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

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Between Ourselves

The Cover

The illustration on the cover is that of the "Dome of the Rock" at Jerusalem, built during the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan, in 691 C.E. This building is one of the two oldest and most beautiful specimens of early Muslim architecture, the other being the Grand Mosque of Damascus, Syria. "The Dome of the Rock" is held sacred by Muslims because of its associations with the "Night Journey" of the Prophet Muhammad.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
MARCH 1950

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ISLAM HAS STILL MANY DETRACTORS

An English Bishop lumps Islam and Communism together.

In the 19th century, we would have thought we had travelled a long way away from the days of dogmatic quarrelling that marked the early days of relationship between Muslims and Christians, and that, more than ever before, we were in a better position to appreciate the points that united us with each other rather than those that divided us. It will be conceded that a disdainful ignorance of the ideals of each other is surely not in conformity with the spirit of the times, more especially so when Islamic countries are coming into their own. But it seems such hopes as yet are pious and far too premature, and that we, as yet, have to struggle hard to destroy prejudices, a godly part of which is our legacy from the days of the Crusades. It is only in this context that the recent outburst of a prominent Church of England dignitary, the Right Reverend Dr. Christopher Chavasse, the Bishop of Rochester, England, can be read and understood. The Reverend gentleman, in warning that the sickle of Communism is poised to strike at Western Christian civilization, and that his blood-stained blade stretches from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea, says in his Diocesan Notes for January, 1950: 

"It is high time that the Christian Church went into action.

"To-day the menace to Christianity is far more menacing.

"Both Islam and Communism are religions, and the truth at the heart of their corrupting materialism inspires their followers with fanatical devotion. Both are ruthless and cruel in advancing their cause, and are also horribly intolerant of any other way of life. Both are destructive of family life. And both, if Christianity and human rights are to be preserved, have to be opposed even to the point of a life and death war."

(The Evening Standard, London, for January 12th, 1950.)

These words are too clear to need any comment. Apart from their being full of wrong conclusions, and also even if they were true in every respect, they are surely inopportune. To believe that a prominent Church dignitary does not know the differential between Islam and Communism would be being discourteous, and deluding ourselves if we took a charitable view of this outburst. We can hardly be blamed if the conclusion is forced upon us that the observations of Dr. Chavasse are inspired by motives nothing short of mischievous.

The fact that both Islam and Christianity are religions based upon Divine Revelation — a phenomenon rejected by Dialectical Materialism — should be known to even a superficial student of comparative religion. Besides, Islam, like Christianity, discards Dialectical Materialism because according to it there is no reality but matter. Islam, like Christianity, makes the belief in Creative Mind, in the Providence of God, the basis of its thought, whereas Dialectical Materialism looks upon man as nothing more than an economic being and not a spiritual entity.

History is repeating itself.

To be able to judge the nature of this vehemence condemnation of Islam in its true perspective we will have to go back to the beginning of the seventh century, during which period the Muslims conquered Jerusalem and a considerable part of the Byzantine Empire. The Christian nations of those days had not taken into account the simple but sublime teachings of Muhammad. Nor had they reckoned with the new and resurgent forces that were being generated by Islam among the Qur'an and released in Arabia. They had not taken thought for the sudden emergence of the Arabs as a power. To boost, they had not forgotten their theological wranglings which had torn the body politic of Christendom asunder. The sudden appearance of Islam made them realize the immensity of the danger to their position. To bring the people together there was only one recourse: to arouse the hatred of the people against Islam by painting it black. They knew the force of "give a dog an ill name and hang him." They fought to crush Islam with contempt and calumnies. They did not take the trouble to study its tenets and beliefs. They relied upon portraying Muhammad as a camel-chief, a rake, a sorcerer, a brigand chief, a false god to whom the Muslims yielded their sacrifices. They represented Muhammad as a golden idol and mosques as panteons filled with his images. The Song of Antioch describes, as if the author had seen it, a massive idol, Mahom, in gold and silver, enthroned on the mossy seat of an elephant. The Song of Roland, which shows Charlemagne's horsemen throwing down Muslim idols, tells us that the Muslims worshipped a Trinity composed of Termagent, Mahom and Apollo. The Roman de Mahomet asserts that Islam permitted polyandry.

The real motive behind all this was to bolster up a united resistance to the spread of Islam in those bygone days and to thwart its progress. It must be admitted that they succeeded in their effort considerably. An average European, even to-day, looks askance at Islam.

The reason behind this misrepresentation.

History is repeating itself. We had thought that with the progress of knowledge of each other, we had seen the last of wilful misrepresentation. We forget that men who believe honestly in their cause try to pep into the future. They see and sense the selfsame danger their forefathers saw in the seventh century. They see Islam as a religion finding its rightful place once again in the world. It is the same old story all over again. The organised priestly hierarchy sees in the rising tide of Islam as an ideology the destruction of its own vested power over the minds of the people. It sees that not only is the world of Islam after centuries of stupor coming into its own, there are also now better chances for people to know each other than ever before. For instance, who ever heard of Pakistan or an independent Indonesia a few years ago?

Communism is a bogey to the average Westerner. The easiest way to condemn Islam, therefore, is to lump together Islam and Communism, and you can be sure that many of the prejudices against Islam will have been given another lease of life. For they know it well that there is only one thing which Islam has in common with Communism — both are out to break the spell of mental charm which the priesthood casts over the minds of people. Islam like Communism emancipates the individual completely from this mental slavery to priesthood. There is no mediator between man and his Creator. Once an individual has tasted this peculiar freedom, nothing on earth can induce him to put on such shackles of the priestly authority. It is this fear that is responsible for the unwarranted condemnation of Islam at the hands of Dr. Chavasse.
By the Light of the Qur’án and the Hadith

By KHAN BAHADUR GHULAM RABBANI KHAN, B.A., LL.B.

Peace and Goodwill

Our value judgements must be submitted to the supreme will of God if we ever wish to have peace and goodwill.

To usher in a new era of world peace, the best brains of the nations sit in the U.N.O. only to differ on vital issues involving an ever-impending threat to peace. But the comrades in arms of the last war are divided into two diametrically opposite groups, and the U.N.O.'s efforts to reconcile ideological and political differences have not been crowned with success so far. The chances of success in this direction are far from bright because both the groups have a firm belief in the justness of their respective cause. We do not like to surrender our views and value-judgement to the decision of others. Our pride does not admit of it. But if we could inculcate the habit of submitting our judgment-values to the command of God—a fact to which the Qur’án draws our attention again and again—the obstacle, insurmountable though it seems, will just dwindle into insignificance. Obviously the deadlock can be broken only by referring the divergent viewpoints to arbitration. And who else can be the better judge and arbiter than Almighty God, and to Him alone humanity should turn for right guidance and light?

Here are some verses of the Holy Qur’án shedding light on this seldom understood guiding principle of our lives.

1. "Judgement is only of God's; on Him do I rely and on Him let those who are reliant rely" (12:67).
2. "Then if you quarrel about anything, refer it to God and the Prophet Muhammad, if you believe in God and the last day, this is the better (part) and very good in the end" (4:59).
3. "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)" (59:23).
4. 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" (3:25).

God-consciousness in individual, national and international affairs is a necessity for peace and goodwill.

The importance of the Qur’án as the source of comprehending the will of God.

God, the fountain-head of justice, revealed His laws to the Prophet Muhammad, which are codified in the Holy book called the Qur’án:

"It is naught but a reminder to all the nations" (68:52).
"Certainly We have revealed to you the book in which is your eminence!" (21:10).
"Consider the book that makes manifest... truly elevated and full of wisdom" (42:2-4).

The Holy Qur’án is a perfect code of life, governing the moral, spiritual, social, economic, civil and military, national and international affairs of humanity. The rules are not mere vague generalities, nor mere counsels of perfection, but practical and detailed, enforced by illustrations drawn from human experience. We read in the Qur’án:

"This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion" (5:3).

Islam signifies peace and goodwill.

God denominated His religion as "Islam" which word indicates the very essence of this religious system: "Surely the true religion with God is Islam" (3:18).
"The primary significance of the word "Islam" is the making of peace with God, implying complete submission to His will, and peace with man, meaning doing good to fellowmen. These are described as the true source of salvation.

"Yet, whoever submits himself entirely to God, and he is the doer of good (to others), he has his reward from his Lord, and there is no fear for him, nor shall he grieve" (2:112).

The word "peace" is the usual greeting of one Muslim to another (10:10) and greeting of those in paradise (56:26).

One of the names of God is the Author of Peace and Granter of Security, and the goal of the life of a Muslim is the "Abode of Peace" (10:25).

To be a Muslim one must live a life of perfect peace with others not causing any injury to any man, either with his tongue or with his hand (The Bukhari 2:3). Cauising injury to another with one's tongue is styled an act of unbelief (The Bukhari 2:21).

The emphasis of the Qur’án is on the realization and imbibing of the truth that mankind is one.

The universal brotherhood which knows no bounds of colour, race, country, language and class or rank, with perfect equality in not only civil and political rights of man, but also that of their spiritual rights, is not merely advocated by Islam but has been actually achieved by it. The Holy Qur’án says:

"All people are a single nation" (2:23).
"And people are not but a single nation" (10:19).
"And one of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your tongues and colours; most surely there are signs in this for the learned" (30:22).

"O men! surely we have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know one another; surely the most honourable of you with God is one among you most careful of (his duty); surely God is Knowing, Aware" (49:13).

Peace and Goodwill being born in the minds of men, the Qur’án lays their foundations on the belief in all the prophets of God which is obligatory on all Muslims.

Islam worships the Lord of the Universe, Who has given all, not only what they need for physical sustenance and perfection, but also what is needed for their spiritual advancement and hence it is that He raised Prophets and warners among all nations. A Muslim is one who believes in the prophets of all the nations.

"We believe in God and in that which is revealed to us and that which was given to the prophets from their Lord" (2:136).
"We do not make any distinction between any of His messengers" (2:285).

This recognition of the universal brotherhood of the prophets, is a fundamental of the religion of the Muslim. It is a principle which, in the main, has been responsible for the release of the feelings of goodwill and peace in Muslims towards other religious systems of the world. No student of the problems of mankind can overestimate the determining importance of the change of heart which follows as a result of this acceptance of the universal brotherhood of the prophets of God.
FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ORDER

By MUHAMMAD 'ALI, M.A., LL.B.

". . . If ever the opposition of the greatest societies of the East and West is to be replaced by co-operation, the mediation of Islam is an indispensable condition." (Professor H. A. R. Gibb in his Where is Islam? (London, 1932)

The Prospect is Grim.

Humanity is to-day face to face with the biggest catastrophe and the severest crisis that it has ever seen. The devastations of the First World War were yet fresh in the minds of the present generation when, within the short space of twenty years, we found a veritable hell raging on this earth from one end to the other in the form of the Second World War. And while there was yet not the slightest indication of the subsiding of that conflagration, there were already whispers of a Third World War; and who knows if a fourth or a fifth visitation, each more horrible than the one that precedes it, is yet in store for this world?

Are these the travails through which humanity is going to give birth to a better world order? Such is the hope of every one who has faith in the wisdom of God; even a man who does not believe in God can see in these horrible calamities the harbinger of a mighty revolution. And as a matter of fact, all this is happening according to a set Divine plan calculated to take humanity by gradual steps to its desired goal of perfection.

Material advancement has divided mankind more than ever.

The cry for a New World Order is universal, especially in the Western world which was hitherto under the impression that by its unprecedented material advancement and unhallowed conquests of nature it had reached the acme of perfection. That impression has received a rude shock by the happenings of the past thirty years. Material advancement, which was believed to be the source of increased happiness for the human race, has brought instead untold misery and worse destruction. The world is almost in a chaotic condition, every weak nation being the victim of the tyranny of its more powerful and more advanced neighbour. The sense of right and wrong in international relations has entirely disappeared before the passion for national aggrandizement, and this mentality rules the world from end to end. Might is as much right to-day as it was in the savage state. Instead of finding itself at the height of perfection by its great material strides, the world finds itself at the lowest depth of degradation, at the very place from which it started thousands of years ago, at the Kill and Destroy stage.

Selfishness, disregard of others' rights, indifference to moral responsibilities, tyrannizing over the weak, are as rampant — perhaps more — at the height of civilization as they were in the savage state; they have only donned a different garment. Selfishness is dressed so long as it is a disease affecting one or more individuals, but when it becomes a plague and affects a whole nation, it is lauded as a great national achievement. Individuals may be secure within certain territorial limits, but whole countries are insecure and may at any time be run over by a nation which has developed a more powerful war machinery. Tyranny may not be allowed within the limits of a state, but there is nothing to check the tyranny of nation against nation. A certain social system may have been successful in curbing the greed of individuals, but there is nothing to curb the greed of a nation except the greater greed of a more powerful nation. Evil is taken for a virtue if it wears the cloak of nationalism. Humanity has been divided into races and nations which hate one another, and in their march for advancement and their passion for more and more of material comforts and worldly pelf and power seek to destroy one another, not being bound by any moral code. The material civilization of the West which has made the acquisition of wealth the highest purpose of life is wholly responsible for the anarchical state of things which prevails there.

It is evident that materialism which fans the fire of human greed will bring in its trail only ruin and misery, just as it has brought in the two world wars, if there is no force to unite the human race. Such a force could only be a spiritual force. In the materially advanced Western world, the seismic centre of the convulsions which are shaking the entire world, such a moral force does not exist. Christianity, which supplied such a force for centuries, retreated before the advancing forces of materialism; ultimately it has been utterly routed. Its hold on Russia is now too weak to withstand the advancing tide of atheism; in Germany, too, Nazism did not owe allegiance to Christianity. In most other European countries where it lives still, it lives in name only, not as a vital force. Religion is recognized only as a man's private concern, and people feel ashamed of speaking of it in society. The name of God is on the lips, and the politicians, instead of serving Him, requisition His services in some great national calamity or for victory in a war. God is more needed to further material gains and to serve political ends than to bring contentment of mind; as the slave of materialism, not as a spiritual force to check the evil tendencies of materialism which are proving so ruinous for the world. Europe has practically banished God from the soil of its mind, and God has banished peace and order from the soil of Europe.

Can Christianity save Europe?

It will be said that Christianity is still bent on converting the world to Christianity; it sends our missions and spends enormous sums of money to convert Asia and Africa and other parts of the world. Does it not show that Europe believes in the spiritual force of Christianity? It does not. If Europe had any faith in the spiritual value of Christianity, it should have tried to save: Russia first. Europe only believes in the materialistic value of Christianity, and therefore the message of Christianity is deemed fit only for the materially backward people of the East, for the untouchables of India, for the savage tribes of Africa or for the backward Chinese masses. It is thus materialism that goes about the East wearing the cloak of Christianity. There is no sense in preaching to the East a religion which has proved spiritually an entire failure in the West itself. Christianity has not saved Europe which is now in the grip of materialism and burning like hell from one end to the other; it is absurd to suppose that it will turn Asia into a heaven. Failure is writ large on the forehead of Christianity; its retreating forces are trying their luck in the East with the message of economic uplift, unaccompanied by any spiritual benefit.

If Christianity has any spiritual force left in it after its defeat at the hands of materialism, why does it not make an attempt to convert atheistic Russia, whose poison of godlessness is affecting the whole world, instead of sending missions to the East where belief in God still exists in greater vitality than it does in Europe and America? Europe defends itself against
Russian communism, but that too is because it affects its material interests; because it is a menace to Europe's Capitalism which is the foundation-stone of European Imperialism. If Bolshevik emissaries were out only to preach godlessness and did not touch the Capitalism and Imperialism of Europe, it would not move its little finger against them.

Why Christianity is a Failure.

The failure of Christianity to keep the fire of faith burning in human hearts against the tide of materialism is due to two reasons. In the first place, the Christian religion— not the simple faith of Jesus Christ but as represented by the Church — was based on a dogma which was repugnant to human reason. So long as Europe was sunk low in ignorance, it remained satisfied with the authoritative Church declaration—Believe and do not question! With the advance of scientific knowledge in all branches of life, it was evident that the hold of a religion whose basic doctrines defined reason should loosen. Christianity's first clash was in fact with science. Every new discovery in the domain of science was looked upon by the Church as heresy, because its spirit was more in consonance with ignorance than learning. It was not because of Christianity, but in spite of Christianity, that scientific research gained ground in Europe.

The Church tried to suppress every scientific discovery with all the force at its command but suffered a defeat every time. Then came a stage at which, contrary to all previous traditions of Christianity, reason began to be applied to Church doctrines; all basic doctrines, the Divinity of Jesus, the Crucifixion, the atonement of sins, the Eucharist, when brought under the searchlight of reason, were found to be myths based on the myths of ancient idolatrous nations. Christianity was the only religion known to Europe, and Jesus Christ the only God, and if these failed to satisfy the advanced mind, religion and God were bound to go along with them.

The other reason for the failure of Christianity was that it was not that it was only a creed that concerned itself with salvation in the next life. It was not a system or an order dealing with this life; all the interest that it took was in ultra mundane questions. But with the advance of science there was a general progressive outlook of life, to which the very spirit of Christianity was opposed. The two great problems of this life, wealth and sex problems, as accepted by generations of Christianity, did not satisfy the advanced mind. Not only did Christianity not offer any solution of the new questions that arose in the march of civilization; it opposed all reform on these matters, and therefore men's minds were turned in disgust from it. The hold of religion on the minds of men thus loosening, materialism remained the sole master in the field.

A New World Order must be based on spiritual force otherwise failure is certain.

The cementing force of religion has thus for the time being disappeared from Europe, and the one-sided development of its civilization, the unchecked growth of materialism, has let loose the forces of selfishness, jealousy, hate and grabbing political power, which have brought ruin and destruction upon humanity. The first requisite of the New World Order, therefore, is that it must be based on spiritual force which religion alone can supply. If the foundations are not deep and reliable, the superstructure of the New Order would go to pieces. This is what happened before the First World War, which raged for over four years, visiting ruin and desolation on populous cities and towns, changing fertile lands into barren wastes, killing hundreds of thousands of the healthiest youth, maiming even greater numbers for their lives, destroying the happiness of millions of homes, and plunging vast sections of humanity into misery and affliction. The end of the war seemed to justify all these sacrifices. The aggressor was defeated, and the democracies won a complete victory. There were summoned together the best brains from the winning nations and a great international conference was convened so as to lay the foundations of a New World Order. The map of Europe was redrawn. New territorial bounds were demarcated. The vanquished aggressors were to cut up into pieces that never again should they regain the strength to raise their heads. The League of Nations was created to give this order a moral support. This was the New World Order No. 1.

Where is that Order to-day? It went to pieces within ten years of its creation, and another ten plunged the world into a conflagration more horrible than the first. All the travail that humanity had to go through ended in smoke. Why? Because the New Order had no moral foundations. The worthy people that assembled at the conference gave no thought to the real ills of humanity. They thought that vanquishment of one nation by another was a remedy for future aggression. It was not, and it shall never be. They did nothing to eliminate the mutual hatred of the warring factions. They did nothing to bring about a change of heart, either in the conquerors or in the conquered. They did not pay the least attention to the fact that in their peace proposals they were only giving impetus to the very human greed which had brought about the great disaster. They talked of everything excepting how to weld humanity into one nation, and how to lay a moral foundation for the superstructure of their New Order. The proposed moral support of the League of Nations was nothing but a farce; it was rightly called a League of Thieves by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, in his Payam-i-Masirhq (the Message of the East), because each one of them had but one desire in his heart of hearts, how to steal away material advantages for his own nation; and not one of them was inspired by the noble idea, how to weld the different nations into one humanity.

Now we have seen the Second World War and the vanquishment of the aggressors has been accomplished. All kinds of questions have been discussed, and the one question is: How are the different nations to be welded into one humanity? If this question is not tackled seriously, this new offering at the altar of the god of war in the shape of untold human woe and misery and the devastation of civilization would go in vain, and that World Order No. 2 will go the way of the World Order No. 1. But signs are not wanting that the World Order No. 2 will only pave the way for another and perhaps more terrific world cataclysm. No Conference of materialistic people, no League of greedy nations, can bring salvation to Europe. The solution of a thousand materialistic questions will not bring Peace unless the moral foundation for welding different nations into one humanity, and for a change of greedy mentality, is discovered first. The way the politicians are going is not the way of the Kingdom of God, and Peace will only come to humanity when the Kingdom of God is established on earth. The World Order No. 2, if based on the same materialistic foundations, will as surely lead to World War No. 3, as World Order No. 1 led to World War No. 2.

Religion alone can furnish moral foundation for the New World Order.

It is the greatest misfortune of humanity that religion, which alone can furnish the moral foundations on which a true World Order can be established, has been put under taboo, and the very panacea is deemed to be a poison. Haed of religion has become the fashion among the materialistically advanced people, without giving a thought to the incontrovertible fact that religion has been the supreme force in the development of mankind to its present condition. As a matter of fact, human civilization, as we have it to-day, is based on religion. Religion has made possible a state of civilization which has again and again saved human society from disruption. Trace back the history of human
civilization among all nations, and it will be seen that whenever it has begun to rotter, a new religious impulse has always been at hand to save it from utter destruction. It is not only that civilization, with any pretense to endurance, can rest only on a moral basis, and that true and lofty morals are inspired only by faith in God; even the unity and cohesion of jarring human elements, without which it is impossible for any human civilization to stand for a day, is best brought about by the unifying force of religion.

It is often said that religion is responsible for much of the hatred and bloodshed in the world, but a cursory glance at the history of religion will show this to be a monstrous misconception. Love, concord, sympathy, kindness to one's fellow-man, have been the message of every religion, and every nation has learned these essential lessons in their true purity only through the spirit of selflessness and service which faith in God has inspired. If there have been selflessness and hatred and bloodshed among religious people, they have been there in spite of religion, not as a consequence of the message of love which religion has brought. They have been there because human nature is too prone to these things; and their presence only shows that a still greater religious awakening is required, that a truer faith in God is yet a crying need of humanity. That men shall sometimes turn to low and unworthy things does not show that the nobler sentiments are worthless; it only shows that their development has become an all the more urgent need.

Islam is the greatest civilizing force the world has known.

If unification be the true basis of human civilization, by which phrase I mean the civilization, not of one nation or of one country but of humanity as a whole, then Islam is undoubtedly the greatest civilizing force the world has ever known or is likely to know. Thirteen hundred years ago, it was Islam that saved it from crashing into an abyss of savagery, that came to the help of a civilization whose very foundations had collapsed, and that set about laying new foundations and rearing an entirely new edifice of culture and ethics. A new idea of the unity of the human race as a whole, not of the unity of this or that nation, was introduced into the world; an idea so mighty that it welded together nations which had wrangled with and hated one another since the world began. It was not only in Arabia, among the ever-fighting tribes of a single peninsula,
that this great miracle, as an English writer calls it, was wrought, a miracle before the magnitude of which everything dwindles into insignificance:

"A more disunited people it would be hard to find till suddenly the miracle took place. A man arose who, by his personality and by his claim to direct Divine guidance, actually brought about the impossible — namely the union of all these warring factions." (The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia, p. 99.)

It not only cemented together the warring tribes of one country but it established a brotherhood of all the warring nations of the world, joining together even those which had nothing in common except their common humanity. It obliterated differences of colour, race, language, geographical boundaries and even differences of culture. It united man with man as such, and the hearts of those in the far east began to beat in unison with the hearts of those in the farthest west. Indeed it proved to be not only the greatest but the only force uniting humanity, because whereas other religions had succeeded merely in unifying the different elements of a single race or a single nation, Islam actually achieved the unification of different races and nations, and harmonized the jarring and discordant elements of humanity.

Islam not only made the different human races a single race and united different nations into a single human nation; upon this basis, the surest basis of civilization, it brought back to man his lost civilization. Thus writes Mr. J. H. Denison in his Emotion as the Basis of Civilization, New York and London, 1918:

"In the fifth and sixth centuries, the civilized world stood on the verge of chaos. The old emotional cultures that had made civilization possible, since they had given to men a sense of unity and of reverence for their rulers, had broken down, and nothing had been found adequate to take their place...

"It seemed that the great civilization which it had taken four thousand years to construct was on the verge of disintegration, and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism where every tribe and sect was against the next, and law and order were unknown... The old tribal sanctions had lost their power... The new sanctions created by Christianity were working division and destruction instead of unity and order... Civilization like a gigantic tree whose foliage had overreached the world... stood tottering... rooted to the core... Was there any emotional culture that could be brought in to gather mankind once more into unity and to save civilization?"

And then speaking of Arabia:

"It was among these people that the man was born who was to unite the whole known world of the east and south."

Wanted now — a force to unite different nations into one humanity.

Civilization is once more faced with disintegration and destruction owing to a condition similar to that prevailing in the sixth century. Nation has risen against nation and seeks to destroy it. Some force is needed — and that is the first need of humanity to-day — which should unite the different nations into one humanity. This force which should bring about a change of mentality so as to eliminate mutual jealousies and hatred can only be a moral force, and a moral force can be supplied only by religion. Islam supplied such a force in the seventh century beginning with Arabia. In those days Arabia presented a scene of internecine warfare exactly similar to that which Europe presents to-day. Tribes and clans that inhabited that desert land were in the grip of unending feuds. The smallest thing served as a match-stick to set ablaze the flames of war which lasted for years. All the tribes plunged themselves into the conflagration, some ranging themselves on one side, some on the other. There was wholesale bloodshed and destruction. After exhausting themselves they concluded peace. Hardly had the ink of the treaty dried up when old grudges which kept smouldering burst up and once more the country found itself in the flames of war. Thus went on things for long generations from sire to son and from son to grandson. The whole people were on the verge of being consumed to ashes by these flames of warfare, when lo, God in His mercy poured down from above the cooling waters which once for all extinguished the last embers of those age-long enmities and grudges, replacing them by mutual sympathy and affection.

Strange as it might appear, the brotherhood of which the basis was laid in Arabia in the seventh century was not limited to that peninsula. Within a century, vast territories beyond the boundaries of Arabia received the light of learning and civilization which was established in that little-known peninsula. The unification of humanity which was the foundation-stone of this new culture was unique, and the world had not seen the like of it before. No other reformer or religion had ever dreamed of such a brotherhood of man; a brotherhood which knew no bounds of colour, race, country, language, or even of rank; a unity of the human race beyond which conception cannot go. It not only recognizes the equality of the civil and political rights of men, but also that of their spiritual rights. "All men are a single nation" (The Qur'ān 2: 213), is its fundamental doctrine, and for that reason every nation is recognised as having received the spiritual gift of revelation, which up to this time had only been conceived as a gift to this or that favoured nation. "There is no nation but a warner has gone in it" (35 : 24).

The conception of humanity as one nation is Islam's unique contribution to civilization.

The conception of humanity as one nation, notwithstanding the diversity of races and colours and languages, and outstepping all geographical boundaries, is Islam's unique contribution to human civilization. It is the only panacea for the poison of national jealousies and hatred which has brought humanity, along with its civilization, to the verge of destruction. Christianity is, like Islam, an international religion in the sense that it embraces various nations in its fold, but in the real sense of the word, in bringing all nations to one level and in bringing about harmony among these nations, Islam is the only international religion. In this respect Christianity has been a signal failure. Christians of a white colour to this day hate Christians of a black colour though living in the same country, as in the case of America, the most advanced Christian country and the home of democracy, where, in spite of the pious wishes of Mr. Roosevelt, the Afro-American and the white man cannot gather together under one roof. Christians of the West still consider themselves superior to Christians of the East, who cannot worship God in the same church with them. Christian converts from among the low castes in India are still untouchables in the eye of converts to Christianity from among the high caste Hindus. Christianity has hopelessly failed in bringing about unification of humanity. Islam, on the other hand, has given birth to a World Order of universal brotherhood in which the Western and the Eastern, the white man and the black woman, the Aryan and the Semitic, the Indian and the black African, stand on the same level. The moment a black African or an untouchable enters the fold of Islam, he assumes a position of equality in all respects with the white or high caste convert to Islam, with every member of the Muslim brotherhood in fact. He cannot only worship in the same mosque but can stand shoulder to shoulder with the noblest
of his brethren, and can dine sitting on the same table with him. Islam's levelling and harmonizing influence is not known to any other religion or society or order in the world.

Real world-democracy, which signifies an equality of status for all human beings as such, can be attained only through Islam. It possesses such a mighty spiritual influence that as soon as a man joins this Order, he feels himself raised to a high level where all distinctions of race, colour, caste and rank disappear as if by a magic wand. That Islam possesses this spiritual power even to-day, notwithstanding the loss of its temporal power, is admitted by both friend and foe. Here is the concluding para of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb's Wibiter Islam, London, 1932:

"But Islam has yet a further service to render to the cause of humanity... No other society has such a record of success, in uniting in an equality of status, of opportunity, and of endeavour, so many and so various races of mankind. The great Muslim communities of Africa, India and Indonesia, perhaps also the small Muslim communities in China and the still smaller community in Japan show that Islam has still the power to reconcile apparently irreconcilable elements of race and tradition. If ever the opposition of the great societies of the East and West is to be replaced by co-operation, the mediation of Islam is an indispensable condition" (p. 379).

Why does Islam succeed in establishing a World Brotherhood?

What is the secret of Islam's success in establishing a world brotherhood and in bringing about a unification of different nations? In the first place, the basic teaching of Islam is that the whole human race is a single family, with God as its Creator, and its division into different branches and tribes is only meant to make people know each other better. "O Men! We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; the most honourable of you with God is the one among you who is most careful of his duty" (The Qur'an 49:13). And just as in individuals, so among nations. The superior nation is not that which reduces others to slavery and tramples their rights under its feet; morally such a nation is on the lower plane of a savage nation. The superior nation — the one honourable with God — is that which honours the rights of others. A Muslim's conception of humanity, therefore, is that it is but one family, whatever differences there may be in colours and languages and cultures, with God as the Lord, or in Christian terminology, the Father of all. Members of one family may quarrel with one another now and then, but they cannot hate one another for ever. In fact, this broad conception of humanity is the only safeguard against national, racial or colour prejudices, and only on this basis can peace be established on this earth.

The Muslim institution of prayer brings home the lesson of the oneness of humanity.

Secondly, the basic idea of the equality and fraternity of all men is worked into practice in a Muslim's life by the institution of prayer. All Muslims gather together daily in mosques to offer prayers, where they all stand before their Maker shoulder to shoulder, the king along with his poorest subject, the rich arrayed in gorgeous robes with the beggar clad in rags, the white man with the black. Differences of rank, wealth and colour vanish inside the mosque, and quite a new atmosphere, an atmosphere of brotherhood, equality and love, totally differing from the outside world, prevails within the holy precincts. To be able to breathe five times daily, in an atmosphere of perfect peace in a world of strife and struggle, of equality where inequality is the order of the day, and of love amid the petty jealousies and enmities of daily life, is a great blessing. Man has to work in his daily life amidst inequalities, amidst strife and struggle, amidst scenes of hatred and enmity; he is drawn out of these five times a day, and made to realize that equality, fraternity and love are the real sources of human happiness. Even if we do not take into account the great advantage which a man gains by feeling himself in the Divine presence in the mosque, the time spent on prayer is not wasted from the point of view of active humanitarianism; on the contrary, the best use of it is made in learning those great lessons which make life worth living. And these lessons of fraternity, equality and love, when put into practice in daily life, serve as foundations for the unification of the human race and of the lasting civilization of mankind. In
fact, the five daily congregational prayers are meant, among other things, to carry into practice the theoretical lessons of equality and fraternity for which Islam stands; and however much Islam may have preached in words the equality of man and the fraternity of the community of Islam, all this would have remained a dead letter, had it not been translated into the everyday life of man through the institution of the daily congregational prayers.

The Institution of Prayer in Islam instils the conviction that God is a living force in the life of man.

At the same time prayer serves another great end. The object of religion is not merely to preach the doctrine of the existence of God as a theory; it goes far beyond that. Religion seeks to instil the conviction that God is a living force in the life of man; and prayer is the means by which it is sought to achieve this great end. The real conviction that God is, comes to man, not by the belief that there is a God in the outer world, but by the realization of the divine within himself, and this realization is attained through prayer. The universal experience of humanity bears out the truth of this. In every age and among every nation there have been men who, through prayer, have realized the great truth of Divine existence within their hearts, and have laid down their lives for the good of humanity. In their case, belief in the existence of God was a moral force which not only worked an entire change in their own lives, but also enabled them to transform the entire lives of nations for centuries and change the histories of peoples and countries. Their selflessness and truthfulness were beyond reproach; and their testimony, which is the testimony of all nations in all ages, establishes the one fact, that belief in the existence of God becomes a moral force of the first magnitude when once it is realized in the heart of man through prayer to the Divine Being; so great a moral force it is, indeed, that even the most powerful material forces give way before it. Is not the experience of these great personalities a beacon-light for others, showing them that they also can make God a moral force in their lives? The powers and faculties that are given to one man are also given to another, and through their proper use one man can do what another before him has done.

Material comforts not the foundation of civilization.

In fact, civilization does not rest on the material comforts which man has gained through conquest of nature; its real foundations are the noble sentiments which faith in God inspires. A cursory glance at the history of human civilization will show that faith in God has been the supreme force in the development of mankind to its present condition. That all that is noble and good in man is not due to man's conquest of nature but to his conquest of self, inspired by faith in God, is a truth which no one can deny. It is men like Abraham, Moses, Christ, Buddha, Krishna, Zarathustra, Confucious and Muhammad who have changed the history of the human race, and raised it from the depths of degradation to moral heights. It is through teaching and example of this or that prophet that man has been able to conquer his lower nature, and to set before himself the noble ideals of selflessness and service of humanity. Study the noble sentiments that inspire man to-day and you will find their origin in the teachings and example of some great sage who had a deep faith in God, and through whom was sown the seed of faith in other human hearts. The moral and ethical development of man to his present state, which alone in a real sense can be called the civilization of man — the material gains are only a secondary thing — is due to faith. To all appearance, the reign of materialism must needs entail the rule of selfishness; a cut and dried scheme for the equal division of wealth will never inspire the noble sentiments which are to-day the pride of man. Godlessness will make the masses sink back, gradually, of course, into the state of barbarism.

The two foundation pillars of a stable human civilization.

In fact, a stable human civilization can stand only on two pillars, faith in God and unity of man. The materialism which is to-day prevailing in Europe has pulled down both these pillars; and unless they are restored again, Europe, with all its material comforts, can never have access to true happiness of heart or to peace among the nations. And just as Islam is the only order known to this world that has been successful in establishing a world-brotherhood and in welding the different nations into one nation, it is the only religion which has succeeded in keeping the spirit of man in contact with the Divine spirit, withstanding the forces of materialism. It is a fact that Muslims as a nation have a more vital faith in God than the followers of any other religion. It is this faith in God that accounts for the early Muslim conquests which are unparalleled in the history of the world. So great were the material resources were concerns, Persia and Rome had no abundance of them while the Arabs were poor in this respect; the war machinery of the former was far more powerful; in numbers too the Arabs could not bear any comparison with the fighting forces of these two empires. Yet when these mighty empires came into clash with Muslim Arabia — and they were the aggressors — they were swept away like a straw before the mighty spiritual force of Islam, the Muslim's faith in God and in the justness of his cause. It was this same faith in God that enabled Muslims to hold their heads high in the face of the onslaughts of Christian Europe during the crusades. It is this same faith in God again that enables Muslims to-day to carry on a contest with Christianity for the mastery of the world, in spite of the fact that all material forces in this contest, wealth, power and organization, are on the side of Christianity. The Islamic institution of prayer which keeps the spirit of the Muslim in touch with the Divine spirit is without doubt the basis on which this strong faith in God rests, and the value of prayer in the formation of this noble trait in the Muslim national character is incalculable. As every Muslim feels himself in the August Divine presence five times a day, faith in God sways his mentality even in his outlook on the material world, and this becomes a living force in his life.

Islam can give to Europe two great moral forces to restore peace to it.

Islam can thus supply to Europe the two great moral forces — a living faith in God and an order based on the oneness of humanity — which can restore peace to it. Unless European society is willing to receive these two heavenly gifts from Islam, its disasters will not end. Let Europe diagnose its disease with a cool mind and apply the remedy with a brave heart. Let it not repeat the mistake of earlier days and look upon its real friend as its foe. Europe sought to destroy Islam with the sword in the crusades but it failed. The opposition after this has taken a subtler turn. Not only did the European soldier go back to his home filled with the false conviction that Islam was Europe's enemy, and a frightful one, because he met him only on the battle-field, and that conviction was left as an inheritance from sire to son; Europe's leaders in political and religious thought — past masters in the art of propaganda — availed themselves of this hatred by drawing a picture of Islam which was the very opposite of reality. Islam was, in the true sense of the word, a message of peace for the whole world, the most tolerant religion which had ever been preached, but it was misrepresented as the most tyrannical and intolerant faith. Islam not only recognized in the clearest words the Divine origin of all the great religious systems
of the world, laying it down that there was not a single nation on the face of this earth to which a warner or a guide had not been sent to draw it closer to God;¹ it went further and required every one who entered the fold of Islam to believe in the prophets of all other nations, just as he believed in the prophet of Islam.² But the political and religious leaders of Europe actually drew a picture of the Prophet Muhammad as going about with the sword in one hand and the Qur’an in the other. And notwithstanding the clear light that has been thrown on these topics recently, European writers still represent Islam to be the religion of the sword.³

¹ "There is not a people but a warner has gone among them" (35 : 24).
² "And every nation had an apostle" (10 : 47).
³ "And every people had a guide" (15 : 3).
⁴ "And who believe in that which has been revealed to thee and that which was revealed before thee. There is no change in the evidences of Allah in the matter of the procreation of the world.⁵"

ISLAM AND COMMUNISM
A Study in Comparative Thought
By DR. M. HAMIDULLAH

What form of Government is truly Islamic?

Although Islam and Communism are not the same thing, it is possible that they do not differ in each and every thing. The object of this short study is to find out how far Islam may tolerate the teachings of Communism.

From the provisions of the Qur’an and the Hadith, Muslim jurists have deduced that the commands of the shari’a (or Muslim law in a broad sense) can be divided into five categories of obligatory, praised, disliked, prohibited and permissible-otherwise. The law takes note of the first four, and leaves the last one to the discretion of individuals according to their timely needs and likings, and naturally does not enumerate this kind of thing, which may be limitless. This latitude has sometimes bewildered the casual investigator who has reproached some people as against others, contemporary or past.

Take an example. What form of government is truly Islamic? Republican, monarchic, elective, hereditary, universal, regional, unitary, composite, etc., etc. None and practically every one. I mean to say, Islam simply enjoins upon the Government the duty of protecting the State and its inhabitants and administering imparcial justice, no matter what form of Government the Muslims of a time or country choose. Abu Bakr was elected, Umar was nominated by his predecessor and subsequently elected, Uthman’s selection was made by a Council of Electors nominated by his predecessors, and Imam Hasan, according to Tabari and other historians, was the first hereditary Caliph nominated by his father. Orthodox Caliphs of Islam were responsive to the people yet responsible to God alone in theory.

How far Islam accommodates various modern forms of Government.

The question, how far Islam accommodates Communism, however, cannot be so easily disposed of. There is Communism, there is Leninism, there is Stalinism, there is Titoism, there is Maoism of Mao Tse Tung in our times, not to speak of Mazzalikism and Abu Dharrism, etc., of the days of yore. The very name of Abu Dharr, a very pious companion of the Prophet, in this connection would suffice to indicate what a tremendous difference there is between the different movements which all are grouped here by me under the generic name of Communism. For the purpose of this study we content ourselves not with Utopian dreams but with the actualities of real existence in the U.S.S.R. and its followers.

The study is complex. There is the religious aspect in its most restricted sense of relation between man and his Creator.

There is the political aspect of subordination to a centre.

There is the actional aspect of the methods to be employed for achieving the goal.

And, finally, there is the economic aspect of planning the material life and controlling the acquisition, distribution and circulation of wealth.

Communist State and its attitude towards Religion.

Here it is irrelevant whether advanced and enlightened Communist States are in normal times religiously tolerant or not; the question is what is the attitude of a Communist State towards religion?

According to Section 124 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., "freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens."

I do not know the official interpretation, yet it means to me that preaching and propagation is allowed to the anti-religious only. Mere freedom of religious worship without means of religious instructions and apologetical or polemical propaganda for the followers of religious, particularly Islam, does not imply much.

Apart from this, in his classical exposè, The Dialectic Materialism and the Historical Materialism (1938), Marshal Stalin speaks thus on the subject:

"The philosophical materialism of Marx starts from this principle that the world by its nature is material, that the multiple phenomena of the universe are the different aspects of matter in motion; that the mutual relations and conditions of the phenomena established by the dialectic method constitute the necessary laws of the development of matter in motion; that the world develops according to the laws of the movement of matter and has no need of any universal spirit."


"As regards the materialistic conception of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, according to whom "the world is one, has not been created by any god or by any man: has been, is, and shall be an eternal living flame, which burns and dies according to determined laws," Lenin wrote: "Excellent exposè of the philosophers of dialectic materialism" (Lenin, Philosophical Tracts, Russian edition, p. 318)."

In short, a true Communist cannot believe in God or His Messengers and His commands, and the Hereafter. A Communist may lead a beneficent life like a fruit tree; he may lead a harmless and detached life as that of a rock in a desert; he may even lead a destructive and rapacious life like that of a wolf. Yet all this would be according to his whims and fancies, plus the liberties he gets in the company of equal partners in a
collective life. To him, in the words of Franklin, man is but "a tool-making animal," a definition extolled by Karl Marx himself in his *The Capital*.

In the nature of my article, I need not dilate on the arguments on either side. Suffice it to say, that Islam cannot and does not accommodate such a state of things. The profession of Islam begins and ends with the belief in One God and His Messengers, in the finality of this world and the Resurrection of the dead for Divine Judgement.

**Political Aspect of Communism.**

Let us take the next question, the political aspect of Communism. Communism has proceeded a long along on the basis of a single World State, a federative form at best. The series of articles on the "Greatest Trial of Communism," published some months ago in the Paris daily *Le Monde*, show that the independent and national Communism of Marshal Tito in his partial resistance to the exactions of the Kremlin are considered as a heresy, a dissension and unwarranted. No doubt, with a single state for our globe, and the subjugation of all the countries to one centre need not necessarily mean the hegemony of Russia for all time. This World State will, I think, be a democratic State; and, with all its inherent defects, democracy must mean the rule of the majority. In our present world, no single ethnic, linguistic or colour unit of man has an absolute majority. Therefore a proportionate representation in the central Parliament and executive will have to be conceded and agreed to.

Taking this question alone, without any reference to dogmas or economic set-up, I think Islam can accommodate this arrangement, which simply means a World State, a single central Government for the whole of the human race. Islam itself may be considered as the protagonist of this idea of the fraternity of man, discarding ethnic, colour and linguistic superiority complexes which are differences without distinctions, and realizing the equality of man to an extent that it has even become a characteristic of Islam. There is one Ka'ba to which Muslims all over the world turn at least five times daily, to which they go in pilgrimage every year from every corner of the earth. There has been the notion of *Khalifa* (Caliphate), which cannot as yet be considered as finally discarded at the death of the 100th Caliph, 'Abdul Majid II, whose successor has not yet been elected. Thus Islam may be considered as co-extensive with Communism in this respect — and deliberately I do not use the word "rival" — and certainly not the opponent and antagonist. Islam has never accepted willingly the division of humanity into separate communities breeding jealousies and complexes of superiority and inferiority. Equality of man and priority of the pious — such has been the motto the Qur'an has fixed for humanity, and inculcated in its disciples.

Muslim States are members, and willing members, of the United Nations Organization, and even of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Muslims are the devotees of the idea of the unity of the world and of the human race.

**The Separation of Church and State not an un-Islamic idea.**

As I said above, to the form and outward appearance of the State, Islam does not attach much importance, provided the ruling person is just. There can be joint rule or "multarchy," several persons ruling conjointly, a form supported both in theory and practice recorded in the Qur'an, the Hadith, the *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and history. (I have written a special study on the subject.) There can be monarchy, to which I shall presently revert, and there can be anarchy in the best sense, that is that there should be no ruler whatsoever, all men living peacefully in co-operation and mutual dependence with fellow men without needing a recourse to some one habitually to decide their differences. No doubt this is a pure fiction and hypothetical contingency which has not yet come in this world of ours. As to monarchy or rule by one man, there are different forms: hereditary succession, elected heads of the state for life or for shorter terms: parliamentary form or any other method of consultation with persons considered best qualified to advise. Each and all of these methods can be tolerated by Islam. The Qur'an itself knows no other form except kingship, regarding the ancient world. The very fact that according to the Sunnis the Prophet of Islam did not nominate or otherwise indicate how to choose his successor, shows that he deliberately left the matter to the discretion of the people to decide from time to time according to the exigencies of their needs.

The story of Talut and Saul in the Qur'an (2:246-7) leaves not the slightest doubt that Church and State can be separated and entrusted to different independent persons. A separate king in the presence of a Prophet, that is what had happened then. If need be, that is, if the centralized administration of both these domains is considered harmful by the community, that may even now be capitated by the Muslims. For it is the precedent of a divinely inspired prophet, and Muslims have been told by the Qur'an (6:90) to follow the guidance of these old prophets (*Pa-bi-budabam isqadub*). Again the most orthodox practice, that of the first Caliphs of the time of the companions of the Prophet, shows...
that governmental affairs were divided into three distinct categories: material, religious and spiritual. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be with him!) combined all the three. Orthodox Caliphs were contented with the first two and conceded multiplicity of rulers in the spiritual domain. And in fact there were simultaneously several “spiritual rulers”, ‘Ali and Abu Bakr being the most conspicuous. The Chishtiyah, the Qadriyah, the Suhrawardiyyah, etc., of the Sufi fraternities acknowledged ‘Ali as the direct successor of the Prophet, while Naqshbandiyah-Mujaddidiyyah, for instance, get their authority through Abu Bakr, and unlike the political Caliphate, divided loyalties, or guidance by several gurus, has always been allowed in the sphere of Muslim life. Most curious as it may look, the Naqshbandiyah “spiritual dynasty” of the Sunnis has the following names: the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Salman al-Farsiy, Qasim, the grandson of Abu Bakr, Jafar as-Sadiq, which last person comes also in the Shi‘ah “spiritual dynasties”.

Political doctrine of Communism offers no difficulty for Islam.

Apart from the more common “duplicity” in the functions of the ruler the Muslims have also tried under the Buhids (Shi‘ahs) and Saljuqids (Sunnis) even the tripplicity of the power: a religious, a military, a political, or, inumerable spiritual Piri (Leaders). I am only enumerating instances without the least wish to single out this or that form as the best. For it all depends on the umma (community of the faithful) to decide from time to time how to be governed.

Lastly, I may refer to a possibility, still a Utopia even in the Communist States, where all personal property is abolished, and everybody gets from the State everything he needs and nobody owns anything. I say Utopia, for even the U.S.S.R. constitution expressly guarantees the right of individuals to personal property and its being inherited by the relatives of the deceased. It will not contravene the Qur‘anic laws of inheritance. For the Qur‘an expressly says:

Men inherit from whatever their parents and relatives leave, women inheriting from whatever their parents and relatives leave, be it in more or less quantity, an inheritance in prescribed proportions” (4:7).

It is to remark that a big “if” remains: if the near relatives leave anything it will be inherited, if not not, and naturally without contravention of the law of the Qur‘an. If somebody does not steal, there is no contravention of the Qur‘anic law of amputation of the hand of the thief. So here. Even in the orthodox Islamic society the law of the mawda al-mawdad had permitted a sort of joint property and community living.

There remains the question of subordination to Moscow. This does not arise except when the latest Stalinistic Communism is taken as a whole with all its concomitants, religious, political, and economic. As I am examining different aspects of Com- munism individually, and in a theoretical manner, I should say that with the idea of a World State there ought to be a political centre. As a centre of purely political field of the proposed World State, Moscow or New York are as good as Mecca or Medina. Was not Medina preferred by the Prophet himself to be his political metropolis instead of the Meccan religious centre? Was not Kufa preferred to Medina by the Caliph ‘Ali, Damascus by the Omeyyads, Baghdad by the Abbasids, Istanbul by the Osmani Caliphs?

In short, in the political doctrine of Communism, there is essentially no difficulty for Islam.

Islamic emphasis more on the moral aspect than on the economic one.

The bluntest and, therefore, the most honest exposition of the point as to the methods to be followed has been made by Stalin himself. In the same authoritative booklet referred to above,

Dialectic Materialism (p. 11), he says:

“If it is true that the passage from slow quantitative changes to bruskoe and rapid qualitative changes is a law of development, it is clear that revolutions accomplished by the oppressed classes constitute a phenomenon absolutely natural and inevitable.

“Therefore the passage from Capitalism to Socialism and the deliverance of the working classes from the capitalist yoke can be realized not by slow changes, not by reforms, but solely by a qualitative change of the capitalist régime by means of revolution.

“Therefore in order not to be duped in politics it is necessary to be a revolutionary and not a reformist.”

Again, in the words of Karl Marx:

“Violence is the midwife of the very old society when she is pregnant with a new society” (The Capital, 1, 603).

Or again:

“The proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie is naturally a class struggle . . . which is erected by a revolution in the dominant class, and as a dominant class it destroys violently the old order of production” (Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Engels, p. 33).

This is the accepted Communist method, which may not necessarily be bloody, though it cannot be denied that in cases it is unjust. For the Islamic method, the life and teaching of the Prophet must be our best and ultimate guide. It appears that the Prophet of Islam differentiated between the essentials and non-essentials, between those vices which could not be tolerated for a single moment and those that could better be eradicated gradually. Islamic emphasis is more on the moral aspect than on the economic one. The case of the conversion of the people of Taif in the time of the Prophet is most instructive and enlightening in this respect. A delegation of theirs waited on the Prophet in Medina and offered the political as well as religious surrender of their City-State, provided they were:

(a) exempted from daily religious services (salat);
(b) allowed to practice adultery and fornication (zina);
(c) allowed to practice usury;
(d) exempted from destroying their national idol and its temple;
(e) exempted from conscription (jihad);
(f) given the privilege that their city, Taif, should also be a sacred territory (haram); and
(g) exempted from paying central government taxes (zakat).

The Prophet replied:

(a) there is no good in a religion without fulfilling duty to our Lord, the one God;
(b) fornication and adultery are evils and immoral, and cannot be tolerated;
(c) usury laws may apply to you from next year, nor necessarily immediately;
(d) you need not destroy the idol yourself; we shall send men from here who will do the job, however dangerous that may be according to your superstitions;
(e) you are exempted from conscription;
(f) your city is declared sacred, in whose territory hunting animals and hewing down trees is forbidden under pain of punishment; and,
(g) you are exempted from taxes,
The deputation returned satisfied. When they withdrew, the Prophet assured the bewildered audience of his companions that Jizah and Zakah obligations had not in the least been abrogated; that he had simply waived the right of the State in favour of these people in order to persuade them to embrace Islam, and with the penetration of Islam into them they would renounce themselves these concessions: they would render military service and they would pay taxes to the central Government. And he was not at all deceived, for only two years later the Caliph Abu Bakr could conscribe without difficulty a contingent in their town to fight the renegades, and they paid taxes as any other Muslims.

In short, disbelief in God is to change at a stroke; other evils, particularly economic evils, could be changed and reformed in stages and in an evolutionary manner. Revolution is not always necessary.

Economic Set-up up of the Country.

In a penetrating observation, Karl Marx had found that "theory becomes a material force as soon as it permeates the masses" (Criticism of the Philosophy of Right of Engels, I, 96).

Economic orders in human society cede place one to another for diverse reasons. If the process of this evolution was characterized in Europe by what are termed primitive communes, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism, the same is not necessarily true of other parts of the world, particularly of Arabia, although there too evolution has certainly taken place. When "one good custom corrupts the world," it is the human element, that is the quality and the quantity of the tyranny, which determines the life and duration of the existing order. Other factors, such as geographic, demographic, etc., do not seem to play the leading part.

In the words of Stalin:

"If it is the state of productive forces which indicates the instruments of production by which men produce the material goods which are necessary for them, it is the state of the relations of production which shows the persons in whose hand the means of production (land, forests, waters, sub-soil, primary materials, instruments of production, buildings of exploitation, means of transport and communications, etc.) are found, whether they are at the disposal of the whole society or at the disposal of individuals, groups or classes" (Dialectic Materialism, p. 22).

Marx and Engels enjoin:

"The proletariat will utilize political supremacy to snatch little by little all the capital from the bourgeoisie in order to centralize all the instruments of production into the hands of the State . . . of the proletariat organized in a dominant class, and to augment as quickly as possible the quantity of the productive forces" (Communist Manifesto, P. 32).

It is thus that the means and instruments of production have been socialized in the Soviet Union. But their true nature is not what is generally understood in a hazy way. Let us refer to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which authoritatively lays down:

§5. Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people) or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (property of collective farms or property of a co-operative association);

A Tajik Muslim girl is performing a national dance at a collective farm festival

These young men and women are the inhabitants of Tajikistan, Soviet Russia, whose destinies are controlled by Communist ideology, whose one positive value, it must be admitted, lies in the fact that it has been a corrective of one-sided spiritualistic conceptions of life that have been dominant in the world of Islam and made Islam misunderstood by friend and foe. Islam is a religious system of life in which the daily physical life of the individual has as much importance as his spiritual life. It seems the Muslims just forgot it. The Qur'an has a beautiful verse which has a direct bearing on this viewpoint. It says: "Say: Who has prohibited the embellishment of God which He has brought forth for His servants and the good provisions? Say: These are for the believers in the life of this world, purely (theirs) on the resurrection day; thus do We make the communications clear for a people who know" (7: 32)
§7. In addition to its basic income from the public, collective farm enterprise, every household in a collect-ive farm has for its personal use a small plot of land attached to the dwelling and, as its personal property, a subsidiary establishment on the plot, a dwelling-house, live-stock, poultry and minor agricultural implements in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural guild.

Of course the agricultural collective farms use the land occupied by them free of charge and for perpetuity for the benefit of the collectivity engaged in its exploitation, yet:

§9. Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the predominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

Not only this but even:

§10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and their savings, of their dwelling-houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

As to the quota of work and share of the individuals in the State or collective enterprise and income, it is not equal with others, but:

§12. . . . He who does not work neither shall he eat . . . from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

According to his work, not according to his needs, much less according to his wishes!

How far Islam and Communism go hand in hand.

Whatever the popular conception or idealistic philosophy of Communism, the living reality in the economic field may be restated in the following terms:

1. It nationalizes land and the more important means and instruments of production, with many exceptions, as seen above; and this includes also foreign trade as a Government monopoly.

2. It allows private property, of course restricted; and even then it includes house, garden, and small fields and farms, not to speak of the movable property and herds of animals.

3. It allows right of inheritance of these kinds of personal properties.

I have not readily available now the Soviet Law of Inheritance. Muslim Law of Inheritance is based on the Qur’ān, and there can be no changing it. Of course, there are differences of interpretation of these Qur’ānic laws among the different schools of Muslim law, not only among Shi’ahs and Sunnis, but even among Sunnis themselves. But beyond interpretation of the Qur’ān, no abrogation and substitution can be tolerated.

4. Properties to be nationalized if they already exist in the possession of individuals, or even companies are expropriated and nationalized.

Islam would not prohibit this provided acquisition and requisition is compensated to the former lawful owners, and not simply usurped and confiscated.

5. There are grades of pay even in State enterprises, and not all people get the same amenities. "To each according to his work" is the guiding principle.

Even if everybody is paid alike, there will be no infringement of Islamic principles. The Caliph Abu Bakr distributed State income equally among the inhabitants of the country. The Caliph 'Umar divided, at first, in a graded manner. Later he decided to revert to the practice of Abu Bakr, but before he could do that he passed away from this world.

The definition of personal property in the Soviet Constitution.

As to commerce, when the State owns factories and produces consumer goods, there is no difficulty in having uniform prices of commodities in State sales depots, particularly in a locality, though not necessarily in the whole length and breadth of a vast empire. Perishable goods are a point in this connection. Further in pursuance of section 7 of the Soviet Constitution, personal property includes herds of cattle, gardens and many other means of production, and people there can and do sell or barter out their surplus. Human habits differ in individuals, and soon the frugal and the spendthrift will again be creating, even in Russia, if they have not already done so, the same old difference between the rich and the poor. The standard of living in Russia proper is not the same as in the townships of Central Asia.

If other freedoms are conceded, why not also the freedom to possess? Tax the rich to any extent necessary for providing the poor with the minimum required by them. That is the Islamic principle of general law. Accumulation of very large wealth in limited hands is further remedied by Islam by its laws of testament and inheritance, but its prohibition of interest and other things to which I shall revert again. Large fiefs and landed properties cannot exist in Islam for more than one generation; the law of inheritance divides and subdivides in the course of time.

Materialism responsible for the degeneration of Capitalism.

The irresistible human impulse to strive for well-being in this world, when unbounded, leads to materialism. Capitalism has degenerated not because private and individual ownership of capital and means of production was the order of the day, but, I maintain, because its worst advocates, practical materialism, that is, rejection of all moral values and striving for nothing except material gain, even at the expense of all that is dear to human morality. Communism, that is collective ownership of the means of production, may as much not lead to anything unbearable; what I fear for it is its alliance, or rather conspiracy, with materialism.

In normal times, Islamic polity makes least interference in the economic freedom of individuals. Free trade is its motto, though cut-throat and unfair competition is not allowed. We know, once in the market of Medina a merchant sold certain goods at less than market price, and the Caliph 'Umar at once ordered him to quit the place and not to sell there at that dumping price. In abnormal times, in periods of need and emergency, the interference proportionately increases.

Taxation and requisition in Islam.

To illustrate: In general 2½% of the surplus property is taxed (zakat), cash hoard as well as commercial capital. If this tax does not suffice the needs of the State regarding the feeding of the destitute as well as the defence of the realm, additional taxes may be lawfully levied. The extent may be gauged from the following examples.

When the Prophet and his Meccan companions took refuge in Medina, almost all of them had come there penniless. At the command of the Prophet, the well-to-do among the Muslims of
Medin were made to share their property with the immigrants. That is to say, not all the Muslims of Medina, but only the richer among them were taxed to the extent of half of their property. Even this was not without compensation, reward or consideration. First of all, it seems that the earnings of the immigrants also went to the common property. Secondly, both these legal brothers or members of the company inherited each other to the exclusion of other relatives. Thirdly, all this handing over of the property on the part of the Ansar (helpers of the Prophet in Medina) seems to have been as an interest-free loan, especially regarding landed property. For, as occasion arose, the Meccan refugees returned to their legal brothers the lands they had shared with them, and the individual properties.

In times of calamity and stress, complete pooling and equal sharing or redistribution was practised by the Prophet as well as by the Orthodox Caliphs. So, in military expeditions, when food stocks were exhausted, the provisions held by individual soldiers were collected and shared equally. That is to say, redistribution of the national wealth to the extent of meeting the emergency is lawful and even necessary.

In contingencies Islam goes beyond Communism in the way of confiscating all private property. All this is law. Piety, so much emphasized in Islam, goes a step further. According to the Qur'ān, the highest and most meritorious characteristic is to prefer another to one's own self, and to hand over one's own food, for instance, while one is hungry (yuḥūra `a†a anfusihum wa lāa kana bikhim Khasasab) (59 : 9).

In short, the needs of the community, of which one is also a member, compel one to share not only the community's weal but also its woe. Thus it will be seen that ordinarily and in normal times, Capitalism, in its good sense, is allowed in Islam, with the condition that the minimum taxes suffice for the dual purpose of the State, namely feeding all the destituents and defending the integrity and independence of the realm. Yet in time of need, Islam goes even beyond Communism, and orders that leaving the just necessary for preserving one's life (radd Ramāq), all one's property may be confiscated as tax for the purpose of the dual State duty mentioned above. Islam has all along had a moral basis also. On the one hand beggery is forbidden, and on the other alms giving is enjoined. Islamic policy in the economic field seems to be the distribution and circulation of wealth. The Qur'ān (59 : 7) says: "So that the wealth should not circulate only among the rich among you."

Islam is the first system to lay down the provision of interest-free loans for the needy, even the well-to-do. The method of attaining this object was by taxing surplus property every year; by compulsory distribution of the property of the deceased among several of his relatives. Renderring the bequest of the whole to mere strangers is unlawful. Bequests to the extent of a third of the whole property at the most are allowed, the rest goes compulsorily to the several, pre-determined near relatives, and the relatives require no testamentary provisions. Again, interest, which tends to bring the whole national wealth into the hands of the few, is prohibited from the outset. Mere prohibition of interest, without providing how to meet the requirements of the needy, has proved useless in all civilizations. Islam was the first to lay down that it is among the first duties of the State to provide interest-free loans for the needy, even well-to-do; and the Qur'ān has earmarked this item among the expenditures of the Muslim State. In the time of the Caliph 'Umar, the State treasury lent moneys even to the person of the Caliph himself — of course, to others also — on providing security of repayment. From the time of the Prophet, we come across a sort of social insurance of the community, insurance against tort entailing payment of damages beyond individual capacities. This insurance was called Malāṣīl.

To sum up, if some -ism enjoins upon the laity to share whatever God has given them with the have-nots, Muslims are the first and the last adherents of that ism. On the other hand, if some ism means the coveting others’ property and sharing it with the lazy and the spendthrift, Muslims cannot even be the last to embrace that religion. They simply cannot entertain it.

Political and Social Philosophy of Muhammad

By DR. S. A. KHULUSI, Ph.D.

"And one day the non-Muslims will appreciate the traits of Muhammad more than they have till now. And they will repeat with Thomas Carlyle's immortal words on Muhammad: 'Traits of this kind show us the genuine man, the brother of us all ... the veritable son of our common mother'"

Why Christians misunderstand Islam.

It is a great pleasure that we should celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad just a few days after we have celebrated the birthday of another great prophet, Jesus, or Isa, as he is known to the Muslim world. This proximity of the two birthdays is symbolic of the new era of Christian-Muslim friendship. It is also symbolic of the fact that Muhammad succeeded Jesus to complete and perfect the true religion of God.

I was asked last week by a Roman Catholic friend of mine why I, being a Muslim, celebrated the birthday of Christ; so I said to him: "It is not surprising that I should celebrate it, but it is surprising that you should do so, because we Muslims are the real Christians; we believe in both Christ and Muhammad at the same time. We believe in Christianity in its pure unadulterated form; but you do not believe in Muhammad, who saved the original Christian virtues from utter ruin in the Middle Ages."

Perhaps there was no other great personage in the world concerning whom there has been such a great difference of opinion in the Christian world through the centuries as Muhammad. And this is only to be expected with regard to a many-sided genius who was at once an inspired religious leader, a political organiser, a commander-in-chief and a social reformer.

But gradually as Europe emerged from the darkness of the Middle Ages, the Christians came to recognise the merits of Muhammad more and more. Indeed Christianity itself came to resemble Islam more closely in the form of Protestantism. And here is what Tor Andere, one of the greatest Western biographers of the Prophet, says in his admirable work, Mohammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube — Muhammad, the Man and his Faith (page 12):

"Hitherto the nature of Muhammadan piety has generally been rather unjustly ignored by Western students of religion. If one were to seek out the cause for this it would not suffice to refer to ignorance, or to the reaction of old dogmatic prejudices.

1 Being the text of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Muslim Society in Great Britain on the occasion of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad at the Matcham Hall, London, S.W.1, on the 2nd of January, 1950. Mr. Isma'il de Vierke was in the chair.
The cause lies deeper, and may perhaps best be expressed by the proverb: relatives understand each other least of all. A Christian sees much in Islam which reminds him of his own religion. . . . He finds ideas and statements of belief dearly related to those of his own religion. . . . Islam is so familiar to us that we pass it by with the careless indifference with which we ignore that which we know and know only too well. And yet it is not familiar enough to us to enable us really to understand its uniqueness. . . .

**Roman Catholics vilified Protestantism by comparing it to that of Islam.**

"No one would think for one moment," observes Professor Snouck Hurgronje in his book *Mohammedanism* (pp. 162-3), "of considering Confucianism, Hinduism or Buddhism, as specially akin to Christianity, whereas Islam has been treated by some historians of the Christian Church as belonging to the Christian religion."

According to Professor Hurgronje (*Ibid.*, p. 5), the Roman Catholics often vilified Protestantism by comparing the reformed doctrine to that of Mohammedanism. Nine hundred years after Muhammad the Christians became conscious of the necessity of reforming their religion and making it resemble Islam as closely as possible. Perhaps only their perpetual wars with the Turks and the unbearable sneers of the staunch followers of the Pope prevented them from following the shorter course and embracing Islam itself. The reforms of the 16th century and after were inadequate because to-day Christianity finds itself once again in need of reform, as it decidedly lacks the political ideology of Islam and is unable to stand before the ideology of Communism. So, it is interesting on this memorable occasion of the Prophet's birthday to have some reminiscences of his political and social philosophy.

**Muhammad enunciates the political theory of spiritual nationality.**

Muhammad was born in 571 C.E. amidst a community divided into clans and tribes most of the time at war among themselves. There was at the time no Arabian nation in the proper sense of the word, and the tribes that were in Syria, Iraq, and the Yemen were suffering from the foreign rule of the Byzantines, Persians and Abyssinians respectively. Muhammad realised that Arab nationalism would not suffice. It only helped to set one group of humanity against another. So he put forward his political theory of spiritual nationality, that was not based on blood or race, and did not uphold the superiority of the Semites over the Aryans and Mongols, or vice versa. Having formulated his theory, he started his campaigns not in Byzantium, nor in Persia, but at home in Mecca itself; for reform must always come from within. The great spiritual socialist Muhammad began to crush the wealthy godless aristocracy of Mecca, aiming at a redistribution of wealth on a more just and reasonable basis than the hitherto recognised one. In this respect he was the precursor of Marx and Lenin, but Muhammad's system differed in one basic respect. It clearly recognised God as the Supreme being organizing the whole universe. So Muhammad did not sever his relations with the spiritual realm, which is so necessary for the mental peace and rest of mortal beings. It also differed from present day Communism in that it did not lay an undue stress on the material side of life and it did not go so far as to explain all the activities of man and his history on the basis of materialism. Muhammad's political philosophy differed from that of Lenin in that he first socialized the people, then the state, whereas Lenin did the reverse. Muhammad fought against senseless egotism but allowed individual enterprise, whereas Lenin sacrificed both to preserve the proletariat state. Another point of contrast between Islam and Communism is the fact that Islam does not make any class distinctions. It does not uphold the labourers above the brain workers. They all stand on equal footing. So, Islam is devoid of the colour distinction of Western Democracy and the class distinction of Communism. That is why I have always maintained that Islam is the golden mean between the Eastern and Western camps to-day. A sensible man, whether Christian, Buddhist or Confucian, would at least believe in the political ideology of Islam, even if he is not prepared to relinquish his own religion and embrace Islam as a faith. So, instead of becoming Communists, Socialists, anarchists, why not become Islamists in a political sense?

It is only by spreading the political ideology of Islam throughout the world that this miserable atom-menaced humanity can have real and everlasting peace. There is democracy and freedom in Islam. In fact, the first Muslim state was a spiritual socialist republic. Why, even the meanest of Muhammad's subjects had a say in the affairs of the state and the conduct of the wars against the enemies of the new ideology. After his death, Muhammad's successors followed his footsteps in applying his democratic methods. The Caliphs were installed by general consent of opinion and there was always a Majlis Shura (Body of Counsellors) who criticised the Caliph and gave the necessary advice for the welfare of the state. The republic of Muhammad was democratic and socialist in the full sense of the word.

To sum up, Muhammad as a great political doctrinaire put forward the following points in his political philosophy. The spiritual nationality of Islam which considered the Persians, the Greeks, the Indians, the Abyssinians and the Arabs of the same nationality, namely Muslims.

**Race consciousness and alcohol the two conspicuous sources of danger to-day.**

"An Arab has no claim of superiority over a non-Arab except when he is more pious." All colour barriers and racial prejudices are not only unrecognised but abhorrent to the very spirit of Islam. This corroborates Professor Arnold Toynbee's following statement: "Two conspicuous sources of danger—historical and the other material—in the present relations of this cosmopolitan proletariat with the dominant element in our modern Western society are race consciousness and alcohol; and in the struggle with each of these evils the Islamic spirit has a service to render which might prove, if it were accepted, to be of high moral and social value."

"The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue" (*Civilization on Trial*, p. 205).

**Muhammad's views anticipate the Atlantic Charter.**

In addition Muhammad introduced into his system freedom of thought and worship. And I expect that most of you know the story of 'Amr ibn Ma'dikirib who said to the Prophet on one of his battles: "Is this a holy state in which God has placed you or is it war, sound opinion and the use of stratagem?" Whereupon the Prophet replied: "Nay, rather it is war, sound opinion and the use of stratagem; so, do what you deem wise." On another occasion a man said to Muhammad angrily: "O Muhammad, you have not been just." In face of this effrontery, the Prophet calmly said: "Who can be just if I am not?"

I shudder to think what would happen if someone to-day made a similar remark to the present day aurochaceous leaders.

As regards the freedom of cult and religion, Muhammad allowed the Jews and Christians to keep their respective religions, he never compelled them to embrace Islam. By this he anticipated the Atlantic Charter by fourteen centuries.
Into his political philosophy he also introduced the element of democracy. In his life he was a great exemplar of the great democrat and was called by his followers by his own name without honorifics and titles. Often the Bedouin would stand outside his door and shout to him: Ukkhu' ilayna ya Muhammad! (Come out to us, O Muhammad). He used to patch his own clothes and mend his own shoes, and eat with the meanest of his followers and ride on the donkey with the servants. Some of his followers earnestly requested permission to defry him, as the Christians defray their prophet, but he sternly and most emphatically refused.

His social philosophy was based on a sound economic basis. He went so far as to allow people to cultivate land left fallow by negligent landlords, treating it thereby as public property belonging to the Muslim community. Zakat, or poor tax, was imposed on the wealthy and it constituted 2½ per cent of one's income, which was certainly fairer than the present day income tax.

Zakat is expressly enjoined on the Muslims in Sura ii, v. 77, and is considered as one of the five pillars of Islam. But the person who pays Zakat must possess the Nisab, or fixed property, provided that the owner of such property is not so heavily indebted that his debts equal the whole of his property; and it is certainly not due upon the necessities of life, such as the house in which one dwells, the food one consumes, the clothing, the furniture, and the instruments one uses in one's craft. All books of science and theology are exempt from such a tax. Zakat was either given to a collector or the person himself distributed it amongst those people who deserved it; they constituted the following categories:

1. al-Fuqara, the poor or those who possessed a small property below the Nisab, or the taxable amount.
2. al-Masakeen, people who are without property whatsoever.
4. Debors.
5. Travellers.
6. Collectors of Zakat.
7. Jihad or the Holy War.

A few words on the social reforms by Muhammad.

Besides his economical reforms, without which his society could not have prospered, he introduced many purely social ones. Foremost amongst which was the abolition of alcohol. Concerning this Professor Toynbee has the following to say: "As for the evil of alcohol, it is at its worst among primitive populations in tropical regions which have been opened up by Western enterprise; and, though the more enlightened part of Western public opinion has long been conscious of this evil and has exerted itself to combat it, its power of effective action is rather narrowly limited. Western public opinion can only take action in such a matter by bringing its influence to bear upon Western administrators of the tropical dependencies of the Western powers; and, while benevolent administrative action in this sphere has been strengthened by international conventions and these are now being consolidated and extended under the auspices of the United Nations, the fact remains that even the most statesmanlike preventive measures imposed by external authority are incapable of liberating a community from a social vice unless a desire for liberation and a will to carry this desire into voluntary action on its own part are awakened in the hearts of the people concerned. Now, Western administrators, at any rate those of Anglo-Saxon origin, are spiritually isolated from their "native" wards by the physical colour-bar which their race-consciousness sets up; the conversion of the natives' soul is a task to which their competence can hardly be expected to extend; and it is at this point that Islam may have a part to play." (Civilization on Trial, pp. 206-7).

Besides the abolition of alcohol, Muhammad abolished many other abominable customs that were prevalent in Arabia before the advent of Islam, worst among which was the W'dd, or the burning of little girls alive.

Infanticide, however, was not a trait peculiar to the ancient Arabs, for the Old Testament mentions on more than one occasion some non-Arab peoples who used to burn their children alive. Certain Arab tribes used to practise W'dd, because they could not afford too many children, so they disposed of their daughters who (they thought), if brought up in poverty and no one married them, might earn their livelihood by immoral means, which would lower the whole family in the eyes of the community.

Muhammad stopped this inhuman act at once. In this connection the Qur'an declares: "Do not kill your children for fear of poverty, we shall sustain them together with you." Muhammad, to put it in Diderot's words, was the greatest friend of woman. As regards her social status, it was a favourable one. The Qur'an does not enjoin the veiling of women at all. There is not one verse to that effect, but there are many which make it incumbent on women that they should be decently dressed. In one of them it explicitly says, Wa la tabarrujna tabarrujta 'l-Jabilyyati 'l-ululaa ("And do not array yourselves immodestly after the manner of the pre-Islamic women").

Truth about the much maligned institution of Polygamy in Islam.

As for the question of questions, polygamy, Muhammad did not institute it. It was already rife among the Semitic peoples long before the rise of Muhammad. A glance at the Old Testament will convince you of this. Abraham had more than one wife. David had six and quite a few concubines. Solomon had 700 wives and 500 concubines. And incidentally, polygamy is not prohibited in the Bible at all. Muhammad came along and restricted an already existing institution. He made it possible only under very special and rare circumstances. As for himself, he started his life and remained monogamous as long as Khadija, his first wife, lived, but after her death (he was then over 53) political reasons compelled him to unite the Arab chiefs by establishing matrimonial alliances. But to my mind, Muhammad remained in his heart of hearts monogamous. He loved Khadija and respected her because she had such an attractive and influential personality. After her death, he was only fond of 'Aisha, his real love was still for Khadija. This view is confirmed by the following incident. It is said that once Khadija's name was mentioned, but 'Aisha requested the Prophet not to talk about her, and added, "God has given you a better one than she," meaning herself; whereas the truly sincere and faithful man said in a vein of protest, "Don't say that, no one was ever better than Khadija."

Anyhow, I personally feel that polygamy under special circumstances is a boon rather than an evil. An allowance must be made, of course, with the written consent of the existing wife that her husband should have another wife, when she herself is sterile.

There is another circumstance that demands the institution of polygamy, and that is when there is a great surplus of women over men. In a country like England, where there are more women than men, polygamy is the best solution for such an acute problem in the absence of the ideal solution, i.e., the redistribution of women of the whole world, that is by exporting the surplus of women to those countries where men are in excess, as in some countries of the Middle East.

Whatever one may say for or against polygamy, the fact remains that it was not an integral part of Muhammad's social philosophy. It goes to his credit that he stood half-way between the Mosaic Law which permitted an unlimited number of wives and the Christian Church which prescribed strict monogamy.
The Laws of Muhammad are flexible.

Now in actual fact as Islam is a universal religion, it does not set hard and fast rules on controversial social questions, because it is meant to be applied to all times and to all nations with their different psychological attitudes. All that Muhammad does is to give the rule, but he leaves margins to allow it to expand under strenuous circumstances. Otherwise it would break down completely and lead to disorder. By this he was only following the rules of nature which always demand flexibility and concessions.

Take again this question of polygamy as an example. In the Qur'an (4:3), which is known as "The Women," we find the following statement: "Of the women who seem good in your eyes, marry but two or three, or four; and if you still fear that you shall not act equitably, then one only."

Then further on, in verse 129, we have this important supplementary statement: "And you will not have it at all in your power to treat your wives alike, even though you fain would do so." You notice that monogamy is the rule in Islam and polygamy is the exception. And it is a very clever psychological way of forbidding a time-honoured institution among the pre-Islamic Arabs. If Muhammad had said to them straight out, "Don't marry more than one woman," they might have revolted against him, but he put it in a subtle way with the weight heavily laid on the monogamous side, and this in the long run serves the same purpose.

Law of Divorce in Islam.

Whatever the supporters or antagonists may say about Muhammad's restricted polygamy, which is tantamount to monogamy, they will find themselves in full agreement with regard to Muhammad's law of divorce. It is certainly ideal, especially when it is compared with the English Law of Divorce, which incidentally resembles in many respects the pre-Islamic Law of Divorce prevalent in Arabia before Muhammad.

Given in outline, the Muslim Divorce Law is as follows: Both men and women are entitled to sue for a divorce, in the case of the man it is called Talaq (freedom), in the case of the woman it is Khul' (taking off).

It begins with disagreement to live together as husband and wife, which is termed Shngay (breaking off). In this case two judges are appointed, one from the man's side and another from the woman's side. These two work together to bring about a reconciliation. If nothing can be achieved, divorce naturally follows. The husband in this case acts upon the decision of the two judges, and not on his own initiative. No husband can repudiate a marriage at his own whim. This state is followed by the 'Idda, or period of waiting, which might be aptly termed as the period of experimental divorce, which extends over three months, during which both parties can revoke the divorce and resume conjugal relations. It is a period for making sure that the breach is beyond repair and that final divorce is inevitable. During this period neither party can turn the other out of the house.

Divorce can be pronounced three times on three separate occasions, after the first two it is revocable, but after the third time it is irrevocable. And the injured party usually gets the dowry.

Muhammad abolishes abominable pre-Islamic customs.

With regard to divorce, Muhammad abolished many abominable pre-Islamic customs:

i. The ilaqa, which means taking an oath. Before Islam the Arabs used to take an oath not to see their wives for an unlimited period of time; in consequence a woman might spend her whole life being neither a proper wife nor a divorced woman. Concerning this inhuman act the Qur'an says: "In the case of those who swear that they will not go into their wives, the waiting period is four months; then if they go back, God is surely Forgiving, Merciful. And if they resolve on a divorce, then God is surely Hearing, Knowing."

So, the period of desertion according to the Muslim Law is four months, after which divorce or restoration of conjugal relations must take place. (What a contrast to the three years prescribed by the English Law.)

ii. al-Dhibar. When a pagon Arab said to his wife: Anti Alayya ka-dhiburi umma ('Thou are to me as the back of my mother') the woman was divorced without having the liberty to leave his house. She was thus deserted for the rest of her life. This abominable custom was repudiated by Islam.

As for adultery in Islam, this is severely punished, so if anyone was resolved to charge somebody with it, he had to be extremely careful and not to base his evidence. Otherwise the punishment might fall on him, if the innocence of the accused person was established. If, however, the husband was the accuser, the following verse of the Qur'an was applicable: "And as for those who accuse their wives and have no witnesses except themselves, the evidence of one of these (i.e. the injured husband) shall be taken four times, bearing God to witness that he is of the truthful ones, and the fifth time that the curse of God be on him if he is one of the liars. And it shall avert the punishment from her if she testify four times, calling God to witness, that he is one of the liars, and the fifth time that the wrath of God be on her, if he is one of the truthful."

Muhammad hated blind conservatism.

Viewed as a whole, Muhammad's social philosophy is, as I have already stated, flexible to withstand the strain of all circumstances and times. If there is anything that Muhammad hated it was certainly blind conservatism. He argued on the following sound lines: Why should the manners and customs of our forefathers be preserved when there are better ones to be adopted? Why should the man who belongs to the lower strata of society remain where he is and not be allowed to ameliorate his condition? In other words, why should a slave remain a slave all his life? Give equal opportunities to all to develop their talent and occupy the status they deserve. And this is the real essence of democracy. It was this social aspect and not the religiogradmatic aspect of Muhammad's teaching that brought him into conflict with his people, the Qurash. The leaders of the Opposition clamoured loudly that Muhammad alienated their slaves and made them demand equality and fair treatment.

Muhammad gives a new concept to the word "nation".

He repudiated the whole social system based on a tribal pattern, of which Mecca was the chief exponent. He introduced a new word of which the Arab knew little or nothing, namely the word Ummah (Nation), meaning thereby not the Arabian nation, but Ummat Muhammad, the Nation or the People of Muhammad. The word occurs fifty-six times in the Qur'an. And he designated himself as an-Nabi al-Ummam,1 the Prophet of the people, of the community which gathered round him and it consisted of Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians and Africans. Muhammad was, to the aggravation of the Meccans, extremely proud of his new title. According to Muhammad only the faithful were brethren, as for the rest, including his own uncles, Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab, they were aliens and were outlawed by him. "God has indeed divided men into various peoples and tribes, but He did that only so that they could distinguish each

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1 The word Ummam is used in two other senses in the Qur'an, viz., illiterate, and a native of Umm al-Qura, an alternative name of Mecca. For a full discussion of this question see Maulvi Muhammad 'Ali's translation of the Qur'an (1917), pp. 561-562.
other (49 : 13), and not so that these distinctions should constitute an insuperable barrier to religious unity” (Tor Andrae, _Ibid_, p. 191).

Now before the introduction of this idea of Umma as a basis for social and political life, Arabian politics, as Mr. C. W. C. Oman rightly observes in his _Story of the Byzantine Empire_ (p. 159), were of little moment either to Roman or Persian. Each of them had allies among the Arab tribes . . . But neither of them dreamed that the scattered and disunited tribes of Arabia would ever combine or become a serious danger. But while Heraclius and Chosroes were harrying each other’s realms, events of world-wide importance had been taking place in the Arabian peninsula.

When the Umma became strong enough the Ummi Prophet started inviting foreign princes to Islam. His mission was received graciously by the Byzantine Emperor, who even sent him some presents in the hope of gaining a political ally against Chosroes, whereas the latter, seeing the message addressed as from Muhammad ibn ‘Abdullah, the Apostle of God, to Chosroes, was extremely vexed and shouted: “Who is this man who dares to mention his name before mine?” In his rage he tore Muhammad’s letter and nearly killed the messenger.

On hearing the news Muhammad prophetically said: _Mazzaqa ‘l-Labu wnikahu_ — “God shall tear his kingdom into pieces.” If God gave only half of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire to the Umma because its ruler was gracious to Muhammad’s message, He certainly gave the whole of the Persian Empire and wiped out its ruling dynasty in consequence of the haughtiness and arrogance of Chosroes.

Such was the result of Muhammad’s endeavours to spread his new brotherhood throughout the world that to-day his Umma, the dearest word to his heart, covers a community that extends from Tangiers to the Phillipines and from the Volga to the Zambesi.

**Muhammad rebelled against the disease of nationalism.**

At this juncture when nationalism (that Western ideological disease) is confronted with its life and death crises, the whole world is waiting for a third great ideology to act as a wedge between Communism and Western Democracy and maintain the balance of power in the world. It is therefore in the interest of humanity and the whole world that we should struggle hard to strengthen Islamism — I am deliberately using the suffix “-ism” nor in order to put Islam as a rival to Socialism and Communism, but because I want to coin a word that lays a special emphasis on the political, apart from the dogmatic and theological aspects of that religion.

As you all know, the first world war was a war of nationalism, and as a result nationalism crept into the Middle East and created barriers that divided into small units a large group of humanity that had and still has the same spirit, the same language, the same race, tradition and history. The whole world can see now that nationalism in the Middle East has failed completely and this was only to be expected. Nationalism is a purely Western idea and it is quite alien to the idiosyncrasy of Easterners. Why, even Westerners are discarding it. So, the sooner we dispose of it the better. Life hates parochial ideas and interests. Humanity with its past, present and future is a unit. Instead of appearing in one fabulously gigantic body, it appears in the form of small individuals to avoid destruction as a whole. Otherwise, in its feelings, emotions, joys and sorrows, it is one body. That is why Westerners study the ancient languages and history of the East, and we Easterners study the languages and history of the West, because we are all endeavouring subconsciously to link up the past and present of humanity, irrespective of colour and class all over the world and all throughout the ages.

You see, then, for yourselves, that Nationalism is quite an artificial institution, and if you wish you can apply label it as a disease, which afflicted humanity temporarily, and luckily, it is vanishing and vanishing steadily.

It is this narrowness of the mind, this provincialism, this parochialism, recognized by modern Western terminology as Nationalism, against which the master mind of Muhammad rebelled and sought a unity of the spirit rather than that of colour or class, and it won!

In order to keep this ideal alive, Muhammad enjoined the institution of Hajj, which was made incumbent on everybody who could afford it. The whole idea was to bring the Muslims together from all over the world so that they could discuss their
own problems and try to solve them, and confer about the best means of bringing prosperity to this spiritual brotherhood.

Islam's gift to mankind.

It stands for the fraternal spirit that binds all Muslims together — a sort of U.N.O. which was instituted by Muhammad fourteen hundred years ago. Islam is, therefore, in danger when the pilgrimage falls off, just as, according to some, the destiny of humanity will be fraught with danger if the present-day U.N.O. is disrupted beyond repair.

According to Al-Jabarti, the 19th century historian: "... if the pilgrimage is merely the symbol of a fraternity transcending differences of colour and class, this unity between true believers is, in turn, merely a translation into action here on earth of their true belief in the unity of God. Islam's creative gift to mankind is monotheism, and we surely dare not throw this gift away" (Toynbee, *Ibid*, p. 87).

May I at this happy occasion when the soul of the Prophet is rejoicing in heaven for the successive triumphs of Islam everywhere, congratulate the Muslims and their friends for the rise of a new star in the firmament of world politics, namely, the United States of Indonesia with its 75,000,000 Muslims. It was only two years ago that the world witnessed an equally spectacular triumph for Islam in the rise of Pakistan as an important world power. More triumphs are still to come. The United States of Arabia shall come into existence sooner or later. A more striking example than all is perhaps that of Libya with its 40,000 Italian subjects, which is passing swiftly from a state of brutal subjugation to independence and unity.

Does this signify anything to you but the durability of Islam? Does it signify anything to you but the soundness of Muhammad's political philosophy, which is bound to spread, eventually, all throughout the world, carrying the torch of class and colour equality. And one day the non-Muslims will appreciate the traits of Muhammad more than they have done till now. And they will all repeat Thomas Carlyle's immortal words on Muhammad:

"Traits of this kind show us the genuine man, the brother of us all... the veritable son of our common mother."

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**Linguistic Foundation of the Unity of the Arabic-Speaking Peoples**

*By AL-HAJJ DR. ABDUL KARIM GERMANUS, Ph.D.*

"Muslim Arabs have the Divine revelation in their own language, one of the most flexible languages of mankind, in order to get into closer touch with one another and marching in straight columns will establish indissoluble bricks for the solid foundations of a mighty Arab League."

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**The miracle of the Arabic language.**

The Arabic language has been the carrier of a mighty culture for fourteen centuries and in the middle ages it was, besides Latin, the language of learning in Europe and the East. Civilization is based on its medium, on the language which expresses the thoughts, records the deeds, and transplants the spirit of the peoples who use it, either as their mother-tongue or as an appropriated vehicle. Language is, like the fossils imprinted on rocks, the living history of cultures and cannot be separated from the economic, social and political life of the nation whose inspiration is derived from and reflected upon it. The Arabic-speaking peoples are to-day scattered over a vast area almost unequally by any other, from the confines of India to the Atlantic Ocean; they are ruled by a number of princes, sultans and kings; their social and economic status displays the richest variety — from nomadic bedouins to the most refined town-dwellers; their economic position contrasts the utmost poverty with stupendous abundance; their intellectual achievements graduate from primitive illiteracy up to the highest standard of philosophic erudition, and still they are one compact body closely linked up with one another. They are inseparably connected by the common language which, through the divine revelation of the Holy Qur'an, has risen to the highest perfection human understanding can imagine. The Holy Qur'an has given to the Arabs a religion and by dint of its inspiration an empire, not surpassed in extension and spiritual enlightenment by any of the great historical empires.

The vicissitudes of history have often torn asunder the original unity of the Muslim State and at present, in the face of adverse political constellations, the Arabic peoples again feel the dire necessity of defending their independence and the ambition of restoring their ancient grandeur. The Arab League owes its existence to the wise recognition of such a necessity. Political friendship, allied proceedings and a closer cultural co-operation aim towards the establishment of mutual assistance in the field of politics.

**The Arabic-speaking peoples and illiteracy.**

The type of society is defined and deeply influenced by the mental attitude of a people developed and matured by century-old traditions, formed and changed by the great spirits of each age, and by the material background out of which each social body derives its economic subsistence. The French revolution has bestowed the idea of democracy on European nations — long since the backbone of Muslim societies; modern industrialism again with its mass-production has necessitated an enormous number of purchasers, in order to consume the ever-increasing quantity of machine-produced commodities. The growth of industrial factory-workers and the development of technical knowledge and inventions have not only introduced electricity, broadcasting, quick locomotion, etc., even into the huts of the poor and the deserts, but have enhanced the intellectual requirements of broad classes which in the past had been deprived of the blessings of a higher spiritual culture, but now meritoriously push their political claims into the foreground. Democracy, that is "equal cultural and political rights for everyone," has lent a much greater importance to the lower classes than they ever enjoyed before. The broad masses of the rural population and the artisans and labourers of the towns could no longer remain in their century-old spiritual seclusion, but had to take interest and part in the cultural and political events of the world which are radiated by the wireless across continents.

**MARCH 1950.**
This development caught the Arabic-speaking peoples unawares. Illiteracy, which did no serious harm in bygone times, has now become a serious drawback in the competition for a better and higher living. New methods of manufacture and business, new ideas in politics, could not be comprehended and adopted without newspapers, periodicals and books of all kinds. Illiteracy has had another detrimental effect, from which the Arabic-speaking peoples suffered perhaps more than any other people. While possessing in the Holy Qur'an the most exalted and perfect language of all nations in the world, the common people used for untold centuries dialects, distorted idioms — barbarisms: ِلاَبِن — as the Arabs called it — which not only deviated from the classical language, but deteriorated into lingos, not comprehensible to the neighbours.

"Classical Arabic was impaired," as the great Muslim scholar Ibn Khaldun (died 808 A.H. — 1406 C.E.) says in his Maqaddima, "By the infiltration of foreigners into Arabic society, and by the neglect on the part of grammarians of the living language, which took an independent course and cared little for the precepts of the pedants." The living language has bestowed rich presents on the classical, which has gradually been enriched by them.

A tradition, transmitted by Abu Huraira, gives a vivid example of such an enrichment of the Arabic vocabulary.

"While the Prophet was returning from his siege of Khaibar, he dropped his knife out of his hand. He said to Abu Huraira, who was sitting near by, 'Give me the knife (سِكِين)." Abu Huraira looked around, but could not grasp the meaning of the Prophet's words. The Prophet then pointed to the knife. 'Well,' said Abu Huraira, "you call this سِكِين, we say مَدْيَا, and I have heard that some people call it شَفْرَ. By God! I have never heard the word سِكِين before this very day!'"

Besides a number of foreign words, barbarism crept into pure Arabic through a more dangerous channel. The vocalization in Arabic, as in other Semitic languages, is very perfunctory, while the phonetic distinction of consonants surpasses by far the European alphabets. We have on record that even in the first years of the Flight misunderstandings arose out of mispronunciation. An Arab exclaimed before the Caliph 'Umra, ِعَلَامَا, instead of مَعْبَسَنَةَ سَامَعُ (How beautiful is the sky!). The Caliph replied, 'The stars,' as he rightly understood the mispronounced sentence, "What is the most beautiful of the sky?"

**Classical Arabic and colloquial pronunciation.**

It is true that the Arabs themselves never spoke the classical Arabic as we know it now, but used different colloquial idioms according to their tribal customs. This was the case with the Latin of the Romans, who spoke a familiar dialect at home and wrote and recited the classical in the Senate. This familiar Latin developed with the intrusion of the barbarians into Europe into present day Italian, French, Spanish, etc. Even the language of the Koresih, the tribe of the Prophet, has deteriorated into a barbaric idiom to-day, which it is impossible to understand with the help of the rules of Thawabi.

Arab tribes pronounced the words differently even in the remotest antiquity. The tribe of Mazin exchanged the sound ِمَمَعَ for instance ِبَنَمَمَع instead of ِبَيْنَمَم. They conjugated the weak verbs like the regular ones. The tribe Khudha'a pronounced ِجَمَم instead of ِجدَم; they disregarded the contraction (ىدغام) of the re-duplicated verbs, for instance, ِجَفَبَبَل instead of ِجَفَبَبَل. Southern Arab tribes pronounced ِسَل instead of ِكَس, for instance, ِشَلَلَمَي instead of ِشَلَلَمَي. The Hudhaili tribe, the divan of whom forms the pride of Arabic ancient poetry, said ِعَنَم instead of the emphatic ِكَس, the Tamimis, equally famous for their poetic ability, pronounced ِعَنَم instead of ِهَمَزَ. The tribes Asad and Rabia added an ِه to the end of words. This habit was called ِكَيِبَشَا, and has been perpetuated in modern Egyptian colloquial. The tribe of Tayi snapped the endings of the words, as the Egyptian Banu Suwaif and the western desert-dwellers do nowadays. The Hudhaili, the Azd and Kayb tribes changed the ِعَنَم before the emphatic ِكَس into ِنَم, for instance, ِدَنَم instead of ِدَسَم; he gave.

The difference in colloquial pronunciation was early noticed by Arabic scholars. Jabbiz (775-868 C.E.) in his most instructive Al-Bayan wa t-Tabyin reminds us that differences of pronunciation may be due to physiological causes. He noticed that pronunciation depends on the structure of the throat and the mouth and their respective application; consequently people pronounce the same sounds with a different intonation. There are natural defects of the mouth, he remarks, which cause incorrect pronunciation. Diseases like lack of teeth make correct pronunciation impossible. Old men speak differently, not only because they have few teeth left, but because their gums have withered and the acoustic duct for the formation of sounds has changed.

A very wise and stupendous statement for the 9th century C.E.!

The sounds which may be incorrectly rendered through the deformation of the cavity of the mouth are the emphatic ِكَس, ِسَل, ِفَم and ِلَم.

He tries to strengthen his statement with legendary anecdotes. "Moses," he says, "suffered from a defect of the tongue, but it is unknown which were the sounds he mispronounced. Some thought the defect was inborn; others held that Asiya, the daughter of the Pharaoh, besought her father: 'Do not kill a child, who cannot distinguish the date from a piece of gravel.' Thereupon the Pharaoh ordered Moses to appear in his presence and throw a piece of gravel into his mouth. This caused the defect of his tongue." According to the Arabic text the "gravel" could also have been "live embers" (ِجَمَر), which is more likely
to hurt so fatally. We owe to Jahiz an interesting historic anecdote. Waisil ibn 'Ata, the founder of the mu'tazilis movement, appears in his description in an unsophisticated human attire, free from the officious vestment of later ages. The worthy theologian rolled his r's most conspicuously. When he quoted a poem he became somewhat ridiculous, as he pronounced r either like the guttural g or like y. He, therefore, carefully tried to avoid words in his speech in which r's occurred. Thus he said m'dlbid (milk) instead of kafir (pagan), kamb instead of burr (wheat). "Yes," added Jahiz, "but kabir is a Syrian word, binda (wheat) belongs to the Kufic dialect of Iraq."

The Arabic language to-day.

Let us now cast a glance at the present state of the Arabic language in contrast to the dialects rampant all over the extensive Arab territory. The written language — newspapers, poetry, belles-lettres and learned books — invariably acknowledges the grammatical rules of the Holy Qur'an and, though its vocabulary has immensely grown to the capacity of expressing even the most modern notions (cinema: sawar mutabarrkia; theatre box: maksura; football: karat al-kadem; film: sharit; aeroplane: tayara; tank: dhabada; radio: mizbya; wireless: lasiki; bicycle: sayaara; inflation: tashbik etc., etc.), it respects the great models of antiquity. The grammar of a newspaper of present-day Baghdad or Cairo is strictly identical with the precepts of Sahwabi of the 8th century C.E. There is no parallel to this phenomenon in any Western literature. Anybody who has not acquired, by detailed study, the knowledge of the rather complicated Arabic grammar is unable to decipher the text of an advertisement and understand it, though his mother-tongue may be Arabic! There is a Turkish proverb: Turk ati bine ise bibe sim sim. "When a Turk mounts a horse, he does not know his father!" It may be said that when an Arab grasps a pen, he does not know his mother. There is a spoken and there is a written language in Arabic, and the two only very rarely flow along the same channel. As an eager student of the mosque Al-Azher, I was almost scandalized when Shukr Ghoraba, professor of Tajwin, lectured in colloquial Arabic, commenting on the holy text in al-Lughat 'l-anabiya before an audience of Nubians, Indians, Tartars, Turks and Syrians, etc. I similarly was astonished, when in the friendly meetings of the Lajnat al-Talif wa 'l-Tarjama (Committee of Composition and Translation) on Thursday evenings, the scholarly members discussed literary problems in Egyptian colloquial. I, the only foreigner, alone spoke al-Lughat an-Nabawya!

The spoken versus literary language.

This seems for a moment a strange curiosity, but at closer consideration it evolves a most serious problem. In every language of the world the spoken and the literary language is not exactly the same. Discussions about how authors should write arose in every literary circle on the globe. Some hold that writers should derive their linguistic style from the mouth of the common people: they should write as people speak. Some, on the other hand, contend that people should speak as their great writers write. The truth lies between the two extremes. In Arabic this problem has not only a negligible academic character, but forebodes a most vital and political importance and weight. It is the question of the cultural and political union of all Arabic speaking peoples. It is the basis of the Arab League of Nations.

The importance of one common literary idiom in the formation of political unity.

History offers us a striking example for grasping the importance of this linguistic problem. Central Europe was populated in the early middle ages by different Teutonic tribes divided into innumerable tribes: Alteans, Bayuars, Saxonies, Swabians, Longobardians, Frisians, Pomeranians, Frankenians, etc., etc., all speaking their tribal dialects derived from a common stock but so widely differing from one another that they could not mutually understand themselves and consequently considered themselves as distinct nationalities ruled by their own princes. These dialects continue their existence in a developed form to the present day. A Silesian hardly understands a Bavarian, a Swabian a Saxon, while to all the northern tribes the talk of the German Swiss is double-Dutch! Without one common literary idiom the political unity of Germany could never have been achieved. This unity was created on a cultural basis in the first years of the 16th century when Martin Luther translated the Bible into the German language of the chancelleries and which was helped to uncontested victory by the spirit of the age, expressed in the revival of humanistic learning and the consciousness of nationality as opposed to the all-engrossing Catholic Church. Besides these spiritual factors, also enlivened by the advancement of general knowledge, the invention and use of the printing press, last but not least the bookish character of the Germanic peoples made the language of Luther's German Bible the supreme and only vehicle of expression for all German races. Schools have risen by the hundreds and the Germans utilized this scholastic language in conversation, in order not to be regarded as illiterate boors.

In 1516 only 55 German printed books appeared. In 1519 the number rose to 111, nearly half of which were written by Luther himself. In 1523 the number of German publications reached 498, 193 of which were Luther's works. The ecclesiastic controversy of the Reformation instigated thousands to read, to learn and to transplant and to disseminate knowledge, all strengthening and spreading the language of the cultured, the enlightened, the free people. Tribal dialects did not die out, but every self-conscious German has learnt and used the common language comprehensible to all. There is no difficulty for any German to understand his countrymen however distant may be their dwelling place, and the literature of the last centuries has served the interest of all ranks of the German people. After the unity of the language and by it the unity of culture, the way has been smoothed for political unity, which through the liberation-wars from Napoleon's aggression culminated in the German Empire of 1871.

The future of the classical Arabic language.

One of the most burning questions which interested me during my stay in Egypt was that of the Arabic language. When I first visited the famous writer and poet Mahmud 'Abbas al-'Akkad I put the definite question to him: "How will the Arabic language again become a vivid medium for the people, when to-day it is only spoken by scholars?" His answer was none the less straight and short. By the school! he retorted. "Formerly," he continued, "our language was clear and comprehensible, then we lost our political independence and foreigners ruled over us. The people remained illiterate and talked a boorish idiom. Many a county-dressed effendi to-day is still nothing else but a smartly varnished boor. The schools will gradually teach people their grammar, education will lend them good taste, and eventually they will speak as literate beings should do."

"Don't you think that a development similar to that in Romansque Europe, where out of Latin: the common people's languages, Italian, French, Spanish, etc., proceeded, will take place in the Arabic East?" I queried.

"This is not probable and it is not desirable either," he answered. "It is not desirable, because it would render asunder that cultural unity which exists between Arabic-speaking and reading people who can understand the newspapers wherever they appear. Only this literary language can form the foundation of a future political alliance."
The theatre and the classical Arabic.

The greatest difficulty, however, which obstructs the way of the literary language is the theatre. It has been the custom in the East to expect nothing more from dramatic performances than a laughing-stock chequered with ribaldry. This satisfies the taste of the common people. The educated — and this is not a negligible quantity — enjoy European opera or foreign literature. I have many an Arab friend in Egypt or Syria who is better versed in French and English literature than in his own. This is a transitory stage which was suffered and happily passed through by all East-European nations. The bridge is slowly erected between European drama and the East. The theatre in Cairo performs European adaptations in the purest literary Arabic. Unfortunately, these performances draw only a small, enthusiastic public — as yet. Let us hope that it will increase! I noticed on some occasions, that the actors and actresses struggled hard with the grammatical pronunciation and when they here and there stumbled over some ghair manuir, a pedantic turbaned playgoer loudly sighed: Ya Sibawayh!

I am perfectly agreed with my distinguished friend. His opinion is amply verified by his own style, which, terse and classical, is so clear that it has transparently rendered the most intricate thoughts of Kant, Schopenhauer and Nordau.

The emancipation of the popular dialect of Egypt has been attempted by Tawfiq al-Hakim in his novel Ouda Isl-Rab (The Soul Returns) in which the descriptive parts are in classical and the dialogues in the colloquial language. In spite of the subject of the novel and its masterly treatment the clumsy rendering of the dialogues in Arabic script barred the way to its well-merited success outside Egypt.

AT THE COURT OF THE EMPEROR OF IRAN

By MEDIHA SHAFIK PASHA

Glimpses into the Life of the Emperor of Iran

Amidst the present world turmoil, what appearance has the private life of the Shah of Iran, reigning over an Empire surrounded by the competition of envious big powers whose eager appetites he has succeeded in allaying with diplomatic skill?

Centuries-old Oriental traditions make it difficult to approach the Emperor. Even members of his own family are not admitted to his presence without previous notice. His life, moreover, is severely regulated.

On week-days the Shah leaves his private palace at about nine in the forenoon alone, driving his Lincoln car himself and speeds to the Marble Palace where he works and holds receptions. This fine building, made entirely of green marble, is dominated by a dome in mosaic copied from an ancient monument of Isphahan. The inside is decorated with pictures of French 19th century painters, including Ziem, Rousseau, and Gericaud.

At the entrance His Majesty is usually received by his two chamberlains, unless very important visitors are awaiting him. In such a case the Court Minister is present to greet the Monarch. His courtiers greet him with a low and quick bow of the head and when addressed by the Shah say "Gourban." This ancient ceremonial greeting, meaning literally, "Salute by the Lamb of Sacrifice," expresses utmost submissiveness by the courtiers, who thus humble themselves before the Sovereign by a comparison with the Sacrificial Lamb.

The office of the Shahinshah (the official title of the Shahs of Iran already used by the Emperors of the Achemenide Dynasty) is an apartment of inimitable art. Everything in this room — walls, ceiling and furniture — is made of the finest imaginable inlaid work of wood, mother-of-pearl, ivory and gold, called khatam.

Autographed photographs of the Kings of Egypt and of England and of the late President Roosevelt facing each other adorn the mantelpiece, while a smaller photograph of the Prince Regent of Iraq faces the Emperor on his writing table. A white and gold strictly private telephone is near at hand.

At 1 p.m. His Majesty crosses the square between the different palaces of the Imperial family (these palaces form a small separate city), and returns home for luncheon.

Few persons are admitted to his table and into his privacy. Among those privileged are the two Princesses, the Shah's sisters, their husbands and Captain Fardous. The latter, a very intelligent man, has enjoyed the Shah's friendship since child-
hood and studentship, which both spent together in Switzerland with brilliant success.

At luncheon the Shah reads newspapers unfolded before his plate, while he keeps an attentive ear on the talk around him. Lackeys in full grey livery with white gloves silently serve the dishes while the radio plays subdued music. Usually the menu consists of an entrée and a meat dish with vegetables and varied salads, followed by a side dish and fruits. No wine is served, unless in honour of foreign guests.

While coffee is served in a saloon after lunch, the Emperor usually plays a game of bridge or chess.

Towards 5 p.m. the Emperor goes out for a walk, alone or with some of his intimates, and he never fails to pay a visit to his mother, for whom he shows a great attachment.

The evening ends with a cinema show.

The joy of the Imperial family and her father's passion is the delightful little Princess Shahnaz, the Shah's only daughter. She is six years old and owns already, like the other Princesses, a private palace with its own personnel and a guard of honour. Her dark blue, fine, sparkling eyes light up a charming face, expressive of fine character and uncommon intelligence. The Shahinshah adores his little daughter. Sometimes both have been surprised playing joyfully together, the Emperor, like King Henry IV of France, carrying his delighted little girl on his back. Often, too, they both drive away in the automobile. The child loves her father tenderly and sometimes shows this affection with unexpected gestures. Once, seeing him sweating after a tennis party, she quickly drew her little handkerchief and dried his brow.

A Sporting Monarch.

Horse-riding and hunting have at all times been in honour in Iran. Both sports are, even to-day, part of Iranian daily life. People of different social classes indulge in these two favourite sports, everybody according to his means.

Numerous hunting rest-houses built at the time of the Qajar dynasty are scattered among the bush all over the surroundings of Teheran. The Shah spends every Friday morning—the official week's rest-day—hunting wild goat and gazelle. Sometimes his couriers and guests accompany him, as well as his usual cavalcade of beaters. Back from the hunting-party, lunch is usually served in the park of one of the hunting-pavilions, when the season is warm. The Shah and his guests recline around white tablecloths sparkling with crystal and silver, laid on carpets spread on the lawn in a shady place near some water.

Encounters with wild beasts on such shooting parties are not infrequent. As a good shot Muhammad Shah once saved the life of one of his beaters attacked by a mortally wounded tiger hidden in the fissure of a rock. The animal, in a last effort, sprang upon the man, rolled him down and was on the point of crushing him with his paws when the Emperor killed the tiger with a quick shot fired from a rock above.

Another time the Shah exhibited his shooting skill by halving with a single pistol shot from ten metres (33 feet) distance a twig held by Captain Fardoust.

The Shah's popularity among the Iranian youth is due, in fact, largely to his excellent skill as a sportsman, well-known to all his people. He is a fearless horseman, athlete, pilot, tennis player, ski-racer, and the common people have good opportunities to see him performing such sports. They see him simple and intelligent, good-hearted, and at the same time dignified and well-balanced in his bearing and showing a maturity of mind superior to his youth.

In the winter the Shah usually drives in his car up to the skiing grounds in the hills, followed by two army cars carrying the officers on duty. These officers scatter over the slopes and watch the Emperor through glasses, lest an accident should happen to him, in which case they would hurry to bring him assistance. But very often they lose sight of the Shah, who slips away and vanishes down steep and icy slopes.

No outward sign marks the presence of the Shah on the public skiing grounds, except his officers' guard. After skiing the Sovereign sits down on a carpet spread over the snow some distance away from the public and takes luncheon.

The Imperial Family.

The numerous palaces inhabited by the Imperial family have been built under the Riza Shah, the Shah's father. They are of modern style and built of home-quarried marble, white, rose, green, etc.
The Parliament Building of Iran at Teheran. It houses the Iranian Parliament, known as Majlis. The Shah in his speeches has been emphasizing upon the members of the Lower and Upper Houses to accelerate the pace of reforms in Iran. At the invitation of President Truman, he recently went to the United States of America to seek financial, technical and industrial help there.

The Palace of the Mother Empress, of white marble, is one of the richest, all adorned with art objects, with fine tapestried walls and gold brocaded furniture.

The Mother Empress is one of the most interesting members of the Imperial Family. An intelligent, energetic and rather good-hearted officer's daughter, she became a valuable ally to her husband when the latter, still a simple army sergeant, could hardly make both ends meet. Later, when she became Empress, she continued to watch and advise her husband faithfully, and was the only person in the world whom the terror-spreading late Shah really feared, while she, on her part, was never afraid to tell him squarely what were her thoughts.

On the Mother Empress's advice veiling was forbidden to women in Iran and the Empress supported her husband strongly in enforcing obedience to this ordinance, which disrupted a centuries-old-tradition. The decree, enacted in 1935, brought overnight profound changes to the life of Iran. On the very afternoon of its enactment the Empress and her daughters appeared unveiled and wearing hats at a public school festival.

The social progress of the Iranian women due to this measure can hardly be over-rated. Since that time numberless women have become doctors, owners or managers of newspapers, school teachers, government officials and hospital nurses.

Both sisters of the Shah are engaged in charity work and preside at evening parties in aid of charity. The elder sister, Princess Shams, is an excellent musician. She dedicates a great part of her day to musical exercise and to the study of languages, of which she speaks several fluently, while the younger sister, Princess Ashraf, is more inclined to sports, in which she excels, like her brother, the Shah.

Social entertainment is frequent with the Princesses. Their receptions are appreciated for their cordial simplicity and for the opportunity they offer of meeting the Shah, who is a frequent guest of his sisters.

In addition to these two princesses and the two princes which the Mother Empress bore to Riza Shah, there were seven other children from three other wives, the youngest of which is a member of the Kadjar dynasty.

All the Princesses have their private palace and their small, strictly personal, court. They meet amongst themselves only when paying official visits to each other. On such occasions they are followed by swarms of Pekingese trotting obediently behind their mistresses. These dogs are the palace favourites. However, when they meet the Emperor's Alsatians, the encounters often end in bloodshed.

To the Shah's anxieties about the home and foreign policy of his country are added the worries caused by the numerous family of which he became the head on his father's death. The young Shah handed over to the State the enormous wealth heaped up by his late father, and reserved for himself only the family palaces and his residence at Sa'd Abad. For the sixty millions of karrans which he offered from his private possession to the government as a loan he is repaid only by a small annual rent. This rent is the Shah's private revenue, enabling him to draw the means to support all his relatives, among whom some hot-heads cause him enough trouble.

Iran's situation has always been rendered difficult through clan warfare fomented by the rivalry of strong neighbours, who enjoy the material advantages of an advanced civilization. Nevertheless the Iranians are more deeply patriotic than would appear at first sight, and they readily close up their ranks against a common enemy, who may be tempted by Iran's rich soil, of which more than a half yields petrol.

 Providentially, and in spite of frequent crises, Iran has been able to safeguard its independence and it is to be hoped that under the wise government of the Emperor, Providence will not abandon this fascinating ancient Empire.
A Call to the Muslims: Arise Ye to Progress!

By DR. G. KHEIRALLAH

"God better not the condition of a people unless they improve themselves" (The Qur'ān 13:11)

O Muslims,
Re-establish Al-Khilāfah (Caliphate),
Not as a political but as a universal religious, cultural and scientific institution, for the purpose of co-ordinating your efforts and charting a course towards betterment.
Let us be honest with ourselves.
Let us survey our present condition in this new atomic age.
Our people at large have fallen behind in material knowledge.
Illiteracy is the rule.
Agriculture is primitive.
Artisanship is decadent.
Commerce in general is in the hands of others.
Lack of medical care and hygiene is our affliction.
In all the above, Islamic civilization was at one time the standard-bearer.
To-day those of our people who enjoy parity with others are very few.
Our rank and file are doomed to economic slavery.
Political independence is a mere bone thrown to the simpleton.
To remedy these conditions, slow ineffectual processes are to be discarded.
"God better not the condition of a people unless they improve themselves" (The Qur'ān, 13:11).
Our Faith has given us a noble pattern of living. Islam is a religio-social institution that corrects morals, promotes well-being and stresses cleanliness and hygiene. It looks upon the labourer as a soul and not as a hand. It enjoins us to enjoy all the good things of the earth and urges us to acquire learning, take the initiative and make progress.
The acquisition of knowledge is imperative in this age of chemistry, mechanics and electronics.
"Arise ye to progress!"
The birth of Pakistan, the awakening of Indonesia and other Muslim countries should thrill every Muslim and stimulate him to collective action, aiming for the betterment of all Muslims and humanity at large.
Sporadic, individual or regional efforts are useless and ineffective in these days of organization and collective action.
Sincere, well-organized action can accomplish in 25 years more than could be accomplished in two hundred years of loose-knit effort.

Majlis Shura.

Establish Majlis Shura, the Parliament of Counsellors.
This Parliament should consist of delegates from the following countries: Pakistan, Hindustan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt, Sa'udi Arabia, Indonesia, the Yemen, China, Russia, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Syria, Jordan, the Lebanon, Malaya, Tripoli, Yugoslavia, the Philippines and Albania.

Dar Shura.

Dar Shura, headquarters of the Majlis, should be permanently located at the Holy City of Mecca.
In the hilly suburbs, a modern small city should be planned; this should be a gem of harmoniously simple beauty exemplifying Islamic architecture at its best. Its magnificent structures should befit the dignity of Islam and its delegates. Its meeting places, offices and living quarters should be commodious, air-conditioned and have all modern conveniences.
Into the hills and underground, a well-lighted and air-conditioned building of steel and concrete should be erected; this to house the Islamic archives, micro-films and records of all Islamic manuscripts, books, illustrations of Islamic art and important documents. This model suburban city should be named Al-Azizah in honour of Abdul 'Aziz Al Sa'ud, who was destined to make the pilgrimage of the Muslims safe and secure after centuries of abuse.
The Majlis should be convened annually on the 15th day of Zu l-Qa'da and continue until the 5th day of Zu l-Hijja. During the first session, the Majlis should choose the Khalifah (Caliph) for a term of 10 years.
The Khalifah should never be hereditary nor confined to any dynasty or country. Any Muslim, from prince to pauper, may aspire to the office.
He must be of sound mind;
He must be of sound body;
He must be under 55 years of age;
He must be of proven ability and capacity and distinguished by his services to Islam.
The Majlis should choose 10 Muslim executive directors, selected for their fitness, to head the 10 departments of the organization. These directors should act as a Cabinet to the Khalifah and be responsible to the Majlis under the supreme command of the Khalifah.

The Path to Progress.

Through knowledge and science, Muslims should attain their noble objective, by establishing the Parliament of Islam to consist of the following 10 departments, headed by the 10 chosen executive directors who form the Cabinet:
The Department of Religion and Law;
The Department of Science;
The Department of Health;
The Department of Agriculture;
The Department of Commerce;
The Department of Labour;
The Department of Economics;
The Department of Islamic Art;
The Department of Education, and
The Department of Translation, Information, Publication and Co-ordination.
The Majlis should select the site of this Institution and plan it with a view to a stupendous extension befitting such a vast project. Non-Muslim specialists should be called into its service and pre-eminent men should be induced to join its staffs.1
The essence of the project is the advancement of any and all Muslim groups regardless of location, by permitting them to come to this Institution with their problems and seek expert assistance for their regional necessities.
"Arise ye to progress!"

1 To-day, Muslims spend millions by sending their children abroad to study. One half of this amount could induce pre-eminent specialists to come with their families and settle in peace and comfort.
IN MOR

The Prophet Muhammad's

on

12th of Rabi' al-Awal, 1369 A.H.

In Morocco, where 8,000,000 Muslims live, the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, known as Mouloud, is a festival which they keep with a befitting sense of pride and joy. On this day the people wish each other well. The spirit of joy that pervades the life in the towns and villages of Morocco enhances as a result of the official ceremonies in which His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco is the principal figure. Morocco's observance of this auspicious occasion is its own, and is not equalled in distinction anywhere in the world of Islam. Every town and village is en fête in Morocco on the Birthday of the Prophet.

On the night preceding the Birthday Festival, His Majesty the Sultan holds a special meeting in his private mosque situated in the

On the auspicious occasion of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad it is the tradition of the Sherifian ruling Dynasty of Morocco to confer titles and honours upon its subjects. The photo shows Mr. Muhammad ben 'Ali al-Mustari, son of the Pastha (Governor) of Ouezzane, paying homage to His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco upon his appointment as Caid (Chief). On the right of the Sultan is his Prime Minister.
MOROCCO

Moulay Idriss's Birthday Celebrations

on
A.H. — 2nd of January, 1950 C.E.

Palace, where speeches on the life and work of the Prophet Muhammad are delivered and the blessings of God on the Prophet invoked. This meeting continues till small hours in the night.

On the morning of the fête high-ranking officials wait upon the Sultan to offer him their loyal wishes. After this, His Majesty goes to the town of Rabat in a royal procession which lends a colour of festivity and charm to the occasion.

In the afternoon the French Resident-General, accompanied by prominent members of the staff of the Residency, is received in audience by the Sultan, when the Resident offers his good wishes on the occasion of the Mouloud.

View of Rabat, the capital of Morocco

Sultan H. R. Moulay Sidi Muhammad V outside to offer his prayers every Friday

On the morning of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco rides his white charger in procession in the town of Rabat, when his people wish him the blessings of the auspicious day.
TURKEY: PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS

By PETER G. FRANCK

Recent developments in Turkey have once more pushed its economic affairs to the forefront of news from the Middle East. These developments have centred around continuing financial strains; a re-orientation of the national economic programme toward agriculture; the stepping up of American aid; an improvement in the foreign trade picture; and favourable negotiations for an international loan.

Deficit and New Tax Law.

The Hasan Saka Cabinet fell in January, 1949, over a disagreement with the National Assembly concerning the need for greater economy in the budget and for a revision of the outmoded tax law. The new Gunesay Government on February 28th obtained approval for expenditures during 1949 of LT 1,372 million ($490 million), which is only 21% more than the revised 1948 expenditures. The estimated deficit, however, will be 20% greater than last year's, i.e., LT 120 million.

With the present tax laws unlikely to yield higher revenues than in 1948, and the public and business community still unwilling or unable to lend the government additional funds, it is expected that Central Bank credit will again be relied upon to bridge the budgetary gap. The continuation of inflationary financing methods fits into the trend of a creeping increase in prices and circulating currency. The cost of living index, which stood at 341 in January, 1948, and at 352 in October, 1948 (1937 = 100), rose to 365 in January, 1949.

The new deficit focused the attention of the government and the Assembly upon the antiquated taxing methods operative under the existing income tax law. Although wages, salaries, business, and professional income are subject to a graduated tax rate, an inequitably heavy share of the burden falls on wages and salaries. This comes about as a result of the tax base which, in the case of professional and business income, is the annual rental paid for the business premises rather than the actual earnings. The new legislation, which has been before the National Assembly for some time and has a fair chance of being passed before the fall, substitutes income levels for rentals, but still exempts landed property. Nevertheless, the proposed law, to be effective in 1951, promises to yield higher revenues and to be better adapted to the paying ability of the taxpayer than the one now in force.

Economic Programme.

The military exigencies of the tense international situation impede the prompt realization of Turkey's economic aspirations. Yet progress is evident as the new means of external financing make themselves felt.

The five-year goals in agriculture were given highest priority by the new government of Semseddin Gunesay, which followed that of Hasan Saka in January, 1949. The targets call for an increase in the production of cereals, fats, oils and meat of between 25% and 40% over the 1948 rate in order to supply more foodstuff for domestic consumption, more exportable products, and more raw materials for processing industries. Major government-sponsored and/or financed activities are calculated to result in an improvement in yield per man through mechanization and other modern techniques, and per acre through increase in cultivated area by means of irrigation and other reclamation methods.

It is in the former domain that the recent months witnessed marked progress. The first allotment under the 1948 Marshall Plan aid was earmarked for the procurement of such agricultural machinery as tractors, tractor-drawn ploughs, reaper-threshers, and cultivators. By March, 1949, $11.5 million had been set aside for this purpose. A formal ceremony on May 4th marked the arrival of the first load of reaper-threshers from the U.S., and further arrivals were expected. Steps were being taken to channel the new implements to those farms which could use them most effectively, with small farms sharing the benefits through co-operatives.

These were encouraging signs, answering the widespread criticism in the U.S. that Turkey had too long neglected its agricultural problem, on the solution of which 80% of its people depend for the livelihood.3

In the field of mining (coal, iron, ore, chrome), including allied power and transportation facilities, there has been similar progress. In April, 1949, Marshall Plan aid authorities in Washington cleared procurement authorizations for nearly $26 million worth of American equipment and machinery. Thus the way was paved for acquiring vitally needed modern extraction and transport equipment which would allow mineral development projects to pass from the blueprint stage to final programming.

Flow of American Aid.

The foreign currency expenditures needed during the current year to acquire the above machinery and tools would have exceeded Turkey's normal dollar earnings from exports unless imports were pared below the socially tolerable level. The actual earnings were supplemented by the Marshall Plan and other aid programmes was revealed last spring when the Economic Co-operation Administration released its study of Turkey's international financial position, and the U.S. Department of Commerce for the first time published international debt-service "projections" for all countries which had obtained postwar credits from the United States Government.4 After a slow start, gross aid allotments under the Marshall Plan amounted to $44.8 million as of March 31st, 1949, with $4.9 million additional aid having been proposed for the period April-June, 1949. Together with previous loans from the American Export-Import Bank, and the surplus-property credits extended by the U.S. Government, Turkey's share in dollar aid (exclusive of military and relief aid) had passed the $70 million mark as of March 31st, 1949.

Two aspects of this aid flow deserve emphasis. In the first place, all but $6.8 million had taken the form of loans. Turkey was thus one of the few countries which so far had not received any outright grants from the United States.4 No doubt this was proof that U.S. financial circles had confidence in the Turkish Government and its financial resources. At the same time, voices within the U.S. Government warned that the mounting debt-service burden was expected to reach $4 million during 1949.

3 See bibliographic note, p. 32.
4 The others were Ireland, Iceland, Belgium and Sweden.
When added to the annual debt-service burden of about $15 million owed in other currencies or commodities, the magnitude of payments of interest and amortization on account of foreign debts appears sizeable. The historic problem of Turkey's ability to satisfy foreign creditors' claims once more began to raise its disturbing head.

The second important aspect of the dollar aid programme concerned the aforementioned $6.8 million, which was granted on condition that Turkey in turn accord a non-reimbursable "drawing right" of the equivalent amount to Western European countries. Turkey did extend these credits to Western Germany, Greece, and Austria in order to bolster its exports to areas where it had had important markets before the war. In April it was estimated that such credits might reach $28 million during 1949. Turkey in turn obtained drawing rights of about $17 million from Belgium, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom to cover its expected import deficit with these countries. The decision of the Turkish Government (first made tentatively in October, 1948, and then finally in March, 1949) thus to participate in the intra-European payments systems helped to prepare the way for the restoration of multilateral trade between Turkey and Europe and a lessened dependence on U.S. assistance.

Turkey, in granting such credits, in effect changes its export surplus with certain European countries for an import surplus with the dollar area financed by the Marshall Plan. At the same time, in drawing upon credits it receives from other European countries, Turkey enables these other countries to obtain "conditional aid" which otherwise would not be forthcoming. On balance, therefore, the larger the net credits extended to other European countries by Turkey, the smaller net aid received by Turkey under the Marshall Plan. Consequently, if the inter-European credits can be extended and made convertible, the dependence on American aid will be lessened. Thus, for the year ending March 31st, 1949, the gross aid received by Turkey was reduced from $44.8 million to $38 million as a result of credits extended by Turkey to other participant countries. The aid proposed for April-June, 1949 ($4.9 million), will probably be conditional upon Turkey's extending equivalent credits to other countries participating in the Marshall Plan.

This relation between Turkey's European trade agreements and lessened dependence on U.S. aid was overlooked by the United States Senate Committee on Finance when, during hearings in February and March, 1949, it pointed to the restrictive character of the twelve bilateral agreements which Turkey had concluded in the post-war years, six of them in the first five months of 1949.

Prospect for Additional Loans.

In connection with Turkey's $730 million investment programme, to extend over the five years 1948-1953, the possibilities of additional dollar credits have reached the stage of active negotiations. On the one hand the U.S. Export-Import Bank has earmarked some $22 million for Turkey as the balance of credits previously authorized but not yet disbursed. Almost half of this sum, however, was not to be available after June, 1949.

The difficulty in utilizing this balance lay in singling out our appropriate projects and programming procurement in such a way as to satisfy the conditions set by the Export-Import Bank.

On the other hand, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has had a dollar loan of its own under consideration, the amount of which the Turkish Government first wished to have set at close to $100 million. Between January and March, 1949, a three-man mission of the Bank made an economic survey and on-the-spot investigation of the various industrial, hydro-electric, agricultural and transportation projects which the Turkish Government had singled out for financing by the International Bank. The Bank itself, apparently impressed by the soundness of some of the projects, announced on April 25th that it was willing to make a moderate loan to Turkey in the near future. The size of the loan will in all probability depend on an appraisal of Turkey's over-all debtor position. Final arrangements will require time and a high degree of coordination, especially in the light of the Turkish Government's concurrent commitments toward other foreign creditors. Turkey seems to appreciate the problem, since a Minister of State was appointed in January to co-ordinate foreign aid, and in February an Inter-Ministerial Committee was organized to co-ordinate economic planning.

Improvement in Turkey's Trade Balance.

The considerable amount of extraordinary assistance notwithstanding, Turkey's trade balance showed noticeable improvement during November, December, January and February, 1948-1949. The percentage of imports paid for by exports shows the following trend:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January-February, 49</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for 1949</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January-February, 49</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part of this favourable development was undoubtedly due to the nearly $10 million aid granted under the Marshall Plan to Western Germany, Austria and Greece for procurement of Turkish tobacco, textiles, fats and oils, fruits and other agricultural products. But sales to the United Kingdom and the United States also increased over comparable periods a year earlier, and Washington estimates anticipate further increases for 1949-1950. Some of the factors behind this slow return to Turkey's former favourable trade balance seem to be permanent. Consequently, the Marshall Plan administration was able to forecast a reduction of the current trade deficit from $37 million to $26 million by 1950. To no small extent, however, this optimistic outlook was anchored to the hope that certain institutional obstacles in Turkey to the investment of local and foreign private capital and to economic development in general would be removed.

New Freedom for Private Enterprise?

Probably the most important factor determining the rate of economic development in Turkey and trade with the outside world is the government's control over investment in mining and large areas of manufacturing, as well as over exports and imports. Recently, perhaps in response to growing domestic criticism and inquiring visits by Marshall Plan and International Bank missions, the need for a clear line of demarcation between spheres of private and state economic operations has been much discussed. Declarations by various Ministers, including one by the Minister of National Economy before the Assembly, have emphasized the government's interest in opening a wider area to private business enterprise. Some actions have in fact followed: fourteen textile plants, until now operated by the state-controlled Sumer Bank, were to become partly independent by June 1st, 1949. Agricultural machinery and tools, recently imported under the Marshall Plan, are to be resold to private firms which will distribute them to farmers on long-term credit. Similar signs of encouragement were extended to foreign business enterprises. Although ruling out exclusive concessions in such areas as oil or chrome, Article 51 of Decree No. 13 of May, 1947, now receiving wide publicity in official announcements, leaves the way open for joint enterprises in which foreign capital (through loans or direct investment) can participate on an equal footing with domestic capital. Profits and repayments of capital
MAURITIUS AND THE MAURITIUS MUSLIMS

By ABDool JALIL AHMADI

General Description.

Mauritius is an island situated in the Indian Ocean about 1,500 miles from the East Coast of Africa, its exact position being between 22° 48' East longitude and 20° 31' South latitude. Its time is four hours fast on Greenwich. The island is 58 miles in length, 29 in breadth, and has an area of 716 square miles, with a circumference of some 105 miles. It is distant from London about 9,000 miles via the Cape of Good Hope, and 7,500 miles via the Suez Canal. The distances from Bombay, Colombo and Natal are respectively 2,492, 2,200 and 1,570 miles. By air it takes about 45 minutes to travel to Réunion and about 2 hours to Madagascar. To London you would require about 3 days, but with a rapid service you can perform the journey within 24 hours.

The population of the island is 475,000, inclusive of 15,000 living in the Dependencies of the Island.

The chief sea-port and capital city of Mauritius is Port-Louis, situated on the north-west of the island. Its population in 1949 was estimated (including the suburbs) at 72,000. It has a safe harbour, a deep-water quay, docks and a granary. The central plateau comprises several towns, of which Curepipe, the garden city, at an altitude of 1,800 feet, is the largest. These towns, as well as those of the other districts, are fast growing with the facility of travel by buses and cars.

Mauritius is undoubtedly of volcanic origin. Extinct craters, dry or filled with water at altitudes of about 2,000 feet above the sea level, are to be found in several places. Other craters are also visible in the south-east harbour of Grand Port and near the northern islets, while tracts of lava can easily be detected in the north-eastern districts. Yet scientists consider the island to be of very old formation due to the fact that ravines, gorges and deep river beds have been cut in hard blue basalt.

Rodrigues, an island having an area of 42 square miles, is the largest dependency of Mauritius. It is situated at a distance of 350 miles north-east of Mauritius and has a population of nearly 14,000. Like Mauritius it is densely populated. It produces poultry, domestic animals, grain, and salt fish. The place is very salubrious.

The other dependencies have a population of about 2,000. They produce coconuts, copra, coconut oil and salt fish.

Before the opening of the Suez Canal, Mauritius was considered very important, owing to its proximity to the sea route from the Cape to Australia and the Far East. During the last two great World Wars, when the position was not very secure in the Near and Middle East, Mauritius again played its part as a port of call, an air base and as a sugar supplying centre. But it is very unfortunate that up to now Great Britain has not given it full credit as a distant outpost of the Commonwealth.

The island carries on a considerable trade with Great Britain, India, America, Japan, Canada, France, Australia and several other countries. Foodstuffs and jute bags were chiefly imported from India; woollen and cotton goods and building materials from England. Sugar, on which the island depends for its living, was exported to the United Kingdom. During the war (and even now) a good quantity of our sugar went to the Near and Middle East.

So far as subsidiary industries are concerned Mauritius produces aloe fibre from which sacks are made for the export of sugar, and for tea, tobacco, oil and food crops for home consumption. Alcohol can be exported. The currency is the rupee, which has the same value as the Indian rupee.

Religiously speaking, the population is divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians, the bulk being Roman Catholic and the others belonging to various Christian Churches</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese, Buddhists, etc.</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>226,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>64,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>476,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An interior view of the Jama'a Mosque at Port-Louis, being the most important Mosque of the island and a beautiful specimen of Muslim architecture of India.

There are 135 primary schools in Mauritius and Rodrigues, with an enrolment of 45,000 pupils, i.e., less than 50 per cent of children of school age. Primary education is not compulsory. There are two State Secondary Schools for boys, but none for girls. The other schools are private schools.

The official languages are English and French, but French is the more widely spoken. Both languages are taught in schools. Certain schools have also half-hour classes for the teaching of Hindi, Urdu and Tamil. These three lost languages, and also Gujarati, Marathi and Telegu, are spoken by Indians. Chinese speak their own language and they have private schools of their own. The lingua franca of Mauritius is the Creole Patois derived from the French.

For a tropical country the climate is not at all bad. Of course, it is hot in the coastal regions during summer, but on the whole it is quite bearable. There are no extremes of heat or cold. The maximum temperature during summer rarely exceeds 34° Centigrade, and there is no frost or fog during winter. The mild season is from May to October and the hot rainy season extends from November to April.

**History.**

Mauritius, its dependency Rodrigues and the neighbouring French island of Réunion or Bourbon have been named the Mascarene Archipelago in honour of the great navigator Don Pedro Mascarenhas, to whom until recently their discovery was attributed.

To the historian and the scholar the history of the discovery of this group of islands is a very valuable one. They attach so much importance to it that many during past years have been devoting much of their time and money in search of further information in that connection.

There is not the least doubt that these islands were known to the Arabs long before Europeans ventured over the Indian Ocean. Dutch maps drawn from earlier Arab maps, as well as Portuguese charts of the early 16th century copies from those found on captured Moorish vessels, showed that the islands of the group were designated by the Arabs as Dina Moraze, Dinarobin, Dina Margabin or Dina Arobi. Some authors believe that certain islands marked on the map of Edrisi (1151) seem to indicate them.

The most recent illustrated book on the subject is the one published last year in Mauritius. It has been written in French by Mr. George de Visdelou-Guimbeau, F.R.G.S., under the title of *La découverte des îles Mascareignes*, with a very interesting preface from the pen of Dr. Auguste Toussaint, Ph.D., B.A., Custodian of the Archives of Mauritius. This book is a valuable contribution towards the study of the discovery of these parts of the globe, and it is to be hoped that it will be welcomed in various quarters. In a short foreword Mr. Guimbeau writes:

"A question of the most interesting nature and which no one has been able to clear up is the story of the Mascarenne Islands during the Middle Ages at the time when they were still in the hands of the Arabs.

"Can we establish the precise dates at which these islands saw men landing for the first time on their shores? The well-known map of Cantino informs us that it was probably long before 1502, because at that time they were already bearing Oriental names.

"The Arab merchant and traveller, Suleyma Al-Mahri, mentions the group towards 1489 and calls it 'Tirrakh'; if one were to think that the Arabs had already established themselves along the North East Coast of Madagascar at the beginning of the 9th century ... the history of the Mascarene islands may well go back more than a millennium."

As regards the discovery, or rather the re-discovery, of Mauritius by the Portuguese, Mr. Guimbeau concludes that the
pilot Domingo Fernandez, who was serving when Albuquerque was Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India (1509-1515) was the man who discovered Mauritius, and he places the discovery somewhere between the years 1509 and 1519 for plausible reasons.

The Arabs most probably the first to discover Mauritius.

The Arabs had already landed on the Malabar Coast of south-west India in the 7th century of the Christian Era. Later on they had landed in Sind, where they settled for some time. At the same time their progress continued in Northern Africa, and by 711 they were already in Spain. At a certain time, they knew certain points on the east coast of Africa. They had visited Ceylon, and by the 8th century they had settled in the Malay Archipelago for the purpose of trade. At about the same time, or a little later, they had also settled on the north-east coast of Madagascar, and most probably visited the neighbouring islands.

During these travels, they might have come to Mauritius at various periods in quest of fresh water, fish, wild birds and fruits, and also for ebony and ambergris. It is therefore not unreasonable to believe that the first civilized people who landed in this lovely island were the hardy Arabs of yore, and that the first call to prayer was made by these true believers on our beautiful shores, in gratitude to the Almighty who had safely directed them to such a place. They remained the undisputed masters of the trade in the East until the 15th century, when it was taken away from them by the Portuguese.

In the same century, they departed from Spain, but before doing so they left there the vast heritage of learning and civilization of which Europe is so proud to-day.

The Malays had come to Madagascar and colonized part of it about the 15th century. They certainly knew about the existence of Mauritius, and may have accompanied their Arab friends to the island. There is no proof that the Arabs, the Malays or the Portuguese ever made any settlement in Mauritius. The island remained uninhabited throughout the whole of the 16th century.

The Dutch and French Settlers.

On 18th September, 1598, a Dutch squadron cast anchor in the south-eastern port (later known as Grand Port) to which the Commander, Admiral Wybrandt Van Warwoyk, gave his own name. No settlement was made. The Commander took possession of the island on behalf of his Government, named it Mauritius, in honour of the Stateholder, Prince Maurice de Nassau, ordered the clearance of ground, planted some seeds, and then set sail in less than two weeks.

It was only some forty years later that the first attempt at colonization was made. On the 6th May, 1638, the first Dutch Governor, Cornelioz Simoe Gooey, appointed by the "Compagnie Neerlandaise des Indes," landed at Warwick Haven, or South Eastern Port. Buildings were erected and several families established themselves in the region. Other settlers followed, but the island was abandoned in 1658.

It was to be re-occupied again after sixty years. This time a more serious attempt at settlement was made by the Dutch. Stronger buildings were erected, a garden was established, and more cultivation made, but the enterprise did not prosper. They finally abandoned the island in 1710 after denuding the forests of their valuable timber, particularly ebony, and exterminating the natural fauna, of which the dodo was a unique specimen. In return for the destruction of the natural resources they left a large number of rats.

In 1715, the French took possession of the island and named it "Ile de France". Some French families from Réunion began to settle here in 1712. The North West Port was given the name of Port-Louis, and the island once again became inhabited.

The real history of the island begins in 1735, when Mahé de Labourdonnais was appointed Governor. He is the real colonizer of Mauritius and the founder of Port-Louis. From his time onwards, the history of the colony is intermixed with that of India, the Indian Ocean and the French and English possessions in those parts.

Mauritius under the British Rule.

At a certain moment the situation for the British in the Indian Ocean was untenable. They resolved to capture the island, but this did not occur until 1810, although some attempts were made earlier. In August 1810, a naval battle was fought off the coast of Grand Port at Ile de la Passa, when the French surrendered, and Mauritius became British.

From 1810 the history of Mauritius has been not unlike that of other British colonies. It has developed ever since, and become an advanced country. On the 1st April, 1855, slavery was abolished, and the Government paid a big sum to the planters for the 60,000 or more slaves who were set free. As the emancipated slaves refused to go back and work in the fields, the planters were forced to have recourse to India for help. Indian immigrants were soon introduced. In spite of ups and downs and in face of tremendous hardships they have worked for the advancement of the islands, and if Mauritius is what it is to-day, it is due to these humble workers from India, Hindus and Muslims alike, who have toiled and sweated to build a prosperous colony.

A Government council with ten elected members was established in 1886. In 1948 an enlarged constitution was awarded. The new Legislative Council comprises 19 elected
members, 12 nominated, and 3 ex-officio members with the Governor as President. During the war, Mauritius played its part when with men, money and sugar it contributed to achieve victory.

The Muslims.

After the Arabs and the Malays, the other Muslims who came to Mauritius were from India; they arrived in the 18th century, and this time they settled in the country. Labourdonnais, on his arrival here in 1755, found that the works were being carried out, if at all, very slowly owing to the lack of skilled workers. So he introduced artisans and skilled workmen from India for building the port and town of Port-Louis — how many of them we cannot say. First-hand documents are not available. We only know that amongst the carpenters, smiths, masons and other categories of artisans then working in the shipyards, there were a large number of Indians who were known as Malabars and Lascars. Malabars because they came from the Malabar coast and Lascars because they were seamen or people working in a seaport.

According to A. Martineau, Quatre Ans d'Histoire de l'Inde Française (1726—1730), Mr. Dumas, the predecessor of Mahé de Labourdonnais, went to Pondicherry in October, 1728, to explain to the council of Pondicherry what he required for the islands of Ile de France and Bourbon. It is mentioned that 180 slaves from 8 to 18 years of age, and 95 workmen, were procured for him. How many of them came here and how many were sent to Réunion, we are not able to ascertain. Neither can we say how many were actually in the island when Labourdonnais arrived. Pierre Crépin, in his book on Labourdonnais, describes Port-Louis as follows:

"In these irregular streets obstructed with stones, dwelt the artisans of the island, presque tous hindous de la côte de Malabar..." (mostly Hindus from the Malabar Coast).

We must explain here that French authors usually designate the natives of Hindustan by the name of Hindous, irrespective of their religion. The same author writes a little further, that Labourdonnais introduced Indian tailors, jewellers and shoemakers who opened shops in Port-Louis.

Of all these people, how many were Muslims? Here again we cannot give a positive answer. Strangely enough, the above appellations, Lascars and Malabars, have come down to us. Non-Indians still think that Lascar is synonymous with Muslim, and Malabar with Indian field-worker. That the designation Lascar applied to Muslim there is not the least doubt, as history will prove later. These workers were given a site for their residence in the eastern suburb of the rising town and it was known as the Camp des Malabars; that place became a little later the Camp des Lascars (the Lascar Camp), and the descendants of these Muslims are designated until this day as Creole-Lascars (Native Muslims).

This small community of Muslims gradually increased and prospered. In 1767 the commemoration of the Muharram was held for the first time. A temporary place of worship was found. A burial ground and a "Kerbela" in connection with the Muharram ceremonial were also consecrated, an Imam appointed, and Islam was definitely established in the eastern suburb of the town. At the end of the century the term Lascar was officially used in a document by which a concession of a piece of land was made to the Muslims for building a Mosque. This Mosque is the oldest of the island, and is situated in Port-Louis.

After the abolition of slavery in 1835, Indian labourers, among whom were a good number of Muslims, began to arrive in Mauritius. After them came the Muslim traders from Cutch, Calcutta, Bombay and Surat. Firms and shops were established, and very soon there was a flourishing mercantile community of Muslim traders in Port-Louis. Later on retail traders were to establish themselves in important places up-country.

In 1852 another mosque was built in the centre of the town. It was a small one at first. Soon the adjoining premises were purchased and the Mosque greatly enlarged. The edifice was erected by Indian artisans and was completed in the nineties of last century. It is known as the Jumma Musjid of Port-Louis, the most important Mosque in the island, and a beautiful monument of Muslim architecture of India.

With the arrival of more immigrants new sugar estates were established throughout the island wherever sugar-cane would grow. Thus villages, hamlets and agglomerations of dwellings were increasing, with the result that Muslim traders opened shops wherever possible. In places where the Muslims were in sufficiently large numbers, maktabas and madrasahs were established, which afterwards became places of worship where Muslims could gather for the performance of prayers and for the holding of religious ceremonies and reading of books on theology. Jamaats and congregations were formed in Port-Louis and in other districts, and Muslims were then firmly established in the Colony.

Glorious days followed. During the last quarter of the 19th century, and during the first quarter of the 20th, their situation was one of great prosperity, progress and influence. During that period sugar was being exported to India. Hence the export trade of sugar and the import trade of grains, jute bags and textiles, as well as a good share of the retail trade, were in the hands of Muslims. The number of their immovable properties increased.

Mr. Ghoolam Mohammed D. Atchia, the first Muslim to be elected Mayor of Port-Louis, Mauritius

MARCH 1950
They became owners of sugar-mills and estates, steamers and ships, lighterage establishments and docks, and they wielded so much influence that they were considered a community having “rank and prestige”. They were pioneers of hydro-electric installations in the island. To-day the first match factory of Mauritius is a Muslim concern. During these days the Muslim traders were called “Arab merchants” and the Jumu’a Masjid was known as the “Mosquée des Arabes”.

Some fifty years ago Dr. Hassan Sakir and Mr. Cassam Ajum Piperdy were elected as Municipal Councillors for the town of Port-Louis. They were the first Muslim Councillors. Since then there always have been one, two or three Muslims in the City Council. Several times they occupied the seats of Mayor or Deputy Mayor. Mr. G. M. D. Archia was the first Muslim to be elected Mayor of Port-Louis, in 1938. He was again chosen in 1946, and this year Mr. A. R. Mahomed is the Mayor of the town. Dr. Hassan Sakir was the first Muslim to sit in the Government Council, in 1911, to represent the Muslims as a nominated member. He retired in 1925. In 1926 Mr. G. M. D. Archia replaced him and continued to sit in the Council until its dissolution in 1948.

Mr. A. L. Osman was also appointed a member of the Council of Government about nine years ago to represent the small planters. In the new Legislative Council which was established in September, 1948, Mr. Osman was again chosen as a nominated member. He also sits in the Executive Council, and was awarded the O.B.E. in 1948.

Owing to communal voting at the last elections, eleven Hindus, one white and seven coloured persons were elected for the 19 seats of the Legislative Council. There were five Muslim candidates, of whom one is a lawyer and another a graduate of London University.

In 1908, the society Fraternité Musulmane — Ikhwat al-Islam was founded, with Dr. Hassan Sakir as President and R. N. Gassita as Secretary. The motto of the Society is "Union and Progress". Its members comprised the intellectuals of all the sections of the Muslim community. It made a strong move in favour of education. Its programme was to unite in a single bond all the Muslims of the Colony irrespective of their ethnic origin, to establish Muslim schools and a college, a Yatim-Khane (orphanage) and other social institutions. The Society started a weekly L’Islamisme which ceased to appear when some difficulty arose owing to the Great War. During the Balkan War, on the initiative of the Society, a meeting was held to collect funds in favour of the Turkish Red Crescent. It was a success. A substantial sum of money was sent to Turkey, as a result of which Mr. G. M. D. Archia, the President of the meeting, was made an Officer of the Order of the Medjidieh.

Some ten or twelve years later another huge sum was collected. During the war in Asia Minor, when the Greeks, at the instigation of the Imperialists, again attacked Turkey, Maulavi Ibrahim of Randers, India, came to Mauritius, where he appealed for help for Turkish refugees.

Other meetings were also held for promoting the establishment of a Muslim college and a Yatim Khana. The Society made various representations to the Government and to the Royal Commission which visited the island in 1909. Among other things the Government agreed to appoint a Muslim to sit on the Government Council and to proclaim the Masjids (mosques) as places of worship. Mr. R. N. Gassita wrote an article, “L’Islam à l’Ile Maurice,” which appeared in the Revue du Monde Musulman of Paris in 1913.

Some years before the First World War the Muslims had lost some ground. A further reverse awaited them after the boom years of 1920-24. By that time many of the old-established firms had disappeared, and what remained of the big plantations and sugar-mills were soon to change hands. There were heavy losses both in agriculture and commerce.

In August, 1932, it was decided, after a mass meeting, to send a delegation to London to make representations and to ask for help and some constitutional changes. Mr. G. M. D. Archia went to England on behalf of the Muslims in whose name a memorandum was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the various questions discussed. The most important advantage to be obtained by the Muslim Delegation was the lowering of the exchange rate of the £, which reduced the price of imported goods by more than 13 per cent. Other advantages were to follow.

The present condition of the Muslims in Mauritius.

In spite of heavy reverses and sorrowful changes the Muslims are still holding on. Their immovable properties, fields and plantations, in towns and in the country, are worth many millions. They have still a substantial part of the trade in their hands. They are bus and car owners and have interests in various industries. They are professionals, doctors, dentists, barristers, solicitors, civil servants of all grades, head teachers and teachers in schools and colleges. One gentleman is sitting as a judge at the Supreme Court, another is a magistrate, and there is also an assistant Police Superintendent. Other professionals are practising outside the Colony and there is a good number of students learning Medicine and Science, or reading for the Bar in Great Britain, Eire, France and India.

In every sphere of life the Muslims of this Colony have played their part, and played it well, and have shown their staunch loyalty. They have sat on various Committees and Commissions. During the last war they sought no pretext to avoid conscription, or to shirk their duty. They served in the forces, overseas and locally. They helped in the Red Cross and A.R.P. organizations.

In Port-Louis we have several madresahs (schools). The two older ones were established by the Jumu’a Mosque and the Sunnee Surtee Mussalman Society. The Muslim High School was established by Maulana Hakim Abdul Rashid Nawab in 1926. Maulana A. R. Nawab is also the founder of the Muslim Educational Society. He is a scholar of great erudition. He is a Qari, a Hakim and a Hafiz, a theologian, a writer and a poet, with full command of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He has done yeoman service in connection with Muslim education in Mauritius. During his last visit to Egypt he was offered help if Muslim students were sent to Egypt.

A great number of pupils of both sexes are attending the above-mentioned institutions where the Qur’an, Urdu and Daireyat (theology) are being taught. In all other towns and villages there are also madresahs (schools) where the same subjects are taught. All these institutions are supported solely by Muslims. There are two primary schools subsidised by the Government — in Port-Louis the Sunnee Surtee Aided School, with an enrolment of 800 pupils, and at Rose Hill, the Rose Hill Mohammadan Aided School with an enrolment of 400.

In the Government or aided primary schools there are 7,500 Muslim pupils. They are taught French, English, Arithmetic and other subjects of primary grade. As there are no Government or Muslim secondary schools for girls up to now, Muslim girls entering for higher western education have to go to convent schools, or be given private tuition.

A residential Muslim college for boys has just been established at Curepipe under the auspices of the Islamic Cultural Association. The beginning is very promising. Dr. Hassenjee Joomave, a former laureate1 of the Royal College, is devoting his life to this new venture.

1 A laureate is a student who secures a scholarship which allows him to complete his professional studies at the expense of the State.
much of his time and energy to the new College; in fact it is
under his personal supervision.

There are 90 Muslim boys at the Royal College and the
Royal College School, and about 200 in other secondary schools.
So far there have been three Muslim laureates of the Royal
College, Drs. Hassenjee Joomaye, Hassam Fakim and Hassen
Nooroozy.

There are at present 64 Masjids (Mosques) and 7 other
buildings used as places of worship; 44 Registered Muslim
Friendly Societies, exclusive of non-registered congregations, and
183 registered Waqfs, including 64 Mosques. The law on Waqf
was enacted in 1941, but many important Waqfs have not been
registered yet because those who are in charge do not care to
do so. There are also a few private Muslim cemeteries. One is
more than 150 years old, but it is not used now.

The Government was ready to introduce Muslim laws of
succession, marriage and divorce about three years ago, but for
some unforeseen circumstances the matter has been delayed.
A movement is afoot now, again asking the Government to make
necessary enactments.

The Society "Mauritius Muslim Orphanage" has estab-
lished an orphanage, and an infirmary for the infirm and the
aged, known as the "Currimjee Jeewoonjee Infirmary", is attached
to it. Both institutions are in Port-Louis, and they are sub-
sidized by Government according to law.

We have a certain number of persons styled Muslim priests
who act as unpaid Civil Status Officers for registering Muslim
marriages under the local law. The Government, so far, does
not pay anything for the maintenance of our Mosques and
madressah, nor for the emoluments of our Imams. This is an
anomaly, because the Christian Churches receive grants from
money paid by all taxpayers.

Since last year the Government of India has appointed a
Commissioner in Mauritius in the person of Mr. Dharam Yash
Dev. He is here with his family. Mr. and Mrs. Dev are very
popular. They have been present at all the social functions since
their arrival. The Commissioner is working hard to strengthen
the good relations between Mauritius and India. Hindus,
Muslims and Mauritians are cordially helping him. Four scholar-
ships have been awarded to Indo-Mauritian students on his
recommendation, three to Hindus, including a girl, and one to
a Muslim.

WORLD POLITICS AND MUSLIM COUNTRIES

By ABU MUHAMMAD

The Chain that was forged — America and the Middle East.

One of the decisions taken at the Conference of American
Representatives in the Near and Middle East, which was held
recently at Istanbul, was that Turkey should be considered as
the keystone and nerve-centre of United States' influence in the
Near and Middle East.

The interference of the United States of America in the
domestic and foreign policy of Turkey is no new matter or
thing to cause surprise or immediate concern. Turkey has, for
some years now, been an open field for American activities in
the military, economic and political spheres.

Turkey's position was very precarious during the last war,
and the U.S.S.R. was a constant threat to its independence and
safety. To start with, Moscow frightened and perplexed Turkey
by declaring its intention not to renew the treaty of friendship
that was existing between the two countries. Then it demanded
from Turkey the right of free passage through the straits and
of participation in their defence. Also it demanded the return
of the territories of Karas and Ardehan to the Soviet Union. In
face of these demands and threats, Turkey found no alternative
but to seek the protection of the United States of America, which
promised to come to the aid of Turkey in the case of aggression
and to oppose the Soviet Union very fiercely in the political
sphere.

Once the Americans got a legitimate foothold in Turkey,
they began in earnest to exploit the situation to the fullest
possible extent. Turkey, too, made full use of the situation at
the time. Well understanding the United States' fear of the tide
of Russian Communism spreading to Central and Eastern
Europe and to Asia, Turkey made frequent appeals to the United
States, requesting what it lacked in the way of naval and military
equipment, and also economic assistance. Turkey seems to have
benefited in no small measure from the situation in which it
was thrust by securing from the United States a great deal of
military and economic assistance; and the United States, too,

1 Courtesy, Al-Bassair, for 9th and 16th January, 1950, Algiers, Algeria.
On the other hand, the Arab States are not prepared to enter into any political or economic negotiations with Israel, for the simple reason that the Arabs look on Israel as a State that has been thrust on their rightful domain by shameful violence and political treachery, and naturally, therefore, they harbour no good feelings towards Israel. The United States stands impatience and rather vexed at this situation. Each day that passes without enabling it to propagate its influence in the Arab World it considers as a lost day. The United States, at last, decided to look to Turkey in an effort to execute its cherished designs.

Saif al-Lah — The Sword of God. Turkey and the Arabs.

Turkey has abandoned every moral consideration and has disregarded the Islamic feelings of brotherhood and friendship not only by legally recognizing the State of Israel, as many non-Muslim States have done, but also by exchanging diplomatic relations with Israel and establishing economic relations as well. Turkey, by this action, is helping Israel in no small measure and is condoning Israel’s shameful aggression in Palestine on fellow-Muslims. Turkey’s attitude in this matter is very regrettable and is highly condemned by the Arab people. The behaviour of the Arab States in the Palestine problem and in the ultimate war there is not without fault and shortcomings, but all this is no justification for Turkey taking such “stab-in-the-back” action.

The Turkish Government has sent one of its most eminent diplomats, Mr. Saif ul-Lah, as its representative in Israel, and Israel also has sent one of its eminent politicians to Turkey. How fierce is the irony of time! Saif ul-Lah, at last, enters Tel-Aviv as a vanquished politician and not as a victorious one, a state of affairs that brings pain to the Arabs and joy to the hearts of the Jews.

The Effect on the Arabs of the Turkish Policy in the Middle East.

When Turkey decided to follow this policy, which the Arabs criticize and condemn to a great extent and will for a long time continue to oppose, it was not only being driven blindly and hopelessly by the United States, but was also seeking its own economic and material interests. Turkey was following the political design that was traced at the Istanbul Conference.

Israel at the present time is suffering from a severe economic slump and is in a very precarious situation which may bring down her in the near future, if not remedied at once. Israel is not exporting enough goods to foreign markets to earn the necessary amount of foreign currency which it needs in order to pay for the wide variety of its imports. Israel has very few natural resources of wealth and is in fact not even self-sufficient. The Jewish community in Palestine had, since its introduction there, been supported mainly by the charity of world Jewry — especially American Jewry. Now that a Jewish State has been established, the zeal of the Jews of the world seems to have cooled and very negligible assistance has been forthcoming from them. The economic situation in Israel has caused the Jews there great alarm. Arab politicians knew long ago that, even though the Arab States might lose the war they waged against the Jews for the liberation of Palestine through the lack of harmony and co-operation between them in the handling of the military campaign and also through the great pressure exerted by influential political powers, they would nevertheless be left with another weapon by which they could coerce Israel: a total economic and political boycott. When the military campaign failed, the Arabs resorted to this latter weapon.

Unfortunately, however, the efficacy of such an economic boycott has been diminished to a very great extent by the new trends in Turkey’s policy towards Israel. Turkey has thus deprived the Arabs of one of the last measures on which they laid hopes for coercing Israel to a wiser or more compromising attitude towards the solution of the Palestine problem. Turkey has taken this step for its own selfish material interest and in obedience to the dictates of the United States. It is now doing business on a large scale with Israel, and will no doubt be making great profits for some time through this trade. In Israel Turkey found a very good market for its exports and a source of good income and profits, and consequently, its commercial relations with Israel will grow very solid and its position and status in Israel will be very enviable indeed.

It is doubted whether this sudden change of policy towards Israel has occurred solely for the purpose of Turkey securing economic advantages. The real purpose of this change of policy is, indeed, an attempt by the United States to influence the Arabs and daunt them from prosecuting further their economic cold war against Israel. By showing the Arabs that the “negative” weapon on which they set their last hopes has been greatly diminished in value and efficacy, the United States expects that the Arabs will turn back from their course and negotiate with the Jews some form of agreement for carrying on commercial and political intercourse. The achievement of the United States’ political designs in the Near and Middle East depends, in no small measure, on the assumption of friendly relations between the Arabs and Israel, and the United States will spare no efforts in attempting to bring forth such a state of affairs. It is at the present exerting great political pressure on the various Arab States to force them to adopt this policy. The United States is also using the new trends in Turkish policy as enticements to the Arab countries and also utilizing the representatives of Turkey in the Arab countries as advocates of its policy, thus paving the way.

We are now witnessing the last phase of the political and economic campaign which the Arabs waged on the Jews in Palestine, and it will not be long before we see the final result of this tragic strife in which the United States of America has been one of the main contestants.

The Situation in Jerusalem.

Is the present situation in Jerusalem and the recent developments there within the scheme laid by the Istanbul Conference? In my opinion it is. The United States of America has a predominant influence on the foreign policy of the State of Israel. The United States was one of the main factors that brought this State into existence, and it has invested a great amount of dollars in bringing into reality the dream of the Jews. It is now playing another rôle in favour of Israel and is making no pretence of hiding its motive. It wants to see Israel firmly established in Jerusalem and it seeks to confine any proposed régime in this city to a very limited area, including merely the particular Holy places — in fact, the Old City, which is now in Arab occupation.

The problem of Jerusalem has created a crisis in the United Nations Organization, which seems to have divided the members of this Organization into two main camps: One, Russia and its satellites, who support the smaller nations in their demand for an international régime for Jerusalem; and two, the Anglo-Saxon powers, who have either voted against the internationalization of Jerusalem or abstained from voting.

Who will finally succeed in this political battle? Will the United Nations Organization resort to military measures to coerce Israel and Jordan into obeying its resolution and withdrawing their forces from the Jerusalem area so that an effective international régime may be set up in the city?

Israel, supported by the United States, has emphatically declared its reply to the United Nations’ resolution. Israel says that it will not bow to the United Nations’ resolution, and that
no threats or menaces whatsoever will make the Jews in Israel and in the rest of the world abandon "their capital". Israel has moved its Parliament and Government Departments from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem and the Jews now "vow" that they will not quit the Holy City alive.

On the other hand, King 'Abdullah, of Jordan, declares that he will not abandon his present military occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem — and in this he is supported by Great Britain. 'Abdullah says that he will not leave a City which is holy and sacred to Islam to be governed by any international régime, and that he and his army will fight to the last man before giving way.

King 'Abdullah has set up an effective Administration in the Old City of Jerusalem and in the part of Palestine under his control, and the Jews have likewise established an effective Administration in the parts they occupy... both seem to be happy, and want to keep what they now have.

The Trusteeship Council and Jerusalem.

The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, which is endeavouring to find a solution to the Jerusalem problem, is undecided, helpless and weak in face of this situation. The Council seems to have admitted its defeat and it is understood that it is now seeking a tactful and convenient method to save its face and dignity by ordaining the status quo in Jerusalem. The President of the Trusteeship Council has, in a recent unofficial statement, declared that the Security Council should adopt a practical outlook on the Jerusalem problem and should "face the facts" there. He is also reported to have said that the Trusteeship Council would serve no good purpose by "putting itself into situations from which it cannot find a safe and dignified way out". The United Nations is now being urged to give its sanction to the present state of affairs in Jerusalem and not abandon the resolution for international control of the whole of the City. The advocates of this move would like to leave both Jordan and Israel undisturbed in their military occupation of, and political sovereignty in, parts of the City, while establishing an international régime on a very minor scale to safeguard free worship and access to the various Holy places and shrines in the Old City.

This statement by the President of the Trusteeship Council about a possible solution for the problem of Jerusalem was purposely made unofficial. It was not put forward as the official view of the President, partly because the Council did not want to admit defeat prematurely, and partly because it was seeking to sense the reaction of the various members of the United Nations to such a proposal, without in any way incurring official criticism or condemnation. The President’s statement, however, has not had a stormy reception, nor has it been greeted with any great measure of criticism or disapproval — in short, the adverse reaction has been negligible. A few politicians and journalists have commented on the statement merely by saying that such a solution, though it is in some way tantamount to a retreat and an admission of defeat by the Security Council, is, nevertheless, the only practical solution to the problem and the only one that may save the face of the United Nations and deliver it from an embarrassing situation into which it rushed without due consideration. A few other politicians and journalists have, on the other hand, lamented the fate of the United Nations Organization as a whole. In this Organization’s suffering defeat after defeat these observers predict an ultimate doom, and they see the Council’s defeat on the Jerusalem problem as one which has caused the United Nations a great loss of dignity and prestige and one from which it may take very long to recover, if ever.

There has so far been a great deal of waviering in the United Nations about the Jerusalem problem, and no decision has as yet been reached which can truly be considered as finally disposing of the matter. Two courses are open to the United Nations in its attempt to solve the problem of Jerusalem. One of these is that it should follow a firmer attitude than it has so far followed and should approach the matter with more determination to see its word obeyed — even though that might necessitate or entail the use of force; and it is only by following this course and not deviating from it that the United Nations Organization can hope to command the respect of its members and of the world and thus be able to fulfil satisfactorily the task assigned to it in our disturbed world. Only in this way can the United Nations Organization open a new chapter in the solution of world problems in a peaceful manner without war. The other course is for the United Nations to abandon its previous resolution, thus admitting, in addition to its abject defeat, its irresoluteness and helplessness. Should that happen, it would be time to write the obituary of this Organization. It would have died from the same ailment which caused the decomposition of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

The Syrian Outlook.

Syria has been very quiet since the third coup d’etat. The Government formed by Khaled El-Azm took proper hold of the unusually disturbed situation in the country, and no incidents of any significance have been reported. One of the main problems facing the Syrian Government at the moment is the finding of some form of understanding and reconciliation between the Army Chiefs, who were responsible for the last coup d’etat as well as for the previous ones, and the Constituent Assembly which was elected by the Syrian people for the purpose of drafting a Constitution. Conflicting views on vital matters are known to exist between the Army and the Assembly, but there has not so far been any open clash.

It is now known that the project of Union between Iraq and Syria, which was said to be favoured by a majority in the Constituent Assembly and against which the Army revolted and brought about the third coup d’etat, has now been shelved, at least temporarily. Even though the Constituent Assembly may be still favouring union with Iraq, it would not be wise for it to attempt to bring the project into reality, because this would displease the present Army Chiefs and might cause yet another coup d’etat which would wholly undermine the present Civil Administration in the country and replace it by an inefficient and ruthless military régime, like that set up by the late Marshal Husni Za'im.

The Constituent Assembly which will draft Syria’s new constitution will, in the face of the Army’s serious threat of immediate dissolution, have to declare that Syria is an independent sovereign Republic and in no union or federation with any other country.

It is rumoured that a new coup d’etat was to have followed Col. Shishaki’s coup d’etat, and that this was planned by a group of high-ranking officers in the Syrian Army with the object of reinstating Col. Hinnawi. It is said that this “plot” was discovered and the whole affair was quenched without any public show.

King 'Abdullah, of Jordan (who returned last month to Amman after a visit of five days to Baghdad, Iraq), and the Iraqi politicians, who are ardent advocates of the Iraqi-Syrian Union, as well as the British who, while behind the screen pull the strings which manipulate their puppets, have all kept very quiet in the face of the new adverse developments on the Syrian scene. The “Intelligence Service” is now the last hope for providing an opportune moment to raise the matter of the Iraqi-Syrian Union again. The present situation in the Arab World is certainly not favourable to such a step. But it is hard to say when things might change, for in America things move fast.

The Egyptian General Election.

The result of the General Election in Egypt has been an unqualified victory for the “Wafda” party led by Nahas Pasha.

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This victory of the "Wafd" heralds a new, and perhaps a promising, era in the long history of Egypt. Immediately the result of the Election was declared, there were speculations on whether the "Wafd" Party would form a Coalition Government to include the other political parties in Egypt; but the Cabinet formed has shown that such parties are excluded from the Cabinet. A Coalition Government, it was hoped, would have been likely to tackle Egypt's complicated political and social problems in a more effective manner — but that is only a view which may be quite wrong.

One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the people of Egypt have declared by their vote in unequivocal terms their trust in the "Wafd" party and their support for its policy. It is surprising that the "Wafd" has succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the voters in face of the known hostility of King Farouk and of the crude "mud-slinging" which was indulged in against the "Wafd" by the opposing Parties. But perhaps such a result happened because the voting for the General Election this time was free and without molestation! This all goes to show what a farce recent Egyptian politics were.

Influential members of the "Wafd" Party, who disagreed with the Party's policy in the past and who withdrew from its ranks when it was thought to be in the process of decay in order to instigate a division of the Party by leaders who threatened to form a rival to the "Wafd" Party after all. The "Sa'dists" and the "Kuda", who branched off from the "Wafd", have suffered a great defeat in this Election. The "Wafd", under the leadership of Nahas Pasha, continue to have the confidence of the electorate — a confidence that is a personal tribute to Nahas Pasha. So, after five years of what may be termed political "abeyance" or forced inactivity, the "Wafd" is back in office.

It cannot be denied that Egypt has for the last few years been advancing steadily in the way of social and economic progress. Admittedly, the progress has been rather slow, but it must not be forgotten that there are many obstacles in the way of any speedy progress. No quick or material improvements can be hoped for before such obstacles are removed and before the way is thereby smoothed for the administration of the effective remedy.

A thing which is overlooked by observers of Egyptian affairs, but which nevertheless is of the utmost importance, is that there is in Egypt a King. It is a mistake for social reformers to under-estimate this fact. The King in Egypt is not content with sitting on the throne, but wants to have a real say in the Government and administration of the country. He interferes with nearly all the affairs of State, and this has so far been one of the main causes for the political unrest and the instability of Governments in Egypt for many years. The clashes that occurred very frequently between King Fuad, the father of King Farouk, and Sa'd Zaghloul Pasha and Nahas Pasha, the successive leaders of the "Wafd" Party, were known to be very bitter indeed.

Egypt's present King has inherited from his father the desire to interfere in the affairs of the country, and has so far shown himself to be a true reproduction of his late father. The Palace clashed with the "Wafd" Party a few years ago, and there has also been a serious and unpleasant disagreement between King Farouk and Nahas Pasha on a personal level. These incidents were followed by the dismissal of the "Wafd" Party from office, and the perpetuation of the King's hostility to Nahas Pasha and his Party has brought many political crises from which the country has suffered.

With this background in mind, what, one wonders, will now happen in Egypt? Will the "Wafd" Party, if faced with meddling by the King, stand firm in opposition to him and insist on its democratic and constitutional right to govern the country alone in reliance on the sweeping majority it secured at the elections? Or will Egypt again witness another determined and blind struggle between the King and the ruling political party, which would result in a distraction and deviation from the all-important programme of social and economic reform which is the only salvation for Egypt's starving and diseased millions, and would also throw Egypt behind in the race for progress and leadership in the Arab World.

King Farouk must by now have learnt that to oppose the wishes of the majority of his people will not pay good dividends to his dynasty. He must realize that the "Wafd" Party, which has vigorously survived in face of his and Britain's opposition over many years, must be a very strong Party, and is likely to put up a relentless fight if opposed by him. It would be to Egypt's great advantage if the King were to follow a more compromising attitude with the new "Wafd" Government.

The "Wafd" Government no doubt has realized by now that there is no advantage in consulting the King on the affairs of State or in provoking him unnecessarily into battle with them. The King of Egypt is not likely to accept a status similar to that of the King of England — and this is one of the lessons which the "Wafd" learnt during its experience in office before and after the last war. The "Wafd" Party may thus do well in forming a united front consisting of the King and his people as their leader, and then they can venture to stand firmly and solidly in face of British imperialism, and only then can it rid the country of parasitical foreign interests and solve the problem of the Sudan.

The United States wos the Arab World.

In the Near and Middle Eastern scene we find the United States of America preparing in earnest for a political and economic "invasion" of the Arab World. The United States is hoping to rise to the position of influence which Britain occupied in the Arab World for a long time. Britain's prestige in the Arab World seems to be on the decline, and we have lately seen how Britain's hopes in bringing about an Iraqi-Syrian Union have been frustrated.

The third "coup d'etat" and its consequences have been an unqualified victory for the United States. The United States is making the fullest possible use of the present political and economic unrest in the Arab World to enhance its prestige in these parts. It is making doubled and determined efforts in this respect. Last month saw the opening of a new Radio Transmission in Arabic from New York to the Arab World. The opening was a pompous affair, beginning with a rather message from President Truman followed by speeches by the various Diplomatic Representatives of the Arab countries in Washington, all of whom had something to say about "good and friendly feelings in the hearts of the Americans to the Arab World and its people". It is indeed ironical that there should be such talk of "friendship" between the United States and the Arab World, while the disgraceful rôle which the United States played in the Palestine affair against the Arabs is still fresh in one's mind.

Later, Mr. Dean Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, declared that he would make an official tour of the Near and Middle East to get first-hand information of conditions there and, no doubt, to report home on the best possible means for implanting American interests yet further in these parts. Mr. Acheson will visit Egypt and there study the policy of the newly-elected Government and form a view on its policy and tendencies. Mr. Acheson may find Egypt hospitable and friendly and ready to make a bargain with the United States. Egypt needs the support of the United States to bring its dispute with Britain on the repatriation of the ex-mission of British troops from Egypt and on the union of the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown to a favourable settlement. The support of the United States to Egypt will weigh very much in favour of the latter and may force
Britain to adopt a more compromising attitude. Mr. Acheson will also visit Sa'udi Arabia, which has now passed almost entirely from the British sphere of influence to the American. King Ibn Sa'ud has a golden opportunity to serve the cause of the Arab World generally by expressing his views to Mr. Acheson frankly and without fear; but it is doubted whether Ibn Sa'ud will give this matter precedence over matters affecting his own personal interests from oil royalties.

Now is the time for those States in the Arab World who are on friendly terms with the United States of America to press their claims. America is in great need of a foothold in the Arab World, and by clever bargaining she may accede to the important demands of the Arabs. America knows that without the friendship of the Arab peoples she can never hope to make any headway in the Arab World, and for that reason she is known to be willing to sacrifice anything in order to gain such confidence and friendship. It is, however, doubtful whether the United States will be able to clear the air of the germs of mistrust and antagonism which subsist as relics of the rôle which America played in the Palestine struggle in favour of the Jews, and which resulted in the defeat of the Arabs.

After the 15th of February in the Middle East.

What will be the relative position of the Arabs and the Jews after the 15th of February, 1950, and does Mr. Acheson's visit have any bearing on that?

On the 15th of February, 1950, the true agreements signed between Israel and the various Arab States comes to an end. When the date for the truce agreements, Israel and its supporters were hopeful that by the date in question there would be no need to renew such agreements and that a final armistice would have been concluded and the Arabs would have been laid low for good. Things have not turned out that way, it seems. The Arab States have not so far shown any desire to enter into final peace negotiations with the Jews. In one instance only is it rumoured that such a thing might happen, and that is in the case of Jordan, which is reported to have entered into preliminary negotiations with the Jews with a view to a final peace settlement. All the Arab States still see in the conclusion of such a peace with Israel a shame and mockery of honour.

Egypt has already declared that she is not willing to extend the operation of the truce for the time being or to enter into any final peace negotiations. Syria has followed suit, and the other Arab States are expected to do likewise. All this makes Israel's position a source of anxiety for her and for the United States.

This does not in any way mean that fighting will definitely be resumed on the Palestine front soon after the 15th of February; it only means that the position of Israel vis-à-vis the Arab State will again be precarious. With the end of the operation date of the truce, there will, technically, be a state of war existing between the two parties, but it is not known with any certainty whether fighting will, in fact, be resumed.

It is a happy coincidence that Egypt faces this crisis at a time when it has a Government that commands the confidence of the greater majority of the Egyptian electorate, so that any step which this Government will take will have public support. The visit to Egypt by Adefe Shishakli, the Chief of the Syrian Army, and the man behind the scene in Syrian politics, with the object of co-ordinating his country's policy with that of Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia, is also a hopeful omen. The wind at this moment seems to be blowing in favour of the Arabs who should, with wise and tactful steering, be able to get their ship to safety and possibly achieve by clever diplomacy what they have failed to achieve in Palestine by force of arms.

A Third of the World in a House.

In Colombo, the Capital of Ceylon, a Conference of the Representatives of the British Commonwealth was recently held. The object of this Conference was to formulate a common policy to tackle the diverse problems with which the British Commonwealth of Nations is faced, to safeguard the unity and harmony which has existed between the member nations of the Commonwealth and to protect the political, economic and strategic interests of these nations in the world.

The nations which form what is now called the British Commonwealth of Nations are a strange collection. Some of these have until recently been colonies, and a few had but a small measure of self-government and independence from the Central Administration in London. Now, however, imperialism is out of fashion and the old colonization system is frowned at by the freedom-loving nations of the world. The nations that form the British Commonwealth are, in fact, free and independent nations which have voluntarily accepted association with Britain, the Mother Country, and the other nations, and work together for the general good and welfare of the whole of the Commonwealth. Every member nation has free and absolute power to withdraw from the Commonwealth at any time and for any reason.

So we see Britain, Australia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Canada and many other smaller members of the British family of nations gather together in the capital of a country that has, not many months ago, been a British dependent colony. The members gathered for this Conference represented about one-third of the population of the world.

A Conference that deals with affairs of such a proportion of the population of this world is indeed a significant one, worthy of close study. The resolutions which this Conference will take and later implement, will have a far-reaching effect on the world as a whole in the political, social and economic spheres.

The main matters with which the Conference concerned itself can be summed up briefly as the finding of effective ways and means to combat four enemies, namely:

The First Enemy: The Fear of Dissolution.

An Association of nations like the British Commonwealth who are united together by mutual interest and not by the force or terror of arms, should, in order to keep such mutual interest alive and in order to prevent any disharmony or misunderstanding from breaking the bonds of union, have frequent exchange of views and ideas and friendly discussions of any controversial problems. The danger of an estrangement between the members of the Commonwealth leading to a dissolution of the union is of grave concern to all the members. Every member nation of the Commonwealth is doing her utmost to maintain the existing harmony and is prepared to sacrifice in no small measure in order to combat this menace. The great interest and zeal with which these nations cherish the Commonwealth is easily understandable when one realizes that the British Commonwealth of Nations occupies a very high and enviable place in respect in world politics, despite its present economic poverty.

A Conference previous to this one was held in London, and there one of the main questions discussed was the wish of India to become a Sovereign Republic and to renounce its former allegiance to the British Crown. This presented a difficult problem, for so far the Commonwealth had been united by the symbolic allegiance which its members rendered to the British Crown, but India wanted none of this technicality and said that it was willing to remain in the Commonwealth only by reason of the fact that it found this to be of mutual advantage to itself and the other members. Britain and the Commonwealth found a solution to this awkward problem, and though it was one that
was dictated by the force of circumstances, it was yet an effective one; and India remains in the Commonwealth as a result. The fiction of symbolic allegiance to the Crown of England has been replaced by the more realistic one of friendship and solidarity between nation and nation.

The finding of a solution to the problems besetting the very existence of the Commonwealth and any differences existing between its members are likely to take precedence over external problems.

The Second Enemy: Communism.

The second enemy which the Commonwealth will have to fight will be Communism — and this is indeed a powerful enemy.

The threat of Communism has become alarmingly greater for those members of the Commonwealth who are bordering on Russia and China. Communists in those parts have become a real menace and they have in some cases taken up arms against the Government in the country and are causing social and economic unrest. The Communists are trying to stifle the legitimate national governments in that part of the world and to cause chaos — a very fertile ground for the seeds of Communism — by disrupting law and order and worsening the economic situation.

Ever since Britain withdrew from the Indian Continent, Ceylon and Burma, the Communists have been growing stronger. Nearly all China has now fallen to Communism, and French Indo-China is now almost under Communist control, with the result that Malaya and other neighbouring parts of the British Commonwealth are being besieged by the Communists, who may strike at any moment.

Communism in the Far East is showing no sign of weakening — on the contrary, it is growing stronger every day. It would be disastrous for the unity and solidarity of the Commonwealth, if Communism were to sweep any of its member nations. Any such event would cause a cleavage which would wreck the Commonwealth.

It was, therefore, more than worthwhile for the Conference to discuss seriously the question of finding some powerful means of combating the flow of Communism into the territories of the Commonwealth, and such a discussion occupied by far the greater part of the time of the Conference in Colombo.

The Third Enemy: The Expansion of the United States of America.

In order to maintain its own solidarity and to save itself from breaking up, the British Commonwealth of Nations fights on different fronts.

The British Commonwealth stands in line with the United States in fighting the menace of Communism, the tide of which has already swept over almost half of the continents of Europe and Asia. But outside this, the Commonwealth is wisely tautful in its political relations with the United States. Though the British Commonwealth is avowedly opposed to the spread of Communism, it is, nevertheless, also known to be opposed to the expansion of the United States' influence, which the latter is securing through its flowing economic wealth. Though the nations of the British Commonwealth know full well that without aid from the United States, they would find themselves at the present time in dire economic straits, and though they know that they will have to be dependent on such aid for some time to come, they also know that to put a stop to the spreading of American influence and economic interests is more difficult than fighting Communism.

Britain and the majority of the members of the Commonwealth have suffered badly in the economic field through the last war. Although the United States did not fight the countries of the Commonwealth, it did snatch all the traditional buyers of British goods and the loss suffered by Germany was not even exceeded by that of Great Britain. The Germans are coming into their own whereas Great Britain has not been able to overcome its economic difficulties.

If the economic situation in the Commonwealth were to be thrown into disorder, and even if the United States did not succeed in dismembering the Commonwealth politically, the economic convulsions are always followed by political disturbances. The Commonwealth Conference would therefore have discussed the question of American competition within the countries of the Commonwealth, and also the questions of regaining the foreign markets which the Commonwealth had lost in the face of American competition and keeping the present sterling markets, which are threatened with a similar fate.

The Fourth Enemy: Japan.

Yet a fourth menace and danger which the countries of the Commonwealth will have to tackle comes from Japan.

Before the war, Japan was a constant military menace to its British Commonwealth neighbours in Asia and Australia. To-day, after the defeat of Japan in the war, it has emerged again as a menace — this time in the economic field.

Japanese goods before the last war were to be found in all the markets of the world, and they were competing successfully with other goods because they were produced at a much cheaper cost. Attempts to exclude Japanese goods from world markets and to protect local industries by imposing a high tariff wall always failed. To-day, once again, Japan sets to work in earnest and its production is steadily increasing. It will be impossible to keep Japan in a forced and subdued detachment from the rest of the world, and the demand for Japanese goods in Asian and other markets of the world will soon make the "liberation" of Japan imperative. The United States is helping Japan to stand on her own feet in the economic field, and at the same time doing a good deal of exploitation — the same as has happened in Germany.

The problems that face the Commonwealth Conference are political, social and economic, and the importance of the deliberations that have taken place there should not be under-estimated.

The Future of the Commonwealth.

Will the Commonwealth emerge safely from these stormy problems? In all probability this will be the case — though the way will not be strewed with roses. The secret of such success lies above all in the character and inherent qualities of the British race: firmness and patience. The member nations of the Commonwealth see every advantage in keeping within such a union which is serving as a valuable protection in these disturbed times against the danger of outside aggression and thereby enabling these nations to devote more time to handling their own internal problems. The free and voluntary bond which unites the Commonwealth will go a long way towards enabling it to surmount any difficulties that may beset it at any time, and it will be a very long time indeed before the British Commonwealth of Nations crumbles down. The British, as a race, prefer actions to words, and if they set for themselves a course they will follow it silently and without the fuss and bother of publicity and propaganda. Nations wishing to succeed may do well in taking a leaf out of the book of the British. Another important factor which must not be disregarded in weighing the causes which recently have saved the Commonwealth from breaking up is the traditional British laxity and the lack of any rigidity in their institutions which are easily adaptable to changing circumstances and which develop and progress with the change of time. Britain has been able to keep pace with modern trends and changes in the world, and has been altogether different in this respect from other imperialist nations who are still maintaining the tyrannical colonial systems of the middle nineteenth century. One does not have to go far to find an example of what I mean.
JAMAL ed-DIN EL-AFGHANI

By DR. 'OSMAN AMIN

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

According to Jamal ed-Din's own account he was born at Asadabad in the district of Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1254 A.H. (1838-39 C.E.). Others say that it was at Asadabad Hamadan in Persia that he first saw the light, and that in claiming to be an Afghan subject he wished to escape Persian despotism. In any case it was in Afghanistan that he spent his earliest childhood and youth, studying in Kabul and other branches of Muslim learning. At the age of 18 he left for India where he stayed a year and a half before entering the service of the Ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, whom he accompanied in his campaign against Herat. After the death of the Amir he adhered to Muhammad A'zam, brother of the Amir Sher 'Ali, who supported the British. After the defeat of his patron he had to return to Afghanistan and entered the service of the Amir Sher 'Ali. In 1887 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca from whence he returned to Afghanistan and entered the service of the Ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, whom he accompanied in his campaign against Herat. After the death of the Amir he adhered to Muhammad A'zam, brother of the Amir Sher 'Ali, who supported the British. After the defeat of his patron he had to return to Afghanistan and entered the service of the Amir Sher 'Ali. In 1887 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca from whence he returned to Afghanistan and entered the service of the Ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, whom he accompanied in his campaign against Herat.

Jamal ed-Din El-Afghani
(died 7th March, 1897)

In September, 1883, he found himself in Paris, where he lived with some Egyptian refugees. He soon became well known in the French political and intellectual circles, which helped him to publish his articles against England in the most influential papers, as for instance, in Journal des Debats. But it was in Al-\'Irshad al-Watib người (The Indissoluble Link) — an Arabic paper financed by the Indian Muslims — that in 1884 he started to publish with Muhammad 'Abdu that his anti-British campaign took its most violent form. The publication of this paper was stopped towards the end of 1884 “not without the intervention of the British government.” In 1885, Mr. Blunt invited him to London and introduced him to the most influential politicians of those days, such as Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Drummond Wolff and Lord Salisbury. El-Afghani wanted the British to come to an agreement with the Mahdi of the Sudan, who was in communication. He spent three months in London, but failed to achieve this project.

In 1886 the Shah of Persia invited him to join him, but in Teheran as elsewhere the reactionary circles, including the Shah himself, became very suspicious of his popularity in the liberal quarters, so that he was obliged to leave that country under the pretext of his health. He next went to Russia, where he stayed for some years. In 1889 he left Russia for the Exhibition in Paris, where he again met the Shah and with whom he returned to Persia. Once more he began to feel insecure because of the animosity of the reactionary circles and took refuge in the sanctuary of the Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, near Teheran, where he stayed for 7 months. But at the end of 1890 or at the beginning of 1891 he was arrested and deported to the Turkish frontier, from where he left for England, arriving in the autumn of 1891. In London he organised a campaign against the reactionary circles in Persia, both in the press and by means of meetings. He started to publish in London a paper in two languages—English and Arabic—Splendour of the Two Hemispheres.

In 1892 the Sultan of Turkey invited him to Istanbul by a personal letter; but it was without reluctance that he accepted this invitation. At the beginning he was well treated by the Sultan, who offered him a large pension and a luxurious dwelling, but soon afterwards, falling under the influence of reactionary circles, became suspicious of him. Thus, for instance, the Khedive 'Abbas Pasha found an opportunity of meeting him, but he was accused of arranging this meeting himself. Until his death on the 9th of March, 1897, he was kept in Turkish jail, half-guest, half prisoner. Through fear of the Sultan he was deserted by everyone, and died in the arms of his Christian servant.

“In the History of Modern Orient he was the first Defender of Freedom as he was also the first Martyr”

Jamal ed-Din El-Afghani is the most outstanding figure of the Islamic renaissance of the 19th century. He was at the same time a thinker and a man of action, endowed with a penetrating intelligence and a great heart. His rare intellectual gifts and his high moral qualities gave to his personality the magnetism peculiar to all great leaders which drew all souls to him. By reason of this El-Afghani is for the Muslim world a synthetic mind, being at the same time a religious reformer, a political leader and a great thinker. Among his contemporaries he was regarded as a remarkable writer, a charming conversationalist, an eloquent orator and a dialectician endowed with a great force of persuasion. According to Muhammad 'Abdu, he was also a man of heart and of strong will, ever ready to undertake actions requiring the greatest courage and generosity; at the same time he was indifferent to the material things, eager for learning, devoted to the things of the spirit. This fierce genius, who always refused to consider money or honours, preferred, without doubt, to retain his liberty of action in order better to serve the ideal to which he devoted his whole life — namely the rebirth of the Muslim world.

During his stay in Paris in 1883, El-Afghani met Ernest Renan, on whom he made such an impression that the illustrious French writer was unable to restrain his enthusiasm and is reputed to have said: “The freedom of his thought, his noble and loyal character, made me believe during our conversation that I had alive in my presence one of my old acquaintances, Avicenna, Averroës, or any other of the great infidels who during five centuries have represented the traditions of human spirit.”

Discussions touching the origins and the native land of Jamal ed-Din are far from being solved. The biographers of diverse Islamic lands, Turks, Persians, Hindus and Afghans, still dispute the honour of being companions of this celebrated man.

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In reality, although he was surnamed el-Afghani, i.e., coming from Afghanistan, this great Muslim had no clearly defined nationality since every Eastern land had been father to him and wherever there was a piece of Islamic land there was his home. Indeed, from his childhood he had been a traveller and a wanderer. He paid many visits to various Eastern countries, to Arabia, to Egypt, to Turkey, to Afghanistan, to Iran, to Iraq and to India; he was no stranger to the capitals of Europe. He published his articles in Arab, Persian and Turkish journals, as well as in the French and English ones. He often spoke at the re-unions and meetings of both European and Oriental societies. He likewise made the acquaintance of scholars, theologians and politicians from both East and West. From his numerous voyages as well as from his vast culture he acquired a profound experience of men and of peoples.

This extraordinary man, this "renovator of modern Orient," was already in the eyes of the oriental elite the champion of political and religious liberation.

In no other land did Jamal ed-Din exercise such a profound influence as in Egypt. He is one of the first artificers of the national spirit of that country. He is justly entitled to be called "the father of nationalism of Egypt". His influence has been no less at the University of el-Azhar, the greatest centre of Islamic culture.

However, Jamal ed-Din made himself the champion of political "pan-Islamism", preaching the union of all Islamic peoples under the same Caliph for the purpose of emancipating themselves from foreign domination. He used to say that "the European States justify the attacks and humiliations inflicted by them upon the Oriental States by reason of the backward state of these latter. Nevertheless, the same States try to prevent by every means in their power, even by war, all attempts at reform or renaissance on the part of the Islamic countries. From all this arises the necessity for the Muslim world to unite in a great defensive alliance in order to preserve itself from the annihilation; to achieve this it must acquire the technique of Western progress and learn the secrets of European power."

However, as it was often pointed out, Jamal ed-Din "did intend to substitute the religious for national patriotism"; he wished the efforts of the Muslim countries to converge, independently of each other, towards a common end — political liberation. And, it was in order to regenerate Turkey, Persia and Egypt that he worked to regenerate Islam, which exercised such a profound influence on the political and social life of the different Islamic countries.

The zeal and flame of the personality of Jamal ed-Din drew round him in Cairo as already in Istanbul a group of young enthusiastic disciples to whom he was able to communicate without reserve his varied wealth of knowledge and whom he was able to a certain degree to inspire with his critical mind and to inculcate with something of his courage. And of courage at that time in Cairo it was necessary to have much if one dared to express one's views freely. In the melancholy intellectual and moral state in which at that time religious circles found themselves, the courageous teaching of Jamal ed-Din shone out like the appearance of a strange light. However, the practical task of religious reform fell to the lot of his fervent disciple Muhammad 'Abdu, the veritable Luther of the Muslim Orient.

The life of Jamal ed-Din corresponded exactly to his thought; theory and practice in him indissolubly linked. In this respect one might compare his mission in the modern Muslim world with that of Socrates in Hellenic antiquity.

But the thought and the life of Jamal ed-Din were marked by three characteristic traits: a delicate spirituality, a profound religious sense and a high morality which influenced very strongly all actions of the author of the famous treatise La Réfutation des Materialistes.

These traits manifested themselves clearly in his detachment from the physical pleasures, in his pursuit of spiritual things and in his devotion to the ideals to which he had dedicated himself.

They were also expressed in his discourses and his writings and notably in the idea which he formed of the function of religion in society. "Religion," he wrote, "is the very substance of nations and the source of the happiness of man." Moreover, true civilization, he said, is that which is based on science, on morality and on religion, and not on material progress such as the building of great cities, the accumulation of great riches or the perfecting of engines of murder and destruction.

From this arose the famous indictment that he addressed against the imperialistic colonial policy of the Western powers, a system based upon knavery and exploitation of the weak.

With this is linked his distinction between " the holy war" of Islam which aimed at the propagation of the faith and the economic wars of Europe which always ended by the occupation and enslavement of the defeated countries. Furthermore, he distinguished clearly between "the Muslim socialism", which is based on love, reason and freedom, whereas the Western socialism is erected on hatred, selfishness and tyranny.

Jamal ed-Din died in exile in Istanbul. His short life was the object of many persecutions and vexations, but it was a life of heroism, full of noble thoughts and generous actions, a life which exercised on succeeding generations of Muslims a lasting influence which has never been surpassed.

More than 50 years have elapsed since the death of Jamal ed-Din. But his illustrious name will rest engraved in all memories and his attractive personality will remain dear to all hearts. Indeed, as was pointed out by Mustafa Abdel Razik, El-Afghani was in the history of the modern Orient the first defender of freedom as he was also its first martyr.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

European Chivalry and its Origin

Very few people are aware of the extent of the civilizing influence of Islamic way of life on the ideals and manners of the peoples of the West. For instance, very seldom is it realized that the ideals of European chivalry owe their existence to the higher civilization of the Islamic countries of the early Middle Ages. Mr. Christopher Dawson in his Gifford Lectures of 1948, now published in a volume under the title of Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, London, 1950, traces the due share of influence of Islam in the ideals of chivalry in Europe. He writes:

"For the age of the Crusades also saw the development of a new secular ideal of chivalry which seems the direct antithesis of St. Bernard's ideal of Christian Knighthood and the disciplined austerity of the Military Orders, while at the same time it was equally remote from the barbaric heroism of Northern feudalism. This new ideal is the creation of the South. It arose from the contrast between the feudal society of Languedoc and the higher civilization of the Western Mediterranean, which was still the centre of Western Islamic culture. It found expression in a new way of life and a new literature — the lyrical poetry of the troubadours — which was to have an immense influence, not only on Western literature, but also on Western standards of behaviour.

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"The distinctive features of this new movement were the
cult of courtesy and the cult of love. It was concerned, above
all, with the refinement of life — with creating a new pattern
of social behaviour which centred in the ideal of romantic love,
and it was reinforced by an elaborate code of manners which
appears sophisticated and subtle even by modern standards, and
must have stood out in abrupt and startling contrast to the
brutality and violence that still characterized feudal society.

"Thus the new movement has all the marks of an exotic
growth. It has no roots in the earlier medieval culture of the
West. It is neither Christian, nor Latin, nor Germanic. It
appears abruptly in South-Western France about the time of the
First Crusade without any preparation or previous development.
Yet it must have had a pre-history, as is shown by its literary
expression which is as exotic and original as the social ideals
that it embodies. For the earliest-known lyrics of the early troubadours possess all the marks of a style and a literary tradi-
tion that had already reached maturity.

"I have argued elsewhere1 that the origins of the new style
are to be found in the rich and brilliant society of Moslem Spain,
with which the Dukes of Aquitaine had been brought into con-
tact through their annexation of the half-Spanish Duchy of Gas-
cony after 1030, and by their crusade against the Moors of
Saragossa which led to the conquest of Barbastro in 1064.

"It is impossible to discuss here the arguments for and
against the influence of Western Islamic culture on Provençal
literature and the new courtly ideal. I can only refer to the more
general aspects of the process of culture-contact which took place
during this period. It is unquestionable that in spite of the
mutual intolerance of the two cultures the young peoples of the
West were sometimes receptive towards the higher and more
sophisticated culture of the older civilization, as we see in the
case of the transmission of Arabic philosophy and science during
the twelfth century through the activities of the school of trans-
slators at Toledo, and elsewhere. And if this was the case in
clerical society which was most on its guard against the infiltra-
tion of alien doctrines, it is likely that lay society was even more
ready to accept the influence of the higher culture in matters not
directly related to religion or politics.

"The civilization of the Southern Mediterranean which had
reached its highest development in the age of the Fatimid
Khalifate and the Khalifate of Cordova in the tenth and eleventh
centuries inevitably produced a deep impression on the men of
the North, who knew only the harsh and comfortless life of the
feudal stronghold. And in the age of Crusades, when the
Mediterranean was once more open to Western shipping, and
the Italian maritime republics were growing rich by trade with
Islamic lands, there was no lack of intercourse between the two
worlds.

"There is a charming passage in the Chronicle of Fra
Salimbene in which he describes his one and only glimpse of
this kind of life in one of the rich orientalized houses of the great
merchant city of Pisa.

"Going begging for bread with out baskets we happened
on a cortile which we entered. And there was a leafy vine spread
out overhead. Its verdure was delightful to behold and it was a
pleasure to rest beneath its shade. There were leopards and many
strange beasts from across the seas on which we gazed, for it is
a pleasure to see what is new and strange. And there were youths
and maidens in the flower of their youth, richly dressed and of
charming countenances.

2 "The Origin of the Romantic Tradition:"

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THE CONDUCT OF THE EARLY MUSLIMS

In stating that it was the exultation infused by the new faith of Islam into its adherents which prevented the assimilation of the Arabs by the superior cultures they came in contact with, Mr. Henri Pirenne, Professor Emeritus in the University of Gand, Belgium, makes some interesting observations on the conduct of early Muslims in his book, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, London, 1940. He writes:

"The Arab conquest, which brought confusion upon both Europe and Asia, was without precedent. The swiftness of its victory is comparable only with that by which the Mongol Empires of Attila, Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane were established. But these Empires were as ephemeral as the conquest of Islam was lasting. This religion still has its faithful to-day in almost every country where it was imposed by the first Caliphs. The lightning-like rapidity of its diffusion was a veritable miracle as compared with the slow progress of Christianity.

"By the side of this irruption, what were the conquests, so long delayed of the Germans, who, after centuries of effort, had succeeded only in nibbling at the edge of ' Romania'?

"The Arabs, on the other hand, took possession of whole sections of the crumbling Empire. In 654 they seized the Byzantine fortress of Bothra (Bosra) in Transjordania; in 655 Damascus fell before them; in 656 the battle of Yarmok gave them the whole of Syria; in 657 or 658 Jerusalem opened its gates to them, while at the same time their Asiatic conquests included Mesopotamia and Persia. Then it was the turn of Egypt to be attacked; and shortly after the death of Heraclitus (641) Alexandria was taken, and before long the whole country was occupied. Next the invasion, still continuing, submerged the Byzantine possessions in North Africa.

"All this may doubtless be explained by the fact that the invasion was unexpected, by the disorder of the Byzantine armies, disorganized and surprised by a new method of fighting, by the religious and national discontent of the Monophysites and Nestorians of Syria, to whom the Empire had refused to make any concessions, and of the Coptic Church of Egypt, and by the weakness of the Persians. But all these reasons are insufficient to explain so complete a triumph. The intensity of the results were out of all proportion to the numerical strength of the conquerors.

"Here the great problem is to determine why the Arabs, who were certainly not more numerous than the Germans, were not, like the latter, absorbed by the populations of the regions which they had conquered, whose civilization was superior to their own. There is only one reply to this question, and it is of the moral order. While the Germans had nothing with which to oppose the Christianity of the Empire, the Arabs were exalted by a new faith. It was this, and this alone, that prevented their assimilation. For in other respects they were not more prejudiced than the Germans against the civilization of those whom they had conquered. On the contrary, they assimilated themselves to this civilization with astonishing rapidity; they learnt science from the Greeks, and art from the Greeks and the Persians. In the beginning, at all events, they were not even fanatical, and they did not expect to make converts of their subjects. But they required them to be obedient to the one God, Allah, and His prophet Mahommed, and, since Mahommed was an Arab, to Arabia. Their universal religion was at the same time a national religion. They were the servants of God.

"'Islam' signifies resignation of submission to God, and 'Muslim' means 'subject'. Allah is the One God, and it is therefore logical that all His servants should regard it as their duty to enforce obedience to Allah upon the believers. What they proposed was not, as many have thought, their conversion, but their subjection. And this subjection they enforced wherever they went. After the conquest they asked nothing better than to appropriate the science and art of the infidels as part of their booty; they would cultivate them to the glory of Allah. They would even adopt the institutions of the unbelievers in so far as these were useful to them. For that matter, they were forced to do so by their own conquest. In governing the Empire which they had founded they could no longer rely on their tribal institutions; just as the Germans were unable to impose theirs upon the Roman Empire. But they differed from the Germans in this: wherever they went, they ruled. The conquered were their subjects; they alone were taxed; they were excluded from the community of the faithful. The barrier was insuperable. No fusion was possible between the conquered populations and the Muslims. What a contrast between them and Theodoric, who placed himself at the service of those he had conquered, and sought to assimilate himself to them!"

"In the case of the Germans, the conqueror spontaneously approached the conquered. With the Arabs it was the other way about: the conquered had to approach the conquerors, and they could do so only by serving Allah, as the conquerors served Him, and by reading the Koran, like the conquerors; and therefore by learning the language, the sacred and consummate language of the conquerors.

"There was no propaganda, nor was any such pressure applied as was exerted by the Christians after the triumph of the Church. 'If God had so desired,' says the Koran, 'He would have made all humanity a single people,' and it expressly condemns the use of violence in dealing with error. It requires only obedience to Allah, the outward obedience of inferior, degraded and desppicable beings, who are tolerated, but who live in abjection. It was this that the infidel found so intolerable and demoralizing. His faith was not attacked: it was simply ignored; and this was the most effective means of detaching him from it and leading him to Allah, who would not only restore his human dignity, but would open to him the gates of the Muslim State. It was because his religion compelled the conscientious Muslim to treat the infidel as a subject that the infidel came to him, and in coming to him broke with his country and his people."

"The German became Romanized as soon as he entered Romania. The Roman, on the contrary, became Arabized as soon as he was conquered by Islam. It is true that well into the Middle Ages certain small communities of Copts, Nestorians and, above all, Jews, survived in the midst of the Muslim world. Nevertheless, the whole environment was profoundly transformed. There was a clean cut: a complete break with the past. Wherever his power was effective, it was intolerable to the new master that any influence should escape the control of Allah. His law, derived from the Koran, was substituted for Roman law, and his language for Greek and Latin.

"When it was converted to Christianity the Empire, so to speak, underwent a change of soul; when it was converted to Islam both its soul and its body were transformed. The change was as great in civil as in religious society.

"With Islam a new world was established on those Mediterranean shores which had formerly known the syncretism of the Roman civilization. A complete break was made, which was to continue even to our own day. Henceforth two different and hostile civilizations existed on the shores of Mare Nostrum. And although in our own days the European has subjected the Asiatic, he has not assimilated him. The sea which had hitherto been the centre of Christianity became its frontier. The Mediterranean unity was shattered."

"For that matter, many were converted to Islam by interest. In Africa, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Berbers apostatized twelve times in seventy years.

"In Spain, in the 9th century, even the Christians no longer knew Latin and the texts of the Councils were translated into Arabic."
A PAGE FOR OUR YOUTH

Youth and its Duty to Society

By A FAMOUS ARAB WRITER

“There can be no proud men in a dishonoured nation, no free men in a servile nation.”

The duties of young men and women to society are many. The one that should rank foremost amongst these is that the young should realize that their life and happiness flows solely from that of the nation’s and that their happiness as individuals and that of the masses of the people are in fact dependable on each other and complementary to a great extent. There can be no proud man in a dishonoured nation, no free men in a servile nation, no strong men in a weak nation and no self-respecting men amongst a prostrate nation.

A nation claims honour and prestige only through its great and honourable men, and only when its great men are laid low is it defeated. A nation comes to lose its rights only by the negligence, incompetence or dishonesty of its leaders.

It is the duty of young men and women to render useful service to the society in which they live and they should not relax in their zeal or waver in their service wherever they happen to be. The value and merit of any work they do should always be measured by its usefulness to society.

The duties of youth are varied and depend on individuals, time and place. But all forms of society demand one thing from their young members above anything else: that they work primarily for the common weal. Every young person should put his nation’s welfare above his own immediate interest, and must understand that only if he does his proper share in enhancing the strength, wealth and happiness of his countrymen as a whole will he get any material, lasting, satisfying or honourable happiness. If the nation is not looked after by its agile and vigilant members, it will become an open target to diverse enemies and any heritage or glory it has will crumble and fade.

A society can be formidable and healthy only if it is built on the foundation of virtue. Virtue alone can give any real or true happiness and prosperity. If society’s young members underrate the value of virtue in their lives and are lax in defending it from being swept away by adverse notions, society will suffer disastrously.

The first thing that young persons have to do in order to fit and equip themselves for the tremendous task of serving society is that they rid themselves of any selfishness and clamp down on their low desires and failings. A slave to his own desires cannot be the deliverer of his people.

There is an Arabic proverb which says: "If you do not occupy your mind with good things, it will occupy you with bad ones." Idleness is a source of evil and the young should make every endeavour to avoid idleness and inactivity; they should occupy themselves in some useful hobby or occupation to perform their duty in all circumstances.

The young members of society should engrave on their hearts the ideal: "Give and not take". They should be willing to give cheerfully their time and labour for the welfare and happiness of the needy members of society and for the good of the masses of their fellow countrymen without insisting on adequate reward as a prerequisite. God is the best reward of one’s labours in the service of society.

A nation’s strength and integrity is not measured by the number of its members; it is measured by the heritage and achievement of its working and sacrificing members only.

Your love for your country is relative to your concern about its interest and happiness. True patriotism, as has once been said by a great Arab patriot, is built on a foundation of virtue and good qualities and is perpetuated by the measure of charity and goodness you show to your fellow countrymen. Virtues and good qualities like strong will-power, self-respect, truthfulness, honesty, justice, charity, diligence, clear thinking, intelligence, the force of personality, etc., etc., are great and invaluable assets and are the elements which produce good and great patriots.

Young men and women should take care not to preach what they do not themselves follow, and they should not have the audacity to condemn their fellows for evils by which they themselves are tainted. To be able to command the people’s respect and trust, young men and women should be honest and have the people’s interest at heart; and the needy and poor members of society should have the first claim on their attention and endeavours. They should utilize any influence or opportunities they may have to press forward the claims of the poor and necessitous class and to obtain the human rights to which this class has failed to secure from the richer and stronger class. Young men and women should impart their consciousness for the poor to other less conscious or alive members of society and should seek to educate in the right manner all those who are in need of education to become useful members of society.

The hearts of the young men and women should be imbued with love of God, with faith and trust in God. It is in the hands of God that everything ultimately lies. One should never forget God’s commandments about that which He wants us to do and that which He wishes us to shun. God said in the Holy Qur’án: “For he who follows My guidance will never lose the way and never be unhappy, and he who turns away from My word will have his life miserable and We will raise Him on the day of resurrection, blind” (20:123-4). Again, any action that is not based on right belief and true principles can never be lasting and is bound to crumble. God says in the Holy Qur’án: “O you who believe, bow down and prostrate yourselves and serve your Lord, and do good that you may succeed” (22:77).

Patience and hard work are also some of the essential qualities which will enable the young men and women to play a worthy part in society. These qualities have been the cause of the present advancement and supremacy of the Western World over the East, and the latter’s neglect of these qualities has caused a decline in both the social and economic spheres.

Patience is a heavenly virtue. It is only with patience and

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1 Courtesy, the Arabic daily, Minbar Aib-Sha'b, for 20th January, 1950, Tangier, Morocco. 
hard work that any real difficulty in life can be surmounted —
and there are many obstacles to be met in the way of success
and achievement in any field of human life.

Sacrifice, too, ranks high. There should be sacrifice of one's
time, wealth, fame, and other selfish and individual benefits
before any achievement of true value to the masses of the needy
class in society can be attained.

The nations of the Western World are very much ahead of
the nations of the Eastern World at this moment. This does not
mean that the people of the West are of an intrinsically better

A GLANCE AT THE WORLD OF ISLAM

England

THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN

The Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday Celebrations.

The Society held the Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday celebra-
tions at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.1, on
January 2, 1950. As is usual on these occasions, a large hall had
to be hired, as the Society’s headquarters at 18, Eccleston Square,
London, are not big enough for the large audience. The meeting
was attended by well over 350 Muslims and non-Muslims. Among
those present were representatives of all Muslim nations and
people from every walk of life, including members of the diplo-
matic corps. Many English Muslims were also present.

The large gathering was addressed by Dr. S. Khulusi,
lirector in Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Dr. Khulusi’s talk, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, was
entitled “The Political and Social Programme of Muhammad,”
and, although long, lasting for nearly an hour, it was of such
quality that the audience was keenly interested for the whole
of the time. This was only too obvious from the applause and
congratulations showered on the speaker. Dr. Khulusi urged
people not to be taken in by modern doctrines supposed to
remedy all the ills of poverty and imperialism. Islam, as
evidenced by the great leadership of the Prophet Muhammad,
had all that was required and, moreover, was a system which
encouraged real tolerance.

After Dr. Khulusi’s talk, Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, Honorary
Secretary of the Society, reminded all present of its aims and
objects, and appealed to people to make better use of the child-
ren’s school and the adults’ Qur’an and Hadith study groups,
held every Saturday afternoon at 18, Eccleston Square, London,
S.W.1.

Finally, Mr. Isma’il de Yorke, who was in the chair, thanked
the speakers for their eloquence and asked those present to par-
take of the refreshments which had been provided.

ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTRE, LONDON, N.W.8

The Prophet’s Birthday was celebrated at the Centre on
December 31st, 1949. There was a very good gathering repre-
sentative of many Muslim countries.

After tea, His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wahha, the Sa’udi
Arabian Ambassador in England, took the chair, and the guests
heard a learned address from Professor Guillaume, of London
University, on Sirat an-Nabawiyya — the biography of the
Prophet. He dealt with the historical value of the first biogra-
phy of the Prophet compiled by Ibn Ishaq (died 768 C.E.) and its
rescension made by Ibn Hisham (died 834 C.E.). Mr. Isma’il
de Yorke wound up the proceedings by stating that one of the

best ways of following the Prophet Muhammad’s example was
to obey his instructions. Among these, he said, was the duty to
acquire learning, and, in listening to Professor Guillaume’s talk,
this was what the audience were doing.

THE EAST LONDON MOSQUE, LONDON, E.1

At the East London Mosque, London, E.1, the Jamiat al-
Muslimin arranged two lectures during the month of Rabi’
al-Awwal on two Fridays, the 6th and 13th of January, 1950,
the principal speaker at both of them being Mr. I. I. Kazi.

THE SHAH JEAN MOSQUE, WOKING,

The Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday, which fell this year on
the 2nd of January, 1950, was duly celebrated throughout the
length and breadth of Great Britain by Muslim Societies
and Organizations. In Amsterdam, Holland, the Muslims
assembled to keep the Birthday when His Excellency the
Ambassador of India to the Netherlands eulogised the humani-
tarian message of peace and goodwill to the world by the
Prophet Muhammad. Mr. Fauz ud-Din: Ahmad Cvering, a
Muslim Dutch, paid tribute to the memory of the: historical and
the most successful Prophet”. Mr. Overing also stated that
his conversion to Islam was a logical consequence of his studies
of Islamic literature which unfolded to him the inherent beauties
of this simple faith of humanity and nature. He was followed
by Professor Mensing who described the life-history of the
Prophet as a practical example to live a life in union with the
Divine will.

The members of the Pakistan Club, Loughborough, gave an
“At-home” to the notables at the Empire Restaurant to cele-
brate the Prophet’s Birthday, when Dr. S. M. ’Abdullah, Ph.D.,
Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking, addressed the
members of the economic, social and political aspects of the
Prophet Muhammad’s life and commandments.

The Qur’an classes held every Saturday at 18, Eccleston
Square, London, S.W.1, are gaining popularity and the number of
those who attend them is increasing.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Rabanni Khan delivered the second
of his series of lectures on “Islam and Western Civilization” at
Essex Lodge, Loughborough.

Free Islamic Literature.

The demand for free Islamic literature from all parts of the
world is not only imperative but increasing. Many of its
publications, judging by the rate of their distribution, will soon be
out of print, and will soon have to be reprinted, especially some
of the valuable works by the Maulana Muhammad ‘Ali, the late
Al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ul-Din and the late Al-Hajj Lord
Headly, to meet the requirements of the interested persons in
search of truth. It would interest our readers to know that in

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some parts of the world the Muslims have shown a keen interest in the work of the Woking Muslim Mission with a view to affiliating their local organizations to it. This is the patent evidence of the enthusiasm engendered in the Muslims to advance the cause of Islam wherein lies the salvation of humanity.

Mian Ziauddin, Barrister-at-Law, the Pakistan member in the United Nations Commission for Eritrea, visited the Mosque on his way back to Pakistan from New York, where he was a member of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations Organization. The management of the Woking Mosque was also greatly honoured to welcome Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, President of the Azad Kashmir Government, at a luncheon party at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, at which among others were present Mr. Sayed Fazal Shah, President of the London Azad Kashmir League, Mr. Sahibuddin Khan, President of the London Muslim League, Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, Secretary of the Muslim Society in Great Britain, London, and Mr. and Mrs. Farid Jafri.

Additions to the World Brotherhood of Islam.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking welcomed Miss Christian von Lindenau, Mr. Jacob Ankrah, Miss Christine Rosina Bright, Mr. Jack Albert Stanley Plant, Miss Priscilla Marie Collins and Mrs. Joyce Draften Cowan into the World Brotherhood of Islam.

A Marriage.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, solemnized the marriage ceremony of Dr. Suleman Mohamed Patel and Miss Shamima Mohamedi, the daughter of Dr. Saeed S. Mohamedi, a trustee of the Woking Mosque Trust. It is a pleasant coincidence that some 25 years ago the marriage of the mother of Shamima, an English Muslim lady, was solemnized at the Mosque by the late Khwaifa Kamal-ud-Din.

Kenya and Uganda

The Muslims in East Africa.

The East African Muslim Welfare Society, Mombasa, East Africa, in its recent report supplies some useful information about the Muslims there.

The Society was established in June, 1945, at the Muslim Conference held under the Presidentship of His Highness the Agakhan at Mombasa. Its objects are social, religious, educational and cultural welfare and advancement of the Arab and African Muslims. The Society is a non-political body. It has been registered in Kenya and Uganda. The Executive Committee of the Society, known as the Supreme Council, consists of influential members of all races throughout East Africa. The present Trustees are Seth A. H. Kaderbhy, M.B.E., of Mombasa, The Honourable Sheikh Mubarak Ali Hinawy, O.B.E., of Mombasa, The Honourable Mr. Abdulla Karimjee, of Tanga, and Mr. Varun Hassan Kassim Lakha, of Kampa.

To encourage better understanding a group of the students of the geography section of the Geography, History and Language Faculty of the University of Ankara, Turkey, has gone on a study tour to Pakistan.

The picture shows some of the students in the midst of whom is the Ambassador of Pakistan to Turkey, His Excellency Mian Bashir Ahmad (centre) is standing.

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The amount collected by the Society in donations and subscriptions up to 15th October, 1949, amounted to Shgs. 13,86,939/-02. The contribution from His Highness the Agakhan amounts to Shgs. 13,12,983/-08. The generous offer of His Highness the Agakhan to double all contributions received by the Society from non-Isma'ilis is still open.

The Society has built 27 Primary Schools, 2 Secondary Schools, 24 Mosques, 4 Staff Quarters, 2 large water reservoirs in East Africa, and has already spent Shgs. 18,00,000/-. The Society has further allocated the sum of Shgs. 10,00,000/- to build further 16 schools and 7 mosques. There are 3,600 students in these schools. Most of these schools are recognised and aided by the Government.

The Society has published and distributed about 34,000 religious books in Kiswahili edited by the late Sheikh Al-Amin, the Chief Kadi of Mombasa. It hopes to publish and distribute more and more literature for lalibgh (religious propagation) work.

In June, 1945, when the Society was formed, the African Muslim population of Uganda was 122,025. It is now 251,275, an increase of approximately 130,000 African Muslims. It is believed that within the course of the next 10 years there will be about 500,000 African Muslims in Uganda.

In 1946, there were 51 African Muslim Schools in the Buganda Province of Uganda, of which 23 were Government-aided schools. There were about 2,401 boys and 472 girls studying in these schools. The number of schools has now risen in the said province to 60, including 29 Government-aided schools. There are now 2,842 boys and 562 girls in the said schools. There were no proper school buildings in the said Province, but as a result of the sustained efforts of the Society, there are now in the Buganda Province 10 proper school buildings. One has been built as a secondary school which accommodates 110 boys and one girl.

In the Eastern Province of Uganda the Society has been able to build 6 new schools in Busoga. There are about 600 students in these schools.

The Provincial Council of the Society is building the Jamiya Mosque at Kibuli, Kampala. It is expected that the Mosque will be ready early this year at a cost of Shgs. 400,000/-. Besides, the Council has been able to build 10 schools in Kampala and the District.

The Society supports 13 Buganda students at the Al-Azhar University at Cairo. The Rector of Al-Azhar University has promised the Society three qualified Egyptian teachers for Uganda.

The Society has built 4 mosques in the Mombasa District, Kenya. Two schools receive assistance from the Society. The Society has built two large water reservoirs at Wasini Island, where the water is very scarce. Its provision there is an infinite boon to the Arab and African Muslims inhabiting it.

In Kisumu District it has built at the cost of Shgs. 100,000/- one mosque, one school, one boarding house and two teachers' quarters. The school is controlled by the Government. The Society pays for its religious education. At Maragoli it has built a mosque and the construction of a school is in progress at Maragoli.

At Tanganyika the Society has built at the cost of Shgs. 200,000/- a mosque whose opening ceremony was performed by Prince Badru of Uganda on the 10th November, 1949. The Society also laid the foundation of an African High School for Muslims at Tanga. Its construction is estimated to cost Shgs. 250,000/-. In the Usumbura Mountains it has built mosques at Soni, Kange and Mohoko. It expects to build quite a few mosques and schools in Tanga Province.

The Society has approved a grant of Shgs. 60,000/- for the reconstruction of the Jamiya Mosque at Zanzibar. Its construction is expected to commence soon. For the expenses of Milad Shari'ah the Society has bought a house. Its income will be paid to the Milad Shari'ah Committee. The Society has also approved a grant of Shgs. 32,000/- for the reconstruction of Jamiya Mosque at Pemba.

Iqraq

THE UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD

After the establishment of the two new colleges of Arts and Science which are to form the nucleus of the projected University of Baghdad, the Iraq Ministry of Education has gone a step further and issued a special number of the Official Educational Review "al-Ma'allim al-Jadid" (The Modern Teacher), comprising all the plans and suggestions in regard to the new University, in order to get further suggestions from the educated classes before taking the final steps. The plan and tentative constitution of the University of Baghdad seem sound except that there should be a faculty of theology and divinity which will produce enlightened theologians with a modern outlook, to replace the blindly fanatical and reactionary Mullaas (the learned in religion) in mosques and religious institutions.

One would also like to point out the importance of establishing an Institute of Oriental Languages in the University to teach thoroughly the languages of other Muslim states such as Turkish, Persian, Urdu and Malay. This will be conducive to a greater understanding in the Muslim world.

A welcome aspect of the proposed university is the fact that it will observe the equality of the sexes as a fundamental principle in admitting women to all faculties and for all degrees. They will also be eligible to the administrative posts of the University without discrimination.

Another important point respecting the tentative constitution is the absolute independence of the University. If this theoretical independence is realized, the University will eventually prove an important factor in the future progress of modern Iraq as it will be a stronghold for free thinking and research in the country and the Muslim world.

North Africa

MOROCCO

The Sixth Anniversary of the "Independence Manifesto" on January 11th, 1950.

The nationalist party of French Morocco, known as the Istigbal, leader Si 'Allal el-Fassi, now residing in Tangier since his return from Cairo, has just been celebrating the six anniversary of their "Independence Manifesto" of 1944 — a Manifesto addressed to the French Government and representatives of all the foreign powers who signed the 1906 Algeciras treaty by which Morocco was split up into three zones: the international zone of Tangier, the Mediterranean coastal strip known as Spanish Morocco (which includes the Rif), and the "lion's share" of the rest of the country, called French Morocco, where a Protectorate is supposed to be, in force, camouflageing the colonial régime in existence. This Independence Manifesto of 1944 gave rise to a severe repression at the time. The Istigbal nationalist party is considered to be illegal and their Press is heavily censored by the French — so the Anniversary meeting of January 11th this year was organized in the inter-
national city of Tangier. This did not prevent demonstrations being staged by Moroccans in most of the large towns and in the country villages. From Tangier, the Secretary-General of the Istiqal Party, Mr. Muhammad Lyazidi, addressed the following telegram to the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

"On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the Independence Manifesto, the members of the Istiqal Party, assembled by the tombs of those patriots who were killed and shot in 1944 at Rabat, Sale and Fez for the cause of independence, denounce the policies of exploitation and subversion practiced by the French authorities of the Procuratorate in spite of our people's aspirations. They re-affirm upon this occasion the will of the Moroccan nation to recover its independence and proclaim their unlimited confidence in the principles of the United Nations."

The nationalist leader, Si 'Allal el-Fassi (released from his exile in equatorial Africa only three years ago), in the name of the Executive Committee of the Party, sent a copy of the 1944 Manifesto with a covering letter to the representatives of the Great Powers in Tangier — in this letter he stresses that the terms of the Manifesto are still as valid as ever since the French régime in Morocco remains unchanged. Si 'Allal el-Fassi, in a speech before the Party members, expressed his regrets that France, who was the first Western power to draw up a list of the Rights of Man, should be the last of the Great Powers to cling to oppressive colonial régimes in her overseas territories.

The Party, in their Anniversary communiqué, called upon His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Muhammad, to renew demands for independence. The Sultan himself, incidentally, in the sensational speech he made in Tangier in 1947 (after which the then French Resident-General in Morocco, Mr. Eirik Labonne, was recalled from office), has always been in agreement with the Nationalists. His aim is to try and speed up the education of the masses and so render his people more politically conscious and ready to take over the reins. He spends a good deal of his private funds in this connection — but even this is difficult to bring about since French permission is required before any school can be opened, and they frown upon any Muslim schools where Arabic is taught — the aim being, as in the case of Tunisia and Algeria next door, to suppress the "native's language and culture".
In Paris, the Nationalist parties of the three countries, i.e. Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, had organized a meeting under the auspices of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism to celebrate the independence of Indonesia and the recent United Nations decisions in connection with Libya — but this meeting was forbidden by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Jules Moch, since it was also to be made the occasion of a plea for the independence of North Africa.

The Algerian nationalist paper, L’Algerie Libre (of the MTLD party — the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertes Democratie), continues for the time being to be published in Paris, but is seized regularly upon arrival at Algiers.

The French Ministry of the Interior refused to allow a meeting which would "bring up the question of the sovereignty of one of France’s Departments" (i.e. Algeria) and yet will not allow the nationalist papers to be distributed in this "department" — although they circulate freely in Paris. One may ask, however, until when? The French police have already been making enquiries at the Paris office of L’Algerie Libre.

Russia

EDUCATION IN THE MUSLIM REPUBLICS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Some years ago, more especially before the year of 1917, education amongst the Muslims of Central Asia was non-existent. Illiteracy was as high as 95-99 per cent. Now the literacy of the population has gone up to 100 per cent; regions where in the past there was not a single person with a college education now have tens of thousands of college-trained specialists. It is significant that by 1940 the school attendance in the republics of Turkmenia, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan increased 30, 45, 100, and 730 times over respectively, as compared with the pre-Revolution period.

A literate person was rare in Kazakhstan under Tsardom, whereas now it is hard to find a Kazakh who is not able to read and write in the Kazakh or Russian language. In 1914-15 the school attendance in Kazakhstan was 105,000; at present it exceeds 700,000. There were no institutions of higher learning in pre-Revolution Kazakhstan. The Kazakh Republic now has 23 institutions of higher learning and 90 specialized high schools. One hundred and thirty-four newspapers and four magazines are published in the Kazakh language. Kazakhstan has its own conservatory of music, a film studio, academic opera and dramatic theatres, and more than 50 scientific research institutions.

The per capita expenditure on public education in pre-Revolution Uzbekistan amounted to a mere 25 kopecks annually. The Uzbek Republic now has 4,500 schools with an attendance exceeding 1,000,000; there are many institutions of higher learning and specialized high schools, scientific research institutes, experimental stations, observatories, museums, and the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR.

There was not a single college in pre-Revolution Kirghizia. The Kirghiz SSR now has six institutions of higher learning and 53 specialized high schools. The Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR founded during the war directs the work of 25 scientific institutions. A people who lacked a written language in the past, the Kirghizians now have a national literature and press. The people have advanced from their midst national writers, poets, playwrights, actors and composers. Soviet Kirghizia has 10 republican, regional and district theatres, a philharmonic society, a state dramatic theatre, 507 clubs, 270 libraries, in addition to more than 300 village libraries, and many motion picture houses.

On the 27th of December, 1949, when the Republic of the United States of Indonesia achieved its sovereignty, all the official buildings of Pakistan flew the flags of Pakistan and the United States of Indonesia.

To mark the joy of their country at this momentous event, the Government of Pakistan declared the 27th of December, 1949, a Public Holiday.

The picture shows the flags of Pakistan and the United States of Indonesia flying side by side at the house of the Governor-General of Pakistan.
BOOK REVIEW

KAARITHAT FILASTEEN (The Catastrophe of Palestine), by Mahmud Fahmi Darweesh, Secretary-General to the Society of the Salvation of Palestine (Baghdad), 1949, ar-Rabibah Press. Price 150 Fils. (3 shillings), pp. 250.

This is the first volume of an encyclopedic work in Arabic on the Palestinian War (15th May, 1948) and the subsequent events. The present volume, which is well provided with indices for proper names and geographical places, together with a chronology of events beginning with 4th January, 1948, and ending with 31st December, 1948, gives full details of the causes that led to the rise of Israel in spite of the Arabs' vehement opposition for thirty years. The book is highly critical of Arab carelessness and unpreparedness. One feels glad to see this kind of work in Arabic, as the Arabs need a good deal of self-criticism. It is not enough to put the blame on foreign powers and circumstances. A good portion of it falls on the shoulders of the Arabs themselves. True, the Arab soldier showed every sign of bravery worthy of his race (and the author did well in dedicating the book to him alone!), but he was unfortunately directed by politicians who required a good deal of political foresight. They certainly threw away many golden opportunities. They did not know how to play their cards as the Jews did. To begin with, they entered the war with a declared enmity against practically the whole world, including America, Britain and Russia. When the last-mentioned Stare offered to send them ammunitions, aeroplanes and other war supplies, they refused them, showing childish straightforwardness and distinct political short-sightedness; forgetting that in politics there is no virtue.

Hitherto, the book is the best of its kind in Arabic, although it is at times verbose and suffers from tautology. Now, for instance, the author could have cut down most of what he had already broadcast from the Iraq Government Broadcasting Station (pp. 114-171), and certain statements should have been revised since they no longer hold good, as shown by subsequent events.

A few linguistic mistakes, though by no means detracting from the value of the work, are noticeable in the book. Of these particular mention must be made of the incorrect use of the negative particle "lā" with "zāla" in the sense of continuing an action, whereas in actual fact this sort of construction can only mean an invocation. The correct form is "ālī zāla".

After p. 62, one comes across a peculiar thing which gives a clue to the real cause of the loss of Palestine, namely the statement that the Censor ordered the suppression of pp. 63-70. Is there still a censorship on books in Baghdad in the middle of the 20th century? Surely this kind of thing used to be known in the world before the French Revolution and died out with the execution of Louis XVI?

One wonders how long the Arab governments are going to maintain secrecy and hide facts from their nations. This can only be detrimental to their own people and of great service to their enemies, who wish to see the Arabs kept in the dark concerning vital political issues. We sincerely hope that the present Iraqi cabinet will do away with the censorship just as it did away with martial law. What Iraq needs at the moment is more freedom of thought, better political organization and a higher standard of living. We should also like to point out in this connection that it is high time that the older generation of Arab and especially Iraqi politicians thought of creating and training a number of young statesmen imbued with modern ideas of reform, who would undertake the running of State affairs in the future.1

* * *

At all events, we should like to urge the Arab governments to order the use of Kaarithat Filasteen as a text-book in the schools. For only by knowing and appreciating the mistakes of the past can one shape the future in a satisfactory way. To be sure, this book affords valuable lessons to the younger generation who ought to learn how to protect the remaining parts of the Arab world, for as Professor A. Guillaume of the University of London so aptly put it the other day: "the worst is still to come!"

Finally, we wish the author every success in the publication of the other parts of his Encyclopaedia, which will, no doubt, contain some interesting and revealing material as shown by the outline of Vol. II, which covers the following subjects:

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1 It is a fact that although the Arab countries have produced a number of politicians of some sort or other, they have not up till now produced one statesman in the real sense of the word.
CORRESPONDENCE

NO REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY IN MOROCCO

Documentation and Information Office,
52, Avenue Kleber,
Paris, France.

27th October, 1949.

Dear Sir,

The Documentation and Information Office (Paris) of the Istiqlal Party has the honour to send to you for your information memoranda on the political, social and cultural position in Morocco.

These documents refer to the official publications of the French authorities in Morocco. The figures quoted are taken from official statistics and are above suspicion.

These documents by themselves are sufficiently eloquent. They show, objectively, that the "work of France in Morocco" is no more than a slogan for propaganda purposes which should not deceive decent people.

The achievements of France in Morocco have been directed above all in favour of the French (250,000) and the Moroccan people have only benefited indirectly and to an insignificant and insconsiderable degree.

The real position in Morocco is very different from that described in French publications designed for propaganda and mystification.

The feature which characterizes that reality is the total and general oppression of the Moroccan people by the régime of the Protectorate which was imposed and maintained by brutal force.

Every honest visitor to Morocco in recent times has denounced the authoritarian régime and military dictatorship installed in the country by the French authorities.

Since the publication of these memoranda the situation in Morocco, so far from improving has in fact grown worse, and there has been a regression in all spheres. Tension between the Moroccan people and the French authorities has heightened, and the policy of oppression and repression which is founded on force and violence has led to a grave and dangerous crisis.

All the special laws, all the discriminatory and antidemocratic measures, the oldest as well as the most recent are at the present time applied rigorously and in full. In addition, other arbitrary measures — political, administrative, social, economic, cultural and military — are daily and continually promulgated and are reinforcing the dictatorial régime which constitute a flagrant violation of democratic principles — even the most elementary.

At the present time the Moroccan people have no representitive assembly, neither on the national level nor on the local level. Even the Municipal Councils are composed only of designated and not of elect members. Moreover they are deprived of the most elementary rights and liberties.

There is no individual liberty;
There is no freedom of association;
There is no freedom of meeting;
There is no freedom of expression;
There is no freedom for Trade Union organization, nor for travel outside it;
There is no social legislation for Moroccan workers. Such a régime, maintained solely by police and military force, carries its own condemnation.

The Istiqlal Party, which truly expresses the national will and the national aspirations of the Moroccan people, will lose no opportunity to denounce that régime and to bring it to the attention of international opinion in general and to French public opinion in particular and to warn of the danger inherent in its continuance.

The Istiqlal Party fights for the re-establishment of Moroccan independence and demands:
1. The abolition of the double Franco-Spanish Protectorate and the re-establishment of Independence and the sovereignty of the Moroccan nation at home and foreign affairs.
2. The re-establishment of national unity and of territorial, political and administrative integrity of Morocco.
3. The conclusion of a Convention, on the basis of the above conditions, between France and Morocco to define the new relationship between the two countries.

We believe that the Moroccan problem can and must be settled peaceably and reasonably. Peace and international solidarity can only be ensured by the liberty of all peoples.

ISTIQLAL (INDEPENDENCE) PARTY OF MOROCCO

* * * * *

MUSLIM COUNTRIES AND THEIR FOREIGN OBSERVERS

'Aziz Bagh,
Sultanpur,
Hyderabad Deccan, India.
11th January, 1950.

Dear Sir,

Mr. A. C. M. Overing (Holland) in the Islamic Review for December, 1949, draws our attention to a very important point. I take this opportunity to express my own point of view in this regard.

In my humble opinion his friends, who have visited the Islamic countries, are quite correct in their observation but wrong in their conclusion.

The observation of "the ghastly picture of the Muslim life, in the entire Islamic world the lowest and depravest patterns of humanity," the absence of morality and character, prevalence of ignorance and idleness, is not the result of "bias and bloated superiority" of the Westerner. It is the observation of hard
facts. A real contrast of the civilized and the uncivilized life. But to judge Islam by such standards is not reasonable. If pure saffron is not available in the market, it does not prove that there is no such thing as saffron. The Qur'an seems to be aware of this human weakness, for it says:

"The desert Arabs say, We believe. Say thou, Ye do by no means believe; but say ye, We have accepted Islam; for the faith has not entered into your hearts" (49:14).

Every Westerner who has got some interest in the universal principles of Islam must bear these points in mind before he visits the Islamic countries in the East.

Wrong emphasis on the so-called spiritualism, "the pious state of idle and hopeless inanity and stagnation," seems to be responsible for this state of affairs. The only remedy, therefore, is to spread a materialistic roof on the foundations of the Qur'anic Laws as expressed in the very next letter by Fared S. Jafri. It deserves to be given a serious thought. Mr. Jafri is really doing a great service to Islam. It will be a tragedy if he is misinterpreted or misunderstood. So eminent a philosopher as Lord Russell in a recent article, "The Next Fifty Years," has also drawn similar conclusions:

"It is too soon to estimate the importance of the Russian Revolution. For my part, I should put it on a level with the rise of Islam, which in many ways it closely resembles. As a new faith, incredibly dynamic, blending Eastern and Western elements in an intimate synthesis, it has discovered a technique for combining revolution with discipline, which makes it immensely formidable to all who do not embrace it — and even to many who do."

These must be enough to open the eyes of the orthodox Muslims.

S. A. URANUS.

* * * *

ISLAM IN AMERICA

Moslem Society of U.S.A.,
1095, Market Street,
San Francisco, U.S.A.

Dear Brother in Islam,

Assalamu 'Alaikum!

The Jewish community of San Francisco held a conference at their own Centre on the 17th October, 1949. The subject to be discussed was "The Historic Relation of Judaism, Christianity and Islam to Jerusalem." There were only three speakers, each representing his or her respective religion. The representative of the Muslims was Mr. B. A. Minto, the President of our Society.

Mr. Minto, during his speech, said:

"The Muslims are much more intimately related to the Holy City than either the Jews or Christians, because whereas the Jews do not believe in the divinity or prophethood of Jesus, and have, therefore, no sentimental attachment to the places regarded holy by the Christians, and likewise, the Christians have no respect for places regarded sacred by the Muslims, we have the same reverence of their holy places as for our own, since we believe in Jesus as well as the Biblical prophets. In fact no Muslim can be a Muslim so long as he does not believe in them. Moreover, it is an established historical fact that millions of Muslims are the descendants of Israelites and therefore are not only religiously attached to the Holy City but are also bound to it by family ties.

"We have shown our reverence both in theory and practice. At the request of the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, 'Umar, the second Caliph, himself came from Medina to make a treaty with them, and entered the city not as a conqueror, riding on a horse, with a large retinue, but as a humble man, on foot. He made a covenant with them that their lives, properties, churches and cruelties would be protected; that they would be allowed to display and honour their crosses, and would be given complete religious freedom. The Christian historians tell us that when the Christian Patriarch was showing the Caliph the antiquities of the town, the hour for Muslim prayers arrived. The Patriarch requested him to say the prayers in the Church of Resurrection, where they happened to be at that time. The Caliph thanked him, but refused to comply with his request, lest the Muslims, some day, might think of taking possession of this place or of building a mosque there.

"Four hundred and sixty years after this event, this very Holy City, where once the gospel of love and mercy had been preached, was stained with the blood of defenceless and innocent Muslims, by the soldiers of Christ. 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy,' was a forgotten beatitude to them. The Jew's lot was in no way better. They were burnt alive in their synagogues. For ten days this carnage went on. Men bent with old age and children who had not yet learnt to crawl were not even spared. All of them were tortured, burnt or shot down in cold blood. Some time after this, the Caliph was retook by the Muslims, led by their king, Saladin. The memory of the great carnage was fresh in their minds, and they knew well how innocent blood was shed on this earth. The tyrants were now at their mercy and they could do whatever they liked with them. It is a marvel of history that the conquerors entered the city in all humility. They neither molested anybody nor deprived anyone of his possessions. Saladin's guards kept order in every street and prevented violence and insult, insomuch that no ill-treatment of the Christians was ever heard of. Had they followed their own low desires, they might have done the same thing what the Crusaders did, but the words of God, revealed in the Book to the Last Exponent of Truth, the Prophet Muhammad, that they should 'take to forgiveness and enjoin good,' helped them to bridle and calm their anger. Now let the truth-loving and fair-minded people decide by whom the sanctity and the holiness of Jerusalem have been looked after and preserved."

There are more than two hundred Muslim students in the University of California, Berkeley, mostly from Iraq, Iran, Egyp, Turkey, Pakistan and India. Unfortunately, up to this time, there does not exist any Association of the Muslim students, though the need is great and urgent. The responsibility of guiding their respective countries will surely fall on them sooner or later. It is incumbent on them to know and understand one another, and form friendships which under no strain should break. This will surely help them, in future, to knit together the various elements of the Islamic Brotherhood. This point was very much stressed by our President when he addressed a meeting of the Muslim students, held at the International House, Berkeley, on the 18th November, 1949. He also tried to bring home to them the necessity of defending the honour of Islam. He told them that whenever any political question concerning Muslims was discussed in the American press, biased criticism of Islam appeared along with it. "As Muslims," he said, "it is our bounden duty to do all that lies in our power to show the Americans the true light of Islam, and endeavour to remove the misunderstandings created in their minds by our enemies. For this purpose I will suggest that an Association of all the Muslim students should be started, so that they should be able to work together, with one mind and with one purpose, which will be no other than to keep the banner of Islam aloft." We hope that such an Association will come into existence within a short time.

Your Sister in Islam,

'ARIFAH BASHIR MINTO,
Joint Secretary.
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