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CONTENTS

The Islamic Review April 1949

Editorial ........................................... 3
By the Light of the Qur'an ......................... 4
The Prophet, Muhammad and Modern Leadership 5
Manners of the Prophet Muhammad ............... 6
The Man who Conceived Pakistan: Muhammad Iqbal 8
The Governor-General of Pakistan on the Progress of Pakistan ......................... 13
The Conception of Home Life in Islam .............. 16
The Influence of Islamic Culture on Western Music 20
What They Think of Us ................................ 22
The Role of Muslims in the Events to Come ...... 22
Believe It or Not .................................... 23
Sufiism in Islam ...................................... 24
The Arab League ...................................... 27
Its Background in Geography, History and World Politics ......................... 27
A Page for Our Youth ................................ 31
A New Mosque at Sisli, Istanbul, Turkey ........... 32
The Tunisian Question ............................... 35
Arab Reaction ........................................ 36
Data on Tunisia ...................................... 40
Muslims in China .................................... 41
The Manchus and the Muslims ................. 41
The Indonesian Problem ......................... 44
Yahya Kemal Beyati ................................ 47
A Great Turkish Poet ............................... 47
On Becoming a Muslim ............................. 49
A Glance at the World of Islam ................... 50
Muslims in South-Western Europe ................. 50
The Congress of Representatives of the Muslim Authorities and the Religious Communities of Central Asia ......................... 50
Muslims in Finland ................................ 52
Egypt .................................................. 55
A Sudanese Mission ................................ 56
The Tragedy of the Arab Refugees ................. 56
The Millenary of Al-Azhar ......................... 56
United Nations Conciliation Mission ............... 56
Muslim Business Men and Oil in the Middle East ......................... 57
Oil in the Middle East ............................. 57
Notes and Comments ................................ 60
Marriage and Divorce .............................. 60
Islam in England .................................... 57
The Muslim Society in Great Britain, London ... 57
The Pakistan Muslim Students' Federation, London ......................... 57
World Aspects of Islam ............................ 58
The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking ................. 59
The Muslim Students' Association, Manchester 59
Book Review ........................................ 61
A Short History of the Middle East ............... 61
Whither Pakistan ................................. 62
What Our Readers Say ............................. 63
`Arifah Bashir Minto—America ....................... 63
Thomas Muhammed Clayton—America ............ 63
A. T. Mustafa—England ............................ 64

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
EDITORIAL...

ISLAM AND NATIONALISM

The unification of the human race, rooted as it is in Islam in the belief of the oneness of God, is the one ideal for which Islam lives. The success that has attended this mission of Islam is such that it is in a class by itself and there is no parallel to it anywhere in the social history of mankind. It is true, there are other systems and philosophies extant in the world which have set themselves this ideal. But the one way in which Islam differs from them lies in its special characteristic and distinctive feature in that it does not leave it to the individual to evolve such institutions as may enable him to reach the ideal. If on the one hand Islam inculcates implicit and explicit faith in the equality of man, making it the common possession and the pride of the Muslim individual, by rejecting all artificial distinctions and differences resulting from race, colour, geographical boundaries, variety of languages, it on the other shows him the way to implement it by specific institutions. For instance, daily congregational prayers, Friday prayers, fasting, Zakat and the pilgrimage to Mecca, by means of which the rigour of the vestiges of cleavage between man and man is lessened, if not eradicated altogether and the whole humanity is brought on one level. Indeed, Islam's achievements in this ideal have become a riddle to sociologists and a miracle to philosophers of the world.

Such has been the past of Islam. But unfortunately now the blight of nationalism has descended on the Muslims as well, gripping their souls and minds. This in large measure is due to their cheap imitation of the West without any reason. One meets Muslims who think that Islam is a religion of the limbs and was meant for the Arabs of by-gone days. There are others who consider if at all, that it should be subservient to nationalism and that Islam should be a private concern of the individual. This impact of the West has been far from helpful to the bond of unity amongst Muslims. Thus they have become an easy prey to separatist tendencies. Witness the emergence of the State of Israel and the discomfiture of the Arab countries in the present struggle in Palestine, if any further proof of the disastrous results of this creeping bane was required.

Islam has also unfortunately suffered at the hands of the Muslims themselves. They have not understood its real purpose. To be brief, Islam is an ideology built upon a self-contained, well-knit, intertwined compact system of rules and regulations governing the entire being of the Muslim. Thus the brotherhood that Islam creates draws its life-blood from its attachment and adherence to the firm grasp of this ideology so that the more firmly and steadfastly the members of a community in Islam cling to this, the nearer and closer do they get to the ideal. This is why in Islam bonds of race, colour, nation, country and blood essentially occupy a subsidiary place. Islam cuts athwart all of them and substitutes these by the one bond — the union in God — which is epitomised, to use the word of the Qur'an, in the phrase "The Rope of God" (3:102).

The Qur'an says, "Hold fast together by The Rope of God, and be not divided and remember with gratitude God's favour upon you: that you were enemies and He joined your hearts in love so that by His grace you became brethren and you were on the brink of the pit of fire and He saved you from it" (3:102). Thus the more tenaciously the members of a certain Muslim community hold this "Rope of God", the more intimate, closer and stronger becomes the bond which joins them together. The analogy of our blood relations may make the point clearer still. Amongst our various blood relations it is our near relations who come first and demand most of our attachment. They are followed by those who are not so close to us. Our affections for them decrease in proportion as the circle gets larger and larger. This applies with equal force to our attachment to the system of life as conceived by Islam.

Blood relationship has no meaning in Islam. Its early history, especially of the time of the Prophet Muhammad, is a case in point. The Prophet Muhammad respected, honoured and held dear the early converts to Islam more than his own relations and countrymen who did not accept this ideology of Islam. Men like Sohail, the Byzantine, Bilal, the Abyssinian, and Salman, the Persian, were much nearer and dearer to the Prophet Muhammad than his own countrymen and kinsmen Abu Sufyan, Abu Lahab and a score of other noblemen of his own class and tribe. The Prophet Muhammad and the early Muslims took pride in these Muslims of foreign blood and alien countries and respected them more than their own non-Muslim countrymen and relatives. These persons whose very being was animated by "holding fast to the Rope of God" became the objects of reverence and admiration of the generations of Muslims that followed so that to-day they are revered and held in high esteem and as models of high conduct by the entire Muslim world. If the Muslims think, feel and act again in the manner in which the Prophets and early Muslims thought, felt and acted, then the ideal of the brotherhood of man and the impaired unity of the human race can once again become a living entity under the aegis of Islam.

APRIL 1949
The Unity of the Godhead.

We read in the Holy Qur'ān:

All Praise is due to God, the Lord of the Worlds.
The Beneficent, the Merciful,
Master of the day of Requital. (1 : 1-3).

Say: He, God, is One.
God is He on whom all depend.
He begets not, nor is He begetten.
And none is like Him. (112 : 1-4).

Most surely your God is One. (37 : 4).

Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth! How could He have a son when He has no consort, and He (Himself) created everything, and He is the Knower of all things?

That is God, your Lord, there is no God but He; the Creator of all things, therefore serve Him, and He has charge of all things.

Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends (all) vision; and He is the Knower of subtleties, the Aware. (6 : 102-4).

Surely God does not forgive that any thing should be associated with Him, and He forgives what is besides this to whom He pleases, and whoever associates any thing with God, He indeed strays off into a remote error. (4 : 116).

He, Whose is the Kingdom of the Heavens and the earth, and Who did not take to Himself a son, and Who has no associate in the kingdom, and Who created everything, then ordained for it a measure.

And they have taken besides Him gods, who do not create anything while they are themselves created, and they control not for themselves any harm or profit, and they control not death, nor life, nor raising (the dead) to life. (25 : 2-3).

And whoever is in the heavens and the earth makes obeisance to God only, willingly and unwillingly, and their shadows too at morn and eve. (13 : 15).

God is the light of the heavens and the earth; a likeness of His light is as a pillar on which there is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass (and) the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touch it not—light upon light—God guides to His light whom He pleases, and God sets forth parables for men, and God is cognizant of all things. (24 : 35).

Say: O God, Master of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest and takest away the kingdom from whomsoever Thou pleasest, and Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thine hand is the good; surely, Thou hast power over all things.

Thou mastake the night to pass into the day and Thou makes the day to pass into the night, and Thou bringest forth the living from the dead and Thou bringest forth the dead from the living, and Thou givest sustenance to whom Thou pleasest without measure. (3 : 25-6).

Whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares the glory of God, and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

His is the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth; He gives life and causes death; and He has power over all things.

He is the First and the Last and the Manifest and the Hidden, and He is Cognizant of all things. (57 : 1-3).

Do you not see that God knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth? Nowhere is there a secret counsel between three persons but He is the fourth of them, nor (between) five but He is the sixth of them, nor less than that nor more but He is with them wheresoever they are; then He will inform them of what they did on the day of resurrection: surely God is Cognizant of all things. (58 : 7).

Conceal your word or manifest it; surely He is Cognizant of what is in the hearts.

Does He not know who created? And He is the Knower of subtleties, the Aware. (67 : 13-4).

Surely the might of your Lord is great.
Surely it is He who originates and reproduces,
And He is the Forgiving, the Loving,
Lord of the dominion, the Glorious,
The great doer of what He will. (85 : 12-16).

God is He besides whom there is no God, the Everliving, the Self-subsisting by whom all subsist; slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep; whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth is His; who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they cannot comprehend anything out of His knowledge except what He pleases; His knowledge extends over the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of them both tires Him not, and He is the Most High, the Great. (2 : 255).

He is God besides whom there is no God: the Knower of the unseen and the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful.

He is God, besides whom there is no God; the King, the Holy, the author of peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty, the Supreme, the Possessor of every greatness; Glory be to God from what they set up (with him).

He is God the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner; His are the most excellent names; whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares His glory; and He is the Mighty, the Wise. (59 : 22-4).

The above-quoted verses from the Holy Qur'ān gives us a picture of God as depicted by the Qur'ān.

God is the Infinite Being, who has existed from all eternity and will exist forever. He has no equals, no co-partners, He depends upon none. On the other hand everything depends on Him. He is One, Alone, Infinite beyond all time and space and yet includes all within His boundless consciousness. He is the Light, the source of all Light; the Forgiving, Merciful, Loving God. He is Omniscient and present everywhere. He is in our very hearts; and as He has created us, He knows us through and through. He is the Infinite Source and Giver of all. His blessings are universal and not confined to any one nation or people or land. The true prayers of every heart go to the One Eternal God Alone. Service rendered to other beings other than the One God is really futile. Why should man worry about doorkeepers when he knows the King and can go straight to Him?

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
The Oneness of God the basis of the unity of the human race.

Belief and faith in the Oneness of God is made the basis of the unity of the whole of the human race; as is shown by the following verse of the Qur'ān:

SAY: O followers of the Book! come to an equitable proposition between us and you that we shall not serve any but God and (that) we shall not associate aught with Him, and (that) some of us shall not take others for lords besides God; but if they turn back then say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.

(3:63)

The Qur'ān goes still further. A Muslim is forbidden to speak evil even of those who have taken the worship that belongs to God. The gods, saints, spiritual teachers, even idols of others must not be abused, for evil talk stirs hatred, and in return the Holy name of God Himself will be insulted. The Qur'ān is very explicit on this point when it says:

And do not abuse those whom they call upon besides God, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse God out of ignorance.

(16:109)

The Prophet Muhammad and Modern Leadership

By Dr. MUHAMMAD TEWFIK RAMZI, M.A., Ph.D.

The Purpose of Studying the Lives of Great Men.

The life history of Muhammad is rich in many respects and provides valuable lessons to students of civilization and affords us an opportunity to examine and analyse on rational bases an outstanding feature in the moral make-up of the Prophet— that of leadership.

What is it, we may ask, that makes people surrender in their totality to the will of a man? What is the driving force behind a personality that inspires people to obey loyally the behests of a master whose teachings during his lifetime were in diametrical opposition to all accepted notions in his own society and the world at large?

I hold that the answer is two-fold: on the one hand, it is the validity of the message itself; and on the other, the moral righteousness and utter uncontested conviction of the herald and advocate of the cause.

The first proposition, according to Muslim dogma, is the admission and establishment in the body of accepted religious beliefs of a doctrine which marks the ultimate and ideally best in the relationship of man to the creative supernatural power directing the universe according to infallible laws, that can never be attributed, on grounds of reason, to any adventitious or chance creation. Furthermore, the announcement of Islam was at the same time the registration on human conscience of the final word of evolutionary progress in the scale of theology. The unity of God as proclaimed by Islam was the fitting and natural end to all religious developments. For according to his state of knowledge and civilization, man went through the whole gamut of beliefs from crude primitive conceptions steadily enlarged and reformed through the ages via Judaism and Christianity until he reached Islam.

This is not a discourse on religion, which after all is a relationship between man and his creator in whichever form one conceives Him. Rather is it the introductory statement to the subject under discussion. For the truth seems to be that no man can be studied in isolation of the motivating principles that guided and fashioned his life and way of thinking.

According to tradition, the Prophet Muhammad received his first revelation at the age of forty, together with the Divine command to preach and disseminate the word of Islam, which literally means "surrender," that is to say, surrender to God, and His will. From humble beginnings, great expectations can sometimes be realized, provided there is a will to achieve one's good ends.

The Strong Will of Muhammad.

On this basis let us see how strong was the will of Muhammad and how firm was his determination. Will and determination can, of course, best be tested and measured against overwhelming odds. From the life history of the Messenger in the first ten years of his prophetic career ample data are provided to prove conclusively that he possessed a will of steel and a fearless heart. When the leaders of the conservative Meccan society were at a loss what to do with the iconoclast who was threatening their very livelihood and turning the people away from the worship of unwaviling idols to that of the One Living and Eternally Omniscient God, the Meccan Chiefs tried to win the Prophet over by material inducements. Of course, before making their offers they attempted to argue with him, but he frustrated their arguments with his superior mastery of logical disputatio and rhetoric. They told him if it were money or social prominence that he was seeking, they would gladly satisfy all his wishes and ambitious desires; but he answered them firmly: "I do not come to you looking for money or worldly honour, and I have no personal desire to reign over you; but God has sent me as His apostle and revealed a book to me and ordered me to be a giver of good news and warning. I have delivered the message of God. If you accept what I have told you, it will be to your own good in this world and the next. If you reject my mission I shall be patient and shall wait for the judgment of God between you and me." The Meccans finally appealed threateningly to the Prophet's uncle and patron to exercise control over him. Muhammad's uncle was the head of that noble Arab family, because the Prophet was born an orphan. To the embarrassed uncle they said: "By God, we shall not overlook the insolence of him who insulted our ancestors, ridiculed our conceptions, and belittled our gods. Either you will ask him to leave us alone, or we shall fight you and him until death." The uncle was in a dilemma because he did not believe in the teaching of his nephew, and yet he was bound by familial ties to protect Muhammad. Abu Talib—that was the uncle's name—approached the Prophet and proposed that he should give up his new ideas. But Muhammad was adamant, and gave his uncle a prompt answer: "Oh uncle! Certainly I will not forsake this cause until God shall make it prevail or until I shall perish therein—not though they should set the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left." And so the struggle went on, until in God's good time the world has witnessed the increase in number of Muslims from three at the very outset of the Prophetic message to well over three hundred million to-day!

Muhammad's Charm of Personality.

Charm of personality with resolute will is a rare combination to find in forceful men. Yet the biographers of the Prophet consistently assert on historical grounds that he was endowed with a great measure of charm and attraction, amounting sometimes to hypnotic power. In fact a Qur'ānic verse lays emphasis on this quality in the moral temper of Muhammad. The words of God as revealed in the Book declare: "Had you been cruel or hard-hearted they would have dispersed from around you."

But this arresting charm achieved wonders in the people who came in contact with Muhammad. The secret was simple
and obvious. Utter conviction in the truth one is declaring is bound to be contagious. So great was the belief of Muhammad in the justice and truth of the message he was delivering to the world that those who wanted to retain their pagan ideas were very careful not to listen to him, while those who listened to the Prophet remained convinced for good, and never wavered in their belief after that, neither did their children through all generations that have passed up till now.

Islam not spread by Force.

No one can force others to believe in the validity of any particular proposition, however right it may be. Muhammad knew better than to commit the folly of forcing people to confess Islam. He delivered his message with all the power and clearness that he could command, and realized perfectly well that a few dependable fellow-believers were infinitely better than a multitude of half-hearted and hypocritical ones. He always contended himself with the Qur’anic verse: "You shall not guide whom you like, but verily God shall guide whom He wills."

What then may we ask was the significance of the wars conducted during and after the death of Muhammad? Scholars all over the world, especially Orientalists and Arabists in Europe, have for many years now established that the message of Islam as enunciated by Muhammad was never achieved by force, but by persuasion. The proof is found in the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Muslim State to members of other faiths—Judaism and Christianity in particular. Not only that, but the defence of the proper Muslim State is a duty and responsibility of Muslims alone. Others are accorded all civic rights and privileges in addition to protection of body and property without being asked to join the armed forces of the Muslim State.

In his political acumen the Prophet Muhammad was equally as great as he was in the religious sphere. During his lifetime he laid the foundation of an empire that lived healthily and survived intact for nearly four centuries through the momentum of his original precepts. But the laws of heaven are strict. Once a people part company with the principles that create their greatness, any solid or great structure they may have built on righteousness, inevitably crumbles and totters to the ground like fallen ashes.

The lesson is clear, even though in this materialistic world of ours we are blinded to its validity. Man is but a heart and a soul. If the soul is pure and possessed of the highest and most noble in real values, the heart will certainly release a will that can move mountains. Muhammad taught—as did other prophets before him—that the unity of mankind is indivisible, and that goodness is the sole criterion. People may differ in the unessential, that is to say, in race, colour, language, or nationhood; but they are all alike in being the creatures of God, be they kings or slaves. In the realization of this crystal-clear truth lies the salvation of man, and in its neglect looms his damnation.

Herein lies the moral. We study the lives of great men not for sheer amusement, but rather to learn, or, better still, to emulate the ways of the great. How many times have we heard the warnings of the spiritual leaders and social reformers of the various religions enunciating the same truth? But how poor has been our response! Indeed, so long as our hearts are faint and our convictions weak, we shall remain shrouded in the garments of darkness and narrow petty factional divisions in which we have fallen.

Modern leadership has on the whole been demagogic and evil leadership. It threatened our lives, and in fact did away with many precious ones. Did we not call the recent war, a war against the forces of darkness? And did we not refer to the previous conflict as one against tyranny? And we just managed to save ourselves twice by the skin of our teeth. But wars, long as they may last, are but ephemeral phases in the life of man. Yet there is another ceaseless and relentless war that goes on unabated. It is that between good and evil within one’s own heart. How well the Prophet understood that struggle can be demonstrated by his famous dictum on his return victorious from a hard campaign: "We have returned from the lesser to the greater struggle; verily the true struggle is within the soul." Such really was fine leadership in its highest and most noble forms.

Manners of The Prophet Muhammad

By the Late AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

Of all men, the Prophet was the meekest, the bravest, the gentlest, the chastest and the most charitable. He never kept any money or coin overnight, but if, when darkness fell, there remained anything at all, he would not return home until he had bestowed it upon some poor man. Whatever God gave him, he took only what was necessary for his expenses, and that also of the cheapest and most easily obtainable, viz. dates and barley; and the rest he gave away in God’s way. Whosoever asked anything from him, he would give it to him. He would give out of his yearly provisions as well, giving preference to the wants of the beggars over his own; and if before the year ended he happened to have nothing left, he would mend his own shoes, and serve his own household and help his wives in preparing food. He was the most modest of all men, and would not stare at anyone, keeping his eyes downcast. “His courteousness to the great, his affability to the humble, and his dignified bearing to the presumptuous, procured him universal respect and admiration. Once in his life, whilst engaged in a religious conversation with an influential citizen of Mecca, he had turned away from a humble blind seeker of the truth.” For this he received Divine disapprobation. After this, whenever the Prophet saw the poor blind man, he used to go out of his way to do him honour, saying: “The man is thrice welcome on whose account my Lord hath reprimanded me.” And he made him twice governor of Medina.

He accepted alike the invitations of free men and slaves. He would accept presents, however humble—a sip of milk or the leg of a hare—and would give like presents in exchange. He would partake of what was given him, but would never eat of an offering (sadaqa—anything given in charity). Never would he reject the invitation of a bondswoman or of a poor man, but would go with his host. He would be zealously wrathful for his God’s sake, but never to satisfy his own self. The truth he would announce and support even though it entailed the sacrifice of his own interests or those of his adherents. The infidels once offered to side with him to avenge themselves upon other infidels, but he would not accept their offer, saying he would not be helped by an infidel, although his followers were so few that even the addition of a single man was of importance. He would bind to his stomach a stone to appease his hunger. He would eat whatever was put before him; he never rejected whatever came to him and was lawful; if he found dates without any bread, or roasted flesh, or bread of wheat or barley, or anything sweet such as honey or milk without bread or green dates or melon, he would welcome it.
He never had his fill of wheat bread for any three consecutive days in his whole life; not because he had lack of it or was niggardly, but simply to keep his carnal appetites under control. Many times he had to go without a meal. Often for months together no fire could be lighted in his house from scantiness of means—and that in the days of Medina, when he was a ruler and a king. He mended his own clothes, and milked his goats.

He would accept invitations to wedding feasts, he would visit the sick or accompany a funeral procession; "He would go to the house of the lowest to console the afflicted and to comfort the heart-broken." He would go single among his enemies unguarded, and, without the least show of pride, excel the rest in hospitality. "Each evening it was his custom to invite some of them to partake of his humble fare." He shared his food, even in times of scarcity, with others. He was eloquent without circumlocution, his aspect was always cheerful. He was of great taciturnity; and when he spoke, he spoke with emphasis and deliberation, and no one could ever forget what he said. "Modesty and kindness, patience, self-denial, and generosity pervaded his conduct and directed the attention of all around him. He was never embarrassed by mundane affairs—he would wear any garment that came readiest to hand—now a small woollen turban, now a Yemen sheet, now a jute head-dress. His ring was of silver, put on the small finger of right or left hand. He would mount whatever was available, whether horse, camel, or mule; and sometimes he would walk barefoot without a cap, turban or sheet, and would go to the farther end of Medina to visit the sick. He liked perfume and disliked offensive smells. He would associate with hermits and would dine with indigents. He honoured the well-behaved and won the hearts of the people by befriending them. He recompensed the compassionate without giving preference to his near relations. He never oppressed anyone, but pardoned those who apologized. "His conduct towards the bitterest of his enemies was marked by a noble clemency and forbearance. Stern almost to severity to the enemies of the State, mockings, affronts, outrages and persecutions towards himself were, in the hour of triumph, all buried in oblivion; but forgiveness was extended to the worst criminal." He never uttered anything save truth, even when annoyed. He would smile, but never utter a coarse laugh. Lawful games he would witness, and would never discourage them. He would have a race with his familiar friends to see who outran the others. Even when voices were raised high in his presence, he would suffer it in patience. He had many she-camels and she-goats, whose milk he and his family would consume. He had male and female servants, whom he never undid in food or dress. Never a moment passed without his doing something important for God or for the benefit of his own soul. He went to the gardens of his adherents; he never despised any poor or helpless person for his poverty, or feared any potentate for his riches, but would attribute both to Divine Providence. God Almighty had concentrated in him the noblest morals and the most exalted principles. He was illiterate, unable to read or write, born in a benighted country among wild and ignorant people. But God the Great adorned him with the best of noble qualities, the highest morals and the most exalted habits. He was the most faithful protector of those he protected, the sweetest and most agreeable in conversation.

Whomsoever of the faithful the Prophet admonished, for him he prayed that mercy might be shown him. Never did he curse a woman or a servant; when a war was in progress he was asked to curse his opponents, but he said he was sent to bless rather than curse. And whenever he was asked to curse the Muslims or infidels without distinction, he pronounced benediction instead of execration. He never raised his hand against anyone but in a crusade in the name of God; and when maltreated he never took revenge save when God was reviled. And when he had to choose between two alternatives, he preferred the more feasible one, provided there was no vestige of sin in it, and that no relationship was infringed by such a procedure, for from both of these he always kept himself aloof. And whenever any free person or slave, male or female, came to him with any petition, he promptly offered to serve him. "The meanest slaves would take hold of his hand and drag him to their masters to obtain redress for ill-treatment or release from bondage. A companion of the Prophet, Anas, records: "By the Being Who sent the Prophet with truth, in whatever way I displeased or annoyed him he never told me why I had done such a thing." The Prophet never cared for a bed: if there was a bed ready, he slept on it; and if there was no bedding, he slept on the earth. His habit was to be the first to greet whomsoever he met. And when anybody made him his proxy, he would deliberate till the other party had Departed of his own accord. Whenever he met an assembled he shook hands with him first, and then put his own fingers in those of the other in a firm grip, whether sitting or standing. He never first withdrew his hand from another's palm, and turned not before the other had turned.

The name of God was ever on his tongue; when praying, if any person came to him, he would shorten his prayers, and ask his visitor if he had any business with him, and would resume his prayers after he had done with him. He usually sat with his calves crossed, uncircled by his hands. This sitting posture did not differ from that of his companions. He sat wherever there was a place to sit. When with his associates, none ever saw him sit with stretched legs so as to lessen the space, but when there was ample room he would do so. He visited the sick and followed every bier he met. He welcomed and entertained all who came to him, although they might not be of his blood; "he was sedulously solicitous for the personal comfort of every one about him. He would stop in the streets listening to the sorrows of the humblest"; he would spread his blanket for them to sit upon. The pillow he reclined upon he would take from under himself and would give it to the visitor; if he declined to take it, he would insist upon his resting on it. Whoever loved him, thought he was the most favoured of all the others, though he attended to his visitors according to their social position. His fellowship, conversation, audience, and company was a society of modesty, civility and confidence, as says God Almighty: "Of the mercy of God thou hast spoken to them in gentle terms; hast thou been severe and harsh-treated, they would have broken away from thee." To please them he would call his associates by their tribal appellations, and give a title of distinction to him who had none already; and the people would then call this man by the title so conferred upon him. To the women who had issue he would also give such a designation, and those who were issueless he called by their tribal titles. He was very affectionate towards his family. One of his boys died on his breast in the smoky house of the nurse. He was very fond of children. He would stop them in the streets and pat their cheek. He would give pet titles to them, whose hearts were won in this manner. He was the last to be angry and the first to be appeased. The worst expression he ever made use of in conversation was: "What has come to him? May his forehead be darkened!" He was kind to all, and generous and beneficent. In his society there was never any noise, and when he left it he said: "Holiness to Thee, O God, and praise be to Thee. I testify that there is no God but Thee."
THE MAN WHO CONCEIVED PAKISTAN: MUHAMMAD IQBAL

By FAREED S. JAFRI

Iqbal and Communalism.

Muhammad Iqbal was born on the 22nd of February, 1873, at Sialkot in Pakistan, exactly sixteen years after the great Indian Mutiny which not only buried the 1,000 year old Muslim rule in India, but even completely uprooted the Muslim life. He died on the 21st of April, 1958, nine years before the re-birth of a Muslim State in the sub-continent of India.

Iqbal wrote his first known poem in 1900 at the age of 27. When he died at the age of 65, Qaid-i-A'zam said: "Iqbal was not only the greatest poet of India, he was the bugler of Muslim thought and culture. He was the singer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us."

When Iqbal dreamt of a Muslim State in the sub-continent of India, people laughed at him. The Hindu and British Press called him reactionary and a stooge of British Imperialism. Pandit Nehru did not take any notice at all of Iqbal's conception of Muslim India till after the poet's death.

Iqbal gave his message to the Muslims in 1931 after he had returned disappointed from the first Round Table Conference. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in London at that time. Maulana Muhammad Ali had passed away. Maulana Shaukat Ali was still in mourning for his illustrious brother. The Aga Khan, who was at that time the de facto leader of the Muslims of India, did not look beyond the British Empire. Iqbal was the only Muslim leader who was able to read the Muslim mind. He stated at the Allahabad Muslim League session in 1931 that "If the principle, that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands, is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake all for the freedom of India"; Iqbal believed that "India is the best country in the world," but his conception of India was as "the greatest Muslim country in the world." He did not consider this belief as communalism." He in fact believed: "A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Qur'an, even to defend their places of worship, if need be."

Iqbal defined this conception as the likely basic ideal of the "Muslim national group in the body-politic of India." Not envisaging a separate sovereign Muslim State in the days of the first Round Table Conference, Iqbal quoted from the Nehru report itself to support his argument. The report had argued on the question of the separation of Sind: "To say from the longer viewpoint of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious state."

Iqbal agreed with the authors of the Nehru report that "Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a 'harmonious whole' in a country like India." He further explained "the units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India unless the fact of communal groups is recognized. Six years later, Jinnah transformed Iqbal's loose conceptions of the Muslim India into a beautifully worded legal document: "That we are a nation, not a minority. A nation of a hundred million with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation."

Iqbal believed "The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets."

Iqbal Conceives the Beginnings of Pakistan.

Jinnah again took inspiration from Iqbal when he declared in 1942, eleven years later: "It should be made clear that the Musalmans do not want separation in order to link their destinies with states outside India. They are not inspired by any such extra-territorial ideals. They desire separation simply because they want to evolve a happier and more contented India."

Iqbal presented the Muslim demand in 1931 "for the creation of a Muslim India within India"; but eleven years later conditions had so changed that Jinnah insisted that "the Muslims want Pakistan to secure an honourable position" and place for the hundred million Muslims in the sub-continent of India and to achieve the goal of a "Free Islam in A FREE INDIA."

When Iqbal demanded in 1931, "the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam," his conception of Pakistan was "a redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem." He wanted to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. In his conception, "the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India," was "self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire." In was in 1956, five years later, that Iqbal was convinced of the need for full self-determination for the Muslims of India, and he expressed this in a letter to Jinnah, who had just returned from England...
and taken up the leadership of the All-India Muslim League. Iqbal asked, “Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?”. In Iqbal’s conception Bengal and North-West India were separate nations on the basis of Muslim majority and not communalism. He did not contemplate state-organised migrations or re-adjusting of communities on group lines.

When Jinnah took up Iqbal’s cry in 1940, he explained: “The basic principle is that geographically contiguous units should be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North, Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute ‘independent states’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign and that adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for the minorities in the units and in the regions, for the protection of their religions, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”

Both Iqbal and Jinnah had taken it for granted that the independent Hindu and Muslim States, as two units in the sub-continent of India, and the defence of the old country, would have to be organised on the basis of a joint policy. Iqbal said in 1931: “The Punjab with fifty-six per cent Muslim population supplies fifty-four per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army; and if the nineteen thousand Gurkhas recruited from the independent state of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to sixty-two per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly six thousand combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression.” Jinnah said in 1942: “Let the Hindus guard the South and the West. Let the Musalmans guard the frontiers. Let us live as good neighbours and stand together and say to the world ‘Hands off India... India for the Indians.”

**The Poet’s Message.**

Iqbal believed with Landman that “nationalism is an emotional state of mind of a people in which they manifest the desire to maintain and foster their own government, ideas and aspirations and frequently a common religion, race and language. He, therefore, advised his countrymen, both Hindus and Muslims, “to bid eternal farewell to all the vestiges of traditional customs, fetishes, dogmas, idolatry, and adore instead every particle of the country’s dust as its deity.” He told the Hindu leaders: “Shall I tell thee the truth,”

“Brahmin? Be not offended,”

“The idols in thy temples have grown old."

“The idols have taught thee to be at feud with thine own people."

“Our God also taught the preacher to hate and fight."

“I have at last in desperation turned my face from both temple and mosque."

“In images of stone thou hast conceived the presence of God!"

“For me every particle of my country’s dust is deity!”

To the Muslims he gave his conception of Pakistan or the Muslim State:

“The self-centred intellect of man looks to its own interests
and invariably tends to ignore those of others. The moral law based on Divine revelation is prejudiced in favour of none and has the welfare of all before it. It swerves in from the path of righteousness neither in peace nor in warfare and enforces its provisions without favour or fear. But when a tyrant imposes his own laws on the people, the weak are exploited by the strong. The State derives its power through force, and the State that is not based on Divine laws is the root cause of all disorders."

The European Culture.

If Iqbal had lived he would not have agitated against the influence of European culture in Pakistan as some of our thinkers and political leaders are doing to-day. He would have demanded that the original spirit of Islam should be brought into closer contact with the spirit of modern times. He wrote in his lecture on "Knowledge and Religious Experience":

"The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of

Islam is spiritually moving towards the west. There is nothing wrong in this movement for European culture, in its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European Culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardsness of that culture.""14

His own solution was:

"In the West Intellect is the source of life,
In the East love is the basis of life,
Through love intellect grows acquainted with reality,
And intellect gives stability to the work of love.
Arise and lay the foundation of a new world
By wedding intellect to love."15

He later explained in his poem "what exactly Lenin, the Father of Modern Russia, has meant by his expression "the dazzling exterior of European culture"."

In Europe there seems to be
Much light of knowledge and science.
But the fact is that her ocean
Contains no real water of human life.
In beauty of structure, grandeur and gaiety,
Buildings of banks are much better than those of the temples.
What is called trade is really a gamble.
One man's profit leads to the loss of millions.
This knowledge, this science, this culture and government,
They suck the blood and give the message of equality.
Unemployment, lethargy, nakedness and poverty:
How great are the victims of European nationalism!"  

Iqbal and Western Democracy.
Iqbal was no believer in Western Democracy. Writing under the caption "Government of the People," he explained:
"A man from Europe has at last disclosed his secret.
Though the wise prefer not to give it out.
Democracy is a form of Government in which
Men are counted, not weighted."  
At another place he said:
"Run away from democracy
Be the slave of the perfect man.
For out of two hundred asses
Human wisdom cannot be derived."  

Of Western politicians he warned the Muslims; and no doubt would have reminded the Pakistanis of today, had he lived:
"O God! European politics seem to challenge the wisdom,
Though its devotees are only the rich and the nobles.
Out of fire thou hast created one Satan.
Out of dust they have created ten thousand satans."  
Iqbal condemned the League of Nations, which became the pawn of the big powers. Surely, in his conception of Pakistan, there would not have been any place for the "United Nations Organisation". He wrote:
"Since a long time the sickly creature is brewing,
I am afraid I may not utter the sad news.
Though the end seems to be almost near,
Its Christian devotees pray that it may survive.
Perhaps this lean structure of European diplomacy
Through the blessings of Satan may last for a time still.
The water of West is polluted; its air is polluted.
How nice it would be if the 'orbit' changes its direction!
The dream then that the statesmanship of Europe has seen, who knows in a different form might be realised.
"If Teheran occupies the place of Geneva, perhaps the shape of the world may change."  

Having met the poet Ghani of Kashmir in an illusory trans-heaven region, he wanted the League of Nations to consider the sale of Kashmir by the British to the Dogra Chief, Gulab Singh, for the petty sum of Rs. 75,000,000 (£6,000,000 approximately).
"O breeze, if you pass by Geneva convey this message from us to the League of Nations,
"They sold peasants, crops, rivers and gardens,
"In short, they sold a whole nation and that too, so cheap."  

Iqbal hated colonialism and the so-called European empires which had kept millions of peoples, particularly Muslims, under total bondage. Iqbal warned these imperial powers:
"The slaves can never be kept
"In subjugation through the sword.
"They therefore instruct the administrators,
"Put their conscience into the acid of education
"So that the moment it is melted, you can twist it as you like.
"As for the effect, it is much better than any chemical.
"Even a Himalayas of gold it can reduce to dust."  

And to the Muslim slaves of the European imperial powers
Iqbal advised:
"The wisdom of East and West has taught me
"That, for slaves, there is one miraculous elixir:
"Be it religion, philosophy, knowledge or government,
"Nothing can be solid but through faith.
"Hence the community whose conscience is devoid of faith,
"Reduces itself to nothing and prepares its grave."  

Against this 'dazzling aspect of European culture' Iqbal was guided solely by the Qur'anic principles of democracy. He repeated the "Command of God" for the benefit of the downtrodden Muslims of the sub-continent of India, in fact of the whole of the Middle East.
"Go and wake up the poor of my universe.
"Go and shake up the palaces of the rich.
"Make the blood of the slave boil with the fire of faith.
"Let the sparrow fight against the hawk!
"Declare that the Kingdom of Peoples is to come.
"Hence wipe out all the age-old traces.
"The field that does not provide the peasant with bread,
"Crush its crops and let them be reduced to dust."  

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Zia Gok Alp
(1876—1924)
The Great Nationalist Poet of Turkey
**Iqbal on Islamic Values.**

When Iqbal wrote to Jinnah in 1936, "You are the only Muslim in India to whom the community has a right to look up to for safe guidance through the storm...", he had built up a complete conception of Pakistan in which Pakistan was to be modelled on the lines of Turkey and not Sa'udi Arabia, and Jinnah was to take the role of Ataturk and not that of the Arab sultans. He wrote in his lecture, "The Structure of Islam": "If the renaissance of Islam is a fact, and I believe it is a fact, we too one day, like the Turks, will have to re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance. And if we cannot make any original contribution to the general thought of Islam, we may, by healthy conservative criticism, serve at least as a check on the rapid movement of liberalism in the world of Islam.

Exhorting the Muslims to "Ijtihad", which in the terminology of Islamic law means to make an effort to form an independent judgement on a legal question, Iqbal believed that "the idea had its origin in a well-known verse of the Qur'an: 'And to those who make an effort we show Our Path'. We find it more definitely again in a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. When Mu'az was appointed ruler of the Yemen, the Prophet is reported to have asked him as to how he would decide matters coming up before him. 'I will judge matters according to the Book of God,' he said. 'But if the Book of God contains nothing to guide you?' 'Then I will act on the precedents of the Prophet of God.' 'But if the precedents fail?' 'Then I will make an effort to form my own judgement.'"

While Iqbal would have welcomed a rational Ijtihad in Pakistan, he would have rejected the over-organised Communist society, for there the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gathers the whole wealth of social thought around him, and loses his own soul. At the same time, Iqbal would have warned a certain section of Pakistanis that "a false reverence for past history and for its artificial resurrection constitutes no remedy for a people's decay. The verdict of history, as a modern writer has happily put it, is that worn-out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out." The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals.

Iqbal further elucidates this point in his poem "Jihad":

"It is the age of the pen,

"And for the nonce, the sword is of no avail

"In the rubric of the shaikh.

"Where do the hands of the Musalman

"Hold musketry and sabre? And

"Even if they do, unconscious are their

"Hearts of the bliss of martyrdom.

"To him whose heart shudders even

"At the death of a blasphemer, none

"Bids the death of a Musalman.

"Let him be advised to relinquish the jihad

"Whose gory clutches are the jeopardy of the world.

"For defending evils Primacy and

"Grandeur, Europe is cap-a-pie buckled in armours.

"We ask the Shaikh—the Champion of the Church—

"'If war is a sin in the East, forsooth it is a sin in the West,

"And if truth be your only concern,

"Why bring to book Islam and forgive Europe?'"

**Iqbal and Turkey.**

Iqbal preferred the Turkish view on the republican form of government, although "according to Sunni Law, the appointment of an Imam or Khalifa is absolutely indispensable." Iqbal believed that "the republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam."

Iqbal had the vision of a world Muslim brotherhood on the pattern of the League of Nations, but not on the basis of a common Islamic nationality. He advised: "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy to be achieved by a merely symbolic overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a league of nations which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions.

Iqbal, to support his contention, quotes from Zia Gok Alp (1876-1924), the great nationalist poet of Turkey, whose songs, inspired by the philosophy of Auguste Comte, have done a great deal in the shaping of the present Turkey. The substance of one poem which Iqbal has himself translated, says:

"In order to create a really effective political unity of Islam, all Muslim countries must first become independent; and then in their totality they should range themselves under one Caliph. Is such a thing possible at the present moment? If not today, one must wait. In the meantime, the Caliph must reduce his own house to order and lay the foundation of a workable modern state. In the international world the weak find no sympathy; power alone deserves respect."

In another poem of his, "Religion and Science," Zia asks:

"Who were the first spiritual leaders of mankind? Without doubt the prophets and holy men. In every period religion has led philosophy. From it alone morality and art receive light. But then religion grows weak and loses her original ardour. Holy men disappear and spiritual leadership becomes, in name, the heritage of the doctors of law! The leading star of the doctors of law is tradition. They drag religion with force on this track. But philosophy says: 'My leading star is reason; you go right, I go left.'

"Both religion and philosophy claim the soul of man, and draw it on either side!"

"When this struggle is going on, pregnant experience delivers up positive science, and this young leader of thought says, 'Tradition is history and reason is the method of history! Both interpret, and desire to reach, the same indefinable something!'"

"But what is this something? Is it a spiritualised heart? If so, then take my last word—religion is a positive science, the purpose of which is to spiritualise the heart of man!"

**Iqbal and the place of Arabic in Pakistan.**

Pakistan is facing to-day another agitation. The agitation is to displace Urdu and Bengali by Arabic.

Iqbal again quotes from Zia:

"The same land where the call to prayer resounds in Turkish, where those who pray understand the meaning of their religion; the land where the Qur'an is learnt in Turkish, where every man, big or small, knows full well the command of God:

"O son of Turkey! that land is thy fatherland!"

Iqbal is not very happy here at the Zia's Ijtihad which he says is "open to grave objections." However, he has not altogether rejected the Turkish poet's plan for displacing Arabic by Turkish. Iqbal gives a parallel in the past history of Islam, "When Muhammad bin Tumarr, the Mehdi of Mus-

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
lim Spain, who was a Berber by nationality, came to power and established the pontifical rule of the Muwahhidin, he ordered, for the sake of the illiterate Berbers, that the Qur'an should be translated and read in the Berber language; that the call to prayer should be given in Berber; and that all the functionaries of the Church must know the Berber language.

In Iqbal’s conception, the women in Pakistan will be better off under the Qur’anic laws, for the Qur’an says: “And for women are rights over men similar to those for men over women.”

Iqbal reminds: “Marriage according to Mohammedan law is a civil contract. The wife at the time of marriage is at liberty to get the husband’s power of divorce delegated to her on stated conditions, and thus secure equality of divorce with her husband.”

**Jinnah on Iqbal.**

Iqbal’s advice to the Muslims is:

“Let the Muslim of to-day appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life on the life of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.”

Qaid-i-A’zam Jinnah had based his “blue-print” of the largest Muslim State, which he created, and which he guided for more than a year, on these very conceptions of Iqbal. He admired it when he said:

“Iqbal was not only a philosopher but also a political politician. He was one of the first to conceive the feasibility of the division of India on national lines as the only solution of India’s political problems. He was one of the most powerful tacit proponents and heralds of the modern political evolution of Muslim India.”

“Iqbal, therefore, rises above the average philosopher, as the essence of his teachings is a beautiful blend of thought and action. He combines in himself the idealism of a poet and the realism of a man who took a practical view of things. In Iqbal, this compromise is essentially Islamic. In fact it is nothing but Islam. His ideal, therefore, is, Life according to the teachings of Islam, with the motto ‘Dare and live’. ‘Dare and live’ is Iqbal’s message. Optimism, industry, faith, self-confidence and courage are the principles on which Iqbal bases his philosophy and which he believes are the essential factors for the purification of the human soul and for the elevation of human character. The obstacles and spectacles in life, according to him, make life worth living.”

“Iqbal never believed in failure. He believed in the superiority of mankind over all the rest that God created. In fact he was convinced that man is a collection of all that is best in God’s universe. Only man does not know himself. Man has but to utilise his great potentialities and to use them in the right direction for the realisation of that ‘self’ which finds itself so dear to God; and Islam is the code which has prescribed easy ways and means for that realisation.”

The bright and prosperous future of a state built on these conceptions need not be doubted for a moment. Jinnah asked the Muslims of Pakistan, six months after the birth of the state, “Why this feeling of nervousness that the future constitution of Pakistan is going to be in conflict with Shari’at laws?” He said that he could not understand the section of the people who kept on impressing on everybody that the future constitution of Pakistan should be based on Shari’at. “They are people,” Jinnah warned, “who deliberately want to create mischief and make propaganda that we will scrap the Shari’at law. Islamic principles have no parallel. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. They have taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody.”

That was also Iqbal’s advice.

It is useless to complain against the will of God. Why are you not yourself the will of God? Raise yourself to such a height that before each act of will the creator may ask the created “What is your wish?”

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1 Translation by, Halida Edib Khanum.
2 “Jawid Namn.” A study in Iqbal’s Philosophy by Bashir Ahmad Dar.
3 “Jawid Namn.” A study in Iqbal’s Philosophy by Bashir Ahmad Dar.
4 Iqbal’s “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.”
5 Translation by S. A. Vahidi.
6 Translation by R. A. Zakariya.
7, 8, 9 Translations by R. A. Zakariya.
10 Translation by R. A. Zakariya.
11 Translation by S. A. Vahidi.
12 Translation by R. A. Zakariya.
13, 14 Translation by R. A. Zakariya.
15 Translation by M. Zamasal.
16 Translation by Ahmed Ali.

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**THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN ON THE PROGRESS OF PAKISTAN**

H.E. Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General of Pakistan, surveyed the progress of Pakistan in various fields—refugees rehabilitation, banking and currency, economic recovery, industrial activity and framing of new constitution for the biggest Muslim State in the world—when he addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Karachi on December 16th, 1948. He said:

“It is not long when I had the privilege of serving as a member of this House, and now that the nation has done me the signal honour of choosing me as the Head of the State in succession to the Qaid-i-A’zam my sole ambition will be to serve the country and help in realising the aims which inspired the Founder of our State. Our infant State has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of the Qaid-i-A’zam. We have been deprived of his mature judgment and wise counsel at a time when we are still beset with many knotty problems. He was a tower of strength against whom we could lean in times of difficulties and could always be assured of correct guidance. No words can adequately describe the services rendered by the Qaid-i-A’zam to this sub-continent and to the Muslim Nation in particular. For the best part of his life he worked ceaselessly and untiringly for the attainment of freedom for his country. He had the good fortune of seeing his efforts fruitifying in his life-time. He not only achieved his life’s ambition of seeing his country free from foreign domination, but also succeeded in carving a home-land for the Muslims of this sub-continent. He has given them a State where they can live and breathe as free men and which they can develop according to their own lights. The best tribute that we can pay to his memory is to keep alive in the State of his creation the flame of liberty, justice and fair-play that glowed in his breast.

“Only those who have held the reins of Government know fully what we have gone through during the last 16 months of our existence as an independent nation. With the transfer of power came the East Punjab holocaust and the influx of seven million Muslims in West Pakistan. No other country in the world had been confronted with a situation which the people and the Government in the West Punjab had to face at the very inception of independence. It was purely God’s grace and...”

**APRIL 1949**
His infinite mercy that enabled us to cope with this colossal problem. It is not possible for those who were not in the West Punjab at the time to realise fully the magnitude of the task that fell upon the people and the Government of that Province. The great majority of these seven million people who came were starving, half-naked, and without any means of subsistence, having lost their homes and all their worldly possessions. In view of the magnitude of the problem and its inter-provincial repercussions the Centre had to assume direct control and superintendence in this field. This had helped in overcoming the difficulties inherent in solving questions relating to more than one province. A great deal has been done in settling these unfortunate victims of the political upheaval of last year, but much more remains to be done to make them forget the sufferings undergone by them. I am confident that if we are not flooded with more refugees, we shall, InshAllah, be able to absorb in our economy all those who have so far found asylum in Pakistan.

masses of our two countries, and of humanity at large, demands that instead of frittering away our resources on senseless strife, we should devote them to the amelioration of the lot of our people.

While Pakistan was inundated with refugees, Eastern Pakistan was confronted with a number of serious problems, such as the exodus of non-Muslim officials en masse, the establishment of a new capital, and the setting up of the administrative machinery from scratch. At a time when Muslims were being massacred in the East Punjab, Indian States and some parts of India, East Bengal had very little police force, and few executive officers, more than 50 per cent. of them having gone over to West Bengal. Here again, by the grace of God, peace and law and order were maintained, the credit for which rests largely with the Muslim masses, who had the political sagacity to realise that any act of retaliation would be fatal to the interests of Pakistan. They strictly followed the advice of the Qaid-i-Azam

Muslim Refugees from Kashmir.

As regards refugees from Kashmir who have been driven out of their homes by hostile forces and who are still trekking out of Kashmir under the most heart-rending circumstances, I only hope and pray that conditions will soon be created under which they will be able to return to their homes and play their part in deciding the future of their State.

Indian leaders have been at pains to expound the moral side of the stand taken by them on the Kashmir issue. They claim to be the liberators of the Kashmir valley; but every advance of the Indian Forces leads to the mass exodus of the people of the occupied area either to Azad territory or Pakistan. It only shows how unwelcome these self-proclaimed liberators make themselves to the local population. Let me reiterate what I have stated so often publicly, that the interest of the poor and the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Muslim officials who were left in the Province rose to the occasion and often performed the duties of two or three officers. The public gave their whole-hearted support, and gradually, almost out of nothing, the administration was built up, and the vacuum created by the exodus of Hindu officials was filled up. There was a time when over 50 per cent. of the Civil and Criminal Courts could not function owing to the shortage of judicial and executive officers. The economic life of the Province was also paralysed by the migration of non-Muslim business men who held a monopoly in the field of trade and commerce in the Province, the withdrawal of their money from banks, and practically a total stoppage of consumers’ goods from West Bengal. At the same time floods, cyclones, and the failure of crop and unsatisfactory procurement owing to change-over led to the serious shortage of food-grains,
particularly rice. West Pakistan came to the rescue and the people bore with fortitude and courage the scarcity of rice and the soaring prices. During the last three months again there was serious scarcity of rice and prices registered an abnormal increase. But what sustained the people in those dark and difficult days was their determination to preserve their independence, no matter what hardships it entailed.

In the Financial Field.

"In the financial field we started with a number of handicaps. The partition of the country was effected in such a precipitous manner that we could not possibly make arrangements for printing or minting our own currency, and we allowed the Reserve Bank of India to continue as our banking and monetary authority. Our share of cash balances was also withheld for some time and caused us some embarrassment. I am glad to say that we have now complete freedom in the financial field. The State Bank of Pakistan has replaced the Reserve Bank of India as the currency and banking authority of Pakistan. I am confident that the establishment of our State Bank will give a fillip to the development of banking in Pakistan. The departure of money-lenders and bankers, who were mostly non-Muslims, from Pakistan had caused a complete void in the credit structure of Pakistan, but due to the persistent efforts of Government various scheduled banks, with branches in Pakistan, have resumed their normal business activities. The damage done to our economy is being steadily repaired and the flow of trade is regaining its pristine momentum.

"Before partition, quite a few people held the view that Pakistan was not economically feasible. Those dark prophets forecast nothing but financial chaos for our State. Their forebodings have, however, been belied and we have demonstrated to the world the soundness of our financial position. Our very first budget was a balanced one, and I see no reason why our financial position should not go on improving with the development of our economy.

"In spite of the fact that the Government was pre-occupied with the colossal refugee problem from the very beginning, its achievements in other fields during the short period that it has been in existence are not inconsiderable. It is a truism to say that if we are to raise the standard of our masses and make Pakistan into a strong and prosperous state, we shall have to industrialise our country as quickly as possible. The Government have already formulated their industrial policy and are strain- ing every nerve to encourage the setting up of new industries in the country. As you all know, the damage done by the last war has not yet been repaired, and it is not easy to obtain machinery and plant from abroad. Within the limitations imposed by an overall shortage of capital goods in the world, we are going ahead with our plan for the establishment of a number of enterprises in the country, and the day is not far off when our country will be humming with industrial activity.

Power Generation.

"Cheap power is the sine qua non of the economic progress of a country. Hitherto power used to be generated mainly from coal, oil and other kinds of fuel. Our resources in these fields have not been fully explored and exploited. Our potentialities in water-power are, however, immense, and can revolutionise our industries. A number of hydro-electric schemes for the generation of power have already been sanctioned and work on them is in hand.

"With a view to achieving a balanced economy it is imperative, in my opinion, that there should be close cooperation between the Centre and the Provinces. The industrial development must be planned carefully to avoid overlapping and over-production. It is the policy of the Central Government to carry the Provinces with it, and develop industries by agreement. The Provinces, on the other hand, must realise that provincial considerations must give way to the larger good of the State as a whole. But, at the same time, it is also necessary that every Province should get an opportunity to develop its own natural resources, and the Centre should give them financial assistance to enable them to do so. I am glad that so far the Centre and the Provinces have not only worked in harmony, but have realised the difficulties of each other, and have been prepared to contribute to the best of their capacity for the development of Pakistan.

Defence Requirements and Foreign Relations.

"We have won the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan, but the grimmer struggle for the preservation of our hard-won freedom is still ahead of us. In the uncertainties of the present world we cannot afford to neglect our defences. The idea of collective security and pacific settlement of disputes which formed the basis of the United Nations has yet to be translated into action. We have, therefore, to depend upon ourselves for
maintaining the integrity of our frontiers. The demands made by our defence requirements on our undeveloped economy are extremely heavy, but we should be prepared to make every sacrifice to safeguard our freedom. During my tours, and in the letters that I get, people of all ranks and status, official and non-official, have impressed upon me the necessity of making adequate provision for the defence of Pakistan, and they have assured me that they are prepared to contribute whatever is needed for this purpose. This assurance has come from the people of East and West Pakistan alike. I also agree with them and the Prime Minister of Pakistan that financial consideration should not stand in the way of making adequate provision for our defence.

"In the field of Foreign Affairs, I am glad to say that we have established cordial relations with practically all members of the United Nations, much more so with our neighbouring Islamic countries. The Muslim World is passing through perilous times, and it is only by standing together that we can make an impression in world counsels. We have not so far been able to establish Embassies or Legations in a number of important countries, but I can assure this House that the Government is not unmindful of certain vital gaps in this field and will fill them up as soon as circumstances permit.

"Gentlemen! To use Qaid-i-Azam’s words—the foundations of your State have been well laid, and it is now for you to build, and build quickly, on those foundations."

THE CONCEPTION OF HOME LIFE IN ISLAM

By MAULANA MUHAMMAD ‘ALI, M.A., LL.B.

Home Life the Basis of Islamic Civilization.

A right solution of the sex problem is as essential for a well-built social order as that of the economic question. The home is the unit of human society. The sum total of human happiness under ordinary circumstances is determined by the happiness which prevails in the home, and the stability of the home is an index to the stability of society and of its civilization. As the male and the female together make a home, it is on a right understanding of their position and relations that the happiness and stability of the home depends.

Humanity has taken a very long time to understand the true position of woman. For long ages she was looked upon as a slave, as the property of her husband, not as his equal. A person is one who can own property but woman could not own any property or carry on any transaction in her own name, and she was not therefore a person in the real sense of the word. She had very few rights as a daughter, as a wife, even as a mother. As a daughter she was the property of her father. As a wife that of her husband. Half the human race—the very half that was responsible for bringing up the human race—was relegated to the position of slavery. If woman was thus deprived even of the material benefits of life, how could she be deemed fit to receive spiritual benefits? Marriage itself was considered to be a hindrance in the spiritual progress of man even by Christianity.

With the slackening of the hold of Christianity, and the advancement of material civilization, woman started a fight for her rights, and in this she has been successful to some extent. But along with this gain in the temporal field, there has been a set-back so far as the happiness and stability of home life are concerned. Materialism weakened the controlling force of religion and led to loose ideas about the relationship between the sexes. The result is that Europe is leaning more and more to "free love," and marriage is discarded, not on account of any inherent defect in it but because it entails certain responsibilities on the two partners who are required to build up the home. The material outlook on life makes a man selfish; and while he runs after every enjoyment, he shirks the serious responsibilities of life, so that he may be able to lead a care-free life. But life has its cares and sorrows as well as its pleasures, and marriage, while strengthening the ties of the mutual love between the male and the female, thereby increasing their happiness, requires them to share each other's cares and sorrows as well. "Free love" makes each of the mates selfish in the extreme, because while the male and the female become each other's partners in pleasure, each is free to leave the other uncares for in his or her sorrow.

Woman in Islam a Free Person.

The social system of Islam brought about a revolution in stabilizing the relations between the two sexes. It started with the strengthening of the foundations by recognizing woman as a free person who had the legal right to own property and to dispose of it as she liked. In this respect, she was the equal of man in all respects. She was no more the property of the male but his partner and his equal, having the same rights to
earn and own property as the male. The foundation was thus laid of removing the bondage of half the human race. From being a property woman became a person whose status was not in any way inferior to that of man. She could earn money; she could do any work which she liked, and she was entitled to the fruit of her labour just as man was. This revolution regarding the position of woman was brought about thirteen hundred years ago in the following words:

"Men shall have the benefit of what they earn, and women shall have the benefit of what they earn" (4 : 32).

Woman could thus earn and own property just as man could. The social system of Islam recognised no difference between the two sexes in this respect. She could buy or sell as a man could; she could even give it as a free gift to anyone she liked:

"But if they (the women) of themselves be pleased to give you a portion of it, then eat it with enjoyment and with wholesome result" (4 : 4).

Islam, however, did not stop at this reform which was in itself a marvel. It also made woman inherit property just like the male. The Arabs had a very strong tradition that only he could inherit who was able to defend the tribe against the onslaughts of an enemy, a work for which nature itself had not designed woman. The principle, however, with which Islam started, equality of the status of woman with that of man, was worked out in all details of life. If she could earn and own property, if she could dispose of it as she liked, she could not be deprived of inheriting property, and the general rule is thus laid down:

"Men shall have a portion of what the parents and the near relatives leave, and women shall have a portion of what the parents and the near relatives leave" (4 : 7).

Such was the change brought about by the social system of Islam in the temporal position of woman. The same principle was applied in the spiritual domain; woman was on a par with man spiritually too:

"I (God) will not waste the work of a worker from among you, whether male or female, the one of you being from the other" (3 : 194).

"And whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he (or she) is a believer—these shall enter the Garden" (40 : 40).

"Whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he (or she) is a believer, We will make him (or her) live a happy life" (16 : 97).

Marriage in Islam a Means to the Moral Uplift of Man.

The Holy Qur'an speaks of women even receiving Divine revelation, God's greatest gift to man (3 : 41 : 28 : 7). Hence marriage, according to Islam, is not a hindrance in the spiritual progress of man; it is rather a help, a means leading to the development of the spiritual faculties of man. God created mates that they may find "quiet of mind" in each other (30 : 21); "The women are an apparel for you and you are an apparel for them" (2 : 187).

Mutual love between husband and wife—a love based not on momentary passion but on a life-long connection—and the consequent parental love for offspring, leads to a very high development of the feeling of love of man for man as such, and this in turn leads to the disinterested service of humanity. The natural inclination of the male to the female and of the female to the male finds expression through marriage, and is developed, first into a love for the children, then into a love for one's kith and kin, and ultimately, into a disinterested love for the whole of humanity. The home is in fact the first training ground of love and service. Here a man finds real pleasure in suffering for the sake of others, and the sense of service is then gradually developed and broadened.

Marriage is thus regarded by Islam as a means to the moral uplift of man, a means for the development of those feelings of love and service which are the pride of humanity to-day. Hence, according to the social code of Islam, marriage is the normal condition in which every man and woman ought to live. The Holy Qur'an enjoins upon all its followers to live in a married state; "And marry those among you who are single" (24 : 32). The Holy Prophet is reported to have said to certain young men, on noticing monkish inclinations in them: "I am married; whoever inclines to any way other than my way, is not of me" (Bukhari 67 : 1). And on another occasion: "O assembly of young people! Whoever of you has the means to support a wife, he should get married, for this is the best means of keeping the looks cast down and guarding chastity" (Bukhari 67 : 2). According to another of his sayings, "The man who marries, perfects half his religion."

According to the Islamic social system, marriage is a contract (4 : 21), and it is entered into by mutual consent expressed by the two parties, the man and the woman, in the presence of witnesses. This again shows that the male and the female in the Islamic home are two partners standing on the same level and having both their rights and obligations. Being, however, the basis on which human society is built, the marriage contract is not like an ordinary contract. It is necessary that publicity should be given to it. The one fact that distinguishes marriage from fornication is its publicity (4 : 24 ; 5 : 5). Every contract of marriage must be made publicly known, even with the beat of drums, and it must be made in a public place: "Make public this marriage and perform it in the mosques and beat drums for it."

In addition to its publicity, the marriage contract is given a sacred character by the delivery of a sermon, before the announcement of marriage is made. In the sermon, certain verses of the Holy Qur'an (3 : 111 ; 4 : 1 ; 33 : 70, 71) are recited. These verses call attention to the one great need of life, its central fact, that there is a God above Whom both the male and the female are responsible. The contract, therefore, must not be taken lightly. Every right which the parties have, and every obligation which they owe to each other, is a duty imposed by God, Whose Law is the greatest of all the laws. A dowry is also settled on the woman at the time of the marriage. The settling of a dowry which amounts to making her owner of some property shows that on accepting her position as wife, the woman, instead of losing any of her rights as an individual, acquires a full and independent status as a person.

The Individuality of the Wife in Islam.

The individuality of the wife is not merged into that of her husband in the social system of Islam. While she loses none of her rights which she possesses as an individual member of society, her new life brings with it new responsibilities which carry with them new rights: "They (the wives) have rights similar to their obligations in a just manner" (2 : 228). The broad rule is laid down in Hadith: "Every one of you is a ruler and every one shall be questioned about those entrusted to his care; the king is a ruler, and the husband is a ruler over the people of his house, and the woman is a ruler over the house of her husband and his children" (Bukhari 67 : 91). The home
is a unit in the greater organization of a nation, and just as in the vaster national organization, there must be somebody to exercise the final authority, the smaller organization of the home needs a similar arrangement. The husband is first spoken of as being "a ruler over the people of his house" and the wife is then described as "a ruler over the house of her husband and his children." The home is thus the State in miniature, where authority is exercised by both the husband and the wife. But unless one of them is given a higher authority, there would be chaos in this kingdom. The reason for giving the higher authority to the husband is thus stated in the Holy Qur'ān: "Men are the maintainers of women because Allah has made some of them to excel others and because they spend out of their property." (4 : 34). The husband provides maintenance for the wife and has the final charge of the affairs of the home, thus exercising authority over the wife when there is need for it. It is the man who can be entrusted with the maintenance of the family, and therefore it is he who must hold the higher authority.

The functions of the husband and the wife are quite distinct, and each is entrusted with the functions which are best suited for his or her nature. The man excels the woman in physique and constitution; he is capable of bearing greater hardships and facing greater dangers. On the other hand, the woman excels the man in the qualities of love and affection. Nature, for her own purpose of helping the growth of creation, has endowed the female among men, as well as the lower animals, with the quality of love to a much higher degree than the male. Hence there is a natural division as between man and woman of the main work which is to be carried on for the good and progress of humanity. Man is suited to face the hard struggles of life on account of his stronger physique; woman is suited to bring up children because of the preponderance of the quality of love in her. The duty of the maintenance of the family has, therefore, been entrusted to man, and the duty of bringing up the children to woman. And each is vested with the authority suited to the function with which he or she is entrusted.

This division of work is only the general rule; it does not mean that woman has entirely been excluded from other kinds of activity. Notwithstanding her rightful position in the home, as the manager of the household and the upbringer of children, woman took interest in all the national activities of the Muslim community. The care of the children did not prevent her from repairing to the mosque to join the congregational prayer (Bukhari 10 : 162); nor was this care an obstacle in her way to join the soldiers in the field of battle to perform a large number of duties, such as the carrying of provisions (Bukhari 56 : 66), taking care of the sick and the wounded (Bukhari 56 : 67), removing the wounded and the slain from the battle-field (Bukhari 56 : 68), etc. She could do any work she liked. Women helped their husbands in the work of the field (Bukhari 67 : 108); they could carry on business (Bukhari 11 : 40); they could sell to and purchase from men, and men could sell to and purchase from them (Bukhari 54 : 67). Similarly, men would help their wives in the household work.

Great stress is laid on good and kindly treatment towards the wife in the Islamic social order. "Keep them in good fellowship," "Treat them kindly," is the oft-recurring order (2 : 229, 231 ; 4 : 19). Kindness to the wife is recommended even when a man dislikes her, for "It may be that you dislike a thing while God has placed abundant good in it" (4 : 19). Hadith lays equally great stress upon good treatment of the wife. There is a most famous saying of the Prophet: "The most excellent of you is he who is best in his treatment of his wife" (Mishkat 13 : 11). In his famous address at the Farewell Pilgrimage, he again laid stress on the good treatment of women: "O my people! You have certain rights over your wives and so have your wives over you . . . They are the trust of Allah in your hands. So you must treat them with all kindness." (Muslim 15 : 19).

Divorce.

Though marriage, according to Islam, is only a social contract, yet the rights and responsibilities consequent upon it are of such importance to the welfare of humanity that a high degree of sanctity is attached to it. But in spite of the sacredness of its character, Islam recognises the necessity, in exceptional circumstances, of keeping the way open for the dissolution of the marriage tie. Before Islam, people went generally to one or the other extreme in the matter of divorce. According to the Hindu law, marriage once performed can never be dissolved. The right of divorce, according to the Jewish law, belongs to the husband, who can exercise it at his will. The Christian law recognises the right of divorce only when there is faithlessness on the part of either of the parties, but the divorced parties are precluded from marrying again. Islam adopts a middle course among all these extremes. It allows divorce but considers it a hateful thing; it requires the exploration of all possible ways of reconciliation; and while recognising the wife's right to divorce for any sufficient reason, restricts the husband's right to it.

The principle underlying divorce, according to the Holy Qur'ān, is the decision no longer to live together as husband and wife. In fact, marriage itself is an agreement to live together as husband and wife, and therefore when either of the parties finds itself unable to agree to such a life divorce must follow. The Muslim mentality in this matter is, however, one of hatred for getting a divorce: "With God the most detestable of all things permitted is divorce." (Abu Dawud 13 : 3). When one of the mates feels that he cannot pull on with the other, he is told to bear in mind that "It may be that you dislike a thing while Allah has placed abundant good in it" (4 : 19). Remedies are also suggested to avoid divorce so long as possible: "And if you fear a breach between the two, appoint a judge from his people and a judge from her people; if they both desire agreement, God will effect harmony between them" (4 : 35). It is due to such teachings that the mentality of a Muslim is to face the difficulties of the married life along with its comforts, and to avoid disruption of the marital relations so long as possible, turning to divorce only as the last resort. Hence, in spite of the facility with which divorce may be effected, there being no need to go to the court in most cases, its incidence is much smaller among Muslims as compared with the Christian countries, where the binding force of the social laws of Islam does not exist, and where therefore the percentage of divorces is very great.

Chastity, Polygamy and the Social Problem of Europe.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the Islamic social order is that, it places the highest value on chastity. To guard the chastity of woman it has adopted certain measures which have been misunderstood by the critics of Islam. A cursory glance at the different societies of the world would show that so far as sexual morality is concerned, the Islamic society stands on a very high level. Prostitution, which is so rampant in the western countries and which in India is associated even with religious life, is almost unknown to Muslim countries. It prevailed in Arabia before the advent of Islam, but Islam eradicated it so thoroughly that it has not taken root anywhere in Muslim society. The prevalence of this evil is due, among other reasons,
such as uncurbed sexual lust and a low moral standard in sexual matters, to the excess of women over men in most countries, a fact which census figures have now made only too clear. The number of women in almost all European countries is much in excess of men and the terrible wars which seem to have become now a part of the normal life of Europe are further increasing that number. How is that excess number of women to be dealt with, is a question for the moralists of Europe. Nature will have its course, and if no measures are adopted in time, the growing evil of prostitution, already a blot on the fair name of the womanhood of Europe, will bring down the very foundations of European society.

Islam was faced with a similar situation in its early history. The wars with the non-Muslim Arab population, which were forced on Muslims because of the determination of their opponents to destroy Islam, reduced the number of the males to a very large extent, and many homes were filled with widows and orphans. Islam foresaw the evil result in all its clearness. An arrangement could easily be made to supply the destitute with bread, but the nature made by God could not be changed, and sexual appetite was as certain a reality as physical appetite. It was under these conditions that Islam allowed a limited polygamy. The verse which permits polygamy clearly refers to these circumstances. It opens with the words: "If you fear that you cannot act equitably towards (widows and) orphans," marry such women as seem good to you." (4 : 3). Polygamy was permitted not because men wanted more wives than one, but because widows and orphans were left unprotected and it was necessary to provide homes for them. Islam aimed at the building up of the character in the first instance, and it could not be satisfied with the sympathetic materialist's solution of giving bread to the woman without caring for her soul, without providing a home for her, without making arrangements for guarding her chastity, without giving her the means by which she could attain to her perfection as a woman. The materialist's solution is easy, but it is a solution relating only to her body; he would not care for her chastity or for her soul; he would not care even if she has to sell her chastity for a few shillings, sometimes even to support her body. This is not an exaggeration; this is what is actually happening in every great centre of the materialistic civilization, where woman is sometimes forced to sell her chastity for food or for shelter.

Such a solution was repugnant to Islam. Its concern was the soul in the first instance; it placed a high value upon the chastity of woman and it had to provide means to guard it first. So the Prophet under Divine guidance allowed a limited polygamy, which prophets before him had also allowed. Other arrangements could be made for the maintenance of widows, but a home life could not be given to them in any other manner, and home life is the real source whence spring all those good qualities of love and affection which are the greatest assets of social life and civilization. Islam bases its civilization on home life, and under exceptional circumstances, where monogamy fails to provide a home to woman, it allows a limited polygamy to extend to them that advantage. Even if it be half a home that the woman finds in a polygamous family, it is better than no home at all. And what does this no home mean? Not only that woman has no shelter; not only that she is deprived of an occasion to develop her God-given faculties of love and affection; it also means in most cases a moral depravity which is the greatest danger to civilization. Monogamy is undoubtedly the right rule of life under normal conditions, but when abnormal conditions are brought about by the excess of females over males, monogamy fails, and it is only through a limited polygamy that this difficulty can be solved. Europe is to-day confronted with that question independently of war, and war which must always be a source of decrease in the number of the males, bringing about a corresponding increase in the number of women, only aggravates its seriousness. Professions may be opened for woman to enable her to earn bread, and Islam never closed the door of any profession against woman. But the crux of the question is, not the provision of bread but the provision of a home. It must be clearly understood that polygamy in Islam is, both in theory and practice, an exception, and as an exception it is a remedy for many of the evils of modern civilization. Even if Europe considers it to be an evil, let it ponder which is the greater evil, a limited polygamy or an unlimited prostitution and moral degeneration?

The Purpose of the Division of Work.

In another way, too, Islam aims at raising the moral status of society and to diminish chances of illicit sexual relations growing up between the sexes, so that the home may be a heaven of peace for the husband, the wife and the children. This is effected by a division of work, the woman being concerned more with the management of the house and the upbringing of the children and the man with their maintenance. This division reduces to the minimum the chances of the intermingling of the two sexes. It does not mean that woman shall not go out of her house; she has full liberty to go out for her needs (Bukhari 65:33 : 8).

The division of work not only improves the quality of work; it also improves the moral tone of society. Another measure to gain this end is the stress laid upon the privacy of home life. Going into houses without permission is strictly forbidden (24 : 27), and may be avoided so long as the necessary work can be done without interfering with the privacy of women (33 : 53).

The third measure to achieve this end is that woman should be properly dressed when appearing on public occasions, or when otherwise intermingling of the sexes becomes necessary. Their proper dress is that the whole body should be covered with the exception of the face and hands (24:30-31; Abu Dawud 31 : 50). They are forbidden when going out of their houses and appearing in public to make a display of their finery (33 : 33), or to uncover parts of the body which excite the sensual passions of the opposite sex (24 : 31). As a further precaution both sexes are required to behave modestly and to develop the habit of keeping their looks cast down in the presence of each other:

"Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them.

"And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms" (24 : 30, 31).

With these precautions, women have every liberty to go anywhere they like and to do any work that they like. It should be clearly understood that the veil was only a mark of rank; there is no injunction in the Holy Qur'an or Hadith requiring women to wear a veil. On the other hand, it is an admitted fact that women joined the prayer service daily in mosques without wearing a veil, while in the pilgrimage they were actually forbidden to wear a veil.
The Influence of Islamic Culture on Western Music

By BRIAN RUST

Islamic Contribution to Western Culture Disregarded.

The Western world, generally speaking, has been so obsessed with the progress and development of itself that the Islamic contribution to Western culture has tended to become overlooked and disregarded. Yet it is an incontrovertible fact that in the fields of architecture, astronomy, mathematics and the medical sciences, even in the very language of the West, the influence of Islam is readily discernible. One has only to consider the first of these instances and the mind recalls the splendour of Alcazar of Seville and Alhambra of Granada. In the world of music, however, the enormous effect of Islamic modes and culture is practically never acknowledged, and, in the course of this article, I hope to demonstrate that effect, with particular reference to the examples that are available on gramophone records for all to hear, study and enjoy.

Owing to the calamities brought about by the Crusades, a kind of Iron Curtain was set up by the Western Churches against the acknowledgment of Eastern culture, though, more recently, the more liberal-minded Western writers have revealed the great contributions made by Islam to Western art, and Gustave le Bon wrote that, "At a period when the rest of Europe was plunged in black barbarism, Baghdad and Cordova, the two big cities in which Islam reigned, were the hearths of civilisation, lighting up the world with their brilliance." This was the lustrious period of the Abbaside Caliphate in Baghdad (750-1258 C.E.) and of the Omayyad Caliphs in Cordova (755-1492 C.E.). During the time of Haroun al Rashid, Muslim possessions stretched from the Atlantic to the frontiers of China, from the sub-Caucasus to India in Asia, and to the Sudan in Africa. The fusion of all these peoples contributed happily enough to setting up one of the most advanced and enlightened intellectual and artistic civilisations the world has ever seen. From the main centres at Baghdad and Cordova spread the influences which have left their mark indelibly on the arts of Europe and indeed the North American continent, discovered by a strange coincidence in the same year as Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain drove the Moors out of Granada.

Gypsy Music in Europe.

It is clear from the examples which have reached Western ears that Russian gypsy music derives much from the Arabic. Many of these lovely melodies, so ancient that their original composers are lost to memory, have attained great popularity in England and in America, perhaps the best-known being "Ochi Chorniya" (Black Eyes). This and other traditional Russian themes are all too often presented in a bowdlerised and spiritless form, specially arranged by Western arrangers and orchestrators for the concert platform to suit Western audiences. The delightful Oriental harmonies are frequently, skillfully but somewhat pointless, removed and the melody, re-orchestrated for a much bigger group than intended by its originators, lacks the distinctive flavour which they gave it. Even more apparent is the influence of Islamic culture on Rumanian gypsy music; the suspended rhythms and (to Western ears) eerie exalted phrases stem directly from the flute and pipe music of Tunisia, Egypt and Arabia, though the gypsies, whether Russian or Rumanian, Hungarian or Czech, usually employ stringed instruments in preference to reeds. There are, however, some truly astonishing records by the Rumanian flautist, Fanica Luca, whose interpretations of some of the native airs of his country, entirely unaccompanied for the most part, are among the most beautiful works ever committed to posterity by means of the gramophone.

Another musician whose work has been recorded in its original form is Grigoras Dinicu, whose small string orchestra gives a splendid performance of the doina, an obviously Oriental form, whose complicated rhythmic patterns are paralleled in the music of Persia and Iraq.

The Moorish invasion of Spain took place in the summer of 711, and in the early part of the following century, a noted musician from Baghdad, named Ziryab, arrived in Cordova, where he gave instruction in music at the Court. To this day, the music of Southern Spain is unmistakably Arab-Islamic, and in particular, the Andalusian casta jondo and casta flamenco bear the Eastern imprint boldly. The use of the pentatonic scale, associated with most Oriental music, has been somewhat modified, but in these, and in the seguiriyas gitanas, another Spanish gypsy musical form, certain functional notes are divided and the intervals smaller than a semi-tone. As in most folk-songs, the subject of the lyrics concerns itself with the very roots of life—the loves, joys, hates, fears and philosophies of the people who make it, and especially beautiful are the nostalgic melodies in the flamenco mode. To an ear accustomed to hearing a set form of tone, a true concert pitch and a two-four, three-four or four-four rhythm, these songs come strangely, but a little careful listening and serious study reveals a wealth of beauty undreamed of before. There are many records of genuine flamenco singers, among them Amalia Molina, Jose Oto and Angelillo, all of which are worth studying, especially those accompanied by the guitar, which is the usual instrument for accompaniment. To lay stress on certain beats, the performer often taps on the body of the guitar, thereby suggesting a drum; percussion soloists of great dexterity are usually the only accompanists to Arab singers, of course, and those of them who have complete mastery over their instruments can actually make an uncommon music by drumming alone. The Spanish guitarist, Vincente Gomez, has composed some pieces for the guitar, in which the body of the instrument is struck, and the strings are plucked, and in recognition of the origins of such melodies, he has called them by such names as Granada Araba. This type of composition has remained close to the original form, as have the songs recorded in Spanish by one of the greatest living tenors, Tito Schipa. Particularly beautiful, and of special interest to all Muslim students of music, are Schipa's renderings of A Granada, a song of Andalusia, and an aria from the operetta Emigrantes, by Calleja and Barrera. The rousing phrases and lilting rhythms, associated with the Middle East, are a feature of both melodies, the latter of which begins Adios, Granada, Granada mia! (Farewell, my Granada!).

Nor was Spain the only Mediterranean country to come under the cultural influence of Islam. In the weird and even sinister folk-song of Sicily the effect of Moorish occupation can be traced. Although not very well-known in England, the song of the Sicilian fisher-folk is rich in melody and colour, and recently the young and promising tenor Giuseppe di Stefano recorded two of these—A la Barcellunusa and Cantu a Timmi. The orchestral accompaniment, though quite considerably Westernised, retains much of the original setting. The great soprano and pupil of the incomparable Nellie Melba, Tori dal Monte, also recorded a delightful Sicilian song of a peasant girl leading her horse home at sunset, with aside between the verses. The Neapolitan peasants also came under the spread of Islamic art, and again I can do no better than refer the reader to Tito Schipa, whose record of Marechiaro—Quanno spunta la Luna 'e
Marechiare (When the moon rises over Marechiare), which is a
setting of a folk tune by di Giacomino Tosti, is in direct line of
descent from the Arabic melodies and rhythms. The first singer
to bring the gorgeous Neapolitan heritage of song within the
reach of all by means of records was Enrico Caruso, whose discs of
such songs as Core 'ngrato (Ungrateful Heart) and Taranta-
tella sincera are still available after over thirty-five years, a sure
testimony of their popularity. Caruso also recorded Guardanu'
a luna (The watching moon), I'm mi 'arricordo 'e Napule (It
reminds me of Naples), and Fenestra che lucive 'o mo' non luci
(The shining window), among others, all of which are in the
strain of the music brought to Italy by the Moors, though, of
course, the presentation is more conventionally Western.

Arabic Music and the Song of the Negro in America.

With the discovery of the New World, there took place the
rush by European emigrants to establish colonies in what is now
the United States, and in the Central and South American
republics. During the eighteenth century, the abomination of
trafficking in Negro slaves from West Africa cast a dreadful
shadow on the pioneer work of the early colonists, particularly
in the Southern states. Although the great city of New Orleans,
now the capital of the State of Louisiana, was founded by a
French settler, Sieur de Bienville, it was for a time under the
rule of Spain, and of Great Britain, before the Louisiana Pur-
chase of 1803 enabled it to become incorporated in the United
States. Although the Spanish were in control for a compara-
atively short time, their traditions became identified with the
folklore of the city, and indeed of the country surrounding the
Mississippi delta, and this, combined with the French and
British influences, produced a hybrid music with a character
which owed allegiance to many different factors. The Moorish-
Spanish rhythms were wedded to the inherent African patterns :
the slaves sang as they toiled (for a singing "nigger" was a
contented one, reasoned the white slave-owners, so they allowed
their workers this luxury), sang in English, French, Spanish, or a
patois made up of all three, and when Emancipation, theoret-
ically at least, was proclaimed at the end of the Civil War in
1863, the "free" Negro began to expand his natural love of
music by learning the "white man's instruments. The result we
know to-day as jazz.

At this point I should like to make it clear that jazz in its
real, genuine form, coming from the fusion of African, Oriental
and Occidental influences, has little or no connection with
modern ballroom dancing. The latter gives passing acknowledg-
ment rather vaguely to the four-four beat of genuine jazz, but
at its best it is no more than an insipid commercialisation of
African-American folk music. Among the outstanding exponents
of this new musical form was the talented pianist Ferdinand
Morton, a Creole Negro whose great-grandparents, unable to
speak any language but French, settled in the New World over
a century ago. Morton died at the age of fifty-five in the
summer of 1941, having recorded many dozens of piano pieces,
many of which are in direct tradition from the African and
Spanish modes, and thus can be linked with the culture of Islam.
The tension of the suspended rhythms, the exquisite phrasing
and perfect timing stamp Ferdinand Morton as a genius in his
own right; and, as the leader of a number of different orchestras,
for which he made the sketchy arrangements, he showed him-
to himself to be a musician of rare taste. In Spanish flamenco playing,
dating from the time of the Moorish occupation in Spain, it was
custody for the performance to be cuatro flamenco, i.e. four
singers, dancers and/or instrumentalists took turns in perform-
ing solos to the accompaniment of the others during the exposi-
tion of a melody, each soloist improvising either by phrases in
the texture of the music or in the lyrics. Although Morton used,
as a rule, more than four musicians (usually the number was
seven) and consequently could paint, as it were, on a wider
canvas, using brass and reeds as well as percussion, he arranged
each tune in such a way that the members of his group could
weave their own pattern round the main theme solo, in turn.
This improvisatory style has been copied by countless American
musicians since, both white and coloured, and by others
throughout the world over, but without a thorough knowledge of the
background and constituents of so intricate a performance, with
lamentable results which the uninform ed pass off, with justifiable
contempt, as jazz. Thus do the unenlightened accept the spurious
as the genuine.

It is interesting to note, in passing, the close affinity
between Arabic music and the song of the Negro in America.
There were, during the decade usually referred to as the
"twenties," a number of records made of these singers, two of
whom in particular are worthy of mention. They were Robert
Hicks and Alger Alexander, who sang to their own guitar
accompaniment, songs of rough texture, as folk music often is,
but with innate charm and full of interest to the student of the
music of the people. Here again the Oriental conception of
pitch is apparent, the broad gissandi and often abrupt change
of tone being very conspicuous, and here too we find the
copyists, some good, some utterly dreadful!

Some Famous European Composers and Islamic Melodies.

Of course, the great composers have turned for inspiration
as to Islamic melodies. Maurice Ravel, the somewhat eccentric
French composer, wrote Bolero, probably his most famous
composition, with its unceasing patterning rhythm and sequence of
solos for such instruments as trumpet, oboe, clarinet, and alto
horn (sometimes alto saxophone), and Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky
included a sombre Arab Dance in his famous Casse-Noisette
suite, a piece which is strikingly effective, and though repetitive
like Ravel's Bolero, it does not weary the ear. Nor must we
overlook the inclusion of the Hungarian czardas, a dance surely
of parzial Oriental design, in Tchaikovsky's lovely Swan Lake
ballet suite. Johannes Brahms and Franz Liszt of course became
world-famous for their adaptation of Hungarian dances and
songs, while much of the music of the ill-fated Spanish
composer Enrique Granados, drowned in 1916 when H.M.S.
Sussex was torpedoed in the English Channel, is intensely
nationalistic, hence Spanish and thus Moorish. I am thinking
particularly of his graceful intermezzo from the Goyescas suite, inspired by
the paintings of his fellow-countryman Goya.) The French
composer Gabriel Fauré wrote a magnificent Pavanne in F sharp
minor, on the early Spanish dance, also doubtless Moorish
origin, and in the world of opera, Verdi composed the mighty
work Otello on the theme of Shakespeare's play of that name,
while Pietro Mascagni included at the outset of his most famous
opera Cavalleria Rusticana a charming Siciliana to be sung with
harp accompaniment only. The role of Otello was originally
filled by Francesco Tamagno, the most powerful tenor in living
memory, whose pitifully few records, now very rare, give us a
glance of his great artistry in that exacting role.

Among the lesser composers who have drawn on the Orient
for themes are Cesar Cui, whose Orientale in his Kaleidoscope
suite is well-known, and Luigini, whose Ballet Egyptien has
achieved fame with the public. All these and many more have
written compositions based on the Islamic mode, though their
origins are seldom realised by those who listen. The great
Russian composer Balakireff even named one of his symphonic
fantasies Islamey, though the music itself is rather further
removed from actual Arabic mode.

Throughout the music of South America, recently popular-
ised in this country and in the United States, there can be
traced the strong Oriental characteristic rhythm, and in the

APRIL 1949

21
indigenous "opera" of Malaya, the reverse of the instances mentioned above, where a European composer has Westernised the music of the East, has occurred, and the popular song of the West has been Orientalised and set into the form of Malayan dances. The effect is somewhat ludicrous, but it is most interesting.

I hope that these notes will enable more people to understand the great debt owed by the West to Islamic culture in the world of music. A rapprochement is desirable after the centuries of calumnies which began with the Crusades. If by means of this article I have helped, even in the smallest way, to bring about such a rapprochement, I shall not have worked in vain.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

Muslims and Christian Missions

A Christian missionary of the Danish Church in an article in the anti-Islam American quarterly, The Muslim World for January, 1949, asks if Christianity, as he understands it, has any message for Muslims. In his answer to this interesting question he makes some equally interesting following observations:

"Our question of comparison here is this: if we try to understand Islam as honestly and nobly as possible, if we listen to what the best and not the worst authors have written about their religion, of old and in our own time, will there then still be scope for our Christian missionwork, or must we in the end admit that Islam has not only God's name (Allah) in common with Jews and Christians, but that it brings a new message from the same God as the Father of Jesus Christ and leads men to that same God and Father? Have we nothing to say but that Islam is one of the monotheistic religions, nay perhaps even that it is a kind of Christianity, a Christian sect?"

"The answer to this of course depends on what Christianity means. What is the essence of Christianity? If it is a Tolstoyan or other rationalistic theory that it is an ethical system based perhaps on the sermon on the Mount, a comparison with Islam would probably leave no scope for Christian missions; for Islam too is able to present a serious ethical rule of life. But if Christianity is allowed to present the New Testament as agreeing to the faith as expressed, e.g., in the Apostolic Creed, then probably both Christians and Muslims would agree that the difference is so essential that the two could not be classified as one religion, perhaps not even as related . . ."

The Cross Neither Natural nor Rational.

"There are many religious expressions common to Christianity and Islam. There may also be religious values in common, but in spite of that there need be no ambiguity or confusion regarding the difference between the two. Christianity has something to offer which Islam has not got and will never be able to get by itself, and, it should be openly admitted, does not want to have, i.e., the Cross and all in Christianity connected with the Cross ("delivered for our offences, raised again for our justification")."

"That the Cross has become the sign of Christianity nobody denies. That Christ's death and resurrection form the chief subject of the preaching and teaching of the Apostles is clear enough from the Acts and the Epistles. That the Qur'ân rejects all this is no less certain: 'neither did they crucify him nor kill him,' 'no soul is to bear another's burden, but each soul bears its own burden,' 'the good deeds take away the evil deeds.' Christianity does not say that the Cross is 'natural' and 'rational.' On the contrary it is a paradox, it is against the human way of reasoning, at St. Paul put it: 'unto the Greeks foolishness, unto the Jews a stumbling-block.' But Islam on the contrary with all its stress on God's transcendence and power maintains that it is the natural and rational religion. Perhaps Christians and Muslims can agree on this: that if our natural way of thinking is to decide God's way of reaching men and saving them, the result will not be far from Islam (or Christian Unitarianism). But since the Cross of Golgotha has been raised and God allowed, nay wished, His chosen servant to die on the Cross, the natural rationalistic way of thinking about God stands contradicted and the self-righteous trust in honest living and good deeds has got a death-blow, for when we shall have done all those things which are commanded us, we are to say: We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do."

The Role of Muslims in the Events to come

In the Listener, London, for February 10, 1949, under the title "Palestine and the Great Powers," a writer brings out the importance of the Middle East in the following words:

"Palestine is a greater deal smaller than Britain. From Dan to Beersheba, the length of the seriously inhabited area, is less than 150 miles, and the width of the country from the Jordan Valley to the sea you may take in at a glance on a fine day from any aeroplane and from the tops of a good many hills. Yet I imagine she has occupied very nearly as many columns as Britain in the attenuated newspapers of the post-war world."

"There are two reasons for this. They may be very broadly described as the geographical and the historical. Geographically, Palestine is part of an area which the Foreign Offices and the general staffs of the Great Powers agree in regarding as strategically one of the most important, perhaps the most important, in the world. This is the area which we have come, rather loosely, to call the Middle East . . . . And for all its inaccuracy it has this merit, at any rate, that for British people the expression conjures up a military picture and has the effect of underlining the essentially strategic nature of the importance which the British Government has for years attached to this area. That importance was made clear in the time of Napoleon who, hesitating before the hazards of an attempt to invade England, turned eastwards and tried to break British power by attacking it through Egypt and the Indian Ocean. Since his time the Middle East has grown rapidly in military importance. With the opening of the Suez Canal it became a vulnerable part of the vital waterway linking Britain with her eastern and Pacific resources, while Iraq and Persia have become by far the most important sources of oil in the Old World. According to most expert opinion, the greater part of the known world reserves of oil lie under the sands of the Middle East.

The Great Powers and the Importance of the Middle East.

"Again, since 1945 the military importance of the Middle East has grown even bigger. During the nineteenth century, Anglo-Russian rivalry turned upon the control of the Middle East. Many times between the battle of Waterloo and the outbreak of war in 1914, this issue provoked crises between the Powers, and once, at the time of the Crimea, it led to war . . ."

"To-day that interest is as great as ever and it is shared by the United States. But now the Middle East has also become of vital interest to the Russians. It is not difficult to see why.
this should be so. If forces hostile to Russia were based on the Middle East to-day, they would no longer be earthbound armies committed to the impossible task of fighting their way across many hundreds of miles before they could reach any important objective, and impossible to sustain even if they got there. For in these years not only have the range and striking force of modern weapons developed immensely, but many of the most important Russian industries have moved southward, towards the Black Sea and the Middle East. Russia can sustain a war after losing the Don Basin. We have seen that. And she has no doubt taken steps to establish industries in more remote territories. But her main oil wells, which the Germans never reached, are within easy range of Middle Eastern bases, and western forces in the Middle East would constitute the most serious breach in that wide protecting belt which Russia has placed in Europe between her great centres and the west.

"It is easy to see, with things as they are to-day, how the hard facts of geography make the Middle East a place of paramount importance for the governments of the Great Powers. Palestine is not, purely strategically, a particularly important part of the Middle East. The Suez Canal is in Egypt, the Straits are Turkish, and the oil lies in Arabia, Persia and Iraq. It is Persia, Iraq and Turkey which are nearest to Russia. Yet Palestine is the most pressing concern of those whose business is the peace and security of this whole area. This is so because of the importance of the factors which I have called historical. In the great Mosque in the city of Jerusalem is the Rock of Sacrifice; it is preserved as a shrine and an object of Muslim pilgrimage and is credited with being the rock upon which Abraham was prepared to offer Isaac, so it is an object of interest and veneration to Muslim, Jew and Christian alike. Hard by are the Wailing Wall and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre...

"Yet the main impression of the western visitor to these lands, unlike that of the newspaper reader, is not so much one of political as of economic ills. Palestine, and to a greater degree her Arab-speaking neighbours, which are suffering from the familiar consequences of modern nationalism, are suffering too from the age-old afflictions of poverty and disease—afflictions which the west is learning so much about mitigating. The Arab countries present a picture of the extremes of wealth and poverty and of consequent degradation, of the sort which is apt to be called medieval by those who know nothing about the Middle Ages. The poverty of the poorest, and they are the vast majority, is intense. On the other hand, I knew an inhabitant of one of these countries who habitually kept the sum of £2,000,000 standing in his current account in case of emergencies. Since he was a strict Muslim and refused to accept interest, he was, I need hardly say, a very favourite customer."

Believe it or Not

We print below two excerpts taken from two different sources separated by a quarter of a century. The first one was written only very recently, whereas the second one about twenty-three years ago. But the similarity in the tactics employed in misrepresenting Islam, despite this long period, shows that the detractors of Islam have far from changed. Dialectical dishonesty still persists and is as strong as ever. After one has read them, one fails to differentiate between ignorance and mischief.

Islamic Culture of Hyderabad-Deccan for July 1948, in a review of a book entitled Heirs of the Prophets, written by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, throws into relief our observations made above in the following passages:

"Dr. Zwemer seems to have been irritated at Dr. William Thomson's remark that unlike Christianity Islam has no priesthood. Dr. Zwemer's contention is that Islam has the clergy and the priesthood, and the logic of his argument is that Islam had its rise in a Jewish-Christian environment, so we might expect that Muhammad would borrow much of the organisation of his new faith from these sources (p. 14). Islam did not, of course, reject but confirmed which was revealed before it." (2:97). When the Prophet Jesus (peace be on Him!) preached, it was objected that his religion was an amalgam of principles and facts borrowed from other religions. But he told the people, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law (i.e., Torah) or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass, from the law (from the Torah) till all be fulfilled." (Matthew 5:18). And so the Holy Qur'an bears the same teaching which was preached in former revealed books. It does not, of course, consist of the amendments, innovations and additions which have been made from time to time in the old and the new Testaments. Dr. Zwemer, instead of building the structure of Islamic priesthood on the basis of any law or principle laid down in either the holy Qur'an or Hadith or Fiqh, has rushed forth to seek help from Century Dictionary, Encyclopaedia Britannica and Oxford Dictionary. And then as an etymologist he discovers forthwith that the Holy Qur'an religion holds the same position which a priest has in Christian-
SUFISM IN ISLAM

By MAULAVI AFTAB-UD-DIN AHMAD, B.A.

Tasawwuf a Regular Science.

The word "mysticism," which is generally used to indicate this aspect of Islam, is a little misleading. The English word has an elusive atmosphere about it, whereas tasawwuf itself is a regular science with its set laws and a full scheme in detail. It is based on palpable experiences which can be reproduced, as in any other science, under set circumstances. Every pilgrim has to pass through the same stages in his spiritual journey and these stages are readily recognizable by their detailed descriptions given unanimously by all masters. The landmarks and pitfalls are described in equally exhaustive particulars. Just as in any other course of study, there are methods in tasawwuf to test the progress of the disciple and his merit. As in any other branch of knowledge, there are geniuses in this branch of study also, who create a stir in the world, but even the humblest learner can at least aspire to develop a living sense of the presence of God even in the midst of our struggle for material existence. He also develops a taste for this culture and an interest in those who follow this path and thereby acquires an increasing control over his passions and desires for things worldly. It can readily be understood that this paves the way for real social peace, the crying need of the times. As for the more gifted pilgrims—but for them God would be a mere hypothesis—it is their experiences that have made God a palpable fact of experience and have made thinking humanity believe in the continuity of life after death. It is they who radiate a faith in life everlasting which, in its turn, takes away the sting from death and enables us, average men, to view life with a sense of ease. They attain to a perfect certainty about the existence of God by a speaking contact with Him and thereby act as the vice-regents of the Prophet. It is to these people that the Prophet refers in his much-quoted saying: "The learned among my followers are like the Prophets of Israel," or in another saying: "The learned are the successors of the Prophets."

The law being complete in the shape of the Holy Qur'an, no Prophet is needed after the Prophet Muhammed. And yet these spiritual luminaries must be there to testify to the existence of God, to the truth of the Qur'anic revelation and to the continuity of the Prophet's spiritual regime. Without these personalities belief in all these verities would be reduced to a mere make-believe, devoid of any power to influence people's thought and action. This has exactly been the fate of all religions excepting Islam, which, though professed by a politically backward people at the moment, is yet rich in the tradition of these living experiences.

The Three Stages of Human Consciousness.

Islam is not a speculative philosophy or a dogmatic theology, but an experimental science with its attractions as such. To describe briefly the general framework of this science:

Human consciousness is divided into three conditions rising upwards in the scale of evolution:

1. Naft Ammara, i.e., unruly animal self.
2. Naft Lawwama, i.e., struggling moral self.
3. Naft Mutmainna, i.e., composed God-realising self.

In the first stage man is purely animal, restless with animal urges, impatient of restrictions and stranger to any pricking of conscience. By a systematic course of religious training, of which obedience to commands and prohibitions is the chief feature,
he develops a sense of propriety and impropriety and repents after every fall and error. This is the Laureate state. This stage begins with the first dawning of the moral sense and ends in the complete surrender of the animal ego in man, which marks the third and highest stage, viz., Maimana. The struggle between the lower and higher self having now ended, the pilgrim enters a condition of perfect peace, of purity, of rectitude, and of knowledge.

**How Sufis define their Experience.**

To indicate the experiences starting from the threshold of this stage and continuing further on, the Sufis have coined three more terms, viz.:

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1. **Faris**: A complete subjugation of the animal self. At this stage man ceases to be disturbed by any urge of desire. The only urge left in him is prayerful surrender of his whole being.

2. **Baga**: This means a restoration of the self in a new consciousness, this time not of the flesh but of the spirit. The urges of the self are no longer from the animal passions which drive a person to acts involving violation of other people's rights and which lead to disturbance in society, but from the God-controlled spiritual region which is the source of actions invariably beneficial to humanity and creation.

3. **Liga**: This is the stage wherein man's spiritual knowledge rises to such a high pitch that the rewards for his faith, sincerity and devotion no longer remain a matter of belief but become a palpable certainty and experience, as if he has them already, and his faith in God reaches a point wherein it seems a power of creation; he creates events and even determines the course of history.

It should be borne in mind that after a pilgrim has entered the state of **Faris**, which in the language of the Qur'an is called **Istigama**, the next two stages of **Baga** and **Liga** follow as a matter of course. The reason is that when a person becomes completely devoid of attachment to creation and desires and personal will, he automatically enters the state of **Baga**. So long as a man is not confirmed in the state of self-annihilation and his surrender to God does not become a spontaneous affair, he cannot be said to be in a state of **Baga**, which requires that all acts of devotion and surrender should become natural acts not needing any effort. When such a state is attained the man feels that all that belongs to him is really God's. And while other people of the world delight in the satisfaction of their own

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*The interior of the Shrine of the famous Sufi Jalaluddin Rumi (died 1273 C.E.), at Konya, Turkey. His Mathnawi has been styled "The Qur'an in Persian"*
personal desires, such a person enjoys the worship of God and His remembrance. Thus when the pilgrim is confirmed in this state of Bagh and it becomes the warp and woof of his very being, a light
appears to descend from heaven and the mist of uncertainty is altogether lifted from his heart, which is now filled with a sweet feeling of love, never experienced before, like the sensation one experiences at the time of reunion with a loving friend after a long separation. This is accompanied by a highly pleasing shower of Divine communications every now and then, which may be said to be attended by a heavenly sweet smell and a coolness like that of a spring breeze. At this stage the devotee feels pleasure in sacrificing everything he possesses for the sake of God, even his honour and life. His heart becomes so filled with the Light Divine that it seems as if he is experiencing the rays of the mid-day sun within his bosom and as if God Himself had descended on his heart with all His glory. And these are the signs of the state of Liqa.

It is also to be remembered that, while attainment of Fana is the result of human efforts, the two higher stages of Bagh and Liqa are the gifts of God proceeding from His grace. The pilgrim's spiritual struggle takes him to the stage of Fana only. After this, Divine grace takes him by the hand and carries him to the higher regions. So the rigours of the journey are felt only as far as the stage of Fana.

Order of Saints in Islam.

It seems also necessary to explain another set of ideas and corresponding terms in Sufism. It is in relation to the order of Saints. According to the Sufis there is a hierarchy of Saints or awliya at all times in the world, through whom God manifests His mercy to the world of humanity. In the absence of the Prophet they are the vice-regents of God on earth on His behalf. They are of three different grades—Badal (plural Aidat), Ghaub and Qub. Badal, literally "substitute," is so called because if any one of these Saints happens to die, God immediately substitutes another for him. They are righteous persons of whom the world is never destitute (Ibn Dorayd, Sitab, Mubkn, Qarnus). But the more authoritative view is that they are given this name because of their ever-changing spiritual condition. They are in a flux and are not allowed to remain in one state. Being still on their way to God realisation, they are not allowed to settle down at any intermediate point.

As to their exact number and their location, opinions are divided. They seem to be the lowest in rank among the spiritual successors of the Prophet. Ghaub and Qub. According to the best authorities "they are a hierarchy of the Saints of a particular generation, and are supposed to be pre-eminently endowed with sanctity and with miracle-working faculties." If anybody is a Qub or a Ghaub, he is recognised as such only by his agents, Badal, unless, of course, he himself reveals his position to a particular man. The literal meaning of Qub is "axis," or pivot, the point on which a thing turns, the chief upon whom the state of affairs turns. So a Ghaub is he whose attentions and prayers decides the course of events in a particular society of people. He may be regarded as a kind of spiritual agent in a particular community. The literal meaning of Ghaub is "aid," succour in the midst of difficulties. So a Ghaub is a kind of intercessor, who intercedes at a moment when the sins of a nation or of the whole of humanity are at the point of being punished. These seem to be particularly tender-hearted, like the Prophet Mohammed himself. Their hearts melt at the woes and sufferings of humanity and they are therefore a means to avert Divine punishment. With the acceptability of their prayers assured

their prayers become a plea for Divine forgiveness and mercy. So Badal or Abdal may be regarded as spiritual magistrates. Above them are the Qub and in the highest rank are the Ghaub.

Together they constitute the make-weight of spiritual humanity at a particular moment, acting on behalf and under the stamp of the Prophet—peace and blessing of God be upon him! But unlike the Majaddids, who are not only authorised but even commanded to announce their existence and authority, neither the Qub nor even the Ghaub, much less the Abdal, are authorised to proclaim their existence and position. They act in silence, serve humanity by their precepts and example, and pray incessantly for the general forgiveness of human sins.

Some people have contended that the idea that such people exist at all is absurd. Others say they are a kind of intercessors for humanity that is not Islamic. This view is incorrect. A perusal of the verses 20-27 of Chapter "Yasin" of the Holy Qur'an will show that even in a nation doomed to destruction for its iniquities there live persons who can testify to the truth of a Prophet appearing among them by their power of readily recognizing the will of God. The narration of this event is begun with the following words:

"And from the remote part of the country there came a man running, and he said 'O my people, follow the messenger..." (8 : 33). So this idea of the Sufis can be traced to principles laid down in the Holy Qur'an itself apart from its verification by the invariable experiences of Saints throughout our history.

Sufism not a Borrowed Plume.

It has also been suggested by some non-Muslim writers that Sufism is a borrowed plume and not of the soul of Islam. This is based on crass ignorance. All the affairs that led to the formation of the Islamic society and civilization were based on the verbal revelations coming to the Prophet in moments of spiritual trance, and minor revelations coming to his companions from time to time, are matters of history. Exclusive devotional practices of a whole band of disciples called As-Sab Saffa is one of the outstanding facts of the Prophet's time. To say in face of this that Islam was a dogmatic and ritualistic faith in its origin and that tasawwuf was of later growth, is to deny an historical fact as clear as broad daylight. The fact is that tasawwuf is the soul of Islam and that political Islam is only its physical manifestation. Of course, much of what passes for Sufism is not tasawwuf. Ideas and practices foreign and even antagonistic to Islam have undoubtedly entered the body politic even of this living faith, particularly during the last few centuries, because of the general decay in the Islamic social and intellectual system. But disease does not prove the non-existence of health altogether, nor decay the non-existence of body. In spite of corrupting influences from outside and their effects on our spiritual system, tasawwuf in its pristine purity has through-out existed in Islamic society. It needs eyes, however, to see it. Eyes that can see nothing but howling and dancing dervishes as the only samples of Islamic mysticism must undergo a major spiritual operation to be fit to discover true*tasawwuf in Islam.

\footnote{1 Vide "Ainae Kamalati Islam," by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.}
\footnote{2 Op. Cit.}

26 THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE ARAB LEAGUE
Its background in Geography, History and World Politics

By S. A. HUZAYYIN

The establishment of the League of Arab States represents one of the most important events in post-war international affairs*. The importance of the event is due to the dual fact that the Arab States occupy one of the ancient centres of world power and civilization, and that the new League represents an experiment in international organization. It is proposed in the present article to deal briefly with certain aspects of this event, which may help to reveal its interest both to the historian and to the politician. We shall endeavour, however, to approach the subject from a primarily scientific point of view—namely, from the standpoint of geography and history. Such a scientific approach would reveal still more clearly the value and importance of the new movement, and would help us to appreciate in their proper setting the motives underlying it.

A Short Review of the Arab World.

From a geographical point of view, the Arab world of S.W. Asia and N.E. Africa is composed of a number of constituent regions arranged round the desert core of Arabia. The core comprises the Nejd and Hejaz and their direct confines, i.e., roughly the territories of the kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia with its population of eight millions or so. It is an arid area, but has a number of oasis-points which permit its penetration by caravan routes running in various directions. This core has therefore maintained its contacts with settled areas surrounding it as well as with neighbouring seas, especially the Persian Gulf. To the south of the desert interior of Arabia there was the semi-monsoonal land of the Yemen, Hadramaut and Oman. The Yemen is a high plateau averaging some 1,500—2,000 metres, but with still higher peaks. It is also composed largely of volcanic material which decomposes into very fine and rich soil. Lying in the S.W. corner of Arabia, it receives the summer rains brought by wind originally coming from the Indian Ocean and reaching Abyssinia, the S. Red Sea, and the Yemen. Annual rainfall at Sana’a, the capital of the Yemen, reaches about 40 cm.; and owing to moderate temperature (because of altitude) and rich soil, the plateau is covered with permanent vegetation, and it has been truly described as Arabia Felix, or Happy Arabia. The people of the Yemen (some three millions or more) lead a sedentary agricultural life, quite different from that of the Arab nomad. The Yemen was the seat of an ancient civilization in pre-Islamic times, and it still has a great future ahead of it. Its resources may include mineral wealth which has not been properly exploited.

To the East of the Yemen there are Hadhramaut and Oman, both outside the sphere of the Arab League in its present constitution. They are much poorer than the Yemen, but between them they dominate a long stretch of sea-shore, which induced Britain to maintain some form of control over them as a safeguard to her sea-route to India and East Africa.

To the North of the desert core there is the so-called Fertile Crescent. This represents an area of settled lands extending in the form of a crescent open to the south. It begins at the head of the Persian Gulf, extends over the whole of Iraq, and turns westwards and southwards to cover Syria, the Lebanon, Trans-

*The Protocol of the League was signed in Alexandria in October, 1944; and the League was formally established and its Charter signed in Cairo in March, 1945; i.e., shortly before the second World War came to an end in Europe.

External view of the Headquarters of the Arab League at Cairo, Egypt

APRIL 1949
of the Lebanon was always the sea inlet and outlet to and from Syria. It represents the ancient coast of Phoenicia through which the trade of the Prophet-King Solomon passed. Now Beirut in the Lebanon and Haifa in Palestine are and will inevitably remain, the chief ports not only for the trade of Syria and Trans-Jordan, but also for that of North-inner Arabia and even part of the trade of Iraq. The pipelines of Upper Iraq and of Saudi Arabia may all join in pouring into ports of the coasts of the Lebanon and Palestine. Apart from these economic connections there are other strategic links which hardly need elaboration. Indeed, space-relationships between the countries of the North-Arab East (both within and outside the western horn of the Crescent) are most intimate. These countries share a common geographical situation which makes of them a crucial area in world communications.

The Unique Position of Egypt.

Outside Arabia proper, Egypt with its continuation in the Sudan, occupies the valley of the Nile in the all-important North-East corner of Africa. Egypt was the cradle of an ancient Nilotic civilization; but later on in its history it molded the culture of Greece (after it dwindled in that country itself) and it preserved Hellenistic culture for future generations. A few centuries later it molded and nourished another culture that of the Arabs and Islam. Finally it became the chief centre of Islamic learning, and the custodian of Islamic thought and civilization in the Arab world. Modern Egypt was the first Arab country to be freed from Turkish domination and to get into contact with Europe and Western civilization. She has learnt a great deal from the West, which she is now passing on to her sister-states of the Arab East. With her twenty millions and a further six or seven millions in the Sudan, the land of the Nile represents the wealthiest and most advanced section of the Arab world.

But the place of Egypt in the League requires further elaboration. Egypt occupies a unique geographical situation, as it lies at the cross-roads both by land, sea and air. From a strategic point of view it is an important point of control. From Egypt the British Empire spread its influence and power to the North Arabian East during the First World War. In the second World War the Nile Delta became the base again for extending allied power to the Arab world of North Africa on the one hand, and to Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon on the other. This was a good illustration of the intimate strategic and military connections between Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. It recalls what happened repeatedly in history since the days of Thothmes, Alexander, Saladin and Muhammad 'Ali. In no other place did military history repeat itself so faithfully as it did in Egypt and the rest of the Arab East. At present the struggle in Palestine recalls, in some respects, what happened in the days of Saladin, when the Arab and Muslim strength crystallized round the forces of Egypt. Together with her sister Arab States, Egypt is now striving to save a united and intact Palestine for Christians and Muslims alike, against the intrusive forces of imperialist Zionism.

With this general review of the geographical space-relationships between countries of the Arab League, we may now proceed to a brief account of the historical development of the idea of the League itself. It is evident from the study of factors related to the geographical conditions and situation of the Arab world that it was necessary to have some form of organization of inter-relations in this crucial area. The impetus for this organization, however, had to come from outside. Turkish domination over the Arab world since the early sixteenth century had led to a phase of darkness and backwardness from which it was difficult to emerge. Arab genius was dominated and overshadowed by the conquering Turks, who had nothing, or hardly anything, to offer in the way of cultural or spiritual contributions. The spirit of the East became dormant and remained so until the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The expedition of Napoleon to Egypt and the Levant marked the opening of a new era in the East. It was the first direct attack from Western and Christian Europe upon the Muslim East in modern times. It was directed to the traditional heart of the Muslim world; and so it had vast and far-reaching repercussions. The attack came as a shock which helped to awaken the dormant East. Egypt was the first to rise; and under Muhammad 'Ali it began to cast away the mantle of the past and become a modernized country. The French expedition, however, attracted the attention of the Christian West to the importance of the Near East as a passage towards India and beyond. This coincided with increasing weakness on the part of the old Ottoman Caliphate. Thus European countries entered into rivalry to dominate the Ottoman East as an important base for future world domination and imperialism. This gradually led to reaction on the part of the Muslim world. There arose in the second half of last century a movement known as the Pan-Islamic movement; with Djami ud-Din al-Afghani as its promoter and the dynamic figure of 'Abd al-Karim as its mentor and the resurrection of Muslim lands as a step towards the resurgence of the all-Muslim state. It was evident from the beginning that this was a political rather than a purely religious movement. It is true that religious feeling was an impetus towards political action for liberation and final unity. It was difficult, however, to build up such a unity on the sole basis of religion. The Muslim world of the nineteenth century was so much diversified in its orientations, its peoples, its economic and social conditions, etc., to be all welded into one Muslim state. In the Near East itself—the core of the Muslim world—there was an inherent strife between Turk and Arab. The former was an usurper of power from the latter. At heart the Arab felt as the worthy heir of Muslim culture, civilization and power in the Near East. No wonder, therefore, that towards the beginning of the twentieth century and on the eve of the First World War there appeared in the Near East two new movements, which replaced the Pan-Islamic one. These were the Pan-Turkian and the Pan-Arab. The former aimed at revival and unity amongst Turkish and Turanian elements and peoples; while the latter aimed at the same for the Arab world. At heart the two movements represented two conflicting tendencies, though they both came as a reaction to Western interference. Soon the two movements had to stand face to face. But the Pan-Turkian movement does not concern us here; except in so far as the other movement had at one time to be directed against the Osmoani Turks.

Pan-Arabism and the West.

As any similar movement, Pan-Arabism had to undergo change and development to fit in with changing conditions and developing aspirations. It started at more than one point in Arabia; and it aimed, first at the overthrowing of Ottoman rule, and then at the elimination of all outside interference. It is sometimes said that it had its remote roots in the days of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali, who was the first to envisage in the early nineteenth century an independent Arab section of the Ottoman Empire. Whatever this may have been, the new Pan-Arab movement started early in the present century and took the form of armed revolts, especially in remote parts of Arabia. When the First World War was declared, and Turkey went over to the side of Germany and Austria, the Arabs rose and joined arms with the Allies. Great hopes were stirred in the Arab world as victory came; and at one time it seemed as if the Arabs would realize their independence and unity.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Two important factors, however, interfered. The one was external and the other internal. European powers who helped liberate the Near East became more interested in it, and in its geographical situation and potential wealth. Britain and France had a firm footing in occupied and mandated territories, which covered practically the whole of North Arabia. Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq went to Britain, while Syria and the Lebanon went to France. Egypt itself was declared a protectorate to Britain in 1914 and remained so until 1922. In these circumstances it was no longer possible for the Arabs to realize their dreams of independence, let alone those of unity.

The other (internal) factor was the appearance of new ideas and ideals in the Near East. The idea of "nationalism" which first started in Western Europe and spread towards Central and Eastern Europe, was now infiltrating into the Near East proper. This stage in the development of "nations" found good ground in North East Africa and West Asia in general. It soon became well rooted; and in certain countries of the Near East it even took on a relatively extreme form. We have seen, for example, that in Turkey itself, nationalism of the Kamalist form with practical facts and realities. What would be the political régime in such a unified state? Where would be its central government? How would it be administered and defended? How would balance be achieved amongst its racial elements? These and other questions and problems would be very difficult to answer or solve if such a theoretical state were created.

The Ideal of Pan-Arabism Undergoes Modification.

Arab nations and their leaders soon came to realize that the original idea of Pan-Arabism would have to be modified. National movements were much too valuable and much too
strong to be overlooked. At the same time, however, the second World War has demonstrated again the singular importance of this area of the Arab East, and the danger to its own peoples of disintegration and extreme separatism. North Arabia, together with Egypt, were again the field of battle in world conflict. The people of the area seem to have "rediscovered" the crucial value of their region as a base, which the great powers would aspire to have under their control. The very geographical situation of the Arab East in the heart of the world held in itself an inherent danger to all of its small nations. Some form of "grouping" became quite necessary and appeared as the only way to face the new and potential danger common to all. This danger was further enhanced by the discovery of new resources of oil in Inner Arabia and other parts of the Near East. It is evident that disintegration and weakness within the Arab world would invite outside interference and rivalry between the great powers. Cross-currents might easily lead to a clash of interests in a region not only rich in resources, but also vital as representing the nodal point in world communications. Some form of union between the small, and in some cases nascent, states and nations of the Arab East would have to be achieved if this danger were to be averted, or at least alleviated. Thus the Arabs of our generation had to pass through the crucial experiment of trying to reconcile their nationalist feelings and aspirations with their desire and need to safeguard the general and common interests of the Arab people as a whole. Instead, therefore, of continuing unchecked their new local movements of independence and nationalism, they reverted to a modified form of Pan-Arabism. It is interesting, however, that they did not attempt to revive and maintain unmodified the old ideal of the Pan-Arab movement, or even to establish a Federation of States, but rather to form a League of Free and Independent States. This is a very wise and sagacious policy, as it takes note of the practical realities prevailing, at least at the present stage of political development in the Near East. As it is composed at present, the League comprises seven states: Egypt, Iraq, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the Kingdom of Transjordan and the Yemen. In the three or four years that it has been functioning it has achieved more than any other union of nations could have done in a similar interval. In the field of culture and education it has been most successful. A great amount of work has been done in the way of standardization of educational systems and promotion of cultural and intellectual co-operation; which is the surest way to proper understanding between nations. In the field of economics and politics the Arabs are educating themselves into how to subdue their narrow nationalistic desires and aspiration to wider extra-national and international requirements and interests. They are learning how to become citizens of an Arab world as well as nationals of their own limited countries. Indeed it is an experiment in international relations, and an attempt to consolidate a group of small nations into a union of inter-related cogitate states.

Palestine.

One point which deserves mentioning in particular is the place of Palestine. Unless Palestine is allowed to maintain its local unity and become a full member of the League, a great problem will arise from the fact that that country occupies a most crucial central position in the Arab world of the Near East. It shares common land frontiers with four members of the League—an advantage which only one (Transjordan) of the other states has. It is the only Arab country with whom Egypt shares direct land frontiers. It can stand as a wedge in the heart of the Arab League, with Egypt alone on one side, and the other state-members on the other. It can, in fact, become the source of real danger. A non-Arab state in Palestine, or in part of it, would truly become a "cancer" in the body of the Arab world. That is why the Arabs feel the danger of the alleged state which Zionists are trying to set up. Such a Zionist organisation would be a focus of infection and would surely invite outside interferences and stir up international rivalries and disputes. It is a known fact that the Zionists and their colonists in Palestine have among themselves most conflicting and contradictory sympathies and ideals, which, if planted in the Near East, would bring international clash to the very heart of the world. It would therefore be in the interest of the world at large to deal with the Palestine problem in a just way, which would preserve the Arab East to its traditional inhabitants. Otherwise we would have a source of permanent embitterment and discontent, which would permanently endanger world security and peace.

The Meaning of the Arab League Experiment.

Such is the story in brief of the new League of Arab States. Let us remember in closing that this new experiment takes place in a particularly important and interesting region of the world. The Arab East is not only the cradle of ancient civilisations, but it also had far-reaching contacts with other centres of civilization in the world. In these contacts the peoples of the Arab East played a preponderant part. If we take the history of human civilization to represent a span of some 5,000 years we find that the Arabian East represented the heart of the world and the chief centre of power and culture during at least two-thirds of that span. This in itself suffices to illustrate the importance of the area from a general human point of view. Not only were here the seats of ancient civilization and power, but here also sprang great monotheistic religions and philosophies which spread to the four corners of the world. Indeed the world owes to Arabia and its confinies and associated lands more than she can possibly pay. If the new experiment of the Arab League succeeds—as it is certain to do—it would afford another lesson which the Arab East might add to lessons it gave in history. The experiment might lead the way towards similar integrations or unions of small states in other parts of the world—such as South America. Its success would thus carry us a step further towards the realisation of the great ideal of a new world organisation, in which neighbouring countries can live in harmony and peace. Furthermore, the very success of the Arab League would mean the establishment, in the meeting place of East and West, of a group of well-integrated and mutually helpful states, which, as a unit, would be more in a position to assume their historic part of mediators of culture and of peaceful contacts and intercourse.

Let us hope that enlightened world opinion, which at one time helped Greece on account of her past achievements and contributions to human civilization, will now lend a supporting hand to the Arabs—the heirs of a great culture and civilization, and the traditional interpreters of thought between East and West.

CORRECTION

in our issue for March, 1949, page 7—

Paragraph 3, line 9, please read "Then another free translation of another Qur'anic verse" for "Then another Qur'anic verse."

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
A PAGE FOR OUR YOUTH

The Boy who was Born to Change the World

BY CASSIM ISMA'IL COLIN EVANS

The Future Meets the Past.

The boy Muhammad (on whom be peace and the blessings of God!) was the future Messenger of God, the one who was to be the last of the Messengers sent to reveal the fundamental basis over again for men ready to learn, if they would, to use as a safe foundation on which to build up more and more knowledge of God and His universe and of themselves and their duties and nature. Other Messengers had come and gone before him. Part of the new Messenger's training was to get some knowledge of the ones before him. The future, so to speak, had to meet the past, because in God's infinite knowledge future and past are one. After Muhammad was a middle-aged man, and already a Messenger of God, he was allowed to have the marvellous spiritual experience of meeting earlier messengers in Paradise, and talking with them. But this story of the Great Journey comes much later. As a boy his only contact with the earlier messengers, as far as we know, was the same sort that all of us make. He heard the talk of other people who were their followers and believers in them, but who mixed up all sorts of mistakes with what they had saved of the real teachings of those earlier messengers.

Very little indeed did the Arabs, Muhammad's own people, keep alive of the religion of God that had been taught by Abraham, the messenger they ought to have remembered best. But among or near them lived Jews and some Christian tribes. The Jews had inherited the memory and teachings of the Hebrew Messenger, Moses. But they had the wrong idea that God had chosen one special people (themselves, of course!) to be His most holy people, and that no true messengers belonged to any other nation. The Christians loved the much later Hebrew Messenger of God, Jesus. But they made the mistake of worshipping this messenger as if he were God Himself, instead of remembering he was merely a man entrusted with God's messages for other men. (May the peace and blessings of God be on Abraham, and on Moses, and on Jesus, and on all His Messengers! You ought to say this in your mind whenever any of the Prophets or Messengers is mentioned, even if sometimes I do not print the words here; it would break up the reading so).

The Qur'an calls the Jews and Christians "the people of the Book," because they did preserve and respect what had originally been writings from God. But they had allowed all sorts of alterations to come into copies of their "Bibles," so that nobody could tell how much was really what God had said through His messengers and how much was what men had mixed with it. To put this right, a new Book was sent through a new messenger. This new Book is the Qur'an, which, thank God, we still have, unaltered, sent through Muhammad himself, in the last twenty-three years of his life.

Among the very little that his father, who died before he was born, had left his mother, Aaminah, was the black old slave-woman, Baraka, who was herself a Christian. When Aaminah died on the way back to Mecca from Yathrib, the beautiful garden-like city to which she had taken little Muhammad for a month, Baraka buried her at the little village of Abwa, and then went on to Mecca with the boy. Him she handed over to his grandfather, 'Abd al Muttalib. For two years the boy lived with the old man. The latter, dying, left the care of the young Muhammad to Abu Talib, one of the boy's uncles, a brother of Muhammad's father, 'Abdullah.

Abu Talib was an important official of the Ka'ba, then a place of pilgrimage where all the idols in Mecca were worshipped. He was also a great trader and merchant. Camels and donkeys laden with goods and wealth went our daily on long, long, trading journeys, over the dead desert wastes, from Mecca. Most of the wealth of Mecca was invested in these expeditions. Arabs, Africans and Jews all mixed among the men in charge of them. There were the desert men who worshipped the sun and moon and stars; the city men who worshipped stone idols, the Jews who knew the Law of Moses, and Christians who knew some versions of the Gospel of Jesus. And one day, when Abu Talib was setting out with one of these great trading caravans, Muhammad, then a boy of ten, begged to go with him, and was allowed to ride off into the desert on his uncle's camel. They made a long stop at Baara (Butra), a Byzantine town beyond the Jordan, where Greeks and Arabs met to trade. There a Christian monk, Bahira, made friends with Muhammad, and talked to him about the Christian faith. Later, when called to be God's last Messenger, Muhammad made it plain that, although in the true religion there was no need of monks, it was still the duty of all Muslims to protect monasteries, like all places where God was worshipped, however mistaken might be the ideas of the people who built and used them.

Thus Muhammad began to learn more than most of the Meccans about some of the messengers before him, long before he ever guessed he was to be the final Messenger himself.

By the time he was a young man he had travelled far more than most of his neighbours, mixed with and got to know more nations and places. He was not only being prepared by God to be a Messenger of God, but was being prepared for something special—he was to be the LAST Messenger. He was to be the Prophet—the one whose message was not meant for one nation in one place only, as in the case of messengers before him, but was to be for all races who had forgotten or altered the religion taught them by their own messengers in bygone times.

Not for nothing was the coming Last Prophet made to be a Meccan, citizen of a central meeting place of traders. The future had to meet so many different currents from the past to fulfil God's plan.
In the courtyard of the Mosque, Turkish women are saying their tarawih prayers.

The Prophet Muhammad said, "Do not prevent your women from going to the Mosques." According to the Qur'an, there is no difference between Muslim men and Muslim women, morally and spiritually.

will be completed before the month of Ramadan this year is the result of the efforts of the above Society, whose Founder-Members are Suat Karaosman, Nuri Kozikoglu, Yusuf and Sukru Gurun Brothers, Vasfi Egeli, Ata Koseoglu, Rahmi Koseoglu and other charitable donors.

This Mosque, the Society's contribution to the great Muslim world, is being executed exclusively in the Turkish architectural design and craftsmanship which are renowned all over the world for their grace and beauty. The Turkish architectural design in mosque building has been revived after 246 years by the architect Vasfi Egeli, who is an acknowledged authority in this field. The
to realise their purpose. This was no easy task, as it required a considerable sum to help them put their plans into action.

However, for a godly purpose it was once again confirmed that a number of persons were ready to supply the financial aid and carry on this worthy project. Some Muslims of financial standing with little or no connection with the district formed a Society in 1945 for "Building and Maintaining a Mosque," which had been awaited so anxiously by the faithful Muslim inhabitants of Sisli.

The Mosque which is now under construction and which

beautiful Arabic script above the door that one comes across in all parts of the world. The use of the Arabic script is rare Arabic characters disappeared sixty years ago.

"The Mosques of God shall be a peace and the last day. . . ."

...to ward off evil are among gardens them: Enter in peace, secure"

Standing shoulder to shoulder the Muslims of Turkey are saying their prayers. It is in the precincts of the Mosque that a Muslim becomes aware of the one-necessity of mankind. The Mosque is the training ground for learning to put into practice the principle of the brotherhood of man.

The Qur'an says: "O you men! Surely We have created you of a male and a female and made you into tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the most honourable of you with God is the one among you most careful of his duty; surely God is Knowing and Aware"

Mosque is further embellished by the wonderful inscriptions of Hatrid Hamid, who is the last surviving member of this branch of Turkish-Islamic art.

The white marble columns in the interior of the Mosque are engraved with lovely floral designs and the stained windows of wonderful simplicity and breath-taking beauty are well worth gazing at.

The Mosque can accommodate 1,000 people, leaving room for acts of devotion. During the last month of Ramadan 4,000 Muslims participated in the Tarawih and 'Id prayers, 1,000 within the yet unfinished Mosque and 3,000 in the courtyard.
White porphyry is used in the building of the external walls and the columns in the facade and the background to the inscriptions from the Holy Qur'an are of white marble. For the construction of the dome, which is now completed with its crest in the centre, a steel cage and reinforced concrete have been used.

A sum of 838,257 Turkish Liras (£100,000 approximately) has been spent so far in the building of the Sisli Mosque, the loveliness of which I have endeavoured to give some idea. This amount can easily reach a total of one million Turkish Liras, when donations of stones, bricks, lime, marble and the copper crest for the dome and also the professional attendance of the architect and the inscriber and other persons working without any remuneration, are taken into account. It is with deep respect and gratitude that I mention here the name of the architect of this Mosque, Vasfi Egeli, who has given almost all his waking hours to the planning and active supervision of this wonderful work.

An annexe to the Mosque is also being built for the residence of the Imam and the Muezzin and a classroom and library for Qur'anic instruction of the children of the Muslim families. As the carpets for the floors of the Mosque are being especially manufactured on a special design, many donations of carpets will be used in furnishing these quarters.

Among other donations which are given for furnishing the Mosque are tablets, censers, containers for attar of roses, lecterns inlaid with mother-of-pearl, grandfather clocks and other commodities of religious significance.

The Mosque is almost complete with the exception of the remaining half of the minaret, which it is hoped will be completed within the next two or three months. Further, the building of a fountain for ablutions in the centre of the courtyard is under consideration, and the expenditure towards its construction is being undertaken by the President of the Society for "Building and Maintaining a Mosque" in Sisli, Mr. Nuri Kozikoglu.
THE TUNISIAN QUESTION

By DR. TAHIR KHEMRI, Ph.D.

Introduction.

It is no longer possible to regard events in North Africa as being a purely French concern. The strategic importance of North Africa as a whole—which emerged so clearly during the second World War, its close affiliations with the rest of the Arab world, its connections with the Arab League, the local pressure which is being exerted there by the Communists—all these factors widen the issue considerably.

Tunisia became a battle-ground for Germans, Italians, Americans and British during the war. Its towns and villages ultimately enlarged to one hundred and fourteen, in the time of Sadik Bey (1861).

This was followed by the establishment of a Legislative Assembly, composed of sixty members, to whom the Bey was responsible, and it had the right to depose the Bey if he acted against the Constitution. It was further decided to separate the legislative, executive and juridical powers. Far-reaching social and cultural reforms were introduced at this time; the Sadiki college was founded for the study of modern science and foreign languages. The first Arabic newspaper appeared in Tunis.

A general view of Tunis

were devastated; the destruction of its food supplies has resulted in a widespread famine. It is still, more than ever, under foreign domination, but, believing in the Atlantic Charter, looks to the United Nations to help it gain its independence.

The following lines are an attempt to present the basic facts on Tunisia, in order to enable the reader to follow subsequent events and developments in this part of the world.

Tunisia before the French Occupation.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tunisia was an independent sovereign State, bound only nominally to the Ottoman Empire. This is proved by the fact that up to 1863, Tunisia had concluded thirty-six treaties and trade agreements with foreign powers.1

Ahmed Bey the 1st, who became Bey in 1837, introduced large-scale reforms, following a visit to Paris. These included the modernization of the army and the founding of a Military Academy (for which he brought European instructors) and the construction of shipbuilding yards. His successor, Mohammed Bey, gave the Tunisian people a Charter in 1858, defining the rights of the ruler and his people. This Charter was called in Arabic Abd el Amam (which means, literally, "The Covenant of Security"). It was originally composed of eleven clauses, but Tunisian students were sent out to France and Italy to study in their universities.

Text of the French Treaty with Tunisia.

Certain "frontier incidents" occurred on the Tunisian-Algerian borders, which gave French troops the opportunity to march into Tunis, and, the following Treaty was imposed upon the country in 1881:

"The Government of the French Republic and His Highness the Bey of Tunis both desirous of preventing any recurrence of the disturbances which have taken place recently along the frontiers of the two States and on the Tunisian coast, and desirous of cementing the ties of friendship and good neighbourliness which have always existed between the two States, have resolved to conclude a pact in the mutual interests of the two contracting parties. The President of the French Republic has therefore designated as his plenipotentiary, General Bréart, who has agreed with His Highness the Bey upon the following terms:

1. The existing peace, commercial and all other treaties between the French Republic and His Highness the Bey of Tunis are hereby expressly confirmed and renewed.

2. In order to enable the French Republic to put the necessary measures into effect, His Highness the Bey of

APRIL 1949

35
Tunis agrees that the French military authorities should occupy such places as they consider necessary for the establishment of law and order at the frontiers and along the coast. This occupation will cease when the French and Tunisian military authorities will have agreed that the local administration is in a fit position to maintain order.

3. The Government of the French Republic binds itself constantly to support His Highness the Bey of Tunis against any danger which may threaten His Highness's person or dynasty or is likely to disturb the peace of his territories.

4. The Government of the French Republic holds itself responsible for the execution of the treaties which now exist between the Government of the Regency and the various European Powers.

5. The Government of the French Republic will be represented in Tunisia by a Resident Minister who will supervise the execution of this Treaty and who will act as an intermediary in all relations between the French Government and the Tunisian authorities in matters common to the two countries.

6. The Diplomatic and Consular representatives of France in foreign countries will be entrusted with the protection of Tunisian interests and of Regency nationals. In return, His Highness the Bey of Tunis binds himself not to conclude any pact of an international character without advance notification to the Government of the French Republic and without their prior consent.

7. The Government of the French Republic and the Government of His Highness the Bey of Tunis are to agree between themselves on the basis of a financial organization for the Regency capable of liquidating the National Debt, which will also guarantee the rights of Tunisian creditors.

8. A war contribution is to be levied on the rebel tribes of the frontier and coastal regions. A further agreement will fix the amount of this contribution and also determine how it is to be paid. The Government of His Highness the Bey will be responsible for the latter.

9. In order to protect the French Republic's Algerian possessions from the smuggling of arms and war munitions, the Government of His Highness the Bey of Tunis promises to prohibit the entry of arms or munitions by the island of Djerba, the port of Gabes or the other ports of Southern Tunisia.

10. The present Treaty will be submitted for ratification to the Government of the French Republic and the document will then be submitted to His Highness the Bey of Tunis at the earliest possible moment.

Casan Said, May 12th, 1881.
Mohammed Es-Sadiq Bey²
General Béart.

The following points should be noted in connection with this Treaty:

1. The Preamble to the Treaty clearly stipulates that the object of the Treaty is to prevent the recurrence of frontier incidents.

2. The word "Protectorate" is not mentioned in the Treaty.

3. Clause No. 2 specifies that the French occupation is to be temporary only.

4. The French violated Clause No. 3 of the Treaty by deposing Moncef Bey in 1943 and therefore, as from that date, the Treaty is no longer legally valid.

French Policy in Tunisia.

France's original occupation of Tunisia was based, as we have seen, on a treaty of friendship, and was to be a temporary occupation. By the time that France pushed on to Morocco and occupied this country in 1912, the position had altered considerably. The whole of North Africa was now regarded as a part of the French Empire. Tunis came to be referred to as "our Tunisia" and French writers and statesmen began to allude to North Africa as an "extension of France" and to declare that: "France's southern frontier was now, not the Mediterranean, but the Sahara."

From then on, France has followed a policy of assimilation in Tunisia, by means of the following measures:

1. French civil servants were encouraged to go to Tunisia in proportionately excessive numbers. Their overseas allowance was raised to one-third of their total salary (this was called the "Colonial third") and they were furthermore, granted altogether 43 different kinds of allowance. This gave the French the majority they wanted in the Government, but imposed a heavy burden on the administrative machine and the taxpayer, raising expenditure on the administration to about 75 per cent. of the national budget.

2. In 1932, Paul Boncourt advocated a large-scale naturalization of Tunisians. This plan was however abandoned owing to the strong opposition of the Arab population, and naturalization was thereafter confined to non-Arab elements—chiefly Jews.

3. The Arabic language was replaced as much as possible by French. No Arabic books or magazines were allowed to be imported from the Near East, the object of this ban being to loosen the cultural ties binding Tunisia to the other Arab countries.

Professor Ahmed Amin of the Fouad I University of Cairo tells us that only prayer books and certain school books were allowed to be imported from Egypt, while Tawfik al-Hakim, the eminent Egyptian writer, says that his works could only be smuggled into North Africa, via France.

4. The present attempt to knit her colonies more closely than ever to the metropolis, under the fresh title of "French Union," which is meeting with strong opposition in North Africa.

ARAB REACTION

I. The "Young Tunis" Movement—1904.

The Protectorate Treaty of 1881 was imposed upon the Tunisian people by force, and never accepted by them. After two years of active resistance, marked in particular by the siege and bombardment of Sfax—the superiority of modern French military equipment forced the Tunisians to content themselves for the time being with a passive form of resistance, which culminated in the formation of an organized political party in 1904. This centred around 'Ali Bach Hamba and his paper The Young Tunisian. Although the party made little headway in terms of tangible results it shook the people out of their fatalistic attitude and paved the way for its more mature followers at a later date. In the meantime, the enthusiasm of its members gave rise to frequent incidents and their activities were finally brought to an end by the expulsion of Bach Hamba and his friends.

During the 1914-1918 war, the whole country was declared to be in a state of siege and any person suspected of nationalist tendencies was automatically interned. Several risings occurred however in Southern Tunisia, during the years 1915 and 1916.

II. Emergence of the "Destour" Party.

The signing of the Armistice, President Wilson's declarations, and the independence movements initiated all over the Arab world had their repercussions in Tunisia.

The nationalist leader Thalbi, who had been exiled in Paris
since 1911, submitted a memorandum to President Wilson in 1919, stating Tunisia's claim to independence, and followed this up with the publication of various pamphlets denouncing French rule in Tunisia.

The word *Destour* (which means "Constitution" in Arabic, and has been connected with the Tunisian national movement) was mentioned for the first time in May, 1919, when a delegation of Tunisian notables presented themselves before the French Residency asking for a constitution to be granted to Tunisia. A second delegation was sent to Bey Nassir on June 13th, 1919, on behalf of the Tunisian people. From that moment the Destour Party was officially formed. It was composed mainly of young Tunisians, most of them ex-students of French universities, but they were joined soon after by the "Old Turbans" as they were called—of the older generation.

The Destour Party's demands are the following:

1. That a legislative assembly be composed of Tunisian and French members elected by the people, free to form its own agenda and having wide budgetary powers;
2. That there be a government responsible to the assembly;
3. That there be a complete separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers;
4. That all Tunisians possessing the qualifications demanded of French candidates, be eligible for Government posts;
5. That there be equality of pay for both Tunisian and French officials;
6. That all local Councils be elected;
7. That Education be made compulsory;
8. That Tunisians be allowed to share in the buying of land from the Directorate of Agricultural Affairs and Public Allotments;
9. That there be freedom of the Press, of meetings and of association.

This programme did not contain the word "Independence," and was therefore a backward step as compared with the memorandum presented by Thalbi to President Wilson. It was thought, however, that whereas a demand for complete independence would most certainly provoke the antagonism of French public opinion as a whole, a plea for specific reforms would be sure to find support among the liberal and left-wing Parties of French opinion.

However, the delegation sent to Paris in December, 1920, though well received in certain French circles, came back to Tunisia without having accomplished anything. The Party, which had by this time opened centres in other parts of the country, organized an intensive propaganda campaign. This ultimately led the French government to modify its policy. Resident-General Flandin was recalled to Paris, and replaced by Lucien Saint, a man well-known for his diplomatic ability. As soon as he arrived at Tunis, on June 6th, 1921, he was met by a Destour delegation of 40 Tunisians, known since as the "Delegation of 40," who presented him with the 9-point programme of reforms, listed above. The new Resident-General agreed to seven of these points but made reservations with regard to the first two.

Indeed, he was not long in separating the "powers" and creating a Ministry of "Tunisian Justice." He also put an end to the state of siege still existing in the country and allowed Thalbi to return to Tunis. In this temporarily improved state of affairs, the Destour party flourished again and with the relaxation of the press laws, about twenty national newspapers made their appearance. The movement even gained sympathy at the Court of the Bey, and particularly with Prince Moncef, who was to ascend the throne in 1942.

It soon became apparent, however, that Lucien Saint was prepared to give way up to a point but no further. Relations with the Court became more and more strained, and the Bey threatened to abdicate if satisfaction was not given to the claims of the Destour party. This move was made immediately before President Millerand's visit to Tunisia in 1922 and was timed to force an issue. Lucien Saint went to the Palace in person to ask the Bey to reconsider his decision. The country was in a state of turmoil, ready to revolt at a moment's notice, and the crowds began to demonstrate in the centre of the town, and in Marsa in front of the Palace. The Bey, in order to avoid bloodshed, and believing in Lucien Saint's solemn promise that his claims would be met and that the President's object in visiting Tunisia was precisely to study a programme of reforms on the spot, allowed himself to be persuaded.

President Millerand's visit passed without any incident. From that moment, however, the Destour party was doomed to a long period of repression. No reforms were forthcoming, the old Bey died suddenly, and a series of decrees were issued by the French authorities, which effectively muzzled the press and stopped all political meetings. The founder of the Destour party, Sheikh Thalbi, hampered in all directions, decided to leave the country and pursue his activities in the Middle East. He left Tunisia in 1923 and only returned in 1937. With the absence of their leader the older members of the Destour party limited their activities to a few underground meetings and telegrams of protest now and again.

This apathy among the older generation did not satisfy the younger Tunisians, however, and soon they grouped themselves around the Nationalist Press and engaged in active propaganda. First one paper, then another, was suppressed by the French authorities. *The Liberal* was suspended in 1927. The *Bendard Tunesien* was suspended in 1929, and replaced by *La Voix du Tunesien*. This last paper, with which Habib Bourguiba (destined to become one of the foremost national leaders of the country) was connected, organized a particularly effective Press campaign. About the same time, in May, 1931, Habib Bourguiba and Tahar Sfar submitted Tunisia's case to the Congress of the League of Human Rights held at Vichy.

*The President of the Tunisian Destour Party, Habib Abu Raqiba (Habib Bourguiba)*
In 1933, the older members of the Destour, stimulated by the activities of its younger partisans, decided to reorganize the party and a new Charter was issued, which reads as follows:

"The Constitutional Liberal Party of Tunisia, at its national congress of May 12/15th, 1933, after having studied the political activities of the party during the thirteen years of its existence, believing that the so-called policy of collaboration has entirely failed in this country, that the political and economic situation of the world at the present time and the relations between colonizers and colonial peoples have not entered upon a new phase; that the dependence of the colonies upon the metropolis has led to the economic underdevelopment of the colonial peoples; that in these circumstances and in answer to the country's wishes, the mission of the C.L.P. is to lead the Tunisian people towards their emancipation, proclaims that the aim of its political activity is to ensure the liberation of the Tunisian people and to give the country a stable statute in the form of a constitution which will safeguard the Tunisian nation and preserve its identity, through:

1. A Tunisian Parliament, elected by the people;
2. A Government responsible to the Parliament;
3. The separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers;
4. The extension of the Tunisian code of Justice to all residents of Tunisia;
5. The granting of public and civil liberties, without discrimination, to all Tunisians;
6. Compulsory education for all;
7. Economic safeguards and, in general, all measures necessary to the country to rise from its present material and moral morass and take its place among the civilized nations of the world."

**Formation of the Neo-Destour Party, 1934.**

Bourguiba and his friends of the "Action Tunisienne," who were unanimously elected to the Executive Committee of the party, soon found the slower methods of the older members of the group unsatisfactory, and proceeded to remedy the situation. A special Congress was held in 1934 to settle the dispute between the two groups. The older members did not even turn up and the Congress resolved to replace the Executive commission by a political bureau composed of a President (Dr. Materi), a Secretary-General (Habib Bourguiba) and four members. This marked the beginning of the Neo-Destour party. At first, the new Resident-General, Peyrouton, adopted a more or less conciliatory attitude towards the party and allowed them to publish a paper in Arabic, *Al-Amal.* But the new party's rapid expansion and success soon caused him to change his attitude and resort to violence. On September 2nd, 1934, he ordered the principal Destour leaders to be interned. The whole country rose in protest at the imprisonment of its leaders and there was bloodshed and innumerable incidents in various parts of the country. The disorders continued over a period of two years until Peyrouton's recall to France in 1936.

As the disorders continued in Tunisia, the French Government again decided on a change of policy, and replaced Peyrouton by Armand Guillon in 1936, just on the eve of the Popular Front's coming into power in France.

Guillon granted a general political amnesty when he arrived in Tunis, and re-established the freedom of the press and of association.

The Neo-Destour party, realizing the importance of an active campaign in France itself, and relying upon the liberal ideas expressed by the French Popular Front and notably by M. Léon Blum, the Socialist leader, soon discovered that however liberal the new French Government might be, there were limits to what it could allow. It therefore adapted itself to the circumstances and agreed on a policy of deferment—indeed, still remaining its ultimate objective, but to be attained by a gradual process. For the first time in history, the Destour presented its programme in an acceptable form. Its immediate demands were submitted to the Popular Front government as soon as its leaders returned from exile and included such items as putting an end to official colonization in Tunisia, complete reorganization of the fiscal system, compulsory education for all, the eligibility of Tunisians to all administrative posts including positions of authority, adequate relief for the sick and the aged, and a campaign against usury. The party also insisted that the Great Council should be replaced by a Tunisian Parliament with responsible Ministers.

Habib Bourguiba, the Secretary-General of the Party, was sent to Paris in August, 1936, to discuss the execution of this programme with the French Government. He persuaded Pierre Vieriat to investigate the whole question on the spot.

The French Under-Secretary of State outlined French policy towards Tunisia in a speech in which he ascribed the cause of the Tunisian troubles to, inter alia, "indecision and irresponsibility in governmental and administrative affairs—a tendency on the part of certain French nationals to confuse their personal interests with the greater interests of France, the discrepancy between the budgetary resources and the number of civil servants, the excessive privileges granted to certain beneficiaries and above all the extreme poverty of the fellah."

The whole country was in need of complete re-organization in every sphere, declared M. Vienot, and added that this re-organization would entail the "effective participation of the Tunisian people themselves in the management of public affairs." This speech raised new hopes among the native population and alarmed the French settlers who intimated their disapproval to the French Resident and the Blum Government.

And so no fundamental reforms ever took place, with the exception of certain social decrees of the Popular Front government relating to paid holidays, etc. The French settlers in Tunisia were opposed in every way to the social policy of the French Popular Front, and strikes and incidents multiplied all over the country.

**Second Repression.**

Between 1938 and 1942, a new wave of repression swept over Tunisia. The Government issued a decree forbidding any public meetings. Legal action was taken against the Party leaders for the organization of meetings and the writing of "subversive articles." Many of the leaders were arrested. On April 9th, 1938, in particular, when Professor Ali Belhouane was arrested for "subversive speeches" made during a demonstration, a clash occurred between the police and the people. There were many killed and wounded. Similar incidents took place all over the country and a state of siege was declared in the areas of Tunis, Grombalia, and Sousse, until August 13th, 1938. All the leaders of the Neo-Destour were arrested and accused of plotting against the security of the State.

**Illegal Party Activity—1938-1942.**

The Tunisian students in Paris formed a Defence Committee for Tunisian liberty and held meetings to protest against the repressive measures that were being enforced in their country, but their action found little response in France.

In Tunisia itself, the Party went underground during the Presidency of Doctor Thamer and organized a series of incidents and acts of sabotage—so that the country was practically in a permanent state of agitation. An investigation committee was sent out from France, presided over by M. Lagrosilliere. This was followed by President of the Council Daladier's spectacular tour of North Africa in 1939, when the
whole population turned out to demand Bourguiba's release, the establishment of a Tunisian Parliament, and a national government.

The Second World War and the Underground Movement.

This general agitation continued right through the war in spite of the state of siege and the threats of General Blanc, who was in command of all Tunisian troops. The repeated acts of sabotage led the Government to take drastic measures: saboteurs were sentenced to death on the spot, the concentration camps were filled to overflowing with nationalists. The Franco-German armistice of 1940 gave the Destour Party the opportunity of claiming its independence from France, who was no longer in a position to fulfil its mission as a protecting power. A delegation of Neo-Destour members presented a petition to the Bey on July 20th, 1940, demanding the release of Bourguiba and his friends and denouncing the Protectorate treaty as obsolete. Similar petitions were presented to the Bey's representatives in all parts of the country. Resident-General Esteva, answered by arresting all the members of the delegations, but thanks to the Bey's personal intervention their arrest only lasted a few weeks. During this period, acts of sabotage and incidents were frequent, and finally Dr. Thamer and the members of his political bureau were arrested in January, 1941. Up till then they had always succeeded in escaping during periods of repression. Altogether, six different underground political bureaux of the Destour Party succeeded one another between 1938 and 1942. Finally, on June 19th, 1942, His Royal Highness Mohammed Moncef Bey ascended the throne of Tunisia. He was well known for his patriotic sentiments and sympathies with the Destour party, and on August 2nd, 1942, Moncef Bey submitted a list of 16 pleads to Marshal Pétain, inspired in the main by the Destour 1936 programme. The French Government again made promises which were not kept.

The Party Returns to a Legal Status: December, 1942—May, 1943.

On November 9th, 1942, Germano-Italian forces occupied Tunisia. Thanks to the Bey's intervention, all political prisoners were liberated and Dr. Thamer again assumed leadership of the party. The party was re-organized, an Arabic newspaper was printed, a Youth Movement formed. The Destour joined with the Bey in demanding Bourguiba's release. He was ultimately set free and despatched to Rome, where he was detained by the Italian Government for several months, owing to his well-known sympathies with the democracies. Bourguiba and his friends emphatically refused all advances made to them by the Axis powers and they were only allowed to return to Tunisia in April, 1943, three weeks before the collapse of the Axis.

On May 8th, 1943, Tunisia was liberated. France took advantage of the situation to try to suppress the Nationalist movement once and for all under the pretext of "collaboration" with the Axis powers. The Bey, who had always proclaimed his neutrality, and refused all Axis advances, was arrested by General Giraud on May 14th, 1943, and transported by air to Laghouat in the Algerian desert. Later he was sent to Pau, in France (in October 1945). Any person whom the Government wished to get rid of was accused of collaboration with the Axis. Hundreds of people were executed and thousands were thrown into prison. Bourguiba and some of his friends managed to escape from this fresh outburst. Once again, the Destour party re-assembled its forces. After trying in vain to come to some understanding with the French Government, it launched a new offensive on a grand scale. It rallied all Tunisians to the cause and issued a manifesto demanding self-government for Tunisia. But the French soon stopped all this activity. Bourguiba, who had become the President of the Party and who was for all practical purposes confined to Tunis, decided to leave the country for Egypt, where the Arab League had just been formed, in order to rally the rest of the Arab world to Tunisia's cause. He left Tunis on March 26th, 1943, and, after a long and adventurous journey, finally reached Cairo. Bourguiba's presence and activity in Cairo enlightened the Arab world on prevailing conditions in North Africa, which had been isolated from the rest of the world by a very real iron curtain. Later, in December, 1946, Bourguiba made a trip to the United States to conduct a campaign on behalf of Tunisian independence among the delegates to the United Nations General Assembly.

Meanwhile, the Destour Nationalist party is still officially banned in Tunisia. Famine reigns in the southern districts, due to excessive drought and a lack of adequate reserve stocks of grain.

Tunisia's renewed claim to independence, passed in the form of a Resolution at the National Congress of August 23rd, 1946, sums up the position and the wishes of the Tunisian people: on August 23rd, 1946, the Tunisian National Congress held a Conference in Tunis and moved the following resolution:

"Whereas, before 1881, Tunisia was an autonomous State, bound by spiritual rather than political ties to the Caliphate of Constantinople;

Whereas the sovereign rights of Tunisia were internationally recognised and expressly acknowledged in a number of treaties concluded with foreign powers;

Whereas France, after taking up the question of Tunisian independence with the Ottoman Government, imposed a French
protektorate on Tunisia in a treaty signed under duress by Sadiq Bey and never ratified by popular consent;

Whereas the treaty of Bardo neither denied to Tunisia her membership in the community of nations nor ignored the sovereignty of the Tunisian State in either external or internal relations;

Whereas after sixty-five years this Protectorate, which by the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Bardo and the convention of Marsa was to have been a provisional and purely protective régime has degenerated, until to-day it has become a régime of colonial exploitation in which the Guardian State systematically robs its Ward both of sovereign rights and material resources;

Whereas in practice, instead of confining itself to its rightful sphere of control, the Guardian State has taken the place of its Ward in the conduct of public affairs and has annihiliated the authority of the Tunisian administration;

Whereas since the beginning of the Protectorate, the Guardian State in Tunisia has followed a policy which impoverishes the indigenous people, robs the Tunisians of their best lands, makes over to state officials who are for the most part French, more than two-thirds of the budget which is not under popular control and is maintained by a system of taxation burdensome not to the wealthy but to the masses, imposes on Tunisia a monetary, customs and commercial policy detrimental to Tunisian internal economy and not helpful in foreign exchange;

Whereas this policy of impoverishment is the result of a policy of French settlement, by means of colonists, officials and of naturalization (French citizenship having been offered to Tunisians, Anglo-Maltese, Wrangel's White Russians, Spanish Republicans and now even to Italians) the aim of which is to increase the number of French citizens as against the Tunisian masses and thus to bring about the demographic assimilation of the country;

Whereas, owing to its financial extravagance, this policy of French settlement has from the outset rendered the Protectorate incapable of fulfilling its responsibilities to the Muslim population in the spheres of nutrition, housing, public assistance and education;

Whereas, in the circumstances, the Guardian State has neglected human welfare in favour of the dominating capitalist interests, and has failed in that civilizing mission in which it sought to justify the establishment of the Protectorate;

Whereas the Guardian State has further failed on the level of security since it handed over Tunisia to the Axis Powers, notwithstanding that its Tunisian Wards had consistently defended the cause of France and the Allies with their blood;

Whereas the sacrifice of human life and the contribution thus willingly made to the war effort, though completely forgotten after the war of 1914-18, undoubtedly justify the claim to freedom which Tunisia makes to-day;

Whereas in general the French administration of Tunisia has consistently violated the spirit and the letter of the treaties and whereas one of its most serious violations is the deposition of our well-beloved sovereign Moncef Pasha Bey, an act which justifies the Tunisian people in their growing condemnation of a régime they can neither accept nor tolerate;

Whereas moreover the interests of a Guardian State cannot stand in the way of a people's imprescriptible right to determine their own destiny;

Whereas Colonial Empires, rightly held to be a cause of rivalry between powers and a source of international conflicts, have been solemnly condemned by the United Nations, which have set among their avowed aims "the right of all peoples to determine the form of government under which they will consent to live" and "the restoration of sovereign rights and autonomy to those who have been forcibly deprived of them"; and

Whereas this new doctrine has been clarified and affirmed in the course of different international conferences (Mount Tremblant, Dumbarton Oaks, Hot Springs, San Francisco) and whereas France among other colonial powers has acknowledged the principle that "no nation has a permanent and imprescriptible right to rule over subject peoples";

Taking all these considerations into account, the Tunisian National Congress

Declares that the Protectorate is a régime politically and economically utterly incompatible with the Tunisian people's sovereign rights and vital interests, and that it has not justified its boasted civilizing mission;

It affirms that after sixty-five years' experience, this régime of the exploitation of man by man has pronounced its own rightful doom;

It proclaims that independence, immediate, total and unconditional, is the only way of atoning for past wrongs and safeguarding the future destiny of a great people; and

It proclaims the imprescriptible right of the Tunisian people to regain their inviolable independence.

This resolution, which was carried unanimously, resulted in the immediate arrest of the Congress leaders who were committed to gaol for a month without trial.

DATA ON TUNISIA

Area .................................. 48,300 square miles
Population:
Arab .................................. 2,800,000
Jewish .................................. 72,000
European ................................. 243,000
consisting of:
French .................................. 130,000 excl. of army and navy
Italian .................................. 95,000
Others .................................. 18,000

Arab children in schools:
1st Degree .................................. 51,000 pupils
2nd Degree .................................. 4,068
Private .................................. 13,500

Budget (1947):
5,600,000,000 Francs.

Production:
Wheat .................................. 3,800,000 bushels
Oil .................................. 80 million kgs.
Wine .................................. 1,550,000 hl.
Dates .................................. 280,000 bushels

Commerce:
Imp. 1938 .................................. 1,560 millions
Exp. 1938 .................................. 1,353 millions

Mines Export:
Phosphates .................................. 1,800,000 tons
Iron Ore .................................. 750,000 tons

The Country is divided into 19 districts and 6 military circles.
District governors are French, whereas subordinate officials (Caids, Kahias and Sheikhs) are Tunisian.

4 See Martens, Table général, Recueil de Trattés, série Chronologique.
3 Abdel Hace, "La Tunisie aux Fonctionnaires," Imprimerie de la Renaissance, Tunis, 1932.
4 Al-Thukafa for 17th December, 1946.
6 Habib Bourguiba was born in 1905, studied first at the Sadiki College, Tunis, and then went to France to study law and political science. Returned to Tunisia in 1927, to practice law.
MUSLIMS IN CHINA

The Manchus and the Muslims

By PROFESSOR AHMED 'ALI

The Muslims of China can be divided into four groups:

(1) The Muslims of North West, Kansu, Ninghsia, Shensi and Tsinghai, who are a mixture of Turki, Tatar and Chinese races. They are called Tungans, which is a Turki word meaning "convert." They are estimated to be 50 per cent of the population of these areas.

(2) The Muslims of Turkestan (Sinkiang). They are Turki, and form a majority of 90 per cent.

(3) The Muslims of Yunnan, called Panthays. They are a mixed race, many of them descendants of Arab soldiers. To-day they are about 20 per cent of the population, although until the last century their percentage was much higher, at least 50 per cent, but was reduced after the persecution and massacres.

(4) The Muslims of the rest of China. Many of them, for instance, in Hopei and Shantung, have a distinct foreign mixture. There is not a single province of China which does not have its Muslim population. Most of them are indistinguishable from the Chinese in dress, manners and customs.

Under the Tang and subsequent Chinese rulers, Sung, Yuan and Ming, that is, from the seventh to the end of the seventeenth century, the Muslims were not only treated well but rose to very high positions of importance and trust, and were allowed many concessions, privileges and facilities. The Manchus (1644-1911), however, proved the greatest enemies of the Muslims and persecuted them mercilessly, sometimes merely for possessing books written in Arabic and even Islamic books in Chinese. For instance, in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795), Sa Ts'ai, the governor of Kiangsu and Kiangsi, reported to the Emperor in 1785 the arrest of Hai Fu-shun for possessing five books in Chinese and twenty-one in Arabic, and that of a number of other Muslims in this connection. A little later in the same year the same governor, along with other high officials, reported to the Emperor the discovery of further Islamic books and the prosecution of many Muslims for this. Mr. Badruddin Chini writes in his Chini Massalman that during this dynasty "the bones of Muslims were broken... their strength was slowly sucked out of them... they were subjected to such cruelty and terror that they could not bear it, and their hearts were shattered to bits..." (pages 29-30). He goes on to comment on the next page that "the terror of the Manchu dynasty was not confined only to the breaking up of the Muslims' political power and the suppression of all their desires and aspirations, but they were not even allowed the freedom of expression and belief."

The Trials of Muslims during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

For this reason, as early as 1731, the Emperor Yung Cheng (1723-35) forbade them to kill oxen. The Muslims could not accept it lying down and rose against the Emperor, and he had to restore cow-slaughter. But the persecution continued under the next Emperor. So, the Muslims of Kansu (including Ninghsia) rose in 1785. They were, however, defeated, and Ch'ien Lung, "more cunning and cruel" than his predecessors, forbade the Muslims to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, prohibited the coming of religious teachers to China, and forbade the building of mosques. In 1862 all the Muslim inhabitants of Tsinkia, a village in Kansu, were put to the sword, forcing the Muslims of the district to take up arms against the Manchus. The Manchus were more powerful and they exterminated the whole Muslim population of Shensi province. This led to the Muslim War of 1863 and the defeat of the Manchu armies. The Muslims remained free until 1870 when they were eventually overpowered and two out of every three Muslims were killed. The Governor of Turkestan (which had been taken by the Chinese in 1760), fearing that the Tungans (Muslim) soldiers of his garrison might rise against him after the declaration of the Muslim War in 1863, plotted to kill them. The Tungans discovered the plot and retaliated by killing about 2,000 Chinese soldiers and capturing the city, which forced the Governor to commit suicide. At this time rose that heroic figure Ya'qub Beg, who had come in 1864 as a subordinate officer. Under the title of Ataliq Ghazi he founded an independent kingdom. His independence was recognised by Russia in 1872, and by Great Britain in the same year; and the Sultan of Turkey conferred on him the title of Amir ul-Muminin. This raised hopes of a great Muslim revival in Asia. It was thought, and feared, by non-Muslims, that China would become a Muslim empire; at least the portion of China comprising Yunnan, Szech'uan, Turkestan, Kansu and Shensi would become a powerful Muslim state, especially because the Yunnan Muslims had also risen and established their power in that province under Tu Wen-siu, who had proclaimed himself ruler of one half of Yunnan under the title of Sultan Suleiman. But these hopes were not to be realized. After twelve years of rule Ya'qub Beg died suddenly in 1877, and Yunnan was also lost. After the death of Ya'qub Beg the Muslims could not resist the Chinese, who were secretly helped by Tsarist Russia. Thousands of Muslims were massacred after their defeat. They had occasion, however, to rise again in 1895 when the Chinese killed a Muslim in Kaihsingkong in Kansu. As a result "the trees by the roadside were in many cases decorated with Muslim heads," as an English missionary, Marshall Broomhall, reports. During one month alone more than 800 Muslims were beheaded at the court of the magistrate in Sining. Some authorities state that during 1862-1878 as many as ten million persons were killed in the North-West and West. Even as late as 1928, that is, under the Nationalist Government which succeeded the Manchus, the "Christian" General Fang Yuhhsiang, once a classmate and great friend of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, also a Christian, invaded Ho-chow in Kansu and "liquidated" the Muslims of that place.

The story of the Yunnan struggle is similar though somewhat different. The Muslims of this province were experiencing great persecution and injustice at the hands of the Manchu officials. In 1818 a mosque had been destroyed in Yunchang and the officials had behaved in a most high-handed manner. This had forced the Muslims to rise and defeat the Manchu armies; but they themselves had eventually been defeated in 1819, after which the persecutions had continued relentlessly as before. In 1834 sixteen hundred Muslim men, women and children were massacred at Memnitien; and the Muslims were forced to retaliate with great effect. In 1855, however, the Muslim miners of Shihyahchang were attacked by the Chinese who were many more in numbers, and the Muslims had to retaliate. But Huang Chung, the Viceroy of the province, who hated the Muslims, ordered a general massacre of the faithful throughout the province. The 19th of May, 1856, was fixed for this massacre, and secret orders were sent to the officials for the execution of the plan. The Muslims, however, discovered the plot, and after some three hundred families had
been butchered at Ningchow and their homes burnt and mosques destroyed, they rose as one man to defend and avenge themselves. The Manchu officials treacherously murdered some seven hundred families in Yunnanfu, together with some graduates who had come to appear for the secretariat examinations. This enraged the Muslims so much that though they were much less in number than the Chinese, they struck terror in the hearts of the enemies by their wrath and violence. At least a million persons were killed in the war that ensued. The Muslims divided the province under two generals for strategic reasons, by the common leader Ma Teh-sing. In the East Ma Teh-sing and his nephew General Ma Hsien made Kuanyi their headquarters; in the West Tu Wen-siu (later Sultan Suleiman) captured Talifu. The two between them conquered the whole province. But at the height of success the supreme leader, the learned Ma Teh-sing, made peace with the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, not wishing to become king himself; but Tu Wen-siu proclaimed himself Generalissimo. Ma Teh-sing eventually was pleased to be appointed Viceroy, and Ma Hsien Commander-in-Chief of the imperial armies. This eventually led to the downfall of the Muslims some thirteen years later, for the Muslims were now divided into two camps. Tu Wen-siu, however, continued his struggle; but left alone his power weakened, and treachery helped his defeat. In 1873 Tu Wen-siu was taken prisoner, and when he was brought before Manchu commander he asked for only one thing, that the people be spared bloodshed. After this he died, having swallowed poison earlier. The Chinese Commander, of course, ignored Suleiman's wishes. Suleiman's own head was severed from his body and sent to the Manchu emperor as a present; and a general massacre of Muslims began everywhere.

It would take too long to relate the sufferings of the Muslims and the tyranny and cruelty of the Manchus. One English writer says: "How many hundreds of thousands of men, women and children lost their lives in these eighteen years will probably never be known." Another English writer, George Clarke, writing in 1885, twelve years after the massacre, stated that the Muslims were not allowed even to open shops. Throughout China they were forbidden to live inside the cities. This policy was adhered to until the end of Manchu rule in 1911, when the Republic was proclaimed.

The Present-day Position.

To this day we find in Nanking, the capital of China, and in other cities Muslims still living outside the city walls, though not under any Government orders. They have not been given any special concessions, and every now and then they are attacked by the Chinese press for being Muslims and for abstaining from some meat or for praying in their own fashion. Their sentiments are often disregarded by the Chinese, and in Peking there have been a number of instances of this in recent years. Even the British press sometimes ridicules them, as for instance The North China Daily News of 16th January, 1948, reporting the Shanghai Sin Min Wan Pao incident of a few days before used a tone that seems to mock at their demands (which, if the end, were accepted by the Mayor), and says that the Muslims "notoriously dislike" the pig. But they have not lost courage and fight on as best as they can. The Government's policy of the disregard of Muslim aspirations has been demonstrated in Turkestan, where the people have been fighting since 1929 in a new movement for independence. They were suppressed in 1929, 1930 and 1933; but they have not given up the struggle. In 1938 and 1940 their movement became so formidable that the Chinese Government had to promise some measure of independence. By the agreement of 1946 they were given some autonomy which, however, has remained largely on paper. The Governor, the high officials and the Army commanders are all Kuomintrang men and not acceptable to the people of Turkestan. In a world from which the idea of Imperialism has faded one expects the most civilised country in Asia to be progressive. But in spite of the "new constitution" these promises have remained unfulfilled.

A responsible Turk told me that his people suffered from lack of doctors, education, leaders and central organisation. The Chinese Government have notoriously neglected this country, which still remains under their rule. General Chang Chih-chung, Chiang Kai-shek's representative in the north-west, told Associated Press (The China Press for 24th September, 1947) that "China's potential powder-keg" (A.P. report), that is Turkestan, could best be defused by a "strong dose of practical democracy" (General Chang's words). What this "practical dose" would imply no one can say. But to quote from the A.P. report: "Chang Chih-Chung told the Associated Press that the great majority of unrest and rebellion still prevailing in Sinkiang was directly traceable to the 'unjust' rule of some Central Government representatives, who had refused to grant the Sinkiang tribes any measures of self-representation."

The people of Turkestan are keen on sending their students to study in Islamic countries, especially for medical education. They lack funds; but I was told by one of their representatives that if Indian Universities could give them free education they would be able to collect enough funds to pay for their passages. They are not keen on sending their students to China, for not only is education imparted through Chinese but no facilities are allowed to Muslims for boarding and lodging.
separately. They have either to de-Muslimize themselves or forgo education. The Turks naturally prefer the latter.

The Future of the Chinese Muslims.

As for the Muslims of China, one hopes there is a better future ahead of them. It is remarkable how they have preserved their Muslim identity. It is also remarkable that, being Chinese, they have remained different from the Chinese; and in spite of living in China they have lived their own lives. The great danger of their being completely annihilated will remain for some time to come.

The Chinese Muslims have not yet had time to recover from the age-long tyranny of the Manchus. During the last three hundred years their population was reduced by about 30 per cent, if not more. Still, they are at least fifty million, or five crores, according to the latest estimates, although the Government estimates say only seven to ten million. The official estimate is basically wrong, for the population of Sinkiang alone is over four million according to the Chinese Government, where there are 90 per cent Muslims. The population of Muslims in Kansu and Ninghsia is about fifty per cent of the total of over ten million, and that of Yunnan 25 per cent of the total of over ten million. Even Marshall Broomhall put the Muslim population in 1911 at about fifteen million. The figure of fifty million tallies with Muslim estimates of their population in this sub-continent, and has not been questioned even by foreign newspapers.

These low figures are attempts at reducing their numbers, if not in reality, at least on paper. Yet the Muslims are expec tant of better days, and on the lyres of their hearts dim and distant melodies are awakening, though yet unheard and undistinguishable. There was a time during 1860 and 1873 when they had stood on the threshold of a great Muslim state in China, and but for disunity among their ranks, they would have established their sway over Yunnan of China. That opportunity was lost. We can, however, deduce important lessons from this tragic experience from which they have not as yet been fully able to recover. In time to come, however, they are sure to rise to greater heights of fame and glory.

Appendix on Population of Muslims in China.

According to Dr. Lyman Hoover the Chinese Government estimates of Muslim population are seven to ten millions. On the face of it this estimate is wrong, for the population of Sinkiang alone in 1933, according to the figures given in the China Handbook for 1943 was 4,360,020; that of Kansu and Ninghsia respectively 6,255,467 and 735,767. The population of Muslims in Kansu and Ninghsia is said to be 50 per cent of the population, that of Sinkiang 95 per cent. This alone takes the figure to 11,351,254, that is almost twelve millions. This leaves out the Muslim population of Yunnan, Chinghai, Shensi and all the other provinces of China, which is very considerable.

Below I give three tables. The first column gives the figures of the whole population of one province as given by the Government in the China Handbook for 1943; the second contains the figures of Muslim population according to Marshall Broomhall estimating in his book Islam in China, for 1910; and the third table gives the figures of Muslim population in 1938 according to Muslim sources. The figures given by Broomhall as well as Muslim sources are only estimates, but they tell their own story. I have also mentioned the percentage of Muslim population wherever available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total population according to the Chinese Government</th>
<th>Muslim population according to Marshall Broomhall</th>
<th>Muslim population according to Muslim sources (Rough).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shensi</td>
<td>9,799,617 (1940)</td>
<td>1,000,000 (1910)</td>
<td>4,000,000 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>10,853,339 (1939)</td>
<td>1,000,000 &quot;</td>
<td>3,000,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopei</td>
<td>28,644,437 (1936)</td>
<td>1,000,000 &quot;</td>
<td>3,000,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchuria</td>
<td>30,848,200 (1929-35)</td>
<td>2,500,000 &quot;</td>
<td>4,300,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szechuan</td>
<td>46,403,006 (1939)</td>
<td>250,000 &quot;</td>
<td>4,000,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinghai</td>
<td>1,512,823 (1940)</td>
<td>2,500,000 (percentage said to be large)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shantung</td>
<td>38,099,741 (1936)</td>
<td>200,000 (1910)</td>
<td>1,600,000 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honan</td>
<td>31,805,621 (1939)</td>
<td>200,000 (1910)</td>
<td>1,800,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiangsu</td>
<td>56,469,321 (1933)</td>
<td>250,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,500,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shansi</td>
<td>11,601,026 (1934)</td>
<td>25,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,500,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>27,186,730 (1940)</td>
<td>20,000 &quot;</td>
<td>2,000,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kweichow</td>
<td>10,487,567 &quot;</td>
<td>10,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,100,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hupeh</td>
<td>24,658,988 &quot;</td>
<td>10,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,700,000 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwantung</td>
<td>32,538,793 (1939)</td>
<td>25,000 &quot;</td>
<td>500,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangsi</td>
<td>14,254,609 (1940)</td>
<td>20,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,000,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwei</td>
<td>22,704,538 &quot;</td>
<td>40,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,200,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiangsi</td>
<td>13,794,159 &quot;</td>
<td>25,000 &quot;</td>
<td>800,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fukien</td>
<td>11,960,441 &quot;</td>
<td>10,000 &quot;</td>
<td>500,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiliang</td>
<td>21,776,045 &quot;</td>
<td>7,500 &quot;</td>
<td>500,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>750,000 (estimated)</td>
<td>30,000 &quot;</td>
<td>600,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>880,000 &quot;</td>
<td>50,000 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansu</td>
<td>6,255,467 (1940)</td>
<td>3,500,000 &quot;</td>
<td>4,000,000 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninghsia</td>
<td>735,767 &quot;</td>
<td>(included in above)</td>
<td>367,883 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinkiang</td>
<td>4,360,020 (1933)</td>
<td>2,400,000 &quot;</td>
<td>4,312,202 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There is something wrong somewhere. This province was carved out later, and the Government figures for this province may have been included in those for Szechuan. Besides, one is not sure how accurate the Government census reports are. No census could have been possible on any accurate scale during war-time. All these figures in the three columns, therefore, should be taken as mere estimates, as Broomhall and the Muslims frankly are.

†The Muslim figures were much higher than the population of the whole province as given by the Government. The population of this province, however, is largely Muslim, and the percentage should be higher than 50 per cent. I am inclined to consider it 75 per cent of the whole population. But unless the Government hold a proper census, no exact figures of Chinese or Muslim population can ever be known.
THE INDOONESIAN PROBLEM

By DR. SUBANDRIO

One of the main issues confronting the contemporary world which is still causing much anxiety and disension, not only between the parties involved but also in international relationships, is the political future of the dependent countries. The colonial problem is one of the post-war difficulties which has not reached the same acuteness everywhere. Colonial peoples, who have struggled for the legitimate birth of a new nationhood for decades, with the sacrifice of many human lives and much property, have resumed their efforts, since the war, with renewed vigour and determination—and with every means in their power—in order to achieve their ultimate goal of national independence in the shortest possible time.

Others, the roots of whose national movement has not reached deep enough to sustain a genuine national strength with which to back the demand for self-government, have manifested their justifiable desires with local insurrections which have been easily suppressed by the Metropolitan Government before they could stir the conscience of the outside world.

A third group of subject people—a minority—has not expressed its desire for a change in its fate in forceful language, so that the colonial governments can leisurely continue their policy of uninterrupted, industrious cultivation whilst, according to every hope, casting a more open eye on the needs and interests of the indigenous population—not only on their social well-being but, moreover, on the spreading and deepening of educational requirements.

It is in this light that we have to comprehend and perhaps finally to appreciate or denounce the post-war policy of the Metropolitan Governments. In all great enterprises, it is the first steps that are difficult, and it is the way in which they are taken that makes the difference between success and failure. Therefore, an exact appreciation of the national strength of the several colonies, according to the above-mentioned classification, is a condition sine qua non before any commitment in these matters could be initiated.

England's Share in the Solution of the Colonial Problem.

The greatest colonial power in the world, the United Kingdom, was, after the war, the first—and, to date, the only Government which has given, in unequivocal terms, its contribution for a fair solution of the colonial problem, after giving discreet consideration to the local conditions of each separate colony.

Although this will not mean a further check to the increased and incessant national demand, without any doubt Britain has given proof to the world of its realistic policy with regard to the colonies. This policy of Britain, hailed by subject peoples, has not been shared by the other colonial powers, and the wisdom of its actions has been doubted.

Already, the communal disturbances in India and Pakistan during the early part of their independence, and the Communist insurrection in Burma, have been grasped by the sceptics as evidence of indiscreet policy. However, this cynical attitude towards the British pattern as a favourable start in the abolition of colonial rule has been partly offset by the relatively smooth settlement of the huge refugee problem in India and Pakistan, and the ultimate acceptance by both Dominions of a peaceful settlement on the accession of disputed areas.

All this has happened after one year of existence as an independent country. Although the situation in Burma is still causing great concern among Western nations, there is no reason why we should not patiently, watch the resolute attitude of the Burmese Government as it tackles its own problems.

To get a full understanding of the difficulties which are to be overcome by the ex-colonies and now independent countries, we should fully realize the conditions prevailing in those regions before their transformation into a new state was effected. Whilst, for the Western states, the general conception of a menace to human freedom has been ascribed to totalitarian ideology, for the Asiatic people there are constantly three kinds of threat to human freedom and happiness.

Firstly, and most important, is the imposition of colonial rule with all the consequences of undemocratic principles, restraints on freedom of conscience and the artificial exaggeration of any communal dissension.

Secondly, is the immense poverty amongst the indigenous people in striking contrast to the luxurious life of foreigners and the colonial rulers.

Thirdly, is the insistent Communist threat which makes capital out of the bad political and physical conditions of the
people and which subsequently prevents the growth of democratic ideas amongst the people.

With these things in mind, it is comprehensible that, even in circumstances where wisdom and foresight have been exercised during the transfer of sovereignty, its transition could not be effected sufficiently smoothly to prevent commotion and disturbances entirely.

We have heard many blunt criticisms about the dislocation of life and about the dissensions which have taken place amongst the people of ex-colonies after power has been handed over to their own Government. Such criticisms are indicative of a lack of imagination. How, may I ask, is it possible that such

has a long tradition of democratic methods, and which is undergoing a change of Government and not necessarily a change of the complete Governmental structure and, indeed, of the philosophy upon which that structure is based.

The disruption of life and the chaos in a colony which wins its independence is not a condemnation of the new system, but is, instead, a condemnation of the old, since it means that the old system has not paved the way for the introduction of democracy.

With special regard to Indonesia, I would like to point out the conceptions and the methods by which the Dutch are dealing with their particular colonial problems.

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A map showing the political units of the United States of Indonesia as it was constituted before the last Dutch "police action." The dotted areas show the Javanese and Sumatran territories under the control of the Indonesian Republic. The other areas are the Negaras (States) and Daerahs (Autonomous Territories) created by the Dutch to weaken the Indonesian Republic in defiance of the Linggadjati Agreement of November 15, 1946. They are Sumatra (1), South Sumatra (2), West Java (3), Madura (4), East Indonesia (5), and East Java (15). It is proposed to combine the Daerahs of Borneo (7-12) into a Negara under the name of Kalimantan. The map shows the Daerah of Banka and Billiton (6), Netherlands New Guinea (16), the Dutch-controlled town of Padang (13) and also the Dutch-controlled territory in Central Java (14).

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immense changes in the conduct of national affairs could take place without any disruption?

It is true that in Britain a change from a Conservative to a Labour Government could be carried out without much disturbance and without the interruption of normal life for the people and, usually, without any bitterness. So, in Britain, a reversal of power took place within twelve hours. But it is important to remember that such a transition differs not only in degree but also in kind from the transition which has taken place in the colonial relationship of so many countries.

As I have said, the previous system in these countries was undemocratic. The transition of power on such an immense scale and the introduction of democracy has inevitably meant some chaos, and the transition in these countries can in no way be compared with a Governmental change in a country which

The Main Cause of the Deadlock.

Without any doubt, from the very beginning, the Dutch have not been fully aware of the immense change which is prevailing in the mind of the Indonesian people. This has been manifested in their first reaction to the institution of an independent, sovereign Indonesia.

Officially and unofficially, the demands for immediate independence by the Indonesians were not taken too seriously and were attributed to fascist inspiration. The Netherlands Government at the very beginning declined to make a realistic approach, and would only embark on negotiations after the full pre-war Netherlands sovereignty had been restored.

Undoubtedly, the general stir amongst the Indonesians was considered as a mere local and transient insurrection, like all pre-war nationalist uprisings. Only after great pains, and with
the mediation of a third power, the Linggadjati Agreement emerged—unfortunately, not as an adequate working plan for the implementation of a voluntary co-operation between two sovereign nations, but interpreted by the Dutch as a document upon which legitimate claims could be based for the restoration of colonial sovereignty.

Soon after the signing of the Agreement the Minister of Overseas Territories, speaking before Parliament, subdued the anxieties of the majority of the members by pointing out that 1st January, 1949, the date mentioned in the Agreement, would not necessarily see the transition of sovereignty, but was only the target date on which the administrative power could eventually be handed over to the Indonesians—providing conditions made it possible.

Apart from that, the powerful leader of the Catholic Party—which is the biggest party in the Netherlands, and the most influential partner in the Netherlands Coalition—has more than once expressed the view that the Queen’s speech in 1942 does not mean a disruption of the Netherlands Kingdom, but only a conversion of the old Netherlands Kingdom into a Netherlands-Indonesian Union, which would be the highest authority in every field, apart from religion.

After these statements were made public, it was to be expected that reluctance and suspicion would prevail amongst the Indonesians, who felt that, even with the Linggadjati Agreement, no real sovereign Indonesia was near, which meant that, after their hard struggle, their ultimate goal was still not in sight.

This was the main cause of the deadlocks which kept occurring in the subsequent negotiations, which have ceased to deal with the actual problem of the status of the future Indonesia, but were instead more or less relegated to the endless hearing of complaints, accusations and counter-accusations from both sides.

In addition, the prevailing influence of the Netherlands military authorities in Indonesia, who repeatedly issued “assurances” to the effect that their balance of power would be sufficient to bring down the Republic and the whole national movement in Indonesia within a minimum of time, possibly tempted the Netherlands policy-makers to try to settle the problem in that way, especially after the happenings in Malaya were added to the arguments in favour of the conversion of the legal dispute with the Republic into a state of revolt and insurrection by irregular gangs and bandits.

The Only Way to Settle the Problem.

It is certainly not a pleasure for me to array all these charges against the Netherlands who, I expect, would also have counter-charges to the discredit of the Republic at their disposal. But one fact is certain. As long as a specific date for the

sovereign, independent, federated Indonesia is shrouded in a cloud of mystery, as long as the position of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union has not been disposed of as an infringement upon the sovereignty of Indonesia, so long will a stable settlement of the problem be out of reach.

However, in spite of this pessimistic view, certain illuminating indications can be observed of late. The mentioning by the Netherlands delegation in the Security Council of the date for the instalment of a real Indonesian Interim Government, the acceptance of elections for the whole Indonesian archipelago, and the transfer of sovereignty within the course of 1950—all these provide evidence that we are moving in the right direction.

The state of affairs could well be resolved if the dates of these happenings could be given in more detail, and could be fully endorsed by Parliament, so that anxiety about a subsequent denial, or unilateral interpretation of this statement by the Netherlands legislative body (such as happened with the Linggadjati Agreement), could be obviated.

For the practical implementation of this programme, the mediation of an international body, such as the United Nations Commission, would be of great value, as it could disentangle difficulties arising from minor disputable points, or reveal the mistakes that none is yet prepared to acknowledge. This would certainly strike at the pride of the Netherlands, which has always claimed that the whole matter is within Netherlands jurisdiction. It is matter for regret that the Netherlands are still lamenting on this disputable subject, instead of looking to the future and trying to secure a voluntary and close relationship with the new, independent State. To stress and to cling to the fading and dying formal sovereignty on the eve of its transfer would certainly not be considered by Indonesians as an unmistakable proof of the sincerity of the intentions of the colonial rulers.

The undeniable fact is that, after three and a half years of

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
continuous negotiation and fighting, the problem has not yet been solved. There is no reason to assume that, with the new Netherlands military action, and the unambiguous response of the Indonesian people with an effective guerilla warfare, the dispute could be easily settled by both parties unaided. I hope that, with the intervention of the Security Council—as expressed in its latest resolution—the Netherlands and Indonesia can be brought together, which would remove the differences between them and restore the former, unsuspecting confidence on both sides.

Like all colonial administration, the Netherlands rulers have without any doubt introduced certain valuable institutions and regulations which will be a precious asset for the future independent State. The aim of the national Government is not to get rid of the Netherlands and other foreigners, but merely to be freed of the evil of the policy of exploitation and discrimination which colours all colonial rule.

It might be that the word "revolution" has deterred the Western world, which has been rather obsessed by the socialist, revolutionary changes in certain parts of the world.

The Indonesian revolution is nothing more than the immediate dethronement of the colonial administration, and its immediate replacement by a no-less-efficient national government which would also include the Dutch administrators.

The great problem for the new, independent State and the ex-mother country in particular and the West in general, is how to combine this national independence, with its immense wealth of national resources and huge man-power on one side, with Western technical skill and capital investment on the other side, to benefit both the world at large.

The Indonesians mean to work with the free peoples of the world for a better standard of living, for better health, and for more knowledge of the ways of nature. For that purpose, what one immediately needs is peace. Not peace via military operations, not peace to be hunted through a labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations, not peace depending on the perplexing juridical question of colonial sovereignty, but peace based on the unequivocal testimony of the Netherlands Government, endorsed, by the Netherlands Parliament, that, on a fixed date, a free, democratic sovereign Indonesia must be established.

**YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI**

**A Great Turkish Poet**

By BULEND ECEVIT

All poets and lovers of poetry in Turkey feel themselves grateful to Yahya Kemal; and this gratitude will certainly increase with time; not only because he gives them the opportunity to read fresh poems, new and then, the greatness and intrinsic merits of which do not need a lapse of time to become apparent, but also because there are certain qualities in his work which are of great importance for this period of transition in the life of the Turkish people.

The most difficult and delicate problem of such a large scale social change as Turkey has undergone would be bound to come after the completion of all the reforms that were set forth; and this is the cultural problem. Nowhere and at no time has a culture been built on level ground; it needs a foundation that goes deep into history. It must have roots.

Although Ataturk in his unparalleled historic theory, the true humanistic significance of which stands out more clearly as years pass, did set up the scope of such a foundation, we shall probably have to wait for generations to pass until a culture can be built upon it; so vast and deep is this foundation that it may, one day, contain the essence of the culture of the one world of tomorrow.

In the meantime, the immediate roots ought to be cultivated and rejuvenated in a way not to retard progress but to ensure and support it. And here comes into use the nostalgic aspect of Yahya Kemal.

Born in 1884, he has seen, and with his poet's heart has felt, both the old and the new Turkey. The way he felt the old Turkey had all the intensity and heroic charm of a sad yet willing farewell. It was a willing one for he, himself, was one of those who had worked for that departure; and it was a sad one, for he loved the unredeemable beauties and glories of the past.

When he dreams of the olden time, his dreams are not based on imagination or second-hand knowledge, but for the most part, on the stirring of his own memory. And when he speaks of them they are not inviting or arresting, but simply affecting. The way he recalls the past has nothing passionate or

![Yahya Kemal Beyatli, the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan. He has now retired from public life](image-url)
fanatic about it; it is just the nostalgic mood of a brave man who has no desire to go back, but who knows how to enrich his soul in a material world through retaining the memory of the beauties and glories of the past, and who can derive from them a stimulating pride and hopefulness for the future. When he was once judged wrongly by some one, he replied:

"I am not decayed nor vagrant am I,
I'm the future whose roots in the past do lie."

He does not want to remain in the past, he just wants to have roots there. He is prepared to accept what the future may bring, and he is not afraid of it, as long as he retains in himself a flavour from the past; for this flavour will be added to the fruits of the future.

He gives a living example of it both in his life and poems. This is the reason why everybody in Turkey is and should be grateful to him.

With the exception of a few extremely successful attempts to write in the old style, his poems are modern. That he still uses the old "aruz" prosody does not change the fact that they are modern.

And yet somehow the images and the flavour of a glorious past are conciliated in these poems in perfect harmony, with the life and attitude of modern Turkey. They are like Istanbul (in fact, a great number of them are about Istanbul); for in that great city, also, the past and the new intermingle in a beautiful harmony. There too, modern buildings rise everywhere, but they all have the look of somebody remembering the past in a nostalgic mood, while the old monuments, the mosques with their slender minarets, stand out in their misty colour as images from that remembered past. The two do not clash. They form a unity. And that, perhaps, makes Istanbul more beautiful to-day than she has ever been. And just in the same way many people in Turkey believe that the works of Yahya Kemal may be considered more beautiful than the whole Ottoman "Diwan" poetry.

In Yahya Kemal's poetry the Turkish language, which is much purer than the Turkish used by the "Diwan" poets, has been elevated to such a height and refined to such a degree as it had never been before. As the reader may well appreciate, this is very encouraging and comforting for the younger generations in modern Turkey. For it is a sign that Turkey has become smaller only in size, not in other and definitely more valuable aspects. If she had, the first symptoms would appear in the language.

Yahya Kemal is a painstaking artist, sometimes devoting years to a single poem. The form, usually, has an almost geometric perfection—so much so that he may rightly be called a "classical" poet, in the Western aesthetic sense of the word.

As I said before, the harmonious conciliation of the past and the new in his works is also manifest in his life. Though he has always been regarded as one of the greatest Turkish poets that ever lived, his life has been an active and sociable one. He studied political sciences in Paris, and since then remained in active service. He has been a professor of Western literature in Istanbul University (1915-1925), has been appointed Ambassador to Warsaw (1926), to Madrid (1929), took part in the Lausanne Conference, has been a deputy in the Grand National Assembly, and, last year, with the warmest approval and joy of his countrymen, he was appointed the first Turkish Ambassador to the friendly state of Pakistan.

When I say that he is a very popular personality in Turkey, every reader in the East will, no doubt, understand what I mean. For, I think, it is only in the East that people, not only the intellectual people, but even the men-in-the-street, give the great poets the place they deserve in human hearts. That the attitude of the Turkish people towards her great poets has remained unchanged in spite of all the reforms she has undertaken and achieved, must be considered a proof that she still retains the spiritual richness of the East. I give below translations of two poems by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı:

**MEDITATION**

Intimacy gives trouble, yet seclusion bores one.
To enjoy these remaining few years what must be done?
Cleared the nature of men; in the world no mystery, either;
If a single golden arrow was left in my quiver
I wouldn't shoot it to my horizon for sweetest cause.

Into my final sleep I wish that soon my eyes should close!

They claim, the saying "Only he who lives can feel," is true;
"Only he who feels does suffer," is the truest thing I knew.
The adventure of living I've witnessed and understood,
If the soul's lasting, that it didn't last I rather would.
When one can no longer dream, what joy is left in life?

Let this futile autumn end without any strife!
The most tragic instant of our lives is not death at all,
The greatest trouble is that one dies before death's call.

**THE SONG OF THE SEA**

You, the boat, sailing in full wind towards the horizon!
Your departure is clear from the hour of evening you have chosen.
As you go further from that shore where you have spent your time
As you come nearer to that fancy-born clime,
Solitude behind the curves of waves begins to enlarge,
By and by the frame of the world assumes a different marge,
A different light begins to enroll the axis where you are.
The night is above, the sea underneath, blue everywhere,
Those hours that pass all alone with the stars as you sail,
Resemble a long, long tale, a beautiful tale...
Yet soon the pleasant sleep is bound to come to an end.
The creation wakes up from its dream. Lights of dawn extend.
As you go on the solid silver waters of your way,
Curtains are removed in the distance by the breaking day,
A world is born from the music that rolling seas recite, And at last the reign of the sky and the sea comes to sight.

In the mirror you've entered as the next globe, never say
With suspicion nor e'en for a moment, "Whither this way?"
Do not recover from that joy-exalting drunken spell,
Do not be scared of the void that looks like a fearful well!
Feel for a while that you, too, are a God in the nature,
Thus the soul can take in its being a true pleasure.
In this route that you have taken all alone with loose sail,
Your eyes never turning back, your face never turning pale.
Forward you must go as far as the free azure's extreme.

Men live in this world to that degree as they can dream.
ON BECOMING A MUSLIM

By HAROLD A. SIMS

What Set Me Thinking.

I cannot remember what book it was that started my interest in Islam. I do remember that it was a travel book in which there was a casual sentence, about the philosophy of an Arab, to which my heart responded. It took a long time for my intellect to follow and accept Islam.

The basic laws of the universe ordering the motion of the worlds in their orbits, and the cycle of the seasons on our own planet, have always impressed me with their simplicity. It is the vastness of the conception which I find awe inspiring. That the life and purpose of man did not seem to conform to the same tremendous principles always puzzled me. There seemed to be no natural law to govern man’s relationship to his brethren, let alone to the universe.

It seemed to me, in my early youth, that until mankind found some sort of unity and purpose, no one could begin to understand God or to aspire towards Him.

The chief preoccupation of mankind seemed to be the preservation of a status quo, the precise nature of which seemed to have been lost sight of some time during the 1914-18 war. I was brought up to believe that certain people, by virtue of their birth and training, should run the affairs of the greater part of the earth’s population.

At home this meant keeping the workers in their place. As long as a man was fit to work, he would be allowed to eat and keep his self-respect; should he get ideas above his station, however, then he must be disciplined—the which thing I saw demonstrated, as a child, in the general strike.

The same principle was extended to the Empire, though I grew up to realize that what with an exhausting war and bad politicians, the proviso about eating and self-respect became too expensive to fulfill. These theories were backed up by the Christian Church, which taught that man must be satisfied with the lot to which he was born, that to question his master was to criticise God, and that his only hope was to fix his eyes on the hereafter.

This system was, I knew, founded on a false premise. It did not run naturally or smoothly and had to rely on force; police at home, soldiers abroad—and could only become increasingly expensive and difficult to maintain.

The answer seemed to be in Islam, but I was told, quite convincingly at the time, that Islam was anti-Christ and barbarous, and that common loyalty demanded that one should not join the ranks of those who were just waiting for the chance to tear down the fabric, laboriously erected during the years, in the making of Christendom. It took me a long time to discover that this call to loyalty was founded on a misconception.

Studying the politics and social reforms of professional and amateur politicians who sought to improve the lot of mankind as an alternative to falling into the abyss of Communism or Fascism, I found much of their practical economy and social code to have been chosen from the precepts of the Holy Qur’ân, while its spiritual message has been discarded or bitterly denied.

I shall take only one instance to substantiate my point. It is laid down in the Holy Qur’ân that a Muslim shall pay a proportion of his income for the support of the poor. This has become the law in socialist countries like England but with all the difference between that which is done voluntarily on account of a religious and social conscience, and that which is enforced by the tax collectors, perhaps mulcting a particular class in order to catch the votes or to satisfy the malignancy of another. This social system can of its soullessness breed only emnity, instead of tightening the bonds of brotherhood as it does in Islam where on is made to feel responsible for the well-being of one’s fellow-men and the community.

The badges of Western civilization are imperialism, materialism, technical efficiency, engineering, banking, etc., but, if the West did not learn the first principles of these things from the Muslims, how is it that such names as Bokhara, Samarkand, Delhi, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Tunis, Granada, just to mention a few, conjure up memories of unsurpassed skill and teaching in the military and civil arts, architecture, engineering, to say nothing of mathematics, astronomy, poetry, painting and music?

Islam Spells Freedom.

The key to the truth was revealed to me by an old man who sold me a melon in Tunisia, during the war. Through him I discovered that Muslim did, in fact, accept Jesus as a prophet of their own. I fell into conversation with this man and he invited me to have coffee with himself and some passers-by who were his neighbours. Discussion ranged over crops, politics, the war and finally, religion. I have not heard from the most devout Christian a more human description of the life of Jesus and Mary than that given by my host who was speaking his own mind in French and making natural poetry. Their balance and sense of proportion sprang obviously from something normal and natural which was a part of themselves— their religion.

When I left them, they had no idea that their courtesy and simple religious insight had disposed of what had been, for me, an insuperable obstacle. The wise tolerance of these men was the answer to the image in my mind of the religious fanatic. Now, at last, I knew that I was ready to accept Islam as the norm of my own life. Not far away was a North African regiment
of the French Army. To their Imam I went for further instruction and before him I embraced Islam towards the close of 1943.

I found that I had been shown the last link in the Divine revelation of man’s purpose here on earth. I found too that Islam spells freedom. There is nothing between man and his God. Hereditary dynasties with their political and moral suppressions have no place in true Muslim communities and, where Muslims are so suppressed, it is the duty of every free Muslim to rally to the liberation of his oppressed brethren.

Islam I found, to my relief, is not pacifist. The law in regard to fighting, however, is strict. In defence of the faith or the faithful in trouble, it becomes the duty of all Muslims to exert every fibre of their being in pressing war upon the enemy until that enemy sewing for peace, at which moment, the war must stop. Such practices as the holding of a post-war witch hunt for the slaying of war-time enemies—sometimes years later—is abhorrent to Islam.

Greatest of all, I found that the Prophet Muhammad’s mission was to complete, not destroy, the work of Jesus. The Holy Qur’an contains the pattern which shows that indeed mankind was meant to conform to the laws of the universe and, like the universe, the range of man becomes vast and awe-inspiring in such a concept.

A GLANCE AT THE WORLD OF ISLAM

Muslims in South-Western Europe

According to the Oesterreichischer Zeitung, the Red Army newspaper for the Austrian population, approximately 100,000 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims—the Pomaks—and 680,000 Muslim Turks live in the Bulgarian Republic and now enjoy a very generous freedom in national, religious and cultural respects. Further quoting the newspaper, the Turks alone own 887 public elementary and 100 secondary schools, one theological school (the Madressa in Schumen) and a number of cultural centres. The number of their high-school students has at the moment reached the record number of 200. The Turks have seven seats in Parliament. Their representatives in the Nationalrat (National Committee) edit a Turkish newspaper. Two further newspapers are also printed in Turkish. Before the war, the Bulgarian Muslims lived, as is known, under really difficult circumstances. During the years from 1941-44, they were forced to penal servitude en masse and were subjected to all sorts of maltreatment.

Within a short time, two "sensation trials" against young Muslims were held in Yugoslavia. One of them in Bihar (West Bosnia) at the beginning of October, and the other in Travnik (Middle Bosnia) at the end of August, 1948. The first trial ended with the death sentence against five accused—among them Ismail Silic and Hussein Hadzpicic—and a sentence against thirteen accused. The sentences were for jail and penal servitude. The accused of the second trial received sentences amounting to a total of 121 years of jail with penal servitude. The principal accused, the student Vahio Kozaric, received seventeen years. All of these young people, some of them under eighteen years of age, were found guilty because they belonged to the prohibited organisation, Mladi Muslimani, and had spread defeatist propaganda. As the Austrian newspapers reported only a short time ago, the well-known Partisan and people’s representative from Tuzla, Umar Gluhic, and another Muslim people’s representative, were dismissed from their positions in the state and the party and are to be brought before a court shortly. One accuses them of "war-mongering" and of "infiltrating the people’s committee with reactionary elements."

The Congress of Representatives of the Muslim Authorities and the Religious Communities of Central Asia

The religious life of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan has been marked by a great occasion, the Congress of Representatives of the Muslim Religious Authorities and Communities of Uzbekistan, Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. It was held in December, 1948, at
Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek S.S.R., where the religious administration of Central Asia and Kazakhstan is centred.

Active preparations had been made for this Congress. The delegates were elected at public meetings held after the usual Friday prayers in the town and village mosques. One hundred and fifteen delegates attended the Congress. Guests of honour, to whom Central Asian Muslims sent special invitations, were Shaikh ul-Islam 'Ali-Zade Ahund-Aga, Chairman of the Religious Administration of the Transcaucasian Muslims, Mufti Rasul 'Abdurrahman, Chairman of the Religious Administration of the Muslims of the European part of the U.S.S.R. and Siberia, Mufti Gebekov Khusro-Kadi, Chairman of the Religious Administration of the Muslims of North Caucasus, Garulla Yusufi, Kazi of the Penza and Kuibyshev Regions of the R.S.F.S.R., Khalil-Rahman Nasreddin, Kazi of the Moscow Region and Imam of the Moscow Mosque, Abdul-Hamid Kari ibn-Rafik, Director of the Mir-Arab madrassa in Bokhara, and others.

The Congress opened with a solemn service of prayer, attended by all the delegates and guests. Mufti Ishan Babaikan ibn Abdulmajidjan, head of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, welcomed the delegates.

The report of the Religious Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which was then read, gave a detailed account of the work of this organisation in the settlement of various religious questions. The Administration participated actively in the restoration of many ancient Muslim religious buildings, monuments and holy places in Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara and other cities. In Tsarist times they had been neglected and had gradually fallen into decay. In Soviet years repairs were undertaken on a large scale, and the ancient monuments for which the Central Asian republics are famed are now restored to their original beauty.

The large-scale economic and cultural construction of Soviet years and the part taken in it by Muslims also received a considerable share of attention in the report. Thousands of Muslims are working in plants and factories, collective and state farms and offices, and thus contribute to the continued flourishing of their country. Many have been awarded orders, medals and other Government distinctions for their self-sacrificing efforts.

In the resolutions moved on the report, the delegates expressed unanimous approval of the work of the Religious Administration.

Taking as a basis the ordinances of the Qur'an and Hadith, the Congress confirmed the statutes of the Religious Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It was decided to extend the composition of the Administration to eleven members and three candidates, the Revisory Committee to five members and two candidates.

The Congress approved the concentration in the Religious Administration of the settlement of all religious disputes arising among the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and the corresponding firwah that were decided upon in this connection; also the appointment of khatibs, imams and others carrying out religious duties. The programme of the publishing house of the Religious Administration is to include the publication of the Qur'an in large printings. It is also to enlarge the monthly magazine of this administration and to publish a Muslim religious calendar for 1949.

The existing madrassahs are to be augmented by several religious schools where Muslim imams will be trained. It was decided to invite persons of religious education, holding no religious appointment at present, to fulfil the functions of imams at the mosques, to perform religious rites and attend to the needs of believers, and also to take up the duties of shaikhs at holy places for the religious service of pilgrims.

On the closing day of its work the Congress elected the members of the Religious Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Mufti Ishan Babakhan ibn-Abdulmajidjan was unanimously re-elected chairman. Others who are greatly respected by the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, among them Ziaud-din-kari Babakanov, khatib of the cathedral mosque of Tilla Shaik, Tashkent, Abdugafar Shamsudinov, kazi of South and West Kazakhstan, Alimkan Tiitrii Shakiir Hojayev, kazi of Kirghizia, were elected to the Administration. Shakiir Khialuddinov, khatib of the Cathedral Mosque of Chimkent, was elected chairman of the Revisory Committee.

While the Congress was held the delegates visited the Mosque of Tilla Shaik in Tashkent to pay their respects to one of the oldest existing copies of the Qur'an, considered, according to tradition, to have been made by the third Caliph, 'Usman.

The Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan awaiting prayers in the Tilla Shaikh Mosque at Tashkent. It is in this Mosque that the MS. of the Qur'an of 'Usman is preserved.
Muslims in Finland

History.

According to information based on the documents the Muslims have lived in Finland since the year 1836. At the moment there are 810 Muslims and they are all of Turkish nationality. They have been divided into two congregations, of which the Finnish Islamic Congregation has 708 and the Islamic congregation in Tampere 120 members.

According to the place of residence the number of the Muslims in Finland is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helsinki</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tampere</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turku</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarvenpaa</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotka</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rauma</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pori</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oulu</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaasa</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varkaus</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuopio</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other places</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Muslim congregation in Finland was established in the year 1925, the place of residence being Helsinki. The Imam of the congregation has since its establishment been Imam Harib ve Muderris Veli Ahmed Hakim, who arrived in this country in the year 1913, and has since that acted as Imam for the Muslims in Finland. To the administration which is elected for three years at a time, belong at the moment director Zuhur Tahir as chairman, managing director Ibrahim Arifulla as vice-chairman, director Omer Abrahim as manager, engineer Zinnet Alkara as secretary and clerk Gani Hasan and merchant Osman Ali as members. The Muslim congregation in Tampere was established in the year 1943 and the place of residence is Tampere. The Imam of the congregation is, since the beginning of this year, Imam Habibur-Rahman Shakir-Khan, and he arrived in this country at the end of 1947. To the administration belong at present director Omer Sali as chairman, director Fatih Arat as secretary, merchant Lorfulla Baibulat as manager and director Omer Nasibulla and director Semiulla Wafin as members. Both these congregations have been registered as religious communities.

Cultural Associations.

Three Cultural Associations have been founded by the Finnish Muslims:

Finlandiya Turkleri Birliği (The Finnish Turkish Association), founded in the year 1935, place of residence Helsinki.

Tampere Turkleri Birliği (The Turkish Association in Tampere), founded in the year 1937, place of residence Tampere.

Turku Turkleri Birliği (The Turkish Association in Turku), founded in the year 1938 and place of residence Turku.

Most of the Muslims living in this country are members of these associations.

There is one Athletic Organization, Spor Klubu Yolduz, which was established in the year 1945, at Helsinki. A great part of the younger generation from different places, interested in sports, belongs to this association.

The civilization amongst the Muslims in Finland is on a very high level. The ability to read and write (both in Finnish and Turkish) is nearly 100 per cent. Half of the younger generation have gone to the Finnish elementary school and half of them to the secondary school. There are about seven students of 15 studying at the University in Helsinki. There are four people who have passed the examination at some college in Helsinki (one doctor, one dentist, one lawyer and one engineer), and four have passed the examination abroad. The teaching of the religion and Turkish language has been arranged during the courses arranged by the congregations.

There are no mosques in Finland, but the Finnish Islamic congregation is owner of a house in Helsinki and in Kotka and a small congregation house in Jarvenpaa. The congregation in Tampere owns also a house in Tampere. The regular services Ibadat, are held in our rather small chapels, and the bigger religious festivals are held in apartments which are hired.

The Muslims in Finland are mainly merchants or officials in business, but during the last few years there has been evidence of a desire to take up technical subjects. All live under fairly good conditions and to our knowledge nobody receives any public allowance.

Separated from their Muslim brethren elsewhere and in spite of the smallness of our numbers, the Muslims in Finland have kept their affectionate religious characteristics and their devotion to religion. The Muslims associate very actively with one another and amongst the Finnish people they are greatly respected.

Indo-Pakistan Situation

The Danger of Communism in Pakistan and India.

“Good sometimes cometh out of evil.” India and Pakistan are just now experiencing the truth of this age-long saying. Communism may or may not bring the millennium which it is holding out to the masses in all countries of the world. Here in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent it has proved a blessing in disguise in at least one respect. The sense of this common danger is driving the two Dominions closer and closer together. It is even suggested that the cessation of hostilities in Kashmir and the implementation so faithfully of the cease-fire are also the direct outcome of this danger.

India seems to be in the grip of Communism far more seriously than Pakistan. There this Marxist cult is no longer a distant abstract theory arousing just academic interest. It is fast becoming a factor in the Indian body-politic to be counted with. Students' demonstrations, strikes of railway, postal and factory hands are coming very much in vogue. Several hundreds of thousands of railway workers just now are threatening to go on strike unless their demands are conceded. Open clashes between Communist bands and state forces also are also making their appearance here and there. Indian leaders like Pandit Nehru and others, who till recently hobnobbed with Moscow, are now seriously scratching their heads, not knowing what to do with this genie which they have been conjuring up!

Pakistan may not get so deeply involved, so far as Communism is concerned. Islam is too firmly rooted in the minds of its adherents to be easily shaken. But Pakistan certainly cannot be said to be immune from this danger. Its eastern wing, in close proximity to Burma, which is just now the storm-centre of Communism, is particularly exposed to the infiltration of this infection. As a matter of fact, the infection has already crossed the border into East Bengal, and the Pakistan Government is equally alarmed at the prospect of this new disturbing factor. Islam, no doubt, has a firm hold on Muslims, and Communism will find in it a very hard nut to crack. But,
Nevertheless, the danger cannot be minimized, considering that the Muslim peoples of Central Asia, with all their devotion to Islam, have succumbed to this force. Pakistan has one of her borders actually rubbing shoulders with the Soviet Republic—the Chitral and Azad Kashmir border. The eastern border is also, as I have said, in very close proximity to Communist-affected areas. Nevertheless, Pakistan is determined to see that here at least Communism may meet its Waterloo. Islam stands for an ideology of its own, and a world order of its own—an ideology and a world order which in so many very vital respects are the direct negation of Marxist ideology and order. Pakistan, which owes its very conception and birth to the restoration and rehabilitation of Islamic values, can give Communism no quarter. This may mean much internal overhaul—abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of main industries, socialisation of the whole economy of the state and, above all, purification of the administrative machinery. But Pakistan knows it has got to do it and set up a model of a genuine socialist state rooted in the healthy humanitarian principles of Islam that alone can blunt the edge of Communist propaganda and Communist appeal.

In the meantime, thanks to this danger looming larger on the horizons, both of India and Pakistan, the two Dominions are drawing closer together. It has even been suggested, rather arranged, that within the next few weeks, a goodwill mission from Delhi should visit Pakistan and discuss ways and means with leading men in Pakistan to smooth the way for the return of those non-Muslims to Pakistan who left this Dominion during the mad upheaval that came in the wake of partition.

Asia on the March

Members of the Yemen Delegation taking part in the Asian Conference on Indonesia held at Delhi, India, on the 20th January, 1949

The Sikhs.

Another problem, though not so serious, which just now is proving a regular headache to the Indian Government, is the Sikh problem. They have put up the demand that the Eastern Punjab where their population is concentrated should be declared a Sikh Province and though they are a minority in the Province compared to the Hindus, they demanded in the Government of the Province an equal voice with the Hindus. Obviously India cannot concede either of these demands without knocking the very bottom out of its off-repeated claim that it is a secular state, recognising no religious communities. If it should concede these demands of an insignificant religious
minority like the Sikhs, just a drop in the ocean of the teeming masses of India, with what justification can it turn down similar demands from the Muslim minority, which still counts forty-five millions? Once this religious basis is recognised for political rights, it will mean reducing India with its vast diversity of races and creeds to a babel of confusion. Nevertheless, the Akali Party, under the leadership of the fanatical Master Tara Singh, staged a demonstration at Delhi, in spite of the
India, it is also cementing its ties of brotherhood with the world of Islam.

The World Muslim Conference of Karachi.

The World Islamic Conference, which was called at Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, and was attended by representatives of most of the Muslim countries of the world, was a big milestone in this direction. It is perhaps for the first time in the history of Islam that the world of Islam pulsed with a living, throb-

Government ban and the arrest of the Master. The police had to use force to disperse the demonstrators. Tara Singh, however, seems to be getting on the nerves of his own people as well. The partition of the Punjab, resulting in such holocaust and devastation, was the outcome of the fanaticism mainly of this one man. And the Sikh community has been the worst sufferer. Tara Singh’s persistence in the same tactics in India is straining the patience of his own party and leading to a split. A substantial percentage has parted company with him. And this fact gives further justification to the Government’s action against the demonstrators. Not only is Pakistan following a policy of “let the dead past bury its dead” with regard to bing, feeling of oneness, of that common brotherhood which Islam vouchsafed to all Muslims. And it was in the fitness of things, that the lead in this direction should have been given by Pakistan, the largest Muslim country of the world.
The Conference, held on the 18th and 19th February, 1949, at Jeeangir Park, Karachi, was convened by the Jama’at ul-Ukhvawat II-Islamyya, an organisation founded “to uphold and spread the ideals of Islamic brotherhood throughout the world.”

Pakistan in General.

Within Pakistan, the main, if not the sole, political organisation has been re-organized under the leadership of a veteran leader, Chaudhary Khalequzzaman. Addressing the meeting of
The Council of this reorganized body at Karachi, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Premier, expressed the hope that it would be instrumental in making Pakistan an Islamic state in the real sense of the word. Reviewing the brief life of Pakistan so far, the Premier showed that there has been an all round progress in the face of enormous difficulties. In point of defence, Pakistan, he declared, was already strong enough to meet any external danger. Economically, Pakistan's credit stood much higher in world markets and Pakistan currency carried more exchange value than that of the neighbouring Dominion.

Another notable landmark along the way of national reconstruction was the conference of educationists of Pakistan which met at Peshawar, the home of the sturdy war-like Pathans whose prowess were mainly responsible for saving Kashmir for Pakistan. At this conference, which was presided over by Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Pakistan Education Minister, emphasis was laid on re-orientating the educational policy of Pakistan and reconstructing the educational system in the light and glory of Islamic ideals. Between the two world forces, Democratic capitalism and Russian Communism, which just now are making a bid for world domination, Islam must assert itself as the third and most wholesome world force, avoiding the evils and at the same time incorporating the good of each system.

Indo-Pakistan relations never stood so much on a basis of mutual understanding and a policy of give-and-take as they do to-day. There is genuine anxiety on both sides to forget the follies of the past and to turn a new page of good neigh-

bourliness. The Pakistan Premier has declared that so far as Pakistan is concerned, it will do everything in its power to promote this new-born understanding between the two Dominions. This is a good augury for the future of both Dominions, and all sane sections, both in India and Pakistan, wish this spirit of anxiety and goodwill to grow from strength to strength. The Kashmir question is still hanging fire. The plebiscite to decide whether Kashmir is to go to Pakistan or India is still to come. There are many knotty points in that connection which will have to be unravelled. But given the present mood of understanding and compromise, it should not be difficult to iron out these points and thereby pave the way for peace and prosperity to come back to the two Dominions.

The President of the Young Men's Muslim Association, Saleh Herb Fathi, giving religious instruction to the young Sudanese who have come to Egypt to attend a course of studies at Al-Azhar.

Egypt

A wave of political crime has lately swept over Egypt. Cairo has been the main scene of these. Now a public building is blown up, now a prominent person is assassinated. An attempt was made some time ago to destroy the premises and the printing press of the Société Orientale de Publication that publishes most of the European newspapers in Egypt, and another to destroy the palace of the High Court of Justice in Cairo. The Prime Minister of Egypt, the late Mahmoud Fahmy El-Nokrashy Pasha, has been a victim of that mad wave of political crime. Now another famous name, Sheikh Hasan El-Banna, the leader and founder of the now outlawed Muslim Brotherhood Association, has been added to this ignominious list.
Three shots were fired into his back at close range. In the confusion that followed the shooting, the assailant made good his escape. It is believed that the attack was made by one of the Sheikh el-Banna’s own followers. It is also known that he had intended to reveal secrets of the outlawed organisation to the authorities.

Sheikh el-Banna, a graduate of al-Azhar University, was originally a school teacher when he started the Muslim Brotherhood in the early thirties. In December 1948, the Government issued a proclamation dissolving the Brotherhood and all its branches throughout the country because of its subversive activities. The Brotherhood’s documents, records, publications and property were confiscated and since then the authorities have put under arrest a number of its members.

The Egyptian Government is introducing a law which will make the possession of arms or explosives for criminal purposes punishable by the death penalty. This is done with a view to ending the wave of terrorism. Anyone found in possession of explosives and fails to notify the authorities accordingly may be sent to prison with hard labour.

A Sudanese Mission

The first educational mission from the Southern Sudan arrived in Cairo in the latter part of January, 1949. It consists of 19 boys from the Negro tribes living in the Upper Nile Basin.

The idea of sending educational missions to Egypt originated with a young Sudanese named Hassan Sourour, who attended his course of studies at Al-Azhar University and graduated in 1927. He went to his birth-place, where he found the people of the South welcoming Islamic traditions and willing to send a number of their sons to Al-Azhar.

His Majesty King Farouk is deeply interested in the matter and bountifully granted the expenses of the whole mission from the Royal Treasury.

The mission attended its first lesson at Al-Azhar, which was given by Saleh Harb Pasha, President of the Young Men’s Muslim Association.

It is believed that the South Sudan promises well for the spread of Islamic culture.

At present the Sudan is passing through a rather important phase of its history. The newly-constituted Legislative Assembly has started its meetings amidst unfavourable circumstances. Most of the political parties boycotted the elections. The national movement is becoming stronger and stronger and several demonstrations are being arranged. Most of the political leaders have been put under arrest; clubs and centres are closed; every attempt to express views or feelings is severely crushed.

The Tragedy of the Arab Refugees

The Arab refugees have been in an incredible state of misery. They helplessly suffer from the pinch of cold this season, after they had been cruelly driven out of their homes.

The catastrophe started with the fall of Haifa on the 18th of April, 1948, as 50,000 of its inhabitants took refuge in the Lebanon, Egypt, and other neighbouring countries. Their number kept growing till it has reached 800,000, which is two-thirds of the population of Palestine. They are homeless, landless, penniless, and without means of livelihood. All suffer from lack of shelter and food. The death rate among the children is very high, as their bare delicate bodies cannot resist the attacks of cold, hunger and disease. Epidemics are spreading so fiercely among refugees that the Arab countries are threatened with a disaster. The world conscience has been aroused at last. Sympathy is shown by the United Nations, different governments, various Islamic institutions, as well as by the Red Cross.

Great efforts are being made for their relief. But “unless the United Nations acknowledges by urgent and appropriate action responsibility for their plight—a responsibility which the General Assembly assumed in November, 1947, when it recommended partitioning Palestine without providing means for carrying it out—many thousands have little hope of physical survival. The conscience of the United Nations has so far acknowledged the responsibility more in words than in deeds. The late Count Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator, appealing in August to fifty-three member countries for funds, and received what his successor described as a “far from adequate response.” Later in the year the General Assembly, prodded into action by the British delegation, set up an organization with a budget of $32m. to carry on relief until next August. The funds were to be subscribed by member Governments, but of the larger donations promised—Britain's £1m., America's $16m., and France's 500,000 francs—Britain’s is the only one that has been paid. Further, the General Assembly seriously underestimated the number of refugees who needed care, reckoning them at some 500,000 fewer than they are to-day. The relief committee, with only enough resources to feed the refugees for one month more, has just addressed a third request to the Governments of member countries to pay their contributions. Even if this request is granted, and the full $32m. is received, the cupboard will be bare by midsummer.”—(The Times of London for March 1, 1949).

The Millenary of Al-Azhar

It has been decided to celebrate the millenary of Al-Azhar during January, 1950. A new building for the library has been designed, for which a sum of L.E. 63,000 has been allocated. The premises for the Faculty of the Arabic language and the great hall of receptions will be completed within the next few months.

A great book illustrating the history of Al-Azhar during the past thousand years will be written by the Grand Sheikh of Al-Azhar aided by prominent Muslim personalities.

It is hoped that the celebrations will match with the dignity of the oldest and greatest Islamic University, as they will also illustrate the role of Al-Azhar expected of it in the service of Islamic culture.

United Nations Conciliation Mission

The U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine started its itinerary of the Arab capitals to get acquainted with the Arab points of view. They hope to achieve a final peaceful settlement for the Palestinian question.

They are received rather coldly, as the authorities and the people are conscious of the fact that it is the shortcomings of the United Nations that have been the cause of the present unsettled situation in Palestine. The Security Council made concessions to the Jews and gave them the opportunity to disobey its orders and decisions. But there is a general conviction that the use of force is not the way to maintain peace.

It is well known that the Arab States have very definite views on some points. For instance, they insist on the Arab character of Jerusalem and on the repatriation of refugees who wish to return to their homes, and that those who prefer to stay where they have now settled should be paid an indemnity. The Jews on the other hand claim Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel.

The commission would fly to Jeddah, Riad, Baghdad, Amman, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem.

But the United Nations, France and Britain attach a great importance to the Holy City, and support the policy of internationalising it.
A proposal that Old Jerusalem should remain in the hands of the Arabs while New Jerusalem should continue to be in Jewish hands, is also under consideration by the Commission. It is proposed that there should be a joint Arab and Jewish Council under the presidency of a neutral member to be appointed by the United Nations Organisation to draw up a plan for the joint Arab-Jewish rule of the two sections of the Holy City.

It is expected that the Commission will submit its report to the United Nations next April, or September. However, the insistence of the Jews on ignoring any decision taken by the Security Council makes the Arab States regard any proposal with mistrust.

Muslim Businessmen and the Oil in the Middle East

A private Muslim business group is being organized to take over the British and United States oil interests in the Middle East and to bring them under Muslim influence and control. To achieve this an international Islamic economic conference is being called at Karachi. Although the date of the meeting has not been fixed, it is expected that it will be some time in June this year.

A scheme involving working capital of several million pounds has been prepared and will be discussed at the meeting.

Invitations to trade and industrial representatives of all the Middle East countries have been sent out in the name of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Pakistan industrialist who owns several mills, a newspaper chain, an air line and various other enterprises.

The new budget of the Egyptian Government for 1949-50 amounts to 163,804,000 Egyptian pounds. Allocation for the armed forces amounts to 50 million pounds. This is in addition to a 300 million pound national loan raised by the Egyptian Government for financing the Palestine campaign. The programme for defence calls for the expansion in the army, navy and air force, as well as the establishment of five armament factories for heavy equipment, three of which have already started production. In the budget there is an expansion in the allocations to education and social welfare.

Oil in the Middle East

Egypt.
The announcement of the discovery of oil in the Sinai desert peninsula of Egypt becomes significant and assumes importance in the light of the Zionist claim to the adjoining Negeb, the desert of Palestine owned and inhabited by Arabs.

The artificial colonization of the Zionists of this region has not gone far beyond hastily erected, ready-made camps on traditional desert tracks. The area is predominantly owned and inhabited by Arabs whose number in normal times amounted to 10 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine. Now over 300,000 Arabs, a good number of them Arab refugees, dwell in the area. Some two thousand Jewish settlers in a dozen colonies each composed of a few wooden huts built mainly for propaganda purposes and the now hackneyed technique of fait accompli which international Zionism is adept at.

The Lebanon.

According to preliminary sample analysis, the search for petroleum in the upper Biga district has led to the discovery of deposits of considerable richness.

Syria.

Negotiations between the American Tapline Company and the Syrian Government for granting this company the permission to lay the oil pipe-lines through Syrian territory have resulted in an agreement about the fundamentals of the concession. Among others it has been agreed that the company will, in addition to the payment of an annual fee and a commission, will supply 200,000 tons of cheap petroleum for Syria and establish a refinery on a Syrian coastal town. The length of the pipe-line is 315 miles and starting from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia goes across Transjordan and the Lebanon. The agreement must be ratified by the Syrian Parliament and is expected to be hotly debated.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON

On Saturday, the 12th of February, 1949, the Muslim Society in Great Britain arranged a Brains Trust meeting of the Society. The idea caught on well and some very interesting questions were asked. It was proposed that the members of the Brains Trust would be Mr. I. I. Kazi, President of the Jai'amat-ul-Muslimin of the East End of London, Dr. S. M. Abdullah and Mr. Abdul Majid. Owing to ill-health, Mr. Kazi could not take part and 'Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, who happened to be in the audience, was requested instead to join the Brains Trust. Questions were asked and dealt with by the members of the Brains Trust. In the discussion that ensued the audience displayed a lively interest. Many friends offered to add their observations to those of the members of the Trust.

The questions that were dealt with were:

1. What justification is there for the belief in God?
2. Is there any need for a religion in the modern world?
3. What is the significance of various ceremonies attached to the Muslim prayer?
4. What are the main characteristics of Islam?
5. What is the difference between Islam and other religions?
6. Does Islam and other great religions agree with modern science and knowledge?
7. Has Islam, as a religion, contributed more to the world culture than other religions?
8. How can you claim that Islam has elevated the status of women while polygamy is still permitted in Muslim countries? What better, rights has Islam given to women as compared with Christian European countries?

THE PAKISTAN MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION

This Federation did a great service to Pakistan when it requested Mr. M. Philips Price, M.P., who had recently returned to England from an extensive tour of Pakistan and Afghanistan, to give them his impressions of the new State of Pakistan. Mr. Price, in his lecture, after referring to the spiritual bond that he noticed to pervade the entire world of Islam, spoke of the various phases of life that he saw in Pakistan. It was interesting to hear from him that the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan were improving.

Besides arranging numerous meetings and socials, the Federation held regular study circle meetings, accorded a reception to the Hon. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, the Pakistan Finance Minister, and was responsible for Pakistan's representation in various international student and youth functions held in London.
Representatives of the Federation addressed nearly 10,000 people in Britain at various meetings on Pakistan.

The following office-bearers were elected for the new year:

President: Mr. D. M. Qureshi.
General Secretary: Mr. Bashir Ahmed Jan.
Vice-President: Mr. Maksum-ul-Hakim.
Joint Secretary: Mr. Salim Majidulla.
Treasurer: Mr. Akbar 'Adil.

"WORLD ASPECTS OF ISLAM"

The Society for the Study of Religions and the Advancement of Fellowship, London.

This well-known British society, which studies all the known religions, ancient and modern, held a public meeting on "World Aspects of Islam" at the Livingston Hall, London, S.W.1., on Wednesday, the 15th of February. The Society had invited four scholars, prominent among Muslim residents in Britain, to address the meeting, which was advertised to be presided over by His Excellency the High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. Habib Rahimtoolla. But owing to the absence of Mr. Rahimtoolla from England, the chair was taken by Dr. Rahman, Educational Attaché to the High Commissioner for Pakistan. The speakers of the evening were Chaudhuri Mushtaq Ahmed Bajwa, Imam of the London Mosque, Putney; Dr. 'Ali 'Abdel Kader, Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre, London; Mr. 'Abdul Majid, Editor of the Islamic Review; and Dr. Y. H. Sulaiman, of South Africa.

Dr. Rahman opened the proceedings by apologising for the unavoidable absence of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, and tendered best wishes on his behalf that the meeting would be a great success. He thanked the Society for giving an opportunity to Islam to express itself.

"Islam and the Western World."

The first speaker was Mr. 'Abdul Majid. His subject was "Islam and the Western World." Outlining briefly the history of Islam, the speaker pointed out that within a few years of the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Islam had spread widely even to Spain and was knocking at the gates of Constantinople, struggling for supremacy over the Eastern Empire. He gave it as his opinion that if either of the two sieges of Constantinople of 670 and 715 C.E. had been successful and if the Caliphate in those days had agreed to the proposed plans of General Musa bin Nusair for conquering Constantinople and to reach Damascus via Constantinople from West to East, the history of the world would have presented a different spectacle. But the hesitation and disagreement of the Caliphate put an end to this dream. He proceeded to point out the great obstacles met with by the Muslims of to-day in an attempt to make their religion understood by the average Westerner, because Islam was grotesquely misunderstood in the West, which had been misled by 1,300 years of false propaganda against Islam and by lack of access to authentic writings on Islam. Indeed, translations of the Holy Qur'an into European languages were forbidden for a long time unless a refutation of its arguments and thesis was appended. He ended by saying that one need of mankind to-day was for a united front of the Christians and Muslims against materialism, which could destroy mankind. In this connection he deplored the remarks of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the last Lambeth Conference when the Archbishop said that Islam and Hinduism were the enemies of Christianity. Mr. Majid maintained that Islam and Christianity were the only two religions which believed in the immortality of the soul of man and the dignity of the individual in his own right. If properly understood and appreciated, the hand of Islam for co-operation was always there to combat the forces of materialism.

"Islam in the Middle East."

He was followed by Dr. 'Ali 'Abdel Kader, who spoke on "Islam in the Middle East." The learned speaker began by saying that the Middle East was the cradle of the three religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and was the meeting-place of the western and eastern civilizations, and that the Middle East was composed of countries mainly Muslim in custom, law and speaking Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. He pointed out that Islam was acceptable to the primitive and the civilised alike. In his talk he outlined the history of the various crises through which Islam had passed, including the Crusades and the Tartar invasions. He maintained that Islamic law, as now insisted on in the Middle East, was in accordance with many developments and elements of Western civilization. The meeting of the two outlooks could now be accomplished without weakening Islam. He also pointed out that countries of the Middle East stood in need of learning from others as to how to approach their difficult problems of poverty, health and education.

The Secretary of the Society, Mr. Victor Fisher, then gave a brief outline of the aims and objects of the Society for the benefit of non-members present. The audience, which was keenly interested in the speeches, was composed of British Muslims and Muslims from overseas residing in Britain and members of the Society, most notable of whom being 'Allama 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, the learned translator of the Holy Qur'an.

Islam in Africa and Pakistan.

The third speaker was Dr. Y. H. Sulaiman, who spoke on "Islam in Africa." He began by pointing out that all the Muslims in Africa, with the sole exception of Egypt, were living under non-Islamic law and that non-Islamic law was prevalent. He ascribed the survival of Islam in Africa under these untoward conditions, to the Muslim ordinances which decree prayers in congregation five times daily, or meeting of the Faithful at least once a week and once in a lifetime a pilgrimage to Mecca which enables Muslims to meet together and exchange ideas. The speaker referred to the Sudan, likening that country to Ulster and Egypt to Eire. He opined that the Sudan did not want to become part of Egypt, just as Ulster did not want to become a part of Eire. He thought that the Sudan wished to remain within the British Commonwealth. But Egypt, realizing that the Sudan was rich, with excellent fighting men, and holds, as it does, the source of the Nile, wanted to take it over and was establishing religious schools, especially colleges at Omdurman and Khartoum. Britain, competing with Egypt, was building schools to give higher education to the Sudanese. Britain was also industrializing the Sudan, thus giving employment to the poor Sudanese who, as a result of this policy, did not want Britain to leave. He thought that, though the poor looked towards Britain and the intelligence towards Egypt, all wanted one thing—a Muslim State with Islamic laws and Islam as their religion.

The last speaker was Chaudhuri Mushtaq Ahmed Bajwa, who spoke on "Islam in Pakistan." He said that Pakistan had a great role to play in world politics as an Islamic state which had the largest Muslim population in the world. He thanked God for the agreement with India over Kashmir and drew special attention of the audience that it was the Pakisrani nationals who were the flag-bearers of Islam throughout the non-Muslim countries of the world.

This brought the meeting to a close, when the chairman, Dr. Rahman, expressed thanks to the speakers and answered a question as to why Islam was so popular everywhere. The
chairman said that this was because its principles could be applied by all countries to their systems, embodying as they did the ideas of democracy, fraternity and the rights of the individual. Under Islam there was religious toleration with no persecution of religious minorities.

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

The activities of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking continue as usual. The number of visitors, however, is on the increase. Not only do many people interested in Islam write to the Imam for information, but also seek interviews with him for a personal exchange of views. Sunday being a day of rest in England, it is very convenient for people to drop in and visit the Mosque as well as to meet the Imam, who is at home to all visitors on Sundays. For people who on account of the distance cannot go to Woking, the Imam is available on Fridays and Saturdays at the London headquarters of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, which is at 18, Eccleson Square, London, S.W.1, in the afternoons for discussions on Islam and its various aspects.

On the 10th of February, 1949, Mr. 'Abdul Majid gave a short talk on the Prophet Muhammad at the Auditorium, 52, Victoria Road, London, W.8, with Monseigneur John von Ryswylk in the chair. The talk was followed by the usual questions about polygamy, the use of sword in Islam, etc. All speakers on Islam have to face these evergreen questions. Europe still refuses to see the point of Islam in these social problems. Mr. 'Abdul Majid, as recorded elsewhere in this present issue, spoke on "Islam and the Western World" at a public meeting organised under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Religions and Advancement of Fellowship at the Livingstone Hall, London, S.W.1.

The Shah Jehan Mosque caters not only for the spiritual and religious needs of the Muslim residents in Great Britain, but also looks after their civil and social requirements and is duly registered with the Registrar of Civil Marriages as a place authorized for the solemnizing of marriages. On the 21st of February, 1949, a marriage according to Islamic rites was solemnized between a Pakistani Muslim and an English lady convert to Islam. The bride and bridegroom were Mahumuda Craven and M. N. A. Ahmad. The dower settled by the husband on his wife was the sum of £1,111.

The Imam took part in a very interesting and useful meeting arranged by the Honorary Secretary of the Muslim Society in Great Britain, during the month of February, 1949. At this meeting a novel feature, now very much in the fashion, was introduced in the form of a Brains Trust. The Secretary had invited questions beforehand to be put to the members of the Brains Trust for elucidation.

The Imam was invited by the All Nations Club at Guildford, a town near Woking, to speak on Islam in general on Thursday, the 24th January. This club, as its name signifies, represents as many as 50 nations of the world. On the evening of the lecture there were represented 30 nations. The hall of "Guildford House" was full to its capacity. The chairman, Mr. Hamilton, in his opening presidential remarks, drew the attention of the audience to the fact that Islam claimed to guide the lives of about one-fifth of the present world. He also mentioned the great cultural and educational contributions of Islam to civilization. The Imam, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, spoke for about one hour on the tenets and teachings of Islam. He drew the attention of the audience to the universalist ideology of Islam which cut athwart the man-made distinction of race, colour and nations. The lecture of the Imam was so designed as to remove the various misconceptions about Islam in the short time at his disposal. This lecture was another reminder of the pressing need to place the true picture of the teachings of Islam before the West and to dispel the distorted views about it which are now more than ever before agitating the minds of the people in the West.

There is one other activity of the Shah Jehan Mosque which deserves mentioning. We are referring to the free dissemination of the free literature on Islam to men and women who enquire about it. Of late the Imam has distributed a good few copies of The New World Order, What is Islam?, The Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. During the last few days as many as fifty persons wrote to him asking for free literature. These enquiries are not restricted to England; they extend to far-off places like Africa, Saudi Arabia, Malaya, Australia, Trinidad, the United States of America, etc. Special interest in Islam and its teachings is being shown by the Germans.

THE MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, MANCHESTER

This Association is probably the youngest among the Muslim organizations in England, having been formed on the 27th of November, 1947. Prior to this there had existed a society called the All-India Muslim Students' Federation in Manchester. After the creation of Pakistan this body was dissolved and a meeting of representatives of Muslim students from different countries was called. It was at this meeting that the Muslim Students' Association was brought into existence.

This Association has fulfilled a great need of the Muslim students in Manchester. It has provided a common platform for them to discuss their problems and exchange their views. Above all, it has developed in them that real spirit of Muslim Brotherhood which is so essential for the unity of the Muslim World.

The Association now represents as many as nine different countries: Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, the Lebanon, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine and Turkey. It is a great achievement, indeed, when one considers the short period of its existence.

During its very short existence of barely more than a year, the Association has been active enough. Last year it sent out delegations to Cardiff and South Shields for the purpose of raising funds for the refugees of Palestine. A sum of £360 was collected. It held a meeting to celebrate the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, when Mr. S. M. Haffar, Honorary Syrian Consul in Manchester, was the chief guest and speaker.

The Association, besides starting a very modest library of books on Islam, organizes group discussions which have been well attended and holds lectures in which many Muslim students from principal neighbouring towns of Boston, Leicester and Leeds take part. It has also formed a sub-committee to collect spare clothes for the refugees of the Muslim world.

This year the Prophet's Birthday was celebrated on the 12th of January, when Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, upon an invitation from the Association, delivered an illuminating lecture on the life of the Prophet.

The main problem which is now engaging the attention of the Association is to assist in the collection of enough funds for the building of a mosque and cultural centre in Manchester. At a general meeting of the Muslims in Manchester, called by the Jam'at-ul-Muslimin (which is a Muslim society mainly composed of businessmen) a sum of over £2,500 was collected for this purpose. A munificent donation of £1,000 was made by a Pakistan national, Mr. Dawood Gandhi, whose generosity is greatly appreciated not only by Muslims but by non-Muslims as well. His generous contribution towards the noble cause is sure to bring in good results.

It is hoped that Manchester will soon have a mosque and cultural centre.
NOTES AND COMMENTS

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

The Problem.

The Times of London in its issue for 16th January publishes an appeal, signed by a number of leading personalities, to the people of Great Britain for support in their "approach to the Government through some Members of Parliament to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the marriage and divorce laws."

The need for this appeal arises out of the fact that:

"The present number of divorces is about 45,000 a year. In addition, magistrates are every year now making some 25,000 maintenance and separation orders. There is also an unknown but large number of private or informal separations. One consequence of this is the growth of extra-marital unions . . . ."

Commenting on this appeal, in the 18th January issue of the same paper, Mr. Arthur T. Macmillan very aptly remarks:

"The numerous signatories of the letter on this subject, appearing in the Times for January 16th seem to have great faith in the ability of man-made laws to cure the ills which they describe, and in the wisdom of Royal Commissions in recommending the appropriate remedies. I venture to suggest that both these beliefs are ill-founded."

Proceeding further, Mr. Macmillan observes:

"The majority report of 1912, which recommended the extension of the grounds of divorce to those now provided by the 1837 Act, also predicted with confidence that such extended facilities for divorce would raise the standard of marriage . . . . it only remains to be stated that during the 10 years immediately preceding the coming into operation of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937, the total number of marriages dissolved was 40,029; during the next ten years it was 156,705."

Then comes his conclusion:

"Thus we have one more example of the attempt to deal, by legislation, with effects, while ignoring causes—causes which are to be found in the fundamental falsity of much of our modern civilization."

A Diagnosis of the Problem.

It is a true statement of facts no doubt, but it needs a little clarification. For example, one is tempted to ask what is the fundamental falsity in the Western civilization which is causing such serious irregularities in the domestic life of its people. If we may make a suggestion, it consists, primarily, of a habit of discarding in practical life all the higher values of life in favour of sordid material values. Physical comforts and sensual pleasures have become the be-all and end-all of modern civilized life. Honour also is solely associated with material wealth. Hence a mad rush for material possession in all its shapes, and a reckless anxiety for physical pleasure. When people are in the grip of such values of life, home-life naturally becomes a drudgery and monotony. But why this wrong valuation? Well, it is more or less a rule with all nations attaining a high pitch of civilization and political power. But in the case of Christian nations of the West it has exceeded all bounds. The reason is not far to seek. Christianity—being a religion of idealistic sermons and unintelligible rituals—has no definite guidance either for rational thinking or for a highly developed social life. And it is these shortcomings of the religion in the West that has cut it so hopelessly adrift from the restraints of religion. The position of Christianity is extremely anomalous in this respect. It denies the Law in theory when it comes to emphasise on the redemption by grace and at the same time it refers vaguely to some social principles of Law as laid down by the Old Testament when it comes to the enactment of administrative laws. This anomaly has unfortunately been the fruitful source of much confusion. And this intellectual confusion has weakened the Christians away from religion as the source of inspiration in socio-moral conduct. What is actually needed, therefore, is a religion of which the different aspects are conformable to one another and which besides being a complete system in itself satisfies the social needs of a highly developed society such as the English society of to-day. Attempts have been made by Christian England to improve matters by piecemeal reforms, inspired, at least indirectly, by the social laws of Islam. The increasing facility for divorce is one of these attempts. But the reformers forget that Islamic laws are effective only in the setting of its other rules and regulations of social behaviour. Detached from that setting, such laws are bound to prove ineffective, as they have proved in the case of marriage and divorce legislations under discussion. It is a well-known fact that there are many rules and regulations in the Holy Qur’an regarding the behaviour of marriage both in private and public. If a real improvement is sincerely desired, the whole system of Islamic life has to be adopted. There seems to be no other alternative. The leaders of thought must shake off all shyness in this matter if they want to save the nation. They will have to say many things frankly now which will be contrary to what they have been saying before, about the Islamic way of life. Perhaps they are in a mood now to consider how the system of Islam has lived through many a vicissitude of fortune; and the wonder is that it has not only survived the shocks of many calamities but has come out all the more resplendent in its rationality.

The Surplus Women of Germany.

The News-Chronicle of London in its issue for January 7, 1949, publishes a review on this subject by Karl Robson, the Berlin correspondent of the paper. Mr. Robson observes:

"It has been officially reckoned that when all possible marriages have been made and all possible jobs filled, there will still be at least half a million German women either without a husband or without work."

He quotes Frau Dorothea Klage, a mistress at a girls' school at Kiel, as holding the view that as a consequence of the decimation of millions of German youths in the last two world wars:

"Some seven million living German women will never be able to marry and have legitimate children."

The concluding words are significant. Mere employment and occupation for such women are not enough. Left alone without a husband and a home, these women spoil the home life of at least as many couples as their own number. And if matters are allowed to drift like this the whole atmosphere of society becomes poisoned. It was this tendency in the surplus women which the prophetic genius of Muhammad foresaw in his provision for restricted polygamy. The current Christian law of monogamy—early Christianity was not guilty of this social absurdity—stumbles at this point and thus causes serious abnormalities in the relations between the sexes in times of war. Indeed, it is interesting to note that this bogy of polygamy is being actually "Canvassed by some enthusiasts, and sufficient interest has been aroused in the subject for researchers into public opinion to carry out a poll in Hamburg."

And that "Asked whether they thought polygamy would be acceptable in Germany, 13 per cent of the interrogated said 'yes' . . . and 6 per cent had no opinion."

60

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
The fact is that an average Westerner, particularly on the continent, scarcely devotes any thought to social problems. All he cares to think about is bread and enjoyment. Thes. 13 per cent of people who have voted for polygamy seem to be the thinking section of the population. And what they have said is actually the voice of unwarped human intelligence. The provision for restricted polygamy in cases of social emergency is an essential need of the socio-moral life of a nation. To ignore this fact, out of sheer prejudice, is to jeopardise the moral health of the nation. British leaders of thought who are canvassing opinion for the appointment of a Royal Commission to go into the causes of the alarming increase in the failure of married life in England would do well to give some thought to this aspect of the question as well.

**IF ONLY—**

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Courtesy, The Editor, "Dawn," Karachi, for 26th December, 1948.

"Christianity remains today the world's best hope for peace if the world will accept its fundamental teaching that all men are brothers."—Truman.

**BOOK REVIEWS**


Apart from the paramount importance of being well written, a book on a subject such as the Middle East, upon which there are so many different points of view, must be written with sincerity and impartiality if it is to have any real value. Mr. Kirk's book possesses both these qualities and so may be numbered among that comparatively not so vast selection of books which may truly be described as "helpful literature."

The book has grown out of a course of lectures delivered in the Middle East Centre of Arab Studies for the benefit of non-specialists, and in two hundred and eighty-nine pages the author deals with his subject from the rise of Islam in the days of the Prophet Muhammad, right up to the present day. The work, therefore, lacks extensive detail, but this is no fault in a book of this kind written for the same purpose as were the lectures on which it was based, namely, for the instruction of non-specialists.
Mr. Kirk, being a non-Muslim, lacks to a certain extent, the reverent attitude towards Islam found desirable by Muslims, and his attitude towards the revelation received by the Prophet may shock some readers. For example, in the chapter entitled "The Rise and Decline of the Muslim Civilization," his attitude would seem rather to show that he believed the Prophet to have been an extremely clever, benign and spiritually exalted man rather than a prophet. Thus he writes, "When he began to undergo his religious experience about A.D. 610 he could have had no adequate first-hand knowledge of the Jewish or Christian scriptures, which had not been translated into Arabic, while he knew no other language; but he had opportunities for conversation with Jews and Christians both on his caravan journeys and in Mecca itself, and his religious experience... was affected to a considerable degree by indirectly-acquired and imperfect knowledge of these two religions." However, a few paragraphs further on he continues, "Some European writers have in the past declared that he (Muhammad) was never anything more than an ambitious politician who insincerely professed a new religion as a vehicle for attaining political power. But this cynical interpretation will not bear analysis, there are too many hazards in the preaching of a new religion to commend it to the politically ambitious. Mohammed himself had to endure twelve years of neglect, derision, and growing hostility before he attained political authority over the small band who followed him into exile."

From these quotations the fair-minded Muslim reader will see that the author, though not a Muslim, is himself fair-minded enough to point out the error of those accusing the Prophet of political motives in preaching Islam. Nor is this the only example of Mr. Kirk's impartiality, which is evident throughout the book. Indeed, this is the most remarkable feature of this work. In the long chapter, "Struggle for Independence (1918-1939)" there are many examples of this quality, and although British himself, the author does not spare his countrymen if he considers them deserving of censure. To cite but two examples, he writes, in dealing with the post 1914-1918 war settlement in Egypt, "The exigencies of the campaign combined with a considerable measure of British ignorance did much to aggravate the grievances of the Nationalists. The country was flooded with inexperienced British army officers and civil officials who treated Egypt, now proclaimed a British protectorate, almost as an occupied territory in which the rights and wishes of the inhabitants counted for little," or again, "They (the urban population) were offended by a tactless collection of subscriptions for the Red Cross, from a predominantly Muslim population, and by methods which locally sometimes approximated to compulsion."

There are, of course, other defects in the book, and no doubt readers in the various Middle East countries dealt with will find errors concerning their own particular part of the world. However, the defects are vastly outweighed by the advantages, by no means the least of which are the fourteen excellent maps drawn by S. O. Pritchard and N. S. Hyslop, and anyone who has never before studied the subject will, after reading Mr. Kirk's book, have quite a comprehensive knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs, particularly during the last hundred or so years.

I. de Y.


Within a compass of 96 pages, the book is an attempt to tell the world what a serious citizen of Pakistan thinks about its present-day problems. The author has tried to relate trends of thoughts in Pakistan to conflicts of ideologies abroad, and as such, the book has an interest of its own. It is not necessary that we should all agree with the findings of the author. But in so far as he helps us to understand the Pakistani reaction to the conflict of ideologies abroad, he places us under a debt of gratitude. For, it is no doubt, necessary for Pakistan to know and understand the world outside it, but, it is equally necessary for the rest of the world to know what Pakistan thinks about it. Anyone who helps us in the process, as Mr. Suleri does in this book, deserves our thanks.

The author is keenly conscious of the world beyond Pakistan. Can we take it that in his he only brings to the surface the sense of awareness of the world at large which is a characteristic of the serious citizen of this new State? For all through the ages, the peoples of Islam have invariably looked beyond the national political state boundaries. Is the present-day world of Islam perhaps waking to a new life in possession of a heritage that may help it to make a contribution to the solution of the problems of the world? The answer of the author is in the affirmative. It is essential that the world should know of the nature of the contribution, the peoples of Islam intend to make to the solution of its problems. Mr. Suleri's book is in the nature of a first essay at the task.

In chapters 2, 3 and 4 Mr. Suleri depicts clearly the nature of the fundamental conflict taking place in the West. "His grasp of things western is sure and certain. He is deeply conscious of the breakdown of Western liberalism and the challenge presented by Soviet Communism. But the challenge is not only to the West but to the new East—the world of Islam part of it as well. Our ability to meet the challenge is surely a function of our ability to solve our problems to the satisfaction of a large number of us as possible.

The fact that independence has been recently acquired necessarily renders the tone and temper of the criticism made by a citizen of a newly independent state a little more assertive than it need have been. But then perhaps, the tone and temper of citizens in Pakistan of the world at large is actually like that and as such the book gives us a valuable insight into the minds of the thinking Pakistanis. For, in his criticism of the ills of the world, the author tells us of himself and of the Pakistan citizen a great deal. Indeed, the greatest value of the book lies in this self-revelation. The book indicates the degree of ferment that the impact of the world makes on Pakistan. It is all a little bewildering, for it is only recently that the impact has been direct. But do the children of Islam find it so bewildering? May the "third Force" emerge out of the world of Islam? Can it be brought down to the realm of practical politics? The author discusses the questions with a certainty of conviction. But does not the only chance lie in so ordering lives in the world of Islam in general and in Pakistan in particular that the problems which find the West so unprepared not find us equally unprepared? If the common man finds in fact a dignity of life in our system, he is denied elsewhere, our system shall continue eternal. There is no other way. We are or very soon shall be sharing most of the problems of the West. There is yet time to profit by the lessons of the West.

But the author does not take us within the precincts of his house. He merely hints at some of the domestic issues in Pakistan in Chapter 7. It would have been highly interesting to know what the author has to say about his own house. But it is captious to complain of what the author has not written about. What he has written on is of absorbing interest and worth reading. The book is an outline, but a bold and thought-provoking outline. As the author of the most popular biography of Qaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan, Mr. Suleri is eminently qualified to tell us what Pakistan thinks of the world at large.

A. R.
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.)

MOSLEM SOCIETY OF U.S.A.
519 Grant Building,
1095 Market Street,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Brother in Islam,

The Moslem Society of the United States of America came into existence in October, 1947. Within this short period, our progress, though slow, has been very steady. Under its auspices, scores of lectures have been given. Several organizations in California have, from time to time, requested Maulavi Bashir Ahmad Minto, the Muslim Missionary of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at Islam, Lahore, Pakistan, and the Secretary of the society, to address gatherings of students, business men, veterans, theosophists, socialists, spiritualists, artists, and many others.

Fourteen citizens of America, some of them possessing high academic qualifications, have joined the Islamic Brotherhood. Our Brother Dudley’s article, “What’s in a Name?” has already appeared in your February issue. It is indeed a proof of how well he has grasped the significance of our religion. I am enclosing herewith a letter from our brother in Islam, Mr. Clayton, which I request you kindly to publish in the Islamic Review. Your readers will judge for themselves the love God has been pleased to put into his heart for the right cause, and the enthusiasm with which he is trying to show the straight path to others.

We have been able to bear the expenses of publishing two pamphlets: Islam, the Religion of Humanity, and What’s in a Name? I must mention here, with great thankfulness, that we are indebted for the publication of our second pamphlet to our brother, Dean ‘Abdullah Reitze, who very generously extended his helping hand to us. How he came to see the light of Islam is an interesting story. He was a Roman Catholic, but Catholicism, instead of giving him inner peace, made him rather very uneasy. He was in search for Truth, but he could not find his way. At last God, seeing his devotion, gave him what he wanted. He heard a voice from the Unseen saying, “Read the Qur’an, read the Qur’an.” He came to our office and got a copy of the Holy Qur’an with the English translation by Maulana Muhammad ‘Ali. The result was that before three months had gone by he realized that he was convinced of the truth of Islam, and without any hesitation, he accepted Islam.

We have at present four Muslims who come to us, twice a week, to take their lessons in Arabic. We have begun with them the Yassarred Qur’an, published by the Baitul Qur’an, Lahore, Pakistan. There is one thing that worries us more than anything else. Many Muslims from various Islamic countries have got married here. Unfortunately, not only their wives, but also their children, are Christians. On account of their ignorance and indifference the fathers have failed to do their duty in guiding them the Islamic education. We have also not been able to do much for them because of the lack of co-operation. But we have not lost all hopes. There is a silver lining even in this darkness. A Mosque has already been constructed at a cost of $55,000 in the capital of California, Sacramento, and we feel sure that this house of God will infuse a true Islamic spirit in the Muslims, and they will help us to serve them, by imparting the knowledge of the true faith to their children, and I may add, even to them. May God help us in our endeavours!

Yours sincerely,

‘ARIFAH BASHIR MINTO.

* * * *

528 West Broadway,
Winona, Minnesota.

My dear Mr. Minto,

Assalamu Alaikum.

I have been dispensing my duties as a true Muslim, according to the laws incumbent on the Believer of the Holy Qur’an. Besides, the laws and duties of our religion, I am doing my best for its benefit with some friends of this region. I have also made the acquaintances of three Muslims attending the University of Minnesota: Bahij Mohammed Al-Haqim (Syria), Bahadur ‘Ali and Mir Hamed ‘Ali (India).

Saturday last, I gave a talk at the Minneapolis-St. Paul chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution on my experiences at the Boy Scout World Jamboree at France, and devoted quite a portion of that time to the discussion of Islam. I am sure that only the most narrow-minded of the prejudiced left that meeting with the customary un-understandable hate of Islam.

If you have extra pamphlets on hand, I can put them to excellent use in our cause—especially The Prophet of Islam and The Religion of Islam.

I humbly ask your advice and aid on several problems, which may be of satisfactory nature to us. I am, besides adults, carrying out a great deal of conversation with the most intelligent of young men and women of my age and older. Those I am devoting time to are of proven intelligence, sound judgement, integrity, and enthusiasm. It is this type, mainly, which will enthusiastically promote propagation and better understanding of our religion. Members of both sexes, I feel, are of equal importance. Please give me your feelings on this matter. To continue, several of them are Catholic, and their parents are typically biased individuals who would promptly burn any mention of the word religion of Islam in place of their precious Catholicism. However, if conversion were made complete, their parents probably would not hinder them, and would subdue any ill-feelings they might bear.

I have been concentrating my efforts on one or two of these, and I feel that they would accept Islam. It might be wiser for the sake of all concerned, should you write them, that you omit your name and address from the envelope. The mere sight of your name would cause the document to be speedily dealt with. Besides these, I have gone to lengths discussing our faith with a gentleman by the name of Donald Guernsey, who is nearly 24. He should be writing to you soon.

I received the copy of the Islamic Review which was sent to me. I found it one of the most informative of magazines, and destined to do a great service to humanity by creating a better understanding of Muslim peoples. Naturally, I want a subscription and will send the money with my next letter.

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS MUHAMMED CLAYTON.
A PAKISTANI STUDENT AMONGST MUSLIM ARAB STUDENTS IN LONDON

Dear Sir,

Assalamo alaikum!

I hope you would kindly publish my letter. I am writing the following painful and unpalatable truth—an urch from the heart of a person who considers himself a Muslim first and last, more out of sorrow than any other feeling. My only consolation is that problems, if they are to be solved, must be faced squarely and not evaded.

Most of my student friends from Arab countries are acutely conscious of their race as an infallible institution which makes them different from the rest of the world. Their entire mental and intellectual make-up is animated and sustained by this consciousness. To some extent, this may be true of other Muslim countries. It appears that we are passing through the same stage of “geographical” and “ethnological” effervescence and fervour which Europe experienced, at its cost, till the end of the war. Intellectual and mental patterns have changed since then, and broadly speaking, the alignments to-day—intellectual and political—are on ideological grounds, though fundamentally materialistic, dealing primarily with the process of life, rather than its cosmic purpose.

From intimate personal experience in student affairs in London, I am more than convinced that the Arab students in particular, at any rate the majority of them (the organ of the “Arab Students’ League” in Britain—The Scholar—only confirms my view) are falling into a catalepsy of an aggressive form of racial nationalism as opposed to the broad principles of the brotherhood of the Muslims, oblivious of the rest of the Muslim world, with limited interest in the principles of Islam and in the historical role of the Muslim people.

They have forgotten that the unity of the Muslim people was the cause of the inherent strength of the Muslims in the past and a vindication of the universal principles of Islam.

Some have even expressed the incompatibility of religion with modern thought. May I point out that the revolt of the eighteenth-century materialists—the fathers of the modern materialistic thought—was a revolt against a pure monastic order and a clerical system which was in communion with the feudal aristocracy and the royalty for exploiting the masses of the people. It might be a discouragement for my friends to know that the greatest leaders of this historical movement against intellectual, political, and spiritual slavery—Rousseau and Voltaire—were firm and fervent believers in God and religion. Later empirical philosophers confused religion with a “monastic system,” as did Marx confuse Hegel’s “Ideals” with religion.

Islam is emphatically no monastic order or a church, nor the “pure Idealism” of Hegel. The truth is that Islam is not a religion in the sense religion is understood, even to-day, in the West.

The recent modern revolt against pure materialism in the realms of thought by philosophers, thinkers and scientists, only vindicate the cosmic principles of Islam. To-day, more than ever, we are convinced that the solution for the vital conflicts that plague the industrialist and materialistic civilization is in the broad ideological basis of Islam.

Apart from the ideological consideration of giving a clear lead to the world based on the cosmic and universal principles of Islam and of helping humanity to evolve on its historical process to a higher stage of human existence by harmonising its relationship with the cosmic universe, without which the harmonising of the human relationship is absolutely impossible, as is manifestly obvious to-day, except to the unthinking, the Muslims, in the present power pattern, must hang together if they don’t want to be hanged separately, as is happening.

Individually, the Muslim countries may at best be just an appendage to, or a pawn in, the game of geo-political politics of either American capitalism or Soviet communism. Collectively, we can form the sixth continent of the world—the MOSLEM WORLD—and the middle world, keeping the balance of peace and human security between the two warring camps. Unity of the Muslim world is natural under any circumstances. Historical necessity for sheer physical survival has made it absolutely incumbent to-day.

In historical retrospective, I venture to remark that the problem of Palestine would probably not have arisen in the present form if there was unity among the Muslim countries.

I shall admit that my Arab student friends in this country have their brains full with their own problems. That is no reason for forgetting the fundamental principles of Islam and the unity of the Muslim people. That is no reason for making such statements as some of my Arab friends aggressively assert, “We are Arabs first.” That is no justification for wallowing in the mud and mire of ethnological oneness as distinct from the Islamic concept of oneness.

After two harrowing wars, with a third looming on the horizon, the whole honest intellectualism of the world is concentrated on the effort of proving that humanity is one. They are iconoclastically disparaging the supposed infallible institutions of colour, class, and geographical and racial nationhood, which are absolutely foreign and alien to the politico-cultural system of Islam, but rationalised by thinkers, philosophers and leaders in the triumphant days of aggressive materialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which continued almost till the last war.

May I point out that the oneness of humanity is not merely an intellectual conviction with us Muslims but is an article of faith. The word “Muslim” represents an ideological entity, an integral part of this one humanity.

Evidently these so-called infallible institutions of materialism—colour, class, geographical and racial nationhood—so to speak, the pillars of faith of the materialist civilization—couched in highly philosophical, rationalised and scientific jargon—are the result of inborn responses by invoking the most primitive mechanism in man. Fortunately, humanity is outgrowing its mental childhood.

It is an irony of fate that the Muslims, who had the supreme privilege of understanding the fundamental laws of cosmic life, should fall a prey to such reactionary and primitive thought.

My remarks above are confined entirely “to the majority of Arab students in this country.”

By no stretch of imagination it should be considered to include anybody else. I am fully conscious that the masses of the Muslim people in the Arab countries are the true, great and noble inheritors and followers of the message of the Prophet Muhammad. My only contention is that the majority of Arab students in this country do not represent the masses of the Muslim people of the Arab world.

I would appreciate it very much if the Islamic Review could make some concrete suggestions and the Muslim Society in Great Britain take some concrete steps to bring these erring and less informed friends from the lands which speak the language of the Holy Qur’an, in line with its teaching.

Yours fraternally,

A. T. MUSTAFA
(A Muslim student from Pakistan).

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 Predestination of good and evil; (7) Resurrection after death.

The life after death, according to Islamic teaching, is not a new life, but only a continuance 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 Predestination. 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-ship 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 men superior to angels.

SANCTITY 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.
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