman (The Mosque, Woking).
Mr. `Abdul Majid (The Mosque, Woking, and Editor, The Islamic Review).
Mr. M. A. Bajwa (The London Mosque, London, S.W.).
Mr. S. D. Khan (The London Muslim League, London).

A meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, London, on Friday, 3rd October, 1948. After a recitation from the Holy Qur'an by Prof. S. M. `Abdulrahman, speeches were made by the members of the Committee. All emphasized the gravity of the situation and pointed out that it was an absolute duty incumbent upon Muslims everywhere to assist their brethren in Palestine, who were suffering the greatest possible hardships. His Royal Highness Prince `Abdul Majid Haidar, Transjordan Minister, was in the chair.

We are happy to say that the general response to this appeal resulted in generous donations from those present at the meeting. The Fund in aid of the Refugees is being kept open, so that anyone who wishes may at any time be able to contribute. Donations should be sent either to the Chairman or to the Honorary Secretary at the following address:

The Palestine Refugees' Muslim Relief Fund,
The Islamic Cultural Centre,
Regent's Lodge,
Park Road, LONDON, N.W.8.

**THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN**

Nineteen-forty-eight has been a year of great importance to the Muslim Society in Great Britain. All through the long war years, when the Society's headquarters at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, were often subjected to the greatest risks from bomb damage, the activities of the Muslim Society were of necessity more or less suspended and except for gatherings on the occasion of the great Muslim festivals and for occasional lecture all activities were at a stand-still. After the war it took some considerable time to get war damage repaired, and it was not until the beginning of 1948 that the Society once more began to get into its stride.

As one of the Society's chief aims is the bringing together of all Muslims in the bond of Islamic brotherhood, it was decided to start a weekly school on Islamic subjects, including the teaching of elementary Arabic. The school was held on Saturday afternoons so as not to interfere with the everyday work of people, and all classes were free. It should be recorded that Prof. S. M. `Abdulrahman and Mr. `Abdul Majid, both of the Woking Mosque, Dr. Abul Fadl and Mr. `Abdul `Aal, both of Cairo, and Mr. Daud Cowan willingly gave their services as teachers in the cause of Islam. The subjects taught were the Qur'an, Hadith, the practical side of prayers and elementary Arabic. The school proved a success and is now continuing, although we very much regret having lost the services of our brother Dr. Abul Fadl, who has returned to Egypt. Recently a children's school, also on Saturday, was started by Professor S. M. `Abdulrahman and it is hoped that this will be well attended.

A list of the functions held by the Society during 1948 is as follows:

24th January, 1948.—Reception at the Caxton Hall, London, on the occasion of the Birthday of the Prophet (upon whom be the peace and blessing of God!). The High Commission for Pakistan spoke on "The Life of the Prophet." Dr. 'Ali Abd el-Kader, of the Islamic Cultural Centre, was in the chair.

Besides the above, a series of lectures was held at 18, Eccleston Square, with Mr. Ismail de Yorke in the chair. They were:

- 4th March, 1948.—Professor Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah spoke, on "Meaning of Muslim Nationalism."
- 29th May, 1948.—Al Hijj Professor S. M. Abdulrahman, M.Sc., Ph.D., spoke on "Islam, Democracy and Socialism."
- 25th September, 1948.—Dr. Mrs. Hurustaati Subandrio (Cultural Officer in the Indonesian Republic Office in the United Kingdom) spoke on "Muslims in Indonesia."
- 6th November, 1948.—Mr. M. S. Dudley Wright, D.Ph., F.S.P., a well-known English Muslim, spoke on "Marks of True Religion."

It will be seen from this list that it was possible to arrange an interesting series of lectures for the members and their guests, and it is hoped, God willing, to continue this policy during 1949, as the lectures were very well attended and provoked interesting discussion.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Friday prayers were regularly held throughout the year at the Society's headquarters and, we are happy to say, were very well attended. It was most pleasant to see among the congregation representatives of many Muslim nations as well as English Muslims, a fact which once again demonstrates the brotherhood of Islam.

**THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING**

Woking lies some twenty-five miles south of London, and in spite of the distance and of rising railway fares the number of visitors to the Mosque shows no sign of decreasing. The visitors are generally of two kinds, either Muslims going to Woking for religious purposes or non-Muslims seeking information on Islam.

The Shah Jehan Mosque is the oldest Mosque in the United Kingdom, having been built in 1889. It is also a powerful centre for the propagation of Islam and for the dissemination of Islamic thought and culture by means of literature, not only in England, but also in many parts of the world. People from many countries write seeking guidance from the Imam, and if one were to go through the vast amount of correspondence received by him one would indeed be impressed by this aspect of the work. The Mosque also maintains a large stock of literature on Islam dealing with its religious, philosophical, cultural and historical aspects. There is also considerable literature in the form of pamphlets and these are distributed free to deserving seekers after truth. Many a former non-Muslim
has had the foundation of his new belief laid by these pamphlets and as a result of correspondence with the Imam.

Besides Friday and daily prayers, numerous lectures on Islam are arranged at various places in the United Kingdom, and religious instruction is being imparted regularly to Muslim children and converts to Islam both at the Mosque and at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

The two 'Id festivals were extremely well attended and as usual a large marquee had to be erected to contain the congregation, as the Mosque was not big enough. On these occasions, it is extremely gratifying to see the brotherhood of Islam visibly demonstrated. One can see representatives of all parts of the Muslim world, as well as English Muslims.

Among a great many people who visited the Mosque during the course of the year may be mentioned the following:

(1) Sh. Mian Mohammad, Industrialist, Lyallpur (Pakistan).
(2) I.A. Shaikh, Esq., Merchant from Durban, Natal, South Africa.
(4) Jalal Hosseini, Esq., Cairo.
(5) Mohammad Yunus, Esq., Patna, Behar, India.
(6) Ziya Danisman, Esq., Turkey.
(7) Some of the African Chiefs who came to London for the African Congress held during October, 1948.
(8) The Honourable Mr. Liaqat 'Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan.
(9) Mr. Habib Rahimtulla, High Commissioner for Pakistan in London.
(10) Mohammad 'Ali, Esq., General Secretary to the Pakistan Government.
(11) Tamizuddin Khan, Esq., Deputy President, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Karachi.

The Imam, the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, draws our attention to a recently published book, The Living Thoughts of Muhammad, by Muhammad 'Ali, the translator of the Holy Qur'an. A generous friend has placed a number of copies at the disposal of the Imam for free circulation amongst such persons as may be interested in the teachings of Islam as applied to the conditions of to-day. Anyone wishing to have a copy should write to the Imam, who will be pleased to send one.

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THE ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTRE IN LONDON

In common with other Muslim societies and organisations the Islamic Cultural Centre celebrated the birthday of the Prophet on the 23rd of January. Mr. Habib Rahimtulla, High Commissioner of Pakistan, was in the chair, and a learned and inspiring talk entitled "The Personality of the Prophet," was delivered by Mr. Yusuf 'Ali, the translator of the Holy Qur'an. The festivals of 'Id ul-Fitr and 'Id ul-Adha were very well attended. Prayers were led on both occasions by Dr. Sheikh 'Ali 'Abdel Kader, whose addresses were delivered in Arabic and English to suit the cosmopolitan congregation.

The Islamic Cultural Centre permits the use of its fine buildings by other Muslim organisations. One of these, the Young Men's-Muslim Association, of which Dr. Sheikh 'Ali 'Abdel Kader is the chairman, holds its meetings there.

There have also been held a number of meetings and lectures, some of the principal being the Iqbal Day celebrations, with Mr. Habib Rahimtulla, High Commissioner for Pakistan, in the chair. Iqbal is, of course, the famous Indian Muslim poet who first conceived the idea of Pakistan. A memorial meeting was also held for Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah, with Mr. Habib Rahimtulla in the chair. On the occasion of the meeting of the Dominions Prime Ministers in London, a reception was held to meet the Honourable Mr. Liaqat 'Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Among the lectures the most interesting was that by Mr. H. St. John Philby, who spoke on "Arab Culture from the Earliest Times." His Excellency the Transjordan Minister, Prince 'Abdul Majid Haider, was in the chair.

It will be recalled that the Islamic Cultural Centre was opened at Regent's Lodge, Park Road, London, N.W.8, a few years ago to provide the Muslim community in England with a cultural centre worthy of Islam. It is under the leadership of Dr. Sheikh 'Ali 'Abdel Kader.

BOOK REVIEWS


The author explains in his Preface that the history of the northern Semites has been intensively studied by earlier scholars; but nevertheless the tide is a little misleading, as all but a few pages of the work is devoted to the kingdoms of South Arabia.

Mr. Philby's thesis that Southern Arabia is the place of origin of the Semites has much to commend it, and one hopes that in the not too distant future archaeologists will be able to pronounce judgment on this point; at present it is no more than a probability.

As this book is the first serious attempt to give an account in English of the ancient kingdoms of the south, a second edition is sure to be called for; and the following points might well be further considered when such an edition is published. Can it be maintained that Arabic is the nearest of all the Semitic languages to the original mother tongue in view of the fact that the use of the "tenses" in Arabic can be explained only from the tense systems of the Accadians? In view of the many attempts at alphabetic writing in the north, notably in Sinai and Byblos, it is unlikely that the origin of the Phoenician alphabet is to be sought in the south. (However it is only fair to say that the important discoveries of the last few years have only just been published). It seems hardly likely that the Arabs knew that Abraham was their ancestor since they had to go to Jewish sources for the few details of his life that are known. If the Arabs really preserved any memory of him it is at least strange that they should mis-spell the name of his son when it exists in a purely Arabic form in South Arabian! It might be noted that the main reason for dating Abraham c. 1800-1750 (not 1940) B.C. depends on the accuracy of the assumption that he was the contemporary of Hammurabi, and that is a probability and no more.

Turning to Mr. Philby's interesting and instructive reconstruction of the history of the southern kingdoms one is at once struck by the fact that he ends the kingdom of Ma'in c. 650, whereas Eratosthenes, writing c. 200 B.C., speaks of four kingdoms, placing the Mineans with their capital at Karan (Qarna) first in the list. It is strange that if their state can be carried back as far as 1120 B.C. there should be no mention of them in the Book of Genesis or in the Assyrian annals. Glaser's

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theory was that the Minaean kingdom preceded that of Sheba which swallowed it up; and so he had to explain away Eratosthenes’ statement. But as the latter’s information was intended for practical use by the Prolemites it seems impossible to refuse to accept it as trustworthy, as no possible reason for its invention can be adduced.

The view that the kingdom did not begin much before the eighth century seems to have much to commend it; but in the present state of our knowledge it is not wise to take up a definite position. The subject calls for detailed discussion, especially where the author follows Hommel.

Mr. Philby gives an interesting account of what is known of the various South Arabian rulers with extracts from their inscriptions which have been published, and he adds some valuable notes from his own wide knowledge of Arabian geography. The book would be enormously improved by a good map—and none is more capable than Mr. Philby to draw it—and full references to the authorities quoted.

If this summary account of an interesting and stimulating book seems to be critical and unappreciative it will give a false impression. What seem to be blemishes are indicated in order that the writer may be able to weigh these matters—which whether right or wrong deserve discussion—in a later edition. Mr. Philby has provided the only convenient account of a much neglected subject and in bringing down the history of the South to Muslim times has done real service to South Arabian studies.

A. G.


Colonel Bodley’s association with T. E. Lawrence has borne fruit in the form of the book under review. Bodley lived for seven years among the desert Arabs and has evolved a human story about that great Arab Muhammad whose life attracted his attention years ago among the mountains of Kashmir.

Bodley is to be congratulated on the graphic account which he has produced about Muhammad. For so long this noble figure has been painted in the most hideous colours, and it is certainly a great relief to see The Messenger, which has come from the pen of a person who is a friend of the Arabs and has looked at their beloved Master with great sympathy. It is a fascinating narrative of 355 pages and is of absorbing interest from beginning to end. Bodley does not claim that he has studied the original sources of the life of Muhammad and a glance at the bibliography that he has appended at the end of the book shows that, besides the Qur’án, he had no access to any other original source. He says that he accumulated this information about Muhammad without any deliberate study as a result of his stay among the Bedouins. This statement seems to be quite true regarding certain parts of the biography, where he has based his story on information from the Bedouins, but in certain other parts his statements seem to have been influenced by biased European writers.

The book loses its authenticity by the writer’s inclusion of such stories as Madani’s account of the Night Journey. The Ascension and the Night Journey are, in fact, two separate events, but Madani confused them in his narration. They have been mentioned under separate chapters by Bukhari, and the Qur’án refers to the Ascension in Al-Najm and to the Night Journey in a chapter of the same name; Sirat ibn Hisham also describes them separately. The Holy Qur’án says about the Ascension:

“And He revealed unto His servant what He revealed.”

“And what the heart (of the Prophet) saw was quite true.”

These verses make it clear that Muhammad’s ascension was purely a spiritual experience, and traditions also corroborate this, e.g., Bukhari quotes a tradition that the Prophet woke up after that.

This vision was of enormous spiritual significance. The Ascension to heaven meant that the Prophet’s cause was destined to triumph.

The Night Journey is referred to in the first verse of the 17th chapter, which has been quoted by Bodley. It is referred to again in the latter part of the same chapter as “the vision which we showed you.” Bodley points out that, “even in this chapter there is nothing remotely resembling what Madani and other Arabs believe.” We agree with Bodley that the story which he quotes from Madani is certainly not borne out by the Qur’án and Traditions; but the experiencing and reporting of these visions by the Prophet is a fact which cannot be denied. Muhammad is an historical figure and we should revert to history and not to Bedouin tales in order to assess the true nature of certain events. Bodley himself says:

“While we have no contemporary records of Moses, Confucius or Buddha, while we know some fragments of a fragment of Christ’s life, but nothing of the thirty years which prepared the way for the culminating three, the story of Mohammed is extremely clear. Here, instead of the shadowy and the mysterious, we have history. We know as much of Mohammed as we do of men who lived much closer to our epoch.”

Bodley devotes a sufficient part of the book to his early life before he reached forty years of age and claims to have received revelation. He gives the following reason for doing so:

“A number of Mohammed’s chronicles, in fact, dismiss these forty years before the ‘call’ in a few pages, some in a paragraph or two. To my way of thinking, however, they are the explanation of Mohammed, the exposition of Mohammed, the substance of the founder of Islam.” (Page 62).

How true it is! The Qur’án also stresses this point:

“I have indeed lived among you a whole lifetime before this. Will you not then, understand?”

It is psychologically impossible for a truthful man to be changed into an imposter overnight. Enemies do pick holes in his life after his claim to prophethood but that is natural and a criterion of all truthfulness is that both friends and foes bear witness to the righteousness of the true claimant in his life before the call. Heraclius, too, understood this point, because when he asked Abu Sufyan about the Prophet’s character, he referred only to his life before his call.

Bodley further says:

“This aloofness from dining and wining and lustiness was one of the greatest objections to Mohammed. These men were afraid that his attack on their beliefs would not only wreck the Ka’ba cult, all-important to Mecca’s prosperity, but would also deprive them of the joyous sensuousness of their existence.” (Page 71).

In view of Bodley’s above theme, which is full of sense and wisdom, it is surprising to read in the same book:

“The sex instincts which were to invade the last years of his life, were dormant.”

European writers have brought far more serious accusations against the Prophet, but from the pen of Bodley even these words appear very unseemly, in view of his emphasis on the pre-call period.

In this connection I may also refer to Bodley’s account of the Prophet’s marriage to Zainab. He writes:
"One day Mohammed went to visit Zaid. As no one answered his knocks and calls, he entered Zaid's house. Here he came upon the lovely Zainab, who was half undressed. This exquisite spectacle caused him such emotion that he exclaimed: 'Praise be to Allah who transforms the heart!

'With that he hurried away in confusion. 'Zainab had seen the look in Mohammed's eyes. She had heard what he had said and noted the way he had said it. She appreciated what it might lead to.' (Page 200).

This whole story from beginning to end is absolutely false and untrue, and I do not know from whence Bodley gets his material for it. I wonder whether he is copying European writers or basing it on a false tradition related by Waqidi and 'Abdullah bin 'Amir Aslam, both of whom have been declared by critics to be utterly untrustworthy. In fact, Waqidi is so notorious for lying and fabrication that he is universally condemned.

Even in that tradition Waqidi (so often cited as a great liar) has not said that no one answered the Prophet's knocks and calls and that he entered Zaid's house without anyone asking him to come in; nor does he say that Zainab was half undressed. Tabari and others who quote this story say that Zainab, within, replied to the call of the Prophet and hurriedly rose up and said, 'O Prophet of God, may my mother and father be ransom for thee! Please come in.' The Prophet, however, refused to enter the house and prepared to go back. But as Zainab stood up in a hurry she had no scarf on her head and the Prophet saw her thus and was moved by her beauty.

Reason also declares itself against the above story. As Bodley himself mentions, Zainab was a 'first cousin, on her mother's side, of Mohammed, and Mohammed had betrothed and wedded her to his friend and freed slave' whom people in Arabia had begun to look upon as the adopted son of the Prophet. It is a well-known fact that the injunction for women to wear head-coverings had not yet been issued, and being a first cousin and guardian in her marriage, with no restrictions concerning head-coverings, it is impossible to believe that the Prophet had never had an opportunity of seeing Zainab; on the contrary, he must have seen her thousands of times before, and so frequent were the opportunities of seeing each other, that the chances are that the Prophet most probably saw her many times without a scarf.

Facts show that the Prophet had no hand in the divorce of Zainab. When Zaid complained to the Prophet that she used harsh language to him and that he, therefore, wished to divorce her, the Prophet advised Zainab to moderate her attitude (Fathul Bari, Vol. VIII, p. 403, Bukhari, Kitabat Tawhid and the Qur'an 33:37). Zaid and Zainab could not, however, pull together and a divorce ensued. Later, the Prophet received a revelation commanding him to take Zainab in marriage. This marriage was meant to serve a two-fold purpose. In the first place it removed the stigma of marrying a divorced woman, and secondly, it was demonstrated by practical demonstration the pre-Islamic custom of adoption.

Bodley also shows lack of understanding of the true spiritual status of the Prophet's beloved spouse 'Aisha. In the brief space of this review it is not possible for me to refer to his various accusations, in the course of which he represents her as having been a great intriguer. He writes:

"Aisha resolved that he was no worthy successor to her husband. Once she had settled that, all that remained was to find the best way to get rid of the enemy. The excuse of methods employed had no bearing on the situation. When 'Aisha wanted something done, it was carried out regardless of ethics." (Page 349).

This is indeed a charge without foundation. Bodley does not give the details of 'Aisha's so-called intrigues, so it is not possible for me to assess the weight of his charge. However, it is apparent that if 'Aisha disliked 'Uthman and wanted to get rid of him she could not denounce his murder. Had she done so all those who supported her in her plots against the life of the caliph would have repudiated her and she would have fallen in their esteem. The murder of 'Usman is a long story and I cannot go into it here, but I am sure that whosoever will make a dispassionate study of the history of the early dissensions in Islam will discover that neither 'Ali nor 'Aisha nor any other prominent companion of the Prophet had any hand in the murder of 'Usman.

Bodley, having made a study of the Qur'an, finds it difficult to call it either the work of an impostor or the result of epileptic fits. After discussing some of the Prophet's achievements, he says:

"Could a man who was not inspired have brought such an international brotherhood into being? Does not the scoffing of the anti-Moslems rather reflect on themselves? Why should an impostor have left a creed which has grown ever since he died?" (Page 344).

About the charge of epilepsy, he writes:

"Epilepsy never made anyone into a prophet or a lawgiver or raised anyone to a position of esteem and power. In those days, especially, such a state would suggest someone possessed or insane. If ever there was a man who was clearly sane, it was Mohammed." (Page 56).

Despite all that he has said above he tries to explain the Prophet's acquaintance with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in the following manner:

"Arabs have amazingly retentive memories, and it is possible that Mohammed was able to store in his mind all that he had heard during his travels. It seems to be a stupendous feat, but it is the only feasible explanation, unless we accept unrestrainedly the divine origins of the Koran." (Page 241).

"This explanation can satisfy no reader of The Messenger, and least of all the author. After giving a few selections from the Qur'an he writes:

"These few selections should help to give some notion of the immense variety of subjects covered by the Koran. It should give some idea of the kind of mind which Mohammed must have had. It makes one wonder how he knew all this, when he thought it all out, where he learned to compose the sonorous verse prose.

"Mohammed's up-bringing, his background, his early pursuits have been discussed in these pages. None of these however presages the author of a code of laws, of religion, of morality; of a collection of old legends, stories; of a book of prayer and the whole thing in this lifiting resonant Arabic. Perhaps it was divine inspiration." (Page 244).

This last sentence voices the sentiments of an unbiased student of Islam. Again and again, amazed by the great personality of the Messenger of God, the author finds it impossible to explain what Muhammad said and did, but through inspiration.

Had the Prophet been influenced by what he heard from Jews and Christians he would not have denounced the divinity of Jesus, the trinity and atonement which are the three great pillars of present-day Christianity.

Despite all the shortcomings which are found in the book, The Messenger, it is no doubt a wonderful achievement and deserves the gratitude and encouragement of the Muslim community. It is on the whole a fascinating picture of that man of God, and, I trust, will fill the heart of an unprejudiced reader with reverence for the Founder of Islam and fire in him a desire to know more about Muhammad, the beloved of three hundred million people.

M. A. B.
WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

(The letters published in these columns are, as a rule, meant to be informative and thought-provoking in the interests of Islam. Nevertheless, the Editor does not take responsibility for their contents).

MR. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW ON THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

We recently wrote to the great philosopher and playwright to ask him whether a quotation attributed to him was correct. The quotation, which appeared in a certain journal, ran as follows:

"I have always held the religion of Mohammad in high estimation because of its wonderful vitality. It is the only religion which appears to me to possess that assimilating capability of the changing phase of existence which can make itself appeal to every age. But the Europe of the present century is far advanced. It is beginning to be enamoured of the creed of Mohammed.

"The Medieval ecclesiastics either through ignorance or bigotry painted Mohammad in the darkest colours. They were in fact trained both to hate the man Mohammad and his religion. To them Mohammad was Anti-Christ. I have studied him—the wonderful man in my opinion far from being an Anti-Christ must be called the Saviour of Humanity."

George Bernard Shaw.

I said: "The conversion of savages to Christianity is the conversion of Christianity to savagery." All the great Eastern religions, noble as they are in their original inspiration and doctrine, are deeply corrupted by the idolatry and miracle mongering by which they govern the peasantry.

7th September, 1948.

G. B. S.

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THE UNITY OF ISLAM

The Editor, The Islamic Review. Sabzevar, Iran.

Dear Brother in Islam,

Assalamo alaikum!

I thank you for your kind letter of the 17th August, 1948.

When I was last in Teheran I met two Qadiani preachers, and I quite fail to understand why this sect is so persistent in sending its preachers to Muslim countries. I do not think they can enlist any followers to this creed.

A Qadiani missionary has published a book in Persian in Teheran called Shamsbir-i-Buram, directed against Baha'ism. He has also challenged the Baha'is to a debate and has offered a reward to be given to the winners by his leader in Qadian. I have sent a copy of this book to your Lahore office and a copy to the Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam of Lahore. If you wish I can also send you a copy.

I regret to inform you that I have received information from a friend of mine in Istanbul to the effect that the editor of a magazine in that city has started to publish a series of articles against the Shi'as, their Imams and 'Ulama'. He does this, I am told, in spite of having been requested by the Shi'as of Turkey to cease publishing matter so detrimental to the unity of Islam.

No one, in these critical times, should venture to publish articles which might cause disunion in the Muslim world. On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim, whether Sunni or Shi'a, to lift on high, and to grasp tightly, the banner of Islam, and to strive for the unity of Islam, nor for discord and disunity. Such articles might have earned applause in the old Turkey of the Sultans, but not in the new Turkey under the leadership of Ismet Inonu. Articles such as these can only bring about the strong disapproval of the Muslim world towards their authors and publishers. Yours fraternally, I. NIKAN.

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OUR NEW SERIES

The Editor, The Islamic Review.

Assalamo aleykum!

We are in receipt of your letters of the 27th and 29th September, 1948. Your decision to introduce new features in your Review is very praiseworthy and we congratulate you on this. Now is the time to change the old method of preaching Islam. The world now needs a new system of work and what you propose to do is just the thing . . .

We wish you, dear brother, every success in the service of the just and true way—the way of Allah jalla jalalahu.

Yours brotherly.

JANUARY 1949
The Editor,
The Islamic Review.

November 15th, 1948.

Dear Sir,

I was very interested to read a report in the London Press that the Archbishop of York in his sermon at the annual service of The Industrial Christian Fellowship on 10th of November had stated that Marxism-Communism was a challenge to Christianity. The Archbishop carefully distinguished between the "Economic Merits and De-merits of Communism" and its practice in terms of the police state of to-day.

As there are a great many Muslims living under Russian rule the question of whether a Muslim can become a Communist and remain a Muslim is one of very great importance and I should be most grateful to receive your guidance in this respect.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN CUMMINGS.

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MARRIAGE OF MUSLIM GIRLS TO NON-MUSLIMS

The Editor,
The Islamic Review.

Sunbury Creek,
Middlesex.

December 20th, 1948.

Dear Sir,

I was pleased to read in your circular announcing the new Islamic Review that there will be a correspondence column, as there is a matter which has been worrying me for a long time and I may be able to clear it up through writing to you.

I am an English Muslim with my home and all my interests in this country. I am blessed with three daughters, two of whom are approaching marriageable age. They are, of course, Muslim also, and the problem of their marriages will soon present itself with all its difficulties. At school and later in their jobs they have had, and are having, very few opportunities of meeting young Muslim men, and quite apart from whatever my own intentions are they will, after they have reached the age of twenty-one, be free to marry without the consent of their parents. There is a very strong likelihood, therefore, that they will marry non-Muslims, unless, of course, their future husbands adopt Islam on marrying them.

Although not as well versed in my religion as I would wish to be, I have always understood that while Islam has always permitted the marriage of Christian and Jewish women to Muslim men, the reverse is not permitted. It is easy to understand the political desirability of this in the early days of Islam, when the children of a marriage of a Muslim to a non-Muslim woman would bring extra souls into the fold of Islam while the reverse would add to the number of non-Muslims, it is not so easy to understand the purpose of this law in a country like England, where conditions are such that a strict interpretation by Muslim parents is likely to bring about numerical loss to the already too small ranks of Islam in the British Isles. Were it permitted to a Muslim girl to marry a Christian or a Jew, she would most certainly remain within the fold of Islam, while the probability would be, in the case of Christians at any rate, that the children would be brought up as Muslims, particularly so as no form of tribal conscience exists in the West to-day and religious teaching of young children is usually the business of the mother.

All Western Muslim parents must, I am convinced, face up to the fact that in view of the personal freedom enjoyed by young people to-day, to continue to interpret this marriage rule in the manner so far understood must be a serious hindrance to the spread of Islam in the West. With my own and other English Muslim parents' problems in mind I have made, as far as it is possible without a knowledge of Arabic, a thorough investigation and I have come to the conclusion that in certain cases there would be no religious objection to the marriage of Muslim women to Christians or Jews. I have a translation of the Holy Qur'an by Marmaduke Pickthall and nowhere can I find a prohibition against marriage to others than polytheists. Now, it is well known that the Jews are monotheists. The Christians, however, come under the suspicion of polytheism owing to their doctrine of the Trinity. I have questioned many Christians on this point and although they undoubtedly regard the Prophet Jesus as God, they nevertheless believe in the Unity of God in that the Trinity is really one. This is, of course, extraordinarily hard to understand, but I am convinced that the vast majority of Christians to-day, if they have any belief at all, do not believe in three gods but look upon the Trinity as a manifestation of the One God. If this is so, it would take those with such beliefs right outside the ranks of the polytheists. Consequently, I am of the opinion that provided a father had satisfied himself that a Christian wishing to marry his daughter held no polytheistic beliefs there would be no objection to the marriage under true Islamic law.

I would much appreciate your views on this point.

Yours, etc.,

HASSAN GLANVIL.

* * *

"THE MOSLEM UNION"

The Editor,
The Islamic Review.

123 Elgin Avenue,
England.

Sir,

It will not doubt interest your readers that an organisation at present styled Moslem Union has been started in London. Its purpose is to emphasise the solidarity of Moslems all over the world, and to establish intimate contact between the sons of Islam wherever they may be in regard to all aspects that touch their lives, so that in this world of harassment they may not be embarrassed in any way, but act as one unit and speak with one voice—the voice of Islam.

The idea is, of course, not new: for apart from the fact that it reminds the Moslems of the Koranic Command: "Hold fast to the chain (of union) of Allah all together, and be not disunited . . ." (The Qur'an, 3:102), its projection by Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, and its progress through the devotion of Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdu, from Egypt, and some eminent Moslems both in the East and West, are all indications that Moslems of every epoch have been alive to its necessity. To-day it has become a very urgent call.

Moslems of many nationalities have readily agreed to work for the cause, and so, far and wide, the call has been responded to as, for example, by Commander Daud Lu of China, Prince Rukneddin Samy of Turkey, Khwaja Safuddin Khan of Afghanistan, Mr. Mohammed Belo of West Africa, and Syed Mustafa Shah of Australia.

No enrolment of membership in the European sense is contemplated, for every Moslem is considered to be its member; although correspondence is invited from all those who are able to form a nucleus in their country and to work for the urgent Qur'anic order. Nor is London to be its centre, for the whole world is its orbit of activity; except that its first activities are being projected from London. Soon a conference will be held in Paris, and it will speed apace. The undersigned is working as an Honorary Secretary of a provisional committee to whom all further enquiries are to be addressed.

Yours truly,

SYED EDRIS.
Honorary Secretary, Moslem Union.