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FEBRUARY 1952
BETWEEN OURSELVES

The Cover

The picture on the cover is that of the façade, showing the main entrance, of the world-famous Mosque and University of al-Azhar at Cairo, Egypt. The Mosque, founded in 969 C.E., was officially opened in 972 C.E.

The name, al-Azhar, which literally means "The Shining, the Blossoming," is derived from the appellation, al-Zahra, by which Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, is known.

From the earliest days al-Azhar has been the seat of Muslim learning, and is the oldest Muslim academic institution. It is older than the Sorbonne at Paris and the University of Oxford in England.

The University of al-Azhar is visited by hundreds of students from all Muslim countries.

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FEBRUARY, 1952

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Westernization and the Solidarity of the World of Islam

A quarter of a century ago and now

A quarter of a century ago it was just being in the fashion to maintain that the world of Islam, because it was seen to be adjusting itself to the requirements of the times, and because it was adopting and incorporating into its system of life, singularly its own, the technique, thought, methods and to a certain extent the way of life of the West, had broken loose from its past and that before very long the rupture would be definite and complete. But looking back we find that the reading of the march of events by those students of history has been hopelessly out of perspective and that their prognostications about the future and place of Islam in the world of to-day were not only distorted but based for the most part on their wishful thinking. It has now become obvious to everyone that the tenaciously of the peoples of Islam to their religion is stronger than ever before. It is now as plain as the barn-door that the world of Islam, in making use of the Western methods of education, the Western mechanical civilization, is capable of integrating these into its life and yet retain its entity and loyalty to its past and belief in its future.

The wave of the so-called islaization in the Muslim countries to which so much importance was attached some thirty years ago has failed to make a palpable difference to the life of the peoples of Islam as a community. The average Turk, for instance, is as much Muslim as the Turk of yesterday, if not better.

The failure of nationalism in Muslim countries

Equally has failed nationalism, a concept imported into Muslim countries from Europe, and wholly foreign to the outlook of Islam on life, to disrupt the body politic of the world of Islam of to-day. The peoples of Islam have shown by their expression of thought and where possible by action, more especially when some Muslim country was involved in a dispute with a non-Muslim country, that their solidarity was unimpaired. This has been demonstrated very forcibly by their attitude towards the injustice which non-Muslim countries have done to Morocco, Egypt, Iran and Palestine.

This solidarity of the world of Islam has its roots in the efficacious teachings of Islam, which alone knows how to engender supra-territorial feelings in the breasts of its followers. The problems of the world will be solved only when man will have found the means of changing man from within first. The system of Islam stands unique in this domain. It knows how to make the heart of a Muslim beat in union with other fellow-Muslims separated from him by distance and race. The world will have to drink deep at its fountain-head if it wishes to change the world consisting of diverse nations into a veritable fraternity.

An analysis of how various cultures are made up

As to the contention that Islam is no more Islam if it availed itself of the Western mechanical civilization, one has just to look at the make-up of the various cultures to know how they borrow from, and influence, each other. The Muslims of to-day can be and are no exception to this.

There is not one country or people which can honestly boast of being the sole creator of its own civilization and culture without having borrowed from contiguous cultures. For our various civilizations and cultures are concoctions or at best permutation and combinations of various other cultures. No culture has ever existed as an isolated whole. To prosper it has always borrowed and grafted on the parent stock elements from other cultures. Moreover, elements from such cultures have also travelled from their homeland to far distant regions and have there in a short while become to all intents and purposes indigenous. Although it is true that cultures have never been transplanted wholesale, their individual elements have been. This process continues to function always.

Even in the case of primitive peoples there is a constant interchange of elements. Elements originate in one area and are carried on to an adjacent region. For instance, the elements of the European culture have come to us from a successive series of earlier cultures and been modified in turn by each group that has assimilated them. Thus the science of astronomy was developed by the Chaldeans, the alphabet we use by the Phoenicians, and the numeral system by the Arabs, and they all have been handed down to us in a developed form by people nearer to us in point of time.

Again, many of the most vital elements of our cultures are so deeply rooted in the remote past that we cannot trace their origin. Who, for example, were the pioneers who blazed the trail for the development of language and conceived the idea of writing? Who worked out the principle of the lever? And who first domesticated animals and studied plants and extracted metal ores? The truth is that each succeeding culture is the apex of a series, the inheritor of the past and the legator of the future.

Nations can change dress, discard customs, supplement ideas and conception, improve social institutions and the rest without incurring the charge of depersonalizing or in the case of the Muslims “Westernizing” themselves. We borrow from each other freely, but we also ought to learn to recognize the debt of gratitude that we owe to each other. Thus when a Muslim borrows something from the West, he does not necessarily cut himself asunder from his past. He just does what others had done before. And what is more, he, unlike others, acknowledges the debt openly. This is not only the right thing to do but also in conformity with the views of the Qur’ān, which is the only book among all the religious books of the world that acknowledges in clear distinct terms that truth is not its sole monopoly. The logical conclusion of this attitude of the Qur’ān towards other religious systems of the world is that it accepts all prophets of God — Abraham, Moses, Jesus, etc. — as its own.

Islam has never looked askance on progress or anathematized this or that kind of dress. In adopting or discarding a custom or in grafting a foreign element on to its culture, what Islam wants is that its followers should see that it does not clash with the injunctions of the Qur’ān and the directions of the Hadith.
By the Light of the Qur'án and the Hadith
A Reading of the 91st Chapter of the Qur'án
By THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

Man's purpose in life

Man, says the Qur'án, was created from the essence of the earth. He has assembled in him everything that lies in it. But the earth itself has come out of the sun, bringing with it everything in that great luminary; thus every feature of the solar system has become transferred to and located in our frame, with all their capabilities, in an epitomized form. Man is therefore supposed to work out all that is performed by the various manifestations of Nature; but with one difference, which is the diversity of the function arising from the diverse nature of the planes to which other things belong. Man has been given consciousness and soul to an extent denied to others. In fact, all that lies in the rest of the universe, in its gross form, becomes refined through various evolutionary stages, into emotions, thoughts and ideation. Consequently, he has to exhibit these in mental, moral and spiritual aspects, as is done by Nature on the physical plane. He belongs to the moral order, and should move in the spiritual sphere.

The great truth was preached to man in Chapter 91 of the Qur'án in the following words:

"Consider the sun and his light." "And the moon when she borrows light from him." "And the day when it exposes it to view." "And the night when it draws a veil over it." "And the heaven and its make." "And the earth and its extension." "And the soul and its perfection." "So He imparted to it by inspiration its deviating from truth and its guarding (against evil)." "He will indeed be successful who purifies it." "And he will fail who corrupts it."

An evolved soul must bring, like the sun, life and light to others; he must bring them out of the darkness of ignorance, impiety and irreligiosity. He must energize those in latitudine, nerve them up and cleanse the world of all that is impure. Most of us, of course, do not possess this inherent light; we must borrow it (like the moon from the sun) from those more favoured — those great men, who received the Light directly from God and appeared at times when the whole horizon of the world had become darkened. We should enlighten the world when those great luminaries of Divine Love pass away, just as the moon does when the sun disappears. She ripens crops and creates sweetness in fruits, while the sun nourishes them in other ways. Similarly, we should help to bring the intellect and wisdom of others to the maturity which got its inception and growth from the Divine luminaries.

The above sacred quotation also speaks of the "day when it exposes it to view and the night when it draws a veil over it." Man, like the day, should arouse others from the drowsiness of inactivity and inertia. He should put them to work and invigorate them against despondency, hopelessness and fear. He should infuse a new spirit into the world. When his fellow-men become tired and fatigued, he should approach them, as if with the wings of night, to give them rest and comfort. If his inspiration brings the latest faculties of others into operation, his kind words and deeds, like the hours of the night, should refresh them and enable them to continue their work with a new spirit, and apply themselves to new avenues of exertion.

The purpose of Revelation

The sacred verse again draws our attention to the heaven and the earth: "And the heaven and its make, and the earth and its extension." Heaven and all the luminaries in it continually shed their light, which, piercing through space, goes into the earth, carrying into it all that lies in the firmament — the earth thus becoming pregnant by the forces from on high and bringing forth its treasures for our use. Let man, like the sky, fill others' minds with the seeds of new and healthy ideas, and inspire them with useful thoughts and righteous aspirations. He should also act as the earth, and pour out things for others' good. He should fit himself to receive Light from the Most High, and thus enable himself to produce that which his Lord intends him to do in the service of humanity; he will lose nothing thereby. Hoards of wealth come from the recesses of the earth, every minute sees a renewal of its blessings, yet it diminishes never. Man, her best child, should follow his mother, Nature.

That man is capable of being a true representative of all that is in the firmament and the earth, as embodying in giving, on the mental plane, what they do on the physical plane, is shown in the following verse:

"And the soul and its perfection, so He imparted to it by inspiration its deviating from truth and its guarding (against evil). He (man) will indeed be successful who purifies it, and he will indeed fail who corrupts it."

The causes of the rise and fall of nations

The human soul, when balanced and perfect, can do everything that is done by the rest of Nature. He has something else, not given to the rest of the universe — judgment and discretion. But the judgment may err and the discretion go wrong. To avoid such a catastrophe, revelation came to guide him in the right path. He was informed of his evil inclinations, and to him was suggested a course whereby he might guard against it. His success lies in the use of his faculties on the lines adopted by the heavens and the earth, and his failure consists in stunting his faculties.

Nations rise and fall. The secret of it all lies in the above lines. The government of the world is given to those who rule for the benefit of the ruled, and do not make it a pretext for self-indulgence at the expense of others. Every nation has had its day; it has thriven and flourished and continued in prosperity, as long as it was of some benefit to others, in the eye of the Lord. But success and affluence made it selfish and self-assertive; it increased in extravagance and became a burden on others; it began to exploit its fellow-beings, and devised means for weakening them so that they might be powerless to resist. It increased in persecution and oppression, and reduced others to slavery. Then the Lord God, the Creator and Protector of all men, came with vengeance, and that nation became one of the lost. Here is a lesson for those in power at present. The ways of the Lord are unchangeable and the laws of His government are to-day the same as on the day when man first saw the light.

1. The Qur'án, 23:12.
2. "And the bearer of witness and those against whom the witness is borne:" "Surely the might of your Lord is great:" "Surely it is He Who originates and reproduces" (The Qur'án, 85:3, 12, 15).
Text of the speech made by the Prime Minister of Egypt, MUSTAFA al-NAHAS PASHA on the occasion of the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday on the 11th December, 1951 (12th Rabi’ al-Awwal, 1371 A.H.)

"Strong convictions bring forth the greatest deeds... and breed heroism and heroes.... We shall not stand motionless in face of the crimes that are perpetrated every day at the hands of the colonizers..."

"You have drawn for us by word and by deed, O last of the Messengers, the plan of free life and the method of happy existence, by the examples which you gave us in your peace and war, in your pleasure and wrath, in your straightforwardness and justice, in your self-denial and patience, in your humbleness and gentleness, in your firmness and resoluteness, and in your valiance and courage. You entered battle and your unique genius was demonstrated. You marched against the enemy and your great courage became apparent. You led the fighters and urged them to follow you with their lives in their hands, and you returned victorious and honoured, but victory did not corrupt you, nor did the conquest make you haughty; you remained always the same Muhammad who had elevated himself above the joys of the world and what it contains, who shunned what the greedy desired in bounty and loot, and your heart was always filled with the mention of the One to whom all return and go back"

The importance of the occasion

Gentlemen.

On this day when we commemorate the birthday of Muhammad, the Great Prophet and Noble Messenger, there are millions of Muslims the world over who with hearts beating with a consciousness of respect and reverence, and with breasts overflowing with joy and optimistic anticipation, are praising the memory of a sublime glory, of a high nobleness, of achievements apparent in the world, and of a splendour that time has never surpassed.

When the Muslims celebrate this immortal occasion their thoughts are elevated above the problems of life, and their mind rises above the difficulties of the world, as they think of what is higher, greater, nobler and more honourable. They draw a moral from that Godly blessing that came down upon an illiterate orphan reared in poverty, but whom God visited with prophethood and wisdom and thus elevated him by many degrees above his fellow beings. There were many amongst the tribe of Quraysh with abundant wealth, whose noble lineage had created for them amongst their kinsmen an elevated position and made their word respected; but the prophethood of Muhammad surpassed them all. Muhammad, the son of Abdullah, whose father died before he was born and whose mother died while he was a child, had been left, as he was described by God in His Holy Book: "Did He not find you an orphan and give you shelter, and find you lost and guided you, and find you poor and made you free from want..." (93 : 6-8). In this verse is a lesson that the nobility of character and the goodness of qualities have a higher place with God and are more appreciated by Him. Praise be to you, my God, there is no exalted one except that whom Thou hast exalted, no strong one except that whom Thou hast strengthened, and no chosen one except that whom Thou hast chosen, and mankind has not the power to alter or change what Thou hast ordained. Thou hast willed that the springs of prophethood should flow from where there had been ophthalmic poverty, to teach mankind that the great wealth which they amass and the ancestral lineage of which they boast are trifling and of no moment, and that all the honour and glory belongs to those upon whom Thou hast bestowed Thy gifts from a heart and spirit that surpasses all understanding. Innumerable are the rich, the great and the possessors of fame and might, who have lived exclusively for themselves to eat, make merry and enjoy their pleasures. Then they died, and left behind them amongst their fellow men no indelible mark and no lasting memory; the ages shrouded them with oblivion and they became completely forgotten. But Muhammad, the leader of all creation, continues to remain alive and present, in the religion which he propagated to guide unto the truth and the right path. Yes, Muhammad remains ever present in this religion which has spread in all the corners of the earth carrying with itself everywhere its high principles and supreme tenets, to which all minds bow and all hearts open. On this memorable day, many are the tongues that are speaking in honour of this commemoration, and many are the celebrations that are being held and the words that are
being written. All these offer the clearest proof that all eminence of position, however diverse its aspects and however great, exalted and noble it be, can never be excelled in glory and honour by that eminence which is based upon giving to mankind the ways wherewith to embellish the soul and elevate the character, and make life fuller than ever before with spiritual happiness and more abounding than ever before with moral wealth.

The effect of some of the noble concepts of the Shari‘a of Muhammad on the Companions of Muhammad

Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him!) has defined the concepts of good, made clear its path. He has outlined for us its principles and bases, thus guiding life to its most important aim and highest purpose. He commanded, enjoined, legislated and exhorted so as to discipline, prime, prune, polish and nurture; and he set up the relationship between man and man on the basis of love and brotherhood, for he said "the faith of none of you will be complete until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself". From such true love and sincere brotherhood arise generosity and unselfishness. And in men what virtue could be higher than unselfishness and generosity, and that their souls be immune to the influence of greed and free from avariciousness? In this way, the greatest source of evil is ended and the causes of envy and hate are exterminated. People are jealous of each other; they quarrel over the treasures of this transient world and run after its false offerings. But if man became just and selfless was eradicated from his heart and he was freed from greed, then goodwill and harmony would prevail and mankind would live in love and peace.

It is with these concepts that the Shari‘a of Muhammad came, articulate, plain, clear and unambiguous. The Holy Qur‘an says: "They prefer others unto themselves even though they may be poor, and those who are saved from the greed of their souls are the successful ones" (59:9). The Prophet Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him!) was kindness and tenderness of heart par excellence. He was very gentle towards his companions and friends and willing to undergo for their sakes all troubles and difficulties. His heart was a fountain of good and mercy, overflowing with love for mankind, abounding with affection for the weak, never having harboured grudge or hate even against those who opposed his mission and prevented the people from accepting his message. He remained always true and loyal to his God. He said: "None amongst you will have believed until God has become more loved unto him than himself". Such love, of the most perfect kind and of the highest quality, filled his heart and soul; none but God had a share or portion in it, for if he loved, then for God he loved, and if he hated, then for God he hated. His friends knew all this. It soon began to have an effect upon them, until it took hold of their hearts, and they came to love their God and obeyed Him in a manner that appeared as if it had been natural or instinctive in them. He appointed them to preach the faith and they gave their lives and risked dangers and hazards for this, not worrying if they emerged safe from such ventures or fall by the sword. Indeed, the sword cut off the shoulders of one of them, but he kept holding the banner aloft, round which the army gathered and the soldiers crowded. They were a people who lived as if they were angels treading upon this earth. In war they were fierce horsemen and men of battle and struggle, never to be deterred by the numbers of their enemy, nor

His Excellency Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, standing in front of the Royal Marjuee at Cairo, where he had gone to represent His Majesty the King of Egypt at a meeting held on the 11th of December, 1951, in commemoration of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. To his left is the President of the High Court of Religious Judicature, the Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim Bey Salim, and on his right is the Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army, General Muhammad Haidar Pasha.
frightened by its arms or might. They advanced upon their enemies as lighting, with a strong will and a powerful determination; but when they had finished with the battle and returned to their folks, you found them "bowing down, prostrating before God, praying for His mercy, and expressing their hearts overflowing with mercy and their souls abounding with compassion. They were harsh towards adversaries and firm with their enemies. They advanced unto death for the cause of God with the fervour with which others clung unto life and sought wealth and fame. They walked on this earth in humbleness, and if the ignorant addressed them they answered "Peace". "They passed the night prostrating and standing before God" (The Qur'an, 23: 65-64). But despite this, all the time they were as high as the mountains and strong beyond reach. They followed the example of their Messenger and Leader and consequently their ambition, is the destiny of the trifling frivolities and sordid things of life. They were not attracted by the mean and base selfishness of this world; they went through life as if they were travellers going to another destination. They had such strong and fervent convictions that a strong flame seemed to rise from them. And indeed strong convictions bring forth the greatest deeds, give birth to new generations, and breed heroism and heroes... They wanted glory for their religion, eminence for their mother countries and freedom for their convictions and persons. Through their noble messenger they were able to attain their desired object, and their part in the performance of great deeds is too well known. They strove hard with determination and conviction, marching along the path of true righteousness.

The struggle of Muhammad against inequity till it ended in his victory over it

Many were the battles that raged between Muhammad, his friends, small in number but firm and strong in conviction, on the one hand, and the tribe of Quraysh, mighty in its stubbornness and strong in wealth and men, on the other. But the Prophet and his friends did not give up hope, nor did their courage fail them because their enemy was larger in numbers and stronger in arms and equipment. The song of righteousness and conviction had only to wait and persevere, for their fate had convinced them that victory would be theirs in the end, because God promised them so, "And He never fails in His promise" (The Qur’an, 3: 7; 13: 31; 39: 21).

The battle continued to rage, and the duel between justice and inequity continued to flame, until the enemies of Muhammad, after a very long struggle, bowed to the might of the Only Conqueror and bent before the greatness of the All-Powerful, believing in God as the one and only God, to whom praise is due in this world and in the hereafter, and to Whom all return. Thus the earth was cleansed of the aggressive sinners. This, believe of those who are patient and the end of those who believe and struggle. The struggle might be long, and the courage of some might falter and their perseverance wane, so much so that they might even say, "When is the victory of God?" (The Qur’an, 2: 214), only to hear the Lord of all the Worlds reply, "But the victory of God is near" (Holy Qur’an, 2: 214).

The British and those who support them in their attitude towards Egypt are undermining the laws of peace

With such true struggle and great patience the religion of Muhammad appeared and finally enveloped many lands. Islam rose as the light of day. Its mosques filled all the corners of the earth, and its minarets rose high. Tongues began to repeat the name of God morning and night. The cause of justice prospered until it became the guiding symbol. People began to believe that Islam had laid down the conceptions of good in the purest form and that the new religion was one of freedom and integrity, honour and rectitude, that it called for the respect and sanctification of convictions and the defence and upholding of the motherland, that it was a religion that set no value upon life if man was to exist in it defeated in his purpose, not possessing the reins of his destiny in secret or in open, and that it was a religion that saw no good in life unless it was filled with the sweet breeze of freedom, and no good in man if he did not live the life of the free... Those who acquiesce with serfdom and indignity, bow down to insult and shame and fear the repression of the strong or the tyranny of the mighty, do not deserve to live. Their acts do not please God, for Islam calls towards sacrifice and self-denial and for the sacrifice of the individual in the cause of the many. Such, in the view of, and in accordance with, the teachings of Islam, is the right course and straight path: "There is no equality between those who stay behind and the believers who strive hard with their property and their own persons, excepted being those who are afflicted with a great degree of hardship will be given preference by a high degree to the strivers with their properties and persons over those who stayed behind, and to both God has promised good; and God will grant to the strivers above those who have stayed behind a great reward" (The Qur’an, 4: 95).

The crimes of the colonizers

As we are to-day in the midst of a battle which is the decisive struggle between freedom and oppression, between independence and colonialism, and between stability and turmoil, it is well for us, if we are really to follow the example set by the Prophet of humanity, Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah (may the peace and blessing of God be upon him!), that our gaze may be fixed on his struggle, that his true and sincere fight be fixed in our minds, and his faith in his God and his motherland be our weapon and power. If we did and acted, then the success is ours, and God never waits to reward those who act.

Yes, we must not be thwarted by what the colonizers inflict upon us by their criminal attacks and their evil deeds.

They relied on their aggressive powers and amassed on the night of last Saturday, thousands of their fighters and besieged a wide district of the Suez area, near a town called Kafr Ahmad 'Abdu, with their tanks and guns. They occupied the roofs of houses adjoining on the district, cut railway communications and road traffic, and installed long-range field guns pointed at the town. Their forces continued to be reinforced until they amounted to ten thousand men. They filled the roofs of houses with parachutist troops equipped with long-range machine guns; jet aircraft hovered over the town at a very low height.

They did all this in order to demolish by force and might the homes of peaceful and gentle folk and construct on the land a road for their troops to pass. They blew up homes and committed all that I have said. They did not want to make God to seize the owners of those homes destitute, or about making homeless three hundred families with women and children, who had to leave with nothing and without homes which could shelter them or protect them from the cold and wind. If they, with these crimes and this base repression, think that we will surrender to them or agree to their crimes and occupation, then they are surely gravely mistaken.

We shall not stand motionless

Let them know that we shall not stand motionless in the face of these acts, which are repeated every day, and that the matter has gone beyond every limit. Upon this aggression will rest many far-reaching consequences, which will have an effect of putting an end to their acts.

1 8th of December, 1951.
God, who gave victory unto Muhammad in his mission, and who gave him support in his Message, and who knows the evil under the eye and what the heart conceals, will ordain that our justice will defeat the falsehood of our opponents, and will expel them from our land to be pursued by their shame. He will make from the pure and innocent blood that has been shed in the cause of the liberation of the Valley of the Nile a fertile soil in which will grow the tree of liberty, under which free Muhajirids\(^2\) will rest.

**Egypt in its struggle against inequity can take a lesson from the example of the Prophet Muhammad**

*My Lord, the Messenger of God!*

This is the commemoration of your noble birth, which we celebrate from the depths of our hearts. We sanctify it in our souls in adversity and in prosperity; in prosperity it is a peace and a comfort, and in distress it is a trust and a faith, which teaches us, when troubles crowd, that whoever has consecrated himself to any cause or has taken upon himself a certain duty, should be faithful in secret and in open and should tread in the path, neither deviating nor bending, and that his weapon in his struggle should be justice, his arms resoluteness, and his leader faith, so that he will never submit to a threat, however strong it be, and not agree to any solutions that would bring shame and servitude to his motherland, but will hold, fast unto justice in its fullness or die struggling in the path of his aim. For death in the mouth of the free tastes sweeter than the life of servitude and shame — and what shame is greater for the motherland, than to remain in the hands of the captors?

With this you have taught us your Message, O leader of the Muhajiridin! (those who strive hard in the way of God) and with this you have conveyed to us your greatness, which is one of the handiworks of the Lord of the worlds. ... From the upbringing under which you were reared — though you were an orphan, you rebelled against enslavement, though you were poor you disdained inequity, though docile, yet you revolted against repression — we learnt that the power of the soul lies in treading in the straight path, that peace of mind lies in the struggle for the higher principles, that courage lies in saying the truth and insisting upon it and revolting against falsehood and not submitting to it, that the endurance for the freedom of belief and of the motherland and the struggle for the liberation of nations from the chains and shackles are the highest of aims, for which the Muhajirid who will die will live with their God to be blessed and remain on the records of the immortal until they rise.

You have drawn for us by word and by deed, O last of the Messengers, the plan of free life and the method of happy existence, by the examples which you have given us in your peace and war, in your pleasure and wrath, in your straightforwardness and justice, in your self-denial and patience, in your humility and gentleness, in your firmness and resoluteness, and in your valiance and courage. You entered battle and your unique genius was demonstrated. You matched against the enemy and your great courage became apparent. You led the fighters and urged them to follow you with their lives in their hands, and you returned victorious and honoured, but victory did not corrupt you, nor did the conquest make you haughty; you remained always the same Muhammad who had elevated himself above the joys of the world and what it contains, who shunned what he desired in bounty and loot, and you heart was always filled with the mention of the One to whom all return and go back.

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**The Moral of the Battle of Badr**

*My Lord the Grandfather of al-Hasanayn*\(^3\)

I will detach myself at this auspicious and sacred moment from all that is near and around me so that my mind will fly to a spot in the desert which history has made immortal because it has changed its course, and which has been engraved by the Muslims in their hearts and innermost souls because it heralded the beginning of the victory of God — that spot is Badr, in which you fought the first of your battles, O Messenger of God! There you stood, O combatant Prophet! organizing the ranks and arranging the fighters and surveying them from the hut which had been erected for you. You radiated valor into them and exhorted them to advance. When you saw that your enemy was numerous and strong and included the valiant and heroes of the Quraysh, your courage did not fail you and your faith did not desert you. You lifted your eyes to your God, asking help from heaven, begging Him for victory against the enemy in uttering your supplication, which entered the hearts that were directed towards the All-Knowing: "O God! here is the Quraysh advancing with their horse and infantry trying to belittle Thy Messenger. O God! give me the victory with which Thou hast promised me. O God! if this band perished, then Thou wilt not be worshipped after this day." When the two armies met, you took small stones and threw them away, saying: "Let their faces be disfigured"; and God reinforced you with His soldiers and sent His angels to fight in the ranks of your army as if they were "one solid and compact wall". When the battle ended with your victory, you did not become haughty and proud, but returned to your God to thank Him for His blessings, kneeling before Him in submission and obedience, without boast or conceit, haughtiness or pride — and how could that be otherwise when your God had reared you, purified you and chosen you, and said of you: "And surely you possess sublime morality" (The Qur'an, 68:4).

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**Immortal deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and ourselves**

*My Lord, the Father of al-Zubara\(^4\)*

Whenever I stand to pay homage to you and to relate some of the attributes which God gave you, I am seized by bewilderment, and words crowd in my mouth and mind. I do not know with which of your beautiful qualities I should begin, nor do I know of which of your immortal deeds I should speak. Should I speak of you as the orphan who was reared by God, and the illiterate who was taught by God, and who filled the world with mercy for the weak and designed the most clear way for the learned? Or shall I speak of your justice which covered the earth until your enemies and your loyal followers equally benefited from it? Or shall I mention your piety which rose to heights that have never been reached, that piety which you adopted as your norm and which always remained with you. You abstained from everything mundane in this life; you kept from your family and your friends every suspicion, splendour or pleasure. Who will ever forget the stand you took against the Quraysh when they offered you money and fame in order to induce you to abandon the Call of God? They sent to you the most dear of persons, your protector and defender, your uncle, Abu Talib, to speak to you, but you replied to him with words that thundered in the desert and spread like lightning: "By God! even if they placed the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, in order that I might give up this cause, I shall never give it up till I achieve it or die for it." When

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\(^2\) Fighters in the cause of truth.

\(^3\) Al-Hasanayn (lit. the two Hasanis), Hasan and Husayn, the sons of Ali, who married Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.

\(^4\) al-Zubara (lit. the resplendent) was an attribute of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.
God fulfilled His promise to you and His soldiers gave you victory, and the sandy plain of Mecca to be turned for you into gold, you said: “No, my God, I shall starve one day and eat the next. If my hunger is satisfied I shall give praise and thanks, and if I am hungry, I shall be patient and forbearing.”

O son of ‘Abdullah, what soul did you carry in your breast? And, O the most worthy of the Messengers of God! what message was it that you undertook? Indeed, it was a soul that was reared by the Creator of the earth and the heavens and cultivated and polished by the Maker of the four winds. Its message was the best of messages. He chose for it the best of the universe. On you descends the peace and blessing of God whenever a repeater proclaims the Oneness of God, or when a bird sings on a branch, or when the night falls, or the day breaks, or when your refreshing life is related by tellers of history and its records.

I send my warmest greetings to the Muslims in all the corners of the earth

These are reflections on the commemoration of the Birth of the Prophet Muhammad (may the peace and blessing of God be upon him!), in which I have attempted to mention some of the most illustrious of his attributes — and they are all most illustrious—in the hope that they may have, in our struggle and strife to obtain the rights of our country and to rid the land of our valley of the colonizers, the effect of urging us to march undaunted until the end.

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD’S BIRTHDAY IN LONDON

Text of the speech by His Excellency the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London,

Mr. Habib I. Rahimtoola

“The West stole a march on them because they forgot the preachings of the Prophet Muhammad and of the Holy Qur’an and engrossed themselves in pursuit of pleasure rather than of knowledge. Believe me, the Muslims are still capable of overtaking the West, and of surpassing it, if only they will wake up from their slumber and follow the preachings and example of their Great Prophet Muhammad”

Muhammad’s character

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, — We have gathered together this afternoon under the auspices of the Islamic Cultural Centre in London, to celebrate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad, may the Peace of God be on his soul! This auspicious day, which falls on the twelfth of Rabi’ al-Awwal, happens to be to-day, and is indeed an occasion when Muslims all the world over meet to offer fatihah (prayer), and to recount the life and principles of the Prophet to refresh their memory, and correct themselves if they have deviated from the true path. In fact, it is also a day of rejoicing because Muhammad came to this earth ultimately to be the messenger of God and the source of salvation to mankind.

Muhammad was a man of exemplary character, a fact which had earned for him amongst the fellow Arabs a great name during his early life, and even at the age of 40 when he preached the Message of God his opponents had the greatest respect for him on personal grounds. In fact, it was his honesty and sincerity, which attracted around him a band of ardent followers, during the early days when he had to surmount innumerable difficulties and hardships.

Muhammad was a man whose preaching was in consonance with his life; whose religion was for actually living, not for angels. His life was an open book for his followers to see and emulate, and when he made a decision it was in an open conference of all his followers. His followers were his confidants,
Muhammad shows us how to live in this life

The Prophet Muhammad has shown by his own example the best way to live in this world, the way which would bring to us the maximum advantages in this life and salvation in the hereafter. We are not called upon to renounce this world, but to live a normal life and observe moderation. In fact, the advent of Islam ushers in a new era of simplicity both in faith and in living. It is a faith that the meanest intelligence can comprehend, and the substance is both simple and magnificent — Unity and Omnipotence of the One God, Who is the Creator of the universe. Wise, Just, True, All-knowing, Unerring Guide, Generous and Forgiving Master. No more is it necessary to diversify the Godhead, nor to deify the various manifestations of nature. Oracles from trees, stars and phenomena of nature become unnecessary, so do gods and goddesses, priests and priestesses, symbols and monuments of wood and stone. Muhammad’s message emphasizes God’s unity, direct relationship of human beings with its Creator, completely eliminating priesthood. It is also a message describing Islam as the way of life without dogmas and rituals. In fact, the general nature of the message, although covering almost every aspect of life, makes it possible for Islam to be universal in its adaptability.

The Prophet Muhammad makes no claim to divinity for himself. He claimed neither kinship with God, nor set up as the incarnation of deity. He calls himself a slave of God and a messenger of glad tidings to the world. He seeks neither favour nor recognition. He lived a simple and austere life, and worked with his own hands to do the meanest of things, thus advocating dignity of labour, and indeed by his own example set up a definite standard of morality to be practised. He preaches charity and brotherhood, the subjugation of wants and passion within human limits, and proclaims the gratitude of human kind to the All-bountiful.

The effect of such a sermon was hostility against the Prophet Muhammad from those whose vested interests were jeopardized. The priests and the nobility of Arabia saw in his new message the undoing of centuries of hard work which had secured for them the material, social and political advantages. In consequence, the Prophet Muhammad along with a handful of his early followers was to go through ten years of supreme hardship and trial. He displayed unflinching faith in the message of God and unshakable determination to surmount all obstacles to achieve the end. This awakened the courage of his followers and inspired in them greater faith in his teachings, which not only enabled them to undergo cheerfully all the miseries and sufferings inflicted by their tribesmen and evenkinsmen, but also aroused the respect and admiration of the non-believers. At one stage the cause of Islam seemed hopelessly lost, and the Prophet Muhammad had to migrate to Medina (Yathrib) from Mecca (the Quraysh) along with his followers. In fact, the Hijrat (Migration) was not effected without insuperable difficulties in the face of the concerted efforts of the aristocrats of Mecca to destroy them, and indeed some of them had to take refuge in the land of the Christian King of Abyssinia.
Muhammad in Medina ushers in a new era of tolerance and friendship towards all

The chieftains of Medina were greatly impressed by the sincerity and the noble qualities of the Prophet Muhammad, and the Medinities were soon convinced of the truth of his message. A Mosque was put up in Medina, and the Prophet Muhammad worked for its construction as an ordinary labourer. This and the example set by him by his character and devotion to the poor and needy, made tribe after tribe embrace Islam, and the territorial gains became larger and larger. Finally, the campaigns launched by the Meccans against Medina for giving asylum to the Prophet Muhammad and for allowing him to preach his religion cemented the unity of the people of Medina under the Prophet Muhammad.

The Charter issued by the Prophet Muhammad shows quite clearly the nature of the Islamic State which had come into existence around Medina. It stated, "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, this is a Charter given by Muhammad, the Prophet to the Believers, whether of the Quraysh or of Yathrib, and all individuals of whatever origin, who have made cause with them. All of them shall constitute one nation." It further states, "The Jews, who attach themselves to our Commonwealth shall be protected from insult and persecution. They shall have an equal right, with our people, to our assistance and good offices. The Jews and all those domiciled in Yathrib shall form with the Muslims one composite nation, they may practise their religion in the fullest freedom." Similar charters were granted to Christians and Zoroastrians, which stated, "To the Christians of Najran the security of God and the pledge of his Prophet are extended to their lives, their religion and their property. There shall be no interference with the practice of their faith in religious observances, nor any change in their rights and privileges; no image or cross shall be desecrated."

These Charters are an eloquent testimony to the fact that Islam had ushered in a new era of tolerance and friendship towards all. They further show that the abrogation by the Prophet Muhammad of the age-long rights of the Arabs to avenge blood by blood and settle feuds by the sword was meant both for the Muslims and the non-Muslims. They also show how in a dramatic way the Prophet Muhammad had the strength of character to attack the pernicious evil of blood feud, which was an essential feature of the convention practised in the Arab world for centuries. It was the greatest social service that could be rendered to the people of Arabia, and indeed to the world, and the Prophet Muhammad's steadfastness in sticking to his principle against all odds shows the greatness of the man and of the religion he preached. Success was his, ultimately, as promised by God, though not without tremendous sacrifices made by his followers and non-Muslim subjects.

The Prophet Muhammad, however, did not abolish altogether the use of the sword, and indeed could not have done so when used for the preservation and protection of his subjects. He recognized that although the sword could not usurp the place of reason or of justice, there might be occasions when it would be the highest duty to use it — such as when liberty was trampled underfoot, or when freedom was at stake, or when justice had become a mockery. He made it clear that there was no authority for the use of the sword to propagate faith or seek worldly gains.

Muhammad destroys the tribal basis of unity by declaring that all human beings were equal

The Prophet Muhammad also revolutionized the very basis of Arab society. It had hitherto been based on tribal unity which had led to constant tribal warfare. He instituted in its place the Unity of Believers called Umma (literally people). Moreover, the tribal system was based on the aristocracy of the blood. He destroyed it by asserting that all Muslims, and indeed all human beings, were equal in the eyes of God, and enjoyed equal rights and privileges irrespective of their origin. In fact, he allowed no distinction between a Muslim and a Muslim, and established the Muslim state on absolute democracy, in which everyone had equal opportunities.

The democracy preached by Islam even included the rights and privileges of women who in those days of ignorance all the world over were treated as mere chattels. Islamic law not only gives a woman property over her body — as to whom it shall be given and in what terms, but establishes her status in society in relation to the opposite sex. She could no longer be bought or sold, as was the previous practice. All barriers restricting her right to succeed to property were swept away. No longer were widows excluded on the ground that they were a part of the estate to pass into the hands of their husbands' heirs. No longer may daughters be excluded on the grounds that upon their marriage they ceased to be members of their families. Under the law of the Holy Qur'an, sex and age are no disqualifications, and wives, daughters, sisters and mothers inherit properties in prescribed shares specifically laid down.

The Prophet Muhammad also rendered a great service to humanity by attacking slavery, and by enjoining on all Muslims the greatest virtue of freeing slaves. This ultimately led to the abolition of slavery, first in the Islamic state and finally in the entire world.

Such was Muhammad, the man, the Messenger, the conqueror and the ruler. Humility was the essence of his life in playing all the above four roles. The ruler of a great kingdom to whom all were attached by feelings of personal loyalty and reverence for the teachings preached by him, the conqueror who besides being a master of strategy, shared alike the hardships of campaigns and war as a common soldier, the man who not only practised strict principles of character and morality according to highest standards but also felt and worked for the poor and needy even by giving up his own food at the end of the day of fasting, is surely an example to be followed by us.

The lesson to be learnt by Muslims from the life of the Prophet Muhammad

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I can do no better than to exhort you again and again to study carefully the life and preachings of the Prophet Muhammad, and to benefit by the example set for you. If you do, you will better yourselves and create the essentials upon which peace and happiness must rest. Above everything else, you should learn from the example of the Prophet Muhammad the need for sacrifice for a common cause, and a complete subjugation of self for your people.

You should also remember constantly that the Prophet Muhammad again and again advised his followers to acquire knowledge and to go to the ends of the earth in pursuit of knowledge. Time and again we have been reminded in the Holy Qur'an to observe and to take lessons from what we see. We must use our critical eye and analyse the cause and effect of everything that happens, and to improve the understanding of the apparently unexplainable phenomenon. Please also remember that the Muslims were the leaders in the pursuit of knowledge and that their scholars made valuable contribution to mathematics, medicine, astrology, history and philosophy when the Western countries were in the Dark Ages. The West stole a march on them because they forgot the preachings of the Prophet Muhammad and of the Holy Qur'an and engrossed themselves in pursuit of pleasure rather than of knowledge. Believe me, the Muslims are still capable of overtaking the West, and of surpassing it, if only they will wake up from their slumber and follow the preachings and example of their Great Prophet Muhammad. Let us pray that Almighty God will guide us on this hard but only path.

FEBRUARY 1952
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S BIRTHDAY IN PAKISTAN
(12th December, 1951)

By HIS EXCELLENCY MR. GHULAM MUHAMMAD

"Gradually as man's reasoning will develop, the truth will dawn on him that there can be no better solution for his moral and social problems than those presented by Islam. In the light provided to us by these two powerful sources — teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet — which are available to us, and which still guide us to-day, we can solve all our individual and collective problems.”

No other day more sacred to the people of Pakistan than the day of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad

To-day is the birthday of our Prophet (peace be on him!), a great leader of the world. This sacred event in human history is a blessing for the world and for the whole of mankind. On this day was born that real benefactor, that sincere and chosen leader, who was above all considerations, whose message of brotherhood enhanced the prestige of man and who was sent by God to eliminate differences and to bring unity among the nations. To-day is the birthday of that great man whose message of equality and fraternity has remained and shall ever remain true in all ages and everywhere. He is undoubtedly worthy of veneration of the entire world and his birthday has a universal significance. The Holy Qur'an says: "And we did not send you but for the benefit of the universe” (21 : 107).

The lucid passage expresses the universal significance of the Prophet Muhammad for humanity.

There is so much truth, sincerity and charm in the Prophet’s message that his birthday is being celebrated, by the grace of God, in every part of the world, by every tribe and every nation. There is no standard by which the greatness of his personality may be assessed, and yet one ordinary aspect of his greatness is that even after centuries, to-day countless men all over the world are offering their homage to him.

There is no other day which is more sacred than this day for the people of Pakistan. Our love and estimation for this great personality calls upon us to celebrate his birthday as a national day. I pray that this auspicious day may add to the prosperity of Pakistan and the Pakistanis.

The significance of the life of the Prophet Muhammad to Muslims

For the Muslims, the love for the Prophet is an integral part of their love for God. We look at his life with love and devotion alone. The strong hold of the Prophet’s love in our hearts is the strongest evidence of his unique greatness and all those who have studied his life dispassionately, critics and believers alike, are agreed on it. The love for the Prophet is unparalleled — as a messenger of God, as a man, as a reformer, as a ruler and as a leader, whichever way one may see him.

In the stages of evolution of human knowledge, the birthday of the Prophet is the most outstanding beacon-light designed to remind us of the aims and purposes of celebrating it. We should refresh our love for Islam and its light and keep alive our spiritual life from this fountain of light. The success of an individual or a nation, ultimately depends on its spiritual strength.

Our ideals include the firm resolve to prove ourselves worthy of that great trust which God in His grace and the Prophet by his guidance have reposed in us, and this trust, our greatest national asset, is Islam.

At present, when the world is in confusion and there are many conflicting problems, we have fortunately with us a fundamental code of life which cannot go wrong. If we try to act on these principles with sincerity, principles which have been laid by divine wisdom, we shall be able to avoid all the pitfalls which lie before us or may confront us in future.

We have to improve the social and economic conditions of our masses. This is not a new problem. In fact, it is the synthesis of all the problems of mankind. The entire world is faced with these very problems, and Islam has a perfect code of life which presents a solution to these very problems.

Gradually as man’s reasoning will develop, the truth will dawn on him that there can be no better solution for his moral and social problems than those presented by Islam. In the light provided to us by these two powerful sources — teachings of the Holy Qur’an and the teachings of the Prophet — which are available to us, and which still guide us to-day, we can solve all our individual and collective problems.

We should devote our attention to understand the life of the Prophet and to propagate the lessons he taught. Our great benefactor, who has been praised by God in the Holy Qur’an, is the fountain of knowledge and righteousness. His goodness is
for all, and for all time to come. Examples as set by him are the highest ideals for every Muslim.

Muhammad's life embraces all the good human qualities
Another attractive aspect of his life is that it embodies all the good human qualities in itself. It can only be considered as superhuman for its being unparalleled and unique. It is free from those mythologies which are attributed to other religious leaders. His virtues — endurance, righteousness, love for justice and truth and perseverance — can be attained by other human beings, for these are for men to acquire. He possessed all these and therein lies his greatness.

"The Prophet combined in himself the virtues of all the prophets" (Hafriz).

It is no small wonder that the Holy Qur'an has been preserved through all these ages for our guidance despite the moth-eaten record of human history and the destructive tendencies of time. With the widening of human knowledge and vision, the radiance of the Holy Qur'an is correspondingly increasing. One of the distinctive features of the Prophet's life is that a complete picture depicting the various phases of his life and personality are preserved eternally. It enjoins upon us to show respect to this great life. If there had been any mixing of fiction in his life, his glory and greatness would not have been what they are. For our guidance it is necessary that we should closely study the authentic and illuminating accounts and facts of the Prophet's life. In them we will find many outstanding and revealing lessons.

The lesson the Pakistanis in their problems can learn from the life of the Prophet Muhammad
One of the fundamental principles of Islam which the Prophet has set out is the spirit of sacrifice. Our national progress is very much dependent on our spirit of sacrifice, i.e., to what extent we can sacrifice our personal interests for the larger and more important interests of the nation. Pakistan is a new country, and only a few years ago our nation stepped into a new era of history. This makes sacrifice all the more necessary for us. We pray to God to guide us in such a way as to enable us to build our new country on solid foundations. But God only bestows His mercy on those who work with purity of heart and sustained efforts. If we keep our spirits high and do not shirk sacrifice for building our young nation, then we will be able to show the world the real strength of the Islamic collective structure, and this by itself will be a great achievement of Pakistan.

The Muslims of Pakistan are anxiously awaiting the framing of the Constitution for the country. In making constitution for a country, legal and constitutional discussions cannot be avoided. As soon as these are over, God willing, the Constitution will be ready. But this should not be taken to mean that the Islamic code of life is dependent on the framing of a Constitution. There are so many aspects of life on which Muslims should always act according to the teachings of Islam, particularly with regard to man's dealings with his fellow-beings. In commercial dealings one should be honest and straight. Fear and love of God is most essential and man should, according to his means, serve and help the poor, the destitute and the needy. If the Muslims in their daily dealings decide to act upon the golden principles set for them by the Prophet, the Islamic way of life will be established. We should be watchful of our personal and national behaviours.

On this auspicious day we should resolve that we shall try our best to live in accordance with the golden principles of the Prophet Muhammad and that we shall continue to do so. I pray to Almighty God to inculcate us the spirit of unity and the will to work. May He enable us to lead the lives of true believers. I conclude my speech with a verse of 'Allama Iqbal:

"Thou, who is the source of strength and support for the helpless ones,
Kindly purge the hearts of people of the fear of death."

Declaration of Human Rights and Islam
Dr. Mahmud Hasain, Pakistan's Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, in addressing a meeting at Karachi on the occasion of the Day of Human Rights, on December 10, 1951, said:

"The high purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental human rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are not concepts alien to us, but in substance, are the very texture of the web of Islamic civilization and culture inspired by the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the utterances and actions of that great guide and teacher of mankind, the Prophet Muhammad, whose glorious birth will be observed in reverence and humbleness throughout our country two days hence.

"The oneness of mankind, universal brotherhood, the equality of men irrespective of colour, caste or creed, the supremacy of the law, the sanctity of contracts entered into freely, the worth of the human person, the rights of women, the dignity of labour, the principles of justice and the primacy of spiritual values, were proclaimed by the Prophet Muhammad over 1,300 years ago for the guidance of all mankind. As the world dedicates itself afresh to-day to the observance and promotion of these principles, we may turn our thoughts to the well-springs of our faith and the basic sources of our inspiration and draw spiritual strength and sustenance from them."
MUSLIM SOLIDARITY AT THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION IN SUPPORT OF MOROCCAN INDEPENDENCE

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

"If I were Moroccan I would be a nationalist" (The ex-Resident-General of Morocco, General Juin)

"The Greek democracy was based on slavery; Western democracy is based largely on the exploitation of economically more backward peoples."

Muslim delegates to the United Nations show up the sabotaging tactics of the Colonial powers

The Paris session of the United Nations Organization was largely dominated by the firm attitude of the Islamic countries in support of Morocco.

The speeches of the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, have been remarkable for the clarity with which this statesman expressed Islamic enlightened principles of social justice, honesty and fair play in the most dignified and dispassionate terms, proving beyond any possible doubt that humanitarian principles are neither the exclusive prerogative nor the monopoly of the Western European politicians and governments.

Equally meritorious was the intervention of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Salah al-Dine Pasha, who in spite of the great difficulties with which his country is faced due to the obstinate refusal of British troops to withdraw from the Suez Canal, found time to sponsor the raising of the Moroccan question at Paris. The efforts of the Iraqi delegate, Dr. Fadil al-Jamali, to get the Moroccan question put on the agenda and the able representation of the legal aspect by the Syrian delegate, were most impressive, and the representatives of Indonesia, the Lebanon, Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen and the Philippines also contributed to constructive support of the Moroccan cause. India, along with the other members of the pro-Soviet bloc, also espoused Morocco's right for independence. But the United States of America, and remaining members of the British Commonwealth, adopted evasive and opportunistic tactics in support of France. Mr. Zafrullah Khan dealt with them in a masterly fashion, showing how they were sabotaging the principles on which the Charter of the United Nations was based, expressing himself in polite and friendly terms which won the admiration equally of his supporters and opponents.

A review of the various efforts made by the North African Muslims at securing the help of the world for their case

The suppressed North African Nationalist Muslims have been trying for years to get international support for their fight for complete independence. The Tunisian brothers, 'Ali and Muhammad Bash Hamba, tried to enlist Turkish support before

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the Leader of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (left), and the Leader of the Iraq Delegation to the United Nations, Dr. Muhammad Fadil al-Jamali (right), are engaged in conversation with the Leader of the Syrian Delegation to the United Nations, Paris al-Khosary Bey (centre)

Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan and Dr. al-Jamali, by their forceful and masterful speeches before the General Assembly of the United Nations, made the world realize the injustice being done by France to Morocco, and destroyed completely the claim of France to its Mission Civilisatrice in that country

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and during the first world war; the Shaikh 'Abd al-'Aziz Tha'alibi continued this activity at Versailles and later in the Middle East and in Pakistan and India. Sheikh Aslan supported the North Africans in his paper, La Nation Arabe, backed by two great North African nationalists, al-Hajj Messali Hadj (the founder of the Algerian People's Party) and al-Hajj Ahmad Belfradji, the Secretary of the Istiglal Party of Morocco. In 1938, the Arab Students' European Conference in Brussels, under the leadership of Musa 'Abdulhussain, of Palestine, Farid Khani of Syria, and Abd al-Ghani Dalli (now in charge of the Industrial Bank of Iraq), supported the cause of North African independence. Credit for this was largely due to the Neo-Destourian student, Tayyib Salim. Earlier in 1932 the Grand Mufti of Palestine, al-Hajj Amin al-Husaini, had launched a violent attack on Russian naturalization laws in North Africa during his speech at the Pan-Islamic Conference at Jerusalem.

The second world war, the formation of the Arab League and the growth of new independent Islamic countries induced the North African nationalist leaders, Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia), Messali Hadj (Algeria), and 'Allal al-Faassi and 'Abd al-Karim (Morocco), to concentrate their propaganda on the Middle East and the East. The Moroccans and Tunisians also won support in Britain, the United States of America and in certain European countries. Other nationalist parties, the supporters of 'Abdul Khaqiq Torres and the Bennouna brothers (Spanish Zone of Morocco), Melki al-Nasiri (Tangiers), Hasan Wazzani (French Zone of Morocco), the U.D.M. Party of Algeria, and the Old Destourians of Tunisia, also supported this action, as did the powerful Tunisian Trade Union movement, the U.G.T.T.

France had done everything possible to prevent the Arab States bringing up this issue, and in French circles it was assumed that Pakistan would not dare support the Moroccan nationalists as she was afraid that France would then support India on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan's outspoken support of Morocco is therefore all the more commendable, for she has placed the ideal of justice and humanity and Islamic solidarity before her own internal interests. The French action in preventing the leaders of the greatest Moroccan nationalist party, the Istiglal — 'Allal al-Faassi, al-Hajj Ahmad Belfradji, Mr. Torres — was an act of deliberate sabotage of the Charter of the United Nations, comparable to the similar action of the totalitarian White South African Boer Government which stopped a delegation of African nationalists from coming to Paris. France's efforts to treat the Moroccan question as a purely internal affair, and her delegate's breach of diplomatic etiquette by referring to the hospitality she was offering the delegations as hostages to the United Nations, were firmly dealt with by the Pakistan Foreign Minister. If, however, this unfair intervention persists, the United Nations, in the interests of impartiality, will have to hold its sessions on a deserted island, or at sea or in the air!

The effective co-operation of the Islamic States, backed by the Soviet bloc, appears to be acting as an encouragement for the Tunisians, who after more than 18 months of discussion with the French Foreign Office have seen their interests sacrificed for a handful of European colonialists, and their right to elect a government based on universal suffrage denied to them by the French. Tunisia's leader, Habib Bourguiba, has appealed direct to the United Nations. The immediate demand of the Tunisians for internal autonomy and parliamentary reform has now been replaced by a demand for complete independence. Tunisia is on the verge of a revolt, and if this occurs, the French Colon are dominated Foreign Office will be entirely to blame, while the highly civilized attempts at negotiation on the part of Bourguiba, Salih ibn Yusuf and the Premier, Muhammad Shenik, which have been recognized by writers in the Manchester Guardian and the New York Times, deserve the sympathy and admiration of the world, but they show clearly that there is little to be expected from the Western democracies. The Greek democracy was based on slavery; Western democracy is based largely on the exploitation of economically more backward peoples.

Judging by the march of events, the Algerian and Tunisian questions will be the next on the United Nations Agenda.

During the United Nations session in Paris, the veteran Algerian nationalist leader, al-Hajj Messali Hadj, entertained all the Muslim delegates at a banquet which, following on his pilgrimage to Mecca and his visit to Egypt, is a clear sign that he wishes the Arab-Muslim bloc to raise the question of Algerian independence in the United Nations meetings. In this he has the support of his own party, which was recently responsible for an 80 per cent abstention during an election in the Algerian town of Constantine. His M.T.L.D. Party (whose party organ is l'Africa Libre, edited by the dynamic former deputy, Ahmed Mezetto), is working with a united front comprising the U.D.M.A. Party, the 'Ulemas, the Communists, and Democrats such as the well-known historian and contributor to al-Balagh, Tewfik Madani. In Algeria the ratio of Muslims to Europeans is only 7 or 8 to 1, as compared to 13 to 1 in Tunisia and 18 to 1 in Morocco. Thus in Algeria the resistance to Muslim nationalism is correspondingly great, but the whole Algerian race is behind the struggle for independence, and now that Morocco has set the ball rolling in the United Nations, Algeria and Tunisia will follow suit.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah's speech on the evils of to-day and their remedy

In his historic speech before the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris on November 26, 1951, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan stressed the need to keep mankind above the brute level by regulating armed force. He said:

"We are told God created man in His own image, meaning, no doubt, that man has been endowed with qualities, capacities and faculties, moral and spiritual, the beneficent evolution of which would enable man to become a reflection, a manifestation of Divine attributes."

"How much of that reflection, what degree of that manifestation, is discernible to-day in man as such?"

"This being called in the image of His Maker, this viceroy of God upon earth; in what manner is he discharging the duties and obligations of his stewardship?"

"Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, in referring to the vast reservoirs of knowledge at man's disposal, asked to what use this knowledge was being put. He stressing the need to alleviate and abolish poverty and the danger of war, he said:

"At the end of nearly six years of progressively frustrated effort and swelling cataclysms of all types of oratory, we are further from agreement than when we started."

"Where does the fault lie?"

"We venture to submit that the fault lies in the disparity, indeed in contradiction, that marks our declared objective, and the policies pursued by us, our proclamations and practices."

"We proclaim liberty and practise subjugation; we proclaim equality and practise discrimination; we proclaim fraternity and practise brotherliness. We proclaim tolerance and practise intolerance; we affirm freedom of information and shut our light from dark places; we affirm freedom from fear and permit lynching even of the body, though much oftener we impose martyrdom of the spirit; we condemn genocide and uphold race superiority, resulting in racial discrimination and persecution; we draw up high-sounding Declarations of Human Rights and practise and tolerate and often become accessories to human bondage and exploitation."

"We do not ask in question the sincerity of any; we blame none. Each of us is sincere and free of blame. It is the other fellow who is at fault. This may be flattering to our vanity and self-esteem, but is not calculated to promote agreement or to facilitate the settlement of our differences."

"We have been too long engaged in the pastime of exposing the mote in the other man's eye while seeking to hide the beam in our own."
The Pakistan Foreign Minister maintained that armed force should be maintained only “as the vigilant and eager servant of peace.” He implored “those great powers into whose hands the destiny of the human race at this critical moment appears to have been entrusted to make the sincerest effort of which they are capable to come to an agreement on the principles which will ensure the application of every aspect of scientific and industrial effort to the beneficent service of mankind rather than towards compassing its destruction.”

He did not wish that future historians would have to write of the present generation: “They perished through their deeds though they failed not to the end to proclaim through their mouths their devotion to peace. They died with love of mankind on their lips and hatred of each other in their hearts. They thus furnished another tragic affirmation of the truth that the letter killeth, it is the spirit that keepeth alive.”

“Mankind stands at the brink of disaster. It is being rapidly marshalled on opposite sides into ranks, and it looks as if on the signal being given a veritable hell would be let loose, spreading its conflagration far and wide into the uttermost corners of the earth. It seems to us as if the whole of mankind at this moment is truly as proclaimed in the Divine dictum: On that day, We shall leave some of them to surge against others and the trumpet shall be blown. Then shall We gather them all together. And on that day, We shall present hell face to face to them (The Qur'an, 18:99). The sands of time are running out and man rushes unheedingly towards disaster.”

“How shall he save himself? First, by a sense of responsibility and faith in right principles. Then by widening the sphere of their operation till they are universally, or widely, accepted.

And finally, by watchful perseverance to ensure that mankind does not fall away from them once more. “Let us strive in this manner.”

This great pronouncement on the evils of to-day and their solution on Islamic lines overshadowed all other speeches made so far in Paris. In it the Pakistan Foreign Minister made a devastating analysis of French rule in Morocco. The humanitarian principles he expressed will have an irresistible appeal to the masses of people in the English-speaking world as well as in the continent of Europe, where until now only Gandhi and Nehru have been considered as the apostles of non-violence.

The debates at the Paris session of the United Nations Organization

Dr. Fadil al-Jamali, the leader of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations Organization, was responsible for attempting to get the Steering Committee to accept the question of Human Rights as a part of the agenda.

His efforts were systematically sabotaged by the Western delegations’ motion dodging the whole issue by asking for a delay, which was presented by Canada and accepted by six votes to four with four abstentions.

An attempt was made by the leading French moderate daily, Le Monde, to smear Dr. Jamali as a former pro-Nazi and thus prejudice the issue. Later Dr. al-Jamali complained of this attack. A former Minister of Information, Dr. al-Jamali had in the exercise of his office entertained cultural relations with Germany and shared his compatriot’s detestation of Zionism and British imperialism. Le Monde did not explain his action in this light. It conveniently forgot to mention that in 1948 he was the Iraqi Foreign Minister who signed the abortive Treaty of Portsmouth with the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, and that he had to go into enforced retirement for some considerable time for being considered too pro-British.

On November 13th, 1951, Salah al-Dine Pasha, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, raised the Moroccan question in reply to the President, L. Padilla Nervo, who queried whether there was any objection to the postponement of this issue, as recommended in paragraph 5 of the General Committee’s recommendations.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister stated that the Government of Egypt had requested that the question of Morocco should be put on the agenda under the heading of “violation by France in Morocco of the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.” An identical request was made by the Government of Iraq, the Lebanon, Sa‘udi Arabia, Syria and the Yemen. Recent events which had taken place in Morocco had provoked great feeling of resentment in the Arab and other Islamic States in the world at large, and even in some circles in France itself.

Salah al-Dine Pasha pointed out that the General Committee (the Steering Committee) had singled this issue, and that in recommending its postponement the committee had gone beyond its competence under Article 40. He added that it should recommend either the adoption of a resolution, its rejection, or its inclusion in the provisional agenda of a future agenda, but not its indefinite postponement from being placed on the agenda.

General Romula of the Philippines recommended the inclusion of this issue on the agenda.

“Needless to say,” he concluded, “the Philippines will always espouse the cause of such non-self-governing peoples or protectorates as can justify that their rights have been down-trodden.”

In supporting the Egyptian resolution, the Soviet delegate, Mr. Arutjunyan, asked why the French representative was surprised at the raising of this issue.

The Arab delegates had justly pointed out that the situation in Morocco was constantly deteriorating, and that it might constitute a threat to the maintenance of peace and security.

Only a few days previously, singular events had taken place in Morocco. The French authorities had opened fire on the unarmed Moroccans at Casablanca during the so-called election to the Consultative Chamber in which the population refused to take part. Out of 12,000 electors, only 300, or 2.5 per cent, voted. Exasperated by their failure, the French opened fire on the crowds, including women and children, near the polling booths. As a result, six people, including one woman and a 12-year-old child, were killed. Several dozen were injured and about 2,000 arrested. Martial law was proclaimed and troops with tank support patrolled the streets.

The postponement had only been recommended by a minority — 6 votes out of 14 against 4 votes and 4 abstentions.

The Muslim delegates on the plea of the French delegate

Mr. Schuman, the French delegate, said: “A specific charge has been levelled against us — a charge that offends our honour because we are particularly sensitive to that charge. We are supposed to have violated a declaration which we enrolled completely and purely three years ago. We are aware of the fact that France was one of the main champions of that declaration at a time when certain delegations did not even design to accede to it. This would mean that we would have violated the friendship which has linked us for forty years with Morocco. This would have violated the trust which we undertook in 1912, the pledge to bring the country to a brilliant future.”

Mr. Schuman stressed the democratic traditions of France: “Article 75 of the United Nations was perhaps one of the most beautiful texts of the Charter. It lays down the duties of States who undertake the responsibility of administering territories the populations of which have not yet achieved self-government.”

“An obligation to respect the culture of the population concerned. I ask you, where has there been greater respect for the national beliefs than in Morocco? It was a respect exercised by Laytun and his successors. There is a pledge here to promote economic and other developments, social and educational advancement, just treatment, protection against abuse. ‘France does not have to blush when considering its civilizing activities in Morocco.”

For sheer hypocrisy the French statement would be hard to beat. It left a bad taste in the mouth. How could the French who imprisoned thousands of Moroccans and killed hundreds, and sent one of the most militant nationalists, Mahdi...
ben Barka, to exile last year in Southern Morocco and prevented the two most important members (Allal al-Fassi and al-Hajj Ahmad Belafradi) of the powerful Istiqlal Party from coming to France, talk with their tongues in their cheeks of upholding Article 73 of the United Nations Organization Charter?

The Egyptian Foreign Minister asked for time to study Mr. Schuman's statement.

On the morning of December 13, 1951, Dr. Fadil al-Jamali, the Iraqi delegate, stressed the important part played by Moroccan soldiers in the two world wars. He mentioned the great traditions of the Moroccan people, traditions of bravery and independence, and also the number of men of learning produced by Morocco. He wanted France to export across the seas her great traditions of democracy and to apply them in North Africa.

He quoted the views of the Sultan in support of the desire of the Moroccans for independence. Dr. al-Jamali said:

"We certainly believe that Morocco fully deserves and is entitled to achieve immediate independence. For what are the qualifications for independence other than a great history, a great culture and great achievements and sacrifices for the democratic world, and a strong determination and desire for freedom."

Dr. al-Jamali stated that if France had been doing her duty in Morocco, this country would now be progressive and independent. If not it was high time that the matter should be referred to the United Nations Organization.

Mr. Shoukayri, the delegate of Syria, dealt with the legal aspects of the problem. He stressed that Morocco had maintained her independence for 1,200 years longer than any other Arab State. He further stated that Morocco was the first State to extend de jure and de facto recognition to the United States of America. He quoted a letter written by George Washington to the Sultan of Morocco on December 1, 1789, which commenced "Great and Magnanimous Friend". He declared that in view of French jurisprudence itself, I can declare without fear of contradiction that no distinguished French jurist who holds in respect the science of jurisprudence can claim that Morocco is a French territory, that the people of Morocco are French citizens, and that the jurisdiction of France applies to Morocco... The Sultan himself (God save the King!) is unable to come to this assembly to speak his mind and conscience."

He concluded by asking the Assembly to live up to its responsibilities and to make the Moroccan a free man.

Mr. Muhammad Zafarullah Khan dealt with the technical implications aroused by the attitude of the General Committee, which, "...has, in effect, abdicated its function and refused to discharge its duty."

He then proceeded in a masterly fashion to demolish Mr. Schuman's statement. Mr. Zafarullah Khan said:

"Speaking of ourselves alone, we have found one aspect of that statement embarrassing."

Mr. Schuman began by reminding us that we were the guests of France and that any attempt on our part to have the item included in the agenda would amount to an unmerited affront to our hosts. In other words, we were asked not to behave ungraciously as guests."

He gave a long quotation from the latest declaration of the Sultan of Morocco, who said:

"We are fully aware of the very grave responsibilities which have been conferred upon us in the fulfilment of our duty to God and to our people, in the accomplishment of the mission we have been called upon to fulfill. It is the product of these affairs which have been placed in our trust. Since God has called us to this great task we have striven to keep our solemn promise to strive without rest, without respite or discouragement until such time as we shall have restored to our country its position in keeping with its glorious past and historical importance and with its strategically important position resulting from its special national interest; for the full satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of our people by all means in our power and in many previous occasions, where we clearly declared that the finest régime under which a people can live, a people enjoying their full sovereignty, is the democratic system, for that system is in accord with our liberal and generous religion. It guarantees to individuals as a community a stable and peaceful existence. We shall not waver in our determination to uphold these principles and to strive to put them into practice in the firm conviction that this régime will assure to our people the maximum of liberty, justice and human dignity. We shall not waver in the assurance of our nation or the safeguarding of its integrity until it attains the realization of its aspirations. It was with this purpose in mind that we went last year to Paris with the special aim of making known to the French Government the whole of these problems and the latter a solution which would be in conformity with our aspirations and ideals. As we have already declared in our previous speech from the Throne, we have presented to the French Government two memoranda dated respectively 5th October and 1st November, 1950. These memoranda leave no room for misunderstandings, and make clear our desire to see Franco-Moroccan relations defined in a convention guaranteeing to Morocco its full sovereignty and constructing its relations with France on a new basis on the principles of mutual friendship and respect for the interests of both countries while safeguarding the various elements residing in our kingdom. We continue to hope, and we shall continue to hope from now on, for the opening of those negotiations for which we have been waiting, firm in our conviction of the justice of our high principles and our aims. The successful outcome of this question is of the very greatest importance to all, and depends upon our perseverance which yields neither to despair nor to discouragement. Despite the crises and the disturbing events through which we have passed in the course of the last year, we shall not be shaken in our efforts until we shall have attained full satisfaction. God strengthens us in our efforts and those of our Arab and Muslim brothers of the East and West. May He grant them His powerful aid and inspire them with His divine goodness."

To that prayer we say Amen.

The United Nations was, Mr. Zafarullah Khan contended, paying a compliment to France by discussing her record in Morocco, and she should take the United Nations into her confidence with regard to Morocco. He asked that the motion on Human Rights should be altered and re-worded: "The question of the Independence and Sovereignty of Morocco," and that the consideration of the matter and the decision arrived at might result in a triumph for the United Nations. Mr. Zafarullah Khan continued by pointing out that previously the instance of the trial of an Hungarian dignitary had been put on the agenda in spite of violent opposition. Now they were considering a "question relating to the independence of 9,000,000 human beings, in a manner in which this question is determined by the General Assembly will provide us with a measure, a standard, a yardstick which we should, those of us in Asia and Africa, apply in a similar question when we are invited to assist in placing matters upon the agenda of the General Assembly. Let the General Assembly make its choice."

The comments of Salah al-Dine Pasha and other delegates

Salah al-Dine Pasha quoted the late Marshal Lyducedat length to prove that Morocco had had its own independent administration at the time of the French conquest. The Arab States were, he maintained, by race, creed and language, closely allied to the Moroccans. He pointed out that the Arab States had already tried singly and jointly to influence France on this issue, but that after 40 years of French administration, if Morocco was a backward State, who was to blame? The Egyptian Foreign Minister continued to say that conversations with the Sultan were being used as an alibi. "Meanwhile, the Moroccan people are deprived of their essential freedoms and democratic institutions."

Mr. Ardalan (Iran) said that in spite of the centuries-old friendship which existed between France and Iran, there were some matters of principle on which Iran could not compromise, such as, the fate of a people struggling for its independence.

Mr. Palarl (Indonesia) stressed the need for settling the question. He supported Egypt, and stressed the different conceptions of the East and the West.

Mr. Pharaoh (Saudi Arabia), in supporting Egypt, pointed out that on November 22, 1951, Mr. Schuman had declared in the French Assembly that the "Moroccan people must administer themselves and settle democratically their own affairs. This has always been the position of France."

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Mr. Chaudhuri (India) supported Egypt, as did the representative of Ecuador, Mr. Quevedo. Mr. Tarci (the Yemen) attacked the present-day materialism and armament race and stressed the need for spiritual values. France, he said, had not achieved the mission she was expected to fulfil. He pointed out that civilization owned a debt to Morocco.

Mr. Takieddine (the Lebanon) also raised the moral issue.

Mr. Arutyunyan (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stated that he had received 150 telegrams of complaint from Morocco and mentioned specifically the General Federation of Labour in the town of Rabat, the Railway Workers’ Union of Casablanca, and the merchants in those two towns. He emphasized that the Assembly could not turn a deaf ear to the complaints about French behaviour in Morocco.

Mr. Pavao (Afghanistan) was shocked to learn that the memorandum which the Arab countries had submitted to France on the Moroccan question had remained unanswered. He opined that the raising of this issue was in harmony and in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, and the exclusion of this matter from the agenda might have grave consequences. He said that it would be an act against the spirit which should rule in this great parliament of the world.

Mr. Gross (the United States of America) said that in his view the interests of the people of Morocco would best be served by not bringing up the Moroccan question for debate in the Assembly. He paid a tribute to France and stated that it was the policy of the French Government, as expressed by Mr. Schuman, to hasten democratic reforms through a Franco-Moroccan Commission, and that the Sultan had reaffirmed his desire for negotiation with a view to reaching agreement with the French Government. He mentioned that “the traditions and policies of the United States demonstrate our friendship for the people of Morocco and our interest in their aspirations”. He was obviously pleased at the reference to George Washington and President Roosevelt as friends of the Sultan of Morocco.

This appallingly evasive speech was demolished later in the debate in one sentence by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, who after paying tribute to “his great dialectical skill” continued, “... it is my experience — I hope that he will forgive me for stating it — that when he has a case he needs no subtlety. That was a disappointment in a man so distinguished and occupying so great a position.” Mr. Zafrullah Khan has clearly studied the great oration that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Marcus Antonius: “I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him”. Applying Antonius’ technique in verse, he praised the American, French and Australian delegates and then proceeded to bury them with polite but objective sarcasm and ridicule.

Mr. Tauber (Czecho-Slovakia) stated that the terms of the 1912 Treaty of Protectorate “were incompatible with the principle enunciated in the Charter”. He quoted General Junin, the dictatorial ex-Resident-General, who, according to the French daily, Combat, of November 16, 1951, had said: “If I were a Moroccan I would be a nationalist”. Mr. Tauber was called to order by the President for raising the question of the United States of America’s air bases in Morocco and economic bases which he said were being created for aggressive purposes.

**The French Foreign Minister’s poor reply to the debate**

Mr. Schuman (France) added little to what he had already said. He maintained that the “opinion of France as a whole rises in revolt against the accusations levelled against France in this debate.”

He did not admit that at least three daily papers of the extreme Left supported Morocco against him, also a considerable section of the Socialists as well as the Communists, who, whether one approves of them or not, still represent 25 per cent of France.

Mr. Schuman ended with a pious promise which it will do well to remember: “To all I make an appeal not to doubt France and not to doubt her sincerity will to continue with her task of fostering an evolution (evolution seven years after the Istitqal had demanded total independence!) in Morocco designed to bring the Moroccan people in the near future to a state in which it might administer itself and manage its own affairs.”

Sir Keith Office (Australia), in supporting France, stated that the debate had had a certain value, as it had shown “the great feelings of the Arab States and certain other States about the situation in Morocco. It had elicited a very sympathetic statement from the very distinguished Foreign Minister of France on France’s policy in the past and in the present and what it is aiming at.” He thought it would be wise to stop at this stage.

Mr. Andraos (Egypt) made a long speech dealing largely with the question of procedure. The small countries, he said, must not be judged on their attitude two the two big blocs. He appealed to France, as his own country and France were both signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, and “God knows that peaceful traditions go back much earlier than the Charter”. He recalled the fact that in 1948, at Lake Success, Egypt had not refused to discuss the Sudan question, though “it was a question of a people united to us by a river, by race, by religion, and separated by an artificial line of the twenty-second parallel.”

**Mr. Zafrullah Khan’s criticism of the reply of the French Foreign Minister**

Before the vote was taken, the Pakistan Foreign Minister subjected the French, the United States of America and Australian viewpoints to a microscopic analysis. The United States’ delegate, he said thought that “… apparently the people of Morocco cannot be trusted to know their interests. The Arab States cannot apparently be expected to know them, having the same culture and being of the same race. But how should they know what the interests of the people are? It is left to the representative of the United States to tell us what is in the best interests of Morocco. It reminds me of a proverb of the Punjab, Maan nadon bechlu so shaphe kuttan. It refers to the woman who professes more solicitude for a child than the child’s own mother.”

Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan was disappointed that no precise mention of reforms to be carried out in Morocco had been referred to by Mr. Schuman. With all due respect to the French Foreign Minister, he could not accept his statement that the present relationship between France and Morocco was based on free agreement. He wanted to avoid bloodshed between the French and the Moroccans, which would be likely to occur if the matter was postponed. He mentioned the India-South Africa dispute, in which South Africa had been overruled when trying to maintain that this was an internal domestic issue; the Moroccan question was even less a domestic issue.

On a vote the French view was upheld by 28 votes to 23, with 7 abstentions. The Muslim countries were supported by the Soviet bloc, Norway, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Mexico, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Guatemala, India, Burma, Ethiopia, and the Philippines.

In spite of the temporary defeat of the Egyptian motion, France has been forced to give a few concessions, such as freedom of the Press in Morocco, and the matter is only postponed. The Moroccan National Front has presented the Sultan with a demand for complete independence, and now the Tunisian Government is asking for the Tunisian question to be discussed by the Security Council. A very great step forward has been made towards the independence of the Maghreb.
RURAL SOCIAL CENTRES IN EGYPT

By DR. AHMAD HUSAIN PASHA

Egypt an agricultural country

Egypt is an agricultural country, where three-fourths of its population work on the land.

The Egyptian farmer is by nature settled on his land and characterized by energy, patience and skill, in addition to his inherent qualities of serenity and worthiness.

In Egypt, the farmers live in collective villages. This is unlike many other countries where the farmers live on their farms. The Egyptian village to-day stands in need of universal reformation since its conditions have worsened as a result of interaction between various political and social factors which have arisen with the lapse of time. Such reformation would require knowledge of the prevailing conditions of the Egyptian village and study of those of its problems which have been caused by the factors stated above during successive generations, as well as full scientific study and knowledge of the results of practical experiments in this field in order to ensure good results and guard against improvisation. The movement for the reformation of the Egyptian village, particularly during the last quarter of this century, began to take an outstanding place in the minds of thinkers, reformers and the authorities concerned. It is nothing new to state that the first problem facing the Egyptian rural districts is the continuous increase in population as compared with the small area of cultivated land, to such an extent that the rural population reached the figure of about 15,000,000 living on an area of about 6,000,000 feddans (acres) — an area which can by no means satisfy their needs, despite the fertility of the land and its abundant produce. The State is now concerned with the study of agricultural reform projects, whether pertaining to the improvement of conditions of agricultural labourers and small tenants and their protection, and the organization of the relations between them and the landlords, or by the spread of small agricultural holdings. The policy of the State in this field is being directed towards the distribution of the agricultural State domain in lands among the small farmers and is being actively enforced and accelerated.

But the subject of this paper does not deal with this aspect of reform which naturally falls on the central legislative authority. This paper deals rather with the social reform programme which centres around the efforts of the village inhabitants themselves.

Commencement of implementation of Social Centres programme

The Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs was established in 1939, with a special department to look after the farmers’ affairs. This department has undertaken the study of rural reform projects in foreign States and took note of the experiments made in Egypt itself for village reformation. The Social Centres project was then laid down during May, 1941, when five agricultural experts proceeded to five widely separated villages and began their work there. In 1945 six other Centres were established and the experiment proceeded within this limited scope until 1946, when its success was proved to such an extent that the State decided to generalize the project to include all the rural districts of Egypt. There are now 136 Social Centres distributed in all the regional districts of the country, each of which was designed to serve 10,000 inhabitants. By so doing, the services envisaged by this project represent about 1,125,000 of the rural population.

What is a Social Centre?

The Social Centre is a national institution providing all the services required by the village. Its buildings consist of a lecture hall with radio attached to it, a rural library, an office and a dwelling-house for the social agricultural expert, an out-patients clinic for examination and treatment with a laboratory and dispensary for dispensing medicines and an isolation ward; a house for child and mother welfare in which there is a room for examination and another room used as a maternity ward for lying-in mothers, a dwelling-house for the health visiting nurse, including buildings for the Centre, also a house for teaching home rural industries, a drinking-water system with a trough for cattle, and public baths. The premises of the Centre are simple and economically built.

In each Social Centre there is a rural club, playground, cattle enclosure, model field with an area of one feddan (acre) on which modern methods of agriculture are applied and practised. The expenses incurred in establishing and furnishing one Centre amount to £7,100 during the first year, that is, at an average of 71 piastres per person for each of the village inhabitants on the assumption that each Social Centre serves 10,000 persons. The recurring expenses amount to £2,400 per year, that is at an average of 24 piastres per person in consideration of all the services enjoyed by him. The personnel of the Social Centre consists of the social agricultural expert, the medical doctor and the health visitor.

The social agricultural expert

The social agricultural expert is selected from the graduates of the Agricultural College, on the basis of his personal fitness and his capacity or preparedness to work in the rural districts. He receives a special course of training in rural social services for a period of four months at the end of which he is examined. If he proves successful, he undergoes another course of two months’ practical training in one of the old Centres before assuming his work in the village assigned to him. The task of the agricultural expert begins with a full study of the village, to be carried out side by side with the social and economic study of each family in the village. His task is to assist the village inhabitants and advise them on the realization of the village projects which they consider necessary to implement in the village. At the same time, he acts as an agricultural guide, his chief aim being to persuade the farmers to improve their means of production by using selected seeds, to take advantage of modern methods in combating blights, and to follow modern

(Continued on page 22)
Each Centre costs £E7,100 to establish and furnish, the recurring expenses being £E2,400 per year.
The personnel of each Centre consists of the social agricultural expert, the medical doctor and the health visitor.
techniques of agriculture, fertilization, cultivation or ploughing of land, to improve the breeding stock of cattle and domestic animals, and to give attention and interest to the special plantations, such as fruits and vegetables. The expert also acts as a social leader or worker and assists the inhabitants of the village in the implementation of all their social, economic, cultural and physical or recreational projects. Among the chief tasks for which he is mainly responsible are the introduction and spread of modern agricultural implements and of home and rural industries, such as bee-keeping and the rearing of silk-worms, weaving, kleem and carpet-making, and the palm-leaf stalk industry for which the raw material is available at the village. This will help to occupy the free time of the farmers in such a way as to increase their income.

The expert is, by the nature of his office and work, the first friend of the inhabitants of the village in which he lives. He helps them to solve their various problems in the village, as well as to overcome the difficulties which they meet in the various departments, services or other bodies, such as the irrigation or agricultural services, and agricultural loan banks, etc.

The Fellah (Rural) Department depends on the statistical data and necessary statements supplied by experts in all its study and projects.

Medical services, etc.

The medical doctor, who works in the village all the time and has no private clinic, has the task of studying the village from the health point of view and of laying down a firm policy for its betterment. He also guides the inhabitants to guard against diseases and gives them injections against such diseases. He treats the patients in the clinic or at their homes if necessary, and gives them free medicines. In addition to all this, he is required to conduct a general medical examination of all the inhabitants of the village individually, and must ensure the immunization of the inhabitants by vaccination and inoculation against infectious diseases.

The health visitor, who is a graduate of the Kasr al-Aini Hospital, must have had an adequate course of training in social service. Her task is to care for the health of pregnant women, mothers and children. She also works towards the raising of the standard of village women by teaching them cleanliness and giving them social guidance, teaching them some beneficial handwork, such as tailoring, spinning, needlework, and embroidery. The health visitor is helped in her work by the existing village midwives, whom she directs and supervises. She will, later on, select some of the more suitable village girls and send them to the nearest hospital for a period of one year to learn child welfare. Thereafter, they will work in the Centre, thus gradually raising the standard of service in the village by means of its own people.

There are some other technical experts who serve more than one Social Centre, such as the dispenser, who visits the Centre once every two weeks for the preparation of medicines, the rural industries, needlework, embroidery and tailoring instructors who come to each Centre at certain intervals, the veterinary-surgeon, and the engineer who supervises the building of the Centre.

Basis of the Social Centre

The Social Centre's project is based upon three fundamental principles:

1. To convince the inhabitants of the value and benefits of a Social Centre in the service of the village. They will thereupon apply for its establishment and contribute towards its expenses and participate with officials in running the Centre. The Social Centre will thus become a national institution set up at the request and desire of the inhabitants, and will implement the projects which they decide to carry out.

2. The Social Centre services comprise all the phases of village life, economically, hygienically, culturally and socially at one and the same time. It is recognized that each of these factors affects the others and it would be futile to reform one aspect without reforming the other aspect also. Education, for instance, helps to raise the health standard and consequently to increase production. Increase in production will, in turn, increase the income of the individual and consequently enable him to improve his health and make education possible.

3. The premises of the Social Centre must be simple and economically built, so far as is possible. Work in them will be conducted on the basis of gradual reformation in accordance with the needs and demands of the inhabitants.
with a long-term policy in order to ensure that the principles on which reformation is based are sound, and also to avoid hasty jumps and improvisation.

The Social Centre may be briefly described as similar to a national Local Government set up by the inhabitants themselves to look after their affairs and to carry out improvements in their village in a democratic way by which they are trained to understand their rights and obligations as useful citizens, and by means of which they can prove, in a practical way, that they are able to use their own efforts in serving themselves and in raising the standard of their village.

Therefore, the social educational task is considered to be the corner-stone of the project of the Social Centres. Generally, many visits are made by the Fellahaen Service Department before establishing a Centre, during which they meet and come into contact with the inhabitants of the village and exchange views with them regarding the affairs of the village and the reforms of which it stands in need, and what they can do to fill the gaps existing in their village so that when the idea gets ripe in the minds of the inhabitants, they will come forward without pressure or compulsion and ask for the construction of a Social Centre in their village.

**How the Centre works**

To implement this co-operation and to make the inhabitants feel that the Social Centre is a national institution which they themselves have set up, the Fellahaen Service Department makes it a condition that the inhabitants should contribute in advance the sum of £1,500 in cash and 2 faddams (acres) of land on which the buildings are to be constructed. They will also have to make available three houses which can be used temporarily for work and as personnel quarters until such time as the construction of the Social Centre is completed, so that the inhabitants will not be deprived of the Centre’s services before such buildings are constructed.

The inhabitants collect these contributions from among themselves and they all participate in them as a basic condition, each according to his own means. On many occasions some wealthy people came forward expressing their willingness to contribute the whole of the amount required from the village, but the Fellahaen Service Department, in order to realize the desired object, namely, of making the inhabitants feel that the Centre is an institution set up for all of them — did not accept these offers. After the Social Centre is established, the work in the village is conducted through the Social Centre Council in which all the inhabitants participate and to which they pay their annual subscription fees. This Council undertakes the construction of the buildings and conducts all the different activities through the five committees to be formed from among its members. These committees are, the Agricultural and Economic Committee, the Committee for Organizing Alms and Charity, the Educational and Cultural Committee, the Health and Cleanliness Committee, and the Reconciliation Committee.

In setting up these committees, the characteristics of leadership and natural inclination and personal aptitude of its members must be carefully considered. They are selected in a purely democratic way.

Consequently, Governmental assistance is confined to providing funds for construction through grants-in-aid to the Social Centre Council amounting to about £6,000 during the first year and providing funds for the various committees amounting to £1,000, which should be added to the contributions of the inhabitants ranging between 10 pts. and 30 pts. per annum in order that it may become financially strong and carry out its mission. This is in addition to providing the personnel named above on secondment, and providing each Social Centre with the requisite furniture and medicines.

**Co-ordination of the services of the various Ministries in the Rural Districts and the formation of a Supreme Council**

The efforts of the Ministry of Social Affairs which have been directed towards the Rural Districts since 1941, have had a good effect in increasing the interest of the various Ministries in these aspects. The Ministry of Health laid down the Health Groups project for the villages, the Ministry of Agriculture set up the Agricultural Units project, and the Ministry of Education set up the Rural Schools project, and each of them began to invade the Rural Districts with its own specialized units.
Acting under the direction of His Majesty the King, the Government set up in 1946 a Supreme Council to deal with the affairs of labourers and farmers under the presidency of the Prime Minister and membership of the Ministers concerned. The Council, with all its members visited one of the Social Centres and realized the extent of the success of this project, its suitability for propagating the services of the various departments and its direct effect in the realization of village reformation to the greatest possible extent. The simplicity of the buildings and the low level of the expenses can, with the moral and material assistance of the inhabitants, assure the generalization of the services already mentioned to all the Rural Districts. The Government, therefore, decided to make the construction of these Centres universal so that their services would include all the inhabitants gradually. Thus the Social Centres project has changed from the experimental stage, which began in 1941, to the stage of being considered as a firmly adopted policy for reformation to be enforced in all districts of the State.

It is worthy of mention that the Supreme Council has seen fit to undertake the co-ordination of the services of the various Ministries in order to secure the best benefits, to prevent duplication and to economize in expense. It therefore arranged for the Village Centre to be set up in a central point in the village, each of which has been designed to serve 10,000 people, and decided to set up in a central point of each group of these Centres, a fully-equipped health unit to serve a number of the inhabitants comprising between 30,000 or 40,000 persons, and another agricultural unit fully equipped technically, serving an area of 50,000 feddans (acres). The Council arranged and recognized these Social Centres as the instruments which provide technical services for the inhabitants of the Rural Districts. The officials of these Centres can refer in all matters requiring technical knowledge pertaining to health and agriculture to the officials concerned, under the management of these institutions. In addition it has been decided that there should be set up in each village having a Social Centre, a co-operative society whose task will be to provide the farmer with financial loans and to meet his agricultural needs; or to set up the institutions of which the villagers stand in need, such as dairy and other factories, and importation of the machinery which they require for the cultivation of their lands or disposal of their products. It has also been decided to set up near each Social Centre a rural school working on the basis of a full day's work system by which the pupils of the village will spend the first half of the day learning theoretical studies and the second half in practical training in the school field or workshop.

The Manouf Centre

It is recognized that the Social Centre should care for the health of the students and their activities outside the school, and seek assistance of the village school in setting up and conducting a night school for the education of grown-up people. School life will thus be connected with village life and the students will grow up as farmers knowing all the modern means in agriculture. They will thus become a progressive factor in the fields of their fathers and in improving the agricultural production of the village generally. The State has decided to implement this co-ordinated scheme in the Manouf Centre in al-Manoufiah District, which is the most overcrowded Centre in the country, with a population of 300,000 persons, all of whom are of the small farmers' class. In fact, the main group has been set up in a central place in the district, comprising a central hospital, hall for guidance, cinema, theatre, summer theatre, and library. Eighteen Social Centres have also been set up close to village schools. Nine health units and one big agricultural unit with six veterinary units attached to it have been established in this district.

The personnel of these units co-operate with each other in their work in a perfect manner as if they were members of one team.

The method on which this experiment has been conducted promises to become a great success and to achieve good results which will ensure the raising of the standard of living in that district.

I am glad to say that the experiment has shown the sound basis upon which the Social Centres project has been set up, and the ability of these Centres to realize the objective for which they have been established. This opinion has been voiced by a group of eminent experts concerned with rural reformation, and confirmed by the chief delegates of the international organizations whose work is connected with this aspect, such as the International Labour Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization, which all stated that these Centres are worthy of being developed in the rural regions of the different countries of the world. The visitor to these Social Centres will see a distinct improvement in the condition of the village for which the Centre provides services. Its roads and houses are cleaner, its men and women are more alive and enlightened and its children are healthier and cleaner.

The material guide which proves all this is the realization by the inhabitants of the advantages derived from these Social Centres and their demand for establishing such Centres, in view of the distinct advancement they perceive in the neighbouring villages in which such Centres have been set up. They, therefore, begin to collect the required contribution voluntarily and proceed to construct the Centres in the villages. The number of such applications received per annum is many times more than the Centres we can set up within the limits of the funds assigned for this purpose. In 1948, for instance, 260 applications were received for the construction of 260 Social Centres, but the amount inserted in the budget was allocated for the construction of 30 Centres only. A good sign which shows that the inhabitants are convinced of the practical advantages of Social Centres is that most of the applications submitted are received from villages surrounding the old Centres.

Services rendered by Social Centres to Rural Districts

One may ask to what extent this attractive programme was applicable and what work has actually been accomplished by these Centres? To enable me to answer this question in a practical way, I will give examples of what has been done and is being done by the Social Centres in the way of services provided to the villages, including health, economic, educational and social services.

1. With the assistance of co-operative societies, the Social Centres succeeded in persuading the inhabitants to use the selected seeds supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture and to adopt modern methods in combating agricultural blights. The experiment conducted in a model field with an area of one feddan (acre) of land had a far-reaching effect on the increase of production, more so than lectures or publications. Within two or three years, most of the farmers followed the modern methods referred to above.

2. The Social Centres have been able to supply their members with excellent breeding stock of domestic animals and poultry. The farmers, having seen that the weight of the hen of the breeding stock weighs twice as much as the local hen, and
the eggs produced by the farmer are more than double those produced by the latter, continued to import or obtain small breeding stock year after year.

3. The Ministry of Agriculture provided each Centre with two buffaloes which proved to have the effect of producing double the quantity of milk produced by the ordinary buffalo. I may state here as an example that some of the Centres began to adopt a system of animal insurance.

4. Many of the Social Centres succeeded in introducing bee-keeping, or in abandoning the old method of keeping bees in clay apiaries for the modern use of wooden apiaries. The number of apiaries in the villages considerably increased as a result of the realization of the inhabitants that the production of the modern apiary sells for £E.7 during the first year, and £E.5 during the second year.

5. The Social Centres also succeeded in spreading the rearing of silk worms among the farmers with good results and produced an income of £E.6 within a period of three months.

6. Many of the Centres were highly successful in spreading the cultivation of vegetables, especially in those villages where the inhabitants had not been accustomed to this type of cultivation. In one of the villages, for example, the Economic and Agricultural Committee started work by cultivating an area of five faddans (acres), supplied the necessary seeds and fertilizers and distributed them among ten families who had no fields for the cultivation of vegetables. The result was that each of these families earned an average of £E.10 in addition to making vegetables available to the village to an extent not known before. The income derived from vegetable cultivation stimulated other cultivators to take up vegetable cultivation, with the consequence that the vegetable area cultivated during the following year reached 35 faddans (acres) after it had been almost negligible. There can be no doubt that the increased area of vegetable cultivated land has had a substantial effect on improving the health standard on account of better nutrition. Many of the Centres also succeeded in persuading cultivators to cultivate new kinds of fruits.

7. Groups have been formed in villages having Social Centres for giving a course of training to village girls in needlework and spinning, and for the sale of the locally manufactured goods to the villages. I know of two poor girls who earned £E.12 per month out of this local industry.

8. Many of the Centres succeeded in spreading industries such as the weaving of textiles, kleem and carpet-making and many other local industries, and the income derived therefrom was many times greater than the income derived from agriculture.

9. The fact that the agricultural expert made his place of residence at the village had a good effect in enhancing the services of co-operative societies. Food supplies were made available for the inhabitants with honesty and precision, and the obtaining of loans by them was made easier. Some of them succeeded in establishing dairy, weaving, dry dates and mat factories, etc.

Social services

1. The raising of the educational standard in the village is considered to be the first prerequisite of success in the Social Centres. As a result of creating this desire, the people were enthusiastic in asking for the establishment of schools in their villages, and on many occasions, they undertook to construct the school buildings.

2. Apart from the success achieved by the anti-illiteracy scheme and the spread of general culture among grown-up people — many of the Centres succeeded in stimulating educated people to volunteer for teaching and encouraging illiterates to join the night-classes established for this purpose. The number of such classes reached nine in each Centre. When the Government started to implement the anti-illiteracy Compulsory Law, the Ministry of Public Education found that these Centres were the best means for that purpose and therefore entrusted them with the preparation of classes and organization of lessons as well as the organization of evening-classes to teach women how to read and write.

3. The travelling cinema and theatre visit the village Centres from time to time, with good educational results.

4. Some villages arrange visits for their children to Cairo and big industrial centres such as the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held at the beginning of this year.

5. The benefits derived by the people of the villages from the village libraries and books are increasing on a large scale.

6. The Reconciliation Committee succeeded in settling in an amicable way disputes arising between families, to such an extent that the complaints submitted to the police authorities dropped to 5 per cent of what they had been before.

7. The activities of the Alms Committee appealed to the hearts of the farmers who are only too pleased to make substantial contributions for charitable purposes in cases of poverty, sickness, old age, permanent incapacity, disasters, inundations, destruction of property by fire, and death. However, the basic programme for the Alms Committees is mainly concerned with creating permanent sources of income for poor families before providing temporary alms and relief, such as helping poor families financially by setting up certain home industries, e.g., weaving, silk-worm rearing, and tailoring, etc.

8. Many of the clubs attached to Social Centres succeeded in spreading various kinds of sports in the villages.

9. The Social Centres formed some sort of Boy Scout or Rover Groups under the name of Rural Rovers, and pitched summer camps at the seaside for village children.

10. Moreover, many of the Social Centres succeeded in creating a better life for the village through the creation of recreation gardens; playing grounds; planting of trees; making and cleaning of roads; lighting the village at night; providing fire-fighting appliances and removing manure dumps, etc.

Health services

1. The studies undertaken by some of these Centres revealed the fact that they succeeded in doing away with diseases among children to such an extent that not a single incident had occurred since the establishment of those Centres.

2. When cholera attacked Egypt two years ago, the villages having Social Centres hastened to increase the number of pumps from drinking-water and carried out preventive inoculation on all the inhabitants, prepared troughs or basins at the entrance to villages to disinfect all the vegetables and fruits coming into the village and set up enclosures or controlling centres for controlling those coming to the village. This was made possible by the attentiveness of the people and their confidence in their Centre, and it stimulated them to notify the authorities concerned as soon as an incident occurred. As a result many of the villages remained free from any cholera incident, despite the fact that the plague was prevalent in the surrounding villages. It was also observed that, while incidents occurred in some of the villages having Social Centres, the incidents were so few that the situation was brought under control within a short period.
3. When we began to increase the number of Social Centres, we faced a shortage in the number of physicians, and we have been unable to appoint physicians in the new Centres, as none were available. Thereupon the health committees in them held consultations and selected from a neighbouring city a physician in whom the inhabitants had confidence, and who agreed with them to work in their clinic three times per week for an honorarium. The committees decided also to collect a small fee from those who visit or frequent the Centres and are able to pay — ranging between 2 and 10 piastres for treatment and medicine expenses. In the case of indigents among them, the Alms Committee will pay this fee on their behalf. Besides their agreement with a general practitioner, some of these Centres appointed an oculist for the treatment of the eyes and also a surgeon in consideration of reduced rates agreed upon. By so doing, these committees succeeded in employing physicians selected by the Centres. The Social Centres were the first to begin the implementation of a practical scheme for hygienic co-operation on a large scale.

4. The clinics succeeded in inducing pregnant women to be confined in them, where means of health and cleanliness are available, and where food is given to mothers and clothing to the newly-born babies free of charge. The proportion of maternity cases giving birth in the clinics in the villages reached about 80 per cent of the total maternity cases in the villages. The remaining maternity cases are delivered at home under the supervision of the health visitor.

5. The health visitor conducts a round inspection of the school-children every morning, in order to inspect the cleanliness of their eyes, hair and finger-nails. By so doing she is able to isolate children whom she suspects of being diseased and refers them to the doctor.

6. School-children are taken one class after another, on certain specified days for bathing. Soap, hot water and towels are provided free of charge.

7. Competitions are held in many of the Social Centres to select the cleanest house and child. Successful competitors are rewarded by having their houses white-washed free of charge or by constructing hygienic W.C.s or latrines at the expense of the Centre. Boy Groups have been formed to look after cleanliness in the village. Village girls are given instruction in first aid in order to help the health visitor.

8. Health visitors have been particularly successful in giving guidance in child welfare to pregnant women and mothers, and in combating false beliefs and superstitions. The daily visit or round made by the health visitor to houses and homes to inspect cleanliness and internal orderliness, had a great effect on improving the condition of the house.

9. The Social Centres exerted great efforts to exterminate harmful insects by inducing farmers to use D.D.T. which they can obtain at the Centre at cost price.

10. The Social Centres undertake preventive measures for immunization of children by vaccinations and inoculations. The result was that the death rate has dropped to about one-third in some Centres during the last ten years. At the same time, the number of those accepted for military service has been doubled.

11. At the outset, experts found it difficult to persuade farmers to use pure drinking-water, and exerted all efforts until the inhabitants were convinced after having seen through a microscope the microbes in contaminated water. Thereupon, many villages applied to have pumps installed in their villages.

12. Many villages had stagnant marshes which adversely affected public health. The Centres succeeded in filling up these marshes and pools. The inhabitants contributed the labour and turned them into recreational centres and playing grounds.

13. During last year, some of the Centres carried out an experiment for combating conjunctivitis by mass treatment of the population by means of sulphate composites. This scheme proved highly successful and it has been decided to make it universal.

I should like to point out here and to emphasize that, although these various services had an effective influence on the life of the Egyptian village and its revival, the Social Centres project has had and will always have as its first objective, the teaching of the inhabitants the principles of true democracy and that they should serve each other, in accordance with sound principles based on the unification of efforts, collection of funds, selection of suitable representatives, study of village needs, exchange of views in the more important projects and their implementation under the supervision and control of the inhabitants. This forms the best school for the creation of good citizens and an enlightened society.

The number of Social Centres established up to the present time has reached 136, distributed over all the districts of Egypt, and serving one and a quarter million of the inhabitants.

I should like to conclude my paper by saying that the success of these Social Centres is due to the spirit of sacrifice in the field of public service and faith in the mission which has filled the hearts of experts, doctors, and health visitors, who are considered to have won half the battle of reformation. The ready response of the village inhabitants in the service of their villages, their confidence in their Social Centres and their enthusiasm for their success, can rightly be considered to have won the second half of the battle for reformation.

Although the Social Centres project is one of those long-term reformation projects, which deal with the complete change of rural society life, the success achieved so far strengthens our faith and confidence that we are going forward in the right direction and that we shall reach our goal by the Grace of God.

The success of these Centres has also disposed the allegations of many people that the fellah is conservative and will not accept a change of conditions or reformation, and that all efforts exerted in improving his conditions or the affairs of his village are doomed to failure. The inhabitants of the villages having Social Centres and their leaders have proved the fallacy of these allegations. They have shown that the rural inhabitants and communities have vivacity, capacity and determination, and only require sound practical leadership and guidance to achieve success.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE MIDDLE EAST AND GREAT BRITAIN
Egypt, Syria and Iran

By ABU MUHAMMAD

In its attitude of stubbornness toward Egypt, Britain will be the ultimate loser.

Events are moving very fast in Egypt, with every day witnessing further deterioration in the relations between Egypt and Britain, and marking a step forward towards an armed conflict between the two contestants. This state of affairs, although it may not culminate in a fully-fledged war since there is no equality at the moment in the armed strength and preparedness of the two powers, will, at least, result in a semi-warlike state. Such a troubled situation will perpetuate a chain of incidents in which an increasing number of victims will be involved, and the whole affair will, unless it is checked at its early stages, bring about a state of violent unrest that will involve the whole Arab world. There is no doubt whatsoever that such a result will not be to the advantage of Britain.

Britain is adopting a stubborn attitude and has declared her intention to hold fast to her present posts. She has also affirmed that her forces will not quit or move from their present position in Egypt whatever such a resolve may involve. The British Government, however, must be presumed to realize that such a stubborn attitude will be of no ultimate avail, and that the parts of Egyptian territory which the British forces now occupy, and for the keeping of which they would wish to appear ready to undergo every hostility and sacrifice, cannot be retained by them indefinitely. Britain’s status in the Canal Zone, strong though it may appear from the military and strategic angle, is in fact very weak, flimsy and untenable from the point of view of international law. Britain must also be presumed to know that the ultimate result of the present conflict, whatever the interim developments, will be the final and complete withdrawal of her forces from the Canal Zone under some pretext or other.

The two reasons for Britain’s insistence on staying in the Suez Canal Zone

What, then, is the reason for Britain’s pursuit of such a stubborn policy, and for what purpose are these bitter encounters at Suez and Ismailia with Egyptian authorities and the civilian population, which are taking a heavy toll of life? Does Britain have any pre-set object at which it is driving by this policy, or does she merely drive aimlessly in the dark, ignorant or careless of what the result is likely to be?

Britain’s intention behind all these manoeuvres is becoming clearer every day. She is fully conscious of the fact that the continuation of British military occupation of the Canal Zone is something well nigh impossible. Behind the British Government’s stubborn policy lie two paramount objectives. The first of these is that Britain is willing and anxious to bargain over the Sudan. She may hold the belief that Egypt, if the present critical tension worsens, will be ultimately induced thereby to give way on the Sudan question in return for Britain according Egypt’s claims with regard to the evacuation of the Canal Zone. The second objective which the British Government is seeking to induce Egypt to become a member of the Middle East Defence Organization or some other similar allied body, and so become finally and irrevocably included in the camp opposed to the Soviet bloc. Britain would agree to withdraw her forces from the Suez Canal Zone provided Egypt agrees to open her doors wide to the occupation of that area by the military forces of a Western organization whose every effort and endeavour at the moment is the preparation for a war against the Soviet bloc.

Egypt has been cautious and wise enough to turn down the offer made to her by the Four Allied Powers to become a member of this “Defence Pact.” She recognized that this offer, in putting an end to the evil of the occupation of Egyptian territory by one “Allied” Power scheduled for a fixed period of time, promises the greater evil of an occupation by four “Allied” Powers for an indefinite period of time. It was a naively detected and evaded. But Britain now hopes that Egypt may somehow or other be induced to accept a fresh offer that may appear less naively or ridiculous than the earlier one and which may have more enticing and luring strings attached.

Egypt and the Sudan are an indivisible unit

But what likelihood is there of the success of this British venture? At the moment, Egypt stands firm and resolute over the question of the unity of the Nile Valley, and regards this as a matter of life and death in every way. This being so, there is not the slightest possibility that Egypt would compromise or give way in any material respect on this cardinal issue. Britain, in claiming that her policy in the Sudan is directed solely towards preparing the Sudanese people for independence and enabling them to decide freely on their political destiny, may have appeared to be in a morally strong position. The whole complexion of the British pretence, however, has altered since Egypt’s Foreign Minister, Salah al-Dine Pasha, solemnly declared recently in the General Assembly of the United Nations that Egypt seeks the same objective and was anxious to give the Sudanese the chance to decide their political destiny. Egypt, Salah al-Dine Pasha asserted, was equally desirous that the Sudanese should be given a genuine chance of making known their hopes and aspirations on their political future, and on choosing between union with Egypt or complete independence. He urged the fulfilment of this policy by the withdrawal of all British and Egyptian officials from the Sudan and entrusting the country to an impartial United Nations body which could proceed to hold a plebiscite in the country and determine the wishes of the Sudanese people. Egypt, which promised to abide by the results of such a plebiscite, looked in vain for a similar undertaking from Britain or to an agreement to the principle of this reasonable proposal from Britain. Britain shunned the idea of such a plebiscite on various pretexts and advanced many objections, none of which could hold water.

Egypt and the Sudan form in essence one country and an indivisible unit, and the people of Egypt and the Sudan have a community of race, religion, culture, history and heritage. Why, then, do the imperialists seek to sever those two complementary parts of a nation? What, I wonder, would be the attitude of the British Government if a claim were to be made that a plebiscite should be held in Wales, Scotland or Ulster (Northern Ireland) to determine whether the inhabitants of those territories wish to remain as part of the “United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland” or prefer to lead a separate and independent existence, or to become part of some other national entity, e.g., Northern Ireland to unite with the Irish Free Republic (Eire)?

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Egypt's stand over the question of the Sudan is a very determined and resolute one. She believes implicitly in the justice of her cause, and the attitude she has taken in defence of her rights in this matter will not be weakened by any argument or pretence put forward against her. The passage of time will only increase the power and determination behind this resistance by Egypt. Britain's attempts in this regard are therefore unrealistic and futile, and will never succeed in diverting Egypt from the rightful course she is pursuing.

Egypt will not bargain over the Sudan

Egypt has said her final word with regard to any possible bargaining over the Sudan, and she will not retract from it. The time for bargaining and lengthy negotiation over the Sudan has long passed, and Egypt will never enter into any discussions or negotiations on this question, least of all while she is being menaced by British troops occupying her soil. Egypt may be prepared, if the last shadow of foreign occupation disappears from her soil, and after her pending problems and claims have been fully settled and she has become able to deal and negotiate with other Powers on a true footing of equality and in the absence of any undue coercion or intimidation, to enter into a pact for the preservation of peace. Egypt would insist that such a pact be devised and intended solely and pre-eminently for the preservation of peace, and is in conformity with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Egypt would not shrink from entering into such a peaceful arrangement, whatever be the nation that is sponsoring it, provided she is fully satisfied that the underlying intention is a desire for peace and a sincere effort to save mankind from the devastation and horrors of a third world war.

The British Government in seeking to induce Egypt to give way and compromise over the Sudan, and in attempting to entice Egypt to join an Allied military organization, is striking at very cold iron. Her stubborn and unrealistic attitude has had the result of increasing the determination of the Egyptian people to insist on the complete and immediate satisfaction of their national claims. Egyptian youth have flocked in great numbers to the voluntary recruitment centres in order to enlist in the national struggle. They are now receiving military training which will enable them in due course to offer effective armed resistance against the British forces in Egypt. So far, clashes with the British forces have been of comparatively minor scope, but it will not be long before the situation deteriorates and major and far-reaching clashes will become the order of the day.

The background of the Syrian crises

The major crisis prevailing in Syria at the present moment is not the product of the hour. It is a chronic one and its roots go back to the month of March, 1949, to the day when Colonel Husni al-Za'im, at the head of the Syrian army, carried out a coup d'état which wrecked the Republican Constitution of Syria, exiled or imprisoned the members of the Government, and subjected the country to a severe dictatorship, held in the domestic field by the terror of a strong army and in the foreign field by the support of the United States of America and Turkey and the sympathy of France.

Representatives of Muslim Governments meet at Karachi to discuss the establishment of an Institute of Economics

A meeting of the Committee for the establishment of an Institute of Economics of the Islamic International Economic Organization was held in Karachi on December 11, 1951, under the Presidency of His Excellency Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Governor-General of Pakistan, who is also President of the Islamic International Economic Conference.

Our picture shows (from left to right): Mr. Husain Malik, Secretary-General of the Islamic International Economic Conference; Mr. Asaf Inban (Turkey); Mr. Abd al-Mon'im al-Talamli (Egypt); the President; Mr. Mustafa Safavi (Iran); Mr. Sayid Hasan (Pakistan), and Mr. Anwar 'Ali, Secretary to the President.
The first coup d'état came as a direct result of the sad tragedy of Palestine that had then just befallen the Arabs. The Republican régime in Syria crumbled swiftly due to its own weakness and because of the strong propaganda that had been directed against it. It was then expected that Colonel Husni al-Za'im, as a "beneficent dictator", was most "eminently fitted to restore proper and healthy order in Syria and eradicate the evils of the previous administration, so that Syria could emerge strong, prosperous and respected, to occupy its rightful place in the comity of nations. But tyranny, in any shape or form, was never destined to lead to any real good, and it was in the order of things that those who had planned a military coup d'état were never to be immune from an adverse coup. Colonel Husni al-Za'im had hardly been as an absolute dictator for five months before he was surprised by another 'Colonel' at the head of a fresh coup d'état. He was summarily executed by a new dictator, Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi. This new dictator professed the desire to restore democratic rights to the Syrian people, but he retained the absolute command of the Syrian army for the alleged purpose of protecting and safeguarding the country's main interests if they happened to become endangered by domestic political strife. But Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi was soon suspected and accused by many of being an "Anglo-Hashmite", engineering the realization of the "Greater Syria" project which sought to unite Syria, Iraq and Jordan under the aegis of the late King Abdullah. He was also known to be a strong supporter of the policy of the People's Party, which sought to bring about this fulfillment of the "Greater Syria" project, and he had in fact got very close to enabling this party through its success at the general elections to put its policy into effect. Meanwhile, certain political elements in Syria that had sympathized with and supported the earlier coup d'état by Colonel Husni al-Za'im, and that were violently opposed to the "Greater Syria" project, were standing by waiting for an opportune moment to strike against Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi and his régime. This opportunity presented itself before long, and Colonel Adib al-Shishakly led another military coup d'état in December, 1949, thus ousting Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi and installing himself in power. Colonel Adib al-Shishakly then proceeded to utilize the army under his command to prevent the People's Party from pursuing its "Greater Syria" policy.

The fall of Hasan al-Hakim, who favoured the acceptance of the Four Power Middle East Defence Pact

For nearly two years since the third coup d'état Syria enjoyed comparative quiet, and there was an abatement of political tension, with the democratic system of government apparently restored to its previous status. In reality, however, there was no true political freedom enjoyed in Syria during this period, and the Syrians were denied the essential attributes of democracy. At the head of the Syrian Government was a president, Hashim al-Atasi, and there was a Representative Assembly. Resignations of Cabinets and the formation of new ones were frequent occurrences. All through this period there was a predominant and menacing power in the background, that of the army commanded by Colonel Adib al-Shishakly, ready to depose any Syrian government that dared to contravene the dictates of the army or show any leaning towards the Hashimite bloc or seek to ally or unite Syria with any foreign power. The Syrian Governments that successively came into office were of necessity weak and lacking in drive or initiative, by reason of the fact that they had to keep honouring the military overlords by carrying on a policy opposed to the real wishes of the greater majority of the Syrian people. Technical and artificial parliamentary majorities were devised to give such governments a semblance of democratic and constitutional authority, for fear that the "Colonels" might otherwise take matters into their own hands, over-run the Government and usurp power openly and blatantly.

Matters persisted in this tense and uneasy state until the four Powers (the United States, Great Britain, France and Turkey) made their offer to the Arab States to join the Middle East Defence Pact. This offer promised military and other help to the Arab States by supplying them with military equipment and training their military forces and providing them with the necessary technical assistance to enable them to become strong bastions capable of standing in the way of a possible aggression.

The Government of Iran is the first Muslim country to respect the laws of the Qur'an at the official functions of its Foreign Missions

The Foreign Minister of Iran, Aghae Baqir Kazimi

The Foreign Minister of Iran, His Excellency Aghae Baqir Kazimi, issued directions on the 26th of August, 1951, to all the Iranian Foreign diplomats which prohibit the consumption of intoxicants at their official social functions. The dictum of the Qur'an (5:90) on intoxicants reads: "O you who believe! Verily intoxicants and games of chance are only an uncleanliness, the devil's work. Shun it that you may be successful.

To Aghae Baqir Kazimi goes the credit of being the first Muslim Foreign Minister in the world of Islam of today to point out to the representatives of Iran in foreign countries not to be the cheap imitators of European ways of life and that Muslims have their own norm of life which Muslims should respect so that others may respect them for it.
by the Communists. Egypt turned down this Four Power offer outright. This was natural and not unexpected, as one of the conditions of this offer was that the Four Powers should be allowed the military occupation of the Suez Canal Zone. The majority of the Arab States reacted in a similar manner to the Four Power offer, as public opinion in the Arab world was strongly against the Egyptian attitude. The then Prime Minister of Syria, Hasan al-Hakim, did, however, take a different view to that of the Arab States and Arab public opinion, and he made certain public statements in which he disagreed with the views of his Cabinet colleagues and with Syrian public opinion. Public opinion in Syria was consequently inflamed and there was a general outcry against Hasan al-Hakim which ultimately forced him to resign. And so the curtain rose on the fourth chapter in the chronic crisis of Syria.

The fall of Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby due to his favouring the "Greater Syria" project

The President of the Syrian Republican, Hashim al-Atasi, made many attempts to get a new and stable Government formed. He invited for this purpose nearly all the political leaders of the country (outside the Populist Party), but they all failed in their endeavours, because they could not rely on a majority, however artificial, in the Representative Assembly to support a Government. This acute crisis continued for three weeks, and the only alternative left for the President to terminate this crisis was to take the natural step of inviting the leader of the Populist Party, which commanded a majority in the Representative Assembly and amongst the Syrian public, to form a Government. Accordingly, an invitation was made by the President of the Republic to Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby, the leader of the Populist Party and of the Representative Assembly (he had been elected leader of the Assembly by 57 votes to 37), to form a Government. Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby formed his Government on the 27th November, 1951.

Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby commands a very strong reputation in the Arab world. He is well known for favouring the establishment of cordial relations between Syria and the members of the Soviet bloc and for the strengthening of the bonds of solidarity between the various members of the Arab League so that the Arab world can become strong enough and well fitted to adopting a neutral stand between the Western and Communist blocs, and thus be able to take on the role of a mediator between these two bitter adversaries and contribute in no small measure to the maintenance and preservation of world peace and order. It is also known that Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby favoured the idea of a "Greater Syria" by the union of Syria, Iraq and Jordan, especially after the removal of that great obstacle feared by many Arab politicians, namely King 'Abdullah of Jordan.

Had Syria been a truly free democracy that was not in secret shackled and enslaved by a vigilant and aggressive dictatorship, the formation of a Government by Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby would have brought this crisis to a natural and decisive end, as is common in all countries with a democratic constitution that respects the will of the majority of the people and obeys their wishes. In Syria, however, there is an army which rules high over all other State authorities. The leaders of this army have promised themselves to keep Syria a completely independent republic that would not accede to or unite with any other country. These military potentates may also have other intentions or designs with regard to the future of Syria of which we are not aware at the present, and perhaps time will reveal these secret intentions and schemes.

No sooner had the order been made for the formation of Ma'ruf al-Dawaliby's Cabinet than the army struck by night, occupying all Government departments and arresting the majority of the new Ministers together with the influential Populist Party members of the Representative Assembly. In the morning, Colonel Adib al-Shishakly, the head of the army, announced that the army had taken over the Government of the country, with the intention, he said, "of banishing the shadow of disintegration and unrest that has been rampant in the country for a long time . . ."

And so, on the 28th of November, 1951, was concluded the fourth coup d'état to take place in Syria within two years. It was only the fourth link in a chain inaugurated by Colonel Husni al-Za'im, and there are, no doubt, more to come.

Colonel al-Shishakly becomes the Dictator of Syria

Colonel Adib al-Shishakly, in enforcing his will upon Syria, sought to retain the outward appearance of the continuation of the free and democratic constitution of the country. He wanted to force the ministers of the newly-formed Cabinet to resign from office and also to force the President of the Republic, Hashim al-Atasi, to order the dissolution of the Representative Assembly. He wanted to form a new and "impartial" Government which would proceed to carry out new general elections in the country, under the strict supervision of the military authorities. Four days passed in intensive negotiations towards this end, and during this period it became clearly obvious that no good could come out of this new hypocractic order that sought to pass off as free, democratic, constitutional and parliamentary, while it was in reality the negation of all that — being based solely on the dictatorial and arbitrary rule of an aggressive and officious army. Finally, Colonel Adib al-Shishakly struck the final and decisive blow and achieved by devious methods the resignation of the President of the Republic, the resignation of the Government, the dissolution of the Assembly of Representatives, and the repeal of the Syrian Constitution. Colonel Adib al-Shishakly retained the command of the army and formed a new "Government", which derived its support from the strength of the army, and not from the will of the Syrian people.

At the head of this "Government" was installed "Colonel" Fawzi Selou, who combined the office of President of the Republic with that of Prime Minister and Minister of War. He appointed to assist him a group of supporters who each took on the affairs of a ministry. This set-up has some outward resemblance to the governmental system of the United States of America, or that of the South American States; but one searches in vain in the present Syrian régime to find the semblance of a "Constitution" or of a parliamentary institution that professes to represent and respect the will of the people.

There are, however, two observations that must be made on this Syrian imbroglio. The first is that this great constitutional avalanche, which has wrecked the Syrian Constitution and destroyed the system of parliamentary government — however frail and weak that system may have been — has come about in an amazingly peaceful manner. The people of Syria had no notion of what was happening in this regard until the whole operation was concluded. No disturbances or tumult had taken place during the course of this major operation to disturb the ordinary life of the people of Syria, who went about their daily business as if nothing had happened. The second point worth noting is that the members of the new "Government" have emphatically declared that there will be no change whatsoever in the foreign policy of Syria, and that Syria will continue to respect and fulfill her obligations towards the Arab League, Egypt, and the Arab world generally.

We must await further developments before it is possible to give any real and substantial verdict on the implications of this new coup d'état. It will not be long, however, before we can ascertain the truth that lies behind this coup d'état, its cause and inspiration and the extent to which foreign powers had contributed towards inciting for its commission or bringing it to

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fruition. Such findings will, no doubt, provide an eye-opener to those countries who have only recently come to enjoy their freedom and independence, and will provide them with a vivid example of the hazards that await them. No country, in East or West, has had its history free from such incidents. But the moral that has emerged from all such events, and which will remain valid for ever, is that the will of the people will ultimately triumph.

The economic crises in Syria

Militant Iran is going through a very severe crisis, and we all earnestly hope that in tackling this crisis wisdom will prevail over the urge of immediate necessity, and that the sober and considered desires of the leaders of the country will succeed in overcoming ill-considered emotions, so that the people of Iran will emerge from their present plight with complete and unmitigated victory. Their present struggle is very serious and the implications are great, for the battle that is being waged at present is that of freedom against servility, and of right against evil. It is a struggle for life or death.

The British Government is pursuing with regard to the problem of Iranian oil a policy of extreme stubbornness and resoluteness that has amazed many political observers. Ever since the British Government withdrew from Iran the British employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, before the expiration of the ultimatum made by the Iranian Government — thus leaving the huge oil refineries at Abadan and other oil installations in Iran to their rightful owners — the British Government has blantly refused to enter into negotiations with the Iranian Government over the oil question. The British do not wish to return to the oil industry in Iran to work as employees of the Iranian Government and run the oil industry to Iran’s and Britain’s mutual benefit. They have taken on a completely unreasonable attitude and are branding their traditional imperialistic devices against Iran. From a distance they exhibit their might and power, and seek to convince the world by zealous pronouncements that they are confident of ultimately returning to Iran to retrieve their losses and become again the masters of the oil industry there rather than employees of the Iranian Government.

Britain’s economic trump card

What is the reason for this extreme and blind-stubbornness? On what foundations are the British building these beautiful and luxurious palaces of fancy?

The British scheme and their trickery and play-acting have now become obvious. The mask that has been hiding their intentions has been lifted, and we can now see clearly through their policy and detect the target at which they are aiming, as well as the path which they are pursuing in the hope of attaining it. The whole British design rests on one main foundation, which is the economic trump card they are holding. With this card, aided by the ingenious political intrigue which they are carrying out at the moment, they hope to achieve victory. Let us sincerely hope that neither of these devices will avail them, and that their venture will collapse.

It is an incontrovertible and decided fact that the people of Iran are now in the grip of a very acute economic crisis as a result of the stoppage of royalties and revenues due to the nationalization of the oil industry in the country and the withdrawal of the concession enjoyed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for the exploitation of Iran’s oil. The likelihood and possibility of such a crisis was both known and anticipated in Iran and outside. I myself was not tardy in making the truth about the economic implications of oil nationalization in Iran known, and in an earlier article in these columns I clearly depicted that Iran would undergo severe economic hardships immediately after the nationalization of the oil industry, and that Iran’s economy was likely to remain disturbed until such time as she succeeded in attracting the necessary capital into the oil industry and recruiting sufficient experts to enable her to exploit fully her rich oil resources. When Iran revolted against the British imperialist exploiters of her wealth, she was fully conscious of the fact that her national coffers were likely to suffer in the beginning as a result of nationalization, and that such suffering would, for a time, be acute. But Iran was not deterred by this fact from taking the decisive step of nationalization, and she has done this consciously and willingly; for she believed that economic crises and the like were reduced to insignificance compared with the achievement of complete and unqualified freedom and independence. The people of Iran wanted to free themselves from foreign yoke and influence, and they set their mind on throwing overboard the last relic of foreign enslavement which was symbolized in the concession granted to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Great Britain’s share in Dr. Musaddiq’s failure to secure financial aid from the United States

Iran, despite the great and meritorious efforts of her Prime Minister, Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq — that militant Eastern and Islamic patriot — has not yet succeeded in obtaining the necessary capital to relieve her immediate economic hardships, nor has she as yet been able to find appropriate markets in which to sell the refined oil she can produce by her own unaided efforts or the crude oil which flows from her wells. It was hoped in many quarters that Dr. Musaddiq might find in the United States of America (to which he went for the purpose of pleading Iran’s case in the Security Council of the United Nations) the capital and technical assistance which her country needed, and that upon his return to Iran he would have brought with him the desired solution to Iran’s economic problems. But Dr. Musaddiq returned from the United States of America completely empty-handed.

The reason for the failure of Dr. Musaddiq’s efforts to obtain assistance in the United States is that the British Government has played in a masterly manner the economic trump card she is holding. The British Government endeavoured, and succeeded, in convincing the various financial and political authorities and organizations in the United States of America which have been approached by Dr. Musaddiq to refuse him any help. The British hope that by locking every door in the face of Iran, the latter will, upon the further deterioration in her economic situation, find herself forced by the pressure of economic factors to come to terms with Britain. The British Government hopes that in such circumstances it will only be a question of time before the Iranian Government finds itself convinced of the urgent necessity of inviting the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to resume negotiations in Iran and finally agree to the Company’s terms with regard to the equal sharing of the profits remaining after the deduction of expenses and taxes. This, in short, is the economic coercion which Britain has devised in order that she may get back the Iranian oil industry which she has lost.

Suggestions in Iran regarding a compromise with Great Britain or an invitation to Russia to run Iran’s oil industry

There is no doubt that some sections of public opinion in Iran have been alarmed at this recent deterioration in their country’s economic situation. To those who had hung great hopes on financial and technical assistance being forthcoming from the United States of America the return of Dr. Musaddiq empty-handed has caused great disappointment. Pessimism has been openly shown in these quarters, and some public demonstrations to harass Dr. Musaddiq and his Government were staged. It may even be that in these quarters plans are being nurtured for the overthrow of Dr. Musaddiq and his Government, to pave
the way for a return to the policy of compromise with Britain and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The opinion held in these quarters is that if the United States of America does not lend a sympathetic ear to Iran and provide her with the necessary assistance it would be better to resume negotiations with Britain and reach a compromise solution to the oil dispute — the latter course being, in their view, the lesser of the two evils.

The other section of public opinion in Iran is still very vehemently against all Anglo-Saxons, and is equally opposed to Britain and the United States of America. In these quarters, the view is held that the United States of America is not less imperialistic in its aims than Britain, and that both these countries combine to form the main enemy of Iran. Supporters of this policy argue that since Britain has convinced the United States of America to side with her in the dispute with Iran, and therefore to deny the latter any economic or technical assistance, Iran must of needs direct her opposition equally against the United States of America. This being so, they argue that Iran must declare, boldly and in unequivocal terms, that she looks towards the Soviet Union for help, and proceed to invite the Soviet Union to assist in running the oil industry by providing the necessary financial and technical assistance. If the Soviet Union comes to the breach, it is argued, Iran need have no further worries about finding markets for her oil, for in the Middle East and in Eastern Europe she will find all the ready and willing buyers she needs. This policy is advocated by the Tudeh Party, which has the support of a large section of young men in Iran.

The determination of Dr. Musaddiq not to give up his position of neutrality towards the Western and Soviet blocs

Dr. Musaddiq and the members of his Government, as well as the great majority of members of the Majlis (Lower House) and public opinion in the country, are determined not to go back on what has been done so far in nationalizing the oil industry, and are opposed to any compromise with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company or the British Government, however seriously Iran's economic plight deteriorates as a result of this. They are also not convinced of the wisdom or expediency of Iran abandoning her present position of neutrality towards the Western and Soviet blocs by abruptly joining the Communist bloc. They believe that an alliance with the Soviet Union, even though it be made expressly and exclusively on an economic basis, is bound before long to become a political alliance as well, and thus tie Iran's political fate to that of the Soviet bloc. In such an eventuality Iran will be delbarred — at least for the time being — from selling her oil in Western markets.

Dr. Musaddiq, in his speech before the Security Council of the United Nations, said that Iran had existed as a respected and contented member of the community of nations long before oil had been discovered in her land, and that there was no reason why she could not go on existing in such a healthy status long after she will cease to exploit that oil. He also said that if the present generation in Iran were to find itself unable to exploit the country's oil to advantage without outside help, then this oil treasure, which God has seen fit to bestow upon Iran, would be left to future generations to exploit fully and in more congenial circumstances. He will therefore hear of no compromise with or bowing down to the dictates of either East or West.

Does Dr. Musaddiq really believe in the genuineness and efficacy of such a policy, and does he really mean what he says? I have very serious doubts on this.

Dr. Musaddiq, in my view, holds in his hand a political trump card with which he hopes to counter the British game. A result in his favour in the general election now being held in Iran will make him bring out this card into play. This general election (which started on the 18th December, 1951, and is likely to go on for about two months) will be the most decisive landmark in Iran's struggle against imperialism, as well as the turning point in her future.

Britain has hung anxious hopes on the fall of Dr. Musaddiq. This is, in fact, the trump card which she holds in the political field. She has done everything in her power to bring his downfall, by harassing him from all angles and inciting public opinion against him. If he and his supporters lose office and a new government is formed from the ranks of the present parliamentary opposition in Iran — thus causing a return to the old policy of negotiation and compromise with Britain over the oil question — then that day will be the great 'red letter' day for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and for Britain.

If the voters of Iran return Dr. Musaddiq to the Majlis with a decisive majority, then Iran will have realized her political and economic freedom

Dr. Musaddiq is convinced that the present general election in Iran will determine the whole future of the oil industry in Iran. The world awaits the verdict and choice of the people of Iran in this election, and the whole future of Iran also hangs upon the result. It is for this reason that the first thing Dr. Musaddiq did upon returning to Teheran from the United States of America was to procure from the Majlis and the Shah an order to hold a general election for a new Majlis at a very early date, so that it will be possible to decide, in a constitutional manner and in accordance with the true wishes of the Iranian people, upon the future policy to be pursued with regard to the oil industry.

The main opposing factions in the election are the extremist nationalists, who are against making any compromise with regard to the oil question, and the moderates, who want to find some way of reaching a compromise with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and creating a new modus vivendi with it. If the big financial and economic organizations of the world succeed in their propaganda against Dr. Musaddiq and his party and utilize the present severe economic crisis to drive those simple and non-foreseeing elements amongst the Iranian electors to the moderate parties, then the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will have won the day. Britain and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are only too happy to co-operate with and lend every assistance to anyone opposed to Dr. Musaddiq, their bitter enemy.

If the Iranian electorate, however, proves to be as sagacious and foreseeing as it is thought to be, and shuns the intrigue of Britain and the propaganda of the Tudeh Party by rallying solidly behind Dr. Musaddiq and returning his party and supporters to all or the greater majority of the seats in the Majlis, then Dr. Musaddiq will have won the day for Iran. Iran would then be able to march forward to an honourable and prosperous future, and Britain and the whole cause of economic imperialism would have suffered one of the most catastrophic blows in modern times.

If Dr. Musaddiq scores this victory in the political field he will also score another and more far-reaching victory in Iran's economic struggle. Such a political victory will prove to the world that Iran is in dead earnest in her national aspirations. This will provide the necessary proof as to the stability of Iranian politics and convince the trading organizations of the world that they can deal with Iran with safety and to advantage. There will then be no shortage of funds and technical experts offered to them.

If the Iranian people give their whole-hearted support in this general election to Dr. Musaddiq, and return his party to office with a decisive majority, then Iran will have realized all her political and economic aims.
**SIX-YEAR NATIONAL PLAN OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN**

“The adoption of Islamic ideology as a basis of the educational system necessarily involves a thorough research in Islam's contribution to the various aspects of life and its bearing on modern problems in the fields of economics, social and political relations, etc. It is proposed to establish a Central Institute of Islamic Research which, besides conducting research, will be responsible for suggesting concrete educational projects on the basis of Islamic ideology and for undertaking the publication of standard literature on Islamiyat (Islamics)”

**A brief outline of the Plan**

A six-year National Plan of Educational Development was adopted by a joint conference of the Advisory Board of Education, the Inter-University Board and the Council of Technical Education, held in Karachi on December 4 and 5. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Pakistan's Education Minister, was in the chair.

The conference recommended that the primary course of education should be a self-contained course of five years duration.

There was general agreement that the present intermediate course should form part of the secondary course.

The conference further recommended that at the University stage the duration of the undergraduate course should be three years.

With regard to the age of admission to the University, the conference was of the view that the objective aimed at should be one of 18.

The principle that technical, agricultural and commercial education should be an integral part of the system of general education was accepted by the conference which recommended that the duration of the course of technical, agricultural and commercial education at the secondary stage should correspond with that of general education at the secondary stage.

According to the recent census the percentage of literacy in the country is 13.8 per cent. The Plan aims at the maximum development of primary education and adult education. In regard to primary education, East Bengal and Karachi propose to have free compulsory primary education at the end of ten years, Sind after six years, and the Punjab, North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Bahawalpur at the end of 20 years.

The existing number of primary schools for boys and girls in Pakistan is 40,295 with a total enrolment of 3,212,312 of whom 297,818 are girls. During the period of the Plan (1951-57) it is proposed to open 24,027 new primary schools with a total capacity of 3,751,570 pupils.

There are present 6,486 secondary schools (Lower Middle, Upper Middle and High) with a total enrolment of 1,164,142. Of these there are 644 schools for girls with a total enrolment of 97,737. During the period of the Plan, it is proposed to open 721 secondary schools (479 for boys and 242 for girls) with a total capacity of 237,600 (170,850 boys and 66,750 girls).

There are six institutions for the deaf and dumb with a total enrolment of 106 (68 boys and 58 girls) and there are three institutions for the blind with a total enrolment of 60 boys. There is no institution for the crippled. During the period of the Plan it is proposed to open in Karachi one composite institution for deaf, dumb, blind and crippled children with a total capacity of 200. East Bengal proposes to open one institution for the deaf and dumb, one institution for the blind and four schools for the backward children, with a capacity of 100 each.

**Teachers' training institutions**

There are 88,697 teachers in primary schools of whom 43,471 are untrained. In secondary schools out of a total of 43,823 teachers, 24,076 are untrained. The total number of existing training institutions for primary school teachers is 125 with an enrolment of 6,145; out of these, 16 institutions are for women with an enrolment of 676.

Under the Plan, it is proposed to establish 101 training institutions for primary school teachers (men and women) with a total capacity of 11,220 and 26 training institutions for secondary school teachers (men and women) with a total capacity of 2,350.

The total number of existing colleges in Pakistan is 127. Of these 36 are intermediate colleges, 82 degree colleges and nine post-graduate colleges. Among them are included women's colleges which are as follows: Intermediate 3, Degree 15 and Post-Graduate 1. It is proposed to establish four Intermediate colleges (including one for women), six Degree colleges (including three for women) and 10 hostels (including three for women).

There is at present only one school in Domestic Science at Lahore which is proposed to be raised to the level of a College of Domestic and Social Sciences.

In Karachi provision is being made for the establishment in 1952-53 under the auspices of the All-Pakistan Women's Association of a full-fledged College of Domestic Science and Arts which will impart instruction to 120 girls up to the diploma standard and 120 students up to the degree standard. Ten seats are being set apart for post-degree research students.

The East Bengal Government proposes to set up a Department of Domestic Science in the Women's Training College at Dacca with a capacity of 50 students. Of these, 25 students will be trained up to the certificate standard and 26 students up to the diploma standard.

There are altogether 881 adult education centres with a total enrolment of 27,736; 169 centres are for women with a total enrolment of 5,824. Under the Plan it is proposed to open 8,072 centres with a capacity of 920,000. Assuming that the duration of the adult education course is four months, as many as 2,800,000 adults will be made literate every year.

The total provision made for audio-visual aids in secondary schools for 1951-7 is Rs. 5,693,450 (about £600,000).

The vast majority of schools are without P.T. instructors and some institutions had illiterate or semi-illiterate and often untrained drill masters. Except for the Punjab which has recently started a College of Physical Education, no other province has any such institution nor, in view of the high cost involved, is it possible or desirable for each province to establish one. Sind, the North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Karachi, and Bahawalpur propose to utilize facilities available at Lahore while East Bengal must inevitably have it own institution.

**Sports stadiums and gymnasia**

There are at present very few stadiums in the whole of Pakistan while the total number of gymnasia in educational institutions is 105. Under the Plan, it is proposed to establish nine stadiums, two sports hostels, 550 gymnasia and three swimming pools.

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There are at present 2,858 youth clubs and six youth hostels in the whole of Pakistan. During the period of the Plan it is proposed to establish 845 youth clubs and 27 youth hostels and to strengthen Scouting, Girl Guiding and the Junior Red Cross.

At present there is hardly any provision for medical inspection and treatment of school children in the whole of Pakistan. Under the Plan it is proposed to introduce regular medical inspection in 3,231 institutions.

It is proposed to establish 261 centres for refresher courses which will train nearly 30,000 teachers (men and women).

The paucity of cultural institutions in Pakistan is reflected by the fact that there is only one art gallery, four public museums, one science museum, 23 public libraries and two Colleges of Fine Arts in Pakistan, while of cultural centres there are only 20 in East Bengal. It is proposed to establish four art galleries, 26 cultural colleges, three public museums, two Colleges of Fine Arts, 524 public libraries and three science museums.

Under the Plan it is proposed to institute a larger number of scholarships (viz, 372) for overseas studies in natural and social sciences, the humanities, technology and education.

students, two polytechnics with a total capacity of 2,250 students and two engineering colleges of which the one in the Punjab will have a capacity of 480 students.

There are at present eight commercial schools in Pakistan with a total enrolment of 774 students and three commercial colleges with a total enrolment of 614. Under the Plan it is proposed to establish 12 commercial schools with a total capacity of 4,420 students and one Institute of Commerce at Karachi with a total capacity of 350 students.

The establishment of a Central Institute of Islamic Research and an Urdu Academy

The adoption of Islamic ideology as a basis of the educational system necessarily involves a thorough research in Islam’s contribution to the various aspects of life and its bearing on modern problems in the fields of economics, social and political relations, etc. It is proposed to establish a Central Institute of Islamic Research which, besides conducting research, will be responsible for suggesting concrete educational projects on the basis of Islamic ideology and for undertaking the publication of standard literature on Islamiyat (Islam).

The extension of technical education in Pakistan

There are at present two technical high schools and three engineering colleges in Pakistan. The Punjab College of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, and the N.E.D. Engineering College, Karachi, impart education up to the degree standard in civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering, while the College of Engineering, Dacca, imparts education up to the degree standard in civil, mechanical, electrical, agricultural, textile and chemical engineering. In addition to these, there are seven other institutions which impart training up to the diploma standard in various subjects such as electro-mechanical and die press sheet metal works, commercial painting, modelling, blacksmithy, cabinet making, automobile engineering, weaving, dyeing and printing, machine building, ceramics, etc. A few junior technical institutions, monotechnics and artisan classes also exist and are located in East Bengal and the Punjab.

Under the present Plan it is proposed to open 20 technical high schools with a total capacity of 5,430 students, seven composite comprehensive schools with a total capacity of 1,770

To facilitate the adoption of Urdu as a national and official language, it is necessary that there should be a body of experts which would undertake the preparation of suitable administrative terminology, the simplification of the current Urdu script to meet the common requirements of all Provinces and States, to compile standard works such as an Urdu Encyclopaedia, an Urdu lexicon, a history of the Urdu language and literature, and to arrange for the translation of standard foreign works into Urdu. To attain these objects, it is proposed to establish an Urdu Academy at Karachi.

Central Institute of Psychology

The existing educational system has not so far taken into account the age, ability and aptitude of students, with the result that there is considerable wastage of talent and loss of efficiency. To avoid this it is imperative that the selective principle based on intelligence and personality tests should be introduced. Further, there is need for the provision of vocational guidance to students leaving educational institutions, as also for the

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preparation of suitable syllabuses for physically handicapped or mentally backward children. Since all these problems are of a national character, it is essential that there should be a Central Institute of Psychology to deal with them and to devise standard tests and formulae.

Other important schemes of an all-Pakistan character which have been included in the Plan relate to the establishment of a Central Council of Fine Arts, an Institute of Foreign Languages, a Central Library of Archives, a Central Library of Films and Film Strips, and the payment of a suitable grant to the Motamari-Islami for the construction of a building to house an institute for the study of Arabic.

Cost of the Plan

The total cost of the Plan is Rs. 1,153,900,515\(^2\) of which Rs. 431,679,360\(^2\) is recurring and Rs. 722,221,155\(^2\) non-recurring. It is estimated that the recurring expenditure on the Plan at the end of 1957 will be approximately Rs. 12.5 crores\(^1\) (about £14,000,000).

The total non-recurring cost of primary education under the Plan is estimated at approximately Rs. 222,100,000.\(^2\) This comprises the cost of land, buildings and equipment. It is suggested that the entire responsibility for the provision of land, building and equipment required for a primary school should be borne by the people of the locality concerned. It is, however, realized that conditions vary from province to province, and in some areas within the province itself. Therefore, it may be necessary for the Government to render financial assistance. For this purpose the share of the Government will be approximately Rs. 5.5 crores.\(^1\) The responsibility for the recurring cost will be borne by the Government concerned.

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\(^1\) 1 crore = Rs. 10,000,000, or approximately £1 million.

\(^2\) Rs. 9.30 = £1.

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**ISLAM IN ENGLAND**

The Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday Celebrations in England

**ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTRE**

**His Excellency Mr. Habib Rahimtoola on the Prophet Muhammad**

On the 11th December, 1951, the Islamic Cultural Centre, Regent's Lodge, Park Road, London, N.W.8, celebrated the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. The function was very well attended, the guests being received by the director of the Centre, Dr. 'Ali Abd al-Kadhir.

After the tea guests moved into the Centre's large lecture room to hear an address given by his Excellency Mr. Habib Rahimtoola, the High Commissioner for Pakistan. The Chair was taken by his Excellency 'Amr Pasha, the Egyptian Ambassador, who, before calling upon the speaker to address the gathering, called on Mr. Hazim Satric, a Bosnian Muslim, to make a recitation from the Holy Qur'an.

In his speech, which was concise and to the point, the High Commissioner emphasized the necessity for living a modern life, yet one entirely within the confines of Islamic principles as laid down in the Qur'an and evidenced by the Prophet Muhammad in his lifetime. A modern Muslim State should be run on these lines, bearing in mind the right of minorities in the manner so clearly demonstrated by the Prophet during his leadership.

The Chairman then thanked the speaker for his inspiring speech and called to the meeting to a close.

**MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN**

**Colonel 'Abdullah Baines-Hewitt on the Prophet Muhammad**

In order not to coincide with the meeting at the Islamic Cultural Centre, the Muslim Society in Great Britain held its Prophet's Birthday Celebration on the 19th of December, 1951. In view of the large number of guests expected, the meeting was held at the Catton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.1, instead of at the Society's usual meeting place at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. The meeting was timed to begin at 6.30 p.m., and it was gratifying to see the large hall full almost from the very beginning. Among those present were the Indonesian Ambassador and Madame Subandrio and other members of the diplomatic corps. Many Muslim students were also present, and these included Pakistanis, Egyptians, Indonesians, Turks, Persians, and many others. A very welcome guest was the former Secretary of the Society, Mr. K. S. Mahmood, a son of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who was paying a flying visit to England.

The proceedings were opened by a recitation from the Holy Qur'an by Mr. Hazim Satric, an English translation having been distributed to the audience. The President of the Muslim Society, Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, took the Chair at the meeting. The speaker was Lieutenant-Colonel 'Abdullah Baines-Hewitt. In his introduction the Chairman stated that the speaker was an English Muslim of many years' standing who had lived in the Middle East, East

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Africa and Mauritius. Lieut-Col. Baines-Hewitt spoke at length on the Prophet, explaining why he was the greatest and the Last of all the Prophets, and even dwelt on the style of the chapters in the Qur'an and the reason for their sequence. Many of the speaker's quotations were in Arabic. In his closing remarks the Chairman said that the audience had heard a Muslim speaker from what was not normally regarded as a Muslim country. The speaker had proved his devotion to and knowledge of Islam, and all present should take courage from this, remembering that all Muslims were one brotherhood, no matter from which nation they came.

After the talk the audience partook of refreshments. Many old friendships were renewed and new ones made. It should be noted, in passing, that much of the work in preparing and organizing the refreshments was carried out by Mrs. Olive Toto, an English Muslim lady, who by her action also contributed to the work for Islam being performed by British Muslims.

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS IN BRADFORD

The Jami'at al-Muslim and the Muslim League of Bradford

This year the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, which fell in the month of December, 1951, was celebrated in more than one town of Great Britain. The Jami'at al-Muslimin and the Muslim League of Bradford jointly organized a meeting for the first time in that town on the 12th of December, 1951, at the Mechanics' Institute, in honour of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. Mr. George Braddock, a Member of the British Parliament, was the chief speaker, whose address was later translated into Urdu, the audience consisting of a large number of Pakistanis. Mr. Braddock, in emphasizing the brotherhood of Islam, said that he could well understand the great interest shown in the Islamic religion because of its universal appeal. He said he was glad to give his support to this "recall" meeting, because the Islamic religion stood in defence of peace and the brotherhood of man. He went on to say that as it was at present playing an important part in world affairs, he felt that it would play an increasingly important part in the future, for he believed in the practical application of religion in everyday business life.

On the 14th of December, 1951, the Prophet's birthday was celebrated at Bradford by the Society of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the United Kingdom, at the Conservative Club. The meeting commenced with the recitation of the Holy Qur'an by Mr. A. Asim Lepic, Imam of the Society, and was followed by a speech by Mr. Hazim Suric, a member of the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust in his native language. Muslims had come to attend this function from London, Manchester, Cardiff and other parts of Great Britain.

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

Its activities and lectures

The Parliamentary Association for World Government met at the House of Commons, Westminster, when Lord Beveridge spoke on the subject of "One World Government". The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque was invited as a non-Parliamentary member of the Association, which includes members from all the political parties in the United Kingdom. The Chairman made a special reference to the presence of the Imam among the distinguished guests and supporters of the movement.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, delivered a lecture on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1951, at the Congregational Church, Godalming, Surrey, with the Rev. A. Holmes in the chair. The speaker addressed the audience for about forty minutes, followed by very interesting questions and answers about Islam and its beliefs, etc. At the end of the talk the Rev. Holmes requested the Imam to bless the audience, whereupon he (the Imam) recited the opening chapter of the Holy Qur'an in Arabic and gave the English translation as well. Mr. Holmes and the audience appreciated this prayer very much.

On the 10th of December, 1951, a lecture was delivered by the Imam at the Memorial Hall, St. John's, Woking, which was arranged by the St. John's Forum. Dr. Stevenson, of the British Medical Association, took the chair. The subject of the talk was, "Why has Woking a Mosque and what is Islam?" Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the main speaker, was followed by Sir Francis Low and Mr. Berry. The Imam spoke for about half an hour, explaining the tenets and fundamentals of Islam and also giving a short history of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking. Sir Francis made a very valuable contribution in support of the Imam's lecture and mentioned some of the outstanding features of Islam, such as the absolute unity of the Godhead, the unity of the human race, and Islam's unique achievement in cementing together the various peoples into a universal brotherhood. He also mentioned the case of the creation of Pakistan in support of his statement. Mr. Berry raised some objections against the Prophet Muhammad and the Holy Qur'an which were forcefully refuted by the Imam. These three speeches were followed by a most interesting and thought-provoking discussion and a general debate on various problems which was highly educative and informative.

Lectures at Rotary Clubs

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah was the guest speaker on the 13th of December, 1951, at the Rotary Club of Haywards Heath, Sussex. The subject of his talk was, "The Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking and its Activities". The audience found the talk most interesting. Mr. John P. Packham was in the chair. It was a very pleasant surprise to learn that the Programme Secretary of the Rotary Club, Mr. L. F. Burkett, was a very great friend of the late Mr. Habibullah Lovegrove, an English Muslim, and had very old connections with the Shah Jehan Mosque. Mr. Burkett was naturally very glad to have revived his old associations with this institution. Similarly, it was very interesting to have met Mr. R. Chandler, the Hon. Treasurer of the club, an elderly gentleman, who knew the late Dr. Henry Leitner, a well-known Orientalist and builder of the Shah Jehan Mosque. Some members expressed a desire to visit the mosque, and they were extended a hearty invitation by the Imam to do so.

The Imam addressed another Rotary Club, at Aldershot, on the 31st of December, 1951, on the same subject as that on which he spoke to the Haywards Heath Rotary Club.

At a meeting of the United Nations Association, Guildford Branch, on 9th January, 1952, Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., represented Pakistan and replied to many questions put by the Question Master of the Asiatic Brains Trust. Representatives of India, Burma, Indonesia and China also took part in the meeting.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque's letter to His Majesty the King of Libya

On the occasion of the Proclamation of Libyan independence the Imam sent the following congratulatory letter to His Majesty:

"His Majesty Emir Idris al-Sennusi, King of the United Kingdom of Libya, Benghazi, Libya.
Your Majesty.
Assalamu 'Alaikum!

On this auspicious occasion of the proclamation of Libyan independence, I, as Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, and in charge of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, have great pleasure in submitting to Your Gracious Majesty my cordial congratulations and sincere good wishes for your personal welfare and for the prosperity and happiness of your country and people.

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Islam cements us all into a strong bond of unity and universal brotherhood, and Muslims all over the world are proud of having a new Islamic State added to the present ones. I trust that God Almighty will spare Your Majesty and enable you to guide and direct your State and your people in accordance with the ideals of Islam and help you in establishing a Welfare State based upon the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace and Blessings of God be upon him). With best wishes and sincerest prayers, I am, yours in Islam, (Dr.) S. M. 'ABDULLAH, Imam.

A broadcast of the Holy Qur'an to Indonesia by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

The Foreign Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation approached the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, for a broadcast to Indonesia of the recitation of the Holy Qur'an on the occasion of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The Imam's recitation was broadcast to Indonesia on the 10th of December, 1951.

BOOK REVIEWS


This book deserves to be ranked among useful works on Islam. Its usefulness does not reside in its length (for it is a comparatively brief study), but in its convincing style and its handling of Muslim doctrine, practice and historical proof.

Modestly the author describes his book as 'A Code for Muslim Servicemen and Students'. In scope and in appeal, however, it covers a far more comprehensive field. It can be read with the utmost profit by non-Muslims as well as by Muslims, by the ordinary citizen as well as the student or the warrior. The secret of its effectiveness is that, in explaining the true principles of Islam, it removes many false ideas prevalent in modern days, and is a remedy for past defective teaching here.

Recognition of this function of Mr. Khan's book is clearly expressed in the very illuminating Foreword contributed by His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, K.C.V.O., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Saudi Arabia in the United Kingdom, who remarks that 'what has been particularly needed all along is a book written in such a way as to help both teachers and pupils (whether juvenile or adult) to develop the arts of reasoned thought and self-control as Islamic virtues', and he adds, 'I believe, however, that in the present work an ideal method has been followed and that a remedy has been found for our past educational failure. By placing it in the hands of the armed forces and students all over Muslim countries we can make sure of at least one thing — that our Servicemen and young thinkers will understand how to place their own personal interests last and the interests of Islam first'.

Amidst the many strange and novel political, social or economic difficulties of present times, Muslims are often perplexed about the correct line of conduct to pursue. To add to this dilemma, the more thoughtful among them are well aware of various wrong notions widely entertained among the rank and file of the Muslim world — due to defective teaching or incomplete education. After all, there are about 400,000,000 of us, and it is inevitable that some should have received faulty or inadequate instruction in the doctrines and practices of our religion. Moreover, in some regions illiteracy is still deplorably extant, and the standard of education remains to be raised everywhere among the working and middle-class populations.

What has long been needed is a re-examination of the general purpose of Islamic education all over the world, so that from their early years our young men and women should imbibe in their purest form the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (on whom be the blessings of God!). A universal medium of correct instruction has long been needed, and the present book, In the Footsteps of the Prophet, seems well fitted to serve such a purpose.

In the footsteps of the Prophet divides itself into two main themes. The first half of the book carefully analyses the fundamentals of Islamic doctrine and practice, and shows the importance of 'Ibadat. The stress laid on submission, self-control and self-sacrifice, and on the cultivation of personality, is of profound significance to all young Muslims — and more especially to Muslim Servicemen and students. On these two classes rests a great extent the guidance and guardianship of the countries in which they live. Well-disciplined armed forces are essential to the safety and independence of those lands and to the tranquillity of their people. In like degree, also, the students and educated classes have a vital part to play in civic well-being, and they require a similar spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice.

The author points out how these ideals permeated early Islamic society and are incorporated in the teachings of the Holy Qur'an. This offers him the starting point for the historical half of this book. In chapter after chapter Mr. Rafiq M. Khan demonstrates the lessons which the 1,400 years' history of Islam has driven home: how success followed the proper observance of the Way of Life revealed by God to the Prophet Muhammad, and how disasters inevitably resulted from any departure from strict Qur'anic discipline.

In the Footsteps of the Prophet will be a great influence in the trends of modern Islamic education and citizenship. The simple style in which the book is written, the lucidity with which it discusses the doctrinal and devotional aspects of Islam, and the stirring narratives of historical achievements — all combine to make this a commendable contribution to Muslim educational endeavour.


The book proved disappointing reading. It is cumbersome and confused. What is more lamentable, the author still lives in the age of the Crusades and medievalism, and toils under prejudices hardly in consonance with modern changed times. He had a physical motherland, Germany; and it is for his services to Britain during the second world war that a chair was created for him at Oxford. He had also an intellectual motherland, Muslim law, and we shall see how loyal he has been to her.

In the preface he laments: 'All my previous studies in Muhammadan Law have led, in a way, to the writing of this book. But when I came to write it, the refusal of the Egyptian authorities to allow me to return to my work and home in Cairo in 1939 deprived me of the use of my library at the time I needed it most.' Dr. Schacht does not say why, and let us be sure that Egypt had her own rightful reasons; and this is a foreshadowing of the method he has adopted all through this book. It must be an interesting subject for psycho-analysis to find out why, in spite of the idealistic teaching of love and charity in the Sermon on the Mount by Jesus Christ, the Christians in general are so aggressive and ungrateful to their benefactors.¹

¹ Islam is the only religion on earth which gives credit to the virgin birth of Jesus.
To begin with, the learned author knows very well that Muslims do not like to be called "Muhammadan"—it is just like calling Christians "worshippers of the Cross"—but he would object in old habits.

After first reading the whole book, when I turned to the preface I found that the author himself given in a nutshell all that he has elaborated later on: "The legal subject matter in early Islam did not primarily derive from the Koran or from other purely Islamic sources; law lay to a great extent outside the sphere of religion, was only incompletely assimilated to the body of religious duties, and retained part of its own distinctive quality". It is a colourful twisting of the simple fact that Islam (the Qur'an and Hadith), being a reform, left intact what was good in old legal practice and brought about reform and introduced changes in what was considered unjust. To deny the preponderating share of Islam in Muslim law is just like denying the existence of light in the sun.

After enumerating the works of Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, etc., that form the "classical corpus of orthodox Muhammadan tradition," and recognizing how these Muslim scholars eliminated forgeries from the authentic, he opines (p. 4) "even the classical corpus contains a great many traditions which cannot possibly be authentic", and that the "great majority of traditions from the Prophet are documents not of the time to which they claim to belong, but of the successive stages of development of doctrines during the first centuries of Islam." If Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Hanbal, in short all Traditions, were mere forgers, and they put their own personal opinions in the mouth of the Prophet Muhammad, the learned German professor forgers to explain why all these scholars, whose greatness he himself admits repeatedly, conspired for centuries together and from generation to generation to glorify a nonentity (the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him!). The classical Traditions were human beings, and the canons they elaborated ("Ijm Rejal and Ijm Usul Hadith") and the efforts they employed for sifting truth from falsehood may yet be imperfect and capable of further development. But what does our author propose? Anything other than wishful thinking and any criterion other than the sacro-egoism of "I think so"? Alas no.

I leave my readers to judge for themselves the logic of our author: "Shafi'i considers himself a member of the Medinese school, and references to the Medinese or Hijazis as 'our companions', and to Malik as 'our master' or 'our and your master' occur over the whole of his writings from his early to his late period." (p. 9). Nine lines later he says: "No compromise was possible between Shafi'i and the Medinese." Or, again: "Egypt did not develop a school of law of its own" (p. 9), yet "Egyptians in the beginning followed mostly the decisions of the Companion 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. 'As (Majrisiy, ii, 332)" (p. 100 n. 5). Dr. Schacht may reject it, yet certainly Majrizi knew his country, Egypt, better than does our author. Further (p. 29), he records an incident in the life of Ibn Mas'ud, who was asked about a problem. He said he did not remember any verdict of the Prophet and that he personally opined so and so. Thereupon someone present at the meeting explained that the Prophet had given the same decision, and Ibn Mas'ud was exceedingly glad over the coincidence. Now what does Dr. Schacht say? He says: "It is therefore not surprising that traditions from Companions supersede traditions from the Prophet." It will be a sheer waste of time to endeavour to exhaust the all too numerous cases of this kind in the book under review.

As to his mastery over Arabic, he translates (p. 28) Shahidh as irregular, whereas it merely means uncommon; or (p. 36) munkar as objectionable, whereas it is only the opposite of mad'af, well-known, therefore something like obscure or unknown.

Coming from the negative to the positive, the classical works of Bukhari, etc., were compiled as late as the third century of the Hegira, and according to our author, they contain not the word of the Prophet but the inventions of the Traditions of the third and later centuries. We have now recovered, in spite of the burning of books by the British in Delhi in 1558, not to speak of similar vandalism in Spain and elsewhere, a work on the Hadith dating from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Hegira. It is the Sabi'fah by Hammam ibn Munabbih, a pupil of Abu Hurairah. A copy of it is preserved in Berlin—although not enumerated by the cataloguer Ahlwardt—and another in Damascus. It is a small compilation, yet its importance is this, that the Traditions it contains are verbatim the same in later collections such as that of Ibn Hanbal. If Ibn Hanbal has forged nothing as far as the portion to which Haman is concerned, why should we impute dishonesty to him regarding other portions which are not in variance with the same mood and same spirit?

Imam Shafi'i was preceded, in the domain of law, by such giants as Zaid ibn 'Aliy, Abu Hanifah, Awzaa'iy, Ja'far al-Saadig, Maalik, Abu Yusuf, Shibaaniyy, etc. Who will not give up ijtihad and content themselves with taglid in the presence of such great jurists when, in the opinion of Sir John Salmond, even much lesser luminaries in our time preclude all breaking of fresh grounds, once a precedent is set by a higher court? It goes to the credit of Shafi'i to relieve his contemporaries from servile imitation even of Abu Hanifah and Maalik and similar others. The method he adopted was to build a whole fabric of jurisprudence, then to demolish it himself and build another entirely new, and to demolish this also and build a third one before he died. He seems only to have aimed at showing that a perfect logic can be shattered by another perfect logic, and that by holding fast only to the Qur'an and the authentic Hadith one should treat all else as human and should not treat this latter as infallible. Again, Shafi'i was the veritable author of a new science, jurisprudence. The Romans have been the greatest lawyers of antiquity, yet even they did not as much as perceive the need of such a thing as jurisprudence, the science of law as distinct from laws of the land. Further, as a matter of course, the collection of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad concerned in the early stages the task of specialists. Its importance in other branches of learning, particularly of Muslim law, was brought into relief thanks mostly to the efforts of Shafi'i. Instead of strangers—though never antagonists, as Dr. Schacht would have us believe—thenceforward they went hand in hand, to the satisfaction of both and to the welfare of all. Shafi'i said: "Don't follow even me!"

Europe did not possess jurisprudence, and it does not possess even now the equivalent of Usul Hadith. Hence its constant attempt to minimize the importance of this latter for the people who possess it. This "science of verifying news" consists mainly of two things, riwayah and darsayah. Riwayah means to find out whether a news was transmitted by eye- or ear-witness, by those possessing integrity of character as well as of intellect, and whether each generation of transmitters has guarded this essential quality. On the other hand, darsayah means whether the internal evidence is in favour of the truth of the news notwithstanding its transmission by truthful narrators. Both these combined make the Usul Hadith.

It is pathetic to see to what lengths our author goes. "'Umar accepted a tradition from the Prophet only on the evidence of two witnesses, and 'Ali refused to accept traditions from the Prophet unless he had them confirmed by oath" (p. 28). And he concludes: "Traditions from the Prophet had to overcome a strong opposition on the part of ancient schools of law" (p. 57). The attitude of 'Umar, 'Ali and others does not in the least show their repugnance to the tradition of the Prophet in favour
of their own personal opinion on legal matters, but just the contrary: firstly, they wanted nothing to be imputed to the Prophet which he really did not say, and secondly, it is natural that such close companions of the Prophet should be humanly hesitant to believe that they did not know the verdict of the Prophet in spite of their day and night companionship with him, and that some less intimate person should know a ruling of the Prophet on the matter. They did not preclude it; they only took necessary precautions in the interests of truth.

Everything must be read in its context. It is true that according to Iraqi (Hanafis) two contradictory traditions cancel one another, thus leaving the way free for the use of analogy (p. 48). But only relatively true. When one tradition says it, and another don't do it, how can both be rejected? Yet if one tradition says five times, and another six times, it is certainly possible that there is a third and a fourth and even further alternatives. It is an easy way of disposing of things when a particular is branded as general, and important conclusions drawn therefrom.

How mutilated and misleading is the extract that "the fear is expressed that unsound doctrine will follow a widespread knowledge of the Koran" (p. 53), and this on the authority of Abu Dawud! And how disgustingly unjust the remark: "Shaifi paid lip service to the overruling authority of the Koran, which he did not recognize in practice" (p. 135).

In short, Dr. Schacht's is a model book for the new generation how not to work.

WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

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

AN ENGLISH MUSLIM AND THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
30, Dorchester Avenue,
Cardiff,
South Wales.

Dear Sir,

Whilst serving with the R.A.F. in Singapore, I became a Muslim, and in September 1950 wrote to the Shah Jehan Mosque asking whether I could receive copies of The Islamic Review in Singapore.

I received a very cordial and helpful reply, but unfortunately I was unable to pursue the matter further at that time.

However, now that I have returned home I should like to receive copies of your magazine regularly.

One copy of The Islamic Review (for November, 1949) was given me by a Malay friend. I can say, without exaggeration, that I have read it dozens of times, and received great help and comfort by doing so.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN PROBERT.

* * *

PEN-PALS
Block Q.A.,
93, Brandreth Road,
Lahore, Pakistan.

Dear Sir,

I have read your Islamic Review with great interest. In fact it is one of the best magazines in Islamic literature I have seen. As it is eagerly read by Muslims all over the world, I would deem it a favour if you would publish my name and address so that my young friends could take me as their pen-pal. I promise to reply to all letters that I receive.

Yours faithfully,
A. HESSEN.

* * *

72 Supply Depot,
E.A.A.S.C.,
Vacoas,
Mauritius.

Dear Sir,

I would greatly appreciate it if any member of the Brotherhood in England would care to write to me from time to time. Being in the army and liable to frequent moves, I find it difficult to make lasting friendships, and am also likely to lose touch with existing acquaintances. I would gladly write in the first instance to any lady or gentleman kind enough to give me his or her address.

Yours, etc.,
S/14454250 Cpl. E. E. COOK,
R.A.S.C.

* * *

THE POPULATION FIGURES OF THE WORLD OF ISLAM AS GIVEN IN THE ISLAMIC REVIEW FOR NOVEMBER, 1951, ARE UNDER-ESTIMATED

11-B, Punjab Town,
Karachi,
Western Pakistan.
16th December, 1951.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

With reference to a letter addressed by you to a Mr. Fisher in the November, 1951, issue of The Islamic Review, I would take the liberty to note that the figures given of the Muslim world population are slightly under-estimated. The Muslim peoples under Soviet domination number over 45 millions. The overall Muslim population of China may be correctly estimated as between one-fifth and one-quarter of its total population. Although no official census has as yet been made, the population of Afghanistan will be about 15 million to-day, and Afghans residing in other parts of the world number several million. The 1951 census of Pakistan (c. 65,000,000) does not include the inhabitants of the independent tribal area (North-West Frontier Province), who number about 6 million. The figures indicated for Turkey, Syria, Arabia, etc., are also slightly under-estimated.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) GHALEB KAN 'ABBASI.

* * *

29, Obosi Street,
Enugu, Nigeria.
27th December, 1951.

Dear Sir,

In The Islamic Review for November, 1951, it is stated under the heading "The Muslim Population of the World" that the Gold Coast, Nigeria, etc., have a Muslim population
estimated at 5,000,000. I write to say that Nigeria, whose population is 30,000,000, has, as you know, been divided into three regions under the new Constitution. The population of the Northern Region alone is equal to that of the Eastern and Western Regions put together. In Northern Nigeria 90 per cent profess the faith of Islam. Also, in the Western Region the Muslim population can safely be estimated at 65 per cent of its inhabitants. This means that the population of Muslims in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, etc., should be in the neighbourhood of about 20,000,000.

Your Brother-in-Islam,

SALMON YUSUPH 'ABDULLAH.

* * *

THE CORONATION LIBRARY OF PORT, LOUIS,
MAURITIUS

30, Louis Pasteur Street,
Port Louis,
Mauritius.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'Alaykum

1st January, 1952.

You had very kindly placed our Library on the complimentary list of The Islamic Review for a period of one year (1952). You kindly promised to review the position at the end of the year.

All the visitors (the majority of whom are young Muslims of the working class) request you kindly to renew the valuable gift of The Islamic Review to the Library.

Without the interesting and instructive material on our glorious religion and the Islamic world which The Islamic Review provide, the efficiency of our Library will be impaired considerably. Believe me, dear brother, we are very poor and are living under great hardship. Please give our request your earnest consideration.

With deep regret we all learned of the death of Maulana Muhammad 'Ali in October last year.

Indeed, there is no other Muslim scholar of the present century who has written so much in defence of Islam. His death no doubt is an irreparable loss to the Islamic cause. We all pray that his soul may rest in paradise.

Yours fraternally,

M. M. HARIFF.

* * *

THE DEMAND FOR LITERATURE ON ISLAM
P.O.B. 362,
Krefeld,
Western Germany.
26th November, 1951.

Dear Sir,

To the courtesy of Mr. Hassan Tan, of Leiden, Holland, I owe your address. I am very interested to learn about the Muslim religion. During the last months I have read some books about Islam, but in my opinion these books are not sufficiently impartial, for they have been written mainly from the Christian standpoint.

I regret that I did not become acquainted earlier with Islam. The last few years things have been rather hard. My interest in Islam is not a mere curiosity or a caprice; rather do I seek the right way to God. Perhaps the knowledge about Islam can help me. Therefore I ask you to send me some publications. I am 30 years of age and lost my husband in the last war. I have a son, and my chief interest is philosophy.

Yours, etc.,

(Mrs.) ELFRIEDE SEIZ.

PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,
19, Avenue Kleber,
Paris 16, France.

5th January, 1952.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your excellent number of The Islamic Review for December, 1951, which contains among other things an important article on the "Refugees of Palestine" and the aid which the United Nations is giving them.

I hold at your disposal some information which would enable you, in case you revert to this subject in one of your later issues, to bring to the notice of your readers the particular rôle which the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization plays in the education of Palestine Arab refugee children. We have, as a matter of fact, at the present moment 114 schools conducted by our representatives — a modest contribution, nevertheless useful in limiting the ills from which this population is suffering.

I was very much impressed with the quality and appearance of your Review. I offer you my hearty congratulations and kind regards.

Yours, etc.,

KAMIL ABOUSSOUAN,
In charge of the Relations with the Middle East.

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