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Between Ourselves

The Cover

The colour plate of His Majesty King Farouk I in state uniform was supplied to us by the Egyptian Education Bureau, London. The Editor offers his grateful thanks to its Director, Dr. Hisam el-Din.

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The Islamic Review

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The Islamic Review, the official organ of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, and of Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan, is published monthly. In conformity with the objects of its publishers the Islamic Review is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Muslim countries. In publishing such articles as deal with the world of Islam, its sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Islamic world with those problems and difficulties. Its aim in presenting political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of the Islamic Review, or its publishers.

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EDITORIAL . . .

THE ELECT

Although the world of Islam is passing through troublous times and we are witnessing a climactic of its history, this is not the first time that it has been face to face with vicissitudes of such magnitude. In Palestine, Indonesia, Pakistan, North Africa, China, indeed, there is not a part of the world of Islam that is not convulsed with political and social upheavals. Some parts owe their misfortune to the economic riches of their lands while others owe it to the tussle for the control of their strategic positions and the aggressiveness of the West.

At this juncture to remind ourselves of our heritage, of the purpose of our being, of our mission, may seem to be quite incongruous to many, but when everywhere all around us is dark and the horizon is overcast with ominous clouds, it is but essential to correct our mental equilibration and to release the hidden forces in us which multiply our ego to enable us to face the dangers and tribulations that lie ahead. The choice before us is between reconciling ourselves to our present position or rising to the occasion. The decision of a living entity is quite clear.

A Western Orientalist of repute, Emile Dermenghem, writing in "Islam et l’Occident," Marseilles, 1947, says about us: "Placed on what we might call a line of the heart of this globe, from Sumatra to Morocco, this ‘Middle Nation’ (The Qur’ān 2:143—the Muslims—is as if predestined to act as a link between Europe, Oriental Asia and Black Africa. It is perhaps in this part of the world that the centre of the gravity of the old world, which is torn, lies. Islam, whose literature and metaphysics are becoming better known, could, for its own part, contribute towards a new humanism which will accompany the ordeals of the new medieval age . . ."

Elsewhere in this issue we print the words of the eminent British historian, Professor Toynbee, which are at once a challenge and an opportunity to us Muslims. It is to the self-same role of us Muslims that the Holy Qur’ān draws our attention in the words:

“You are the best of the nations, raised up for the benefit of mankind to enjoin what is right and forbid wrong and believe in God” (3:109).

The title of “the best of the nations” is exalted, but there is no privilege without corresponding obligations. It is to make us all the more conscious of our duties that this sublime designation of “the best of the nations” was given to us. So if on the one hand the Holy Qur’ān is anxious to multiply the ego of the Muslim as an individual, it is equally anxious to correct a distorted vision of his importance in life by pointing out in clear terms the duties he has to perform. Whenver the idea of an inflated superiority has been cultivated in nations before, without a corresponding emphasis on their obligations, it has invariably resulted in providing a curse to mankind. The Aryans in ancient times, and the Japanese and the Germans in our own times tried to inject their people with the sense of the elect. The results are far too well-known to be dwelt upon.

In Islam the duty which we have to perform is to enjoin what is right and forbid wrong. It is this heavy duty which divests the elect-concept of the distortions to which our ego can be subject. It is this ideal that we have to keep our eyes set upon, no matter what our trials and tribulations.

HIS MAJESTY KING FAROUK I.

It is with a sense of pride that we recall the gracious visit of His Majesty the King to the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking, Surrey, in 1936, for Friday congregational prayers. English Muslim friends who had the honour of being presented by Maulavi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad, the then Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, to His Majesty that afternoon, will remember the homely and unassuming manner in which His Majesty conversed with them over a cup of tea, and the interest he displayed in the activities in the cause of Islam of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

We hope and pray that His Majesty will rule for many years to come over his people and will guide them to their ultimate destiny which is theirs by tradition and by right among the Muslim nations. It is with great pleasure that we associate ourselves with the people of Egypt in celebrating this month on the 11th of February, 1949, the 28th birthday of His Majesty King Farouk I.

This democratic Sovereign of Egypt, King Farouk I, is one of the greatest personalities of the world of Islam. The progressive achievements carried out in his own country are but a reflection of a great inspiring force on an aspiring nation. Guardian and leader of his people, and patron of science and art, King Farouk has won the loyal devotion, true love and deep respect of the Egyptians.

He, like all great men, does not allow his country to hold herself away from the world. He has always endeavoured to push her forward. To-day Egypt occupies a respectable place in the civilised world, and carries out most ably her international responsibilities under the wise guidance of her great King.

History will record that during the reign of King Farouk I, Islamic dreams became realities. The Muslims of the world look upon this young and enlightened ruler as a great friend, a great ally and a great leader.
By the Light of the Qur’án and the Hadith

Compiled and Annotated by Dr. S. M. ‘ABDULLAH, Ph.D.

We read in the Holy Qur’án:

And your Lord has commanded that you shall not serve any but Him and show kindness to your parents. If either or both of them reach old age, you shall not say to them: "Ough," nor chide them, and speak to them a gracious word.

And make yourself submissively gentle to them with compassion; and say: O my Lord! have mercy on them, as they brought me up when I was little.

Your Lord knows best what is in your minds; if you are good, then He is surely forgiving to those who turn to Him frequently.

And give to the near of kin his due and to the needy and the wayfarer; and do not squander your wealth wastefully.

Surely the squanderers are followers of the devil and the devil is ever ungrateful to his Lord.

And if you turn away from them to seek mercy from your Lord which you hope for, speak to them a gentle word.

And let not your hand be chained to your neck nor stretch it forth to the utmost limit of its stretching forth, lest you should afterwards sit down rebuked, denuded.

Surely your Lord enlarges the provision for whom He pleases and straitens it for whom He pleases; surely He is ever Knower, Seer of His servants.

And do not kill your children for fear of poverty; We give them sustenance and yourselves too; surely to kill them is a great sin.

And do not go near to fornication; surely it is an abomination and an evil way.

And do not kill anyone whom God has forbidden except with right and whoever is slain unjustly, We have indeed given to his heir authority, so let him not exceed the just limits in slaying; surely he is aided.

Come not near the wealth of the orphan except in a goodly way till he attains his maturity and fulfil the covenant; surely every covenant shall be questioned about.

And give full measure when you measure out, and weigh with a right balance; this is fair and better in the end.

And follow not that of which you have no knowledge; surely the hearing and the sight and the heart, each of these, shall be questioned about.

And walk not in the land exultingly, for you cannot rend the earth nor reach the mountains in height.

The evil of all this is hateful in the sight of your Lord. (17: 23-38).

And certainly We gave Luqman wisdom, saying: Be grateful to God. And whoever is grateful, is only grateful for his own soul and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is Self-sufficient, Praised.

And when Luqman said to his son when he was exhorting him: O my dear son! do not associate aught with God; most surely to ascribe partners to him is a grievous iniquity.

And We have enjoined man in respect of his parents—his mother bears him with weariness upon weariness and his weaning takes another two years—saying: Be grateful to Me and to both your parents; to Me is the eventual returning.

And if they strive with you that you should associate with Me what you have no knowledge of, do not obey them, but keep company with them in the world kindly, and follow the way of him who turns to Me, then to Me is your return and I shall inform you as to what you did.

O my dear son! surely if it is the very weight of the grain of a mustard seed, even though it be in the heart of a rock, or high above in the heaven, or deep down in the earth; surely God is Sublime, Aware:

O my dear son! keep up prayer and enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and bear patiently that which befalls you: surely this is one of the affairs earnestly enjoined:

And do not turn your cheek away from people in contempt, nor go about in the land exulting overmuch: surely God does not love any self-conceited boaster:

Be modest in your bearing and subdue your voice. Surely the most hateful of voices is the braying of asses. (31: 12-19).

The verses quoted above deal with the moral precepts as enunciated in The Qur’án, the Holy Book of Islam. The verses taken out of the 17th Chapter are of a general nature, but those taken out of the 31st are of a historical nature as they refer to Luqman, a Man of God, as an Ethiopian prophet. In both these places, the first importance is attached to the service of the one God, complete submission to His will, and one is asked not to associate aught with Him. "La ilaha il 'l-Lah"—there is no object of worship, or service or absolute authority except the one God, which is the cardinal principle and foundation of Islam.

Next to God, comes obedience to parents; for among fellow-beings none has a greater claim upon a person than his parents. Although the Holy Qur’án lays very great stress on the duty of obedience to parents, still it warns against attaching undue importance to that duty, when it clashes with a still higher duty, that is, one's duty to one's Maker. The other moral precepts mentioned above guide human beings in following the right course in matters and problems dealing with the question of "sex", "wealth and property", and our general behaviour in our everyday life in the society. One is reminded neither to be extravagant, nor to be niggardly in one's expenses, and thus follow the golden mean (v. 27-90). Fornication, another evil which is becoming prevalent with the growth of modern civilisation and materialism, is condemned in the strongest possible terms. The Holy Qur’án not only forbids fornication and adultery but enjoins people not even to go near it, thus avoiding all those opportunities which are likely to lead to evil temptations (v. 32). Another point which the present day society ought to learn is not to enter into discussions without accurate knowledge and to avoid all sorts of gossip based on evil and unfounded reports (v. 56).

AT THE FEET OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said:

"One who is young shall not attain to paradise if he neglects his parents when they are old."

"Paradise lies at the feet of your mothers."

"To him who, being young, honours the old on account of their age, God will appoint those who shall honour him when he is stricken in years."

"Modesty and chastity form parts of the Islamic Faith."

"Modesty paves the way for all virtues."

"When three persons are together, two of them must not whisper to each other without letting the third hear, until others are present, because it will hurt him."

"Leave alone what does not concern you in preference to that which does concern you."

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
"The exercise of religious duties will not atone for the fault of an abusive tongue."

"Verily the most beloved of you are those of the best disposition."

"The best of acts are found in the Golden Mean."

"Kill not your hearts with excess of eating and drinking."

"He who helps out his brother will be helped out by God, and he who refrains from exposing his brother will be rewarded by God concealing his faults."

The above quoted sayings of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam (may peace and blessing of God be upon him!), teach us the same noble and lofty principles of life which are stated by the Holy Qur’an. Here is food for thought for those who want to create a peaceful and an harmonious world based on goodwill, social justice and love.

**IBRAHIM PASHA**

A HERO AND MILITARY GENIUS OF EGYPT

Egypt celebrated, on November 10, 1948, the centenary of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad Aly the Great, and one of the greatest figures in the history of modern Egypt.

Born at Cavalla, Macedonia, in 1789, Ibrahim Pasha arrived in Egypt in 1805 with his brother Toussoun, after the Sublime Porte had conferred on his father the Cairo Pashalik (on July 9, 1805).

In this connection, it is not out of place to contradict formally the legend spread by his enemies that he was only the "adopted" son of Muhammad Aly. All the documents, official and others, completely disprove this stupid allegation.

After having been to Istanbul on a mission to the Sultan, his father appointed him Governor of Upper Egypt.

Having decided upon a second campaign against the Wahabites in 1816, Muhammad Aly summoned his generals and explained his projects and the difficulties facing him. During this meeting, he placed in the centre of a large carpet an apple and said that the one who could hand him the apple without placing his foot on the carpet would become the head of the expedition. All attempted the trick in vain, until Ibrahim Pasha advancing, rolled up the carpet and gave the apple to his father, who thereafter appointed him Commander of the expedition.

In a lightning campaign, Ibrahim Pasha, revealing his qualities of a great military leader, crushed the resistance of the Wahabites and was appointed Pasha of Mecca.

On his return in 1819-1820, his father gave him as collaborator a Frenchman, Colonel Sèves, known firstly as Soliman Agha and later as Soliman Pasha, who was destined to become Ibrahim Pasha’s trusted companion of fortune. At Aswan, he immediately started to instruct the recruits and form a new army called the "Nizam al-Jadid" army, well disciplined, loyal and obedient to its officers, capable of repulsing the enemies on the other side of the frontier as well as to maintain order within the country. During the training of the troops and in order to set an example of discipline to his men, on being summarily called on by Soliman Pasha to fall into the ranks instead of marching at the head of the column, Ibrahim Pasha immediately fell back and returned to the ranks placing himself with the soldiers of his own height.

### The Morea Expedition

Ibrahim Pasha was as much a statesman as a warrior and his decisions and actions were based on good commonsense. His father often consulted him on important matters.

In 1824, at a moment when grave events were due to develop in the affairs of the Middle East, which were to shed light on the work accomplished by the Great Muhammad Aly and the preponderant role he was to play therein following his enhanced authority, it is to Ibrahim Pasha that the command of the Morean expedition was entrusted. This expedition asked for by the Sultan Mahmoud included a well equipped army of 18,000 officers and men, and 63 battle-ships which were to provoke the admiration of all Europe.

Unfortunately, however, after five years of fighting and following the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino in 1827 by the European Allied fleets, the Sultan, having learnt that the French had occupied Morea and that the Russian Army had signed Andrianople, signed the peace treaty of Andrianople in 1829, and Ibrahim Pasha returned to Egypt.

On his return to Egypt, Ibrahim applied himself to help his father in the administration of the country and introduced numerous reforms in various fields.

The island of Crete had been the meagre reward awarded to Muhammad Aly for his participation in the unfortunate Morea campaign: it was Syria that had been promised to him. Therefore, when in 1851, ‘Abdullah, the Pasha of Acrit, gave him the pretext, Muhammad Aly ordered Ibrahim to start his campaign at the head of a fine army of 80,000 officers and men, perfectly equipped and trained. Ibrahim Pasha entered easily into Syria and took by assault Acrit. ‘Abdullah, the Pasha of Acrit, capitulated on May 27, 1832.

However, the Sultan Mahmoud, for whom Ibrahim Pasha had fought in the Arabian Peninsula and Greece, declared Muhammad Aly a rebel, deprived him of all his rights and privileges and sent an army against him. This offensive did not scare Ibrahim, who continued his victorious march onward up to Konia, where he met and crushed the Ottoman army on December 24, 1852. On the intervention of the European Powers, Ibrahim Pasha reluctantly was persuaded not to push further his successes and the Treaty of Kutaya put an end to this first Syrian war, in which Muhammad Aly obtained the Pashaliks of Egypt, the Hedjaz and Crete, while Ibrahim Pasha was given the four Pashaliks of Syria (Acrit, Damascus, Tripoli, Aleppo) as well as the district of Adana.

Ibrahim Pasha then diverted his attention from warlike operations to the administration of the territories granted to him, inspired by the genius of his father, and the loyal assistance of his devoted friend and companion-in-arms, Soliman Pasha, whose immense powers of organisation he greatly admired. His wish was to restore to Syria some of her ancient wealth and win over the goodwill of the population by giving it the opportunity of enjoying the advantages of peace.

The peace of Kutaya was however but a patched-up peace, and facilitated the stirring up of disorders and strife. Lady Stanhope, a well-known figure of the time living in the Lebanon, the Emir 'Abdullah, the Emir Bashir and a score of agents of the Sublime Porte were acting against him and provoked disorders. In order to put an end to these intrigues, Ibrahim Pasha disarmed the population and by rigorous untimely measures completely alienated the population.

Without any declaration of war, the Sultan Mahmoud ordered his troops to advance and issued a violent manifesto against Muhammad Aly: Ibrahim Pasha on his side also moved
forward and after a series of minor combats, met the Turkish Army on June 24, 1839, in the plain of Nezib, where he won the greatest battle of his glorious military career. In writing to his father, he concluded his report on the victory thus: "I wished to pursue the enemy, but I could not find him anymore." It was the right time to follow up the victory by marching rapidly on Constantinople; but as in 1833, Ibrahim was persuaded to halt on the advice of the diplomats, he procrastinated and gave the opportunity to European diplomats to form a coalition against Muhammad Aly.

In 1845, Ibrahim Pasha went to Europe in order to treat chronic dysentery from which he suffered acutely. He seized the opportunity of visiting the main capitals: Rome, Paris, London, where he met with a welcome that definitely confirmed the sovereignty of his father's dynasty in Egypt.

In France, more particularly, Ibrahim Pasha was the object of great consideration and respect on the part of King Louis-Philippe, who conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour in the course of a solemn ceremony.

In London, at a reception given in his honour, the Prince

Recognition of Muhammad Aly and his Descendants as Hereditary Rulers of Egypt.

By the Imperial Decree of June 1841 and the London Convention of July of the same year, the hereditary possession of Egypt was invested in Muhammad Aly and his descendants, but he was deprived of all the other territories which he had conquered at the point of his sword.

This date is an outstanding one in modern Egyptian history, as it solemnly marks the end of an ambiguous situation from which Egypt emerged. For from a simple Ottoman province it became a practically independent country, governed by a dynasty whose rights had been proclaimed legitimate, and enjoyed an exceptional status which no other Ottoman province possessed.

Since that date, Muhammad Aly and Ibrahim lived in peace with the Western Powers as well as with Turkey.

Consорт, in the name of the Queen, congratulated the hero of the battle of Nezib, thanked him for his visit and expressed the wish that henceforth a sincere friendship would bind the two countries.

On returning to Egypt in 1846, he gave again his attention to internal reforms and the organisation of the various services of the State in order to relieve his father from the burden, as his father's state of health had begun to deteriorate and gave rise to serious anxiety. He assumed the Regency and in September a Sultan's firman officially confirmed Ibrahim Pasha as Viceroy of Egypt.

Unfortunately, however, and hardly a month after, it was stated that Ibrahim Pasha's health had seriously deteriorated, and on November 10, 1848, he died at the age of 59, nine months before his father, leaving the throne to 'Abbas I, son of his brother, Tousoun.
THE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF EGYPT

By Dr. HAFEZ 'AFIFI PASHA

The last eleven years have been so rich in events that they form an outstanding epoch in the industrial development of Egypt.

As from 1937, the year of H.M. King Farouk's coronation, Egyptian industry had achieved considerable technical progress, more especially as regards the finishing of articles of one of our main industries, weaving. In fact, it was at that period that auxiliary industries connected with the finishing of textiles were created and at the same time the manufacture of spare parts and accessory implements was started.

This year gave birth to considerable hopes. One of the most important firms on the European Continent took the initiative in establishing locally a branch for the manufacture of woollen yarns and their weaving.

It also registered on the other hand a very happy collaboration between existing enterprises and foreign firms with a view to increasing the production of yarns and cotton goods. Projects related to the manufacture of rayon and paper were at the time at an advanced stage.

Fresh progress had also been made during 1938, more particularly in the Egyptian textile, leather, and steel industries. This progress raised several important problems: the necessity of scientific research, general documentation, and the necessity of creating industrial zones as well as the question of permits for the establishment of industrial workshops and factories.

Besides these problems, new ones arose, and their urgency became all the stronger as industry developed.

Amongst the most important, the following deserve special mention: credit for industries, the import of second-hand machinery, the creation of unions for the study of industrial questions with a view to preparing the ground for the creation of new industries needed, such as the manufacture of lubricants, sacks, belting, metallic packing, chemical products, spare parts, and material for maintenance and repairs.

The Government decided then to establish laboratories for scientific research in order to accelerate the industrial mobilisation of the country.

The War and its effect on Industry.

1939, the year of the declaration of the second World War, threw considerable light on and emphasized our greatest difficulties and revealed some of our defects. We suddenly had to face an insufficiency of raw materials on the one hand, and a steep rise in the prices of products of foreign origin, on the other.

The Egyptian industrialists gave proof of exaggerated individualism and a lack of cooperation which caused the country grave prejudice. To these defects was also added the absence of a professional and corporative organization.

The problem of credit to industry also became acute, owing to the sudden reversal to cash operations instead of the traditional sales on credit which prevailed in the normal period before the war.

The heavy demand on industrial products emphasized the inadequacy of our industrial equipment as well as the very serious consequences following the absence of an immigration policy, the rigidity of the administrative regulations having prevented the entry of a large number of technicians urgently needed by the local industries.

More particularly was the absence felt of basic industries, such as chemical and metallurgical industries, the lack of capital, the absence of technicians and skilled labour, as well as the inexistence of experience and tradition. However, our industry enjoyed at the time certain advantages: a relative low fiscality and cheap labour.

It would have been advisable at the time to lower customs duties on all raw materials, fuel, lubricants, spare parts, etc., in order to encourage the establishment of metallurgical and chemical industries; grant preferences to local industry, create industrial credit and adopt an efficient export policy.

However, as need creates the means, one could as far back as 1940, notice the creative ingenuity of the existing industrial cadres and their very laudable efforts in trying to meet the needs of the moment and face the increased demand on industrial products.

To enumerate the ingenious creations made under the spur of necessity would embrace a long list of products, such as textiles, chemicals, foods, electrical appliances, technical glassware, medical apparatus, household utensils, crockery, spare parts, precision instruments and even the construction of machine tools.

Difficulties.

However, the fate of all these new industries depended finally on the amount of protection they would later receive and the strict control of imports after the cessation of hostilities. In the meantime organization was becoming necessary and entailed the formation of credit, the money market, internal communications and transport, maritime transportation, key industries, technical, industrial, corporate solidarity, exports and social legislation.

In 1945, the building industry was completely paralysed. The initiative of our industrialists, however, urged them to create certain enterprises of a provisional character in order to fill the gaps and face urgent needs, which resulted in the industry resuming its activities.

Egyptian industries continued to face considerable difficulties and could work only within the limits of its available supplies and transport, while having to meet on the one hand a very heavy local demand and on the other State requisitioning. In 1943, the situation deteriorated still further due to the lack of specialized skilled labour and difficulties of supply.

Nevertheless, industry was able to adapt itself to the circumstances, thanks to the initiative of its leaders and the aptitude of Labour for adapting itself to the work.

Whereas agricultural and food products were being sold at from three to ten times their pre-war prices, it was industry that most felt the burden, as it had to bear the brunt of the results of the high cost of living, the rise in prices of raw materials and supplies, salaries, taxes, not counting the heavy wear and tear of the equipment following intensive day and
night work; and yet industry became the target of the public's criticism, which resulted in the imposition of all sorts of restrictions on it instead of obtaining the facilities which circumstances demanded. This contributed greatly to aggravating the conditions under which it was labouring and disorganizing production in many fields.

Industrialists were the victims of severe tariffs, of requisitioning and rationing. In many cases they were unable to obtain invoices from sellers of raw materials and were often obliged to buy in the open market at double the official controlled rates.

Industrial Prosperity.

Despite these handicaps, industry benefited and enjoyed full prosperity. There were, however, a few exceptions, such as:

(a) Hand weaving, whose workers had considerably increased with the 20,000 looms available but were condemned to inaction;

(b) The mechanical weaving of rayon and silk, which, through lack of raw materials, had to immobilise a large part of their looms, had not the authorities stepped in and supplied them with cotton yarns of local and foreign production;

(c) The oil industry as well as the soap manufacturing industry, owing to particular problems of their own.

Important innovations were achieved in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. The Salt and Soda Company, the Sheffield Smelting Co., the Financial and Industrial Co., as well as many other private enterprises, launched themselves in the manufacture of products of general interest, such as volatile solvents, bisulphate of soda, sulphuric ether, chlorhydric acid, and crystallised carbonate of soda. Laboratories of medical drugs increased their range of production and decided progress was made in the manufacture of rubber goods, such as tyres, rubber tubes, shoes, gloves, etc. Besides, such industries as rope-making, paper, leather, canned foods, as well as metallurgical and mechanical industries, developed to substantial proportions.

As in the period of the first World War, national industry witnessed since 1939 the opening of new and vast horizons, which would have been greatly expanded, had it received all the necessary assistance and benefited adequately from social legislation and fiscal relief.

New Successes.

Amongst these difficulties were the very severe fiscal regime and the restrictions on the entry of foreign technicians. Remarkable success and progress was achieved in weaving, in chemical and pharmaceutical products, as well as in the iron and steel industries. The latter more particularly were able to produce badly needed machine tools as well as household utensils. Considerable efforts were made to meet the demands of the Allied Military authorities in addition to domestic requirements. In this manner Egyptian industries largely contributed to the Allied military effort.

Production tended more and more to reduce its prices and intensify production. The cessation of hostilities in 1945 marked for the Egyptian industry a critical transitional state and the reversion to a peace economy from a war-time economy. It became essential in order to meet the wishes of H.M. King Farouk, and carry on efficiently the fight against poverty and disease, to increase our agricultural and industrial production, so as to realise as quickly as possible the main and most urgent national aspirations, namely:

(a) A general and substantial improvement of the standard of living of the masses;

(b) Raising the intellectual and social level of the population;

(c) The elimination of unemployment and pauperism and the instauration of social peace through the adequate employment of our vast resources of man-power reduced to total or partial unemployment.

From 1945 to 1947 restrictions on exports continued to be maintained, although there was a steady demand from the neighbouring countries for our products.

In the meantime considerable progress was being realized on projects connected with the manufacture of rayon, cellulose, paper, extraction of iron ore, utilization of the Aswan dam waterfalls, etc.

What remains to be done.

However, in order to succeed without having to undergo the trials which many countries during the nineteenth century suffered from, and in order to insure a brilliant future to our industry, which remains dependent on several factors of which the most important are protection and control of imports, it is necessary to:

(a) Improve technical education and increase the number of industrial schools;

(b) Establish a system of fiscal exemption for new industries;

(c) Improve the means of communications and more especially internal navigation;

(d) Encourage the production and the import of raw materials that can be utilized by local industries;

(e) Reduce or abolish customs dues that have a fiscal character on imported raw materials;

(f) Encourage the exploitation of our resources in the various parts of the country and establish industrial zones and areas;

(g) Create Institutes for economic and industrial researches;

(h) Abolish all restrictions to the entry and stay in Egypt of foreign technicians and industrialists and encourage by all means the investment of new foreign capital;

(i) Modify the law on joint stock companies and adopt the type of limited liability companies;

(j) Establish an elastic and judicious customs tariff, protecting national industries while at the same time allowing a reasonable foreign competition;

(k) Grant facilities to new industries, such as long term credits, and exemption from customs duties on machines and equipment;

(l) Introduce a complete reform of our agricultural economy so as to increase substantially production in order to raise the fellah's purchasing power.

The future may prove brilliant, should we seriously tackle this task and discriminate intelligently between our economic and political problems.
THE EMANCIPATION OF EGYPTIAN WOMEN

By E. ZAKI

Feminism has moved along the same lines in almost every country in the world—the extension of women’s interests to matters of social importance, their need for education on a level with that of men, and their desire to share in the political affairs of their country. The differences between the countries have naturally been those of degree—such as the extent to which women had been cloistered, the economic factors that forced them to leave their homes to earn their living and the wars that accelerated the introduction of women into industry.

In Egypt, the movement followed the same trends. Towards the last quarter of the 19th century, the Khedive Isma’il, in his desire to modernise Egypt, encouraged the opening of girls’ schools and disapproved the wearing of veils. His ideas, however, were too advanced, his efforts too premature, and the people as yet unready to accept such an innovation. Then came Kasim Amin with his “Emancipation of Woman,” and a small army of writers—both men and women—who at the beginning of this century prepared the ground for the emancipation of women. Thus, by the end of the 1914-18 war, when women were agitating for their rights in many parts of the world, the theories of the past began to be put into practice in Egypt. In 1919, the Wafdist Women’s Executive Committee was formed under the presidency of the late Huda Sha’rawi who died in December, 1947. Her father had been the Speaker to the first Parliament formed in Egypt and a Lieutenant-Colonel to the Khedive in the Orabi revolt. Her husband was a member of what used to be called the Legislative Assembly and foremost among those who sought Egypt’s independence. Huda Sha’rawi therefore had social and national prestige both of which were useful factors in her feminist campaign. In addition, she was endowed with intelligence, vivacity, charm and an endearing personality.

In 1919 she had been unable to attend the first international feminist congress that was held after the war in Switzerland, but when another was about to be held in Rome in 1923, she formed an Egyptian Feminist Union out of members of the Wafdist Women’s Executive Committee and of some of the women from the best Muslim and Coptic families. With two chosen members from the Union, all three went to Rome as delegates.

“In spite of my delight at this result,” she once wrote, “I will not hide the fact that I travelled in great dread of this immense responsibility and in fear that we should be unsuccessful, for it was the first time that the Egyptian woman had taken part in an international event: But we relied on God to strengthen our faith so that we should adequately convey the message of the Egyptian woman who had lived for a long time with suppressed rights and clipped wings.”

1923 was, indeed, a great year for the Egyptian woman as, from that year, Egypt’s women began to take part in international matters and Huda Sha’rawi either went herself or sent delegates to every international congress held in Europe and Asia. Also, on their return from Rome, the three delegates took off the veil—an action that gave the lead to the rest of the nation and that, strangely enough, caused no agitation at all. In comparison with the rest of the cast, the discarding of the veil in Egypt seemed a natural step but one which, nevertheless, needed great courage.

Much has happened since 1923 at a speed that seems incredible and the younger generation of Egyptian girls finds it hard to imagine the effects of veiling and isolation on the minds of their predecessors—the lack of normal social relations between men and women, the dependence on the male members of the family, the feelings of frustration and the advantages and disadvantages of living under a patriarchal system. When a girl, Huda Sha’rawi greatly admired a poetess called Khadiga al-Maghribia, for her intelligence and because “she attended men’s meetings and discussed in them literary and social matters; whereas I used to see the ignorant woman tremble with fear and perspiration cover her forehead if it so happened that she had to speak to men—even though she spoke from behind a curtain.”

This happened in 1889 and with the dynamic progress that took place from 1923 onwards, many anomalies are naturally to be found in the life of the Egyptian woman of to-day. There

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are differences in attitude ranging from the oldest conception that women are inferior and that their place is only in the home and kitchen, to the up-to-date belief that a woman's work should be of national as well as domestic importance—a belief that is held by the student in secondary school, institute and university, by the professional woman and by the social worker.

As to Huda Shara'awi, she is even more to be admired for having belonged to an older generation and yet for sympathising with the young. Her education was given at home and "every time I think of my education," she wrote in her memoirs, "I see the vast difference between the life and upbringing of a child of the past and his life and upbringing of to-day. They used to nourish a child's body without paying any attention to his feelings or to the growth of his mental powers . . . whereas the modern ideas of education are a balance between physical and mental growth . . . And it was in such an environment that I began my life." She completed learning the Qur'an at nine and was then taught French and Turkish. As for sports, these were not considered "feminine."

"I remember how I began to study the piano," she wrote in her memoirs, "at that age (of nine). The doctor who was treating my brother, then seven years of age, had suggested that a pony should be bought for him so that he should learn to ride, and had assured us that riding strengthened the body . . . without demanding, at the same time, much effort. So I too asked for a pony so that I too could ride like my brother. They tried to persuade me that riding was not suitable for girls, but I refuted their argument with a damaging counter-attack by giving them the example of our neighbour, the daughter of an officer . . . who rode horses and drove her own carriage by herself! When my mother gave up trying to persuade me with 'logic,' she gave me the choice between a pony and a piano, for she knew of my love for music; her wiles were successful for I chose the piano in preference to the pony—saying to myself: 'I will get the piano, then enjoy myself riding on my brother's pony whenever I want to.'"

Unfortunately, Huda Shara'awi, who remained the president of the Egyptian Feminist Union from 1923, did not live long enough to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Union which she helped to create. This Union perhaps does not represent the whole of feminist opinion in Egypt, but the results of its demands are evident in our everyday life, for it was effective in carrying out essential reforms on two counts: in educational and social matters. In education, schools, institutes and the university have been opened to women; in social matters, the woman has an equal right to divorce, the minimum age for marriage for a girl has been fixed at 16, while in divorce cases, the mother has been given the custody of her children up to the age of 9 for boys and 11 for girls. Therefore, the whole feminist movement in Egypt has so far been characterised by the desire for women to play their part effectively in the common good through education and society, and the time will undoubtedly come when the position will be suitable for a more urgent demand for electoral powers.

**PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EGYPT**

By MUHAMMAD 'ALI MUSTAFA

During the last five years, primary education in Egypt has made great strides. In 1943 there were only 141 primary schools catering for 34,591 pupils. The latest statistics show that the number of these schools has now reached 238, and the number of pupils attending them is 75,070. From these figures it can be seen that five years ago primary schools have been opened and the number of pupils attending them has increased by over 100 per cent. These figures, again, indicate to a certain extent the awakening desire for education throughout the nation together with the readiness of the authorities to meet it.

This obvious progress in primary school education is, in fact, due to measures taken by the authorities over the last few years. First, the Government has abolished fees, which used to amount to £10 per pupil per annum. These had always been an obstacle preventing poor children from going to primary schools, for they were more than the great majority of people could afford. Consequently, poorer people were compelled to send their children to the free "elementary" schools where they were taught a little reading, writing, arithmetic, general knowledge and nothing else.

To meet the demand of the nation for education in a way that coincides with the social, political and economic trends in the country at the present time, the Ministry of Education has found it necessary to readjust its educational policy completely as well as to modify, in the light of this new policy, its programmes and curricula.

It was inevitable that the Ministry should direct its attention to the co-relation of primary and elementary education with present needs. First, the educational authorities made elementary education compulsory and drew up a syllabus similar to that in use in the primary schools with one exception: it contained no foreign language. Thus, elementary and primary education are run on parallel lines and children from both types of school are given equal chances of entering the secondary school and the university. This uniformity, therefore, in the first period of instruction gives intelligent pupils, rich or poor, the same educational opportunities from the first stage of learning to the last.

The next step the Ministry took was to make primary education, like elementary education, free. Thus children are no longer admitted to primary schools on the ability of their parents to pay fees, but on the results of an entrance examination which takes age into consideration. This obviates discrimination between richer and poorer pupils. The Free Education Act did not at first provide school children with books and midday meals; these were paid for by their parents. Nowadays they are provided free of charge in both elementary and primary schools. The new Primary Education Bill, at present under the consideration of Parliament, will ensure that all pupils receive free education, books, meals and medical treatment at the expense of the State. If one bears in mind that each primary school pupil costs the State £30 per annum, some idea of the money required by the Ministry and the efforts that must be made to procure such a sum can be gauged. The present estimate for Boys' Primary Schools only is £2,250,000.

Public demand for primary education necessitates an increase in the number of primary schools. With regard to this, the Ministry is limited by the amount allocated to education in the budget. Furthermore, the opening of new schools depends upon the availability of trained teachers. As soon as the first groups of teachers pass out of the Primary Training Colleges, the Ministry will be in a position to meet the urgent needs. The Ministry of Education, having insufficient resources to cope with a school building programme at anything like the required speed, has asked local education authorities to impress on wealthy property owners the necessity of providing these educational institutions.
owners that the first requisite for opening a school is a suitable building. It should not be inferred from this that the Ministry of Education has no constructive policy of its own for the building of schools. It has, in fact, a ten-year plan which is limited by the budget, but the authorities in their desire to meet increasing demands for education as fast as they can have called on the well-to-do to co-operate. It is worth recording that the latter have responded generously to this call.

Futhermore, the Ministry has not confined itself to the enlargement of primary education but has carried out sweeping reforms in methods and curricula to bring this type of instruction into line with present-day trends. The aim of this reform is to enable the primary school pupil to obtain such knowledge as suits his age and to reveal and develop his talents. It aims also at building him up soundly, both physically and morally, and at providing a healthy spiritual atmosphere for him. Lastly it aims at making the primary school the foundation for a full and useful life. Consequently the new curriculum co-ordinates practice and theory and subscribes to the idea that practical instruction should be dependent on the regional requirements of each school.

Regulations governing examinations in the first and second year classes of primary schools have been modified. In these two years a pupil is transferred to a higher form at the end of the year if he passes his examination in the last period of the year, without reference to his results in the previous periods. If, however, he fails in the last period, he can be transferred on the result of the previous examination provided sufficient marks were obtained. Thus children have the opportunity of making up leeway in the second half of the school year, should they have proved weak in the first half.

As a means of strengthening the individuality of the primary schools through their libraries, the Ministry of Education wishing to encourage the habit of wide and useful reading, has asked the head of each school, together with a committee selected from the staff, to choose books which will be most suitable and of greatest interest to their pupils. The educational authorities have also stressed the importance of close co-operation between parents and teachers for the welfare of the child.

All these efforts show the anxiety of the Ministry to meet the nation's demands and to provide the new generation with a better groundwork of general instruction.

THE UNITY OF THE NILE VALLEY

By PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD AWAD

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936

Anglo-Egyptian relations had never been better than they were when the second World War broke out in September, 1939. The Treaty of Alliance of 1936 had gone far toward preparing the two countries for close and friendly co-operation if and when a crisis came. Yet by the spring of 1947, after victory over a common enemy, relations between the two countries had reached a state of discord profoundly disturbing to responsible Egyptians and Britshers alike. The crux of this latest controversy is the future of the Sudan, a subject largely left in abeyance by the treaty of 1936 but lying at the heart of what has come to be known as the "Egyptian Question": the conflict of British imperial interests with the natural desire of the Egyptians to be masters of their own destiny.

Developments in the course of the second World War brought about this strain in relations by creating conditions and situations far beyond those provided for by the treaty of 1936. What touched the people most closely was the constant presence of increasing numbers of Allied, but nevertheless foreign, troops in Egypt. The conduct of British forces in the early months of the war was satisfactory. But as hostilities dragged on and their numbers increased from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, it was perhaps inevitable that their presence should have given reason for complaint. Every difficulty and inconvenience, including the soaring cost of living, was attributed by the Egyptian people to the presence of the armies.

The British authorities in Cairo were led to carry out measures which even the exigencies of war could scarcely justify. Most unfortunate among these was the incident of February 4th, 1942, when armoured units of the British army surrounded the King's palace in order to force the immediate appointment of a particular government. Reminiscent of the ultimatum of 1924, this act did inestimable harm by alienating the sympathies of even those Egyptians known for their pro-British sentiments.

During the war, several Middle Eastern countries, notably Iran, Syria, and the Lebanon, were assured that they would gain their complete independence after hostilities had ceased, and that all foreign troops would be withdrawn from their territories. Although Egypt aided materially in the prosecution of the war, it was given no such assurances. Egyptians naturally came to feel that the position of their country under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance was inferior to that of other Middle Eastern countries whose share in the Allied war effort they considered less significant than their own. The incongruity of this situation was heightened by the leading role which Egypt played in the formation of the Arab League late in 1944. During the war, also, the Egyptians had come to regard the Atlantic Charter as a promise of better conditions for all peoples; and that the United Nations Charter, in the formulation of which Egypt had taken a part, as presupposing the removal of the limitations upon Egyptian sovereignty imposed by the treaty.

With the expulsion of the Axis troops from Africa and the subsequent Allied victory in Europe and Asia, the people of Egypt looked forward to the gradual disappearance of foreign troops from their victory. When this failed to develop, and when it began to appear that the Egyptian Government could not force their removal or even control their behaviour, the treaty of 1936 was further discredited in Egyptian eyes as an instrument for the regulation of Anglo-Egyptian relations. A demand for its revision was raised both through diplomatic channels and through the more violent medium of daily public demonstrations which often led to further friction and incidents between the troops and the people.

Early in 1946 the British Labour Government at last agreed to Egyptian demands for a reconsideration of the 1936 treaty. The British Ambassador, whose association with the incident of February 4th, 1942, had caused him to be persona non grata with the Egyptians, was removed. A special deputation arrived from London toward the middle of April and opened negotiations with an Egyptian delegation headed by Prime Minister Sidiqi Pasha but including many political leaders who were not members of the government.

Soon after the negotiations got under way, the British Government announced that it intended to remove all land, naval, and air forces from Egypt, subject to the establishment of a scheme of joint defence in which both Egypt and Britain should participate. The promise was welcome to the Egyptians. Agreement in principle on both the subjects of evacuation and joint defence measures was eventually reached, and provision for them was incorporated in two protocols attached to the
draft treaty drawn up in October during the London meetings of Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha, and the British Foreign Secretary. Even though negotiations for a general revision of the treaty subsequently reached an impasse and were broken off, the British carried through the evacuation of troops from Cairo, Alexandria, and the Delta, completing the operation in March, 1947.

The Future of the Sudan.
Agreement on these military clauses was effected through a compromise involving the establishment of a Joint Defence Council and the limiting of co-operative action to cases of aggression against Egypt or a neighbouring country. No such compromise, however, was possible on the third question to be raised—that of the future of the Sudan. Previous treaty negotiations had evaded the issue; even the treaty of 1936 did little more than postpone it to a later period, when a "new convention" might be concluded. Recent developments, however, have complicated the question, and the Egyptians feel that a definite solution cannot be deferred much longer.

Although in theory the Sudan is subject to a condominium, or joint Anglo-Egyptian rule, the Egyptians have no share whatever in the government of the country. The Egyptians at present possess no means of directly influencing the Sudanese people. The Sudan Government even has the power, which it has not failed to exercise, to exclude Egyptian newspapers and other publications. During the war, the Sudan Government carried out fundamental changes in the administration of the country without referring the matter to Egypt. In particular it created a kind of Advisory Council whose members were nominated by the Governor-General. Egyptians looked upon the creation of this body as an attempt to influence public opinion in the Sudan against Egypt at a time when the Sudanese are becoming politically conscious and are anxious to have a voice in determining the fate of their country.

There are at present two political parties of significance in the Sudan: the Umma (Nationalist), under the leadership of 'Abd al-Rahman Pasha, son of the Mahdi'; and the Ashigga (Brothers), under the leadership of a group of Sudanese intellectuals.

'Abd al-Rahman Pasha came to London in the winter of 1946-47 to plead the case of the Umma Party, which wants complete separation from Egypt. His newspapers have continued to publish anti-Egyptian propaganda, and although several attempts at conciliation with pro-Egyptian groups have been made, little success has been achieved in this direction. The favour which Great Britain has shown 'Abd el-Rahman and the Umma Party, believed by many Egyptians to have been created through British instigation, has gone far toward alienating particularly the followers of Sheikh Marghani, undoubtedly the greatest religious leader of the Sudan and a man universally respected for his piety and devotion. Sheikh Marghani has never played a political role, but not unnaturally cannot help being perturbed lest the ascendancy of the Mahdi's son lead to a recurrence of Mahdist excesses.

The Ashigga has formulated a programme aiming at full autonomy for the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown. Together with other pro-Egyptian groups, it argues that in view of the historical association, cultural and religious connections, and the community of interests of the two countries, a separation would be disastrous to both. Since February, 1946, these parties have maintained a special delegation in Cairo. Its presence in the Egyptian capital is a constant reminder to the Egyptians that the question of the Sudan cannot be shelved this time as in previous negotiations, and thus constitutes a new and a very important factor in the situation.

Egypt's ties with Sudan.
Egypt's desire for a permanent union with the Sudan does not rest merely upon historical connections, religious, linguistic and ethnic affinities, and mutual economic interests. Nor does it rest primarily upon the fact that the unity of Egypt and the Sudan was an established political reality before the British appeared in the Upper Nile Valley. The most important consideration has always been that Egypt must possess the strongest guarantee that its water supply is not to be interfered with.

The British are not trusted by the Egyptians to give such guarantees. British authorities themselves have given the best expression to Egyptian anxiety in this matter. A distinguished British officer was quoted in the House of Commons on March 28th, 1895, as saying, "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water which runs down the Nile." A great British engineer, Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, carried the point further: "As for depriving Egypt of its water, what the Mahdi could not do, a civilised people could do. It is very evident that the civilised possessor of the Upper Nile Valley holds Egypt in his grasp ... and if poor little Egypt had the bad luck to be at war with the people in the upper waters, they might flood Egypt or cut off the water supply at their pleasure."

Lord Milner's opinion on this subject is important. "The savages of the Sudan," he wrote, "may never themselves possess sufficient engineering skill to play tricks with the Nile; but for all that it is an uncomfortable thought that the regular supply of water by the great river, which is to Egypt not a question of convenience and prosperity, but actually of life, must always be exposed to some risk, as long as the Upper reaches of that river are not under Egyptian control."

The actions of the Britishers regarding the Nile are also far from reassuring to the Egyptians. Immediately before the World War I a project was begun in great secrecy for controlling the waters of the Blue Nile by building a dam at Makwar, 175 miles south of Kharroum. The waters to be stored behind this dam were to be employed for the benefit of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, a British concern of great influence, and for the prosperity of the Sudan. But there appears to have been another motive behind this great undertaking. "We have it on the authority of Sir Valentine Cachot that schemes for storing the waters of the Blue and White Nile in the Sudan were prepared under Lord Kitchener's personal direction; and he took the keenest interest in them, not only because they opened up prospects of an almost unlimited supply of water to Egypt as well as the Sudan, but because he saw what big political issues were bound up with the permanent control from the Sudan of the Nile waters upon which the very existence of Egypt depends." When the Makwar Dam was begun, the British assured Egypt that no more than 300,000 feddans (acres) would be irrigated. But even before its construction was complete, the Egyptian Government was informed in the ultimatum of 1924 that this area would be increased as need might arise to an unlimited figure." Under such circumstances, it is scarcely unreasonable that the Egyptians will never feel secure so long as the British retain their predominant position in the Sudan.

Why the Anglo-Egyptian Discussions broke down.

This discussion of various aspects of the question of the Sudan will help towards understanding why this problem led to the breakdown of treaty negotiations. This resulted specifically from the differing interpretations which London and Cairo placed on the Sudan Protocol, to which both Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha and Foreign Minister Bevin had affixed their signatures in October, 1946. In view of Sidqi Pasha's limited knowledge of English, it is important that the Protocol be given in the French on which he based his interpretation.
PROTOCOLE RELATIF AU SOUDAN

La politique que les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'engagent à suivre au Soudan, dans le cadre de l'Unité de l'Égypte et du Soudan sous une couronne commune, la couronne de l'Égypte, aura pour objectif essentiel le bien-être des Soudanais, le développement de leurs intérêt et leur préparation active au self-government et à l'exercice du droit qui en découle de choisir le futur statut du Soudan.

En attendant que les Hautes Parties Contractantes puissent, d'un commun accord et après consultation des Soudanais réaliser le dernier objectif, la Convention de 1899 sera maintenue en l'article 11 du Traité de 1936 avec son annexe et les paragraphes 14 et 16 de la note acceptée jointe au dit traité resteront en vigueur nonobstant l'article 1er du présent traité.

It is the first paragraph of this protocol which was interpreted variously in Cairo and in London. Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha argued that the policy to be pursued would always aim at retaining the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, even when the Sudanese came to decide their future status. The British Government, on the other hand, has maintained that this future status could assume any form, including separation from Egypt.
and that the policy of unity mentioned in the first paragraph referred only to the interim arrangements. The Egyptians are willing to let the Sudanese people decide now their future status, but are not prepared to give the British authorities in the Sudan further chances to carry out intensive propaganda against Egypt.

On December 7th, 1946, while the two governments were exchanging notes in an attempt to come to some agreement, Sir Hubert Huddleston, the Governor-General of the Sudan, issued a statement in the course of which he said that all educated Sudanese desired to govern their own country. He was determined, he said, that nothing should stand in the way of creating a Sudanese Government, and he asked those who wished to serve their country to co-operate with him and his officials in determining the next steps to be taken. The Governor-General further assured the Sudanese that these declarations were given in accordance with written authorization from the British Prime Minister. He thus showed the Egyptians that even while negotiations were still in progress, the British Government was not only determined to have its own interpretation of the Sudan Protocol, but also to take immediate steps to carry out a policy based on that interpretation.

A second incident leading to the breakdown concerned the Chief Judgeship of the Religious (Islamic) Courts, a post which has now been occupied by an Egyptian, and was then occupied by a man whose ability, devotion, and learning were admitted by all including the Governor-General himself. It was the only post of any importance still occupied by an Egyptian, and was considered a symbol of the spiritual relations of the two countries. On December 22nd the Governor-General informed the Egyptian Government that the services of the Chief Judge would come to an end on January 2nd, that his appointment would not be renewed, and that the post would be given to a Sudanese. At a moment when every effort should have been exerted to maintain a calm atmosphere, the wisdom of this move might well be doubted. The Egyptian Government offered to pay the salary of the Chief Judge out of its own budget; and suggested that another similar post be given to a Sudanese. But even this offer was rejected by the Governor-General, and the Egyptian judge was forced to leave the Sudan on January 10th. The post, however, remains vacant because of a technical difficulty: it seems that according to Islamic Law, a non-Muslim cannot make an appointment to a supreme religious post.

The Governor-General again delivered a speech on December 30th, 1946, at the town of El-Obeid, in the course of which he was reported in the Sudanese press to have said that the intention of Egypt was to establish effective sovereignty over the Sudan, while the British Government considered that such sovereignty should only be nominal and symbolic; and that he—the Governor-General—wished that even this symbolic sovereignty did not exist; and that if he could get rid of it he would do so. He declared his intention to suppress every kind of Egyptian propaganda in the Sudan, and he again affirmed that he spoke with the British Prime Minister's approval.

It was unnatural that this speech should have been unfavourably received in Egypt. The Sudanese authorities subsequently issued a brief statement that the published version of the speech was inaccurate. The Egyptian demand for the publication of an official version, however, was not granted.

Egypt lays her case before the Security Council.

On the following day there was a lively session in the Egyptian Parliament on the question of the Sudan. Al-Nakrasby Pasha, who had succeeded Sidqi Pasha on December 10th, 1947, as Prime Minister, bitterly criticized the actions of the Sudan Governor-General, which he interpreted as being aimed at separating the Sudan from Egypt. He made special reference to the three incidents mentioned above. He considered that since the actions of the Governor-General were apparently supported by the British Government, they showed the existence of a deliberate policy to break up the unity of Egypt and the Sudan. Such a policy he considered an hostile act against Egypt. He was, therefore, asking the British Government to make its position clear on this point, and would await its answer before taking any other steps.

In the course of the following three weeks the two governments engaged in considerable diplomatic activity which, however, produced no result. In the meantime the Governor-General of the Sudan went his own way, and was preparing a scheme to be submitted to the Advisory Council for the creation of a separate Sudanese "nationality." Failing to secure any reassuring statement from London, the Egyptian Government finally informed the British Ambassador that the negotiations between the two governments would not continue; and that the Anglo-Egyptian dispute would be submitted to the United Nations.

It was thus with regard to the Sudan, rather than to the military clauses in the draft treaty that the gap between the British and Egyptian points of view could not be bridged. But even with regard to a military alliance between the two countries the present attitude in Egypt is that evacuation of the country by British forces should not be made conditional upon the conclusion of an alliance. Egypt submitted, not only the question of the Sudan, but the whole dispute, to the Security Council. The General Assembly of United Nations, having ruled in December, 1946, that no member had the right to maintain any military forces in the territory of another against the latter's wishes, the British occupation of Egypt could not be terminated while the Egyptian view be terminated as soon as possible. Any military alliance between the two countries which might follow must depend on the amount of respect which Britain is prepared to show for Egyptian interests.

There can be little doubt that the breakdown of treaty negotiations is deeply regretted by every responsible person in Great Britain, Egypt, and the Middle East; indeed, by all who have the cause of world peace at heart. The common interests of Great Britain and Egypt are too large and far-reaching in their scope to be compromised by failure to agree on a suitable interpretation of a diplomatic document. The importance which the British authorities—undoubtedly attach to the position of the Sudan in the whole strategic scheme of the Middle East cannot be added as sufficient ground for remaining adamant, for it is difficult to see in what manner a union of Egypt and the Sudan could detract from the value of the latter. One might, indeed, be justified in thinking that in an emergency it would be an advantage for the two countries to act as a unit.

The present wave of anti-British feeling in Egypt need not by any means be considered as an indication of a permanent policy of hostility to Britain. In the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations there have been repeated waves of anti-British feeling evoked by such acts as those mentioned in this article. But these were always of short duration, to be followed by a more normal spirit of friendliness and co-operation. It is to be hoped that the present impasse, too, will be brief.
THE DEFENCE OF THE SUEZ CANAL

By MUHAMMAD RIF'AT BEY, M.A.

PREFATORY NOTE

(When Said Pasha ascended the throne of Egypt the idea of connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea began to take shape in his mind. Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman, and a personal friend of this ruler of Egypt, helped him in the realization of this idea. De Lesseps was granted a concession on the 30th of November, 1854, and another on the 5th of January, 1856. Both the concessions gave permission to dig a canal and to exploit it commercially. The profits were to be distributed in the following proportion: 15 per cent to the Egyptian Government, 10 per cent to the founders and 75 per cent to the shareholders. These concessions were subject to assent of the Sublime Porte. Said Pasha’s idea was that the Canal would serve the world, science and civilization. He never meant it to be used by one Power to the exclusion of others.

Later, when the Khedive Isma‘il ascended the throne, the Canal had not yet been completed, owing to the political wrangles and jealousies of big powers. The scheme had to be dropped which nearly resulted in the ruination of the company. But later, through the persistence of de Lesseps, the company was re-formed with a capital of two hundred million francs, divided into 400 shares of 500,000 francs each and the subscription was thrown open to the world. France bought more than half the shares.

The Canal was completed on the 15th of April, 1869, and opened with great pomp and ceremony on the 17th of November, 1869. It is estimated that, apart from the large number of Egyptian workmen who lost their lives in the course of the construction of this Canal, Egypt spent sixteen million pounds.

A few years later, in 1876, Egypt got into financial difficulties, as a result of which she had to sell her 177,602 shares for five million pounds. Later on circumstances forced her to sell her share of profits in 1880 to France for eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

The Government of Great Britain holds 353,504 shares.)

During the discussion by the Security Council at Lake Success of the Anglo-Egyptian Dispute last autumn, Sir Alexander Cadogan, the delegate of the United Kingdom, raised the important question of the Suez Canal defence. He said that according to the convention of Constantinople in 1888 the defence of the Suez Canal was the concern of Egypt in the first place and of Britain in the second. In support of this theory he quoted Article IX of the aforesaid convention, which runs: “The Egyptian Government shall, within the limit of its powers resulting from the Firmans and under the conditions provided for in the present treaty, take the necessary measures for insuring the execution of the said treaty. In case the Egyptian Government shall not have sufficient means at its disposal, it shall call upon the Imperial Ottoman Government, which shall take the necessary measures to respond to such appeal . . . ” By quoting this article the delegate meant to imply that Britain’s right was originally derived and inherited from Turkey, which had renounced her suzerain rights over Egypt and the Sudan in consequence of the first World War. To add more legal weight to his argument the delegate also quoted Article 152 of the Treaty of Versailles transferring to His Britannic Majesty “the powers previously conferred on the Sultan of Turkey by the convention signed at Constantinople on 29th of October, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.” When we know that neither Turkey nor Egypt was a party to the treaty of Versailles, the futility of such an argument will at once be seen. But England could still argue that Turkey did ratify the transfer of her rights in Egypt and the Sudan by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. According to Article 17 of that treaty “the renunciation by Turkey of all rights and titles over Egypt and over the Sudan will take effect as from the 5th of November, 1914.” That was the date on which hostilities began between Turkey and the Allies. But Turkey in renouncing her rights did not say to whom those rights reverted. The Kemalist Turks had intentionally left that clause vague in order not to pique nascent Egyptian nationalism, though it was only natural that those rights should in justice revert to the Egyptian people, the ultimate repository of all rights. Nor could Turkey barter away Egypt’s rights to a third party without Egypt’s consent or against her wishes. But the most condemning argument against Britain’s theory is that Egypt had declared herself an independent sovereign State on March 15th, 1922; whereas the Treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24th, 1923, that is, fifteen months after Independence Day. So that by a simple comparison of dates it will be self-evident that when Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne she had had no right over Egypt to renounce, not only because of Egypt’s declaration of independence but also because of the severance of all links connecting Egypt to Turkey consequent on Turkey’s siding with Germany in the first World War and the proclamation in December, 1914, of the British Protectorate over Egypt. Of course, it might be argued that Egypt’s independence in 1922 was incomplete and that England in her declaration of February 28th, 1922, regarding that independence had made four reservations to herself and that the first of those reservations related to the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt, and the second concerned the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression. The other two reservations affected foreign residents and the Sudan. These reservations were coupled by a British circular to the Powers informing them that “special relations between Great Britain and Egypt would always be maintained as an essential British interest and that any interference in the affairs of Egypt by any other power would be regarded as an unfriendly act.” It would be easy to refute such an argument by referring to Article XII of that same convention of Constantinople previously cited by the British delegate. That Article lays down that the High Contracting Parties by application of the principle of equality as regards the free use of the Canal . . . agree that none of them shall endeavour to obtain with respect to the Canal, territorial or commercial advantages or privileges in any international arrangements which may be concluded. It is clear from this Article that Britain has violated that fundamental principle of equality between the signatory Powers in more than one sense. It was violated in December, 1914, when Britain took advantage of the first World War and proclaimed its protectorate over Egypt without either consulting the Powers or caring to seek the consent of the people of Egypt. It was again more glaringly violated when it declared its four reservations in 1922 knowing perfectly well that that declaration was a unilateral act to which Egypt neither consented nor adhered. These were undoubtedly serious contraventions of the international convention of Constantinople. But once more England would argue that the reservation regarding the Suez Canal, alluded to as “communications of the British Empire in Egypt,” has taken a legitimate standing by being incorporated in the Treaty of Alliance concluded between Egypt
and Britain in 1936. But the assumption by England of the exclusive right to defend the canal has provided Egyptians with their main argument against the Treaty of 1936. It was obvious that the privileged position of England in the Canal zone acquired by the Treaty of 1936 abrogated the principle of equality between the Powers as stipulated by Article XII of the Convention of 1888.

But apart from these violations by England of the terms of the Convention of 1888 there are considerations which tend to invalidate the role of England in the Canal zone. The two great world wars have demonstrated beyond any shade of doubt that the freedom of navigation in the canal which England claims to defend and assure to ships of all nations has become a mere myth. For England, being paramount both at sea and on land, can in time of war dominate the Suez Canal zone, allowing free access only to allied ships, leaving neutral and enemy ships at her mercy. All that England had to do to keep up appearances while at war was to order enemy ships to quit canal harbours, and when out of territorial waters would have them captured or destroyed. That is what England or any other Great Power would do at war when entrusted with the defence of the Canal. Whereas if Egypt, a small Power, assumes her natural obligation of defending her soil, free navigation in the Canal in peace and war would be assured to all alike, unless belligerent Great Powers intervene and violate all existing principles of neutrality and free navigation.

It is for this reason that Egypt's demand to abrogate the 1936 Treaty would benefit all parties alike and would enhance the principle of the freedom of the seas so long preached and desired by the United States of America and the peoples of the world at large.

When the time comes for Egypt to take over from the Suez Canal Company, she would certainly abide by the rules of neutrality and free navigation, but would not neglect her self-defence. For it must be borne in mind that during the last sixty-five years Egypt was twice invaded by foreign armies by way of the Suez Canal. In August, 1882, the British Expedition to Egypt eluded the Arabists, who had entrenched themselves at Kafr el-Dawar between Alexandria and Cairo, and secretly made their way to Port Said. There the English, regardless of the rules of neutrality and in spite of de Lessep's protests, ordered the closure of the Suez Canal for four days whilst they moved their troops to Ismailia and thence to the battle of Tel el-Kebir, which prepared the way for the British occupation of Egypt. The second occasion on which the neutrality of the Canal was violated and the country threatened by a foreign army was on February 3rd, 1915, when a Turkish army, under Gemal Pasha, assisted by some German staff officers, assembled in Palestine and succeeded in penetrating the Eastern desert to the Eastern bank of the Canal. They tried to cross the Canal and land at a place called Tousson, but their efforts were thwarted by two battleships anchored in the Canal, and in a few hours the much advertised Turkish expedition came to grief. If they had succeeded, the whole course of recent events in the East would have been profoundly changed.

There is nothing to prevent a repetition of such an invasion in the future. And it is therefore incumbent on modern Egypt to insure herself against such an eventuality. It is not only by international pacts that the security of nations in these times can be upheld. Even the United Nations Charter, according to Article 51, envisages occasions when members of the United Nations might be constrained to take up arms in self-defence.

1. In article 8 of that Treaty, it is stated that "until such time as the High Contracting Parties agree that the Egyptian Army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigating of the canal, H.M. the King of Egypt authorises the King and Emperor to station forces in Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the Canal—with a view to ensuring in co-operation with the Egyptian forces the defence of the Canal . . . ."
Egypt cannot but follow the example of other States dominat-
ing similarly important strategic waterways. There is the United
States of America arming her zone along the Panama Canal,
Turkey fortifying the Straits, and England strongly armed on her
impregnable rock of Gibraltar. Egypt should not therefore be
denied her sovereign right of self-defence, bearing in mind
two important facts: first, that the Canal is not, like Gibraltar
or the Straits, a natural passage between the high seas, but an
artificial aqueduct dug by the hand of man on Egyptian soil
with the help of Egyptian labour and Egyptian funds. Secondly,
that Egypt, in twenty years’ time from now, would be the sole-
arbiter of the Suez Canal, and it would certainly enhance the
chances of peace among the nations of the world if the United
Nations’ Organisation took in hand the task of revising the
Convention of 1888 and similar instruments governing other
sea-passages with a view to establishing “absolute freedom of
navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace
and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in
part by international action for the enforcement of international
covenants.”

“WHAT’S IN A NAME?”

By TRACEY CROMWELL DUDLEY

What’s in a name? That depends...

Let’s take the name Muhammad, for example.

You have probably often used that word and never thought
anything about it—but Muslims themselves do not call them-

selves Muhammadans!

Obviously an important story is involved. It is not just
a case of somebody’s desiring to be different or fancy or fussy.
Muhammadan refers to the Arabian Prophet, Muhammad.
As applied to the man himself, the adjective is correct and
acceptable. The trouble, however, is that most of us do not
stop there. We go on to apply the term to the religion taught
by this man!...

In other words, did Muhammad teach Muhammadanism?
As shocking as it may seem, the answer is not a simple, clear
“Yes.” . . . What a scholar might, for technical purposes,
term Muhammadanism could represent but a small part of the
Message of Muhammad! . . . If Muhammad had been the first
to teach his faith, then it might be half-way correct to call it
Muhammadanism. But, as the Hebrew Scriptures (“The Old
Testament”) bear witness, this religion goes back far beyond
the days of Muhammad himself—who was the last of the whole
long line of great prophets to flourish among the Hebrews and
their Arabian cousins.

The only word that is rich, full, and broad enough to
describe this ancient faith is the Arabic term, Islam. More-
over, whereas Muhammadanism only names something (and
is rarely used altogether correctly), Islam not only names but also
describes this Religion of the Prophets.

Islam summarises this whole religion in three ways. First,
it refers to the spiritual experience underlying the faith, for
Islam is the Arabic word that describes the process or way of
approach to God taught by it. Secondly, it describes the way
of life of the believer—the whole body of truths upon which
his faith and practice are based. Thirdly, it has the meaning of
“peace”—the peace of God which passed all understand-
ing—that all-inclusive blessing that is the most precious
gift of God to men.

Let us consider each of these meanings of the name Islam
more fully to see how it represents so appropriate a description
of the Scriptural teachings attributed to Moses, Jesus, and the
host of lesser prophets to appear in ancient Israel.

The Way and the Truth and the Life.

The name of Islam is derived from an Arabic root literally
meaning “to feel perfectly safe, to be absolutely tranquil”;
thus, by implication, “to be at perfect peace with oneself and
the rest of the world by having done one’s duty, by having
paid up one’s dues.” By extension, the following meanings are
derived:

First, Islam as a way of approach to Deity. This is the
process by which one “pays up his dues” and approaches a
sense of well-being. This is the spiritual experience through
which one comes into proper relationship with God—free,
spontaneous, and with the whole resignation of one’s self to
the will and judgment of God.

This is the process by which one achieves that state of
harmony with the Divine that is displayed all about one in the
world of nature—it is getting the self into tune with Creation
itself. It is the acceptance of the Divine will and judgment
for the individual and for humanity. “Not my will, but Thine,
be done.”

This is the experience described as becoming spiritually
“as a little child” in order that one may “enter the Kingdom
of God.” It is the “second birth”—the birth of the spiritual
man.

It is not a fanastic concept of acceptance of what is, but an ac-
vite, vital, creative resignation to that which is to be. It is the
merging of the individual with the Divine purposiveness. It
is the submission of the spirit that enables the God-disciplined
person to strive in the path of Allah—to live and work in
accordance with the very nature of the world and the purposes
of human life, as these truths are disclosed to us through
revelation, nature, and history.

Secondly, Islam as a body of truth Divinely revealed. As
the name of the faith that has these teachings as its heart, Islam
describes the whole body of belief and practice to which its
followers give allegiance.

Thirdly, Islam as a way of God-integrated life. In the
sense of “peace,” Islam describes the sense of happiness,
security, and well-being that results from a harmonious relation-
ship with God. One feels confident that he is working with
the forces underlying the world and life itself, that one is
moving with the future as it is being unfolded in the present.
This is more than self-integration: this is the integration of
the individual with the whole stream of life of which he is a part.
Only the word “peace” can describe this state: it is the peace
of God.

Thus we see that the word Islam describes the religion
taught by Muhammad in a rich, full way. In fact, we have
already made clear the monumental simplicity of this faith, as
it is revealed in its structure, which we have just analysed.
The secret of the power—like the greatness—of the Religion
of the Prophets lies in its simplicity, directness, clarity. It
moves men because it speaks to their condition and gives
results.

2. Second point of President Wilson’s Fourteen Points.

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In short, what is in the name Islam? A description of a faith? Yes, but much more than just that. The name Islam is more correctly a programme of action—a guide to vital spiritual life. For the true seeker, it can become a simple, clear chart of the way to true happiness and peace.

The Message and the Man.

How did Muhammadanism come to be used as an equivalent term for Islam? Clearly it is a coined word composed, like such names as Confucianism and Zoroastrianism, from the proper name of the reputed founder of the religion.

Nevertheless, the term Muhammadanism is objectionable not so much for its essential meaningless and flatness as for its incompatibility with two very important teachings of Muhammad himself.

In the first place, Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be on him!) would have been the first to object to such a term, for it refers to, and emphasizes, the man rather than his message. And, as highly as they respect his memory, Muslims do not ascribe divinity to the Prophet. In fact, one of the cardinal principles of their faith is that God must not be dishonoured by the attributing of Divine qualities to any human being, any more than the stature of a great man ought to be lessened through a belief that he was not subject to the same trials and temptations as other mortals. . . . For Muslims, the greatest honour is bestowed upon Muhammad’s memory when a person truly believes that he was, par excellence, the Messenger and Prophet of God. . . . Muhammad himself indicated the term by which he should be known when he referred to himself as a Muslim.

(A Moslem—more correctly, Muslim—is “one who submits himself entirely to God.” The term is parallel to the word Islam in derivation, meaning, and usage.)

In the second place, by calling himself a Muslim, Muhammad was able to emphasize the historical background of Islam as the Religion of the Prophets. . . . Muhammad was not the founder of Islam. He re-established it, on the one hand. He made it complete in its fundamental teachings, on the other hand.

Islam is the soul-stirring Primitive Semitic Revelation described in the Book of Genesis. It antedates Judaism—the Mosaic Revelation—the founding of which, through the work of Moses, is described in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Islam was the religion of Abraham, Prophet-Patriarch and common ancestor of both of the main Semitic peoples, the Hebrews and the Arabs.

The Primitive Semitic and the Jewish Dispensations, however, were neither final nor complete in themselves. They were not meant to be: this is everywhere the testimony of the Sacred Writings of the Jews. The Primitive Semitic (or Islamic) Dispensation (Manifestation, Revelation) was carried to a higher plane of spirituality in the Mosaic, which followed it; but the latter was intended, not for mankind, but for one nation. And, as we shall see, both Moses and Jesus warned their hearers that another great prophet would follow them.

The third and last of this series of Semitic Dispensations was given through the instrumentality of Muhammad. It finds its expression in Scripture in the Holy Qur’an, the so-called Bible of the Muslims. (Detailed supplementary material is also to be found in the collections of authentic Traditions concerning the sayings and doings of Muhammad himself.)

The Holy Qur’an (Koran) is the collection of the revelations given through Muhammad. It is the fundamental source of, and final authority for, Muslim belief and practice. It relates this third, Muhammadan, Revelation to the Primitive Semitic and to the Jewish, which preceded it. Its teachings represent the natural completion of those of the two earlier Dispensations.

If we are to understand the Hebrew Scriptures and the Holy Qur’an, we must distinguish carefully between these three stages or Dispensations in the history of the Religion carried by the Prophets. We must learn the purpose and the function of each for the Semitic peoples themselves. We must see each in relation to the whole of humanity—for these were given to the Semites both as mercies from God and as trusts for all of mankind. . . . It is this universal significance of each of them that gives, for mankind at large, a more-than-historical interest and value to the Hebrew and the Arabic Scriptures. Such knowledge, moreover, is basic for an insight into the Divine Plan for mankind as it is revealed in human history.

From Abraham Through Moses to Muhammad.

The outstanding prophet of the first, or Primitive Semitic, Revelation is Abraham (peace be on him!). A remarkably clear picture of this man, so well described as “the friend of God,” may be obtained from the details about his personality and his time given in the Hebrew Scriptures and the Holy
Qu'ran. . . . As the reward for his faithfulness, Abraham was allowed to become the founder of two great peoples dedicated to the trust of spiritual leadership of humanity. From his son Isaac are descended the Hebrews; from Ishmael, his first-born, the Arabs. . . . Abraham is both the model of this Dispensation and the common ancestor of the two nations through whom the knowledge of the One God was given to the world.

The founder of the second, or Hebrew, Revelation is Moses (peace be on him!). He it was who formed the tribes descended from Abraham through his son Isaac into a nation and who brought this new people into a covenant relationship with the Lord: . . . This new nation, Israel, was designed to be a source of many outstanding spiritual pioneers, unto God "a kingdom of priests and an holy nation." (Exodus 19:6). Its purpose was to preserve the knowledge of the True God and to be His witness on earth. "Ye are My witnesses, saith the Lord, and My servant whom I have chosen. . . . I, even I, am the Lord; and beside Me there is no saviour. . . . Therefore ye are My witnesses, saith the Lord, and I am God." (Isaiah 43:10-12). . . . The Hebrew (or Mosaic) Law was designed to supplement the Covenant of Sinai between God and the Children of Israel. It ordered their life in conformity with Godly practices, separated them from foreign peoples, and gave scope to their own strong psychological distinctiveness. It was never intended for non-Israelites. Its basis did not lie in a natural relationship between God and Man but in the covenant relationship between God and Israel. Israel was set apart to be God's witness, not His missionary.

The Prophet of the final Revelation is Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be on him!). He it was who brought the knowledge of God to the descendants of Abraham through his first-born son, Ishmael.

. . . Almost twenty centuries previously, Moses had announced that a prophet of his own stature would arise among the Arabs, the brethren of Israel, and had instructed the Hebrews to hearken to him. "A prophet will the Lord thy God raise up unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him thou shalt hearken." (Deuteronomy 18:15). In order to emphasise the prophecy, Moses at once gives a direct quotation of the words of the Lord: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him." (18:18). And, as the Jews proclaim in the Seventh Article of the "Thirteen Principles of the Faith" formulated by Maimonides—"I believe with perfect faith that . . . Moses, our teacher . . . was the chief of the prophets, both of those that preceded and of those that followed him"—this prophecy has never been applied by the Jews to one of their own nation.

. . . As Moses, in opening the Hebrew Dispensation, had proclaimed the advent of a prophet among the Arabs; so Jesus, at the close of this Dispensation, announced the coming of a prophet who was to seal the prophetic line by guiding men into all truth. "And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever." (John 14:16). "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you." (John 16:12-14). Indeed, in agreement with the resemblance between the meaning of the Greek word "Paraclete" and that of the Arabic name "Ahmad" (which is a form of the name "Muhammad"). we read the following in the Holy Qu'ran: " . . . Jesus, the son of Mary, said: O children of Israel! surely I am the messenger of God to you, confirming that which is before me of the Torah and giving the good news of a messenger who will come after me, his name being Ahmad . . ." (61:6).

Thus we see that the name Islam carries with it deep, rich, historical associations. It recalls the long history of Semitic prophecy and suggests the continuity in fundamental teachings represented in this long story. It associates the Prophet of Arabia with his many illustrious predecessors, to their honour and to his. It emphasises the great antiquity of the religion of which Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be on him!) was the last and the greatest teacher.

In its simple way, it stresses the teachings of the Holy Qu'ran as a continuation of those of the early Semitic prophets and as a development of those of the spiritual leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

Giving the Jews' Treasure to the World.

How, then, did the Prophet develop the teachings of the Jews?

First, he presented the heart and core of Judaism—the underlying essentials—apart from later accretions and emphases. He rediscovered the original purity and simplicity of Judaism, the timeless essentials that Moses had attempted to preserve through his leadership in the establishment of the Hebrew religion.

Secondly, he universalised the content of the teachings of the Jews by cutting out those that are particularistic—of value, meaning, and significance for the Jews only—and by highlighting those of universal significance.

Thirdly, he preached a universal teaching of his message. He was not only the last of the Semitic prophets: he was also the first and only one to proclaim a message for non-Semitic peoples, for all of mankind. (Thus it is that contemporaneous references to non-Semites are so noticeably absent in the Holy Qu'ran. Compare with Matthew 7:6, 15:24; and Mark 7:25-30.)

Whereas the Hebrews had considered themselves "the salt of the earth" (Matt. 5:13) and "the light of the world" (5:14), the Arabs were given the message of Islam as a missionary task as well as as a mercy from God. "And We have not sent thee (O Muhammad!) save as a mercy to all the nations" (21:107). This, and similar Qu'ranic statements, should be compared with the attitude of Jesus as expressed, for example, in the Sermon on the Mount. The Jewish attitude toward missionary activities finds an excellent expression, as well as a complete endorsement, on the part of Jesus in Matthew 5:15-16. Similarly, the Jewish attitude towards the Mosaic Law is treated in a Jewish-Orthodox fashion in Matthew 5:17-19. In fact, the condemnation of the Pharisees in the next verse is especially interesting in view of the fact that this school was marked by its missionary zeal!

As Moses had predicted, a Prophet "like unto him" arose among the Arabs almost twenty centuries after his own day. To this Prophet was given the task of preaching the heart-teachings of the Hebrew religion to humanity—of giving the Jews' treasure to all men—as a result of this process of simplification and universalisation. As Moses had saved the message of Islam for mankind by giving it a national (Hebrew) form, so Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be on him!) made it the common property of humanity by entrusting it to his fellow Arabs. Thus was Moses vindicated by the Prophet "like unto him" "from the midst of the brethren" of the Children of Israel.
Re-establishing the Original Religion of Mankind.

How, then, did the Prophet Muhammad continue the Islam of ancient days?

First, he re-established it. He became its most recent teacher as well as its foremost exponent. His own spiritual experience reproduced that of his people: there can be no other explanation of the close relationship between his teachings and the Semitic type of spiritual experience. Equally profound is the psychological fact that his experience was complete in itself: thus he was able to avoid the over- and under-emphasis of the Jewish teachings of his day. This is the explanation of the fact that Islam, as expounded in the Holy Qur'an, is a full complete faith—which is not usually true of a religion. As we have seen above in our analysis of the name Islam as a summary of the whole religion, the structure of this faith is complete while at the same time monumentally simple and clear. In all three categories—as way, as truth, and as life—it impresses ordinary mortals with its helpful simplicity as much as it does profound thinkers with its phenomenal intuitiveness.

The completeness of the religion of the Holy Qur'an must be recognised as the counterpart of the completeness of the spiritual experience of the Prophet himself. It was thus inevitable that he should reconstruct the Islam of antiquity to be witnessed both in the ancient writings of the Jews and in the traditions and the subconscious mind of the Arabian nation. A person who has had the experience for himself will readily recognise the authenticity of the historical narratives embodied in the Qur'an. Their psychological truthfulness supports the validity of the ancient form of Islam described in both the Hebrew and the Arabic Scriptures. Moreover, the Prophet who could thus reconstruct this partial revelation of antiquity would alone be able to make this faith complete and perfect in its principles.

Secondly, he made it complete in its fundamental teachings. He made it suitable for a complex society, as Primitive Islam had been essentially a religion designed for a nomadic one and was, in fact, a reaction historically to the evils of a wealth-and-power civilisation far to the east of Arabia. In this way, the Prophet laid the foundation for the magnificent Arabic civilisation that captivated the minds and the hearts, as well as the souls, of cultivated peoples in the centuries immediately following his own lifetime. One of the primary causes of this flowering of human genius lies in the fact that the religion of the Holy Qur'an teaches a simple, yet complete, view of life that lends itself readily to systematic, scientific, disciplined cultural expression. It is no exaggeration to say that the Prophet was a great philosopher or a brilliant lawyer in the sense that his work laid the foundations of the whole cultural pattern that emerged in the Muslim world and that provided the bridge between the Ancient Greek civilisation and that of the modern period in the North and West of Europe. Moreover, the scientific research of our own day has not shaken the fundamental beliefs and basic tenets of the pure Qur'anic Islam, that understanding of, and emphasis on, the twin principles of unity and universality in nature and in life upon the basis of which the world culture of the future can alone be successfully established. To the degree that our age is groping for world-mindedness, it is recognising, even though unconsciously, that spirit of unity-universality that permeates the Islam of the Holy Qur'an.

Even in the strivings of secular-minded modern-minded persons seeking to save themselves from the punishments of their own narrow- and self-mindedness by grasping at rays of inessential "one-world" dreams, the Muslim sees a tribute to the work of the Prophet through "Islam" (that is, through the resignation of their own wills to the will and judgment of God).

Islam is a prophet's cry, challenging each one of us to submit himself to the Absolute and to strive in His path—the way leading to the joy, happiness, and peace with which God blesses those who live in conformity with the beauty of life itself. It defies the short-sighted and the self-seeking by insisting that that alone is constructive, lasting, fully satisfying, and truly meaningful which is in harmony with the purposeful, law-regulated character of nature and with the nature, needs and necessities of man. "The nature made by God in which He had made all men—that is the right religion" (30:30).

Islam satisfies the need of the creature for integration in the larger pattern of life itself: it knows that the personality can find the fullest development and the richest expression only through such God-integration. It recognises the physical, intellectual, and spiritual longings of mankind as superbly beautiful and supremely meaningful as they lead to legitimate individual and social development and expression; but it warns and warns that they are the source of the greatest danger to mankind if they are allowed to be turned to unnatural, perverted ends by rebellious persons or organisations. It avoids the false position, the blind end, of all those who try to persuade themselves that humanity alone is a sufficient interest and that "humanism" is a satisfying faith, for it knows that humanity is integrally a part of nature herself and cannot be viewed
reasonably apart from the rest of God's creation. It does not join in the hunt of all sorts of "liberals" and "cultists" for cure-alls and "easy ways out." It knows that the path is as difficult as the goal is sure.

"The good life"—the life of self-discovery and self-fulfillment—is not cheap. It is very costly, indeed, in terms of those habits and attitudes so dear to the natural man.

Only those who are willing to pay the price are allowed to travel the pathway of resignation leading to peace. "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matthew 7:13-14).

He who resigns himself to God and strives in His way follows in the footsteps of the prophets who went before him along the path to true happiness and peace.

For the Muslim, all this, and much more, is in the name Islam.

. . . What's in the name Islam for you? . . . That depends on you.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURE

By Dr. M. HAMIDULLAH, Ph.D., D.Litt.

Hyderabad, with the remains of prehistoric stone age in and around it, with Golconda, of diamond fame, of a later period as its suburb, has had a continuous culture, ever growing richer, for the last four to five thousand years.

On reaching comparatively modern times, one reads of the Arabs visiting the coast of South India, before even the advent of Islam, for purposes of trade. If one were to believe local legends, the Raja (Zamorin) of Calicut embraced Islam on personally witnessing the Prophet Muhammad's miracle of splitting the moon, went to Arabia to pay homage to the Prophet in person, and that subsequently he died on his return journey in a port of South Arabia. Apart from this, there are two tombs attributed to the Companions of the Prophet: that of Tamim al-Ansari in Cavelong (Kollam), and that of Ukkashah in Porto Novo (Mahmud Badar, also Farangipier). Both these ports lie south of Madras. In any event Islam reached South India much earlier than it did the north of the sub-Himalayan continent.

Six hundred years ago, 'Alauddin Khilji conquered part of South India, and ever since that event Islam had ruled there continuously. Dynasties came and went, yet Muslim rule survived. Muslims have nothing to ashamed of their record of rule and their treatment of subjects, Muslims and non-Muslim, during those long centuries. Hyderabad, like the Muslim Andalus of the time of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificient, can only complain of the neglect of her own co-religionists in other countries, and could repeat what the Arab poet al-Ma'arri had said: "They have deliberately lost me and what a man they have lost in me!"

Cultural Services in the Past.

Malik Kafur, the general of 'Alauddin Khilji, who conquered South India down to Rameswaram, is generally considered to be a mere warrior, but even a negro warrior in Islam does not neglect the patronage of learning, and the world possesses a fine compendium of law, in the Arabic language, dedicated to him, the Fatwa 'Ali Shafi'i, in the name of the Murshid, Muhammad bin Abdul Qu'dah, of the time of Aurangzeb, which again was compiled by a committee of savants presided over by Mullu Nizamuddin of South India, has constantly borrowed from this older code.

When the Bahmanids came to power and rendered Deccan independent of North India, learning continued to flourish. We possess of this period the Fath al-Sa'idel, by Isami, which is a history of Islam in Persian verse. This book is a veritable rejoinder to Firdawsi's Shabnam and was recently edited first in Agra and later in Madras. It was dedicated to the founder of the dynasty, who, in spite of troubled times, did not lag behind in the patronage of learning and culture. A successor of his, Firuz Shah Bahmani, who mastered not only many branches of learning but also many languages, was so enamoured of letters that he exerted himself to find time once a week to give lectures to "advanced students of logic."

The residential College in Bidar (near modern Hyderabad), built by the Minister Mahmud Gawan has given cause to the Deccan, may, even to the whole sub-continent, to be proud of and not ashamed of the Madrasah Nizamia of Baghdad built by another minister named Nizamulmulk Tusi. The magnificent building of the Bidar College, part of which was unfortunately destroyed by a thunderbolt which struck a military store kept in the college, is still in fine repair and is a wonder of the architectural and decorative art of five hundred years ago. It was a favourite pastime of Mahmud Gawan also to take classes in the college he himself built and maintained at personal cost.

The name of Shaikh Shihabuddin Daulatabadi remains in the annals of the Deccan as an erudite scholar of profound penetration in Islamica, and he has left works of very high merit for posterity, both in Persian and Arabic, on exegesis of the Qur'an, on law and on many other subjects.

Hyderabad City.

On the population of Golconda becoming overcrowded, a sister town was contemplated, a few miles down the river Musa Naddi, in the year 1591 A.C. This town was auspiciously dedicated to the Caliph 'Ali alias Hydar Katrar, now known as Hyderabad, extending over an area of 150 square miles. The city contained over a million inhabitants, of whom 60 to 70 per cent are Muslims.

When the town of Hyderabad was first planned, the building work began with a huge edifice known as the Char Minar. This building resembled in form the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, and possessed at its very top a regular school with boarding accommodation for several scores of students, a mosque and a basin. It is a tribute to the hydraulic engineers of those remote days that water flowed to these heights hundreds of feet up
without a reservoir on a similar height. As is well known, the first divine revelation to the "unlettered prophet" of Islam was the command "Read!" and the pen was eulogized as a means of "teaching what one knew not." (The Qur'an 96). Thus it was a fitting act on the part of a royal devotee of Islam to begin the construction of his new metropolis with a residential school!

This was in the time of the Qutubshahis and mention may be made here of a member of the fair sex belonging to this dynasty, Hayar Bakhshi Begum, who was the daughter of a king, wife of a king, and mother of a king. Among innumerable works of public benefit constructed at her own expense such as tanks, serais, etc., many of which are still in use, in the township of Hayatnagar, called after her, which is now a suburb of Hyderabad, she constructed a huge school with a very big mosque in the centre, with 120 rooms for boarders surrounding it and separated from it by spacious lawns with a very big garden attached. Originally there existed a residential school, and now after long years of neglect an Institute of the Qur'an had just begun to take root there.

During the reign of the present ruling Asafiyah dynasty, which assumed independence in 1632 A.C., just over two centuries ago, there was an abundance of schools and bursaries for students even in the time of the First Asafiyah. The same tradition has continued down to modern times.

Osmania University.

The earliest university in British India had to wait for another year to be incorporated when in 1856 the Minister Salar Jung took personal interest in establishing the Darul 'Ulum (the House of Learnings) as a modern college of both Eastern and Western lores. After several vicissitudes, the same Darul 'Ulum was honoured by a royal charter in 1918 and was renamed Osmania University after the name of the present ruler Osman 'Ali Khan. This was considered a bold step in view of the particular features attached to this new university, but as early as a decade ago it had ceased to be experimental in the eyes of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a daughter of Hyderabad, now governor of the United Provinces in the Indian Dominion, and had become a challenge to the sceptics. For even as a modern secular university, it provided for:

1. Hindustani, not English, to be the medium of instruction in all subjects (with the solitary exception of English literature) up to the highest degree classes and also in research theses:

2. English literature to be a compulsory subject up to the bachelor's degree, and this subject being up to the same standard as in the neighbouring British Indian universities where English was the medium of instruction;

3. Theology for Muslim students and ethics for non-Muslim students to be a compulsory subject throughout;

4. Giving a lead to the whole Muslim world by reforming Islamic religious teaching by opening a special Faculty of Islamic Studies where not only the Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh (Muslim Law), and Kalam (dogmatics) were taught, but also English literature, up to the standard of the Arts Faculty. Comparative religion, comparative jurisprudence, elements of modern economics and many other subjects were also included in the curricula;

5. The establishing of a Bureau for Translation, Compilation and Publication to provide, as soon as possible, text-books in Hindustani for college syllabuses in various subjects.

The work was enthusiastically taken up both by students and staff and soon class after class, faculty after faculty, was added, imparting instruction up to the doctorate standard in Islamic Studies, Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Veterinary Science, Commerce, Pedagogy, Physical Education and Technology.

To the university were also attached or affiliated a military Officers' Training Corps, the Observatory, the Oriental Manuscripts Publication Bureau, the Translation and Compilation Bureau, the Applied and Pure Research Institutes with their own journals, and to a certain extent also the famous English quarterly, Islamic Culture. These may be briefly described as follows:

The Faculty of Islamic Theology was intended to bridge the gap between modern intellectual developments and tradition, the old and the new. Here the students penetrated not only deep into the lore of
orthodox Islam, but also armed themselves with means of ascertaining at first hand all that was agitating the mind of a modern lay Muslim and what led him towards what was both rational and orthodox. It has proved so successful that some of its alumni have published works in five, including three European languages, and were invited by such universities as Oxford and Paris to deliver lectures. Last year a thesis on the Islamic Principles of Economics by another student was approved for doctorate by a professor at Cambridge.

The Arts Faculty taught languages, both classical and modern, Eastern and Western (with Turkish as a recent addition), history and archaeology, economics, geography, philosophy, sociology, etc. In the Faculty of Science provision has been made for physics, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany and mathematics. Some of this faculty's former alumni were invited to England by the British Government for consultation in nuclear research.

Of the work and standard of the Law Faculty, it may suffice to instance that in 1942 a scholar qualifying himself for the degree of Master of Laws successfully attempted a thesis on "The Effects of the Current War on International Law."

The observatory is the best South India and could be entrusted with part of the international undertaking of celestial astrophotography.

The MSS. Publication Bureau, the Dairatul Ma'arif, is a pride of Hyderabad, indeed of the whole sub-Himalayan continent. It has edited and published up to approximately 500 volumes of Arabic classics on such varied subjects as weights and measures, the social life of pre-Islamic Arabs, historical criticism, the art of recitation and other subjects, including the works of Avicenna, Averroes, etc.

In just three decades, the Translation Bureau has made Hindustani one of the most highly developed languages of the East. It has coined as many as half a million technical terms which have been assimilated and absorbed into the language. The retention of terms of Latin or other origins was impossible. The translation of terms has proved no handicap to students. Apart from original compilations, the Bureau has translated into Hindustani several hundred books from English, German, French, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, etc.

The University, which spent millions annually, bridged the gulf which exists elsewhere in the neighbouring countries between the intelligentsia and the common folk on account of the medium of instruction and expression. Colleges were also set up in the provinces. Of the 3,000 students of the University, about 20 per cent were women. The government spent as much as 15 per cent of the income on public instruction and provided scholarships to Muslims to study Sanskrit, and to Hindus to study Arabic. Besides Hindus and Muslims, the University was frequented by Parsees, Christians, Sikhs and even Europeans. As an example of the cordiality fostered in inter-communal relations, it may be mentioned that Janam Ashram of Sri Krishnanji was popular with Muslim students, as was the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad with Hindu students.

There were many other learned and cultural institutions of world-wide fame, such as the Asafiyah Library with at least 50,000 MSS., the Museum, the Hyderabad Academy, the Society for the Publication of Classical MSS. on Hanafi Jurisprudence. The purpose of this short article is illustrative, not exhaustive.

The generosity of the Hyderabad Government was boundless and indiscriminate. If the Aligarh Muslim University benefited from this generosity, so did the Benares Hindu University, Shantiniketan Tagore University, Andhra University, Pondicherry Ashram of Arubindu Ghose, the London School of Oriental and African Studies, L'Institut des Etudes Islamiques of Paris University, Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft and untold others. If mosques in and out of the State were aided, so were churches, Hindu temples and Parsi fire-temples. At the height of his power, the Nizam of Hyderabad had ordered that Muslims should not slaughter cows on the occasion of Id ul-Adha in deference to the susceptibility of the religious feelings of those of his subjects who worshipped the cow. Poor Muslims were aided every year to go to Mecca for the Hajj, and so were poor Hindus assisted to attend their most sacred yatras.

Hyderabad would, theoretically, appear to be part and parcel of its nearby Indian provinces, and yet in fact it had a different and distinct culture of its own which may be described as a synthesis of all that was good in both Islam and Hinduism, a distinct social order and outlook on life entirely its own. It is to be hoped that with the recent changes in the sub-continent of India the contribution of Hyderabad to the world's culture will not be lost.

1. The Qur'an. 2. The complete Ms. of this book is in the library of the father of the writer of this article.
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN DURING ITS FIRST YEAR OF EXISTENCE

Pakistan, the largest Muslim state in the world, with a population of about seventy million souls, is only one year old, and we give below a condensed version of a statement to the Press made by her Minister for Commerce and Industries, the Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman. We are convinced that this information concerning a young Muslim state pulsating with new life and determination to overcome all difficulties will be of interest in forming a complete view of the world of Islam.

The Minister began by pointing out that Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural country, which has vast resources in raw materials such as cotton, jute, hides, wool, sugar-cane and tobacco. Her considerable resources in minerals, petroleum and power have remained untapped. But, in order to build up new industries, Pakistan requires not only raw materials but capital, machinery and technical knowledge. Her pace of industrial advancement is conditioned largely by these factors. It has been the Government's endeavour to create conditions favourable to industrial development on sound lines and to remove such obstacles to progress as it could.

Jute.

Jute and cotton are Pakistan's main industrial crops. Her total yearly production of jute is between six and seven million bales, but, as yet, there is no jute mill. Thus, efforts have been concentrated on expanding the country's jute baling capacity. Thirteen presses are to be set up, eight to come from the United Kingdom and five from the United States of America. The presses from England should be in operation by June 1949, while those from America, the initial purchase of which is being financed by the Government, should commence work even earlier. With the new presses, the present baling capacity of two million seven hundred thousand bales will be increased by two million bales. Plans are under consideration for the setting up of two jute mills at an early date.

Cotton.

Pakistan's normal annual output of cotton is one million two hundred thousand bales, but there are only twelve mills in Pakistan, which, working a double shift, are capable of producing five thousand bales of cloth and seven hundred and fifty bales of yarn per month. This is about ten per cent of Pakistan's total requirements.

A target of two and a half million spindles to be reached in ten years was set by Pakistan Industries Council. There has been no lack of private enterprise in setting up textile mills, but progress has been slow owing to lack of machinery and building materials. Nevertheless, progress has been made. A mill of thirty-one thousand spindles in Bahawalpur State is likely to start production early next year. At Karachi a mill of twenty-five thousand capacity will begin work in June 1949. Two mills in East Bengal have placed orders for additional spindles. Orders for two units have been placed in the United States of America, one mill to be situated in Karachi and the other in the West Punjab. Two orders for mills have been placed in the United Kingdom, both to be located in the West Punjab. By the end of 1949 spindles in Pakistan will have increased from 165,000 to 320,000.

Offers of additional machinery have recently been received from England and Japan, the latter country offering fifty thousand spindles to be supplied by the end of 1950. Other countries have also made offers and the Government does not anticipate any serious difficulty in obtaining textile machinery from abroad, sufficient to complete the development programme of this industry.

Wool.

Wool is the third most important fibre in Pakistan and she produces twenty-six and a half million pounds a year. Two million pounds is required for use by the cottage industry for rough blankets and carpets. The Government has undertaken to assist in the establishment of five yarn spinners. Two of these will be in the West Punjab and one each in the North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind, and will produce four and a half million pounds of yarn per annum. Finishing centres will also be set up in these regions with Government assistance.

When this programme matures, the country will be able to meet the large demand for its woollen products that exists in different parts of the world.

In order to meet home requirements of worsted yarn and fabrics, permission will be accorded for the setting up of mills producing one million pounds annually.

Rubber Tyre Industry.

The lack of a rubber tyre industry has been keenly felt for some time. Negotiations with well-established foreign firms for the establishment of such a factory in or near Karachi are progressing satisfactorily.

Leather.

The Government is deeply interested in the development of tanning and leather goods industries. The country's annual production of hides has been estimated to be:

- Buffalo Hides .... 811,000
- Goat Hides ........ 5,305,000
- Cow Hides .......... 4,473,000
- Sheep Skins ....... 2,075,000

The Government is sympathetically considering the request for financial assistance from three joint stock companies located in Sind, the West Punjab and the North West Frontier Province.

There are two factories in Pakistan manufacturing foot-ware by power-machinery, one specialising in canvas shoes at Lahore, the other in Karachi specialising in army and civilian footwear. The industry is shortly to form itself into a federation for the purpose of bulk purchasing.

Paper.

The main raw materials required for making paper are available in abundance in East Bengal, where other conditions for the development of the industry are also favourable. The Government attaches the highest importance to the establishment of an up-to-date paper-mill there and planning for a sulphide paper-mill at an estimated cost of ten to ten and a half million rupees, has been started.

Sugar.

A fifty thousand ton sugar factory is in process of erection at Mardan, in the North West Frontier Province, and is expected to be in production next year. The utilization of molasses, a by-product of sugar refining, is being considered by the management and the provincial and central governments. A proposal to erect a power alcohol plant with a capacity of three thousand gallons per day is under active consideration.

Heavy Chemicals Industry.

Three sulphuric acid plants have so far been licensed. Two plants will be in production next year, one at Karachi and the other at Rawalpindi. A small plant is to be established at Quetta. An electrolytic process plant is to be set up within the next year.
which will also meet all Pakistan’s requirements for chlorine.
In order to ensure regular supplies of chlorine for the capital, a
plant, expected to be in production within six months, is to be
set up producing five tons of chlorine a month.
The soda-ash plant at Khewra will be in full production
before the end of the year.

Minerals.
In order to make the best use of all mineral resources a
geological survey is to be made under the direction of Dr. Crook-
shank. His headquarters will be at Quetta, where a library and
a laboratory have been organised.
The mining methods normally employed in Pakistan are
primitive and the Government is anxious to take all steps to
improve technique in order that the country’s assets may not be
wasted.

Power Resources.
No industrial development can proceed without motive
power. The coal resources of Pakistan are limited and while every
effort is being made for their proper utilization, the country must
look to other sources for rapid and intensive development.
Certain oil-fields are now working in the West Punjab
and prospecting is being carried on in both West and East
Pakistan. But until such time as oil is struck in commercial
quantities and refineries are set up, Pakistan must depend on
its water-power resources. For its proper exploitation the
Government has set up a Central Engineering Authority
charged with the prevention and control of floods, the preven-
tion of erosion, the prevention of waterlogging, the reclamation
of flooded lands, the improvement of drainage and the develop-
ment of navigational facilities. The Authority will also co-
ordinate the development of electric power and assist the
provinces and states in their hydro-electric projects. It will aim,
as far as possible, at a consistent policy in procuring plant for
the generation and distribution of electricity and the building up
of model tariff structures.

Electric Power.
The Industrial Conference recommended the highest
priority for the generation of hydro-electric power and set a
target of five hundred thousand kilowatts over the period of
the next five to seven years.
Several hydro-electric projects have been under con-
sideration by the provincial Governments. The Central
Engineering Authority is now examining the various schemes
before submitting recommendations to the Central Government.
In the West Punjab, the Rasul project is under execution.
It is expected that a firm power of fourteen thousand kilowatts
will be made available by the end of 1949. The Mianwali
project, also in the West Punjab, is to be developed in three
stages, giving ultimately a firm power of 65,000 kilowatts.
It is from the North West Frontier Province that industry
will obtain its immediate needs of hydro-electric power. The
present capacity of Malakand station is to be doubled in the
next twelve months to twenty thousand kilowatts. In another
three years twenty thousand kilowatts will be available from the
Dargai Station. By 1954, the North West Frontier Province
will be able to give one hundred thousand kilowatts of power
from the Warsak scheme to the West Punjab.
In the East Punjab the multi-purpose Karnafulli project,
which will yield forty thousand kilowatts of firm power and
irrigate over seventy thousand acres, is likely to mature in a
period of five to six years.
The Government has appointed a firm of consulting
engineers to survey the present condition of thermal plants
scattered throughout Pakistan. The West Punjab will be able to
meet its requirements of hydro-electric energy not only from
the North West Frontier Province but also from thermal sets
now on order from England. Two four thousand kilowatt sets
will reach the Punjab early in 1949 and will be in operation
soon afterwards. The provision of additional thermal power,
especially in East Pakistan, is being considered.

Supplies.
Turning to the supply position, the minister outlined the
situation in regard to those commodities for which Pakistan
looked to India. Most important among these are coal, iron,
steel and cotton textiles. After partition, a standstill agreement
was entered into under which the Indian Government under-
took to supply these commodities on a pre-partition basis.
Soon after partition the flow of these commodities
was reduced, either altogether or very substantially. At one stage, the procurement of these commodities, so
essential to the life of the nation, became a matter of grave
anxiety and the Government was forced to look to alternative
sources in order to meet the basic requirements of the people.

Coal.
Pakistan’s total requirements of coal are between three and
four million tons a year. During August and September 1947
almost no coal was received in Pakistan but there was a slight
improvement in October, and again in November there was a
set-back. Up to the end of the year the railways ran only skeleton
services.
The Government succeeded in importing some coal from
Britain and America to meet urgent needs. Fortunately, supplies
from India began to improve and between January and June
1948 supplies varied from one hundred and thirty thousand to
one hundred and fifty two thousand tons a month.
Under the Inter-Dominion Agreement India has undertaken
to supply one hundred and seventy thousand tons of coal a month.
The Government is intensively pursuing the increased
exploitation of coal produced in Pakistan and special boilers
are being designed for coal produced in the West Punjab and
Baluchistan. Bitumen has been used as binding material in the
manufacture of briquettes and it is expected that two plants
will be ordered shortly, one to be at Rawalpindi and the other
in Baluchistan.

Cloth.
Indian supplies do not meet half the cloth requirements
of Pakistan and for the present, arrangements have been made to
import over five thousand bales of cloth and yarn from other
countries. Imports from Japan are being negotiated and should
provide a substantial increase in supplies. Under a new agree-
ment India has undertaken to supply four hundred thousand
bales of cloth and yarn from September 1948 to August 1949.

Iron and Steel.
Under a new agreement with India, Pakistan is entitled to
receive sixteen thousand tons of steel and four thousand tons
of pig-iron per quarter. Pakistan’s total requirements are more
than three hundred thousand tons a year. Some urgent require-
ments have been met by imports from Belgium, Britain and
America. It is hoped to increase supplies from these sources,
particularly of structural steel.

Planned Economy.
For the present, only three industries will be owned and
operated by the State—munitions, hydro-electric power and
the manufacture of rolling stock and tele-communication equipment.
The Government of Pakistan believes in planned economy,
as distinguished from nationalised industries. It is the govern-
ment’s aim to effect “improvement in the standard of life of the
people, brought about by harnessing to the maximum extent
possible, the forces and treasures of nature in the service of the
people, by providing gainful and legitimate employment, by
ensuring freedom from want, equality of opportunity, dignity
of labour and a more equitable distribution of wealth.”

FEBRUARY 1949
A STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN SINKIANG

Sinkiang, the largest province in China, although in population one of the smallest, occupies a strategic position between Russia and China and is today the scene of a struggle for political control between these two Powers. The most recent chapter in the history of central Asia has been no less eventful than its turbulent past, which for centuries has been characterized by frequent invasions and counter-invasions, bloody rebellions, and mass migrations of peoples. Its past is reflected in the present extremely mixed population in Sinkiang, which according to the latest Chinese statistics numbers 4,055,000 and is composed of 6 per cent Chinese, 77 per cent. Turki, 10 per cent. Kazakh, 2.4 per cent. Tungan, 1.3 per cent. Kirghiz, and 1.4 per cent. Mongol, with small groups of White Russians, Tatars, Uzbegs, Tadjiks, and Manchus.

Although there are certain cleavages, economic, religious, and political, which cut across the racial pattern, the main issue are racial. They centre more specifically round the nationalist aspirations of the largest single group, the Turkis. These are a people Caucasian in features, Turkic in speech, and Muslim in religion, who are believed to have reached these parts in the twelfth century by way of Mongolia and are now settled as cultivators in the oases. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are also Turkic in speech and Muslim in religion, but more Mongol in appearance. Like the Mongols, they are pastoral nomads. The Tungus are Chinese Muslims, reputed to be the best fighters in the province, their loyalties being sometimes with their fellow-racial groups, sometimes with their own co-religionists. The Chinese, who form only a small minority, are mostly officials, soldiers, merchants, and shop-keepers, and are heavily concentrated in the capital, Tihwa (formerly known by its Mongol name Urumchi), where they form more than half the population.

Revolt of the North.

To understand the present complicated political position some reference to recent history is necessary. Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," was proclaimed a province in 1882. On the collapse of the Manchu it came, like many outlying parts of the Empire, under warlord rule, the first governor being a Yunnanese, Yang Tsehsin. He was assassinated in 1928 and was succeeded by General Chin Shu-jen. In 1932 the province was invaded by a Chinese Muslim adventurer from Chinghai, General Ma Chung-ying, who early the following year reached the gates of Tiwa with his followers. Governor Chin fled and power was seized by the notorious General Sheng Shih-tsa. In 1934, to help expel Ma Chung-ying, Sheng Shih-tsa called on the Russians, and for the next eight years Russian influence was supreme in the province.

It was a period of gross misrule. Thousands of people were imprisoned, tortured, and liquidated at the whim of the rulers. In 1942, at the time of Stalingrad, Sheng Shih-tsa suddenly reversed his pro-Russian policy and made wholesale arrests of all suspected of pro-Russian sympathies. In 1943 the Russians withdrew from the province. A year later Sheng Shih-tsa was eased out and superseded by Wu Chung-hsin, the first governor ever appointed by the National Government. Sheng Shih-tsa was appointed temporarily Minister for Agriculture, a face-saving gesture, and now lives in retirement near Sian.

The Chinese were to pay dearly for the resentment aroused among the non-Chinese population by Sheng Shih-tsa's oppressive regime. On November 7, 1944, the three northern districts of Ili, Chuguchak, and Altai (the last two are also known by their Chinese names of Ta-ch'eng and A-shan) revolted and proclaimed a republic of East Turkestan. These three are the wealthiest of the 10 districts of Sinkiang, producing not only a surplus of grain on which the Tiwa area depended but also oil, wolfram, and gold. In population they are 53 per cent. Kazakh and 25 per cent. Turki. Much fierce fighting took place in which several thousand Chinese soldiers and civilians were either killed or else frozen to death in the bitter sub-zero weather. The Chinese were forced to retreat. The next year the Soviet Ambassador in Nan'king approached the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Shih-ch'ien, and offered the services of the Russian consul-general in Tiwa, Alexander Saveliev, as a mediator to end hostilities and arrange a settlement. The offer was accepted and the Generalissimo dispatched General Chang Chih-chung, an outstandingly able negotiator, to Tiwa, as governor and chief Chinese representative in the talks.

A peace agreement was signed in January, 1946, and came into force after two annexes had been signed on June 6th. The agreement contained a statement of general principles protecting the rights of the non-Chinese population and provided for elections to all administrative posts and the creation of a provincial Government of 25 members, 10 (including the chairman) to be appointed by the central Government, and 15 (including two vice-chairmen) to be elected by the districts. One annex stated that the Ili troops who had taken part in the rising should be reorganized according to the national army system; that the three districts should recommend a local Muslim as their commander-in-chief, but that he was to take his orders from the Chinese garrison commander of Sinkiang; and that the three districts should raise six regiments for internal security, the defence of the frontier to be left to national army troops. The other annex provided that the three districts should have six out of the 15 elected seats in the Government.

*Courtesy, The Editor, "The Times," London,

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Stillborn Agreement.

The coalition Government was set up, but there was continued tension and disagreement. In February, 1947, there were disorders in Tihsa, and in July a rising at Turfan and attempted risings at other points, all obviously inspired by the IIi faction. Elections were usually rigged and signified little one way or the other as a true expression of the popular will. The central Government appointed a Turki who had lived for twelve years in China, Mas'ud Sabri, as chairman of the provincial Government. In August the IIi representatives left Tihsa and returned to IIi. Since then, except for an exchange of letters between General Chang Chih-chung and the IIi leaders, the barrier between the three northern districts and the rest of Sinkiang has been complete. Both sides, in these letters, accuse the other of failure to implement the agreements, making numerous specific allegations. General Chang's main burden is that the IIi group have shown their intention of gaining special political control elsewhere in the province.

The IIi letters, whose jargon sounds curiously familiar to western ears, contain repeated charges that the Chinese Government is "obstructing the organization of democratic bodies," "organizing reactionary bodies," and "oppressing progressive elements." General Chang's last letter was sent on April 1, 1948. No reply has come from IIi and it is unlikely that relations will be reopened in the near future. There can be no hopeful issue to negotiations between two parties, both of which aim at control of the whole province. It is a struggle for power.

Sinkiang Muslims and Communism.

It is not easy to define with precision the part played by Soviet Russia in the IIi revolt. In retrospect it seems clear that, although the revolt had its origins in Turki and Kazakh dislike of Chinese rule combined with nationalist aspirations, it was exploited by the Russians at an early stage to their own ends. There is no doubt that the Soviets supplied most of the arms for the revolt. There are reports of an increasing number of Russian military, economic, and political advisers with the IIi regime and an infiltration of young Communists from the neighbouring Soviet republics. The products of the three districts, including the oil, wolfram, and gold, now go to the Soviet Union.

There is no unanimity among the IIi leaders. Some are anti-Russian as well as anti-Chinese. But effective leadership is in the hands of men who, if not Communists, are pro-Russian in their sympathies. Achmadjan, the vice-chairman, and at least two others of the six IIi members of the former coalition Government, together with Issakjan, the Kirghiz commander-in-chief, and Talibhan, the Kazakh commissioner and commander in Altai, have all spent varying periods of time in Soviet Russia. It is not known what link, if any, exists with the Chinese Communists, although the IIi newspaper, called Democracy, is favourably disposed towards them. Nor is there any evidence that the IIi leaders have yet implemented any Communist programme. In other parts of Sinkiang one gets the impression that there is a good deal of natural resistance to Communism among these non-Chinese peoples, especially on grounds of religion.

In its dealings with the Chinese Government the IIi regime has taken the line that it does not wish to secede from China and that it regards itself as part of China. However, it flies its own flag, a white star and crescent on a green background, and all its internal propaganda is directed towards the concept of a republic of East Turkestan. The use of the Chinese flag and the cessation of this propaganda were two of the essential conditions set by the Chinese Government for a reopening of negotiations. Russian aircraft fly once a week between IIi and Tihsa and there is a little smuggling across the Manass river. Otherwise the frontier is armed, and the barrier between the two zones of political influence is as final as any that exists in Europe to-day.

The local deadlock between the Chinese administration of the province of Sinkiang and the pro-Russian IIi regime which
controls the three northern districts is now complete. Only two things could break it. The first would be the collapse of the National Government in Nanking. In that event anything might happen—an invasion by the Ili forces and the Outer Mongolians, or a return to war-lord rule, possibly under one of the militant Chinese Muslims. Alternatively, the local deadlock, a small facet of the present struggle for power, could be broken by some change in the relative strength of the major world Powers. It is one of the misfortunes of the peoples of Sinkiang that they are situated in a region where the interests of Soviet Russia and China meet and clash, with the result that they are fated to be pawns in a game of power politics.

Soviet Russia's main interest is strategic, the maintenance of a friendly Sinkiang that will not be a threat along her central Asian frontier. It is an aim which can best be realized by the existence in Sinkiang of a politically sympathetic regime. She has achieved a great, if incomplete, success by the detachment of the three northern districts and their incorporation in the Soviet sphere of control. Her influence throughout has been exerted indirectly through this pro-Russian Turki movement in the north. Her officials in the rest of Sinkiang display little overt activity and in fact the staffs of the consulates-general in Tihwa and Kashgar are being steadily reduced, most of the officials being transferred to consulates in the capitals of the three dissident northern districts.

Colonial Administration of the Chinese and the Sinkiang Muslims.

The Chinese-Soviet Air Corporation, which operates under an agreement signed in 1939, flies a weekly commercial service using American Dakotas between Alma Ata in Kazakhstan, Ill, Tihwa, and Hami. Although capital, management, and personnel are supposed to be on a fifty-fifty basis, the management is entirely in Soviet hands, all technical and important administrative positions are filled by Russians, and the joint board of directors has not met for four years. The Chinese dislike this state of affairs, but do not protest. The official Chinese line in Tihwa, reflecting national policy in Nanking, is to avoid anything that might offend the Russians.

The Americans established a consulate in Tihwa in 1943, and were followed later by the British. For many years the main British interest was centred in southern and western Sinkiang, and a consulate-general, known to generations of central Asian travellers, was maintained at Kashgar, chief city of that region. It looked after the interests of Indian traders, but its chief purpose was to keep a check on Russian penetration towards India, militarily under the Tsars, ideologically under the Bolsheviks. The Kashgar consulate-general is now being taken over jointly by the Governments of India and Pakistan, while the British consulate at Tihwa is being raised to the rank of a consulate-general.

The Chinese, in administering Sinkiang, where they form less than 6 per cent. of the total population, are confronted with what is in essence a colonial problem. They employ tactics whose alleged use by the western colonial Powers they so frequently deplore. In spite of a facade of native self-rule, all real control remains in their own hands. Mas'ud Sabri and the other non-Chinese members of the Government (all of whom are members of the Kuomintang) remind one of an earlier and more moderate generation of Indian and Burmese nationalists. Their attitude is that the Turks are not yet ready for independence; that educational and economic standards must first be raised; that in any case their geographical position makes complete independence impossible; that they stand to get a better deal from China than from Russia; and that their objective should be internal autonomy within the framework of the Chinese Empire. In the past the Chinese were quick to play off the different races of Sinkiang against each other. This aspect is less in evidence to-day.

The Chinese have some outstandingly able officials in the higher ranks of their administration. They genuinely want to win over the non-Chinese, including those in the Ill districts, to their side. But the good which these men can do is too often frustrated by the behaviour of the lower ranks of the Chinese civilian, official, and military population, who come more often into contact with the people of the country. It is difficult for the Chinese to get away from the traditional belief that the best way to deal with minorities is to assimilate them. The ordinary Chinese seems to have a thinly veiled contempt for the Turki.

The Language Question and the Chinese.

The language question is illuminating. Only when General Chang Chih-chung became governor was Turki and its Arabic script, although spoken and written by the vast majority of the population, recognized as an official language. Until then the extremely difficult Chinese language had been compulsory for all official purposes. Few Chinese even to-day take the trouble to learn Turki. So far as one could ascertain there is no Chinese-Turki dictionary in existence.

Things have improved greatly since the days of the capricious and tyrannical Sheng Shih-tai, but there is still much dissatisfaction with Chinese rule. In south Sinkiang it is reported to be on the increase. It arises chiefly out of the exactions of the military (much of it doubtless incidental to any army of occupation), the corruption of officials, and the attitude of the ordinary Chinese. The great distances which separate the oasis
centres of Sinkiang have made rebellions frequent. To-day there is in north Sinkiang a separate regime only too keen to fan the flames of rebellion by exploiting discontent and appealing to Turki nationalism.

Two economic factors contend against the Chinese. First, the natural trade outlets for Sinkiang products, which are mostly bulky, are towards Russia. The Turk-Sib railway lies just across the frontier. Except for the Ili districts those outlets are sealed off, and the Chinese have not enough road transport to move more than a trickle of exports the 2,000 miles to the Yangze. A plant of 5,000 spindles purchased two years ago for erection in Tihwa is still at Chungking awaiting transport. The loss of the Ili districts, whose grain surplus filled the wants of central Sinkiang, means that some grain has to be hauled all the way from Kansu and Szechwan. There are only 350 non-military lorries, half of them probably out of commission at any one time, operating in a region the size of France and Spain.

Inadequate Social Services.

The second adverse factor has been the inflation, which has made it as difficult to launch any constructive enterprises in Sinkiang as in eastern China. Until the recent reforms the Sinkiang currency was printed locally. The Sinkiang dollar, tied to the national dollar at the fixed rate of five to one, followed the inflationary spiral. There were some factories in Sheng Shih-tai's time operated by the Russians, but the latter dismantled them when they withdrew in 1943. Now there are not more than a handful of small factories in the whole province. The Government's many plans have not progressed beyond the blueprint stage.

One of the difficulties of admitting the non-Chinese to a greater share in the administration is their backwardness. Even to-day there is only one institute of higher learning in the province, Sinkiang College in Tihwa, with 200 students, of whom only 50 are Turkic. There are only 15 middle schools, mostly small, for a population of more than four million. Medical services are similarly undeveloped. In the capital, with a population of 69,275, there are eight doctors (four men, four women, six trained in Russia), and two civil hospitals with a total of about 60 beds.

The Chinese have a political situation of great delicacy and complexity on their hands in Sinkiang. It is obvious that a big effort will have to be made to provide good government and increased social services if the loyalties of the non-Chinese races are to be retained.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US...

The Role of Islam in World Affairs

The eminent historian Professor A. J. Toynbee, of London University, in his "Civilisation on Trial" (page 205 et seq.), London 1948, expresses himself thus:

"We can, however, discern certain principles of Islam which, if brought to bear on the social life of the new cosmopolitan proletariat, might have important salutary effects on the great society in a nearer future. Two conspicuous sources of danger—one psychological and the other material—in the present relations of this cosmopolitan proletariat with the dominant element in our modern Western society are race consciousness and alcohol; and in the struggle with each of these evils the Islamic spirit has a service to render which might prove, if it were accepted, to be of high moral and social value.

"The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue; for, although the record of history would seem on the whole to show that race consciousness has been the exception and not the rule in the constant inter-breeding of the human species, it is a fatality of the present situation that this consciousness is felt—and felt strongly—by the very peoples which, in the competition of the last four centuries between several Western powers, have won—at least for the moment—the lion's share of the inheritance of the Earth.

"Though in certain other respects the triumph of the English-speaking peoples may be judged, in retrospect, to have been a blessing to mankind, in this perilous matter of race feeling it can hardly be denied that it has been a misfortune. The English-speaking nations that have established themselves in the New World overseas have not, on the whole, been 'good mixers'. They have mostly swept away their primitive predecessors; and, where they have either allowed a primitive population to survive, as in South Africa, or have imported primitive 'man-power' from elsewhere, as in North America, they have developed the rudiments of that paralyzing institution which in India—where in the course of many centuries it has grown to its full stature—we have learnt to despise under the name of 'caste'. Moreover, the alternative to extermination or segregation has been exclusion—a policy which avers the danger of internal schism in the life of the community which it practises it, but does so at the price of producing a not less dangerous state of international tension between the excluding and the excluded races, especially when this policy is applied to representatives of alien races who are not primitive but civilised, like the Hindus, the Chinese, and Japanese. In this respect, then, the triumph of the English-speaking peoples has imposed on mankind a 'race question' which would hardly have arisen, or at least hardly in such an acute form and over so wide an area, if the French, for example, and not the English, had been victorious in the eighteenth-century struggle for the possession of India and North America.

"As things are now, the exponents of racial intolerance are in the ascendant, and, if their attitude towards the 'race question' prevails, it may eventually provoke a general catastrophe. Yet the forces of racial tolerance, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in a spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against race consciousness that has hitherto been held in reserve were now to be thrown into the scales. It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be a timely reinforcement which would decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace...

"In two of these tropical regions, Central Africa and Indonesia, Islam is the spiritual force which has taken advantage of the opportunity thus thrown open by the Western pioneers of material civilisation to all comers on the spiritual plane; and, if ever the 'natives' of these regions succeed in recapturing a spiritual state in which they are able to call their souls their own, it may prove to have been the Islamic spirit that has given fresh form to the void. This spirit may be expected to manifest itself in many practical ways; and one of
these manifestations might be a liberation from alcohol which was inspired by religious conviction and which was therefore able to accomplish what could never be enforced by the external sanction of an alien law.

"And this makes it probable that the path of nationalism which the Turks are taking so decidedly to-day will be taken by other Muslim peoples with equal conviction to-morrow. The Arabs and the Persians are already on the move. Even the remote and hitherto Zealot Afghans have set their feet on this course, and they will not be the last. In fact nationalism, and not Pan-Islamism, is the formation into which the Islamic peoples are falling, and for the majority of Muslims the inevitable though widespread outcome of nationalism will be submerged in the cosmopolitan proletariat of the Western World.

"Pan-Islamism is dormant—yet we have to reckon with the possibility that the sleeper may awake if ever the cosmopolitan proletariat of a 'Westernised' world revolts against Western domination and cries out for anti-Western leadership. That call might have inculcable psychological effects in evoking the militant spirit of Islam—even if it had slumbered as long as the Seven Sleepers—because it might awaken echoes of a heroic age. On two historic occasions in the past, Islam has been the sign in which an Oriental society has risen up victoriously against an Occidental intruder. Under the first successors of the Prophet, Islam liberated Syria and Egypt from a Hellenic domination which had weighed on them for nearly a thousand years. Under Zangi and Nur-ad-Din and Saladin and the Mamlukes, Islam held the fort against the assaults of Crusaders and Mongols. If the present situation of mankind were to precipitate a 'race-war' Islam might be moved to play her historic role once again. Abis omen!"

The Spread of Islam: Islam or the Sword

Mr. George E. Kirk in his book "A Short History of the Middle East," London 1948, makes the following observations about an ill-founded common fallacy that Islam offered to the conqueror the alternatives of conversion or the sword:

"It was also necessary, however, for the new Arab rulers to regulate the legal position of the millions of their non-Muslim subjects, who represented the overwhelming majority of the population of the Empire. In this 'Umar followed the example of Mohammad, who had left undisturbed the Christian and Jewish communities of the northern Hijaz whom he brought under his sway, on condition of the payment of an annual tribute. 'Umar extended this usage to all the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of the Empire and to the Zoroastrians of Persia; and these subjects thus became known as the Ahi adh-Dhimma or 'people of the covenant'. Far from there being any idea of compulsorily converting them to Islam, their role was to provide revenues for the Arab-ruling race by the payment of taxation, which apparently was at first lighter than that of the Byzantine Empire; and since Muslims were exempt from such taxation, the conversion of non-Muslims was actually discouraged, as it would have lessened the number of taxpayers. Since moreover the Muslim law (the Shari'a) was not applicable to the non-Muslim majority, they were left under the jurisdiction of the civil code which had obtained before the Conquest, such jurisdiction being now placed in the hands of their own religious dignitaries. This was the origin of the system of self-administering religious communities or millets which was to prevail throughout Islam until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and still survives for the purposes of civil law in that majority of Middle Eastern countries which have not yet undergone a thorough secularization."

Reform Movements in Islam

A reviewer of H. A. R. Gibb's "Modern Trends in Islam" appraises the influence of the reform movements in Muslim countries in The Times Literary Supplement, London, for August 21st, 1948, in the following words:

"In every religion there exists a tension, due to the distinction between the worshipped and the worshipper. In one sense God is far apart: in another He is within us. In Islam these opposite poles are represented by the scholastic theology of the orthodox divines, whose God is the remote, transcendent Being of the Koran, and the popular beliefs and practices of the Sufi brotherhoods, which range from the highest flights of mysticism to the crudest forms of saint- and relic-worship. The Sufis have been the real propagators of Islam, whose most recent conquests in Indonesia and Central Africa revealed how far the brotherhoods were prepared to accommodate the teaching of the Prophet to the superstitions of primitive animism. The reform movement originally arose, not in response to the challenge from Europe, but as a protest against this tarnishing of the purity of the Islamic Faith. "Back to the Koran!" was the cry of the reformers, the earliest of whom, the Wahabis, opened their ruthless campaign against popular superstitions in Arabia in 1740. Now until many years later, when the Muslim world was being virtually besieged by the expanding West, did the reform movement broaden out into a defence of Islam against external pressure and internal corruption. To-day the modernists of Cairo and Aligarh work to raise the level of Muslim education, to improve the status of women by the abolition of polygamy and the harem and the recasting of the laws of divorce and inheritance, and to reinterpret the faith of Islam in the light of modern science and criticism. They are not secularists: in the Muslim world there is little overt atheism or agnosticism, and the "higher criticism" of the Koran is unknown. They wish to retain the religious basis of the State, but are not apparently concerned with economic questions. Their principal aim is to restore the glory and strength of Islam and to defend the faith against Western materialism and Christian propaganda.

What success has attended their efforts? Outside the larger towns of Egypt and India they would appear to have little influence. The peasants venerate the fakirs and worship at the shrines of their local saints as they have done throughout the centuries. Western-educated intellectuals still keep their wives in purdah. The great University of al-Azhar remains a stronghold of uncompromising orthodoxy, and treats the modernists as little better than heretics. The bold attempt of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the originator of the name and concept of Pakistan, to reconstruct the very bases of Islamic doctrine has not been followed up. No real knowledge of Western thought seems yet to have filtered through even the colleges of Egypt, perhaps because, as Professor Gibb remarks in his "Modern Trends in Islam," London 1948, "it is at the present time impossible to produce an adequate Arabic translation of any advanced work of modern science or philosophy."
A PAGE FOR OUR YOUTH

The Boy who was Born to Change the World

By CASSIM ISMA'IL COLIN EVANS

NAMING THE BABY

The Book from God (the Qur'an, which means "Reading," "Proclamation," "Preaching"), begins with the prayer that every Muslim says many times a day. This is contained in the first chapter called "The Opening." Now there are three words you repeat whenever you say this prayer; they may remind you of three important names. The prayer proper begins with the word "al-hamdu," that is to say, "the praise." Another grammatical form of the same word is "Muhammad," "the praised one." After declaring the praise of God, this prayer goes on to define the duty of man, His servant: "Thee do we serve," using the Arabic root-word "abd," meaning to serve. It is this word which forms part of so many Muslim names. 'Abdullah—"Servant of God" is one of these. There is also another word which is not part of the actual text of this chapter of the Qur'an but is said at the end of the prayer to confirm what has been expressed: "aamin," and is the same word as the Hebrew "amen," used in English. This word is derived from a root-word meaning "true, faithful, reliable." From this selfsame root-word comes the name Aamina, "the truthful woman."

'Abdullah—a man who serves God, and Aamina—a woman who is faithful and true, were the parents of Muhammad—the man who is praised. He was God's final messenger to all mankind (God's blessing be on him!). It is duty, piety, the service of our Creator, which makes truth, honesty, or sincerity, fruitful and productive of real merit. When "Servant of God" joins with "Truth," the result is the only kind of "praise and glory" that can have any value. Was it just by chance that "Praised" was the child of "Servant of God" and "Truth"? I hardly think one can call it "chance."

Everything that exists is part of one thing that makes all its parts fit together. Our ways of thinking and feeling, our minds, our bodies, the most distant stars, are all parts of the one thing. They are parts of the universe, which is an expression of the thoughts of God. "Surely Islam is the religion of God," says the Qur'an. For "Islam" means partly, the bringing of all into harmony, of everything into tune with everything else. It is complete and real peace that is not merely the fact of not fighting, but that is also the Divine awareness that everything fits properly into the whole scheme of things. One of the sayings reported from the boy we are discussing, when he had grown up to be "God's Messenger" (God's blessing be on him!) is that "a Muslim is one of whom nobody is afraid." In other words, a Muslim is one who is not at cross-purposes with any other being, but a harmonious part of the entire order of the universe. And, so long as a human being keeps "in tune" with God and the rest of God's creation, the things he says and does will fit in perfectly with the great truths that are only going to be known later on. This our own limited knowledge cannot see at the time. If we are really in tune with the universe and its Creator, there must be a kind of influence that means more than we can guess and that makes it possible that names are the right names.

The coming of God's last messenger to the whole world had been planned long, long before he was born. We may suppose that the parents and grandparents and ancestors from whom he was descended were part of that plan. God plans so that everything, including man himself, develops and progresses to the final state of perfection which is the aim of the great Plan. A Messenger of God must be in as complete harmony as is possible for the limitations of human nature—with God. We may suppose that this is prepared for in advance. We may assume that the parents from whom his personality and character are partly inherited will have been, in turn, through inheritance, from their own ancestors, and in other ways, gradually developed towards that harmony. It may not be too fanciful to imagine, then, that it was natural for minds in some degree of harmony with the entire scheme of God to give specially suitable names to the man and woman who were going to be Muhammad's parents, and then to Muhammad himself, even without quite knowing why.

When one of your friends, who has been brought up as a Hindu or a Christian or a Buddhist, becomes a Muslim, he will probably take an Arabic name, one that has been famous among Muslims. This gives him the sense of being a Muslim, and one of the great united brotherhood of Muslims. He does this knowing why he is doing it. But also just possibly, in such a moment of drawing nearer than ever before to a real understanding with God, he is, without knowing it, inspired to choose a name for which there will prove to be some extra reason, not yet known to him or those who chose his name for him.

And thus, perhaps, it happened, that the Prophet's mother was named Aamina—"Truth," and his father 'Abdullah—"God's Servant," and himself Muhammad—"Praised"—the deserver of merit derived from Truth combined with the Service of God.

There is a story which may or may not be historically true. It is said that Muhammad's grandfather, the last really wealthy man of his tribe, which had once owned the well where God saved the life of Abraham's son Ishmael, made a vow to sacrifice a son if God gave him twelve sons. In those days of ignorance one did not know better. He thought what was dearest and nearest to him should be sacrificed by him. Thus when about to sacrifice his son, the story goes, a voice from Heaven forbade him. 'Abdullah grew up and married Aamina.

In a year about 1380 years ago, about the year 570 of the Christian calendar, which reckons from the birth of an earlier Messenger of God, Jesus (on whom be peace and God's blessing!), the King of Abyssinia sent a great army with elephants to attack Mecca. The Ka'ba, according to a legend that grew up later, was about to be destroyed by this army. It was a place hallowed by the memory of how Abraham there worshipped God. This is the same place which was defiled later by the worship of many false gods, but hallowed again when Muhammad, as God's messenger, destroyed the idols and made the Ka'ba the centre of Islam. The legend suggests that a miracle saved the Ka'ba from the Abyssinian army, and that an elephant knelt there in reverence. That year is called the Year of the Elephants.

And in that year, Aamina, widow now of 'Abdullah who had died with his son still unborn, gave birth to the "Boy who was to change the world." And he was given the name Muhammad.

Since then, the outward sign of harmony with God and His universe has been the declaration:

"I declare that there is none Divine but God; I declare that Muhammad is God's Messenger."
THE PILGRIMAGE

The Key to the solution of the problem of the politico-religious gentlemen

Some Muslim ladies on board a ship approaching the coast of Arabia. They are facing Mecca and saying, "Here are we, O God! Here are we in Thy presence." These ladies have shed all outward signs of rank and privilege.

The historic mountain that encloses the plain of 'Arafat. It is from this mountain that the Prophet Muhammad delivered the epoch-making Farewell Pilgrimage Address—the Magna Carta of the Muslim world.

The Ka'ba, or the House of God, rounded as near to the walls of this sacred building, all move in one way, clad in one dress, all move in one way, are we, O God! Here are we in Thy presence when they pass by it in their circumambulation into the corner of the north-east corner of 3 feet. It is of reddish-black colour, and into pieces held together by a silver band which is rare.

Excerpts from the Prophet Muhammad

"Ye people! Hearken unto my words—ye are inviolable amongst you... Ye people! I have rights over you. Treat your women as ye do not have them responsible for them to God. Usury is trampled under my feet. The Arab has no rights over them and he that is not an Arab has no rights over them. Adam, and Adam was made of earth. Stand them. Know that all Muslims are kin to one another. Nothing which belongs to another freely give out of goodwill. Guard yours.
GE TO MECCA

Race Problem: a standing testimony to the Prophet Muhammad

An English Muslim with his wife, both clad in ihram regulation clothes, who went to perform the pilgrimage last year.

The plain of ‘Arafat. One of the ceremonies which the pilgrims are required to perform is to assemble in the large plain of ‘Arafat, which is situated to the east of Mecca at a distance of 9 miles. This plain is bounded on the east by the mountain of Taif, while northward rises a small hill about 200 feet above the level of the plain. It is from a pulpit on this small hill that the sermon on the occasion of the pilgrimage is delivered. Thousands of people assemble on this plain. Last year the number of pilgrims reached 350,000.

MODERAM's Farewell Pilgrimage Address

Your lives and properties are sacred and have rights over your wives and your wives with kindness and love; verily you are forbidden. The aristocracy of old time is superiority over him that is not an Arab, superiority over the Arab. All are children of people! Hearken to my words and understand, one of another. Ye are one brother, can be lawfully possessed by any, unless yourselves against committing injustice...
The Import of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sir Thomas Arnold, in his *Preaching of Islam*, London, 1955, in writing about the principles of the faith of Islam, shows deep insight and has the following to say on the institution of the Pilgrimage in Islam:

"The observance of this last duty has often been objected to as a strange survival of idolatry in the midst of the monotheism of the Prophet's teaching, but it must be borne in mind that to him it connected itself with Abraham, whose religion it was his mission to restore. But above all—and herein is its supreme importance in the missionary history of Islam—it ordains a yearly gathering of believers, of all nations and languages, brought together from all parts of the world, to pray in that sacred place towards which their faces are set in every hour of private worship in their distant homes. No fetch of religious genius could have conceived a better expedient for impressing on the minds of the faithful a sense of their common life and of their brotherhood in the bonds of faith. Here, in a supreme act of common worship the Negro of the west coast of Africa meets the Chinaman from the distant east, the courtly and polished Ottoman recognises his brother Muslim in the wild islander from the farthest end of the Malay

Sea. At the same time throughout the whole Muhammadan world the hearts of believers are lifted up in sympathy with their more fortunate brethren gathered together in the sacred city, as in their own homes they celebrate the festival of 'Id al-Adha or (as it is called in Turkey and Egypt) the feast of Bayram. Their visit to the sacred city has been to many Muslims the experience that has stirred them up to 'strive in the path of God,' and in the preceding pages constant reference has been made to the active part taken by the hajis (pilgrims) in missionary work.

"Besides the institution of the pilgrimage, the payment of the legal alms is another duty that continually reminds the Muslim that 'the faithful are brothers'—a religious theory that is very strikingly realised in Muhammadan society and seldom fails to express itself in acts of kindness towards the new convert. Whatever be his race, colour or antecedents, he is received into the brotherhood of believers, and takes his place as an equal among equals."

The Pilgrimage.

Performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca is incumbent upon every Muslim once in his life, subject to the condition that he has the means to undertake the journey as well as to make provision for those dependent on him. Security of life is also a necessary condition.

The pilgrimage is performed in the 12th month of the Muslim year, and the pilgrim must reach Mecca before the 7th of that month. There are some formalities to be observed during the pilgrimage.

The principal points in connection with the pilgrimage are:

1. Entering upon a state of *Ibram*, in which men pilgrims remove ordinary clothes and wear one kind of apparel, consisting of two seamless sheets, leaving the head uncovered. Women pilgrims can wear their ordinary clothes and should not cover their face or wear a veil. But their dress must be simple. The object is to remove all distinctions of dress and rank. This is done, in the case of men, by making them wear all two seamless sheets, and in the case of women by requiring them to give up the veil, which was a sign of rank and to wear as simple clothes as possible.

2. *Tawaf* or making circuits round the Ka'ba seven times.

The Ka'ba is washed every year with the water of the spring of Zem Zem, mixed with saffron and rose-water. His Majesty the King of Sa'udi Arabia, as a rule, attends to this duty, but last year, owing to reasons of health, His Majesty was unable to perform it. One of his sons, His Royal Highness 'Abdullah Al-Faisal, deputised for him. The King, or his deputy, is helped by many important people of the Kingdom, and prominent pilgrims who happen to be there take part in the washing of the Ka'ba. The picture shows His Royal Highness helping a pilgrim up the steps of the Ka'ba who is going to share with His Royal Highness the privilege of washing the Ka'ba.
3. **Sa'dy**, or running seven times between Safa and Marwa, two small hills near Mecca.

4. Staying in the plain of 'Arafat.

It will be seen that the state of **Ibrahim** makes all men and women stand upon one plane of equality, all wearing the same simple dress, and living in the same simple conditions. All distinctions of rank and colour, of wealth and nationality, disappear there, and the king is there undistinguishable from the peasant. The whole of humanity assumes one aspect, one attitude before its Maker, and thus the grandest and the noblest sight of human equality is witnessed in that wonderful desert plain called the 'Arafat, which truly makes a man have a true knowledge of his Creator. The whole of the world is unable to present another such noble picture of real brotherhood and a visual demonstration of practical equality between man and man.

The condition of the pilgrim and the different movements connected with the pilgrimage, the making of circuits and running to and fro, in fact represents the state in which the worshipper is imbued with the spirit of true love of the Divine Being. That love of God which is talked of in other religions becomes here a reality. The fire of Divine love being kindled in the heart, the worshipper now, like a true lover, makes circuits round the house of his beloved one and hastens on from place to place. He shows, in fact, that he has given up his own will, and, completely surrendering himself to the Divine will, has sacrificed all his interests for His sake, that the lower connections have all been cut off, and all the comforts of this world have lost their attraction for him.

**The Black Stone,**

A word must be said about the Black Stone. This stone is kissed by the pilgrims as they pass by it in their circumambulations. There is not the least indication to show where this stone came from and when it was placed there, but as it was there before the advent of Islam and was even kissed, it must have been there from the time of Abraham. It is remarkable that though the Ka'ba had 360 idols within its walls before the advent of Islam, the Black Stone was never regarded as an idol nor was it ever worshipped like the idols of the Ka'ba. The Black Stone has been there ever since the Ka'ba has been known to exist. That it was sent down from Paradise or that it was originally white and became black on account of the sins of men is something that is not based on a reliable hadith of the Prophet. The Black Stone is, in fact, the corner-stone of the Ka'ba and part of the original building which was rebuilt by Abraham. It is kissed to show respect and love for it because the sacred hands of the great Patriarch had touched it.

**The Pilgrimage to Mecca as a means of a World Conference of Muslims.**

Although the annual pilgrimage to Mecca is meant to bring about an ascetic experience in man's practical life, yet so closely connected are ascetic and the secular experiences in Islam that the utilization of the pilgrimage for secular purposes is not excluded. This great assembly of Muslims from all quarters of the world should be made to serve the purpose of unifying the Muslim world and removing misunderstandings between nation and nation. Conferences have indeed been held before. But in the new conditions of the world a conference of Muslims on the occasion of the Pilgrimage should be a regular feature and the best minds among the various nations should on this occasion discuss all problems affecting the Muslim world.

Some pilgrims have assembled round the Ka’ba at the time of its being washed. They are very anxious to catch in their hands the drops of water with which the Ka'ba had been washed. This water is prized very much by the pilgrims.

Pilgrims came from all parts of the world. There were 60,000 Iranians, 30,000 Indians and Pakistanis, a large number of Egyptians, Indonesians, Abyssinians, Ceylonese, Transjordanians, Yemenites, Tibetans, and a few from the Philippines. About 90,000 came by sea and a considerable number by air.
WOMAN IN ISLAM
By BEGUM SHAISTA IKRAMULLAH, Ph.D.

The veil and polygamy are subjects that have intrigued the Western mind greatly. The West cannot understand them or reconcile itself to them. Being too polite ever to ask for direct information regarding them, the West has never had a chance of clearing up its misconceptions. This was all very well in the past, when people of different nations rarely met; then it did not matter greatly if the customs of one nation were not understood by the others; but now when at least three or four times a year the nations of the world get together to discuss subjects that are of equal interest to all of them, and when facilities for travel bring nations into daily contact with each other, this sort of ignorance and, what is worse, unfounded prejudice, is a barrier to genuine friendship and understanding between nations.

Polygamy.

In this short article I shall try to tell the truth about polygamy. Polygamy is allowed in Islam. Let us not hedge about it—it is allowed. That is to say, it is permitted under certain conditions. It is not enjoined or commanded; it is merely allowed. The first misconception about polygamy in the Western mind is that it is a fundamental injunction of Islam and that every Muslim is forced to have four wives. It is not so—he is, in certain circumstances, permitted to have more than one wife to the extent of four. Secondly, to what extent do the Muslims avail themselves of this permission. The visions of harems, of bevyed of beauties, and of seragios, are figments of the imagination—mere fairy-tales derived from nothing better than fairy-tales about the East.

In actual practice polygamy takes place about as often as divorce takes place in the West; perhaps less frequently. It stands to reason that a man does not want to marry again if he is happy in his first marriage, and is completely satisfied with his first wife. A man wants to re-marry only when the first marriage has been a failure. In the West when this happens, the couple have to seek divorce—thus completely breaking up the home, destroying the settled background and security of the children and launching out into a new marriage. In those cases where divorce takes place after 15 or 20 years of married life, the woman is stranded; she has no prospects of re-marrying; she is deprived of all protection from her first husband; she loses her home. The children are shuttlecocked between two parents, have no sort of security, and no permanent home. As against this, amongst the Muslims, if the first marriage is a failure the husband is at liberty to marry again. But this does not absolve him from his responsibilities towards his first wife. She and the children continue to be supported by him. The first wife still has a claim on him and he must provide financially for her equally as for the second wife. In most cases, given the choice, the husband himself is not desirous of severing all ties with his first wife, and willingly accords her the protection and privilege of marriage. I have a feeling that most couples in the West, in the event of the failure of a first marriage, would prefer this state of affairs to complete severance. Would not Napoleon have preferred to make a second marriage and not have gone through the agony of putting Josephine completely out of his life? If people in the West would honestly face the question they would remember numerous instances where divorce has caused untold misery and heartache. When a man and woman have spent the better part of their lives together, even if some madness possesses them (and it is psychologically true that round about middle age some sort of a restlessness takes possession of some men), they would much prefer to find an outlet for their emotional disturbances without having completely to smash up their former life. The only alternative in the West to divorce

Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan, wife of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, inspecting a Guard of Honour presented by the Pakistan Women's National Guard

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is a situation so difficult for all concerned as to be almost untenable. Yet many men perish to have to resort to it. Undignified, clandestine and extremely unfair to the women concerned though it is, there have none the less been classic instances where women as noble as George Eliot have had to accept this unenviable situation, put up with this grave injustice and submit themselves to unmerry insults.

Surely the position of the second wife is also much better. No odium is attached to her. She is not an outcast of society but fits into it as a respectable member. Surely a society that provides for contingencies such as this is a more mature and realistic one. A monogamous marriage is the ideal; no one can deny that. But unfortunately, in real life seldom is the ideal attained. Therefore, we must provide for the contingency when the ideal is not attained. Islam claims to be a realistic religion. It does not make demands on its followers which they are unable to meet. It says over and over again that it does not desire them to become angels, but to remain men and behave according to normal decent codes. Therefore in all matters it has laid down a golden mean, following which they remain useful members of society and contribute to its stability without undue stress on themselves.

**The Veil**

And now I come to the veil, known in the sub-continent of India by the indigenous word of purdah—a much more widely prevalent custom than polygamy—an almost universal custom, I should say, till very recently. Regarding purdah there are three misconceptions. Firstly, that women are segregated while men move about in a mixed society. Now a little thinking would show that it cannot be so. In a country where all women observe purdah, there can be no such thing as a mixed society. There was no such thing in the East, till the influence of the West began to be felt and it is only now that a dual kind of society is to be found.

Previously society was divided into two sections, the women and the men. Each was separate from the other; each was self-contained; each a world in itself. Women had their own amusements and activities; these were different from the men’s, but by no means less numerous. In fact, fetes and festivities were of much more frequent occurrence in thezenana than amongst the men. Nearly every social occasion was celebrated by a special ceremony and every stage in a child’s life was marked by a feast. Nor were purdah women deprived of that great joy which to all women is the breath of life, namely, the joy of shopping. Going to the shops was not done, not even by men; it was considered undignified. Tradesmen brought their wares to the house of the nobleman for him and his lady to see, and women sellers were as numerous as men. From hairpins to jewellery, all was available to women on their door-step; fruits, flowers, sweets and savouries. All day long a string of hawkers brought all their wares to my lady’s bower, so there was no privation in this respect.

Far from being shut up, as it is imagined, in a dark and dingy part of the house, women often had the most spacious part of the mansion. They took the air in walled but large and beautiful gardens. They practised archery and learnt how to ride and row. Only the rich, I hear my readers say. Yes, even to this day these amusements are only for the rich. Inside or outside of purdah, the poor man or woman cannot indulge in them. The ladies who indulge in these sports were, of course, the rich ladies, but they had round them a large circle of ladies-in-waiting and maids who all shared in the fun of it, while parks and fetes were open to all equally, and an Eastern marriage provided endless opportunities for indulging in all kinds of extravagances dear to a woman’s heart. No, life behind purdah was by no means dull—far from it. It was far more colourful and far less strenuous than life outside it. It might be considered that such an existence was the life of lotus-eaters, but that is another question.

The second misconception about women in purdah is that they were ciphers, that they did not and could not exercise any power. I know that anyone who has been even a short time in the East will know how erroneous this is. But for those who do not have any knowledge of the East at all, I want to say that

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*Pakistan Women’s National Guards’ Rifle Drill*

FEBRUARY 1949
woman behind purdah exercises as much influence on her husband and controls her household as effectively as any woman out of purdah.

It is the mother and not the father who decides the all-important question of the children’s marriage—sons as well as daughters are married according to the mother’s wishes, and it is her opinion that prevails when there is a difference.

Again, the household budget is controlled by her. She does not get an allotted sum of money, as pitifully imagined by the West, but it is she who more often doles out money to her husband. In fact, she is the Controller of the Exchequer, while the husband’s role is that of a constitutional monarch. There are husbands who do not conform to this rule and there are cases where the woman hardly has any power, but these are not due to the fact of purdah. They are due to differences of character and opinion and social status of the various people.

The third mistake is that in considering the restricted role of purdah woman, it is forgotten that the idea of women participating equally in men’s activities is a new idea even in the West. Women, though out of purdah, did not till very recently take part in activities. These were considered men’s special prerogatives. Purdah was only a logical development of this attitude and as such does not seem such a very dreadful thing. In fact, the West must learn to understand manners and customs other than their own. They must shed the attitude of mental Imperialism which thinks that their mode and manner of life is undoubtedly superior to everyone else’s. There are other values different but not necessarily inferior to their own.

MODERN TURKEY EVOLVES NEW VALUES

By SELMA EKREM

The revolution initiated by Kemal Atatürk twenty-five years ago changed every aspect of Turkish life and brought about a reformation of the people of Islam in Turkey. Many people in the past had argued that a Muslim country could never become Westernized and was fated to disintegrate in fatalism and ignorance. The new Turkish republic completely refutes this false presumption, because the Turks, without repudiating their religion, have succeeded in building a modern state.

The Muslim religion has never been a hindrance to the growth of any nation. Quite the contrary is true. The great civilization built by the Muslim Arabs turned the Near East, Africa and Spain into great centres of learning, culture and chivalry. The contribution of Muslim civilization to the Europe of the Middle Ages is immense indeed. It was not Islam that was responsible for the fall of the Ottoman Empire nor the ignorance and backwardness of its people. When the Turks first set foot in Asia Minor they were a vigorous, dynamic people who followed implicitly the great principles of the Muslim religion. But the Turkish state changed into a huge empire, luxury corrupted the austere Turks, and decay set in. Gradually Islam, which had been the guiding force of our ancestors, was swamped by superstition, prejudice and fanaticism. Just as the pure teachings of Jesus were corrupted in the courts of Europe, so were the principles of Muhammad changed in the opulent and fantastic court of the Ottoman rulers. The Sultans, the civil and religious leaders encouraged the people in their ignorance and fanaticism so as to keep their hold on the nation. When the machine age revolutionized the West, the Turks clung to their hand looms as the machine was the invention of the Christian West and had no place in a Muslim state. The rulers of the time tried to build a Chinese Wall about the Ottoman Empire because they were afraid that thoughts of freedom sweeping through France and England would be their doom.

The European nations had gradually separated the state from religion but in Turkey they were one up to the time of the republic. The state could not impose rates, make laws, collect debts, nor declare war without the consent of the Sheik-ul-Islam. The Prophet Muhammad had said: “Everything is in the Qur’ân,” meaning that the Sacred Book was to be our guide even in secular matters. The Prophet had not only attempted to lay down a moral but a civil code as well. The Arabs of his days were idol worshippers, corrupt and lawless. Muhammad’s task was not only to reveal to them that there was only One Supreme Being whose image could not be reproduced on earth, but to give them laws to govern their everyday acts. Admirable though these laws are, the twentieth century required a re-evaluation and re-interpretation of them. The straitening shackles forged by the priestly hierarchy which by passage of time had grafted itself on the social system of Islam as practised in Turkey had to be broken.

For two hundred years vague thoughts of reforms had stirred the Ottoman Empire. A few determined Sultans and a handful of great men had imposed changes, but most of these concerned the imperial army. These reforms, though, were isolated, there was no over-all programme that could be carried on by successive generations. The changes were forced on the people from above with the co-operation of a strong reactionary minority. They were not enough to save the empire nor the people.

The crushing defeat suffered by the Turks at the end of the First World War made us realize acutely that we either would become a modern state or perish. By then a strong minority of intellectuals and the educated among the younger generation, who had been chafing under the old order, saw clearly our weaknesses and faults. Our army was no longer a match for the Western armies. The country was poor and neglected and our national resources undeveloped. Eighty-five per cent of the people could neither read nor write. Our roads and ports had fallen into decay. We had no railroads or industry to speak of. Though primarily an agricultural country, Turkey could not raise enough food to feed her own people because of the primitive implements and methods we had been using. The capitulations, special privileges granted by the Sultans to the European powers, were strangling us economically. But worse still, our independence was threatened at the end of the First World War. The victorious powers were occupying the country and Istanbul, which had not been invaded since the fifteenth century. There was talk of dividing Turkey among the victors and leaving us a few barren provinces in the heart of Anatolia. The talk was translated into action when the Greeks landed in Izmir, backed by Allied warships. The argument advanced for the occupation of the city is familiar to-day. Anatolia had been Greek in the past and was handed to the Greeks as a reward for joining the Allied side in the war. That the country was now predominantly Turkish and had been for centuries did not matter to the politicians of 1919. It looked for a time as though the Turks were doomed to slavery.

And yet whom did we have to blame but ourselves? While our Sultan fested and oppressed the people, our learned men quibbled over the length of a woman’s skirt, the Janissaries
intrigued and revolted and the people sank deeper in ignorance and fatalism. The European powers had almost annihilated us. The technical skill, scientific knowledge and political freedom of the West had always been close to us. We could have reached out for them instead of clinging to our inadequate ways. It was outrageous to have our women segregated in the name of Islam when our Prophet had said, "Paradise lies beneath the feet of mothers"; or keep the people from the knowledge of the West with Muhammad’s words, "Seek knowledge wherever thou canst find it," ringing in our ears.

We had, so to speak, prepared our own doom and there was not a helping hand reaching out to us. The invasion of Izmir by the Greeks was an Allied political blunder, for this last ignominy aroused the Turks as nothing else could have done. They threw off their habitual fatalism and resignation and with a supreme effort rose against the invaders. Under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, they succeeded in driving the Greeks out of the country.

How was the new Turkey to emerge after the brilliant military victory in Anatolia and equally brilliant victory at Lausanne where the peace treaty was signed in 1922? The treaty restored us Anatolia and freed us of Allied occupation. We had now a small homogeneous country composed mainly of Turkish people; the Greeks in Anatolia were exchanged with the Turks in Greece. The word Osmanli was relegated to the past, henceforth we were to be Turkish and the country a republic. It was established on October 29th, 1923. That fact in itself portended drastic changes. It was a violent and revolutionary break with the past and many people did not anticipate nor relish the abolition of the Sultanate.

Kemal Ataturk’s task was made easier by the fact that the last Sultan-Caliph, Wahiduddin, had been a traitor to his country and had fled Istanbul when the Nationalists under Ataturk had emerged victorious. He and his government were tools in Allied hands and had even sent an army to fight the Nationalist forces during the Turk-Greek War. The hodjas (priestly class) had helped the Sultan by declaring his cause a just one and carrying on a slander campaign against Ataturk. If the army in Anatolia wins, they said, the Sultan will be dethroned and Turkey will become a godless country. Once again religion was enlisted to play a prominent role to suit the ends of the old heads and it was being used as well to oppose the spontaneous rising of the Anatolian peasants who had taken arms to defend their homes and villages.

Kemal Ataturk, in one of his speeches, clearly indicated which way the Turkish people would go. He said:
"In vain shall any people resist the torrent of civilization. That torrent is pitless to the ignorant and indolent."

Changes Affecting Islam.

The torrent he referred to was that very Western civilization which had long swirled about the Ottoman Empire. In this age we are now poised upon the changes that one way or another affected Islam, leaving aside the industrialization and reconstruction of the country which turned a backward country into a modern state. These, though essential to the growth of the new republic, are outside the subject matter.

It would have been impossible to build up a modern state without first changing the mental outlook of the people. That mentality, which had resisted change, opposed Western civilization and mixed religion with superstition and prejudice, had to be eradicated. What would have been the use of building factories, railroads and new schools if the women were kept enslaved and ignorant, if religion was allowed to interfere in secular matters and the ignorant left free to fan reaction through religion? We had to have a freer outlook on life and religion before we could start modernizing the country.

The government was cautious at first. In 1922 Abdul Majid, heir to the throne of the Osmanis, was elected Caliph though not Sultan. The position gave him no power at all. It was soon apparent that the Caliphate would not last long. Articles appeared in the daily Press explaining that the Caliphate had lost all its significance and that the Caliph did not enjoy the spiritual power the Pope did over his Catholic subjects. In truth the government did not want to retain the Caliphate for fear that it might be a focal point around which the discontented elements might rally. The ground was thus well prepared for the next move and in 1924 the Caliphate was abolished and the Caliph and his family left the country un molested. The malcontents increased, especially among the religious elements, who had their worst suspicions confirmed.

The fears of Ataturk and his co-workers were not unfounded either. Incited by the hodjas, the Kurds, a nomadic people living on the eastern border of Turkey, revolted against what they called the "anti-Islam government of Ankara" and took up arms. The Kurds wanted the Sultan-Caliph back on the throne and were opposed to all reforms. The revolt was so serious that the Turkish army was sent to the eastern frontier to quell the fierce rebellious Kurds.

The Kurdish rebellion and the bloody battle that followed shocked the majority of the people who realized that a long drawn out civil war might pave the way for foreign intervention. The government retaliated swiftly. Ignorance and fanaticism could not be tolerated any longer. The takiyyas and shrines were closed and the religious orders of the dervishes and the sheikhs were abolished. The dervishes used to gather in the takiyyas and the government burned these as centres of reaction. The tariqas were burying grounds for Sultans and their families and illustrious men of the country. All the madrasas or religious schools were also closed and education was henceforth to be secular and united under the Ministry of Education. It was planned to open hundreds of new schools even in the remotest villages. Methods of education were to be based on European lines. In the past education had stressed the religious life, the world hereafter being considered far more important than the present one. Education only aimed at making good and God fearing Muslims. The Qur'an was taught in all the schools and children in these schools were required to learn the Sacred Book by heart, struggling with the difficult Arabic they did not understand. Literature too, emphasized religion and the mystical side of life and when the poets sang of Love they meant love of God.

This system was not suited to raise men and women who could cope with the intricacies of the 20th century. What Turkey needed to carry out her new program were scientists, engineers, educators, writers, men and women skilled in trade. The newly created Ministry of Education went to work immediately. Education was made compulsory for both boys and girls and lower grade schools were co-educational, another blow at custom for in the name of Islam women had been segregated and not given the right to mix with men in work or play. Religion was no longer to be taught in the schools, this task was left to the individual family. Practical education, non existent in the past, was encouraged by opening vocational schools for boys and girls.

Education was further helped by the adoption of the Latin alphabet to replace the Arabic script which was very difficult to learn. The language too was simplified by replacing the Arabic and Iranian words by Turkish ones.

One of the measures adopted by the republic, the wearing of the hat, caused the most trouble. It had been drilled into our heads that only non-Muslims ever wore hats, and the feeling against it was so strong that the wearing of the hat was considered almost sacrilegious. Ataturk toured the country, explained to the people that the fez they clung to was only accepted in the middle of the 19th century and that neither Turks nor Islam was an origin but came to us from Byzantium. At first those who wanted to wore the hat, but in 1925 a law was passed making it obligatory for all the men to wear hats. The law caused a furore among the uneducated and further fostered the rebellion of the Kurds. Ataturk forced the hat on the Turkish people to help them smash their prejudice.

The secularization of the country could not be complete without reforming the laws, many of which were based on an antiquated fiqh, or religious jurisprudence. Consequently, after painstaking work, a new Civil Code based on that of Switzerland was adopted. The new Civil Code abolished polygamy, tolerated by Islam, and gave women equal political, social and educational rights with the men. Marriage and divorce were taken from the jurisdiction of religion. All marriages today are civil although those who want may have the religious ceremony performed at home. Once the laws of the Sharia were abandoned, state and religion were separated and the words "the religion of the state is Islam" were struck out of the constitution because, it was said, the state could have no religion.

Minor changes were tucked in between the major reforms. The day of rest was changed from Friday to Sunday for business reasons. The banks and Stock Exchange could not work in Turkey when these were closed on Sunday throughout the world. The Western calendar, and Greenwich Mean Time became obligatory.

But what is happening to the Muslim religion under republican Turkey? Islam did not have an organised church like the Christian religion and when the state and religion were separated there was no well-organised establishment to carry on the work. The incentive had to come from the government. All religious matters are now under the Presidency of Religious Affairs attached to the Premiership and hence under state control. At the beginning of the revolution, there was not much stress laid on religion for fear of encouraging the reactionaries who might impede the work of modernisation. For a while the fever of Westernisation filled us completely. The younger people were thinking in material terms. They were working towards rebuilding the country, educating the people and bringing a more abundant life to the peasants ground down by poverty.

We live in an age of fear and uncertainty. With the cataclysm of war, the slaughter of millions of innocents, the invention of deadly weapons and the rise of godless dictators, men everywhere are looking for an answer to their doubts and their
fears. The Turks, too, are searching their souls. They realise that Westernisation is not enough and that they cannot sacrifice the principles of Islam on the altar of material advancement.

The government realises that Islam has been a tremendous unifying force and a source of strength to the Turkish people. The Turkish peasant is a proud individual and the doctrines of Islam have always suited him. Neglected and poor, he found refuge in his religion, that, although it did not spurn worldly goods, did not neglect the hereafter. He also found comfort in the true democracy of Islam. Our religion has no powerful organised priesthood. Muslims are equal in the eyes of God. None can be nearer to God through his position or wealth. The Qur’an says, “The person who is nearest to God is the one who is kind and virtuous.” Though deprived of worldly possessions, the peasant has carried on his work because he knew that if he believed in God and obeyed the commandments of the Prophet his place in heaven might be higher than that of the highest in the land.

The government’s whole aim now is to present religion devoid of prejudice and false ideas. The Qur’an has been translated into Turkish for the first time so the people can read the words of the Prophet and understand them. The call to prayer is in Turkish and the Arabic word Allah, which means God, has been replaced with the Turkish Tanrı. Simple sermons in Turkish explain the Qur’an to the people and stress the principles of justice, charity, tolerance and righteousness. It is not enough to pray five times a day, fast during Ramazan, give alms to the poor and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Religion means morality and good character and a tolerance of not only other religions but new ideas. Religion is also used to teach patriotism and to strengthen the new ideas introduced by the republic. The Turks are told to be self-reliant, to work hard, to take care of their health as well as their souls. The evils of fatalism and superstition are exposed and condemned.

Republican Turkey has not repudiated Islam but is creating new values suited to the Turkish mind and the environment in which we live. The experiment carried on by the Turks has been watched intently by other Muslim peoples, some of whom have been critical because we broke away from the rigid patterns of the past. But even they realise that the new Turkey is a challenge to the rest of the Muslim world.

RUSSIA AND HER MUSLIM MINORITIES

By ARSLAN BOHDANOWICZ

To-day everyone is aware of the important role played by Russia in world affairs, but we Muslims are particularly interested in understanding exactly her attitude towards Islam. It would seem that this question could be studied from three different angles:

In the first place, we could compare the ideology of the Russian Communist Party with the fundamental principles of the Muslim religion; secondly, we could examine Russia’s policy towards Muslim countries outside her frontiers; and, finally, we could study Russian policy as regards her own Muslim minorities.

In this short article we shall deal only with this last aspect.

It is not necessary to be very well versed in the Russian problem as a whole to realize that the study of this question is of enormous difficulty owing to the complexity of its various aspects and to the impossibility of carrying out our investigations on the spot. The difficulty of penetrating beyond the iron curtain is a practical reason for the variety of opinions on the actual situation of Muslims in Russia-to-day. Although this state of affairs calls for very great circumspection, it is not our intention to defend a special thesis.

In our attempt to find the truth we have endeavoured to utilize all the means at our disposal—sources historical and geographical, Soviet publications not expressly intended for propaganda purposes, and travellers’ accounts. In a series of short articles we intend giving to the readers of the Islamic Review an account of the results of our investigations. In this first article we propose to define the bases of the problem.

First of all, as regards the number of Muslims, Soviet statistics do not record the religion of their citizens. Under these circumstances the only means of determining the number of Muslims in Russia is in making use of the ethnical criterion—that is to say, by adding up the figures representing the number of people who, according to the statistics before 1917, professed the Muslim religion. By this means we discover that in 1939—the date of the last census—the number of Muslims in Russia had probably risen to 23 millions.

In the U.S.S.R. the Muslim peoples are spread over a wide extent of territory stretching from Azerbaijan to the Northern part of European Russia, and from the mouth of the Volga to the frontiers of Chinese Turkestan.

More complicated still is the question of the ethnic composition of Islam in Russia. The majority of Russian Muslims are of Turkish origin—approximately nine-tenths—but this Turkish element is far from being homogeneous, for it is divided into several peoples and tribes, each speaking a distinct dialect, and—what is still more important—each with its own particular traditions and customs. To be exact, the several divisions composing this Turkish element are made up of the remains of populations of different political organisations, which, in their turn, have been, up to the middle of the fifteenth century, the component parts of a Tartar State called Dusht el Kipchak in the Oriental sources and the Golden Horde in those of Europe. The non-Turkish element is not less complicated in its make-up, being composed of several dozens of peoples and tribes speaking different languages and dialects. Many of these possess an equally rich cultural and political past.

As to the historical aspect, this is also extremely complicated. It suffices to say that close and uninterrupted relations between Russia and the Muslim peoples date from the end of the eight century. From this epoch and up to the middle of the fifteenth century Russia was under constant pressure from the Asiatic nomad peoples, and even on two occasions was obliged to suffer their domination, namely in the ninth century by the Khazaks—many of whom, if not the majority, professed the Muslim religion—and from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century by the Tatars, who finally all embraced Islam. At the beginning of the tenth century Islam had firmly struck root along the central portion of the Volga basin, which, before 1917, was known as the Region of Kazan, and which constituted the greatest centre of Islamic culture in Eastern Europe. It is a well-known fact that, at the end of the tenth century, the Grand Prince Vladimir of Kiev debated for a long time as to whether he should embrace the Muslim religion.

Following the political decay of the Golden Horde in the middle of the fifteenth century, when it split into several inde-
pendent khanates, of which the most important were Kazan, Astrakhan and the Crimea, there began the uninterrupted expansion of Russia towards the east and south-east which, up to the end of the nineteenth century, took place largely at the expense of the Muslim peoples. But one must not imagine that this expansion was always effected through conquests. Thanks to the very ancient and intimate relations with the Muslim peoples, of which we have already spoken, Russia had acquired a complete understanding of their mentality and had learnt in a wonderful manner to bend them to her political ends. As a result of this, she had been able, in a number of cases, to draw them into her sphere of influence by purely diplomatic means.

The problem of Muslim minorities in Russian political life for the first time in its full importance and significance; secondly, henceforth practically no obstacle separated Russia from Asia but the vastness of immense open space.

Since the middle of the fourteenth century, Islam in Russia became set in scholastic stagnation. But this did not prevent the Muslims from holding their own against the missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church. In fact, the number of Muslims who were converted to the Orthodox religion before 1917 was quite infinitesimal.

At the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century there took place among the Muslims of Russia a very curious

![Map of Russia showing the extent of such regions as are inhabited by Muslims.](image)

A partial Map of Russia showing the extent of such regions as are inhabited by Muslims. There are six Federated Muslim Republics in the Union: Azerbaijan, Kazakhistan, Turkemenia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia. Besides these there are seven autonomous republics, which form part of one of the Federated Republics. These are: Tatar, Bakhtria, Daghestan, Kabada-Balkar, Abkash, Adjaria, Kara-Kalpak. The grouping of the Federated and Autonomous Republics has been made on the basis of the race and language and not on that of religion. These republics control their judiciary, public instruction, internal trade, public health and social services and agriculture. According to the Russian Constitution they have the right to secede from the Soviet Union.

\[\ldots\text{denotes the extent of the regions inhabited by Muslims}\]

\[\ldots\text{denotes the boundaries of the various Republics}\]

From the point of view of our subject, the most important date of Russian history is the period covering the middle of the sixteenth century. At that time, in fact, Ivan the Terrible, using the various methods mentioned above, conquered two important remnants of the Golden Horde, situated on the middle and lower course of the Volga; in 1552, the khanate of Kazan and in 1556 the khanate of Astrakhan. This double conquest opened a new page in Russian history. In the first place it inaugurated the cultural and political renaissance, partly under the influence of Western ideas and partly under the awakening which agitated the Muslim world generally at that time. In the beginning the movement had very limited objectives—principally the introduction of modern methods of teaching into Muslim schools. The results obtained proved so important that their influence had begun to make itself felt even abroad. The leaders of the movement visited many Muslim countries at the beginning of the

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twentieth century, including British India. Very rapidly the movement came to include Muslim women, and one could conclude that at the beginning of the twentieth century the Muslim women of Russia were among the leaders of the movement for the emancipation of Muslim women of the whole world. What is certain in any case is that in 1903 the secondary schools of Russia included 414 Muslim girls among their pupils.

But the reactionary classes and, above all, a section of the Muslim clergy showed violent opposition to this cultural renaissance, especially in Central Asia, where they feared to lose their influence among the mass of the faithful.

After the first Russian revolution of 1905, which lessened restrictions on the liberty of the press and allotted some seats in Parliament to Muslims, the movement for Muslim emancipation became widened to include the political sphere. From the social point of view a very strong movement for the amelioration of economic and legal conditions was initiated. From the political point of view pan-Islamic tendencies began to prevail, and since before the war of 1914 a very considerable group of Russian Muslims had its headquarters in Constantinople. These pan-Islamic tendencies found expression in the rising of the Muslims of Turkestan in 1916.

The revolution of 1917 has opened a new era for the Muslims of Russia. In order to judge the importance of the problem of Muslim minorities in Russia at the present time, it is sufficient to quote the opinions of the Soviet leaders themselves on the question. They have said that if the Soviet government succeeds in solving the problem of national minorities, the whole East will be won to the cause of the Soviet Union. Now, the Muslim problem is the most important of all the national minorities' problems in the U.S.S.R.

But considering the heterogeneous nature of the different elements which compose Islam in Russia, is it possible to speak of Islam there as an entity? To that, we should answer most positively in the affirmative. Proof of this can be provided by the fact that each time the Russian Muslims have had the opportunity of organising freely congresses at which all the Muslim peoples of Russia were represented in order to express their wishes—and between 1905 and 1917 there were four such congresses—all the important decisions being adopted unanimously.

Some Muslims of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan and Central Asia viewing one of the original Mss. of the Holy Qur'an at Tashkent. This is a copy of the transcript prepared by the first Caliph Abu Bakr from the carefully preserved material, kept in the order in which the Qur'an exists to-day, which the Prophet Muhammad had left behind. This transcript was also carefully compared with the readings of those men who had learnt the Qur'an by heart from the Prophet himself. Later some more copies were made on the instructions of the third Caliph 'Umar from the transcript of Abu Bakr. The original was destroyed by the Caliph 'Umar after it had been carefully compared with the copies, so that no man or woman could add something of his or hers into the original transcript and thus cause a dissonance amongst the Muslims.
ISLAM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINIA

By ISMA'IL BALIC, Ph.D.

The Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims form the largest separate group of Muslims in Southern and Central Europe. The number of its adherents amounted, according to the Bosnian statistician Mehmed Kantardzic, to 915,000 in 1940. They are of Slav descent and belong to the Hanafite school. Politically the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims are united in the demand for the unity of their native land, which represents their life-interests. Till 1939, when its political leader, D. Mehmed Spaho, died, the group incorporated a uniform political organisation, called Jugoslavenska Muslimanska Organizacija (Jugoslavonian Muslim Organisation). After the establishment of the Croatian State during the time of the occupation, 1941-1945, Islam was considered de jure the second state religion, Catholicism being the premier. Besides the Catholics, who are a minority in Bosnia, the Pravo-Slavos, the Jewish Spaniolen, and in a very small district also Protestant-German settlers in Northern Bosnia, live together with the Muslims. In 1945 Bosnia and Herzegovinia received a federal position within the new Jugoslavia, through which an old political demand of the Muslims was fulfilled.

The Muslims nearly all have been living in the country for ages, and were to be found until recently, almost evenly distributed throughout every district of the country. This is not the case with the other communities. Two-thirds of the Muslim population are farmers. In the towns, however, the Muslims are always in an absolute or relative majority, thereby giving the towns an oriental character.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims speak a fluent Serbo-Croatian with many anagrams and old phrases. In cultural respect the Muslims mainly gather about the Croatian capital, Zagreb, since the opening of the country by Austria-Hungary. The younger Muslim generation, educated in Jugoslavia, however, prefers Belgrade. For religious and traditional reasons the Islamic culture is more noticeable in Bosnia, the chief centres being Sarajevo in Bosnia, and Mostar in Herzegovinia.

The capital, Sarajevo, has become a centre of European Islam because of the pressure of the Shari'at Theological High School (Visa islamiska serijansko-teološka škola), the Shari'at School (Serijanska gimnazija), and the Ghazi Kosrewebeg School (Gazi Husrewebegova Medresza), and the public library of the same name. Because Bosnia and Herzegovinia have a large number of Muslim intellectuals of European standard, these districts are regarded as among the most progressive Islamic centres.

Numerous professors of the Belgrade and Zagreb universities, including medical and sylvi-cultural faculties in Sarajevo, are Muslims from Bosnia. One Muslim, Hamdija Kreseljakovic, is member-inordinary to the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts. In all spheres of cultural activities the Jugoslavian Muslims are represented in the same manner as their fellow-citizens of other creeds.

Almost the whole of the cultural activity of Islamic religious nature, especially the publication and distribution of literature, takes place at Sarajevo. Until 1945 the following newspapers were published there: Glasinik Vrhovnog starostvina Islamske vjerske zajednice (Newpaper of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Religious Community, El-Hidaye (the Right Guidance), and Novi Biher (New Blossom), while among the weeklies there were Pravda (Justice), Narodna Pravda (Justice for the People), Hrvatska Svijet (formerly Muslimanska Svijet) (Muslim Consciousness), and Osvit (Dawn). At present the leading Bosnian-Muslim publishers—Kalajdzic "First Muslim Publishing House," known by their series: Muslimanska Knjiznica (Muslim Bookshop)—have also moved to Sarajevo. To-day the only Muslim newspaper, Novo Doba (New Time), which is the organ of the Muslim Executive Board, a body of the People's Front, appears weekly in Sarajevo.

The economic position of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims is very bad, although the Muslims show a very good economic sense. Being nearly all land-owners, they have suffered a good deal through the old Jugoslavonian party-politics conceived and executed agrarian reform, the "severest law of the Kingdom of Jugoslavia." Some of these have been degraded to beggars. Amongst the Muslims there are good mechanics and enterprising persons, who have been able to maintain their position in spite of all difficulties. Bosnia and Herzegovinia are conservative patriarchal areas, whose conservative character is mainly preserved by the Muslims. On the whole, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims are good-natured and not critical. During the course of more recent history, they were very often misused and betrayed for just these two reasons. The most good-natured of them are the populations of the smaller villages of the South-Eastern Bosnian districts and of Rogatica-Foca-Vlasenica. In consequence of its geographical situation, this part of the country has, on the one hand, kept the peaceful tradition of the Bogumilo-Slavos during the Osmanli rule (1463-1878), and, on the other, it is here that the nihilistic tendencies have been able to fasten their feet. Thus it is the "Achilles heel" of the country. Besides, because of the unfortunate epoch of the newly-founded Serbo-Croatian particularism, this part of the country was put in the difficult position of being a boundary district, with the result that these settlements, especially, were often over-run during the last war.

There is an elected head, bearing the title of Raisul 'Ulama, who leads the Islamic religious community (Islamic vjerska zajednica—IVz). For religious questions he has a Majlis ul 'Ulama (Bosnian-Turkish: Ulema-medzilis), a juridical body of four theologians at his side. Financial transactions are attended to by the Waqf-Direktion (Vakufska direktija), who have all religious endowments at their disposal. The Waqf properties, which were once of remarkable wealth, have suffered noticeably through bad economy which served political parties, and through liquidation of church-landownership which recently took place. Mainly for the first reason, and furthermore as a result of the agrarian reform of the Muslim private ownership in the Jugoslavonian Kingdom, which was based on wrong principles, the Muslim Ulamas have become very poor. All leading instructions of the community are at Sarajevo. Until 1936 the Mufri lived in Banja Luka, Bijac, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, and Tuzla, and also in the Croatian capital, Zagreb. These were the supreme heads, religious and otherwise, of the larger political districts. The title of Mufri was, however, abolished by the Law about the Islamic Religious Community of 25th March, 1936, in spite of the strong opposition of a part of the population.

To the problems of marriage, family, and heritage of the Muslims, and in the matter of religious endowments (Waqs), the Islamic law was applied in Bosnia and Herzegovinia until 1946. The selfsame law also affected indirectly the general legislation of the country, namely concerning the Mulk-
Amiri possessions. The secular administration and criminal law made certain concessions by including certain articles in the Penal Code for some offences against religion and morality in accordance with the Shari'at.

The social life of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims was represented until the end of the second world war, say, till 1946, mainly by the central unions “Narodna Uzdanica,” “Merhamet,” and “El-Hidajè,” as well as by numerous humanitarian and sports clubs. “Narodna Uzdanica” (People’s Hope, or People’s Trust) was the greatest cultural and economic organisation. Attached to it, a social-economic committee was formed in 1942. This organisation cares chiefly for the education of the youth and maintains six boys’ and two girls’ boarding-schools, one students’ hostel, and one girls’ school. This organisation published a newspaper (Novi Bebar) and promoted the co-operative system among the Muslims. The progressive union of Muslim intellectuals “Gajret” (Zeal) was amalgamated with it after the establishment of the Croatian State.

“Merhamet” (Charity) dealt with private welfare-activities and cared for the orphans of the war, refugees, and for those who had suffered in aerial raids. In the last war, “Merhamet” tried to accomplish a humanitarian ideology—in accordance with its name—in the country, to end the newly inflamed communal struggles.

“El-Hidajè” (Right Guidance) is an organisation of the Ulama to protect the faith and the rights of the community. It showed, at times, some zeal, but could not fulfil the great tasks put before it. More promising was the organisation “Maldi Muslimani” (Young Muslims), which was attached to “El-Hidajè.”

At the end of the war, all these organisations, with the exception of the “El-Hidajè” which was closed down by order of the authorities, united themselves into a new organisation, “Preporod” (New-born). It consists, according to the statistics of 9th September, 1946, of 215 local and seven district boards, and has more than 50,000 members. The Belgrade organisation “Gajjet Osman Djikic” recently joined the “Preporod” as well, thereby placing a large students’ hostel in Belgrade at the disposal of the “Preporod.” “Preporod” issues a publication with the same name, which is, at present, published once a year. Pre-war journals worth mentioning are: Harujet, Trevenost, and the sports club Gjorgjevic, which is the name of a Muslim hero. They are all in Sarajevo.

As is known, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims belong to the Dinaric group of Jugoslavs, are mostly tall, and in Bosnia the majority of them are of a very light complexion. As all Dinaric people, they have very strong feelings, which are characteristic of them, and which are regulated by their patriarchal way of life. In the course of the relaxation of the traditional bonds during recent years, many of them have become too free in their actions and tend to violate the law and morals. Now a considerable number of physically and morally degenerate persons are to be found in the cities, especially in Sarajevo.

The Muslims in the Sandjak of Novi Pazar are closely related in every respect to the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They live in the Eastern part of Bosnia, which remained under Turkish administration after the Berlin Congress in 1878. They number approximately 51 per cent. of the total population of the Sandjak. The Sandjak Muslims are a virile people and play a big part in present-day Bosnia.

In the larger Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns, there are a few Albanians, usually, handicraftsmen, mostly bakers, and here and there a remnant of the Turkish officials. During the time of the Hajj preparations, small groups of Arabs come into the country as eventual agents for the pilgrimage (bedelik) to the Holy Cities. There are also numbers of gypsies who live permanently in Bosnia. Others come periodically. Of these, it is mainly the “White Gypsies” who profess the Muslim faith.

After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1878, many Muslims went to Turkey. Their number is estimated at 100,000. To-day there are a number of Bosniacs throughout the Middle East. From the poorer districts of Herzegovina and Montenegro many Muslims even emigrated to America. During the second world war a new Bosnian-Muslim emigration wave flowed into various European countries as well as into Syria and Turkey.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Islam originates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the politically harassed Bosnian people showed sympathy with the Turks, who pressed on Central Europe, and consequently entered the fold of Islam in masses. Because in Bosnia Islam was accepted by conviction, the Bosnians soon became ardent fighters for the cause of Islam. In the Osmanli Empire they played an important role, were very often appointed leaders of the state, and decided its fate, while their native land was serving in the united front of Islam, in aggression as well as in defence.
In 1878 Bosnia was occupied by Austria, after the resistance of the Muslim population had broken down, and was annexed in 1908. Through these two events and later on through that of 1918, the situation of the Muslims has become noticeably worse. Above all, they lost political power in the country. Furthermore, their political significance decreased in consequence of emigration to Turkey. Materially they suffered because of the loss of property by the agrarian reform. In the spiritual domain they suffered especially because the new order broke into their conception of morals and into their social customs. Nevertheless, the significance of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslim in the Yugoslavian Kingdom was not small. In Bosnia their political party always obtained the majority of votes at elections.

From 1941 to 1945, Bosnia, together with Croatia, formed the "independent" State of Croatia. During this period, the political situation seemed to be more favourable to the Muslims. Their actual situation, however, was worse than ever, because the whole of the country was starving under Italian and German occupation. Viewed with suspicion by the Catholic majority of the Croatian people, they had none to aid them in their struggle on the one hand against the Catholic clericalism and on the other hand against the aggressive Serbian exclusivism, which severely prejudiced their position. Into this poisoned atmosphere of inter-communal and international relations in Bosnia, only recently has it been found possible to introduce better sense and better realization of common humanity.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD

A Retrospect of 1948

By FAREED S. JAFRI

The year 1948 will be remembered as the year of some of the greatest landmarks in Islamic history.

Pakistan, the largest Islamic state, born in the previous year, had rapidly grown as a focal point, a centre towards which the entire Islamic world was looking with hope and faith. About sixty million Muslims had flocked into Pakistan with determination to make it a strong Middle East and a sturdy bastion against all comers.

A further bloc of sixty-five million Muslims was rising from the Dutch East Indies proclaiming the birth of Indonesia, another Islamic country, in the heart of South-East Asia.

The Arab world, comprising some of the oldest civilizations of the world—Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon and Transjordan—had formed itself into a composite Arab League with almost common political and foreign policy centered around the desperate urge to protect holy Palestine from the machinations of the West.

The peoples of the Sudan and North Africa were showing restlessness under the yoke of the so-called socialist democracies of the West—Britain, France, and Italy. They at last looked ready to throw off the tutelage of imperial enslavement under which they had laboured for centuries and to declare to the world their determination to fight for the heritage of Islam the equal right of freedom for all humanity.

However, against an increasing Islamic brotherhood, the post-war Christian and Zionist worlds, from both the West and the East, were forming themselves into mighty blocs all with evident intentions to suppress the reviving glory of Islam and to strangle the rising crescent in its very infancy. They were the so-called big powers and had the destiny of the Western nations in their huge claws. They had formed a United Nations' Organisation which had, like the elephant, two types of teeth, one type to eat with and the other for show. The one for show had lured the Islamic brotherhood also into its bosom and now there was no emerging from the big elephant's ominous embrace.

The three severest blows received by the Islamic world in 1948 were the death of the creator of Pakistan, Quid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the birth of Israel in the heart of the Islamic world, and the assassination of Nokrashy Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt. These were stunning blows to the entire Islamic world, but the Islamic brotherhood faced them with fortitude, courage and determination. The death of the father of Pakistan brought about "a spontaneous impulse towards unity, a spectacular closing of the ranks" and "a new surge of national spirit" among the sixty million Pakistanis. The birth of Israel showed the Islamic world the futility of reliance or trust in any Western power, as this infamous child, with the most menacing outlook and a future full of dangers for the whole of the Islamic world, was the result of the wedlock between the Anglo-American and Eastern European Combines, in other words, the United Nations. The assassination of Nokrashy Pasha, the brain behind the cry of the "Unity of the Nile Valley," was a warning that Western hands always, caught the Easterners unawares on a chess-board of politics.

The United Nations and Palestine.

The first blow the Islamic world received from the United Nations' Organisation was when it was presented with a fait accompli in the form of a full-blooded Zionist state, Israel.

Palestine's history has a sad tale behind its rise and fall. The British under the Balfour Declaration brought into Palestine 600,000 European Jews. The United Nations in its short history of existence encouraged the European Jews to go to Palestine as invaders but did not treat them as such. They let them swallow a large part of the Arab country, drive the old inhabitants away, and imposed upon the remaining the cultures of the European countries. While the British-made Balfour Declaration offered the displaced Jews a home with rights to full equality of citizenship and to local autonomy and the freedom to maintain and develop Jewish cultural, social and religious life in the predominantly Jewish areas of the country, the United Nations encouraged the Zionists "to liquidate an entire country and people."

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The first truly effective turning-point in the history of Palestine came when a quarter of a century of the British occupation of Palestine came to an end on June 30th, 1948. The mandate had ended on May 15th, but the departure of the Occupation forces took place six weeks later, and Haifa, the Arab port, was handed over to the Jews under the United Nations' observers. While the Arabs observed the truce, the Jews, under the very eyes of the United Nations' observers, liquidated the Arab population from the port and spread their hold far and wide.

While the entire Islamic world rose with one voice, protesting against the formation of a Jewish state, the United States and the Soviet Union hastened to recognise it, though it had as yet not even a delineated boundary.

The United Nations appointed a mediator with an imposing personality, Count Folke Bernadotte, who immediately recommended two independent states, one Jewish and the other Arab. He also suggested the re-union of Palestine and Transjordan under the British Mandate. The Jewish State, according to him, was to have all the lands granted by the United Nations except the Negroin, the south of which was to go to the Arabs, while the Jews were to have the whole of Galilee Fork, Acro to the Syrian-Lebanese borders. Haifa, where the Jews had already entrenched themselves, was to be a free port; the future of Jaffa was not in the picture yet; the Kalem was to have special government under the United Nations to see to the safety of the Holy Places.

When even the designs of the Jewish State were not fully known, the United Nations mediator had given the Jews the right of immigration on the assumption that it was independent in the territory allotted to it.

That was the first attempt of the United Nations to thrust the European Jews on purely Arab soil. Encouraged by Count Bernadotte's recommendations for the right of immigration, the Zionists in the United States, Britain and the Russian satellite states of Eastern Europe, made a frantic bid for collecting arms. While the Anglo-Americans put an embargo on arms for the Middle East, the Zionists in America and Eastern European countries poured arms into Jewish Palestine. While the Arabs conferred amongst themselves, the Jews mustered all available ships to get as many refugees as possible into Palestine. The truce lasted a week but before it broke down the Jews had secured strong foreign aid. The fighting started. The Count laid the responsibility for the resumption of the fighting at the door of the Arabs, but admitted before the General Assembly that "promulgation of truce would be in favour of the Jews and would allow them time to build up their defence." The Count asked for an effective U.N.O. intervention in Palestine. Between the Americans and the Jews, the U.N.O. was helpless. It did appeal and even demand a "cease fire," but always at the expense of the Arabs.

Pakistan, though an infant, was not an idle witness to Zionist design. Chaudhari Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, warned the Pakistanis: "We are faced with enemies all over the world, from Morocco right up to Indonesia. Palestine is not an isolated problem for us. The head of the arrow-shaped 'so-called State of Israel' is pointed towards the very heart of Islam—Mecca—and if Palestine went, even the Haramain Sharifain would not be safe from the Jews."

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, declared: "If hostilities again broke out in Palestine, the Pakistan Aid Committee would organise volunteers to join in the Jihad with their Arab brothers."

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, flew to Cairo and studied the situation with the Grand Mufti, Muhammad Amin Al-Hussain, and Arab leaders.

Suddenly the whole Arab world was a blaze. The Afghans, the Iranians, the Indonesians, the Africans and the Turks vociferously protested against the formation of the State of Israel.

While all this uproar in the Islamic world went on, the United Nations carried on with its voluminous deliberations, its pack of resolutions, its multitude of speeches and frequent rejections of petitions. Votes were bought; voices were drowned; representations were locked out. Muslims were like dogs without bites who barked on and the caravan of the United Nations marched on unperturbed. The protests from the Islamic world were hollow voices with no cannon-fodder in them. The bigger members of the gang believed that the Arabs were only fighting for a lost prestige; they could never afford to lose the huge subsidies their rulers received from Anglo-American oil companies. The Arabs depended for arms on Anglo-American powers which were under the Zionist financial grip and "war-lords." The black market in arms and ammunition was also run by the Jews.
Count Bernadotte appealed to the President of the United Nations for the despatch of one thousand American, French and Belgian armed guards to police those areas which were under the aegis of the United Nations. All that he received was a resolution "to accept in principle the prolongation of the truce for such period as may be decided upon in consultation with the mediator." Later fifty guards from Lake Success reached him. The fighting broke out on all fronts. The Jews had taken full advantage of the truce. Jewish forces swiftly advanced and forced approximately 550,000 Arab civilians to leave the areas occupied by Israel. Out of 100,000 Arabs in Haifa only 3,000 "forced labour" remained. The United Nations did not shed even crocodile tears. The Jewish displaced persons in Europe who were so pitied by the United Nations that they were provided with a sovereign state, were no more than 200,000. The same displaced persons were now displacing greater numbers of people but were being glorified; instead the new victims were being labelled as fascists.

The mediator in his last report to the United Nations wrote: "No settlement could rest on solid foundations until every reasonable assurance was given to the Arabs by the Jewish State and by the United Nations that the Jewish state would stay within its defined boundaries."

In reply the Jews claimed "Jerusalem as part of Israel; that the future of Lydda was bound up with the vital necessity for Israel to maintain unbroken territorial connection with Jerusalem; that Haifa must and will remain an integral part of Israel and that the abandonment of the Negeb would mean giving up two-thirds of Israel territory."

On September 11th, Count Bernadotte was assassinated. The Jews carried on according to their declared intentions. All that the United Nations did was that it "expressed its horror at this senseless and disastrous crime."

As the United Nations did not take up the Zionist challenge, in spite of a plea made by Sir Alexandar Cadogan, British spokesman, Jewish forces, now highly mechanised, captured Beersheba and defeated a token Egyptian army in the Galilee battle. When the United Nations again enforced the truce to the peril of the Arab States, Israel claimed Negeb.

In the meantime all Arab states excepting Transjordan recognised the "Gaza Government." This was the first blow to the Arab unity. This gave another chance to the Jews. On the one hand, they started negotiations with King 'Abdullah and, on the other, Israel applied for the U.N. membership.

King 'Abdullah, always a realist, was by now convinced that it was too late to liquidate the Jewish State in Palestine. He now was convinced that the United Nations was behind the Zionist State of Israel. He broke away from the United Arab front.

The membership of Israel was delayed. But the Jews, however, got a three-months' grace before the General Assembly again meets to liquidate the poorly armed Arab armies.

While the United Nations is hoping to tackle the Palestine problem in Lake Success early in the New Year, the Zionist forces have marched into the Egyptian territory towards the Suez Canal, the gateway to the East and the Far East.

One is again reminded of Pakistan Foreign Minister's words: "If Palestine went, even the Haramain Sharifain would not be safe from the Jews."

The old League of Nations had opened the gateway of Manchuria to Japanese expansion, Abyssinia to Fascist growth, and the Ruhr to Hitler's bottle feeding. The United Nations is not doing any better; only this time it is at the expense of the Muslims.

The United Nations and Pakistan.

The tension which arose between India and Pakistan towards the end of 1947 consequent on Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union and the despatch of the Indian troops to Kashmir remained one of the main features of the United Nations, incapacity or coolness towards a Muslim case throughout 1948.

Chaudhari Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, replying for Pakistan on January 16th, 1948, told the United Nations: "Kashmir's accession to India was the outcome of the Hindu Maharaja's collaboration with the Government of India in fraud and violence," and accused the Maharaja of "double-dealing," in having first made a standstill agreement with Pakistan "to appease the Muslim majority of his subjects" and then having "staged massacres to create a situation which would offer an excuse for accession to India." The result was an inevitable uprising of the Muslims of Kashmir who were resolved to sell their lives dearly before they suffered the fate of the co-religionists in the East Punjab."
Chaudhari Zafrullah Khan added that India "had never wholeheartedly accepted partition and had engaged in large scale 'genocide' against the Muslims in Kashmir, the Kathiawar States and in many parts of India itself. In the course of this well-planned campaign, large numbers of Muslims, running into hundreds of thousands, have been ruthlessly massacred. Vastly larger numbers have been maimed, wounded and injured and over 5,000,000 men, women and children have been driven from their homes."

Chaudhari Zafrullah Khan invited the Council to appoint a Commission which would arrange for the cessation of fighting in Kashmir, the withdrawal of all "outsiders", the return to their homes and rehabilitation of Muslims driven from the State since August 15th, 1947, an "impartial and independent Kashmiri administration, fully representative of the people," and thereafter a "free and unfettered plebiscite."

A Commission was appointed on January 20th, 1948. It took this Commission one full year to arrange the "cease fire" between the Indian forces and the Pakistan-aided Free Kashmir Movement. In fact, the credit goes to 1949 which presented the announcement of "cease fire" as a New Year gift to the war-weary peoples of India and Pakistan. If the United Nations' Organisation had real power behind its ideology of peace and world order, it could have very well forced India to accept the democratic principle of a "free and unfettered plebiscite". It was again a case of the big powers' game of chess on the squares of politics and war strategy.

The United Nations and the Appeal of Hyderabad State.

The last Moghul remnant, the Asafiya State of Hyderabad in the sub-continent of India, which had been guaranteed freedom of choice of accession to either India or Pakistan or of declaring itself a sovereign state before the transfer of power by the Paramount Power to the two Dominions, was invaded by the Indian troops on August 5th, 1948. Mir Latif Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, announced on August 19th that the State would place the dispute with India before the United Nations in the hope of securing a "peaceful and enduring settlement." On August 24th, the Hyderabad delegation asked the Security Council under Article 32 of the Charter to consider "the grave dispute between Hyderabad and India, which unless settled in accordance with international law and justice, is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Hyderabad case further said: "The State had in recent months been exposed to violent intimidation and threats of invasion and to crippling economic blockade which had inflicted cruel hardships on the people of Hyderabad and which is intended to coerce Hyderabad into a renunciation of independence."

The Indian Government absolutely ignored the fact that the case was already before the Security Council and proceeded to present a "fait accompli" in the same manner as the Jews.

The Indian troops swarmed into the Hyderabad State from all sides on September 13th. As the Hyderabad troops did not fight, trusting in the fair play of the United Nations and "to save useless and unnecessary loss of life," the Indian troops raised their flag in Hyderabad city on September 17th. The Hyderabad delegation at Paris made repeated appeals to the Security Council of the United Nations but again India's will prevailed. And the case of Hyderabad was shelved until April, 1949.

The Parting Kick of 1948.

The parting kick of 1948 to the Islamic world was the wanton Dutch aggression against Indonesia, the second largest Muslim country, on December 17th.

It was a well-planned and well-prepared invasion of which at least Britain, one of the big powers of the United Nations, knew beforehand.

Dutch airborne troops occupied the Republican capital and captured the Indonesian President, Dr. Soekarno, and the ministers Dr. Harra, Dr. Sjafrir and Haji Salim.

Syria, Columbia and the United States demanded an immediate "cease fire" from the Dutch. The United States even suspended Marshall Aid to the Dutch. The Arab States, as one voice, strongly protested. Australia, New Zealand, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India took strong measures and demanded of the big powers of the United Nations to stop Dutch aggression. Chaudhari Muhammad Zafrullah Khan condemned the Dutch action as an "affront to the soul of Asia" and promised "every action in diplomatic and other directions." They suspended the K.I.M. Air Services.

However, the Security Council of the United Nations again presented a "disgraceful spectacle." The delegates from the big powers—America, Russia, Britain and France—were "chiefly concerned with scoring off each other." The Anglo-American bloc refused to vote for the Russian resolution and the Russian bloc refused to support the Anglo-American resolution. Between the "see-saw" of the big powers the Muslims of Indonesia did not get any immediate respite from the United Nations. In spite of the resolution ordering the Dutch to "cease fire" and "to release the Indonesian leaders," the Dutch turned a deaf ear and continued their "Police Action."

One British journal has admitted: "Although for once there is something like real unanimity of this issue, joint action is, nevertheless, impossible because the Dutch-Indonesian conflict is over-shadowed and disturbed by the general conflict between Russia and the West. Moreover, so far as the Western powers are concerned, their urge to condemn the Dutch is tempered by their desire to maintain economic and strategic co-operation with the Netherlands within the frame-work of the Marshal Plan and the Brussels Pact."

The cases of Palestine, Pakistan and Indonesia prove that as far as the Islamic world is concerned, there is no hope of redress from this August body.

The Islamic world, if organised into one economic and political unit, can be a greater force than either of the two blocs, as it will hold the real balance of power between the forces of the West and of the East. Economically the Islamic world should be able to dictate terms to the Anglo-Americans and almost force them to equip them for their "undeveloped industries"; for where can the Anglo-Americans get such quantities of oil, cotton, jute, tea, coffee, tin, copper, iron-ore and other minerals? Militarily the man-power of the Islamic world can be as large as that of the Soviet Union.

But before the Islamic world can be knitted into a "close brotherhood," the Islamic countries will have to adopt and practice the principles of Islamic democracy. Land, benefits from industries and general wealth will have to be divided among the peoples according to the Islamic Sharia and. Unless the nation is well fed, content, happy and prosperous, the glory of Islam will not return.

This should be the "New Year's Resolution" of the peoples of the Islamic world.

FEBRUARY 1949
The Indo-Pakistan Situation

It will be recalled that a Commission appointed by the Security Council to study the Kashmir situation on the spot visited the sub-continent recently and made several journeys by air between Karachi and Delhi to explore any possible avenues of settlement. The Commission also visited in Kashmir the "front lines" on both sides, to have a first-hand impression of the military situation of the Indian as well as the Azad-cum-Pakistan forces. As the very first step in the direction of an amicable settlement, the Commission called upon both Dominions to do or say nothing, in the way of military offensive or propaganda, which might lead to the deterioration of the Kashmir situation. And this had been the main immediate objective of the Commission as long as it remained on the soil of the sub-continent. Both Dominions readily responded and pledged themselves to abide by the recommendation of the Commission. India's hands were at the time full with the Hyderabad situation, while Pakistan did not want to launch anything like a major offensive on the Kashmir front. As she had explained to the Commission, her forces were there to keep the flames of war away from her own territory. She had no expansionist designs on Kashmir whose future she wanted to be decided by the free will of the people, expressed through a fair and impartial plebiscite. In keeping this position, she readily gave the undertaking to stop all further military action on all sectors of the "front line" beyond purely defensive action. And to carry out this moral obligation to the very letter Pakistan put herself to considerable tactical loss. With the capture of the famous Pandu peak (12,000 ft.) the strong Indian positions on the lowlands of Uri and Baramula with their enormous ammunition dumps were within easy striking distance and the Pakistani forces were actually straining at the leash to be allowed to extend their hard-won victory right up to these Indian fortifications. Much to their chagrin, however, the Pakistan High Command declared against the further advance. India also for a time stayed her hand and both sides seemed to be marking time.


The Kashmir Commission has, in the meantime, drawn up only an interim report which is a bare narrative of what the Commission did to bring about a cease-fire as a preliminary to further negotiations between the two Dominions. No agreement could be reached on this issue, as India regarded the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir as an act of aggression and insisted that they withdrew before any negotiations could be begun for a final settlement. Pakistan, on the other hand, claimed, the report goes on, that "their forces could not be withdrawn unless Indian forces were withdrawn at the same time in pre-arranged stages". Pakistan also insisted that further negotiations for a cease-fire should include negotiations with the so-called Azad Kashmir Government. The Commission has, it is gratifying to record, succeeded in getting both the Dominions to agree to a cease-fire after months of time and labour. Its powers of mediation will be put to a still more severe test in the next stages of the negotiations on the question of a plebiscite by the Kashmiris to decide their future. It may, however, be remarked that geographically Kashmir forms a large area contiguous to Pakistan. Economically all the natural wealth of Pakistan has its source in Kashmir, and culturally Kashmiris are akin to the people of Pakistan, especially to their next door neighbours, the Pathans of the North Western Frontier Province.

Hopes for the Future.

Side by side with the Kashmir question, however, there are other cross-currents in inter-Dominion relationship which decidedly constitute a silver-lining to the hitherto gloomy horizon. The Pakistan Premier in an extensive tour of East Pakistan did his best to allay Hindu apprehensions and prevent an exodus of Hindus from East Bengal. Addressing Government officers in Dacca, the capital of East Bengal, he emphasised the sanctity of the Qaid-i-Azam's oft-repeated pledge to the minorities that in Pakistan, they would receive not only just and fair but also generous treatment. An inter-Dominion Conference was also recently in session in New Delhi considering ways and means of creating a sense of security among minorities and of preventing their exodus from one Dominion to another. India's Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel has also struck a note of goodwill towards Muslim minorities in India. Addressing a public meeting at Gawalior, he deprecated the mentality which encouraged the harassing of Muslims simply because they happened to be Muslims. India's newly-won freedom would not be worth much, he said, if anyone thought he was at liberty to harass Muslims. Muslims who were loyal to India, he urged, should be treated as brothers. This solicitude for Muslims, coming from the mouth of Sardar Patel, is a very wholesome and welcome change. Muslims, however, would need practical proof of this changed outlook in matters of actual daily life. The promise that only "loyal" Muslims should be treated as brothers may mean anything and everything and it all depends on what yard-stick the Sardar applies to test the "loyalty" of Indian Muslims.

The nine-day inter-Dominion conference recently held at Delhi has gone a long way towards bringing about better understanding between India and Pakistan. Frank discussion has cleared away many difficulties and a substantial measure of agreement has been reached on a number of issues as, for
example, disputes over boundaries. The conference has decided to refer the question of the frontier between East and West Bengal and East Bengal and Assam to a judicial tribunal to the findings of which both Dominions have agreed to adhere. Special arrangements have been made to prevent incidents while awaiting the decision of the tribunal. Both Dominions have also undertaken to guard against acts of exaggerated patriotism by subordinate officers which have in the past frustrated the smooth working of agreements.

However, until the Kashmir question is solved there will not be real and lasting agreement between India and Pakistan and a regular ruse seems to be going on between the forces of good and evil in so far as the restoration of better relationship between the two Dominions is concerned. Islam and Hinduism, two of the world’s oldest cultures, today stand on trial. Should the highest values in each assert themselves and the two Dominions succeed in finding a peaceful solution to their present conflicts, and settle down as good neighbours, Pakistan and India will be showing the light to a benighted and war-scarred humanity. This, at any rate, is the hope and prayer of all those who honestly believe that notwithstanding Partition, the weak and woe of the two Dominions is inseparably inter-linked.

Muslims in Finland

During the last autumn a Turkish-Finnish public school with one class was opened in Helsinki. There is no official teacher and an unqualified person teaches religion, Turkish, geography and arithmetic. Needlework and gymnastics are taught by a Finnish teacher.

The late Zinetullah I. Ahsen Bore worked for fifteen years in order to get this school established. When the undertaking was already well advanced, the Ministries of Education both of Finland and of Turkey promised to give their help gratis. Conservative Muslims then offered opposition and as the school did not get enough pupils to begin its work the project was dropped.

The Muslims in Finland are very conservative. They do not accept the Roman alphabet for writing Turkish words, but insist on using Arabic letters. This is a great obstacle in bringing a competent teacher from Turkey. Besides, it is difficult to use Arabic letters in Finland, as nobody there can speak Arabic.

The Muslims there are mostly merchants without much schooling. The younger generation, however, has some education and supplies assistant judges (Finnish term for lawyers), engineers, doctors, etc. It is regrettable that the youth there is becoming more and more Finnish because of the lack of the knowledge of Islam and the facilities for teaching it. Many local Muslims also have married Finnish people.

There are two Islamic communities in Finland:
(1) The Islamic congregation of Helsinki; and
(2) The Islamic congregation of Tampere.

The Helsinki Imam is Mr. Ahmed Hakim, who came from Russia to Finland. He is an old man and naturally very conservative. The Tampere Imam, Professor Habibur-Rahman Shaker, came there with his family in 1947 from Bombay.

U.N.O. Delays Action on Italian Colonies

The United Nations General Assembly decided on December 8th, 1948, to postpone consideration of the question of the former Italian colonies until it resumes its meeting at Flushing Meadows, April 1st, 1949.

The fate of those colonies affects the profound interest and welfare of millions of Arab Somalis and Eritrean Muslims, who were the first to suffer the yoke of Fascism, and the first to fight against it.

Britain and the United States seem to have reached an agreement on the settlement of this question, while France and the Soviet Union maintain different points of view.

The Libyan Arabs represented by the Libyan Liberation Movement which has the full backing of the Arab League are determined to fight the return of any form of the Italian rule. In a national convention held early in November at Beni-Ghazi, it was unanimously decided to resort to physical resistance if the U.N.O. decided in favour of Italian trusteeship. Libya is now governed by British military administration.

Britain, desirous of fulfilling its pledge of independence to the Libyan tribal chief, Idris As-Sennousi, is claiming trusteeship over the eastern part of Libya (Cyrenaica), while postponing the decision on the western part (Tripolitania) until the U.N. General Assembly’s regular annual session in September, 1949.

Britain also proposes her trusteeship over the former Italian Somaliland, while favouring the return of Italian rule to Eritrea. She also favours giving Ethiopia an outlet to the sea through Eritrea.

The Muslim League of Eritrea representing over 70 per cent of the population, delegated Egypt to defend the Eritrean Muslims against the return of Italy to their country.

It is reliably reported that Washington has agreed to the British plan, while France eager to have Italy share her guilt of antiquated oppressive Latin colonisation, advocates the returning of all the colonies to Italy.

In the Arab states, together with Pakistan, India, Afghanistan and the rest of the Muslim countries are expected to put up a stiff fight for the right of self-determination for all these Muslim lands.

According to the petitions received by the U.N. Secretariat frequently mentioned in the Arabic press and incorporated in the report of the Plebiscite Commission of the Council of Foreign Ministers who investigated the grievances of the former Italian colonies on the spot, the first choice of the people is independence; but if this seems remote at this stage of their political consciousness, the U.N. trusteeship can be accepted as a solution with either a member of the Arab League or any Muslim state or Great Britain as an administrative power.

Arabs’ Charge of Jewish Sabotage in the U.N.O.

Dr. Charles Malik, President of the U.N. Social and Economic Council, drew the attention of Mr. Trygve Lie, U.N. Secretary-General, to what the Lebanese delegate described as the deliberate and systematic sabotage of facts and statements on the Palestine question by the Jewish employees on the U.N. Secretariat and its associated agencies.

Dr. Malik pointed out the calculated interference by strategically placed Jewish employees, especially in the matter of the plight of the Arab refugees. A conservative estimate mentioned by the Egyptian government in another complaint filed with the U.N. states that in key positions as well as in minor jobs, Jews of many nationalities form some seventy-five per cent of the staff.

Faris al-Khoury, of Syria, discovered a deliberate misphrasing in the text of the resolution of the Security Council on the Negeb question which, had it been left unchecked, would have had a detrimental effect on the Arab stand in Palestine. Inquiries revealed the malicious sabotage of the text by two Jewish employees of the U.N. Secretariat who were dismissed on the spot.

Arab governments have charged the Social Welfare Department and the Public Information Department, headed by Benjamin Cohen, of Chile, as well as the International Refugees
Organisation, with having made deliberate attempts to hinder the U.N.O. work among the political Zionists. In all these bodies the sabotage is traced to the numerous influential Jewish employees whose sympathises with political Zionists were manifested very openly.

Dr. 'Abdul Munir Ri'fai, Egypt's Under-Secretary of Finance and Delegate to the U.N. Social and Economic Council, demanded an investigation into this Zionist infiltration. Eighty per cent of the quota of employees allocated to the Arab States at Lake Success is taken up by the Jews of Arab nationalities. Of the ten accredited to Egypt, seven are Jews.

Iran's Seven-year Plan of Reconstruction

The Planning Committee of the Majlis (Iranian Parliament) has put the finishing touches to a seven-year plan of national reconstruction on which it is to vote shortly.

The plan was first mooted in September, 1947, but the Government headed by Ghuavam-es-Sultaneh fell before the plan had got past the initial stages of discussion. The Hakimi Cabinet, which followed that of Ghuavam-es-Sultaneh, considered a varied version of the plan, but did not in fact carry the matter further. However, the Hajir and Said Governments which followed decided that the plan was to be put through with all possible speed, and it is now being implemented.

The plan budgets for an expenditure during seven years of 21,000 million rials. 5,250 million rials are to be earmarked for agriculture, 5,000 million for railways, ports, aerodromes and roads, 3,000 million for industry and mining, 1,000 million for electrification and water-works, 1,500 million for building houses, 1,500 million for health services, 1,000 million for train engineering personnel, and finally, 1,000 million for the formation of an Iranian oil company.

Iran exports rice, vegetables, fresh and dried fruit and similar produce; in fact, farm produce accounts for almost the whole of Iran's exports. Consequently, the largest single item of expenditure under the plan is for agriculture. Nevertheless, an allocation has been made for industry. Iran, though as yet industrially undeveloped, has excellent mineral deposits, and it is hoped to develop these and to assist Iranian industries. Recently the textile firms of Isfahan arranged an exhibition of their products in Teheran, and Princess Ashraf Pahlevi encouraged the weavers of Iranian-made fabric by stating that she would, in future, wear clothes made of Iranian material. Members of the Majlis declared that they also would wear suits made of Iranian cloth. Such pronouncements, though excellent in giving a lead, are not sufficient in themselves, and the seven-year plan comes as a useful sequel to them. The textile industry is not, of course, the only industry to be helped, as allocations have been made for iron and steel smelting as well as for mining.

In dealing with the improvement of communications under the plan it is proposed to construct railways from Miaheh to Tabriz, from Shahrud to Meshed, and from Qum to Yetz. Railways are also to be built from Andimesh to the Iraqi frontier, from Tabriz to the Turkish frontier, and from Isfahan to link up with the Qum-Yezd Railway. Roads are to be built between Isfahan and Ahwaz, Isfahan and Arza and Kermanshah and Tabriz. In Northern Iran also, it is planned to develop a network of highways.

Under the plan extensive developments are to be carried out on harbours. They comprise the ports of Bushire, Bandar Abbas, Khorramshahr and Bandar Shapur. It is also intended to construct international aerodromes at Teheran and Abadan as well as seventeen first-class aerodromes in different parts of Iran.

In the matter of public health, the plan envisages vigorous preventative measures against disease.

Communist Plans for Malaya

In spite of the fact that Malaya is now in the fourth year of its liberation from the Japanese occupation, the greatest misfortune and disaster that has ever befallen Malaya in the course of her known history, it is still suffering acutely from an abnormally high cost of living. At present the cost of living is officially declared to be about 300 per cent higher than the 1941 level, and this is causing untold misery among the poorer inhabitants of the country, who constitute the great majority of the population. The position is further aggravated by an outbreak of Communist insurrection, which initiated some six months ago a widespread campaign of terror against almost everybody, and this has since put everything out of gear.

Communism is by no means a new thing in Malaya. It was known even long before the advent of the First World War, but its few adherents always worked underground, never venturing to come out into the open. Nevertheless, their propaganda was unceasing and their teachings took root and thrived among certain sections of the foreign elements, notably the Chinese, who formed innumerable secret societies all over the country. So far as is known, few Malays, if any, took any real interest in their doctrine. The truth is that the native soil of Malaya has not proved favourable to the growth of Communism.

At the date of the Japanese surrender, and for a considerable period prior thereto, the whole of Malaya was seething with secret animosity against the Japanese, but was unfortunately quite powerless to rise against them, owing to the presence of large concentrations of well-drilled, well-fed and fully armed Japanese troops distributed all over the country. It was during this period that the Chinese guerillas found the Malays ready and willing to support them with money and such little quantities of food-stuffs as they could spare in their underground campaign against the Japanese.

The British had for many months before the Japanese surrender been making various plans to recapitate Malaya and had in the course thereof sent small advance parties of men, with arms, ammunition, and necessary equipment, by means of aircraft into Malaya, in order to warn the people of the forthcoming British attack and to arrange facilities therefor. Happily, this attack was rendered unnecessary by the Japanese surrender, otherwise the whole of Malaya and its people would have been destroyed. Most of this supply of arms and ammunition was issued to the Chinese guerillas, because it was known that they were fighting to drive out the Japanese. Unfortunately, it is these very men who have turned out to be full-fledged Communists, bandits and terrorists, and who are now trying to overthrow the established Government with a view to the erection of a Communist Republic for the whole of Malaya.

It has since been discovered that the Communists in Malaya had made their plans even before the return of the British. At the date of the liberation they began publicly to wear the "One-Star" and "Three-Star" uniforms and to declare at their public meetings that, since the best thing for everybody was undoubtedly to make Malaya independent, to be ruled by the Malays in partnership with the Chinese and the Indians already in the country, who were all brothers belonging to one family," it was up to everyone to help and co-operate with them in driving out the "British Imperialists." They even went so far as to appoint their own governors, district officers, etc., and to take charge of every police station in the country. However, this was all short-lived, for as soon as the liberating forces entered the country, the British Military Administration assumed supreme control, with the result that the Communists had perforce to abandon all their grandiose schemes and henceforth to devote their attention solely to underground activities.
Having laboured for the best part of two and a half years, they apparently considered that they had matured and perfected all their plans for the expulsion of the British from Malaya; for, about four months ago, they embarked upon their ambitious campaign of terror against all the loyal sections of the population, including the British, the Malays and their own compatriots. According to their own programme, a Communist Republic was to have been established by the 1st August, 1948, with Headquarters in Singapore; but unfortunately for them, their plans apparently miscarried, owing probably to miscalculation, and, as the British Commissioner-General for South-East Asia (Mr. Malcolm Macdonald) said in a broadcast on that date, "They are to-day licking their wounds, instead of issuing decrees from the Government House in Singapore."

One is really surprised at the incredible folly of the Chinese Communists of Malaya in thinking that it is within their power to turn Malaya into a Communist Republic simply by driving out the British from the country. Even if they should succeed in making the British quit the peninsula, how can they hope to be able to convert the Malays, who are Muslims and whose religion (Islam) is strongly opposed to Communism and all it implies? This would be sheer madness, unless the whole of the Malay race were exterminated, which again is an impossibility. And with all Muslims throughout the globe, their religion is their paramount consideration, everything else being regarded as of secondary importance.

The British authorities, who on their return to Malaya suspected no unworthy motives on the part of anyone in the country, actually admitted representatives of the Malayan Communist Party to membership of the various Advisory Councils formed during the British Military Administration, and this official recognition perhaps gave them a certain amount of encouragement in the pursuit of their evil designs.

At about the same time all the Malay States in the Peninsula were formed into what was known as the "Malayan Union," which changed their status from British Protectorate into a British Colony. This change did not meet with the approval of the Malays, though it probably gladdened the hearts of the domiciled communities, and an agitation was therefore started by the Malays in every State, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the "Federation of Malaya," which came into force as from the 1st February, 1948.

It would not perhaps be out of place here to mention that all the parties and unions above referred to were more or less opposed to the Malay agitation to revert to their former status of British Protectorate instead of a British Colony—an agitation which was soon taken up and conducted on a Pan-Malayan basis by a central body representative of all States, known as the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). But the climax came only when it was known that, after negotiations with the UMNO, the British Government had agreed to replace the Malayan Union by a federation of all the Malay States, together with the Settlements of Penang and Malacca, and to restore the rights of the Malays as the original inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. The parties and unions thereupon rose in a body to protest against the new constitutional proposals, and organized strikes and harratts one after another in order to nullify them. These activities made it clear that almost all the parties and unions were linked more or less to the Malayan Communist Party. Owing to the repeated dislocation of legitimate public business, with consequent disorders and hardships brought about by the strikes and harratts, the Government outlawed all the parties and unions found to be responsible therefor. This led to the closing down of their offices and to a proportion of their members joining the Communist insurgents.

It is now widely known that the rebellion consists of two different classes of people, namely, Pure Communists and Robbers and Bandits. Their number is estimated to be between four and five thousand, scattered in more or less small bands at different out-of-the-way places all over the Peninsula. They are well armed with modern weapons, such as rifles, sten-guns, tommy-guns, machine-guns, automatic fire-arms, hand grenades, etc.

As has already been said, no one believes that the Malayan Communists will ever be able to achieve their intentions of constructing a Communist Republic for Malaya, nor will they ever succeed in driving the British out of the country. Their present campaign can only have some "nuisance" value, and sooner or later they will have to surrender or be wiped out altogether.

During the last six months they have been carrying on their campaign of murder, arson and looting, chiefly against tin mines and rubber estates, with occasional attacks on isolated police stations and police posts, no doubt with the idea of disrupting Malaya's economy and adding more arms and ammunition to the quantities already in their hands. But despite all the lawlessness and banditry involved in these activities, the output of Malaya's primary industry (tin-mining and rubber-planting) has not been affected to any serious extent. There is no better proof of their failure than in the latest available statistics dealing with the production of these industries which have become the target of their attacks. The figures for both tin and rubber show that, notwithstanding the innumerable outrages committed almost daily to strike terror into the hearts of the workers in such industries during the past four months, production has nevertheless been well maintained at a high level.

Libya

'Abdul Rahman 'Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, is reported to have recommended a treaty between Italy and an independent Arab Libya and Arab League, guaranteeing full rights to all Italians in Libya, including power to elect a representative in the proposed Libyan Cabinet. Italy in return should agree to drop claims for rule over her former colony. 'Azzam Pasha's suggestion has been viewed with reservation by Libyans, for it is feared that Italians might make capital out of such guarantee privileges for their further expansion and imperil Libyan independence.

On returning from a national convention held by the Arab national organization and political parties at Ben-Ghazi, Dr. Fuad Shukri, counsellor to the Libyan Liberation Committee, declared in Tripoli, that the objective of the liberation movement was to achieve self-determination. All other issues such as the form of government and social and economic programmes were talked to await future developments. The resolutions of the Libyan national convention were carried to Cairo where practical measures for their implementation are being studied by the exiled Libyan leaders.

Agents of Italian Zionist organizations in Tripoli and Libya are fomenting religious and political intrigues among the Arab population of Libya, in the midst of which the Libyan Jews lived for generations. Bombs have been thrown in the Arab quarters adjoining the Jewish sections in Tripoli, which is under British Military administration.

Libyan spokesmen assert that this Zionist move is aimed at securing privileges and extra-territorial special minority status for the Libyan Jews through fomenting religious antagonism. The authorities have jailed several Zionist leaders and confiscated inflammatory Zionist literature.
North Africa and France

Tunisia.

The French even today are attempting to bring about the incorporation into France of those parts of North Africa under their control. It would seem that for France the world is at a standstill as she appears to be entirely unaware of the powerful surge towards independence evident in North Africa and in certain other parts of the world. France's latest move in carrying out her design of transforming Tunisia into a province of Metropolitan France is to pass a law under which an election is to be held with a view to sending to the Parliament of the French Republic representatives of the French residents in Tunisia. This law was promulgated without prior confirmation by decree of His Highness the Bey of Tunis. This is an entirely new principle impinging on the sovereignty of Tunisia, and outside the framework of the treaties existing between the two countries.

Destour Delegation.

The French move caused grave anxiety to the people of Tunisia and the Destour, which is the leading political party in the country, sent a delegation consisting of Mr. Salah Ben Youssef and Mr. Chadly Khallady to wait on His Highness and to inform him of the apprehension of the Tunisian people at the threat menacing the sovereignty of their country, and at the attempt by France to induce His Highness to agree to the principle of representation for French residents in Tunisia in the French Parliament. The delegation emphasised that it had come to its knowledge that these attempts were really a roundabout way of turning Tunisia—at present a sovereign state—into an integral part of the French Union. His Highness affirmed in a categorical declaration that his attitude had not changed since 1946. His attitude had formally and effectively been opposed to the representation of the Tunisian French colony in the Parliament of France. His Highness went on to state that in no circumstances would he now affix his Seal to any document reversing his former attitude as he deemed that the relationship between Tunisia and France should in no way extend beyond the framework of the treaties between the countries. His Highness also authorised the delegation to inform the Tunisian public of his decision in order that their fears might be dispelled.

The delegation expressed its gratitude to His Highness for his firm attitude in the defence of Tunisian sovereignty.

Message from the Bey.

Subsequently, the following message from His Highness the Bey of Tunis to his people was issued by the Prime Minister:

"The Palace has received a great many letters and telegrams in which the writers express their profound affection for their august Sovereign on account of his solicitude for them and also for his firm attitude.

"It is for this reason that it gives pleasure to the Prime Minister to express to them the great satisfaction they have caused His Highness—whom God preserve!—and to assure them that his paternal sentiments towards his subjects have not changed and will never change, no matter what circumstances may develop and in spite of the vicissitudes of time.

"His firmness in protecting his people and his country against all comers is that of a man solely guided in his actions by equity and justice.

"May God assist him in bringing about the happiness of his country!"

Maghrib Declaration to the U.N.O.

A further move in the struggle for the independence of North Africa took place in Paris on the 2nd November, 1948, when a joint declaration was presented to the United Nations Organisation by the Maghrib (Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) Nationalist parties—the Istiqlal Party of Morocco, the M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedom for Algeria) and the Destour Party of Tunisia.

A remarkable feature of the tripartite declaration is the unanimity of the three Maghrib parties on what they consider to be the sole solution of the problem; namely, the abolition of the colonial system and the election of a constituent assembly in each of the three countries of North Africa.

The declaration runs as follows:

"The Istiqlal Party (the party for Moroccan independence), The Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedom for Algeria (M.T.L.D.) and the Destour Party of Tunisia,

"Faithful representatives of the sentiments and hopes of the peoples of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, indivisibly united by ethnic, historical, economic and ideological bonds,

"SALUTE with joy the reunion of the third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations' Organisation, which has grown out of the War of Liberation in which the peoples of North Africa took active part;

"SEIZE this occasion respectfully to draw the attention of the United Nations to the gravity of the political situation in

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North Africa, which the characteristic imperialist policy, whatever the form of the colonial regime installed in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, has brought about by:

1. the violation of the national sovereignty of the three countries and the destruction of their individual personalities,
2. the establishment of a foreign administration which has seized all power and has taken charge of all the vital resources of the three countries,
3. a contempt for the rights and interests of the indigenous population which is submitted to a regime of exploitation and to most cruel oppression,

EMPHASISE that this imperialist and racial policy followed in North Africa is contrary to the principles of the United Nations and is of a nature likely to bring about an endangering of peace and security in the Mediterranean Basin;

DECLARE that the only possible solution of the present crisis lies in,
1. the abolition of the colonial regimes established in North Africa and the recognition of the independence of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia,
2. the election of a constituent assembly in each of the three countries to endow them with democratic constitutions and to define within the framework of national sovereignty the legitimate interests of foreigners resident in North Africa;

RENEW their faith in the principles of the United Nations and their desire to co-operate in the sphere of international life and to fight by all means to the end that international ethics may triumph over the practices of imperialism.

Signed:
On behalf of the Istiqbal Party (Morocco),
EL-MAHDI BEN BARKA.
On behalf of the M.T.L.D. (Algeria),
AHMED MEZERNA.
On behalf of the Destour Party (Tunisia),
YELLOULI FARES.

**Sa’udi Arabia**

An Egyptian hygienic commission has completed a research study of the hygienic and health conditions in the Hijaz and in the western parts of Sa’udi Arabia under an agreement with Egypt.

Extensive and systematic measures were recommended by the commission and forty Egyptian experts were left to carry on the campaign for improvement in the social and hygienic conditions of the urban population of Mecca, Medina and Jeddah.

Last year slaughter houses were erected to solve the hygienic problem created by the traditional season of animal sacrifice and the distribution of meat to the poor during the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Improvements have been taken in hand in primitive irrigation in Jeddah and the outmoded utilities in Medina. The work is being done by a number of Sa’udi Arabians who were trained on the spot to carry on the improvements.

**Congress of Soviet Muslims in Tashkent**

A Congress of Soviet Muslim clergy and believers was held in Tashkent in mid-December. Those taking part included followers of Islam residing in the Central Asiatic Republics and Kazakhstan, as well as guests from the Transcaucasian Republics, the Russian Federation and many other localities inhabited by Muslims. The 87-year-old Mufri Ishan Babakmanov reported on the activities of the Muslim Ecclesiastical Administration of Central Asia and Kazakhstan headed by him. It is this organisation which guides the religious life of several millions of Muslims of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan.

**Pakistan’s Ambassador to the U.S.A. in Trinidad**

His Excellency Al-Hajj Mirza Abul-Hasan Ispahani, Pakistan’s Ambassador to the United States of America, while on his South American goodwill tour, arrived from British Guiana at the Piarco (Trinidad) airport early in the morning of Tuesday, 9th November, 1948. His Excellency was received at the airport by the Trinidad Muslim Reception Committee, and by an enthusiastic crowd which gave him a very warm and rousing welcome. Over 6,000 men and women had assembled at the airport to greet the ambassador. The aerodrome resounded with the cry of "Pakistan Zinda Bad!" ("Long Live Pakistan!") , "Ispahani Zinda Bad!" ("Long Live Ispahani!").

To the representatives of the Press the Ambassador said that he started his journey from Washington "on a goodwill mission to the South American countries. I met Presidents, Foreign Ministers and other Government representatives, with whom I discussed matters of economic relationship with my country.

"My reception everywhere was cordial; now I am confident that the already existing friendly relationship with those countries and mine will be further strengthened.

"I had a happy and busy time in British Guiana. I was deeply moved by the affection that my Muslim brothers and sisters showed me in making my stay there so happy.

"I shall be in Trinidad for three days. I have brought to the inhabitants of this colony the greetings of seventy-five million Pakistanis."

During his three-day stay in Trinidad, His Excellency had a very crowded programme. He attended two civic receptions—one in Port of Spain and the other in the town of San Fernando; two public receptions—one sponsored by the Trinidad Muslim Reception Committee at San Juan, which was attended by 7,000 people, including Sir John Shaw, the Governor of Trinidad, and members of the Legislative Council; the other in South Trinidad given by the San Fernando Reception Committee at Skinner’s Park.

In the course of his reply to the address of welcome at San Juan, the Ambassador said: "I have listened with reverence to the things you said of our leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and, ladies and gentlemen, I will not be true to myself, to my people, and to my Creator, if I do not admit with sorrow the untimely demise of the Qaid-i-Azam, which descended upon us as a bolt from the blue. Our nation still reels from the impact, but I am happy to say that, no matter what the enemies of Pakistan said, their hopes did not fructify; for Pakistan, instead of being weak and in chaos, marshalled her forces and shouldered the responsibility.

"Jinnah is dead (may his soul rest in peace!) but Pakistan is not dead. Pakistan will never die. Pakistan will be one of the great countries of the world because she has faith in herself.

"We have no desire for territorial expansion, nor to deprive the weak of their integrity. Pakistan means what it says, and says what it means. As a nation, we hope to live by the truth, and, if necessary, die for truth."

"It is great music to my ears to hear the Hindus say that
Jinnah was a great man who fought to the very end for the emancipation of his nation. The British India of old has given birth to two young healthy nations and I pray that the day is near when India and Pakistan will forget their differences and live in peace and harmony."

His Excellency the Ambassador was the guest of the Trinidad Muslim League on Wednesday afternoon, the 10th November, at St. Joseph, where he laid the foundation-stone of the Jinnah Memorial Mosque. On his arrival, His Excellency was the first religion on the earth that made it obligatory for men to treat women as their equals.

"Islam is a complete religion, a complete code of life, and the greatest religion God sent on earth, and should be proclaimed from the house-tops. You as Muslims have a great spiritual and cultural heritage of which you should be proud—you must endeavour to live up to it.

"It was one of the most privileged duties of my life to lay, this afternoon, the foundation-stone of the Jinnah Memorial

His Excellency Al-Hajj Mirza Abul-Hasan Ispahani, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States of America, with Al-Hajj Maulavi Ameer 'Ali (left), passing through an archway made of the flags of Pakistan by a Guard of Honour presented by the junior members of the Muslim League of Trinidad

was received and escorted by Al-Hajj Maulavi Ameer 'Ali, Mufri, and Mr. Mohammed Hakeem Khan, President, Trinidad Muslim League, through a guard of honour composed of junior members, boys and girls, of the League, who formed an archway with the flags of Pakistan, to a decorated platform, amid shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar!" and "Pakistan Zinda Bdi!"

A gathering of over 2,000, including about 800 ladies, had assembled to witness the foundation-stone laying ceremony, which was very solemn and impressive. Having laid the foundation-stone of the Jinnah Memorial Mosque, His Excellency addressed the gathering. In the course of his address he said:

"I believe that women have an equally important part to play in the life of mankind as men. They are our better halves and their influence should go out into the community. Islam Mosque—a house of prayer and love. As a humble Muslim I pray that the mosque, when completed, will be always filled with devotees and worshippers.

"If you have any consideration for the memory of Qaid-i-A'zam you would try to do what he has asked you to do. Qaid-i-A'zam stood for Muslim solidarity, and his message was 'Muslims Unite.'"

"When I return I shall report to my Government what enthusiastic Muslims there are in Trinidad. You are as conscious of Pakistan as the people of Pakistan itself."

His Excellency left Trinidad on his journey to Washington on Friday, 12th November, 1948. The impression Mr. Ispahani has left among all sections in Trinidad about himself is: "The Ambassador is an amiable and dynamic personality."
NOTES AND COMMENTS

TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF THE ARAB LEAGUE

The bitter disappointment of the Arab League States with the manner the U.N.O. handled the Palestine problem, the Anglo-Egyptian dispute, the Hyderabad case and the Kashmir affair had created a strong trend in the political thinking of Arabs to follow an inter-regional co-operation in defence, and economic and political co-operation as the only chance of survival in the event of a future conflict between the big powers. This political thinking is the result of the open bias shown to aggressive political Zionism in the Holy Land by both Russia and the United States of America. Britain was the only big power which was sincerely eager to point out the injustice shown by the United Nations to the Arab case, emphasising the danger of throwing the Arabs into self-centred isolationist nationalism serving neither the U.N.O., nor international security, nor the Anglo-Saxon interests in that strategic part of the world.

Rumours about Britain's attempt to promote treaties of mutual defence pacts with the Arab States against further Russo-Zionist aggression in the Near East are not without foundation. They are reliably reported in authoritative Arabic organs of public opinion.

Clifton Daniel, a well-known American correspondent on Middle Eastern affairs, reports in the New York Times for November 28th, 1948, that Britain's previous policy of keeping the armed forces of the Arab States weak, where Britain exercised long and effective influence, was responsible for the Arab military set-back in the Palestine campaign. While the Zionists are using up-to-date Russian and Czechoslovak and sometimes American tanks, bombers and naval vessels, the Arab forces are using antiquated weapons supplied to them by Britain under previous treaties.

Britain realizing the excellent qualities of the Arab soldier, exemplified by the Transjordan Arab Legion, is attempting to remedy its previous erroneous military policy in the Near East.

The Russian-Zionist Alliance in the Holy Land is greatly responsible for the sad situation in Palestine. According to Akbar Al-Yoom, Cairo, an authoritative Egyptian weekly, over 300 Russian officers and pilots are directing the Zionist mercenary forces in Palestine. According to two sensational reports appearing in The Christian Science Monitor and The Chicago Daily News for November 4th, 1948, fabulous sums are being spent by Jewish agents in Eastern Europe as well as in North America for the recruiting of ace pilots and soldiers who are being paid for fighting for the Zionists in Palestine.

Egypt is planning huge armament factories to supply the rest of the Arab States, and is building a substantial air force. According to the speech from the throne delivered by H.R.H. the Regent 'Abdul Ilah, early in December 1948, Iraq, the second in command in the Arab League, is instituting similar steps.

CAN THERE BE A JUST WAR?

At the British Council of Churches meeting held in London recently the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, asked the question whether there could be such a thing as a just war with weapons like the atomic bomb. Dr. Bell said that it was the opinion of the Christian Church that a just war was one which was fought for a just cause, was intended to end in a just peace and was fought with humane weapons. With the introduction of a hired army of soldiers and sailors, the whole nation was enlisted, and war became total. A more serious change came about through the invention of modern weapons of war—gas, bacteriological implements, obliteration bombing and the atomic bomb. The Bishop maintained that "No weapon is exactly humane, but these weapons differ from the ordinary weapons because they are indiscriminate and they involve a thousand at a time in destruction and even thousands with the atomic bomb." The Bishop stated that in view of the fact that weapons of such a mass character were employed it was clear that the distinction between a just and an unjust war no longer held good. It might be that in certain circumstances it was the duty of a Christian to take part as a combatant in the conflict but he maintained that "No war can be defended or described as a just war because of the use of these inhumane and unjust weapons." Dr. Bell continued by stating that if people could be made to realize that warfare was incompatible with the teachings of the New Testament and with justice, war would be made even more indefensible than before.

For a very long time the conviction has been growing among Western peoples that war is entirely horrible and that it can only drag humanity lower and lower. However, wars and yet greater wars continue to occur until men begin to talk of the next world war as being likely to end civilization. What is it that forces men into indiscriminate warfare in the West in spite of their natural repugnance to it? Is it not because there is no religious code of ethics regarding war in the New Testament and consequently in Western Culture? Surely the answer must be that this is the reason otherwise men would not be groping in the mists of uncertainty to discover the definition of a just war.

And what of the Muslims? The Prophet Muhammad (upon whom be the peace and blessings of God!) was compelled in defence of Islam to wage war and so we have had left to us a complete code of ethics regarding war.

Islam forbids aggressive war of any kind, and only permits, indeed enjoins, fighting for certain specific purposes. These are: to restrain disturbances and to defend the land from invasion, to defend life and property and religion and the oppressed. The Qur'an is the authority for this, as is shown by the following verses:

"... If you will not do it (fight), there will be in the land persecution and great mischief." (8 : 75).

Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely God is well pleased to assist them." (22 : 39).

"And had there not been God's repelling of some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques in which God's name is much remembered; and surely God will help him who helps His cause... (22 : 40).

Even in time of war a Muslim soldier is forbidden to touch an enemy's house of worship and he must spare the lives of religious teachers. Abu Bakr, the immediate successor of the Prophet, said: "Let there be no perfidy nor falsehood in your treaties with your enemies; be faithful in all things, proving yourself ever upright and noble, and maintaining your word and promise truly. Do not disturb the quiet of the monk or hermit and destroy not their abodes."

In issuing these orders Abu Bakr was being guided by the Qur'an and the example set by the Prophet.

Now, as to the making of peace, the Qur'an lays down: "Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist, that which is past shall be forgiven them; and if they return, then what has happened to the ancients has already passed.

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"And fight with them until there is no more persecution and religion should be only for God; but if they desist, then surely God sees what they do.

And if they turn back, then know that God is your Patron; most excellent is the Patron and most excellent the Helper. (8 : 38-40).

These verses lay down that fighting is only permitted in self-defence and that as soon as the enemy desists from battle, Muslims should not continue fighting. This is confirmed by the verses which run:

"And if they incline to peace, then incline to it and trust in God."

"And if they intend to deceive you, then surely God is sufficient for you." (8 : 61-62).

It is clear, therefore, that Muslims are enjoined to fight on certain occasions and as the causes for which they must fight are clearly laid down, it would be possible for an impartial body of Muslims well versed in the Qur'an and the Hadith to determine on knowing all the circumstances whether a war was just or unjust. As for the use of indiscriminate weapons such as the atomic bomb it would appear that their use in warfare would not be compatible with the Islamic ethics of war unless they could be directed exclusively on to purely military objectives in the true sense of that expression. It is clearly laid down in the Islamic code of warfare that women, children and old people as well as men of religion must be spared, as was so emphatically demonstrated by the magnificent treatment of the conquered Christian population of Jerusalem by Salah ud-Din (Saladin). The indiscriminate bombing of civilian cities would not, therefore, be tolerated. The Prophet Muhammad forbade the use of arrows with poisonous tips which, when striking the enemy, caused painful death. The use of poisonous gases is absolutely foreign to the Islamic ethics of war.

From the above few paragraphs it is clear that Muslims by reference to the principles of warfare as laid down by Islam are in a position to judge whether a war were just or unjust. It is true that human nature being what it is, all the parties in a war claim to be fighting for a just cause, but should there be any subsequent enquiry, such as the many war-crime trials still being held since the termination of the late war, a council of Ulema could, by adhering strictly to the principles of Islam on the subject of war, determine on whom should be laid the blame for an unjust war.

AL-AZHAR ON COMMUNISM

The Egyptian Ministry of the Interior sent some time ago to the Rector of Al-Azhar a book, *Ash-shuyu'iyyab fi l-Islam* (Communism in Islam), in which the author deals with the doctrine of Abu Zarr al-Gifari, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad (upon whom be the peace and blessings of God!). Abu Zarr al-Gifari, who is noted for his piety, died in 32 or 33 A.H. (652–654 A.C.). The author of the book concludes from the teachings of Abu Zarr that in Islam is to be found Communism. The Ministry wished to know the opinion of Al-Azhar on the desirability of the book being published. The question was discussed by a special body of the Ulema of Al-Azhar which gave the following pronouncement on the matter:

Among the principles of the religion of Islam is the respect for private property, each individual can make use of all legal ways and means to acquire wealth and to increase it if desired, and in this way could possess whatever property he wishes.

All the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad and all the savants of Jihath (Al-faqaha al-mujtabadilam) are of the opinion that the benefits of wealth could have no limits other than those which have been imposed by God, as for instance, the religious tithe (Zakat), the land-tax (kharaj), obligatory expenses connected with marriage and with kith and kin, sums for use in contingencies, e.g., provision of financial help to unfortunate fellow-beings, the giving of food to the hungry poor and to making charitable offerings of money in expiation of guilt, and sums required for the defence of the country in order to maintain law and order when the finances of the Bait ul-Mal (Treasury) are not sufficient. It is in this way that this question is explained in the commentaries of the Qur'an and of the Sunna and in the books of Islamic Law.

The conduct to which Islam invites every Muslim is to dispose of his wealth of his own free will and to any extent he wishes for carrying out good works. This must be done without extravagance and prodigality. God says in the Qur'an (17 : 31), "And do not make your hand as if tied to your neck (that is, do not be avaricious), nor stretch it forth to the utmost limit (that is, do not be prodigal), lest you should sit down afterwards blamed and reduced to poverty." Also in describing His servants God praises them thus: "And they when they spend (of their possessions in alms) are neither extravagant nor parsimonious, rather are they justly balanced between these two extremes." This is supported by the Sunna in the various Hadith.

Now, Abu Zarr al-Gifari thinks instead that every person must spend in the way of God (fi sabit l-Allah), or in benefactions, the wealth which exceeds his necessities and which it is not commendable to accumulate in excess of one's own necessities and of those of one's own family. This is the opinion of Abu Zarr but it is not known that any of the Companions of the Prophet shared his views. Many Muslim savants have undertaken instead to controvert his doctrines and have approved of the opinions of all the other Companions of the Prophet and of the generation that followed Muhammad immediately. There is, therefore, no possibility of doubt that Abu Zarr was mistaken in his opinion. In reality, this opinion of his is rather strange on the part of a Companion of Muhammad so illustrious as Abu Zarr, as it is far removed from the principles of Islam, as evidenced by the obvious truth. His contemporaries disapproved of it and found his opinions strange. Al-Alusi, after having exposed the doctrine of Abu Zarr in his commentary of the Qur'an entitled *Rub al-Mu'ani fi tafsir al-Qur'an al-'azim wa as-sab' al-Mathani*, printed at Bulag in 1301-1310 and at Cairo in 1346 A.H., writes as follows: 'There were numerous people who opposed this theory of Abu Zarr; they read to Abu Zarr the verses of the Qur'an regarding inheritance, pointing out to him that if it had been necessary to give all one's wealth away, the verses of the Qur'an would have no justification.' From all this it is clear that he was in error in formulating his. Abu Zarr must not, therefore, be followed when it is evident that he had erred, that his opinion is not in accord with the Qur'an, the Sunna and the precepts of the religion of Islam.

Because of this disturbing doctrine of Abu Zarr, Mu'awiya, who was then governor of Syria, requested the Caliph 'Usman to recall Abu Zarr from Syria, where he was living temporarily, to Medina. The Caliph recalled him. But as Abu Zarr continued to preach his doctrine, the Caliph was compelled to send him to Ar-Rababah, an isolated locality between Mecca and Medina, where he died.

From what we have said it is clear that the contents of the book, *Ash-shuyu'iyyab fi l-Islam* (Communism in Islam), are not in accord with the principles of Islam (la shuyu'iyyab fi l-Islam), in the generally accepted sense, and as indicated by the author of this book. From this it follows that a book of this nature must not be spread unless it is intended to subvert law and order and to bring corruption among those who are tepid in faith and ignorant of the principles of the religion of Islam.
THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON

The Annual General Meeting of the Muslim Society in Great Britain was held at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, on 12th December, 1948.

The proceedings were opened with a recitation from the Qur`an by Dr. S. M. `Abdullah. The Chairman, Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, then made a few opening remarks, after which he called upon the Honorary Secretary, Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, to read his report.

Sheikh Iqbal mentioned the progress made during the last year, saying: "A great increase in the activities of the Society is a reflection of the slow but steady world-wide re-awakening of Islam. Great strides have been made in promoting the aims and objects of the Society since the election of the present executive committee and its office-bearers. Membership of the Society is increasing steadily along with its activities."

Sheikh Iqbal then dwelt on the activities of the Society during the past year, giving a list of the lectures and at homes, etc., held, mentioning in particular the part which the Society had taken with other prominent bodies in London in raising funds for Arab refugees in Palestine. The Honorary Secretary then dealt at some length with the activities of the Muslim school for adults and children held at 18, Eccleston Square on Saturday afternoons, and he thanked Mr. `Abdul Majid, Dr. S. M. `Abdullah and others, not only for the work they had done in connection with the school, in which was taught the Muslim prayers, The Qur`an, The Hadith and elementary Arabic, but also for the work they had done for the Society during the past year.

Sheikh Iqbal went on to stress the absolute necessity of Islamic teaching if we are to hope to recapture our true position in the world as Muslims. He said: "The aim of this school is solely the teaching of the spiritual and practical aspects of Islam so that old Muslims as well as those who embraced Islam recently shall be given the opportunity of acquiring sufficient knowledge to enable them to carry out their duties as Muslims and to lead an Islamic way of life, based on the democratic concepts of universal brotherhood, equality, tolerance and social justice."

He went on to say: "Most of you already know that a Muslim children's class was added to the Saturday school a few weeks ago. I hope parents realize the importance of providing a solid foundation of Islamic education for their children, especially when they are living in the middle of a materialistic civilization. The need to stress moral values in this era of materialism is greater to-day than ever before."

The Honorary Secretary then dealt with the future programme. He said: "As regards our future programme, we should aim at more meetings and larger attendances. This is necessary not only from a religious point of view but also from the social and political point of view. The Muslim Society was established to propagate and promote Islam and to endeavour to form a real brotherhood whereby Muslims from all parts of the world might meet and mould the pattern of their existence on the basic principles of Islam, to achieve a synthesis of the various cultures and to interchange ideas and thus establish a closer union of action and ideals. To promote and gain these aims and objects, the Society holds meetings, literary and social gatherings and arranges as many lectures and receptions as the financial position allows. Almost the whole of the Society's income is derived from the annual subscription of ten shillings paid by the members. This is barely enough to defray the cost of printing, postage and refreshments for the monthly meetings. Hence, the support of the Muslim community is the first condition before we can carry out a major part of our present programme and remove the greatest obstacles to expansion."

There are hundreds of young Muslim students in London from all over the world. There is no proper facility for them to spend their leisure time in a useful way. The least we can do is to provide a library and reading-room. As a practical step towards achieving this object, let us start a drive for 1,000 members. Each member should give the widest publicity to all the activities of the Society and help to enrol as many new members as possible.

"May I take this opportunity to point out that it is one of our most important duties as Muslims to take full advantage of the Saturday classes, especially in view of the sinister storm-clouds gathering rapidly over the entire Muslim World. If we fail to see the writing on the walls of Kashmir and Palestine, then God help us! But it so happens that God helps only those who help themselves. Remember that we have no covenant with God to be protected by Him when we do not follow His commandments. On a short term view, there is enough cause for anxiety because there is over-confidence unaccompanied by any positive effort, but on a long term view we must be confident. The Prophet Muhammad (upon whom be the peace and blessings of God!), has given us a vast treasure in the teachings of Islam. Let us be proud and worthy of it."

"Finally, may I humbly point out to all our members in general and to our leaders in particular that they have a great duty to perform in order to bring about the long delayed re-awakening among us, who call ourselves Muslims. Only then can we aspire to convey the great Message of Islam to others."

After this encouraging report and moving appeal by Sheikh Iqbal, Major J. W. B. Farmer, the Honorary Treasurer, read his report, showing the Society to be in funds. Major Farmer made it quite clear, however, that if the Society was to have any hope of expanding to any very great extent, more funds were necessary and he hoped that these would come from increased membership. He associated himself whole-heartedly with Sheikh Iqbal's hope that a target of one thousand subscribing members would be reached.

The Chairman then invited members of the meeting to put questions to Sheikh Iqbal and Major Farmer. After some had been asked and answered, the meeting unanimously resolved to accept the reports of the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer.

The next business on the agenda was the election of office-bearers and the General Committee for the ensuing year. A list of the new Committee is given below:

President..........................Mr. `Abdul Majid.
Chairman..........................Mr. Isma'il de Yorke.
Honorary Treasurer..............Major J. W. B. Farmer.
Honorary Secretary...............Sheikh M. Iqbal.

Dr. S. M. `Abdullah.
Mr. David Cowan.
Mr. `Abdul `Aal.

Members.............................Mr. Yusuf Bustin.
Mr. A. T. M. Mustapha.
Mr. S. M. Jetha.
Mr. Hamid Faruq.

We were very pleased to see Sheikh Iqbal re-elected as Honorary Secretary. The work of a secretary is usually done behind the scenes and is not generally appreciated. However, no society can hope to prosper with a bad secretary as all correspondence must pass through his hands. Much of the post-war success of the Muslim Society in Great Britain is due to the sterling work quietly put in by him. We wish the Society all success in 1949.

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PAKISTAN FAIR IN LONDON

On Saturday, December 12th, 1948, a fair in aid of the refugees in Pakistan was held at the Islamic Cultural Centre, Regents Lodge, Park Road, London, N.W.8. The fair, organized by Begum Rahimtoola, wife of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, who was helped by a committee of Muslim ladies, was thrown open to the public from three o'clock in the afternoon until seven in the evening. It had been advertised previously by means of posters and handbills, and a steady stream of visitors passed in and out of Regents Lodge throughout the afternoon.

Funds were raised by the sale of various goods and refreshments and entrance tickets. The latter cost only sixpence, but had been reserved expressly for the purpose and a large display of cakes, sandwiches, biscuits, bread and butter, etc., met the eye of the hungry visitor. The members of the Committee in charge of refreshments themselves served tea to visitors, thus making all feel welcome.

In the midst of all this, Begum Rahimtoola could be seen constantly busy in keeping things going smoothly and happily. Her energy seemed boundless, as she went from stall to stall to see whether all was well, or whether anyone needed assistance. Gradually the articles for sale on the stalls got fewer and fewer until very little was left. This was indeed a testimony to the success of the fair.

Throughout the afternoon, Dr. 'Ali 'Abdel Kadir, who is in charge of the Islamic Cultural Centre, moved about chatting to this and that group. It was quite clear from the benign expression on his face that it gave him great pleasure to see his magnificent premises being used for so worthy a cause.

The fair at last being over, a number of Muslim students who had helped with the hard physical work of getting the stalls erected, got to work again, dismantled the stalls and cleared up so as to leave everything as tidy as possible.

Events such as these serve a threefold purpose and the thanks of all Muslims are due to Begum Rahimtoola and her willing band of helpers. First of all, they serve in their primary object of raising funds for the refugees who are so badly in need

Begum Rahimtoola (extreme right), wife of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London, standing behind one of the stalls in aid of the Pakistan Refugees' Fund

many purchasers, in their generosity, paid very much more for tickets.

The articles for sale, which included clothes, ornaments, toys, unrationed food and even religious books on Islam, were tastefully arranged on stalls at which the members of the Committee acted as saleswomen. In addition, certain articles were auctioned from time to time, a procedure which not only helped to swell the fund for the refugees, but also added to the enjoyment of the afternoon.

Begum Rahimtoola and her Committee had made great efforts to arrange attractive refreshments for the visitors to the fair. One of the big rooms of the Islamic Cultural Centre

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of assistance. Secondly, they help to bring together the Muslims in England, and thirdly, they bring Muslim affairs to the notice of the British public. It may be well to recall that a few months ago Begum Rahimtoola organized a stall representative of Pakistan at a fair held at St. James’s Palace. The Begum also organized a charity performance at the New Scala Theatre, London, in aid of the refugees. Such efforts are indeed worthy of success.

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE AT WOKING

On account of the second World War, the activities of the Woking Muslim Mission were reduced considerably. But with conditions becoming normal, it has again increased them in various ways and directions. The last war, especially its aftermath, has proved to the world beyond doubt the utter failure of our present-day materialistic outlook on life and the whole system based on it. Materialism, with all its advantages and discoveries, has brought untold misery, insecurity to life, property and honour of the entire human race. Signs are not wanting to show that people have begun to realize the need and importance of spiritual and moral forces required to set our world on its legs again. To all appearance we are living in a state of peace and not that of war, but in reality there is no peace anywhere in the world. Realizing that the world stands in need of the message of Islam, the Mosque at Woking, an outpost of Islam in the West, has started in a limited way advertising the free distribution of its Islamic literature to all those who would study the tenets and teachings of Islam and their application to the problems of the present-day world. This has brought in a good response. A good few people have written to the Imam for literature on Islam, which is free of charge to all enquirers. The response has been very encouraging. One enquirer, for example, wrote him the following letter:

"I note with interest your advertisement offering literature on the Islamic faith. I would be grateful if you would send me some. I enclose stamps.

"I have spent some years in Muslim countries and have maintained an interest in the Muslim world which has, however, been largely political. As politics in this context cannot be dissociated from religion I have often keenly felt my ignorance of your faith. The deficiencies of provincial libraries have, so far, inhibited my attempts to remedy this. I have given some slight study to the Qur’an but the English editions suffer from Christian interpreters and it is interpretation I need most. I do not know if my interest will ever show itself in any practical way; for I do not anticipate that I am likely to live in any Muslim state within the foreseeable future, but it may fall within my province (I am a youth officer) to speak to our young people about the Muslim world."

May we draw the attention of all well-wishers of Islam and those who believe in its moral, spiritual and social values in solving world problems of the day, to help us in the dissemination of these noble and lofty ideals. Advertising, as it is, is costly enough, but the free distribution of literature entails a still heavier expense and forms a heavy drain on the resources of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

Another important aspect of the work is the correspondence which is confined not only to this country but extends to far-away places. To give some idea of its nature, we print the following correspondence:

The Imam, The Mosque, Woking.
The Muslim Congress of Nigeria, 3, Obedina Street, Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria.

Dear Brother in Islam, Assalamo alaikum. We have pleasure to inform you that, by the Grace of God, the First Annual Conference of this Congress with representatives of all Muslim towns in Nigeria will be held at Oyo, Nigeria, on Thursday, 23rd December, 1948, at 10 a.m.

We need your proposals for the good management and progress of this Congress to manage affairs of all Muslims in Nigeria in accordance with Islamic teachings. We shall be pleased if you can send these proposals to us immediately you receive this letter, possibly by air mail, so as to reach us in time.

In reply to the above, the Imam wrote:

Woking, Surrey. 2nd December, 1948.

Dear Brother in Islam, Assalamo alaikum! Many thanks for your kind letter. We are greatly delighted to learn that the First Annual Conference of the Muslim Congress of Nigeria will be held on the 23rd December, 1948. May God Almighty crown your efforts with success. Amin!

We can suggest the following lines of work for your Congress:

1. Try to induce Muslims to join the Friday congregational prayers regularly and let the Imam enlighten the congregation on such subjects as deal with the practical problems of the day and give the Islamic solutions of these problems. Exhort Muslims to study the Holy Qur’an, the Hadith, the Arabic language, etc.;

2. Presch and practice the Brotherhood and Unity of Islam. Let the members of your Congress feel as brothers in Islam, not only among themselves, but also of the entire Muslim world;

3. Try to organize social gatherings and lecture meetings regularly;

4. Make arrangements for imparting the right sort of religious knowledge and instructions to (a) adults, (b) children, (c) newcomers to Islam. Let them feel and live as Muslims and not only be convinced in theory of the truthfulness of Islam.

5. If possible issue booklets, magazines, etc., on Islam and broadcast them freely. If you can arrange to induce your members and friends to become subscribers to our Islamic Review, it will help them a lot.


28th December, 1948.

Dear Brother in Islam, Assalamo alaikum! We have to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 2nd December, 1948, conveying to us your wishes about our First Annual Conference and your suggestions for the lines of work about our Congress.

We are grateful to God that our conference was a success and the representatives of thirty-seven principal towns in Nigeria who were present agreed to your proposals for unity and cooperation and the house resolved to request the Governor of Nigeria to be Chief Patron of the Congress, the Sultan of Sokoto Patron, and the Alafin of Oyo Vice-Patron.

Yours sincerely,

THE穆S回M众INE 命BER回E THE回IDEGE.
BOOK REVIEWS


This beautifully illustrated book edited by Mr. Basil Gray, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, is a collection of ten plates in colour reproduction of Mughal paintings, with an introduction and explanatory notes by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. This series does more than introduce, as the publishers assert, to a little fascinating world; indeed it brings before one’s eyes a civilization now neglected, but which in the past was a great contributor in the field of science and art in particular. These plates are only partly representative of a brilliant phase in Islamic art, which shone after the Mughal dynasties established themselves in India. The author informs us that Akbar the Great was the real founder of Mughal painting and that it excelled in the sixteenth century and steadily declined in the late seventeenth century. The development of Mughal painting goes, however, beyond its apparent home, and although influenced by the indigenous Hindu arts, Persian affinities with Chinese influences are often present. Mughal painting, however, is the outcome of the great Arab school of decorative painting and Chinese influences first appeared in the seventh century when artists from Khoutan journeyed to China. The proximity of India to China further favoured the implantation of an art where line drawing and flat tints form delicate patterns.

Makrizi’s manuscript on Islamic paintings has been lost, but many references to it have survived and demonstrate that the representation of the human figure, although forbidden by orthodox Muslims, was common in all periods. It is known that the Caliph Abd el-Malik built a mosque (in Jerusalem) the doors of which were painted with images of the Prophet Muhammad. This restriction in the representation of the human figure in painting due to Jewish tradition, was overcome by the influence that Byzantine artists exerted in Islamic painting; the Mughal artists delighted in the representation of human forms. Stylization is a common virtue in Islamic art and is present in Mughal painting although some examples like that shown on Plate 4, depicting the reception of news of the birth of Salim, is full of life and movement and reminiscent, however, both in perspective and composition, of some of the early Italian paintings. Sixteenth century Mughal painting was greatly influenced by the presence of Jesuits in India, and Christian subjects such as the story of Adam’s expulsion from Paradise are still to be seen in Akbar’s palace in Delhi. The Chahar Tree reproduced on Plate 6, both in composition and colour harmony, is a great masterpiece dating from the reign of Jahangir. Although strong Persian influences are present, the picture is clearly Indian in spirit.

The plates in this book give but a small idea of the wealth of Mughal painting, as they have been selected from British collections only. The magnificent equestrian portrait of a Mughal sultan, in the Kechchlin collection, is another seven- teenth century masterpiece in the true grand manner. The contribution of Mughal artists to the Islamic schools of painting is that of having departed from the art of miniature in favour of a more vivid and realistic painting, which has undoubtedly influenced many modern European painters. H. O. C.

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD, by Muhammad ‘Ali. Published by Cassell, London, 1948. Pp. xi, 192. 5/-. The name of Cassell has for many years been one of household familiarity. Many aged men and women of the present day will recall with pleasure the picture which graced the hoardings in all English-speaking countries six or seven decades ago entitled “The Boy: What will he become?” It was the advertisement of Cassell’s Popular Educator, which it was found necessary to revise and re-issue very frequently in order to meet the persistent demands. The fathers and mothers of the period also awaited with impatient interest the next issue of the Quiver or the Family Magazine or the Saturday Journal, and the more serious-minded were equally impatient to peruse the next part or volume of the work then being issued from the pen of F. W. Farrar and Bishop Eliot. Such, however, has been the uniform experience of the firm since its foundation, the only variation being in the names of the authors who held high places in the minds of the people. Times have altered, but the demand for knowledge to be supplied by reliable authorities continues and in the ever-increasing facilities to meet that demand Cassell’s have ever been to the fore and made easy the acquisition of such.

In The Living Thoughts Library they have entered the fields of both religion and philosophy. In this instance they have, in accordance with their custom, enlisted the services of a writer who is thoroughly at home in his subject. Mr. Muhammad ‘Ali, whose name is a guarantee of both authenticity and veracity—would that the same could be said of all writers on this subject—has devoted greater attention to the acts than to the teaching of Muhammad—for the Prophet was a man of deeds rather than of words. Still, the biography is efficient and no important incident is omitted. Above all, it is emphasized that Muhammad was a man of faith and, therefore, a man of prayer. He was a leader of men and had learned obedience himself—obedience to the divine will. He knew no artificial dividing line between religious and secular. To him all life was divine, he made the common details of daily life religious acts, for all life is sacred. Life must be lived in accord with the divine pattern, as set out and planned in the Qur’an.

To many the Qur’an is, as they describe it, a farrago: certainly the devout convert often finds difficulty in mastering the contents owing to its seemingly irregular presentation. The general reader is slow to believe that the Qur’an applies equally to secular as to spiritual life—as said, the divorce between the two is not recognized in Islam though generally assumed in Christianity and, in a great measure, in the laws of the country. Every act in the life of the Muslim, however, is, or should be, directed and governed by prayer and obedience to the will of God. Much assistance has been rendered in this volume to both ordinary readers and students by treating the Qur’an as many exegetists have treated the Bible and providing a textbook to the Qur’an in a handy but complete form, so that the texts on any subject can be found at a moment’s notice.

The duty of a critic—and every reviewer is called upon to criticise—is supposed to find some faults or defects in the volume he is reviewing. Are there any in this book? Very likely there may be some, but if there are they have not been perceived in the reading, the interest having superseded every other feature. One suggestion may, perhaps, be made. It would certainly have been an advantage to have given at the end of the book a list of the volumes referred to and where published or obtainable. “Muslim Prayer Book” does not give the reader any help; and “Bukhari” and “Mishkat” are of no assistance to any but students. These are three “references” picked out at random.

D. W.

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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.)

A TURKISH MUSLIM'S SENTIMENTS

Istanbul, Turkey,
October 19th, 1948.

In the daily newspaper, Vatan, Istanbul, for the 25th of October, 1948, I read an article about you from the pen of its Editor-in-Chief, Dr. Ahmed Emin Yalman.

Because of the nearness and interest that I feel for Muslims all over the world, I had felt for a long time the self-same love for the Muslim Community in London and had wished to know more about the ways of its members. I had always wanted to have some idea of the growth of Islam there and more especially of the Islamic ways and their application by the English Muslims. However, I have never had an opportunity of knowing this. But all the more this desire continued to persist until to-day, when at last the article I read in Vatan gave me your address and the opportunity of learning the names of the Mosque at Woking and its Imam. This is why I hasten to write this letter to your address.

I myself do not know English, but I have asked a friend of mine to write this letter for me.

Respected sir, what I would like to tell you is that, in the first place, I wish to congratulate you on your important mission and convey to you my best wishes for your success in your task, and secondly, to ask you what kind of help I could give you. I am willing to place at your disposal both my mind and my pen. To help you is the duty of every Muslim because, in the first place, you are a Muslim, and more especially so because you carry the heavy responsibility of representing the Muslim world in a foreign country. Through you, Sir, I salute with all my heart and send my best wishes to each Muslim there and present each one of them, although so far away, with my respects and devotions.

By God's mercy I am a Muslim engaged in the study of theology and mysticism. For thirty years I have devoted myself to this one subject. By the generosity and grace of God I made progress in their fundamentals and their details and in the end was able to write forty books under the title of Theological Series. By God's grace I also succeeded in printing and publishing seventeen books of this series. Book No. 8 was translated into English by a scientific group in the U.S.A. and was much appreciated. Also an Englishman in Istanbul translated into English some of my articles and these were published under the title of A Voice from the East.

Hoping to hear from you, I am,
With gratitude to the Lord of the Worlds,
Yours sincerely, OMER FEVZI MARDIN.

AN ENGLISH MUSLIM LADY AND OURSELVES

Liverpool, 16.
Dear Dr. Abdullah,
December, 1948.

... Then speaking of the Prophet—"It is fantastic to think that he ever felt so forth as to think of committing suicide." In The Spirit of Islam it is stated that the Prophet was "driven to the verge of self-destruction." The authority is given as Ibn al-Athir. I think it is unfair to blame anyone for misconceptions when Muslims appear divided. Miracles are another point which seems in dispute. Personally, I think it is more of an example that a plain man unaided by supernatural happenings should achieve the heights through faith in God than that miracles should turn things in his favour. God helps those who help themselves.

I could enumerate hosts of minor points such as these. I realize they are not the essentials of faith and it is mainly a question of outlook. I haven't an Oriental mind and see things from a different angle. But there can be no two ways of looking at A Study of Judaism and Christianity. (This is the title of an article that appeared in one of the issues of the Islamic Review.—Ed. I.R.) As far as I can see, that is really malicious. References are given supporting the statement that the Jews believed in wives of God and the divorce of God. It would require a very feeble or very evil mind to construe these passages thus. In fact, in one of them the Bible itself gives the interpretation, Oola—Samaria, Ulilba—Jerusalem. All the passages refer to the idolatry of the Jews. I am not so ignorant that I do not realize the Jewish conception of God started as a tribal God and evolved into a purer idea of the Deity, but, nevertheless, Ezekiel and Isaiah were quite late books among Jewish writings. I have read that both were written long after the events told—and I do not think that any honest reader could take or even think he was meant to take the parables literally. Certainly the orthodox Jews do not hold any such idea. Why, oh why, and when Islam has such a sound logical basis, is such a spate of unreasonable and faulty argument poured forth? A vast structure of careful reasoning is built up in Catholic theologies on a very shaky foundation. Islamic writers, with everything in their favour, are biased, and, in this case, false. Believe me, I don't write simply to defend the Jews nor to be abusive. It is a matter of "more in sorrow than in anger."

I can still say, thank God, that there is no god but God,
but I owe that solely to the Qur'an.

Yours sincerely,
MURIEL MURPHY.

MARRIAGE OF MUSLIM GIRLS TO NON-MUSLIMS

Edinburgh 3.
21st December, 1948.

Dear Sir,

I have read the letter of Mr. Hassan Glanvil on "Marriage of Muslim Girls to non-Muslims", and it is easy to appreciate Mr. Glanvil's anxiety over the question of the marriage of his Muslim daughters, but the solution with all the reasons given by him is not a correct one. The prohibition of marriage of a Muslim girl to a non-Muslim is not due to any political desirability on the part of Islam, as Mr. Glanvil thinks. Islam, as I am sure he would know, lays great emphasis on the freedom and rights of the individual. It is the only and foremost religion to give women rights, which even now are not enjoyed by women in any other religion or state outside Islam. And Britain is not an exception to this.

I would suggest to Mr. Glanvil or any other Muslim brothers or sisters who are faced with the same problem, to please act in the light of the true spirit of Islam, rather than to interpret it just to save a situation.

I believe the right way to meet the situation is for Muslim girls of marriageable age and their Muslim parents in this or any other country to form local Islamic groups, where friendly discussions on the religious and social aspects of life could take place. The boy friends of these Muslim girls could be invited to such discussions and if unbiased, I am sure they would not only appreciate but also convert themselves to the true and sublime teachings of Islam. Yours, etc.,

S. Z. AHMAD.

FEBRUARY 1949
ISLAM AND COMMUNISM

London, N.W.3.
24th December, 1948.

Dear Sir,

In his letter, appearing in your Islamic Review for January, Mr. John Cummings asks whether a Muslim may become a Communist and remain a Muslim.

In answering "No" it is not necessary, like the Archbishop of York, carefully to distinguish between the "economic merits and demerits of Communism."

To start with, let us consider these economic merits and demerits. It is laid down in the Holy Qur’ân that all Muslims must pay a percentage of their income towards the maintenance of poor Muslims. This is called Zakat. Trading and accumulating wealth is permissible but the payment of Zakat is strictly enjoined in order that the balance of the national economy be maintained. Not only does this balance the economy (rendering Communism unnecessary) but it trains men to realise their responsibilities towards their brethren and helps to promote the solidarity of Islam. Remember that the economy and law of a Muslim is part of his religion and is indivisible from the spiritual aspect. How is the payment of Zakat to be made in a property-less community?

The practice of Islam is designed to develop the individuality of a Muslim and his sense of responsibility towards God, his brethren and himself. The leaders of a Muslim state or community must be chosen from among themselves. "And their rule is by counsel among themselves." Would Communism or Western Democracy stand for this?

All Muslims are bound to the acquisition of knowledge. How may this be achieved under a regime of state schools with state selected students and whose teachers are in fact state representatives?

Remember that all such activities are a state monopoly in the modern Communist country.

Need one say more?

Yours, etc.

HAROLD A. SIMS.

THE USE OF ESPERANTO AND ISLAM

Sir,

Our sacred language is Arabic: sacred because only in Arabic was the last repetition and perfection of revelation given, which alone is now extant in authentic form, among the "Books" revealed in so many languages, lands, and ages. For every Muslim whose mother tongue is something else, the study of Arabic is a duty, for without it he cannot study the revealed word of God, and the recorded examples and interpretations of the Last Prophet (on whom be the peace and blessing of God!), nor use the traditional forms of congregational prayer which link our world-wide brotherhood. But, just as Pilgrimage and Fasting are Islamic duties, yet practical inability to fulfil them frees from the obligation, so also practical inability to master our common sacred tongue frees also the person so incapacitated from the obligation.

There are (praise be to God!) growing numbers of converts to the Faith in lands where it will certainly be many generations before it is the faith of the population in general: in my own land, England, in Wales, in U.S.A., in every country in Europe. These include young people and old people, people of neglected education as well as scholars, hard-pressed workers with the most limited time and energy. Enough Arabic for intelligent participation in congregational prayer they can certainly learn—it needs very little. In many lands, though not in all, however, the impossibility of their learning enough to follow a Friday sermon on current affairs is recognised to such an extent that the local vernacular, not Arabic, is used for that sermon (or part of it that is not a fixed formula of tradition but is topical and fresh each week) in orthodox mosques.

And what is the main difference between Islam and Unitarianism? It is that the brotherhood of Islam is a brotherhood; we are one community, however different our skins or vernacular languages or lands of residence. And we live in a world in which, among the secular-minded and worldly, there is more and more mixing and intercourse between those of different nations. Urgent and spiritually vital, then, is the need for a means of ready speech and writing for use in daily intercourse between brothers in Islam of widely different geographical origins, including intercourse between the isolated new convert in Birmingham, London, Los Angeles and Prague, and the inheritor of age-old Islamic culture in Cairo, Lahore, Istanbul, and Tehran—by mail, in the press, in voyages and visits, on the way to pilgrimage, and at places where a local colony of Muslims from a land of Muslims but resident in a land of non-Muslims use a Mosque which is also used by local-born converts. To the man who through sickness or poverty cannot keep the Fast of Ramadhan, it is not right to say, "Wait for a few generations, and public health and social well-being will be so improved that no man will be too sick or poor to fast!" On the contrary, something less good than fasting but better than nothing becomes such a man's duty—feeding the poor, or fasting in the wrong month of the year, for example. To the Welsh labourer known to me who is a devout Muslim, and a tired man of sixty, and who knows no syllable of any language but Welsh, and in his native Welsh: "my religious generations, till all the world accepts Islam and learns Arabic," when, meanwhile, he is an utter foreigner to the brother Muslims he may occasionally meet?

For less vital purposes than the sacred duty of not making any co-religionist a foreigner, Esperanto, the simplest form of generalised European language, with grammar learnable in an hour or so complete, with no exceptions, with minimum vocabulary to memorise and maximum vocabulary for expression of all meanings by simple word-building from the basic stock of root-words, has been in successful practical use by a few million people all over the world. They are the very people (that is why they adopted Esperanto) most sympathetically to listen to teachings and view-points other than those of their own environments. Their language-movement was inspired by ideals as near to those of Islam in regard to the social relationships of mankind as could be possible without knowledge of Divine Revelation in its final form, the Qur’ân, of which not even translations are available to the man in the street in many lands in which those hungry for knowledge of it have written to me in Esperanto for that knowledge.

It is free from any nationalist or imperialist associations, unlike English or any national tongue, neutral as well as easy: easy enough to be mastered in spare time in a month or two by the labouring man.

For those reasons, I plead on behalf of IKRO (Islama Korespondanta Rondo), Islamic Esperanto-correspondence Circle for the introduction into the Islamic Review of a regular Esperanto feature.

CASSIM ISMATI COLIN EVANS.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
WHAT IS ISLAM?

THE following is a very brief account of Islam, and some of its teachings. For further details, please write to the IMAM of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England.

ISLAM: THE RELIGION OF PEACE.—The word "Islam" literally means: (1) peace; (2) the way to achieve peace; (3) submission, as submission to another's will is the safest course to establish peace. The word in its religious sense signifies complete submission to the Will of God.

OBJECT OF THE RELIGION.—Islam provides its followers with the perfect code, whereby they may work out what is noble and good in man, and thus maintain peace between man and man.

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM.—Muhammad, popularly known as the Prophet of Islam, was, however, the last Prophet of the Faith. Muslims, i.e., the followers of Islam, accept all such of the world’s Prophets, including Abraham, Moses and Jesus, as revealed the Will of God for the guidance of humanity.

THE QUR’ÁN.—The Gospel of the Muslim is the Qur’án. Muslims believe in the Divine origin of every other sacred book. Inasmuch as all such previous revelations have become corrupted through human interpolation, the Qur’án, the last Book of God, came as a recapitulation of the former Gospels.

ARTICLES OF FAITH IN ISLAM.—These are seven in number: Belief in (1) God; (2) Angels; (3) Books from God; (4) Messengers from God; (5) the Hereafter; (6) the Premasurement of good and evil; (7) Resurrection after death.

The life after death, according to Islamic teaching, is not a new life, but only a continuation of this life, bringing its hidden realities into light. It is a life of unlimited progress; those who qualify themselves in this life for the progress will enter into Paradise, which is another name for the said progressive life after death, and those who get their faculties stunted by their misdeeds in this life will be the denizens of the Hell—a life incapable of appreciating heavenly bliss, and of torment—in order to get themselves purged of all impurities and thus to become fit for the life in the Heaven. State after death is an image of the spiritual state in this life.

The sixth article of Faith has been confused by some with what is popularly known as Fatalism. A Muslim neither believes in Fatalism nor Predestination; he believes in Premasurement. Everything created by God is for good in the given use and under the given circumstances. Its abuse is evil and suffering.

PILLARS OF ISLAM.—These are five in number: (1) Declaration of faith in the Oneness of God, and in the Divine Messenger of Muhammad; (2) Prayer; (3) Fasting; (4) Alms giving; (5) Pilgrimage of the Holy Shrine at Mecca.

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.—The Muslims worship One God—the Almighty, the All-Knowing, the All-Just, the Cherisher of All the worlds, the Friend, the Helper. There is none like Him. He has no partner. He is neither begotten nor has He begotten any son or daughter. He is indivisible in Person. He is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Glorious, the Magnificent, the Beautiful, the Eternal, the Infinite, the First and the Last.

FAITH AND ACTION.—Faith without action is a dead letter. Faith by itself is insufficient, unless translated into action. A Muslim believes in his own personal accountability for his actions in this life and the hereafter. Each must bear his own burden and none can expiate for another's sin.

ETHICS OF ISLAM.—"Imbue yourself with Divine Attributes," says the noble Prophet. God is the prototype of man, and His Attributes form the basis of Muslim ethics. Righteousness in Islam consists in leading a life in complete harmony with the Divine Attributes. To act otherwise is sin.

CAPABILITIES OF MAN IN ISLAM.—The Muslim believes in the inherent sinlessness of man's nature, which, made of the goodliest fibre, is capable of unlimited progress, setting him above the angels, and leading him to the border of Divinity.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.—Man and woman come from the same essence, possess the same soul, and they have been equipped with equal capability for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainments. Islam places man and woman under the like obligations the one to the other.

EQUALITY OF MANKIND AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM.—Islam is the religion of the Unity of God and the equality of mankind. Lineage, riches and family honours are accidental things: virtue and the service of humanity are matters of real merit. Distinctions of colour, race and creed are unknown in the ranks of Islam. All mankind is of one family, and Islam has succeeded in welding the black and the white into one fraternal whole.

PERSONAL JUDGMENT.—Islam encourages the exercise of personal judgment and respects difference of opinion which, according to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, is a blessing of God.

KNOWLEDGE.—The pursuit of knowledge is a duty in Islam, and it is the acquisition of knowledge that makes man superior to angels.

SANCITY OF LABOUR.—Every labour which enables man to live honestly is respected. Idleness is deemed a sin.

CHARITY.—All the faculties of man have been given to him as a trust from God for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. It is man's duty to live for others, and his charities must be applied without any distinction of persons. Charity in Islam brings man nearer to God. Charity and the giving of alms have been made obligatory, and every person who possesses property above a certain limit has to pay a tax, levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.
A Running Commentary on the Holy Qur’an
BY KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN
Founder of the Woking Muslim Mission, Woking

Towards the end of his life the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, the Founder of the Woking Muslim Mission, intended to publish a running Commentary on the Holy Qur’an that would make easy reading by a beginner and an initiate.

It is needless to state that the publication of this book will fulfil a great missionary object. The Holy Qur’an does need a running Commentary for a world reared in misrepresentations about the Book and its Prophet, all the more so, when the world is in the midst of ideas so very unlike those that prevailed in the times when previous commentaries were written. Moreover the style and expressions of Qur’an are, in many places, very different from those the modern world is familiar with.

It hardly allows any discussion that the Khwaja had the best understanding of the modern mind particularly of the Western mind, in relation to religion. He was the most outstanding missionary genius the Islamic world has seen for many centuries. The commentary under discussion will therefore be a contribution of a very great value to Islamic missionary work.

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